

THE SPIRIT & FORCE OF ART

Drawing in Britain 1600–1750



Lowell Libson
& Jonny Yarker Ltd
British Art

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Foreword

We are delighted to publish this catalogue which represents the culmination of over ten years of gathering these rare drawings which were created before the ‘Golden Age’ of British watercolours and which demonstrate the formation of an identifiable ‘British’ School. The interaction of and, indeed, reliance on artists from Continental Europe was vital in the development of what was to become an influential and identifiable national artistic aesthetic. This exhibition represents a survey based on works largely produced from about 1600 to the 1750s. No commercial exercise of this kind, especially given the rarity of this material, is ever going to be comprehensive but it does give us a broad and representative narrative of artistic activity in England during this period as well as a rare opportunity for collectors and museums to acquire significant works in this area.

Many of the surviving drawings from this period are now held in museum collections, notably at the British Museum, the Huntington Art Gallery and Library and the Yale Center for British Art and given the strange cyclical nature of fashion, availability and the consequent dynamics of trends in academic research, little work has been done in this area since the 1960s, until recently. This catalogue is evidence of a growing understanding and enthusiasm for this material.

I am extremely grateful to Jonny Yarker for having taken on this project at a time when I had already gathered quite a number of drawings. It was a stroke of genius on his part to have recruited our mutual friend Richard Stephens to co-author this catalogue. Their rationalisation of our accumulated holdings and the fascinating results of their research is, to my mind, truly impressive. This catalogue would not have been possible without the most enormous efforts: Jonny and Richard’s work is self-evident, however, this project could not have happened without the skills and dedication of Cressida St Aubyn who has managed to keep both us and this catalogue on track.

This catalogue is dedicated to the memory of our dear friend William Drummond, through whose hands many of these drawings had at one time passed.

LOWELL LIBSON

Introduction

When Robert Wark published *Early British Drawings in the Huntington Collection: 1600–1750* in 1969, Ellis Waterhouse noted in a review in *The Art Bulletin* that there were few institutions which had a concentration of such material. Other than the large group of drawings in the British Museum, he noted, it is:

a field of collecting so unfashionable that, during the last fifty years, they have almost all passed into the hands of a few enthusiastic and astute private collectors in London – Randall Davies, Sir Robert Witt, A. P. Oppé, L.G. Duke, Gilbert Davis and Sir Bruce Ingram – who were all of course interested in later British drawings, but did give a good deal of attention to the period before 1750.

Waterhouse was writing at the end of what we now think of as a ‘Golden Age’ of collecting and scholarship in the field. Since 1969 there has been a steady decline in interest. This exhibition, and its accompanying catalogue, offer an opportunity to look afresh at works that have been surprisingly neglected by the market and collectors, both private and institutional. We began to assemble material for this project over a decade ago, realising, as Witt, Oppé, Duke and Ingram had, that drawings made in Britain before 1750 are frequently not only very beautiful, but tell an important story about the development of British art in the century and a half before the foundation of the Royal Academy. The continuity of our aims is neatly underscored by the presence in the exhibition of drawings from several of these ‘enthusiastic and astute...collectors’: three belonged to Robert Witt, eight to Leonard Duke and five to Sir Bruce Ingram the bulk of whose collections are now in museums.

This exhibition makes no claims at being a comprehensive survey of drawing made in the period, but it is a group, as Richard Stephens explains in his essay, that forms a representative survey of the surviving material and correlates with his statistical analysis of early British drawings held in public collections. As such, it offers powerful evidence for the use of drawings in Britain between 1600 and 1750.

Taking the recent neglect of early British drawings as our starting point, this catalogue was conceived as a way of thinking about the role of specific drawings and exploring the wider narratives they can tell. Isaac Oliver’s masterpiece in miniature *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* [cat.2] demonstrates Edward Norgate’s assertion that: ‘the English as they are incomparably the best Lymners in Europe, soe is their way more excellent, and Masterlike, Painting upon a solid and substanciall body of Colour much more worthy Imitation then the other slight and washing way’. Peter Oliver’s sheet of exquisite figure studies [cat.3], published for the first time, points to the rich visual world of Charles I’s court. That this Parmigianesque drawing was copied by Inigo Jones [fig.3.1] provides tantalising evidence for the culture of study and exchange that

existed before the Interregnum. As Junius noted, Lord Arundel: ‘out of his noble and art-cherishing minde, doth at this present expose these jewells of art to the publike view in the Academie at Arundell house’.

Two drapery studies [cat.7 and cat.52] give visual evidence to Charles Beale’s contemporary account of Peter Lely painting his son’s portrait: ‘Mr Lely dead coloured my son Charles picture ... he took a drawing upon paper after an Indian gown which he had put on his back, in order to the finishing of the Drapery of it.’ The striking red chalk life drawing by Bernard Lens [cat.12] offers unprecedented evidence for the ambitious activities of the Great Queen Street Academy in its first decade. Groups of drawings show the pre-history of landscape painting, pointing to the diverse use of watercolour before the rise of Paul Sandby. Whilst a series of sheets demonstrate the intellectual – and visual – ambition of painters producing historical compositions long before the advent of London’s exhibition societies. Preparing this exhibition has thrown into relief a sense that we constantly undervalue the role drawings played in the life of early modern Britain and in the development of the arts in particular.

We are enormously grateful to the community of scholars who continue to work in, to quote Waterhouse again, this ‘unfashionable’ area. We have benefitted enormously from the research of Jeremy Wood, who was the first to seriously construct the oeuvre of Peter Oliver as recently as 1998. Gordon Higgott was kind enough to advise on our Inigo Jones sheet. Catherine MacLeod and Diana Dethloff have shared their knowledge of Lely and beyond. Neil Jeffares, with characteristic generosity, has discussed the pastels in this catalogue. Richard Johns has discussed van de Velde and James Thornhill and Kim Sloan and her colleagues at the British Museum have been unstinting in their encouragement for our project.

I have been very lucky to work with Richard Stephens, whose website *The Art World in Britain 1660–1735* is quietly transforming the research landscape of the period by providing unprecedented access to a mass of data including auction catalogues, newspaper advertisements, inventories and more. The catalogue is a testament to his wide-ranging scholarship, knowledge and enthusiasm.

Of that ‘enthusiastic and astute’ community Waterhouse described, one name appears more than any other in the provenances of the drawings in this catalogue, the late William Drummond. As a dealer, Bill was dedicated to the promotion of neglected early British drawings and he represented a continuation of the spirit of learned enthusiasm and conviviality which characterised the world of Leonard Duke and Bruce Ingram. It is therefore entirely appropriate that this catalogue should be dedicated to his memory.

JONNY YARKER



Cat.12 · Bernard Lens
Male Nude, Walking with a Staff
(detail)

'The spirit and force of art': Defining Drawing in England, 1600–1750

RICHARD STEPHENS

In 1688 the celebrated collection of Italian drawings assembled by Sir Peter Lely was put up for auction. Lely's executor Roger North recalled in his memoir how furiously bidders competed for a particular drawing of the Emperor Constantine, then attributed to Raphael and now at Chatsworth:

one would have thought bread was exposed in a famine ... There is no play, spectacle, shew, or entertainment that ever I saw where people's souls were so engaged in expectation and surprise as at the sale of that drawing. Some painters said they would go a hundred miles to see such another.¹

North explained the appeal of collecting drawings that were created in the process of making a finished work of art, rather than the finished work itself:

These drawings are observed to have more of the spirit and force of art than finished paintings, for they come from either flow of fancy or depth of study, whereas all this or great part is wiped out with the pencil [i.e. the paint brush], and acquires somewhat more heavy, than is in the drawings.²

North's comments about the appeal of European draughtsmanship among English connoisseurs at the end of the seventeenth century prompt us also to consider the situation of drawings made by English artists. It is the task of this essay to examine whether they too were preserved by later owners, and what this can tell us about the values that people placed on English draughtsmanship. While some classes of drawing were indeed collected, many were little prized, and the variety of their fates reveals biases that have shaped our knowledge of drawing in England before the mid-eighteenth century. Hitherto it has been difficult to generalise about the universe of surviving drawings, but this essay draws on the findings of a new checklist of about eleven thousand drawings and watercolours in seventy public collections worldwide that is in preparation for publication on the website *The Art World in Britain 1660 to 1735*. While this checklist is limited by the information available in published sources, it does provide for the first time a preliminary overview of drawings from the latter part of the period under consideration here. For crucially, although our knowledge of early English drawing must inevitably be defined by the drawings that are now available for investigation, we cannot accept this body of evidence uncritically. Rather, stories of the survival and loss of drawings can help us to understand how and why they were created and subsequently exchanged and re-used.

A new scholarly focus on early English drawings would surely be fruitful, for the most obvious deficit in the existing literature is its scarcity. Two survey books – John Woodward's brief *Tudor and Stuart Drawings* (1951) and *Drawing in England from Hilliard*

to *Hogarth* (1987) by Christopher White and Lindsay Stainton – have been joined by some permanent collection catalogues and a small number of monographic studies; Kim Sloan has also described an important aspect of early draughtsmanship in *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, c.1600–1800* (2000). Architectural drawings have been well served, from the publications of the Wren Society in 1924–43 to fascinating new studies by Anthony Gerbino, Stephen Johnston and Matthew Walker which deal, respectively, with the mathematical grounding of architectural draughtsmanship and the early collecting and use of architectural drawings.²

If the published scholarship is small, the field has great potential. Few people look closely at early British drawings – even those in accessible museum collections – but there is ample scope for new discoveries. Attributions are still often clustered around the big names, such as Inigo Jones, Lely and Sir Godfrey Kneller and – where they do not rely on firm documentary evidence – are based on judgments more than half a century old, that can usefully be revisited. Several scholars have shown the fruitfulness of close scrutiny of drawings. In 1973 J. Douglas Stewart established Michael Dahl as a draughtsman by re-attributing portrait studies previously understood to be by Kneller. More recently, the distinct hands of Peter Oliver and Edward Pearce senior have been identified by Jeremy Wood, Gordon Higgott and A.V. Grimstone from within the extensive drawn oeuvre of Inigo Jones.³ In the checklist of drawings from 1660 onwards, more than one hundred draughtsmen are each represented by at least twenty drawings, so there is real scope to advance knowledge by establishing the characteristics of individual artists' work and exploring their purpose and influences, especially when matched by new archival research. Any student can make a useful contribution to art history by selecting one of these to study. Even in the current catalogue, new attributions are suggested or established for Charles Boit, Louis Chéron, Michael Dahl, Charles Forster, John Greenhill, Bernard Lens, Peter Oliver, James Seamer and Sir James Thornhill. Given the many nationalities at work in England before the mid-eighteenth century, perhaps we could also reflect on and enlarge our notions of what makes a drawing 'English', for it is entirely feasible that many early English works pass through the sale-rooms and inhabit museum print rooms as unattributed northern European drawings.

English or British drawings were actually the products of many nationalities, often with their own distinct artistic habits. Specialisation in the preservation and study of drawings – with distinct collections and traditions of scholarship concerned with portraiture, design, maritime art, natural history and architecture – cannot mirror this diversity. Few artists spent their careers painting relentlessly in studios, or focused solely in one area. Thornhill, for example, was history painter, architect, teacher, copyist, theatrical designer, traveller, ceramic painter, illustrator, designer of statues, decorator, politician and collector. Individual drawings were also often multi-valent. For instance, in about 1675 Sir Christopher Wren designed a new library building for Trinity College, Cambridge. He sent a sketch as a presentation work so that the college authorities could assess and approve his ideas [fig.1]. It was then passed to the masons to guide them in setting out the plot. Finally, prick marks show that it also served as a preparatory study for David Loggan's engraving of the library, which was circulated in hundreds of fundraising letters to help solicit the construction costs.⁴

While drawings from the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have been accommodated within now-familiar narratives of the Grand Tour, London's exhibition culture, domestic picturesque tourism, empire and consumerism, contextualising

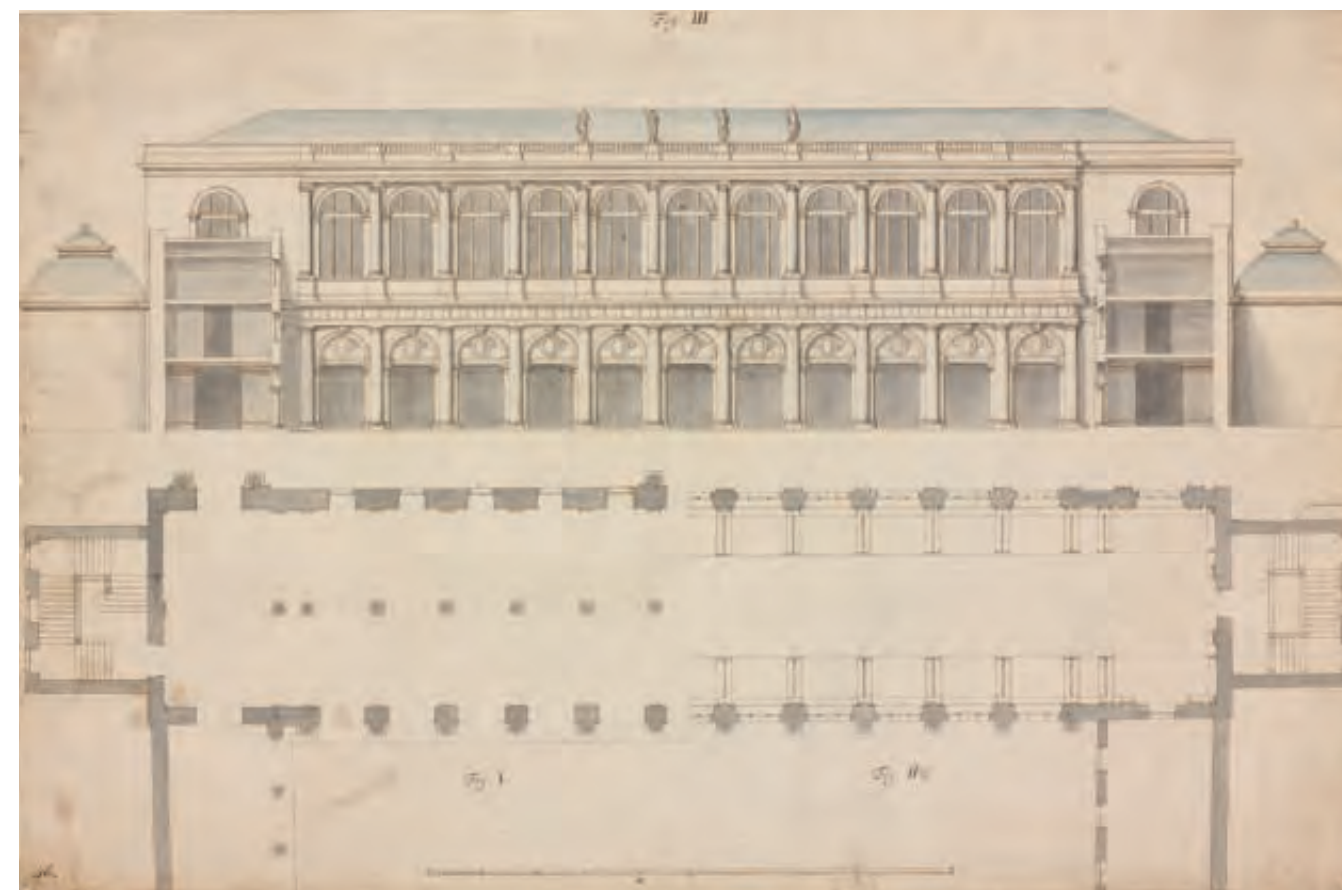


Fig.1 · Sir Christopher Wren
*Plan and Elevation for Trinity College
Library*
Brown ink over pencil and scorer shaded
with grey and blue washes
13³/₈ × 20³/₄ inches; 347 × 526 mm
Codrington Library, All Souls College,
Oxford

frameworks for earlier drawings have been less easy to find. There is, nevertheless, an extraordinary story that is largely still to be told, for the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were a transformative period in the history of art in England, when artists and their publics embraced the visual culture of continental Europe. Perhaps Catherine Whistler's recent three-part survey of drawing in early modern Venice could serve as a model?⁵ Her study begins with the literary discourse around drawing, a subject for which there is much English-language material. The functions of drawing and drawings in the working and social lives of artists are explored next; this is surely an area rich with potential in the English context. Finally comes the status and appreciation of drawings and their place within domestic and foreign collections; we know more than ever before about the art market and cultures of collecting in seventeenth and early eighteenth century London.

'SOME POIGNANT TRUTHS': DRAWING UNDER THE EARLY STUARTS

Although several thousand drawings survive from our period, the huge gaps in evidence significantly limit what we can say about the culture of drawing, especially in the seventeenth century. An album of one hundred and sixty-three drawings from the circle of Francis Cleyn highlights the issue of loss. Cleyn was the chief designer at Charles I's tapestry workshop at Mortlake, and the album is filled with print studies, tapestry designs, life drawings and portraits that offer an intriguing glimpse of the rich creative world of Charles I's court. For David Howarth, who published the album in 1993, the album 'suggests some poignant truths and they are these: how little we know about

the ambitions and achievements of artists in early modern England; how many highly competent artists were at work, the very existence of whom we now know nothing about; and of course, how much work has been annihilated.⁶ Nothing survives of Robert Streeter, whom Bainbrigg Buckeridge called ‘the most compleat draftsman of his time.’ The Restoration-era scene painter John Freeman ‘was in his drawings, especially in the academy, most extraordinary and equal to any of our modern masters,’ yet is now entirely unknown.⁷ In his monograph on Kneller, J. Douglas Stewart commented that ‘there are plenty of contemporaries who are either unknown as draughtsmen, such as John Closterman and John Riley, or perhaps known only by a single sheet.’⁸

Isaac Oliver demonstrates the ease with which the work of even the most significant artists can be lost. Oliver has been called ‘the first British draughtsman’ for he is the first artist whom we can see using drawing to develop his ideas rather than merely creating an outline to follow.⁹ In the outward-looking courts of James I and Charles I, artists like Oliver, his son Peter Oliver and Inigo Jones rapidly accommodated their draughtsmanship to continental styles, in a revolution in drawing that was distinguished, in the words of Jill Finsten, by its ‘voraciousness, the ambition to assimilate everything, everywhere, as quickly as possible. It is a phenomenon as notable for its single-mindedness as for the suddenness of its appearance.’¹⁰ Though he chiefly worked as a portrait miniaturist, Isaac Oliver used chalk and pen drawings to think through complex religious scenes, which were intended to be executed finally as cabinet miniatures. Two studies (Fitzwilliam and British Museum) for the most celebrated of his three surviving cabinet miniatures, an *Entombment* now at the Musée d’Angers in France, suggest an artist well-versed in continental art: here, for the first time, a highly capable London artist was engaging closely with contemporary European trends – notably northern mannerism – to produce complex mythological and religious compositions.¹¹ Oliver began loosely in chalk, which could easily be erased and redrawn as his ideas took shape; once the composition was firmly established, he would provide a more definite outline, further detail and expression by going over his figures in pen and ink. This technique is shown well in a *Resurrection* at Edinburgh [fig.2.1, p.44], in which there is a clear division between the angels and cherubs accepting the risen Christ into heaven, who are represented as soft clusters of organic forms marked in chalk; lower down, the Roman soldiers recoil in awe, their muscular limbs and breast plates modelled in subtle pen hatchings.

It is unclear what opportunities existed for Oliver to develop his historical designs, away from the demands of portraiture. Oliver’s miniatures were always collectable, and Charles II visited the artist’s daughter-in-law at the Restoration to buy pictures from her in a bid to reconstruct the early Stuart collection. Charles does not appear to have acquired any drawings and although on her death in 1672, Mrs Oliver ordered the sale of ‘all the paintings, & pictures remaining’, in the 1720s George Vertue could report that her heir still owned ‘several leaves of Tablettts belonging to books of I. Oliver that he carried in his pockett to Sketch in with a Silver Penn,’ as well as a study for the *Entombment* limning and a *Last Judgment* in pen and ink which is now lost.¹² Only drawings were left after several opportunities to sell, so it is no surprise to find that only thirteen drawings by Oliver can now be securely attributed to him. Equally, though, it is no co-incidence that it was in the early eighteenth century that the family surrendered their drawings to art collectors like Vertue and Richardson, for this is when the first signs of a consciousness of the early history of art in England appear. The most tangible

signs of this were the publication in 1706 of Buckeridge’s biographical dictionary of painters, *An Essay towards an English School* and the commencement in 1713 of Vertue’s art historical researches but it is also evident in the early eighteenth-century mounts, ownership stamps and inscriptions that appear on many drawings that are, or aspire to be, by well-known figures such as Oliver, Van Dyck and Hollar.¹³

‘ALL THAT IS PRAISEWORTHY IN THE ARTS OF THE ANCIENTS’:
DRAWINGS BY ARCHITECTS

The architects of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were gentlemen and intellectual figures. Their drawings, and other studies associated with building projects, are found in greater numbers than any other class of preparatory drawing; of the twenty draughtsmen whose work appears in the greatest numbers in the checklist, more than one third are architects. As many as fourteen hundred drawings by Inigo Jones survive – the second largest number of any single draughtsman in our period. Their plentifulness was almost overwhelming for Vertue, who remarked that ‘all his life being employed in delineations of one kind or other its impossible to give a particular account of all.’¹⁴ They can be organised into four main categories. There are some four hundred and fifty costume and stage designs for royal masques performed for James I and Charles I; almost one hundred architectural drawings; three albums containing seven hundred and eighty figurative compositions and copies which represent Jones’s attempts to re-learn drawing in the 1630s, using Italian copy books and drawings that had by then been imported into England; and the sketchbook that he used on his 1614 visit to Rome with the Earl of Arundel.

It was for his wide-ranging mastery of design that John Harris has proposed Jones as ‘the single most important person in the history of the arts in seventeenth-century England.’¹⁵ Jones first visited Italy in the years around 1600 and became a leading figure in the English court’s assimilation of Italianate culture. When a friend gave him a book on his return to London, he wrote in a dedication that ‘through [Jones] there is hope that sculpture, modelling, architecture, painting, acting and all that is praiseworthy in the arts of the ancients may soon find their way across the Alps into our England.’¹⁶ Occupying the influential post of Surveyor of the King’s Works from 1615 to 1642, Jones was able to direct the crown’s building projects using the architectural language of the sixteenth century Venetian Andrea Palladio, whose teachings revived the ancient Roman ideas of Vitruvius and were to underpin all classical architecture in England over the ensuing century or more. Jones’s influence at court has been credited to his ability to express and communicate his ideas through drawing.¹⁷ He was, in Gordon Higgott’s words, ‘the first British architect for whom drawing was an essential medium for realizing ideas, as well as the means for communicating them attractively to patrons and subordinates.’¹⁸ In fact, by the eighteenth century Jones’s artistic legacy was as much vested in his drawings as in his buildings, and the claims made for Jones’s influence in current scholarship are possible principally because so many of his drawings survive.

To his public and later owners of his drawings, Jones’s drawings represented a body of research about classical architecture that was transferable and authoritative, for which there was in England no corollary in the pictorial arts until the engraving of the Raphael cartoons. By the early eighteenth century, Jones was foremost among a group of British architects whose achievements were presented as having surpassed their continental predecessors. As Colen Campbell explained in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715):

'our Architect is esteemed to have out-done all that went before; and when those Designs he gave for Whitehall, are published, which I intend in the Second Volume, I believe all Mankind will agree with me, that there is no Palace in the World to rival it.' Architects such as Wren, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor and Talman 'have all greatly contributed to adorn our Island.' Thus Jones and his drawings served not only a practical use, but could help to raise the esteem of the arts in Britain.

Jones's architectural designs were the first English drawings to be published. By the 1720s, many had been acquired by Lord Burlington.¹⁹ Vertue wrote approvingly that 'Lord Burlington who takes great delight in studying & drawing Architecture has a fine Collection of Inigos designs & has been at a good expence to Engrave many plates with an intention to publish his works in Print. which if he had completed according to his Noble intention he certainly woud have done this Nation great Honour.'²⁰ By the 1720s, Jones was perhaps the leading figure in the nascent history of British art and, a century after their execution, his drawings continued to shape taste when they appeared in William Kent's *The Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727) and Isaac Ware's *Designs of Inigo Jones and Others* (1731), which both deployed examples from Burlington's collection.²¹ This movement not only communicated ideas about Palladian design, but effected 'a revolution in draughtsmanship' itself, which thereafter rejected perspective views, colour and painterly techniques, and the exuberant styles of Hawksmoor, Vanburgh and Talman, in favour of crisp monochrome plans, elevations and sections.²²

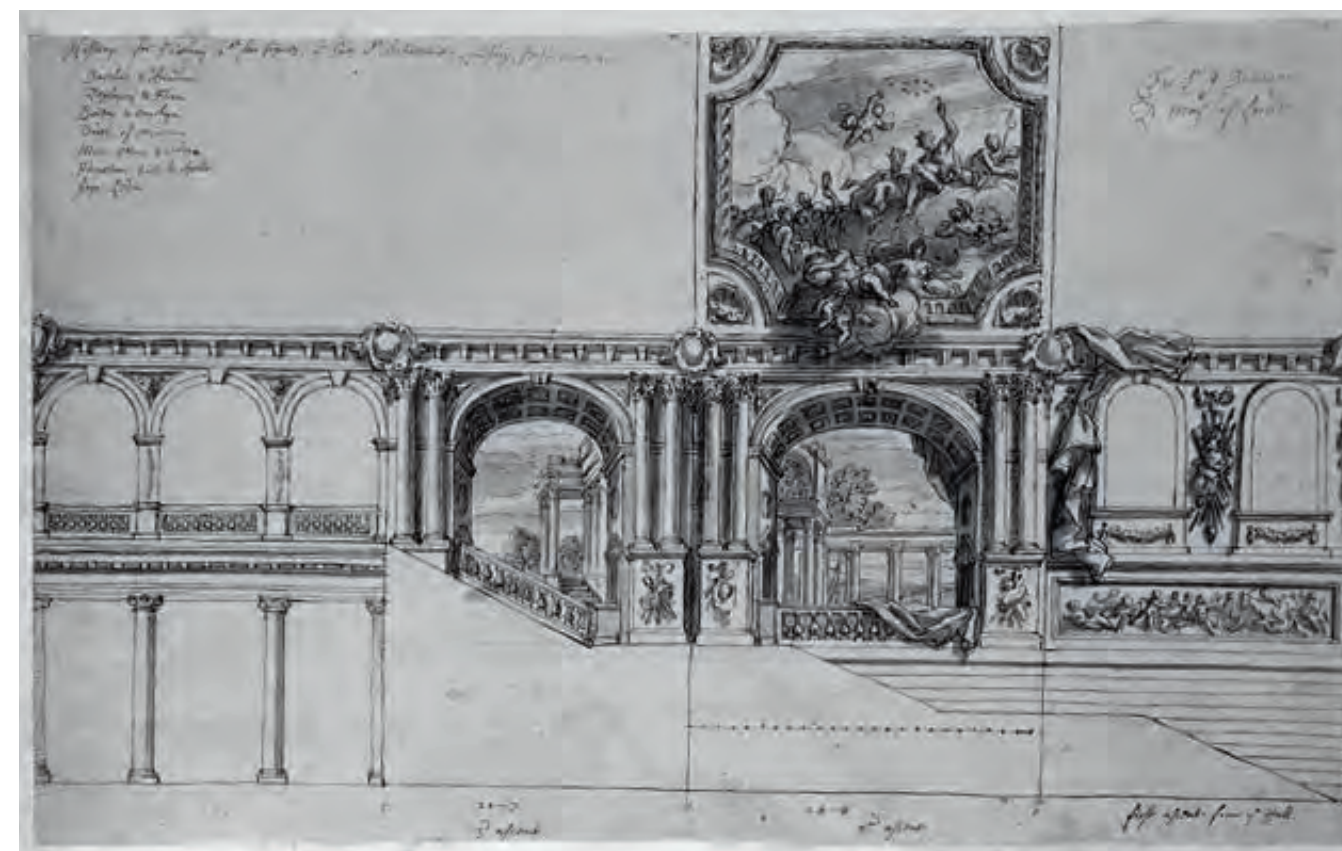
Jones's designs were also the first English drawings to enter institutional collections. In 1652 he bequeathed his library and drawings to his assistant John Webb, whose family broke up and sold the collection. Jones's books and other drawings were sold to Dr George Clarke in about 1705, by which time Clarke was using them as a source for his designs at All Souls' College, Oxford, before bequeathing them to Worcester College in 1734; other parts of the collection came to Lord Burlington via William and John Talman.²³ The work of other architects soon joined Jones's collections at Oxford. Sir Christopher Wren left his drawings to his son, also Christopher Wren, after whose death they were auctioned in 1749 in sixteen lots containing 939 drawings in all.²⁴ Almost half of these were acquired shortly afterwards by All Souls' College, Oxford. The example of the Scottish architect James Gibbs represents a new stage in the paths that drawings took towards public ownership, for he himself bequeathed eight volumes of his designs to Oxford University. Gibbs had been awarded an honorary MA by the university in 1749 at the opening of the Radcliffe Camera, whose design and construction had occupied him for more than a decade.

These steps, in which the works of English architects were received and recognised by scholarly authorities and circulated widely in print, reflect their greater intellectual status and social acceptance relative to painters. Although painters had contributed paintings to the Painter Stainers' Company, and gave exemplary drawings to academies to be copied by students, no painter had made a gift of drawings either to an institutional collection or, so far as is known, to a private patron. It is all the more striking, therefore, that Howarth claimed that the De Cleyne album is 'the largest holding of one artist working in England to have survived from the period' and 'the most significant corpus of drawings made in England to have come down to us from that time' for this ignores the work of Jones, Cleyne's contemporary at the court of Charles I. Howarth highlights the scholarly tendency towards specialisation and the overall priority given to figurative work.²⁵ John Woodward excluded architectural drawing from his *Tudor and Stuart*

Drawings (1951), although as long ago as 1938, the Burlington Fine Arts Club urged that studies of seventeenth-century art be centred around 'the English mansion house [which], with its series of portraits of successive occupiers, its painted interior decorations, and its accumulation of builders' perspectives, views of itself and its surroundings, is the dominant source of British-born artists' activity throughout our period and before it.'²⁶ Drawings were integral to the design and construction of buildings, and they enable us to follow creative and production processes more closely than in any other sphere of creative activity. Architects were concerned not only with buildings but, in the example of Wren's Trinity College library project, the furniture both fixed and free-standing, wrought-iron gates, interior joinery, and carved ornament. The Wren Office drawings for Hampton Court Palace, for example, include the largest surviving group of designs by Grinling Gibbons, designs for painted wall decorations, and garden plans.²⁷

Architectural drawings are closely allied to drawings by wall painters yet, with the exception of Sir James Thornhill, almost none survive. Thornhill, of course, considered himself an architect (he owned Inigo Jones's copy of Serlio, now in the RIBA), which was the cause of his downfall in the early 1720s when he came into competition with William Kent. Wall painters worked within architectural spaces, and routinely incorporated architectural motifs within their designs. Thornhill even innovated a form of sketch that was directly informed by the conventions of architectural drawing, in which he drew his designs on measured wall and ceiling elevations [fig.2].²⁸ However, because painters were not contracted to architects but were instead employed directly by the client, wall painting designs are not found within collections of architectural drawings. To this circumstance can probably be attributed the marked absence of drawings by

Fig.3 · Sir James Thornhill
Staircase Design for Sir James Bateman
pen and wash
11 × 17¹/₈ inches · 279 × 454 mm
Courtesy of the Huntington Art
Collections, San Marino, California



decorative wall painters. Yet more than seven hundred of Thornhill's drawings survive – a larger number than any other draughtsmen in our period except Inigo Jones and the van de Veldes. Thornhill may be considered an exception as he enjoyed an international reputation as the only English painter of note, who had undertaken large-scale public works. He was, for example, the only recent English painter included in Dézallier d'Argenville's *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres* (Paris 1745) and his drawings were collected by Pierre Crozat.²⁹ Even so, it is notable that fewer than one quarter of his drawings can be linked with a decorative painting scheme and, of these, two thirds are for his two major projects, St Paul's Cathedral and Greenwich Hospital. These two aside, in other words, Thornhill's decorative sketches are not numerous.

'A BRANCH OF THE ARTS IN WHICH... THE ENGLISH EXCEL':
DRAWINGS OF THE SEA

Architectural drawings have survived in relatively large numbers and have formed the basis for a significant body of scholarship. By contrast, another class of drawings survives in large numbers but has barely registered in writing about English drawings. Remarkably, more than one fifth of all drawings currently identifiable from the Restoration to the end of our period – a number conservatively estimated at more than two and a half thousand drawings – originated in a single workshop, operated by Willem van de Velde the Elder and his son Willem van de Velde Junior, who moved to England in 1672 following the outbreak of the Third Dutch War.³⁰ These have survived in much greater numbers than the work of any other draughtsmen for two reasons. First, the van de Veldes established – and their work subsequently dominated – an entire genre of painting for a century or more, representing a supremacy in English art equalled only by the impact of Van Dyck on grand portraiture. Second, drawing was not only central to their practice as artists, it was at the heart of their public profile, so that to understand their work, later painters needed to know their drawings.

In view of their number and importance, it is surprising that van de Velde drawings have not been studied more. John Woodward explained that he excluded them from his survey of Tudor and Stuart drawing 'for obvious reasons' without elucidating further, and it was not until 2016 that a general assessment of the role of drawing within the van de Velde studio was attempted, in Remmelt Daalder's fascinating new monograph.³¹ Yet Woodward's reasoning is not hard to fathom, for by the first half of the twentieth century van de Velde drawings were regarded almost entirely as records of the history of ships and naval warfare. The National Maritime Museum at Greenwich was founded in 1937 with the gift of the collections of the shipping magnate Sir James Caird, among which were seven hundred sheets by the van de Veldes. When the catalogue of these was published in 1958, the drawings were celebrated as 'essential documents for the study of maritime history of northern Europe. That many are works which could win a place, on merit, in any representative exhibition of old master drawings is, as it were, a bonus. Their primary value is informative.'³²

The van de Veldes were already the leading marine painters of the Dutch golden age when they came to England, so that their arrival was more in the tradition of Charles I attracting eminent foreign painters to London than the many lesser painters who followed opportunistically in their wake; the fact that their first job was to design a set of tapestries celebrating English naval power only underlines the ambition of Charles II's invitation. The King's warrant of 1674, which awarded each man a retainer of £100,



Fig.3 · Willem van de Velde
The Battle of Solbay, 7 June 1672
(detail)

Black chalk, pencil and grey wash on five
joined sheets
13⁷/₈ × 70 inches · 353 × 1778 mm

Fig.4 · Michiel van Musscher
*A Portrait of an Artist, possibly Willem
van de Velde the Younger*

Oil on panel
18³/₄ × 14¹/₂ inches · 476 × 368 mm
Private collection



made the role of drawing explicit, and the division of labour within the workshop: van de Velde senior was employed 'for taking and making Draughts of sea fights, and the like' and his son 'for putting the said Draughts into Colours for our particular use.' Van de Velde senior was a committed, innovative and prolific sketcher, who accompanied the navy into battle and chronicled Royal events both on land and sea. He frequently stuck several sheets together horizontally in order to capture his entire panoramic field of vision, and characterised these drawings as 'journals' of the events he depicted [fig.3]. Van de Velde senior bridged the gulf between drawing and painting, by making seascapes in pen and ink on a white ground, painted on board; and between drawing and print-making, by frequently making off-set copies of his ship drawings. Drawing was at the heart of the way the van de Veldes presented themselves to their public. Both the known portraits of van de Velde junior show him with his father's drawings. A third painting by Michiel van Musscher possibly also shows van de Velde and captures him at the easel while spread about on the floor are half a dozen of his father's sketches [fig.4].³³ In a drawing of James II's inspection of the army on Hounslow Heath in 1687, van de Velde senior even drew himself showing his drawings to the king.³⁴ Drawings were not merely tools of production, they were guarantors of authenticity and truth to life, reportage transformed through painting into work of art.

Yet the studio dissolved not long after van de Velde junior's death in 1707, and the drawings were widely dispersed. His marine painter son Cornelius struggled to maintain a London studio and made plans to move to Holland, where he died in 1714. His will makes clear his very poor relationships with his father's widow and with his sister and brother-in-law, who had taken over van de Velde junior's house on Millbank.³⁵ It is very likely that van de Velde junior's possessions began to be dispersed at this time and certainly in late 1707 and early 1708 'divers Drawings of Ships of the old Vander Velden' were available to purchase from the Soho premises of John Cock who was then

London's leading dealer in prints and drawings.³⁶ Cornelius van de Velde also left ten books of drawings in London at his death.³⁷ In this way, collectors of drawings were able to accumulate large holdings of sketches by the van de Velde in the decades that followed. Based on their posthumous sale catalogues, Vice-Chamberlain Thomas Coke owned one hundred and seven (1728), Thornhill had ninety-five (1735) and Jonathan Richardson eighty-six (1747).³⁸ Solomon Gautier, a Covent Garden dealer in prints and drawings, advertised fifty-nine for sale in 1725.³⁹ This evidence is fragmentary, but there is no reason to think of these quantities as exceptional and, given that auction catalogues survive from only about one in ten auctions among the thousands that took place in the first half of the eighteenth century, other substantial holdings of van de Velde drawings must have been listed in catalogues that are now lost.⁴⁰

In these circumstances it is common for such drawings to become lost from view, but that was not the case here. In 1755 Rouquet declared that 'marine painting in Vanderveldt's taste, is a branch of the arts in England in which one need not be afraid to affirm that the English excel.'⁴¹ The business of marine painting occupied only a few painters, who had to be scrupulously exact in their representations not only of shipping but also of sailors: 'an error in arrangement, upon this occasion, might be taken as a very great incivility.'⁴² If success as a marine painter in the eighteenth century meant digesting the style and ideas of the van de Veldes, it is not hard to imagine large stocks of their drawings devolving on such painters, for whom they were not scholarly records of the ancestry of their occupation, but a vital tool in the pursuit of their livelihoods, in much the same way that figurative studies were valued by portrait and history painters, or Inigo Jones's designs provided instruction in the grammar of Palladianism. Samuel Scott accumulated as many as one thousand van de Velde sketches and other owners included Nicholas Pocock and Dominic Serres.⁴³ J.M.W. Turner, who declared that a 1720s print after van de Velde junior 'made me a painter,' made shipping studies directly influenced by van de Velde drawings, and sketches by John Constable have even been mistaken for their work.⁴⁴ Serres and Charles Gore not only copied but drew directly on some van de Velde sketches.⁴⁵ In a mark of the continued currency of their drawings, William Baillie reproduced several in facsimile in the 1760s and 1770s, the first English drawings to receive such treatment.⁴⁶

The recent exhibition *Spreading Canvas* (2016) at the Yale Center for British Art rightly sought to place the van de Veldes at the head of the eighteenth-century school of maritime history painting and in his essay for the catalogue Richard Johns argued that to value their work merely for the accuracy of its depictions of ships and rigging is to artificially separate the van de Veldes from the mainstream of London art production of which they were an important part. Like many decorative painters, they painted on panels for use in interior panelling and in common with many other painters, van de Velde junior travelled to the Mediterranean. The role of their drawings, specifically, is worth further study, both within the van de Velde workshop and, given their evident re-use by artists throughout the eighteenth century, their impact on English draughtsmanship. It is a diverse body of work, that can be approached from various perspectives – not only of naval history but also of architecture, geometry, landscape and decorative art. In many studies of navy ships, the van de Veldes were describing large timber structures with the precision of an architectural draughtsman; they themselves designed ships, and the geometry underpinning their drawings has been explored in an article published in 1983.⁴⁷ Their precision anticipates the appeal in England of



Fig. 5 · Peter Lely *Study of Hands*
Black, white and red chalk on buff paper
14 × 11 inches · 355 × 280 mm
Yale Center for British Art, formerly
with Lowell Libson Ltd

Canaletto, that other great immigrant painter of water-scapes and their oeuvre also comprises the largest body of on-the-spot drawings prior to the landscape sketchers of the later eighteenth century: the van de Veldes were England's most prolific and imitated artists of sky and sea, who exploited the dramatic potential of storms and paid close attention to the fleeting effects of light and weather. In their constant attention to the carved and painted decoration of ships' sterns, their drawings become studies of ornament.⁴⁸ To marginalise these is to overlook their European context, for the importance of the navy as an expression of state power gave rise to a tradition of ship drawing in seventeenth century European arts. In France, the chief designer of the French royal fleet was none other than Charles Le Brun, and drawings by the van de Veldes are comparable to the work of his successor, the Dessinateur de la Chambre et du Cabinet du Roi Jean Bérain, and to drawings by the painter, sculptor and probable architect of Montagu House, Pierre Puget.

Finally, the van de Velde drawings afford a rare opportunity to enhance our understanding of artists' workshops as family enterprises. Their principal cataloguer, Martin Robinson, acknowledged uncertainty about the involvement of relations stating, for example, that 'many drawings now attributed to the Elder Willem must be left in doubt as to authorship' if his grandson Adriaan's role is to be credited; Cornelius, another grandson, has already been mentioned.⁴⁹ It is notable that while multi-generational family studios were common in Italian cities, there is little evidence for this mode of business in the London art world. Therefore to explore attributional questions is not to indulge in a dry connoisseurial exercise but to gain basic knowledge about the workings of a prominent seventeenth-century studio.

DRAWINGS FOR PORTRAITURE

Portraits outnumber by far all other genres of painting that survive today but comparatively few portrait studies survive, and their role is often unclear. At the top end of the market, portraiture was a highly systematised process where there was little need for preparatory workings out, other than on the canvas itself. As the King's painter, Sir Peter Lely was immensely busy; he ran a highly organised studio and developed a stock of standard postures and pre-prepared canvases from which clients could choose.⁵⁰ In 1693 Kneller told another painter that he had up to fourteen sittings in a single day; such a routine could only be the result of discipline and systems. Yet this does not itself explain the paucity of drawings for, as J. Douglas Stewart judged, Kneller's surviving drawn oeuvre is 'surely no more than a tiny fragment of his actual output.'⁵¹ Lely's output was certainly much larger than his few surviving drawings, for at least four hundred studies of 'hands &c' were in the possession of Michael Rosse who sold them in 1723 [fig.5].⁵²

Most drawings created in portrait studios fall into one of three categories: posture studies, heads and record drawings. Posture studies were usually rapid sketches on blue paper, in which the painter worked out how to approach some aspect of the portrait, whether the lighting, disposition of hands, the flow of drapery or the sitter's overall pose. Drawing on blue paper was a Netherlandish tradition, established in England by Van Dyck, who was followed by Lely. Between the 1670s and 1690s, the portrait artist William Gandy made notes of practical advice gained from his visits to London portrait painters. The limner Richard Gibson told him that 'Vandyck would take a little piece of blue paper upon a board before him, & look upon the Life & draw his figures & postures all in suden lines, as angles with black Chalk & heighten with white Chalk.' Yet the main thrust of Gandy's reports from his fellow portrait painters was that drawing was best begun on the canvas itself.

Large-scale head drawings appear to have been an innovation imported by Kneller from his time in the studio of Carlo Maratti in Rome, and represents his most enduring influence on British art. Alexander Pope reported that Kneller 'thinks it absolutely necessary to draw the Face first ... [it] can never be set right on the figure of the Drapery & the Posture finished before. To give you as little trouble as possible he proposes to draw your face with crayons and finish it up at your own house in a morning; from whence he will transfer it to the canvas.' Many of Kneller's surviving drawings are large head studies in chalks on coloured paper. Kneller's method was influential on contemporaries like Dahl and later generations of portrait painters. Apprentices in Thomas Hudson's studio were set to make copies of drawings by recent masters, and several examples by Joseph Wright of Derby survive in Derby Museum. Its continuing impact on Wright's life drawing is evident in his commissioned work of the early 1760s, and in the 1750 self-portrait of another of Hudson's pupils, Joshua Reynolds, which returns to the genre the vitality and penetration it had obtained in Dahl's best work.

The third category of drawings is the record drawing. This is the most numerous, because in the British Museum are six sketchbooks and an album filled with sketches recording the basic appearance of portraits painted in Kneller's studio, drawn by Edward Byng who was working for Kneller by 1694 [cat.57]. By the time of Kneller's death, Byng was in control of Kneller's studio and finances, and to his business head can probably be attributed much of Kneller's success. Apparently made as records of portraits once they were ready to leave the studio, their precise function is unclear; they may have served to aid the production of studio copies later on, they may have helped clients choose a pose, or they may have been a visual accompaniment to financial records. Record drawings were not limited to English portrait painters; Claude's *Liber Veritatis* is the most famous example. In London, the Venetian painter Jacopo Amigoni [cat.58] also maintained records like Byng in the 1730s. Joseph van Aken, a highly successful specialist in painting the clothing for leading portrait painters like Hudson and Ramsay, made more subtle and elaborate record drawings which show off his feeling for drapery, such as a portrait of Jane Champenowne [fig.6]; he was also familiar with the workings of the Kneller studio for, among his drawings now at the National Gallery of Scotland, is one closely modelled on Byng's example. Record drawings attributed to Closterman are in the British Museum, as are six unattributed works of 1710.⁵³

In thinking about the survival of portrait studies, it is notable that drawings created as part of the everyday work of portrait studios have been passed down by the descendants of artists rather than having established themselves in collections of drawings.



Cat.57 · Edward Byng
*A Young Man with a Lamb
in an Arcadian Landscape*



Fig.6 · Joseph van Haecken
Jane Champenowne
Black, red and white chalks on paper
13 × 10¾ inches · 330 × 273mm
National Galleries of Scotland

This points both to their continuing utility within the studio and also to their lack of appreciation beyond the workshop, which is doubtless because they can seldom be associated with a named sitter, let alone one whose prominence would give value to the sketch. Most surviving drawings by Allan Ramsay in the National Gallery of Scotland were donated in 1860 from a family collection, and Edward Byng's drawings were purchased from his family in 1897. As recently as 1986 a collection of drawings from the studio of Joseph Highmore was donated to the Tate Gallery by the painter's descendants.⁵⁴ Almost all of Michael Rosse's drawings by Lely have disappeared, but the one group to survive shows that they did not bear Lely's studio stamp, which was applied posthumously by his executor Roger North, but were rather separated from the main part of Lely's studio contents and picture collections. We must assume that their association with Lely was broken over time as they were gradually transformed into modest anonymous seventeenth century hand studies of little value.

DRAWINGS BY STUDENTS

The establishment of a drawing academy backed by the monarch was the overriding goal of London painters from at least the 1690s to 1768. More than the mere provision of facilities for learning to draw, an academy served as the meeting place of an artistic community, where excellence was publicly recognised and where elders promulgated ideas about art for the next generation. Academies established, in Susan Owens's phrase, a 'common vocabulary for drawing.'⁵⁵ It was also a patriotic project to advance England's cultural identity relative to its neighbour France. However, while contemporary art literature and the notebooks of Vertue and Hogarth contain much

material about the process of learning, very few drawings survive to indicate how the early London academies actually delivered training, or that show the evolution of an individual student's work. It is equally hard to discern the transfer of knowledge within a painter's workshop.

Even so, drawings can teach us about the artist-led academies of the early eighteenth century – the Great Queen Street academy founded in 1711, and its immediate successors in the 1720s managed by Sir James Thornhill, Louis Chéron and John Vanderbank – which, according to Hogarth, were the first attempts to set up something in the model of the French academy. At the Victoria and Albert Museum is a sheet by Thomas Carwitham crammed with studies of a river god in postures that clearly derive from academy models. Carwitham can have been at most twelve years old, for it is inscribed neatly and with evident pride 'Tho Carwitham Inv et fecit 1713,' and it is one of about forty drawings that can now be identified in his hand, including the *Flight of Fancy* [fig.7] which is surely also a juvenile work. It is probably no co-incidence that 'Carwitham' subscribed to the Great Queen Street Academy in 1713.⁵⁶ Carwitham's drawings are a reminder that the academic teaching of drawing began at a young age and perhaps young students were a larger presence at Great Queen Street than has been recognised. In the middle years of the century, William Shipley welcomed young students to his



Fig.7 · Thomas Carwitham,
active 1713–1733 *Fantasy of Flight*
Ink and watercolour
14½ × 9½ inches · 370 × 238 mm
© Tate, London

drawing school in Beaufort Buildings off the Strand, such as Richard Cosway who was only twelve and Thomas Jones who, arriving aged nineteen in 1761, complained that he was 'reduced to the humiliating situation of copying drawings of ears, eyes, mouths & noses among a group of little boys of half my age who had the start of me by two or three years.' Carwitham's oeuvre joins the contents of a late seventeenth century album at Dulwich College in providing a rare glimpse into the ways that students learned at the earliest stages of their training. His work is especially valuable as, unusually, he was not concerned with portraiture but historical draughtsmanship. Thornhill surely guided Carwitham's studies, whose loose pen and ink and wash compositions and the dense arrangements of his posture studies strongly call to mind Thornhill's own sketching style and habit of experimenting with many compositional variations on a single sheet.

Further drawings capture other aspects of the Great Queen Street academy's activities. A sketchbook at Yale was used by Hamlet Winstanley the years in 1714–16. Winstanley also subscribed to the academy in 1713 but, as a teenager, he was a few years older than Carwitham and his careful pen and ink drawings of body parts, copied from Bloemaert's drawing book *Artis Appellae* represent a later stage in his training, once he had mastered the basic skill of drawing accurately. It is interesting that in the copies of heads made on the latest date – 9 November 1716 – Winstanley has abandoned the pen and begun instead to draw in red chalk, perhaps signifying a new stage in his training that prioritised manner and tone over linear accuracy.⁵⁷ Almost no life drawings are known from Great Queen Street, but an academy nude by Bernard Lens [cat.12], dated 13 November 1716, is a precious exception. Lens was perhaps too old to adapt his style of drawing to conform to the highly muscular approach of Louis Chéron [cat.13], who taught at Great Queen Street and its successors in the early 1720s. The survival of many of Chéron's life drawings, now in the British Museum, may be considered an accident, for they were in a bound volume of drawings that James Stanley, 10th Earl of Derby bought in 1726 for its other contents, comprising a group of finished historical compositions. Even so, they show that Chéron imposed new standards of anatomical observation and make sense of Vertue's comment that Chéron was 'much imitated by the Young people.'⁵⁸ Although drawings are lacking, Chéron's influence is visible in the engraved work of students such as Gerard Vandergucht.

Although English artists saw their efforts to build an academy as rivalling France, we should not overlook other models, such as Venice where a state academy only began in the 1750s, before which the communal drawing facilities appear to have functioned in much the same way as in London. Although we are accustomed to thinking of the master-apprentice relationship as the main alternative to the academy, there were also large and well-equipped studios that blurred the distinctions between these categories. For example Edward Gouge, who succeeded to Closterman's large Covent Garden house in 1713, owned more than one hundred 'modells & Casts', 'an Academy Lamp [and] an Iron Grate', laymen, hundreds of prints and drawings, copies of canonical works made during his decade in Italy plus the large copies of the Raphael Cartoons that Cooke had made at Hampton Court in the late 1690s.⁵⁹ Thornhill also operated a small academy at his house a few doors away from Gouge, for which his one hundred and sixty two copies from the Raphael Cartoons, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, were also made.

Yet for most of this period the teaching of artists took place within individual masters' studios. Here, too, almost no drawings survive, but several sketchbooks filled

with red chalk portrait studies by Charles Beale junior between 1679 and 1681 are outstanding exceptions.⁶⁰ They have been called ‘unparalleled in English art of the seventeenth century’ but they are singular only in their survival, for every apprentice must have filled books such as these during the latter stages of his training in portraiture.⁶¹ In March 1677 Beale’s father sent him to learn limning under Thomas Flatman. At the same time bought ‘2 Paper books in quarto for my Sons to draw in’ [fig.8] and borrowed Italian drawings from the royal collection ‘for my Sonns to practice by.’⁶² Beale’s books, full of portraits of relations, studio assistants and copies of paintings hanging in the house, are a reminder not only that training tended to take place in the workshop of a relation where the household was adapted to the family’s business activities, but also that the learning was not a solitary process but took in the student’s environment. Beale’s studies are essays in the adaptation of the miniature painting techniques he learned under Flatman to the demands of larger scale portraiture. Beale’s usual method was to make a very rough outline sketch from the life, then to work this up away from the subject, which he did by building up the face with long red chalk hatchings that remain visible to the viewer, in a technique that is analogous to the long brush strokes with which Flatman modelled sitters’ faces his watercolour miniature portraits. In the portrait studies where Beale employed this technique, the face is modelled to emphasise the lightest points, such as the nose and points on the cheeks. At this scale, the effect is simplistic, yet would be appropriate in a small portrait miniature. By contrast, the few examples where Beale could complete his study from the life, such as when he drew a sitter who was asleep or when copying a painting, show his abilities as a draughtsman. He does not rely on the limning-like hatching technique but instead blends his chalks, obtains greater depth in shading and produces a more nuanced account of facial features.



Fig.8 · Charles Beale
A young man asleep in bed
 Red chalk heightened with pencil
 8 x 7½ inches · 202 x 181 mm
 © The Trustees of the British Museum

THE RISE OF THE SKETCH

In a cantankerous assessment of the state of painting in England circa 1750, Hogarth questioned the point of giving artists an academic training ‘if there never can be a demand for their works ... for who would for example give forty guineas to Mr. Jackson of a landscape were it ever fine if he can buy one equally good in the opinion of every connoisseur with the addition of a great masters name for half the money at an auction?’⁶³ So far, this essay has been concerned with the use and fate of preparatory drawings. However, the appreciation of continental art in England against which Hogarth was railing gave rise to a class of drawing as an end product which nevertheless aimed to capture the ‘spirit and force of art’ by preserving the unstudied aesthetic of preparatory sketches. This was a tradition of drawing in England that is often overlooked, but which is significant for its continuity throughout our period and into the later eighteenth century and beyond.

In one sense, the practice of drawing and the appreciation of drawings went hand in hand, for many painters followed the Earl of Arundel in collecting continental drawings, not only for the intellectual pleasure they provided or as art historical resources, but as storehouses of ideas and insights to inform their own work. In 1695 Richard Graham described how, because Lely did not have time to visit Italy, ‘he resolv’d at last, in an excellent and well chosen Collection of the Drawings, Prints, and Paintings, of the most celebrated Masters, to bring the Roman and Lombard Schools home to him. And what benefit he reap’d from this Expedient, was sufficiently apparent in that admirable Style of Painting, which he form’d to himself by dayly conversing with the Works of those great Men: In the correctness of his Drawing ...’⁶⁴ A year later, the portrait painter William Gandy justified collecting drawings in the same terms. He had been told ‘that Rome was the finest & best place to Study in, the Churches are so filled with all the Ma[s]ters & all Postures, If one lacked a Posture of a figure In what some ever Posture it is, he can but go to the Churches & he has it there / So you see the necessity for ease for a Painter to have a great variety of things or a good Collection.’⁶⁵

Lely’s successor as leading court portraitist John Riley also had a rich collection of Italian drawings and was at the head of a succession of artist collectors. Jonathan Richardson, his pupil and executor, organised the sale of Riley’s drawing after his master’s death and himself formed one of the most celebrated collections of drawings. Richardson’s son-in-law and pupil Thomas Hudson, and Hudson’s own pupil Sir Joshua Reynolds, also amassed notable collections of drawings. Painters doubtless borrowed poses from their drawings from time to time, and used them as exemplary works for pupils to copy, and they also served as art historical tools. George Turnbull’s *Treatise on Ancient Painting* (1740) recommended them for this purpose: ‘it is only by a Collection of Drawings and Pictures ranged historically, (as in a Cabinet in London I have often visited with pleasure (Mr. Richardson’s); so that one may there see all the different Schools, and go from one to another, tracing the Progress of each, and of every Master in each.’⁶⁶

Later in the seventeenth century, print publishers such as Alexander Browne were concerned chiefly with mezzotints of old master paintings, but early in the eighteenth century printers began to publish drawings too, reflecting a surge of interest. For the late seventeenth-century London market for foreign drawings had been stimulated by the sales of Lely’s collection in 1688 and 1694, and very significant importations of drawings from Italy took place early in the new century, such as the collection of Padre Sebastiano Resta by John, Baron Somers and Claude Lorraine’s *Liber Veritatis* by William Cavendish,

2nd Duke of Devonshire. According to the diaries of cultured French visitors of the 1720s, cabinets of drawings were among London's greatest treasures.⁶⁷

In the early 1720s Elisha Kirkall was selling a dozen 'prints in chiaro oscuro, from the original drawings of the best masters', which then meant sixteenth-century Italian masters [fig.9].⁶⁸ In a sign of London's international relevance as a market for old master drawings, lengthy subscription proposals appeared in the English press in 1729 for the *Recueil Crozat*, a lavish reproduction of the great French collection.⁶⁹ In 1735 Arthur Pond and Charles Knapton were advertising prints from drawings by famous Italian painters, which 'will imitate the manner of the several drawings, and the Pen, Washings and Heightenings will be express'd by Copper and Wood Plates, in the same Colour with the Originals.'⁷⁰ The need to reproduce the visual character of drawings stimulated innovations in printmaking and indicates that drawings were not seen merely as vehicles for design ideas but valued as objects in their own right and with distinctive characteristics and aesthetic qualities that it was necessary to preserve in print. The presence in England of great art collections was considered a public good, and owners' names were engraved prominently below the image: collectors of drawings were doing their bit, in other words, to encourage English painting. Collecting drawings was both an expression of connoisseurial expertise and a publicly-minded investment in a common learning resource.

Drawings and reproductions of drawings had a profound impact on the taste for seventeenth century Italianate landscape. Among the prints that Pond and Knapton sold in the mid 1730s were landscape drawings by Claude, Guercino and Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, and these were followed in 1741–8 with a major series of etchings after landscapes by Gaspar Poussin and Claude from paintings in English collections.⁷¹ The publication of drawings reached its eighteenth century high point with the *Liber Veritatis* (1774–7), two hundred aquatints by Richard Earlom after Claude Lorraine's designs. The clear pen outline of such prints made them suitable for use as teaching aids and they were widely copied by amateur draughtsmen in the later eighteenth century. Joseph Goupy was also well known as a copyist of landscapes by Salvator Rosa, which he made in both watercolour and as etchings [cat.40].

More broadly, *disegno* and the recognition of the sketch aesthetic through collectors and printed reproductions freed artists to reconceptualise the landscape genre for amateur consumption from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. The drawing master Alexander Cozens was at the forefront of theorising about landscape sketches. Characterising his work as an improvement on an idea from Leonardo da Vinci, Cozens's first drawing manual in 1759 invited students to work up landscapes arising from accidental shapes of ink 'blots' drawn quickly with a brush. Through his popular travel books, the Rev William Gilpin whose own artistic education was limited to copying prints and drawings, became a spokesman for late eighteenth century amateur landscape sketchers. His theory of the picturesque contrasted smoothness, beauty and finish with roughness and informality. The painter, wrote Gilpin, often produces 'with a few bold strokes, such wonderful effusions of genius, as the more sober, and correct productions of his pencil cannot equal.'⁷² Gilpin's theory was straightforwardly adopted from ideas first introduced by William Aglionby in his 1686 translation of Vasari, who advised that pictures should not be too highly finished: 'an over Diligence ... may come to make the Picture look like a Picture, and loose the freedom of Nature ... [it is better to] preserve the Natural. This the Italians call, Working A la pittoresk, that is Boldly, and according to the first Incitation of a Painters Genius.'⁷³ Popularising guidance and the communication of



Fig.9 · Elisha Kirkall, after Ciro Ferri
The hunt of the Calydonian Boar, 1723
Woodcut, mezzotint and etching
8¼ × 14½ inches · 288 × 370mm
© The British Museum



Fig.10 · John Vanderbank
The Holy Family
Signed and dated 1727
Red chalk
11¾ × 14¼ inches · 300 × 365 mm
© The Trustees of the British Museum

Claudian composition by Pond and Earlom gave amateur artists the means to achieve results quickly that did not require laborious technical training but which were nevertheless informed by academic debate. The idea that an artist's first sketches contained the essence of his creative idea was also hugely influential in the genre of landscape watercolours from the end of the eighteenth century onwards. Alongside the market for highly finished watercolour paintings championed by the Society of Painters in Water Colours, artists like Girtin, Turner, David Cox and De Wint exploited a taste for sketch-like drawings by producing studio works whose appearance of immediacy and looseness impersonated on-the-spot studies.⁷⁴

RIVALLING THE OLD MASTERS

By the early eighteenth century, the old master sketch aesthetic had seeped into the way that professional artists drew. From the 1740s onwards, the sculptor Michael Rysbrack began to draw historical compositions in a style that consciously mimicked seventeenth-century Italian drawings, and contemporaries collected and mounted them as such [cat.28]. One of his clients was Charles Rogers, to whom he gave a sketch that Rogers later published in his *A Collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings* (1778). Rogers explained that Rysbrack made these drawings at his leisure and 'in an admirable taste; these are generally of his own invention, designed with a smart pen, washed with bistre, and heightened with white. This Amusement he continued to the last days of his life.'⁷⁵

It was important to Rogers that Rysbrack drew for leisure, rather than for the market, as his drawings could then be seen as the disinterested outpourings of a scholarly mind. Many of Thornhill's sketches were produced in similar circumstances, following his enforced retirement in the early 1720s. Fewer than one quarter of Thornhill's surviving drawings can be linked with any of his decorative painting commissions and many of the unidentified compositions are likely to have been exercises in drawing undertaken at leisure. As his earliest biographer put it, Thornhill 'designed a great deal from practice, with great facility of pencil.'⁷⁶ Other elders of the early eighteenth-century art trade took to drawing in their retirement, often informed by their large collections of drawings. Drawing had played little part in the portrait practice of Jonathan Richardson

senior, who as the owner of a famous collection of drawings was the largest contributor to Pond and Knapton's publishing scheme.⁷⁷ But as he neared retirement, from 1728 he began drawing himself, his friends and relations, often in guises informed by his famous collection and mounted in the same way [cat.19]; in old age Richardson was reflecting on his life, and copied portraits of himself at different ages and guises.⁷⁸ In one self-portrait now at the British Museum, Richardson has emulated a supposed self-portrait by Gian Lorenzo Bernini that was then in his collection.⁷⁹ Like Richardson, the goldsmith James Seamer had one of the greatest collections of prints and drawings of his day, which was especially rich in the prints of Van Dyck; when it was auctioned in 1737, 'from his application for about 50 years in the collecting, its believed it will be the best that has been sold since the late Lord Somers's.'⁸⁰ Seamer made private drawings of family and friends as exercises in draughtsmanship [cats 20 and 21]. Vertue noted his 'sketches of heads with the pen Loosely done good Expression ... in the manner of Inigo Jones.'⁸¹

Virtuoso penmanship is also evident in pen and ink studies by John Vanderbank, often informed by – as well as copied from – the model of Van Dyck [cat.27]. Vanderbank seemed to adopt the techniques of old master drawings, for as well as Van Dyckian studies in pen and ink, in the British Museum are Vanderbank's *Satyr gazing at Venus and Cupid* which has the white bodycolour hatchings of a northern mannerist drawing and a Maratti-inspired *Holy Family* in red chalk [fig.10].⁸² Our knowledge of Vanderbank's drawings is greatly enhanced by the 1729 sale catalogue of a picture dealer William Sykes, which contains more than three hundred of his drawings, many of them 'Historical Drawings with a Pen.' Its many priced lots make it the most extensive list of a living artist's drawings in our period. Given Vanderbank's serious indebtedness in the latter 1720s following his apparent flight to France in 1724, it is likely that the catalogue contains a significant part of Vanderbank's production, if not the entirety of his drawn studio contents at that point which he probably sold to Sykes in distress, for Vanderbank's debts reached a crisis point shortly after the sale.⁸³ The catalogue implies that Vanderbank studied in Rome, for among the drawings were four called *The Laaon from the Life*. This puts his situation besides Chéron as one of the leaders of the St Martin's Lane Academy of 1720 into a new context, as someone who could himself teach directly about Roman precepts of drawing from recent experience. The 1729 sale included sixty-two *Accademy Figures* which fetched sometimes more than 3s each, in testament to Vanderbank's prestige as a teacher. It is notable that very few of the drawings can have been used within Vanderbank's practice as a portrait painter; rather, the market lay chiefly in the production of history drawings. In fact, the catalogue shows that drawings by contemporary English artists that emulated the subjects, styles and techniques of the great continental masters could fetch prices comparable with those masters. Among several Milton subjects, *Adam and Eve drove out of Paradise, from Milton* was sold to Christian Friedrich Zinke for £2.6s; *The Art of Painting guided by Minerva* fetched £3.7s.6d; and the highest price was £4.5s for *The Holy Family in red Chalk, highly finish'd* (perhaps to be identified with the British Museum *Holy Family*). For comparison, this price would have put it among the thirty most expensive drawings sold in the 1747 Richardson sale of old master drawings.

That the market for drawings such as these was among collectors of European master drawings is apparent from their presence within several landmark collections, such as the foundational bequest made to the British Museum in 1769 by William Fawkener. As a collector of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian drawings, Fawkener gave very

few English works, but among these were several by Vanderbank, including the *Satyr gazing at Venus and Cupid*, a *Lamentation* and a *Holy Family*; Rysbrack's figure of *St Joseph*; two historical compositions by Chéron, and two pen and ink horse studies by James Seymour, after Van Dyck and Antonio Tempesta.⁸⁴ When John Barnard's great collection of drawings was auctioned in 1787, the English sheets included two Rysbracks, *Intombing our Saviour* and *The Finding of Moses*, and *Our Saviour Attended* by Vanderbank.⁸⁵ Prince Albert Casimir of Saxony, founder of the Albertina in Vienna, owned *The Archangel Michael defeating Lucifer* by Vanderbank and four of Thornhill's decorative painting designs, two of which had also been in the Crozat collection.

Indeed, perhaps the only moment when saleroom fervour again reached a level comparable with the bidding for Lely's drawing in 1688 came in competition for early eighteenth-century English drawings by one of Vanderbank's close colleagues. At the very end of Louis Chéron's posthumous sale in 1726, 'a Book containing 74 Drawings from Ovid, finely finished by Mr. Cheron' fetched 265 guineas. Though this was partly the result of a mistake between the two bidders who, unknown to each other, were both secretly acting for the same buyer, the bidding had already reached 205 guineas before they began against each other, and the successful bidder had in any case anticipated bidding up to the equivalent of 10 guineas per finished drawing. As so few prices of English drawings are known, it may be rash to consider these exceptional; yet if they are not, it serves only to underline that very good prices could be obtained for English draughtsmanship. It is surely no co-incidence that Vanderbank and Chéron, the two leading artists of the earliest St Martin's Lane Academy whose success among the younger generation of painters Vertue noted, could command such prices.⁸⁶

Furthermore, the inclusion of later eighteenth-century English drawings in collections of European masters is an important reminder of the continuing vitality of this tradition of draughtsmanship, and of its acceptance within the broader European canon, in the era of the English watercolour. Some of these drawings were preparatory studies, others are sketches produced for an art market shaped by the conventions of old master drawing. Many early graphite landscapes by Thomas Gainsborough and pen and wash compositions by John Hamilton Mortimer were part of the huge collection of old master drawings that Richard Payne Knight bequeathed to the British Museum in 1824, where they joined historical studies by Giovanni Battista Cipriani bequeathed by Rev Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode. The scholar of Elizabethan literature Rev Alexander Dyce bequeathed his large collection of Italian and Dutch drawings to the Victoria and Albert Museum which also featured drawings in pen and wash, graphite or chalk by many English artists working in the *disegno* tradition.⁸⁷

These were among the earliest – and almost incidental – acquisitions of early English drawings by museums of art. The following essay describes the more deliberate accumulations of early drawings by the major museum collections over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when, however, the urge to marginalise them within the dominant art historical narrative and instead consider their antiquarian value alone went largely unchallenged. As the checklist of eleven thousand drawings and watercolours which is destined for publication on *The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735* website demonstrates, museums possess ample materials for the study of drawing in England before the mid-eighteenth century. May the present catalogue also serve to highlight the flourishing culture of drawing in England long before the era of annual exhibitions, and play its part in furthering its reassessment and appreciation.



Cat.30a · Michel Van Overbeek
*A View of Westminster Showing
Westminster Abbey, Westminster
Hall and St Margaret's Church from
St James's Park* (detail), one of *Four
London Views*, drawn c.1663

A Lost Art? *Collecting Early British Drawings & their Critical Fate*

RICHARD STEPHENS AND JONNY YARKER

Asking whether early British drawings constitute in some form a lost art, is more than a provocation, it is an acknowledgment of the chequered fortunes of much of the material discussed in this catalogue. The history of collecting early British drawings offers important evidence for both the shifting status of British art before the middle of the eighteenth century and the emerging histories of British art. This short essay continues the narrative begun by Richard Stephens in his essay in this catalogue, looking at the ways drawings entered public collections in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This essay argues that this collecting history continues to inform the way we think about drawing in the period.

ANTIQUARIANISM AND THE MARKET FORCES OF EXTRA-ILLUSTRATION

Many of the early drawings that now form the core of public collections were initially valued not for their intrinsic aesthetic qualities. They conformed instead to the complex subject-led values associated with the collecting of antiquarians and the late eighteenth-century vogue for extra-illustration. From the beginning of the eighteenth century collectors interested in the history of Britain amassed antiquarian libraries that were also rich in earlier prints and drawings. From such interests emerged a culture of collecting comprehensive sets of printed portrait heads of historical figures, often mounted into specially-expanded copies of standard works, such as the Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* and Bishop Burnet's *History of my own Time*. As well as portraits, collectors might also illustrate these with images of historic objects, buildings, landscapes and ceremonies. As collecting became more popular, the supply of drawings more scarce and the leading collectors more ambitious, the categories of drawing deemed suitable for such collections expanded: collectors would include drawings 'if remotely relevant to the text' of the books they were extra-illustrating.¹ Collectors such as these preserved many early English drawings, which had a documentary value for the information they contained about past habits and appearances.

Extra-illustration became a fashionable pursuit in the later eighteenth century, but its roots were earlier. The first surviving extra-illustrated Clarendon is the 1707 edition now in the Royal Library, Windsor. It was made for Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, by the printseller and art dealer John Bulfinch who enhanced it with 336 prints and 141 drawings.² Horace Walpole estimated that by 1770 there were seventy 'collectors of English heads', a number that had expanded following the publication the year before of James Granger's *Biographical History of England*, which became the preferred vehicle for extra-illustrators.³ The pre-eminent collector of this generation was Walpole's friend Richard Bull M.P.⁴ The Huntington Library possesses many early English drawings from Bull's vast thirty-five-volume copy of Granger and other titles

he extra-illustrated. The extent of Bull's drawings is evident from the many purchases made by the British Museum from his descendants in 1881. These included drawings by or attributed to Pieter Angellis, Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, Edward Byng, Lord Byron, John Devoto, Abraham van Diepenbeeck, Grinling Gibbons, James Gibbs, Richard Gibson, Nicholas Hawksmoor, Marcellus Laroon jnr, Sir Peter Lely, Bernard Lens, Edward Luttrell, Sir John Baptist Medina, Edward Pierce, Jonathan Richardson, James Seymour, William Talman, Sir James Thornhill, Peter Tillemans and Sir Christopher Wren. Also in the 1880s, Charles Fairfax Murray acquired Bull's album of ninety-six 'Original Portraits. Drawn by Robert White, Sir James Thornhill, George Vertue &c.' which contained an astonishing survey of portrait drawing made before 1750. The volume, like much of Fairfax Murray's collection is now in the Morgan Library & Museum.⁵

Not surprisingly, the new appeal of early drawings increased their value, as well as the prints that were the main focus of extra-illustrators' attentions.⁶ Bull recounted that he had bought a group of portrait drawings by John Bulfinch 'from the late Lord Oxford's cabinet, and paid a shilling a piece for them, since which, I have got several others, for which I paid a Guinea, and 2 Guineas a piece.'⁷ There is contemporary evidence to suggest that this was not an exaggeration. One of the main print sellers who served the market for engraved heads was John Thane of Gerard Street, Soho. His extensive catalogue of prints for 1773 provides an indication of both the cost and the relatively sparse availability of early drawings – some half a dozen among more than three thousand prints: 'The famous Jack Sheppard, an undoubted original, by Vanderbanck', £1.11s.6d; a portrait by Robert White, 5s; a self-portrait by Richardson jnr, 3s.6d; a Midlands watercolour by Tillemans, £1.11s.6d; and an antiquarian pen drawing by Vertue at 7s.6d.⁸ These prices were equivalent to the top end of engraved portraits (which could be bought for a shilling, but most of which were 3s-5s). The collector who acquired the Richardson self-portrait in Thane's 1773 catalogue was not acquiring it principally on aesthetic grounds, it appealed instead as a 'head' of a notable figure. This is true even of drawings as beautiful as the nine sheets by Lely from his series of Order of the Garter drawings in the British Museum which have a Thane provenance.

The fashion for extra-illustration created financial incentives to strip engravings from books and was condemned for the damage it caused to many seventeenth-century publications. Similarly, as much as antiquarian collectors prized early drawings, in splitting-up sketchbooks and albums in order to sell or mount sheets individually, and doubtless discarding the less highly worked sheets altogether, dealers and collectors would not only inflict physical damage but change drawings' fundamental settings or contexts. At the sale of the 2nd Earl of Oxford's collection in March 1742, the auctioneer signalled his willingness that four volumes of Bernard Lens landscapes could: 'be put up together or separate.'⁹ James West owned a volume of two hundred portrait studies by Robert White, which Richard Bull acquired at his sale in 1773. As Cracherode later owned nine of these, now in the British Museum, the collection must have been broken up and dispersed, being surplus to Bull's requirements.

Conversely it is surely no co-incidence that those albums and sketchbooks from the period which remain intact were either safely lodged in aristocratic libraries – such as the Chéron drawings at Knowsley Hall or the Thornhill sketchbook owned by the Earls of Portalington between 1779 and 1884 – or were in family collections remote from the London art trade. Notable survivals are the sketchbooks formed by Edward Byng in the

studio of Godfrey Kneller, which he took into retirement in Wiltshire and the collection of drawings by Francis Place that remained with his family at Hospitalfield in Arbroath until 1931. It is safe to assume that many independent sheets that survive today were originally or formerly kept within a bound volume.

AN EMERGING PRE-HISTORY OF ART AND THE RISE OF THE MUSEUM

Although extra-illustration was chiefly organised around acquiring knowledge of the biographies of great men, the collection of prints and drawings also reflected a broadening of interest in England's art history. Collectors who amassed tens of thousands of prints became hugely knowledgeable about print history, sought rare states and impressions, and could access specialist guidebooks of engraving.¹⁰ A collector like Richard Bull, who owned hundreds of early drawings, must also have become very familiar with the techniques of drawing and the oeuvres of individual artists. Furthermore, the publication in 1763 of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* provided an organising principle for extra-illustrators to build a collection around the history of painters. Bull's fourteen-volume copy of Walpole was broken up in 1881 and at the Huntington are many portrait drawings by George Vertue that were bound into an 1826 edition Copies of Edward Edwards's continuation of Walpole's work, *Anecdotes of Painters* (1808) and Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (1816) were also printed on large paper for extra-illustration.

But there was a disconnection between Walpole's narrative of the development of British art and the efforts of contemporary artists to nurture an 'English school' of painting based around the new Royal Academy. To a large extent, the extra-illustrators were removed from the academic discourse about art. They were not feted at Royal Academy dinners, nor did they bequeath their collections to its library. In a sense, they were concerned with what, to late eighteenth-century painters, was a pre-history of art. Until the foundation of the Royal Academy, the dominant narrative in the history of art in England looked backwards to the brief period of collecting and patronage under Charles I; the intervening period was characterised in 1787 as merely 'some little glimmerings or struggles.'¹¹ Thus 1768, when painters finally achieved their dream of a state-backed academy, was a year zero. In the era of the Royal Academy, the British School of painting was a school of contemporary artists in its infancy; a new beginning for British art, rather than the culmination of an evolutionary process. As Reynolds announced in his very first Discourse: 'we have nothing to unlearn.'

A result of this disdain was the somewhat haphazard acquisition of British drawings by museums. The first drawings to enter most institutional collections did so through the gift of antiquarian collections or extra-illustrated editions. In Oxford, the university received a bequest from Richard Rawlinson: 'all and singular my prints and drawings of Englishmen, and views of places drawn by Mr Vertue and others, which I had heretofore intended to have given to the antiquary society.'¹² These were joined by large gifts from the prominent antiquarian Richard Gough who served as director of the Society of Antiquaries from 1771 to 1791 and Francis Douce, whose drawings included works by Francis Barlow, Charles Beale, Boitard, Francis Cleyn snr, Diepenbeck, Gravelot, William Taverner and Vanderbank. But Oxford's largest gift of early drawings came from Alexander Sutherland and his wife Charlotte Sutherland who between 1795 and 1839 compiled 219 extra-illustrated volumes containing 17,750 prints and 1460 drawings: 'one of the most extensive and splendid series of portraits and views illustrating English

history which has ever been got together.’¹³ While the early English drawings among these were only about one in ten of the total, they now comprise about half of the holdings at the Ashmolean and include drawings by artists such as Bernard Baron, the Buck brothers, Bulfinch, Hollar, Overbeek, Lely, Richardson Snr, Richard Tompson and Jan Wyck.

The British Museum’s collection of near three thousand sheets ‘so far surpasses all others ... that it is in a class entirely of itself.’¹⁴ Until the 1850s, a majority of its early English drawings were those that came with the Cracherode bequest (1799); Fawkenor (1769), Crowle (1811) and Payne Knight (1824) were the other main contributors. Cracherode’s was a typically antiquarian group with sheets by Van Dyck, Hollar and attributed to Isaac Oliver, but chiefly comprising portrait drawings by Charles Beale, George White, Jonathan Richardson senior and Vertue. Among his very few later English works were historical studies by Cipriani executed in a self-consciously old master drawing style, and antiquarian record drawings by Sylvester Harding. The museum’s collection was chiefly created during the later nineteenth century, when the print room acquired ten times more than in the preceding fifty years, and four times more than it would in the first half of the twentieth century. Acquisition highlights included Francis Place drawings in 1850; Thornhill drawings from the Townley collection in 1865; Francis Barlow’s studies for *Aesop’s Fables* in 1867; Hugh Howard’s collection of prints and drawings in 1874; purchases at the Richard Bull sale in 1881; the Thornhill sketchbook in 1884; and the Edward Byng album and sketchbooks in 1897. The only decade when acquisitions again exceeded one hundred items was the 1950s, with the arrival of Louis Chéron drawings from Knowsley in 1953 and an album of playing card designs by Francis Barlow the following year.

The Victoria and Albert Museum, by contrast, made only a trickle of acquisitions in its first decades, until it purchased forty-three sketches by Thornhill in 1891 to which were later added in 1912 his one hundred and sixty-two copies from the Raphael Cartoons. Many acquisitions supported the museum’s curatorial focus on watercolours and on design. It justified its collection of portrait miniatures partly because they represented an earlier tradition of painting in watercolour, and the museum also acquired drawings by limners such as a sketchbook by Charles Beale in 1919 and studies of head dresses by Bernard Lens III in 1926. Large purchases of Francis Place sketches in 1931 also served as prototypes for the landscape watercolour. As a centre of design, the museum acquired substantial groups of drawings by sculptors and architects, such as by James Gibbs, 1913; Rysbrack, 1946; William Kent, 1928 and 1986; plus designs for Castle Howard, 1951; and the ‘Vanbrugh Album’, 1992. These holdings have been enhanced by the arrival of the RIBA drawings collection in 2004. As John Pope Hennessy explained, collecting classically-inspired designs in the High Victorian era had its advantages: ‘The almost total disregard for late 17th and 18th century sculpture until after the Second World War, was a legacy of 19th century antiquarianism which devoted itself to praising the virtues of gothic art... This rejection is reflected in the amazingly low prices paid during the 19th century for unidentified and usually anonymous designs for sculpture.’¹⁵

The place of early English drawings within museum collections has changed, as assessment of them as chiefly visual evidence for the appearance of historical personalities, landmarks and social habits has partially given way to an appreciation of both their aesthetic value and also their role in the history of art in England. The largest single addition to the print room of the British Museum came in 1886, when hundreds

of Sir Hans Sloane’s natural history drawings were transferred from the museum’s manuscripts section. Many drawings that were once part of the Bodleian Library have since been moved to the Ashmolean Museum, in recognition that they were not merely documentary objects but were better understood within a museum setting. The Douce drawings came as early as 1863, and James Gibbs’s drawings were transferred in 1942. Similar re-evaluations took place as a result of the separation of the British Library from the British Museum in 1973, and a self-portrait by Jonathan Richardson senior was transferred as recently as 1989.¹⁶ Work to find new frameworks for exploring the vast holdings of drawings at the British Library continues; for instance, George III’s collection of topographical prints and drawings, arranged by country, county and then alphabetically by town, ‘has continued until very recently to be seen as little more than a visual record of those places ... [and] has only been explored since 2013.’ They were overlooked because of academic priorities for art privileged generalised landscape images over ‘tinted drawings’ that depicted particular places.¹⁷ This was a common response, even in the twentieth century. To Paul Oppé, for instance, even if Jacob Esselens’s study of Dover ‘meant more to Esselens than the unfamiliar feature of high cliffs composed of chalk which he mentions in his inscription, but his drawing, like the view of Greenwich by the humble Overbeek, is merely interesting to us as an early representation of a much changed scene.’¹⁸

‘THE URBAN FIELD SPORT OF COLLECTING’¹⁹

The early- to mid-twentieth century is known as a golden age for collections of English watercolours, formed under the influence of a new generation of scholarship by Laurence Binyon, Iolo Williams, Martin Hardie and others. These scholars focused attention away from highly finished nineteenth-century paintings in watercolour that were most prized in the Victorian era, and onto the tinted drawings and watercolours of the later eighteenth century. Important collections of watercolours were created at Leeds City Art Gallery, the Whitworth Gallery in Manchester and elsewhere which followed this new interest. Yet as much as these early twentieth-century scholars addressed the biases of earlier generations, and in doing so opened up the later eighteenth-century for exploration, they did not convincingly incorporate earlier drawings into their new narrative. This was largely due to their overwhelming focus on the genre of landscape.

The timing of the 1931 Patrick Allan Fraser sale, comprising a large collection of drawings and prints by and owned by Francis Place, was very opportune in this respect, in revealing an English late seventeenth-century landscape sketcher using a pen and wash technique, which could be seen as a forerunner of the later school of landscapists. Thus twentieth-century histories of watercolour have included an initial section charting the genealogy of the medium and genre from Hollar or Place via Tillemans and Taverner until the story reaches the more solid ground of the mid-1700s inhabited by what Iolo Williams termed, in the title of the third chapter of his *Early English Watercolours* (1952), ‘The First Great Men.’

The immediate post-war period was characterised by the emergence of a group of closely linked collectors who valued early British drawings precisely for the context they gave to later works. It was this group of collectors who gave energy to a limit market for earlier drawings, formed an appreciative audience for scholarship and lent widely to exhibitions. Men such as Sir Bruce Ingram, Paul Oppé, Walter Brandt, Randall Davies,

Sir Robert Witt, Gilbert Davis, Brinsley Ford and Leonard Duke created a world of sociability and fellowship founded on a shared passion and interest in early British material. The sociability of this world should not be underestimated. Duke described the pursuit of drawings as ‘the urban field sport of collecting’ and he saw himself in friendly rivalry with other male collectors. It was a period of activity which saw the publication of a series of transformative texts: Iolo Williams’s *Early English Watercolours* (1952), Edward Croft-Murray’s magisterial *Catalogue of British Drawings: XVI & XVII Centuries* in the British Museum (1960), Robert Wark’s *Early British Drawings in the Huntington Collection 1600–1750* (1969) and Martin Hardie’s *Water-Colour Painting in Britain* (1966) which contained a sustained discussion of the medium in the century and a half before the foundation of the Royal Academy.

Paul Mellon’s seismic entry into the market and his patronage of scholarship through the establishment of the Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art resulted in the professionalisation of this amateur world. Mellon’s advent, in a sense, also presaged a decline. The collections formed in the middle of the century were largely dispersed, several sold *en bloc* to institutions. The Huntington acquired 2,000 drawings from the collection of Gilbert Davis in 1959 and a further 400 from Sir Bruce Ingram in 1963; Mellon himself acquired 806 drawings from Leonard Duke in 1961. Collector-scholars such as Williams, Croft-Murray and Dudley Snelgrove, (who prepared Martin Hardie’s text for publication, sponsored by Mellon) were the last to be actively involved in the ‘urban field sport of collecting.’

But whilst active collectors have been rare over the last forty years, scholarship has continued, in no small part thanks to Mellon’s remarkable legacy. This catalogue is timely, as both the National Portrait Gallery and Victoria and Albert Museum are planning major exhibitions examining aspects of sixteenth and seventeenth-century British drawing. We hope it offers an opportunity for a new generation of collectors to consider these works.

THE SPIRIT & FORCE OF ART

Drawing in Britain
1600–1750



I

Towards an English School

In 1706 the poet and writer Bainbrigg Buckeridge published a compilation of artists' biographies appended to an English edition of Roger de Piles's *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters*. Buckeridge called his 99 biographies of artists who had worked in Britain: *An Essay towards an English School*. The publication was one of a number that appeared at the beginning of the eighteenth century signalling a growing consciousness, and pride, in the traditions of English painting. Most of the drawings included in this section are by artists described by Buckeridge, they therefore reflect a sense of what late seventeenth-century collectors and writers understood as British art.

The drawings represent the breadth of artistic influence at work in seventeenth-century Britain. Collecting at the court of Charles I saw the arrival of volumes of Italian drawings and both the sheets included here by Inigo Jones and Peter Oliver reflect, in their use of pen, Italian draughtsmanship. A drawing by Rubens's pupil Abraham van Diepenbeek, who spent time in Britain, shows the Flemish influence, an influence most profoundly transmitted by the work of Anthony van Dyck. Ultimately it was European trained artists such as Van Dyck and Peter Lely who had the most profound impact on the development of British art. But there were elements of indigenous practice which flourished. The Frenchman Isaac Oliver, in his miniature masterpiece *The Annunciation of the Shepherds*, shows awareness of European mannerism whilst simultaneously demonstrating the evolution of a tradition of limning learnt from Nicholas Hilliard.

ATTRIBUTED TO HENRY PEACHAM 1578–1644

Landscape with Harvesters Returning Home

Pen and brown ink

6¼ × 6⅞ inches · 158 × 157 mm

Drawn c.1600

COLLECTIONS

Herbert Horne (1864–1916);

Sir Edward Howard Marsh (1872–1953);

Leonard Gordon Duke, (1890–1971);

Duke sale, Sotheby's, London, 24 June 1971, lot 57, bt. H. Schwab;

Bernadette and William M.B. Berger, Denver, Colorado

LITERATURE

Timothy J Standring et al, *600 Years of British Painting: The Berger Collection*, exh. cat. Denver (Denver Art Museum), 1998, pp.62–3.

EXHIBITION

Denver Art Museum, 10 October 1998 to 28 March 1999.

This extremely rare drawing of English rural life was made around the turn of the seventeenth century and has a traditional and credible attribution to Henry Peacham, who was perhaps the earliest published author to encourage the introduction of continental drawing practices to England.

This harvesting scene was probably conceived as part of a series of illustrations of the seasons or months of the year. The horse-drawn cart shows sheafs bundled in a manner similar to *August* in plate 8 of a series of the twelve months by Adriaen Collaert after Hans Bol of c.1580.¹ Peacham observes the same pictorial conventions, showing labourers in the distant field cutting and gathering the corn; then being loaded for transport; finally, with the work over, the carefree peasants are able to go home, with what looks like a tankard on the ground alluding to post-harvest merriment. The entire day's work is captured in this single scene, which the viewer reads as a temporal sequence, from the more distant areas to the foreground.

While a student of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the 1590s, Peacham made a drawing of a scene from *Titus Andronicus*, now in the library at Longleat, which is commonly accepted as the only contemporary illustration of a Shakespeare play. Peacham gained his MA in 1598 and appears to have visited Modena not long after. In 1603 he presented several emblem drawings to James I, and composed three emblem books dedicated to the King and Prince Henry, whose contents form the knowledge of his drawing style on which the attribution of our drawing is based.² Although, as he himself recounted in his most famous work of courtesy literature, *The Complete Gentleman* (1622), Peacham was beaten by his school masters for attempting to draw as a boy, his travels on the continent in the 1610s made him a great advocate for the role of drawing in a princely education. Peacham's own draughtsmanship, though, was not informed by the Italian imports of Charles's reign, remaining influenced by sixteenth-century Dutch and Flemish models. Peacham drew as a private accomplishment: 'I have (it is true) bestowed many idle hours in it ... yet in my judgement I was never so wedded unto it, as to hold it any part of my profession, but rather allotted it the place of an accomplishment required in a Scholar or Gentleman.'³



ISAAC OLIVER c.1565–1617

The Annunciation to the Shepherds

Watercolour on card

5 inches · 127 mm, diameter

Signed with the artist's monogram lower left: *IO*, extensively inscribed on two labels attached to the frame (*verso*): *Sir George Hungerford, who married Frances Second Daughter / of Charles Lord Seymour, was Mr Keate's Great Grandfather: / vide Keate's Works vol 1 page 169 in the Note / about: No. 1665 / This Picture done by Isaac Oliver formerly belongte [sic] / to my dear Mr Keate's ancestors and when shown by / him to Mr Horace Walpole the Late Earl of Orford, was / told by him that he did not recollect to have ever seen an / Historical Picture of this great Master before, tho' he had Seen and had many himself of his doing but all / either Single Portraits, or Conversation pieces – and / added that if he should print another Edition of the / Lives of the Painters, he should be obliged to Mr Keate / if he would permit him to give a description of it. / The above was written by Mrs Keate, whose Husband was / related to the Hungerfords of whose Family / this Picture had been preserv'd for many years / 16th June 1800. M. Fonnereau, Exr. of Mr & Mrs Keate*

COLLECTIONS

Sir George Hungerford (1637–1712);

George Keate (1729–1797) by family descent;

Martyn Fonnereau (1740–1817), executor of the above, by descent;

Mrs George Hibbert, Munden, Hertfordshire, niece of the above, by descent ;

Hon. Henry-Holland Hibbert, Munden, by descent;

Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London;

Ian Craft;

Craft sale, Sotheby's, London, 14 July 2010, lot 37;

Private collection to 2017

This watercolour is a significant addition to Isaac Oliver's oeuvre which adds to our knowledge of watercolour painting at the start of the seventeenth century, and to the reception in England of continental models of art prior to the accession of Charles I. Oliver learned the art of painting miniature portraits in watercolours from its leading Elizabethan exponent, the Exeter-born Nicholas Hilliard and, through his more naturalistic and vibrant portrait style from the late 1580s, rivalled the more conservative Hilliard before eclipsing him after the old Queen's death. He achieved an international reputation during his own lifetime, reflected in his inclusion as the only English painter in the who's who of northern European artists, Hendrick Hondius's *Pictorum* (1610). Edward Norgate boasted that 'the English as they are incomparably the best Lymners in Europe, soe is their way more excellent, and Masterlike, Painting upon a solid and substanciall body of Colour much more worthy Imitation then the other slight and washing way.'⁴

Yet for all the extraordinary qualities of his portrait limnings, Oliver's innovation was to establish in England the genre of the history limning – better known as the cabinet miniature – by adapting portrait miniatures to the more intellectual demands of biblical and classical subjects. Always outward looking, Oliver may have known the work of the limner Giulio Clovio and on his visit to Venice in 1596 probably encountered the examples of Hans Rottenhammer, Adam Elsheimer and Paul Brill, who made small cabinet paintings in oil on copper. Even so, to contemporaries in London for whom limning was England's chief claim to artistic excellence,



Fig.2.1 | Isaac Oliver, *The Resurrection*
Pen, black ink and gray wash heightened with white
16¾ × 15½ inches · 426 × 395 mm
National Galleries of Scotland.



Fig.2.2 | Aegidius Sadeler,
after Jacopo Bassano, *Annunciation to the
Shepherds*, 1593
Engraving · 10¾ × 8¾ inches · 270 × 218 mm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig.2.3 | Jan Saenredam,
after Abraham Bloemaert, *Annunciation to
the Shepherds*, 1599
Engraving · 21¾ × 15¾ inches · 550 × 396 mm
© The Trustees of the British Museum



the cabinet miniature was a distinctive national contribution. Oliver's cabinet miniatures are exceptionally rare – the present watercolour is only the third example to emerge – and it is likely that, within the demands of a busy portrait practice, his opportunities to work on them were limited. As Norgate observed, they were the products of 'more study of designe, more varietie of Colouring, more Art, and invention, and more patience and dilligence, than in any Picture by the Life.'⁵ Norgate mentioned two examples, both of which can be identified today: 'a Madonna of Mr Isaac Oliviers Lymning [which] cost him two yeares as he him self told me.' and an *Entombment*, now at the Musée des Beaux – Arts, Angers, which he began in the year before his death and was completed by his son at the command of Charles I.⁶ The difficulty of completing such painstaking work is implicit in Oliver's bequest to his son and pupil Peter of 'all my drawinges alreadye finished and unfinished and lymming pictures, be they historyes, storyes, or any thing of lymning what soever of my own handeworke yet unfinished.'⁷ It is interesting to see how prominent the genre of history had become by the end of his career, for he makes no mention of portraiture in the will.

Isaac Oliver's importance as a painter of cabinet miniatures has been overshadowed by his son's better known copies after Italian paintings owned by Charles I and his circle. Norgate celebrated these 'Histories in Lymning [which] are strangers to us in England till of late Yeares it pleased a most excellent King to comand the Copieing of some of his owne peeces, of Titian, to be translated into English Lymning which indeed were admirably performed by his Servant *Mr Peter Olivier*'.⁸ However, the small body of histories by Isaac Oliver must have served as an example to the limners of his son's generation and demonstrates that he merits recognition as founder of this tradition of painting.⁹

As a limner, Oliver made the large circular format his own. Indeed, apart from the present watercolour, only two other circular watercolours five inches in diameter are known from the early Stuart era, and both of these are also significant works by Isaac Oliver. Based largely on a dating of the costume, *Unknown Woman, formerly called Frances Howard, Countess of Somerset* in the Victoria and Albert Museum is catalogued as a work of the late 1590s, shortly after Oliver's visit to Italy. It exhibits a 'concern with chiaroscuro ... and with a strong recollection of North Italian painting in the form of Leonardo, his followers and Correggio.'¹⁰ The portrait now in the Fitzwilliam, *Unknown Woman, perhaps Lady Lucy Harrington, Countess, of Bedford* is – again based on the costume – given to c.1605–15.¹¹ Circular watercolours of any size were rarely made in the early seventeenth century; indeed, the only example present in the royal collection under Charles I was almost certainly influenced by Oliver's *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, for it was a watercolour of the same subject by his son and pupil, Peter Oliver,

described by Abraham Van Der Dort as 'a little round peece in / a square frame where divers Angells appeares / to the sheppards wth a shiver to it, don upon / the [space] light [in the margin] Bought by yo^r Ma^y Don by – – Peter Oliver.'¹² Oliver probably saw round paintings such as the Allegory of Passion by Holbein in the collection of King James I's elder son, Prince Henry.¹³ However, more influential was his exposure to late sixteenth century prints by and after Hendrik Goltzius, who used it frequently, in series such as *The Four Disgracers* (1588), *The Four Evangelists* (1588), *The Seasons* (1589) and *The Creation of the World* (1589–90) and in individual biblical subjects such as *The Blind leading the Blind (Matthew 15:14)* (1586) and *The Holy Family* (c.1600). Such prints were 'commonly to be had in Popes-head-alley' opposite the Royal Exchange, according to Henry Peacham in 1622, who recommended to his readership of gentlemen artists that 'for a bold touch, variety of posture, curious and true, imitate Goltzius.'¹⁴

The story of the annunciation to the shepherds, taken from Luke chapter 2, was known in early seventeenth-century England through treatments by the Venetian artist Jacopo Bassano and the Haarlem mannerist Abraham Blomaert. Although Charles I owned an example by Bassano, 'where a Shipheard lyeing on the ground with Some 13 Sheepe and a dogg by the Sheepheard hyding his eyes from ye glorie that shines in his face', Oliver is more likely to have been exposed to the visual tradition on his travels abroad – which included time in Venice in 1596 – and through prints circulating in London, such as an engraving by Aegidius Sadeler of another of Bassano's treatments of this subject (fig.2.2) and Jan Saendredam's 1599 engraving after Bloemaert (fig.2.3).¹⁵ Sadeler's engraving was certainly known to Rowland Buckett, whose *Annunciation to the Shepherds* painted c.1612 for the chapel at Hatfield House, is partially based on it.¹⁶ Oliver follows the conventions of this subject as articulated in these two engravings with his inclusion in the central mid-ground of two men engaged in discussion. Their function is similar to the pair on the right hand of Sadeler's print, whom Buckett copied in his Hatfield House painting, and the men behind the cow at the left of Saendredam's engraving. However, the only part of Oliver's watercolour that could be considered a direct quotation is his sleeping head on the extreme left, which seems to derive from the shepherd in the right foreground of Saendredam's engraving after Bloemaert.

The northern mannerist influences of Oliver's work are unmistakable in the muscularity and gestures of the shepherds, such as the right forearm of the man in red. These present a striking contrast to the genre of cabinet miniature painting which emerged a few years later under Charles I in the 1620s and 30s, when his son Peter Oliver became well-known for his copies after Titian and other sixteenth century Italian painters. Alexander Browne may well have been alluding to this

change in taste when he wrote in 1675 that works influenced by Goltzius and other mannerists 'were so extravagantly strain'd and stretcht to that degree beyond Nature ... which mode was afterwards laid aside, and the works that those masters afterwards made were incomparably good, by their embracing more the ancient Italian way of DESIGNING, which was more Modest, Gentile, and Graceful'.¹⁷ Oliver's reception of Flemish mannerism was surely a result of contact with French court artists such as Ambrosius Boschaert and Martin Freminet, the latter of whom was in Venice in 1596, the year also of Oliver's visit to the city. For, as Raphelle Costa de Beauregard has put it in the context of Oliver's *Entombment* watercolour at Angers, 'seul un séjour en France à Fontainebleau a pu donner à Oliver l'occasion d'acquérir pour ainsi dire trois savoir-faire en un, puisque cette montre à la fois le réalisme flamand, le sfumato italien et l'élégance du Primatice.'¹⁸ Although documentary evidence to support Oliver's presence in France is lacking, Peter Oliver was employed as one of the French Queen's 'peintres ordinaires' in 1611 and two years later received the huge fee of 6,000 livres from the French crown.¹⁹

The watercolour has many parallels with other examples of Oliver's work. Oliver was fond of introducing a sleeping figure in the foreground with a challenging foreshortening or leg posture, such as in his *A Party in the Open Air: An Allegory* in the Danish National Gallery and the drawing of *Nymphs and Satyrs* in the Royal Collection.²⁰ Oliver can bridge the fore- and mid-grounds by including mediating figures who are standing beyond the nearest part of the pictorial space and placed lower down, such that their lower bodies are cut off. In the present watercolour the two conversing shepherds perform this role; in the drawing of *Nymphs and Satyrs* Oliver has placed two figures at the lower centre of the composition and in the *Resurrection* drawing in Edinburgh is a soldier whose legs are hidden from us. There is a rapid sense of recession so that the figures beyond those in the foreground are much smaller and treated in a more summary fashion, and we see this also in the drawing *Nymphs and Satyrs* and in the large watercolour of *Henry, Prince of Wales*.²¹ The awkward posture of the shepherds in red and blue call to mind the soldiers in the *Resurrection* at drawing and the mounted soldier gesturing to his left in the drawing of *Moses Striking the Rock* in the Royal Collection, in which additionally the caliper-like arms of the woman on the left are reminiscent of the archangel in our watercolour.²² Oliver's extraordinary sfumato in the sleeping head in our watercolour is reminiscent of his head of Christ at the Victoria and Albert Museum.²³

The early history of this watercolour was summarised by Jane Keate née Hudson, wife of the writer, collector and friend of Voltaire, George Keate, who wrote on the back of the frame that the picture had belonged to Keate's ancestors. Martyn Fonnereau MP, who was executor to both her and her

husband, added that George Keate was descended from Sir George Hungerford of Cadenham, 'in whose family this picture had been preserv'd for many years.' The watercolour's earliest ownership, though, is unclear. Although Fonnereau mentioned in his note that Frances, Sir George Hungerford's wife, was the daughter of Charles Seymour, 2nd Baron Seymour, he probably meant simply to promote Keate's Hungerford's ancestry through its connection with one of England's highest-ranking families. Even so, Oliver does appear to have worked for the Seymours, in the mid-1720s Vertue saw two Seymour portraits by Oliver, one of which was probably of Charles Seymour's uncle, William Seymour, 2nd Earl of Hertford whose patronage of the portrait painter William Larkin is documented.²⁴

Keate must have shown this watercolour to Horace Walpole after the publication of his *Anecdotes of Painting*, because Walpole expressed a wish that 'if he should print another edition of the Lives of the Painter he should be obliged to Mr Keate if he would permit him to give a description of it.' Walpole wrote about Isaac Oliver in volume one of the *Anecdotes*, first published in 1762 with a second edition in 1765, so perhaps Keate approached Walpole after receiving the watercolour from George Hungerford's (d.1764) executors in the mid 1760s. The watercolour acquired its current black frame around this time, which is probably also when the gold border was added over an earlier layer of paint.

PETER OLIVER 1589–1648

A Sheet of Figure Studies

Pen and ink, the upper left corner made up

6¾ × 8¾ inches · 172 × 222 mm

Drawn in the late 1620s

Collectors stamp bottom right (L. 92)

COLLECTIONS

John Anthony Cramer (1793–1848) (L. 92)

LITERATURE

Jeremy Wood, 'Peter Oliver at the Court of Charles I: New Drawings and Documents', *Master Drawings* (Summer 1998), vol 36 no 2, pp.137–8.

This study is most substantial pen and ink drawing by Oliver currently known, and draws together various strands of Oliver's work as a draughtsman, etcher, exponent of Italianate *disegno* and member of the circle of Charles I's connoisseurial advisors. Oliver's identity as a draughtsman was only recently established, in a 1998 article by Jeremy Wood.²⁵ A sheet of pen and ink studies of Leonardesque figures at Chatsworth is signed 'Pierre Olivier' and dated 1632, and this enabled Wood to attribute several similar drawings to Oliver among the large collection assembled by Inigo Jones and now at Chatsworth, as well as examples in the Courtauld Gallery and the Fitzwilliam Museum that were previously assumed to be by his father Isaac Oliver.

As well as significantly changing our understanding of Isaac Oliver's draughtsmanship, Wood's reassessment of Peter Oliver secures for him 'a more substantial role than was previously thought in introducing Italianate methods of drawing into British art.'²⁶ Oliver's presence within the circle of collectors and connoisseurs who gathered around the court of Charles I is partly documented, for in 1631 he made two watercolour copies of a painting by Titian that was then in Arundel's collection, and copies of Leonardo drawings also owned by Arundel are dated 1626; Endymion Porter helped Oliver obtain a pension of £200 in 1637.²⁷ Much of it, though, may be inferred from Oliver's pen and ink studies such as the present drawing, which show the influence of the sixteenth-century Italian drawings that were arriving in England from the mid-1620s onwards. Oliver's concern appears to have been to master the elegant forms and gestures of draughtsmen such as Parmaganino, which was a matter of great interest also to Inigo Jones, whose attempt to re-learn to draw in the Italian tradition in the 1630s may account for his ownership of a copy after the present drawing (fig.3.1).²⁸ The authorship of this copy remains uncertain, though its scrappy cross-hatching has similarities with Jones's own technique.

The seated female figure here is closely associated with an etching (fig.3.2). The etching is known in three states, the last of which contains the initials 'P.O.' on the basis of which it has



Fig.3.1 | Attributed to Inigo Jones, *Seated woman, with standing man and woman* from the Inigo Jones album vol.X, p.67, no.351

Pen and ink with framing lines in pencil

7¾ × 10 inches · 189 × 254 mm

Chatsworth, Devonshire (by permission Chatsworth Settlement Trustees)

Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art



Fig.3.2 | Peter Oliver, *Female figure*

Etching and engraving

4¼ × 3¾ inches · 108 × 78 mm

© The Trustees of the British Museum





traditionally been attributed to Oliver. The emergence of our drawing surely puts the attribution beyond doubt. The print is in the tradition of the *peintre-graveur*, the painter who engaged in print-making on a small scale in the manner of drawing, with more creative than commercial intentions.²⁹ Oliver's direct study for the print, pricked for transfer, has also only recently come to light, in the Rijksmuseum.³⁰ It is drawn more loosely than our sheet, with a fluid light grey wash that marks out the areas that would remain untouched by the etcher's point. As both Jeremy Wood and Antony Griffiths have observed, the etching shows the influence of Netherlandish mannerism on Oliver, from which we might infer that it is of an earlier date than our drawing, whose overtly Italianate character places it in the late 1620s or later.³¹ Rather than a preliminary sketch for the etching, as Wood characterises it, our drawing is perhaps best understood alongside the etching as common articulations of a theme seen widely in Oliver's drawn work, of the pious or studious female, usually seated or posed next to a desk or plinth. To these two examples maybe added a further sheet at Chatsworth with a woman with her head in her hand, her elbow resting on an upturned book, whose head being very similar may be close in date to our drawing.³² Three studies at the British Museum and one at the Ashmolean are further expressions on this theme.³³ The young man gesturing to his

left in our drawing is related to a drawing at the Courtauld Gallery (fig.3.3) and may in turn be associated with Oliver's drawings of meditative male figures, such as the example at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon.³⁴

The drawing as a whole is cut from a larger sheet, as is apparent from the abrupt truncation of both the large and small female figures, yet even in this reduced state it is unique among Oliver's work, almost all of which has been cut into smaller fragments of individual sketches. Interestingly, the early copy among Inigo Jones's papers confirms that it was in this state in the early seventeenth century. The top-left corner of the sheet was also lost before Jones's copy was made. The semi-circular pen marks left on the sheet leave few clues as to what they were part of, but they may well have been the edges of drapery on the upper body much like in the large female's arm.

The drawing bears the collector's stamp of classical scholar John Antony Cramer who was Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, from 1831, and Regius Professor of Modern History from 1842. Cramer was involved in the foundation of the Ashmolean Museum in 1839. According to inscriptions on some drawings from his collection, Cramer's collection was sold at Oxford in 1847, and there was a further sale at Sotheby's on 11–14 February 1850.



Fig.3.3 | Peter Oliver, *Standing youth and head of a man*

Pen and ink on paper · 5¼ × 7¼ inches · 147 × 185 mm

© The Samuel Courtauld Trust,
The Courtauld Gallery, London

INIGO JONES 1573–1652

The Coronation of the Virgin

Pen and brown ink · 4¾ × 4¾ inches · 120 × 120 mm

Inscribed on the old mount 'Ig. Jones', lower centre

Drawn c.1637

COLLECTIONS

A. Costa;

Sotheby's, 15 March 1966, lot 52

Jones made this sketch in the mid- to late-1630s, in connection with his work for Queen Henrietta Maria for whom he was designing interiors at Oatlands Palace in Surrey, at Somerset House and at the Queen's House in Greenwich. Henrietta Maria followed the examples of her mother, Marie de Medici, and of James I's queen, Ann of Denmark, in using cultural patronage to shape her authority as Queen. The Queen's palaces were Jones's main focus as a Surveyor of the King's Works under Charles I and from 1631 he received a separate salary of £20 as the Queen's surveyor.

Jones designed numerous chimney-pieces for Henrietta Maria, and this study is probably of a painting from the Queen's collection that would have been placed above the fire surround in a highly ornamental overmantel frame in one of her palaces.³⁵ The fact that Jones has only sketched the painting, and not the surrounding decoration, indicates that the Queen had freedom to decide which paintings were displayed in these interiors. In several of Jones's overmantel designs, the space where the painting would appear is left blank, so that the Queen could temporarily position sketches such as the present drawing there, to help her choose what painting to hang.

The free pen style of several datable masque drawings helps to date this sketch; by the end of the 1630s, Jones's penwork had become heavier. A date c.1637 is most likely on stylistic grounds, which was also the date of Jones's surviving chimney-piece designs for the Queen.



ABRAHAM VAN DIEPENBEECK 1596–1675

An Ornamental Design for a Frontispiece with Hunting Elements Surrounding the Coat of Arms of the Stuart Monarchs

Black chalk, pen and brown ink and grey wash

10 × 13¾ inches · 252 × 350 mm

Drawn c.1640

COLLECTIONS

Sotheby's, 1 December 1966, lot 51;

Private collection, The Netherlands, to 2017

Diepenbeeck was a hugely productive and versatile Flemish glass-painter, draughtsman, tapestry designer and painter. He was a pupil and assistant of Rubens for most of the 1620s and continued to be influenced by him until Rubens's death in 1640. He was, in Vertue's words, 'of great use to Rubens ... after that great Master's death, many works were finished by him.'³⁶ By Vertue's day, Diepenbeeck's paintings were also sometimes mistaken for Van Dyck's work. Diepenbeeck travelled widely, working in Paris in the early 1630s and visiting Italy twice, in 1627 and 1638. It is not clear when he visited England, but knowledge of Diepenbeeck had long preceded his arrival, for in 1624 he had painted seventeen stained glass windows in Antwerp which were then sold in England. He is most closely associated whilst in England with William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle, who was considered one of Europe's leading horsemen. Diepenbeeck returned to Antwerp, becoming director of the academy in 1641. During the Civil War, he regained contact with clients he had known in England who were by now in exile, including the Duke of Newcastle, whose book on horsemanship, *Méthode nouvelle ... de dresser les chevaux* (1658), Diepenbeeck illustrated.

In this drawing Diepenbeeck has surrounded the Stuart royal arms by hunting trophies and set it on a plinth decorated with a deer hunting scene. Hunting was Charles I's main recreation, which yielded one of the great images of Stuart kingship, the portrait *à la chasse* by Van Dyck, another former pupil of Rubens. Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, Charles's pursuit of hunting was politically charged. Charles I restricted the right to hunt to a privileged elite and extended the royal hunting grounds. For example, in 1637 Charles created a new hunting park at Richmond, introducing two thousand deer and building a perimeter wall eight miles long. In 1641, protests at Windsor concerned the use of the forest for hunting and, during the civil war, royal forests and parks were often destroyed and deer slaughtered, at least in part as protests against the monarchy and privilege. Royal hunting reserves had become a symbol of Stuart tyranny.³⁷

Given its subject, and the unusual shape, the drawing might be a design for the back panel of a coach. Perhaps Diepenbeeck

produced it for Newcastle, a favoured royalist with whom Charles hunted at Welbeck. Whatever its function, the design is grounded in a seventeenth century Flemish tradition of presenting coats of arms within highly elaborate cartouches. Jan van de Velde's arms of the city of Haarlem, 1628, and the arms of Brussels by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1646, belong to municipal bodies.³⁸ Diepenbeeck himself designed arms for several individuals which featured allegorical figures and trophies, such as for Antonius Triest, Bishop of Ghent; Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzman, Count of Pennaranda, 1654; and Luis de Benavides Carrillo y Toledo, Marques de Caracena.³⁹ The latin motto under the Stuart arms 'semper eadem', meaning 'always the same', was chosen by Queen Elizabeth I and sometimes used by James I, but is not associated with Charles I. Perhaps, then, Diepenbeeck copied the armorial content of the drawing from a source that predated Charles's accession in 1627. Equally, though, the motto may have been chosen consciously to assert the continuity of the Stuart dynasty, in the face of the events of the civil war and its aftermath.



WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER
1633–1707

Portrait of the English Ship, Princess

Pen and ink over pencil
9½ × 19⅞ inches · 240 × 505 mm
Drawn c.1673

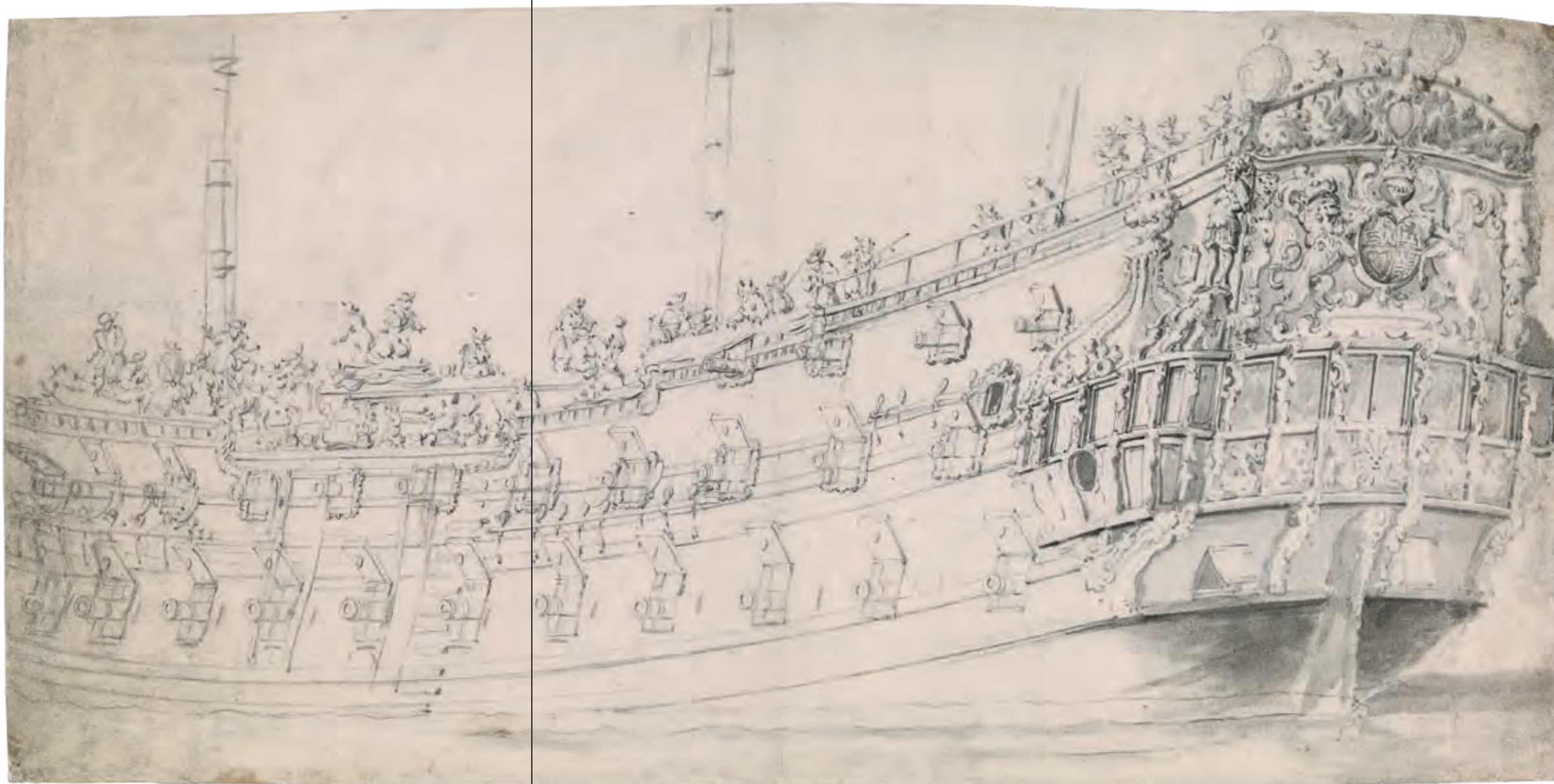
COLLECTIONS
Curtis O. Baer (L.3366)

LITERATURE
Frank Fox, *Great Ships: the Battle Fleet of King Charles II*, Greenwich, 1980, pp.73–4, fig.76.

EXHIBITED
Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, *et. al.*, *Master Drawings from Titian to Picasso*. The Curtis O. Baer Collection, 1985–87, no.49.

This characteristic drawing by Willem van de Velde the younger was made shortly after he had moved permanently to London with his father, Willem van de Velde the elder, in the winter of 1672. During the first and second Anglo-Dutch wars the van de Veldes had worked under contract for the Dutch state; the Elder observed and sketched the movements and battles of the Dutch navy from a galliot – or small boat – under orders to go wherever he needed in order to make drawings. It is unclear whether the van de Veldes' move was motivated by personal considerations or by a proclamation from Charles II in 1672 inviting Dutch citizens to settle in England. Working from a studio in the Queen's House at Greenwich, they produced a series of depictions of the battles of the third Anglo-Dutch war, royal visits to the fleet, ship launches, and more general marine subjects for the court, wealthy merchants, and naval patrons. The present, large sheet depicts a view of the starboard stern of *Princess*, a fourth-rate British ship of 44 guns. Delicately handled in pen, ink and wash, this drawing is unusual for the level of detail van de Velde records; unlike most ship portraits, he has shown the decks crowded with men, capturing the energy and activity of a man-of-war at the height of the third Anglo-Dutch war.

Ship portraits of this type form a central part of the drawn work of the van de Veldes. The van de Veldes seem to have built up an archive of accurate depictions of naval ships as a commercial strategy. When a successful naval action occurred, they could use their drawings to produce a faithful depiction of the event. *Princess* was built at Lydney in Gloucestershire in 1660 and saw action in seven of the main battles of the second and third Anglo-Dutch wars including the first and second Battle of Schooneveld and the Battle of Texel all in 1673. Another drawing of *Princess* by Willem van de Velde the younger, viewed from slightly before



the starboard beam and dated 1673 survives in the National Maritime Museum.⁴⁰ In the present sheet van de Velde carefully records the elaborately decorated stern emblazoned with the Royal arms, as well as the structure and architecture of the ship, but the most engaging aspect of the sheet is the multitude of figures depicted on the deck. The Van de Veldes' workshop had an enormous and enduring impact on maritime art during the eighteenth century. As Richard Johns has noted: 'once in England, the Van de Veldes became part of a cosmopolitan circle of Continental artists that included the famed Dutch

portrait specialist Peter Lely and the Italian decorative history painter Antonio Verrio.'⁴¹ Following the dispersal of their studio, Van de Velde's drawings were owned and copied by succeeding generations of British artists. J.M.W. Turner, who declared that a 1720s print after Van de Velde junior 'made me a painter,' made shipping studies directly influenced by Van de Velde drawings. In a mark of the continued currency of their drawings, William Baillie reproduced several in facsimile in the 1760s and 1770s, the first English drawings to receive such treatment.

SIR PETER LELY 1618–1680

A Study of Drapery for the Portrait of a Boy as a Shepherd

Black chalk, heightened with white, on buff paper
 14½ × 10¼ inches · 369 × 251 mm
 Drawn c.1658–60

COLLECTIONS

Jonathan Richardson, the Elder (1665–1745), (L.2184);
 Thomas Hudson (1701–1779), (L.2432)

This drawing is a drapery study for one of Peter Lely's most famous arcadian portraits, *A Boy as a Shepherd* at Dulwich Picture Gallery.⁴² Lely was born in Soest, Westphalia, he was trained in Haarlem and came to Britain in about 1643. As a talented and ambitious young artist, it is possible that he arrived in England with the specific intention of succeeding Van Dyck, who had died two years previously, as the king's painter. According to the engraver and antiquarian George Vertue, Lely spent his first few years in England working for the successful portrait painter and picture dealer George Geldorp, pursuing what an early commentator, Bainbrigg Buckeridge, called: 'the Natural Bent of his Genius, in Landscips and Painted with small Figures, as likewise Historical Compositions.'⁴³ Buckeridge continues, stating that Lely soon found: 'the practice of *Face-Painting* more encourag'd here' and therefore 'turn'd his study that way, wherein, in a short time, he succeeded so well that he surpass'd all his Contemporaries in Europe.'⁴⁴ By the Restoration Lely had achieved a maturity and distinction that marked him out from his contemporaries, combining something of Van Dyck's grace with his own more robust manner. Following his appointment in 1661 as Principal Painter, and his naturalization in the following year, Lely was recognized as the chief artist in the country.

This large and boldly worked drapery study offers important insight into Lely's working practices. We know quite a lot about Lely's studio and his working methods thanks to a number of contemporary accounts. Drawing was central to his production of painted portraits. Lely seems to have made quick chalk sketches to catch a sitter's likeness at a first sitting. In 1673 the painter William Gandy made observations about Lely's methods: 'Mr. Lilly did often say to Mr. F. that painting was nothing else but draft – Truly he said the truth for his painting is just like a draft on a russet paper drawn out with lines & the master shadows put in, the lights put in with Chalk. Mr Lilly proceeds just so in his painting, only puts in means & variety of colouring so there's a Picture done.'⁴⁵ The evidence suggests that Lely used drawings at every stage of the portraiture process. He probably showed prospective sitters drawings with various poses worked out to help them choose how they wished to be depicted; he made compositional sketches and then made

studies as the painting progressed to work out poses, gestures and costume. In the 1670s Lely's friends the painter Mary Beale and her husband Charles, a patent clerk, art dealer and colourman, commissioned several portraits from him. Charles Beale described Lely making a drawing whilst he was painting a portrait Beale had commissioned of his son, also called Charles, in 1672. Beale noted that after: 'Mr Lely dead coloured my son Charles picture... he took a drawing upon paper after an Indian gown which he had put on his back, in order to the finishing of the Drapery of it.'⁴⁶

We know the present drawing was made in preparation for a portrait that also belonged to Mary Beale, now at Dulwich Picture Gallery. The sitter was identified by Horace Walpole as the poet Abraham Cowley, however Cowley was too old to be a credible candidate by 1658–60, which was the date ascribed to the picture by Sir Oliver Millar on stylistic grounds.⁴⁷ At its most recent exhibition, at the Courtauld Gallery in 2012, curators endorsed Millar's dating and presented scientific analysis that showed that the canvas has a pinkish or greyish ground, painted over chalk, which 'was a technical feature employed by Lely from the late 1650s until the mid 1660s.'⁴⁸ For these reasons, Bartholomew Beale, whom Lely painted in the 1670s, can also be ruled out on the grounds that he was too young. Even though the sitter remains unidentified, the



Fig.7.1 | Sir Peter Lely, *A Boy as a Shepherd*, c.1658–60

Oil on canvas · 36 × 30 Inches · 915 × 762 mm
 Signed with monogram PL
 Dulwich Picture Gallery



portrait clearly belongs to the tradition of arcadian portraits of youth, such as Lely's portrait of Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney. The urge to identify Cowley as the sitter in such a setting demonstrates the influence of the pastoral tradition in both literature and painting.

It is easy to imagine Lely making this chalk drapery sketch before marking up the canvas with chalk, as the 2012 technical analysis of the Dulwich painting confirms he did. At the same time it is worth noting that the painting diverges in small ways from the sketch. The job of the study, therefore, was not to serve as a model to be copied slavishly, but to resolve questions in Lely's mind about the disposition of the drapery, which he perhaps continued to work out in the chalk drawing he applied to the canvas. The drapery study also demonstrates Lely's belief that painting as being 'just like a draft' for he has rendered the shimmering silk economically by simply painting highlights and shadows in the same way as the drawing. The beauty of this drawing as a study of Lely's drawing techniques was apparent to two eighteenth century portrait painters who made famous collections of drawings, Jonathan Richardson senior and Thomas Hudson.

8

JOHN GREENHILL 1640–1676

Portrait of a Lady,
traditionally identified as Lucy Sherman

Black, white and red chalk on buff coloured paper
8 × 6½ inches · 205 × 165 mm
Drawn c.1660

COLLECTIONS

Presumably Lucy Sherman;
Edward Burman Adams (1794–1833), by descent;
by descent, Christie's, London, 14 March 1978, lot 114 (as by Lely);
Colin Hunter;
Colin Hunter sale, Sotheby's, London, 11 July 1991, lot 23

LITERATURE

Charles Hind, 'Collecting Early Watercolour and Pastel Portraits',
Antique Collecting, xxvi /5, London 1991, p.10;
N. Jeffares, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, London 2006, p.213.

This rare drawing shows the influence of Lely on Greenhill's pastel portraiture. Greenhill came from Salisbury to study in Lely's Covent Garden studio in about 1662, where he was considered the most talented of Lely's pupils. The painter Thomas Gibson considered Greenhill's pastel portraits 'equal to any Master whatever' and Buckeridge proclaimed him 'a great proficient in crayon draughts'.⁴⁹ In this portrait, Greenhill follows Lely's practice in only working up the sitter's face in colours; this is therefore likely to be a work of the 1660s and

feasibly from before 1667 by which time Greenhill had left Lely's studio. Greenhill's later work, such as the portrait of Sir Thomas Twisden in the British Museum shows the impact on his pastel drawing of the innovations in colour made by Edmund Ashfield and Edward Luttrell, as Greenhill began also to colour his sitters' hair and clothing. The sitter's identity in the present drawing has not been established definitively. The traditional identification was noted in 1978 as an ancestor of the portrait's earliest documented owner, Edward Burman Adams (1794–1833) who owned several farms in Suffolk.⁵⁰ Perhaps she was the Lucy Sherman who was married at Billockby, Norfolk, in 1659.

Greenhill is known as a portraitist in oil and chalks but in an album of drawings at Dulwich College is a pen and ink study for his portrait of William Cartwright, the theatre manager, and a sheet at the British Museum may also be by the same hand.⁵¹ Greenhill's self-portrait in the British Museum has striking similarities with the present work in the modelling and posture of the head and the lightness of touch of the colouring.⁵² As well as Cartwright, the theatre manager Thomas Betterton owned several of Cartwright's pastels, as did the painter Antonio Verrio.⁵³ Greenhill's attachment to the theatrical community was blamed for his drunkenness, which caused his early death from a fall in 1676. The obvious promise of his work, his young age at death and its manner established his posthumous reputation as the great squandered hope of English portraiture. As Buckeridge wrote, 'England might have boasted of a painter who, according to his beginnings, could not have been much inferior to the very best of foreigners.'⁵⁴



ALEXANDER GEEKIE 1655–1727

Portrait of a Scholar

Pastel on paper

11½ × 9¼ inches · 290 × 235 mm

Signed and dated verso 'æA. Geekie pinxit 1697Æ'

COLLECTIONS

Sotheby's, London, 24 July 1980, lot 86;

Christie's South Kensington, 1 July 2004, lot 12, repr. (attributed to Henrietta Johnson)

LITERATURE

John Ingamells, *National Portrait Gallery, later Stuart portraits*

1685–1714, London, 2009, p.98, n.r. as by Edward Gibson;

Neil Jeffares, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, (online edition updated 13 March 2018) J,3419.102.

Although no source has been identified, this is surely a copy of a portrait of the famous physician Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1655). Although Mayerne's distinctive features are best known from his portrait by Rubens when aged about sixty there were other sources that are nearer to Geekie's pastel, for a late seventeenth-century engraving by William Elder shows de Mayerne somewhat less puffy and more upright, as does a painting attributed to Paul van Somer that was perhaps part of a library set (fig.9.1).⁵⁵

Having been raised in Geneva and Heidelberg, Turquet de Mayerne worked for the French court until he moved to England as chief physician to James I. In London he became increasingly interested in the science of art and between 1620 and 1646 he filled a notebook with information from painters about their technical practices and paint recipes, including from Rubens, Van Dyck, Samuel Cooper and John Hoskins.⁵⁶ De Mayerne also encouraged Edward Norgate to record his knowledge of limning, in his treatise *Miniatura, or, Art of Limning*.⁵⁷

Neil Jeffares was the first to identify this pastel as the work of Alexander Geekie, a London-based Scottish physician and amateur artist, who assembled a collection of portraits of philosophers and scientists.



Fig.9.1 | Attributed to Paul van Somer,
Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, c.1625

Oil on canvas · 29¾ × 23¾ inches · 757 mm × 604 mm
© National Portrait Gallery, London



Fig.9.2 | William Elder, after an unknown artist,
Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne

Engraving
6¾ in. × 3¾ inches · 162 mm × 97 mm (paper size)

NPG D29018

© National Portrait Gallery, London



EDWARD LUTTRELL c.1650–c.1725

Sir Peter Paul Rubens

Pastel

12½ × 9¾ inches · 310 × 250 mm

Signed 'Luttrell FE' on the left-hand side.

Drawn c.1690

LITERATURE

Neil Jeffares, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800* (Online edition, updated 13 March 2018), J.506.239.

This is a portrait of Rubens based on the famous 1623 self-portrait in the Royal Collection that had been Rubens's gift to Charles I when Prince of Wales. Luttrell copied it, quite freely, from the 1632 engraving by Paulus Pontius. For example, Luttrell has omitted the gold chain that signified Rubens's wealth and success, and the tassel hanging from the painter's hat.

Vertue mentioned that Luttrell was 'bred to the law of New Inn London' and later took up portraiture as a largely self-taught artist, though some association with Edward Ashfield seems likely. Luttrell's earliest signed pastel was dated 1674 and the next earliest example now known is 1677. In 1683 he wrote a manuscript treatise for a relation, the *Epitome of Painting*, which is now at Yale Center for British Art and which contains an early description of the mezzotint process. Luttrell drew from the life as a commissioned artist, such as in the large group of portraits of the Croft family of Croft Castle, Herefordshire (National Trust), but this pastel highlights another aspect of Luttrell's work, the production of portraits of historic figures.⁵⁸

This portrait of Rubens may well have been among the thirty 'heads of eminent persons of the former age; most of them from good paintings' that Luttrell offered for sale by raffle in 1710, from his house in Channell Row, Westminster. Among other prizes, Luttrell had thirty 'candle-light heads made up into sconces, well fitted in oval frames and glasses, with handsome brass-branches', forty 'historical heads' and the opportunity for twenty winners to have their portraits drawn 'by the life, in crayoons'.⁵⁹ The proposal ends by stating that tickets were available 'at Mrs. Luttrell's Shop in Westminster-Hall, where Specimens may be seen of the said Pictures.' The print shops of Westminster Hall specialised in portraits of notable legal and political figures, so it is no surprise that among Luttrell's works are portraits of Sir Job Charlton, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1673, George Jeffreys, 1st Baron Jeffreys who was Lord Chancellor under James II, and John Maitland, 1st Duke of Lauderdale, the favourite of Charles II. Luttrell's source for this last was Lely's double portrait at Ham House, but elsewhere Luttrell worked from prints, such as this portrait of Rubens. A pastel portrait of Rembrandt in the British Museum is after a self-portrait etching; a portrait of Jan Baptist de Wael is based on Van Dyck's *Icones* print.



Fig.10.1 | Peter Pelham, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Peterus Paulus Rubens &c.*, 1724

Mezzotint · 13¾ × 10 inches · 354 × 253 mm

Lettered with title, and P. Pelham fec: et Excud: 1724.

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II

Academies

From the Restoration until the middle of the eighteenth century there were periodic attempts by artists, dealers and patrons to establish a successful, lasting art academy. Lely seems to have run an informal drawing academy and one is mentioned by Marshall Smith in his *Art of Painting* published in 1692. But it is with the foundation of the Great Queen Street Academy in 1711, under the directorship of the leading portrait painter Sir Godfrey Kneller, that we first have a sense of the personnel, members and curriculum of such an establishment. Drawing, particularly drawing from the living model, was the central activity and yet, despite Vertue listing 88 subscribers, only a handful of sheets can be associated with Great Queen Street one of which, by Bernard Lens dated 1716, is published here for the first time.

Drawing from the living model was the core activity of all European academies and it took continentally trained painters to instil that discipline on British academies. In 1720 the Paris and Rome-trained Louis Chéron established, with John Vanderbank, an academy off St Martin's Lane. The aim was to provide young artists with the heroic vocabulary of male forms to enable them to practice as history painters. Despite this ambition, most historical compositions were not made for private or public galleries, but to be engraved by London's rapacious print-trade. Reconstructing the graphic world of London's early academies gives a powerful sense of the development of British art before the foundation of the Royal Academy.

SIR JAMES THORNHILL 1675–1734

Putti – an Allegory of the Arts

Pen, ink and wash over pencil
 2½ × 7½ inches · 62 × 90 mm
 Drawn c.1714

COLLECTIONS

Iolo A. Williams (1890–1962);
 Stanhope Shelton;
 Abbott & Holder;
 Major A. R. Tavener, to 2017

This allegorical frieze of the liberal arts is Thornhill's neat version of a design that he developed in several compositions in the British Museum sketchbook. The putti studying the globe on the far left represent astronomy, while geometry sits on the ground using mathematical instruments; painting occupies the centre and music the right part of the composition. Sculpture sits facing away from the viewer. It would have been suitable for a client who was sympathetic to the arts or for an educational setting such as the Royal Academy that Thornhill proposed to the Earl of Halifax in 1714. At Thornhill's sale in 1735 Vertue saw 'many draughts plans &c by Sr James Thornhill ... consisting of many apartments convenient for such a purpose' and costing £3139.¹

The idea that Thornhill had an academy in mind is supported by allegorical designs on pages 14 and 16 of the British Museum sketchbook, which make explicit references to academies. One of these is a vertically arranged trophy composition but palettes, brushes, pictures and measuring tools have replaced shields and other implements of warfare. The other is horizontal and features a putto painting as another approaches with a laurel

wreath, preparing to crown him for his work. Others stand about debating the merits of a landscape painting. In the right corner, putti hold up a large shield bearing the coat of arms of a patron. On page 16 are two further putti friezes in pen outlines, again allegories of the fine arts, the lower design features putti participating in a drawing academy (fig.11.1). The upper of these two designs more closely approaches Thornhill's settled design as seen in our carefully finished version. In the sketchbook the putto at the easel is already present at the centre, with a cellist on the right and an astronomer at the far left. The figure of sculpture appears with his back turned, though sitting in the space ultimately occupied by geometry, who does not feature here but is in the lower sketch. These drawings are in the sketchbook either side of sheets which Osmun judged to be early thoughts for the upper hall at Greenwich.² Thornhill painted the lower hall first, between 1708 and 1712 or 1714 before turning to the upper hall. Associating the putti designs with Thornhill's aspirations for a Royal Academy, which he formalised in his proposal of 1714, is therefore consistent with what we know about his use of the sketchbook.

Thornhill made three further sketches of the liberal arts in the sketchbook within a group of seven pencil allegorical designs on pages 38 and 39. One his inscribed 'Ut Pictura Poesis erit / Hor:' and is perhaps linked to an advertisement in the Daily Courant of 11 May 1719 which announced the publication of 'An Epistle from Hampstead, to Mr. Thornhill in Covent Garden. By Mr. Sewell. Ut Pictura Poesis ... Hor.'³ Thornhill provided some measurements in the sketchbook which suggests that he drew them with some firm project in mind. The measurements show that they were intended to be painted four feet and three inches wide.



Fig.11.1 | James Thornhill *Three Putti with Emblems of the Arts*

A drawing for the design for the overdoor on the upper landing, of the staircase in Easton Neston, 1702–1712

Pen and brown ink with grey wash · 2¾ × 2¼ inches · 68 × 54 mm

Inscribed 'over ye Gallery door - on' [the remainder cut off]

© The Trustees of the British Museum

BERNARD LENS 1682–1740

Male Nude, Walking with a Staff

Red chalk on laid paper

18¾ × 12¾ inches · 467 × 325 mm

Signed and dated 'BLens 1716 Nov 13', lower right

Collector's stamp: LL (L.1733a)

COLLECTIONS

Lionel Lucas (1822–1862), London (L.1733a)

This drawing is an important addition to the evidence of the activities of the Great Queen Street Academy, which has thus far been limited to the contents of the Edward Byng album in the British Museum.⁴ Lens was one of the original subscribers to the Academy, which opened under the leadership of Sir Godfrey Kneller in October 1711. However, Kneller's governorship was contentious from the start. He was appointed in the expectation that he would step aside after a year in favour of Michael Dahl, but he failed to do so, prompting Dahl's resignation. By 1713 the academy had fallen into faction, and Kneller was having to write to an ally to confirm that another member was 'one of us', threatening the expulsion of others and expressing his confidence that 'our laws (which are writ and framed) will be continued'.⁵ Thornhill and Chéron were prominent opponents and in autumn 1716 Thornhill finally wrested the governorship from Kneller.

In 1716 Thornhill was still a rising artist, but already something of a figurehead for English painters. He was mid-way through a huge public project at Greenwich, and he had recently been chosen to paint the interior of St Paul's Cathedral in preference to foreign candidates. On his election as Governor, Thornhill wrote to his fellow artists to

assure them that if the academy 'were as publicly encourag'd as in the Nations round about us, [it] would not fail to do service and credit to our King and to our Country.'⁶ The letter found its way into the newspapers on 10 November. Lens's theatrical drawing was made only three days later. This drawing suggests that the model was posed as a fierce-looking St George thrusting a spear into an imaginary dragon, perhaps a patriotic expression of the mood of the painters on news of the new academy.⁷

This grand, finished academic figure was probably worked up from more modest studies, such as cat.15. The drawing shows little impact of the work of Chéron, save for the addition of drapery, almost certainly invented to add narrative drama to the figure. By this date Lens was already a mature artist; he had been apprenticed in 1698 to John Sturt who ran a drawing school in St Paul's Church-yard with Lens's father. This raises the question of what a mature master was doing spending time making highly finished figure studies at the academy? Lens certainly made use of his knowledge of life drawing in the elaborate copies he made after old master paintings, such as his 1719 copy of *Hercules between Virtue and Pleasure* after Nicholas Poussin (cat.49). He attended the academy to participate in the communal life of a painter, just as he was a member of the Rose and Crown Club.⁸ In the absence of annual exhibitions, drawing at the academy was probably the most effective way for a painter to establish and maintain a reputation within his peer group. Chéron, for instance, used it to develop an entirely new phase of his career, supplying designs for engravers (see cat.13). As one of the only dated drawings made at a pivotal moment in the evolution of Britain's art academies, this sheet is hugely important evidence of the ambition of British painters in the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Fig.12.1 | Louis Chéron, *Male Nude, Standing with a staff*

Red chalk, touched with white on buff paper

22½ × 17¼ inches · 572 × 438cm

© The Trustees of the British Museum



LOUIS CHÉRON 1660–1725

Mars and Bacchus

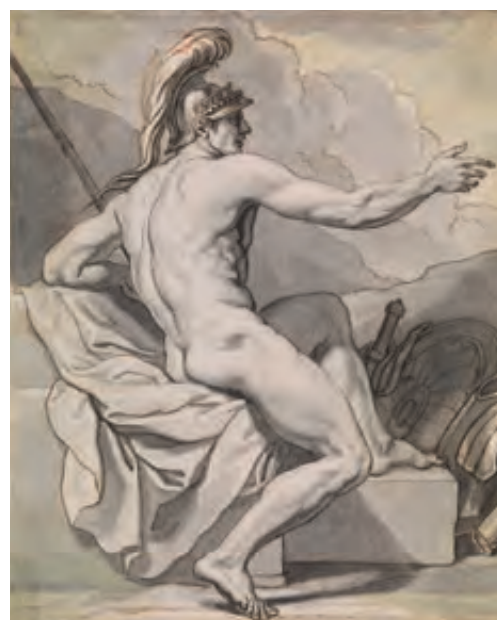
[A] MARS

Pen and ink and wash over black chalk
 11 × 8¾ inches · 273 × 220 mm
 Drawn c.1722

[B] BACCHUS

Pen and ink and wash over black chalk
 11¾ × 8⅞ inches · 287 × 224 mm
 Drawn c.1722

Engraved: by Gerard Vandergucht, 1722 or 1725



These two print studies exemplify Chéron's role as the leading teacher of life drawing in 1720s London. Chéron had come to England in the 1690s as a decorative painter and worked on the interiors at Boughton and Ditton for Ralph Montagu, 1st Duke of Montagu.⁹ However, Chéron's reputation ultimately came to rest on his work in the 1710s and 1720s at the Great Queen Street Academy and its immediate successors.

Chéron was a French Protestant who had studied in Rome for many years 'after the Antique & Raphael & other great Masters, whereby he acquired a noble great manner of designing: in the Accademy at Rome he was much esteemed for his correct drawing, & gain'd the highest prize. in opposition to Remond Le face who was then his antagonist.' After settling in England, though, Chéron's decorative paintings at Boughton and elsewhere were not judged successful enough to sustain him as a decorative painter. The problem, according to Vertue, was that Chéron was such a pure student of the Roman approach to drawing that he had neglected to learn colouring, for 'at Rome that is not thought so valuable or estimable as designing.'¹⁰ However, this weakness became Chéron's great strength when the drawing academy was established at Great Queen Street in 1711 under Sir Godfrey Kneller's leadership. There Chéron 'soon distinguishd his talent in delineing. being very assiduous. he was much imitated by the Young people. & indeed on that account by all other lovers of Art much esteem'd & from thence rais'd his reputation got into good business. was particularly much employ'd for designs for Engravers.'

After the Great Queen Street Academy collapsed acrimoniously in 1718, Sir James Thornhill attempted to continue tuition at his own house, but abandoned this in 1720. Chéron and John Vanderbank then themselves established a new academy, off St Martin's Lane, which gained royal approval in 1722 with a visit from the Prince of Wales.¹¹ These two drawings reflect Chéron's insistence as a teacher on an anatomical rigour that previous London academies had lacked. The anatomist William Cheselden had attended life classes at Great Queen Street and in 1720 Chéron endorsed a project by Philippe Richard Frémont to publish anatomical plates after drawings he had made at the London and Paris academies.¹² Among the young generation who came under Chéron's influence were John Vanderbank, Gerard Vandergucht, Joseph Highmore, Elisha Kirkall and Bernard Baron '& several others as well Painters as Engravers benefitted much by his drawing.'¹³ Chéron's success was short-lived for the St Martin's Lane Academy failed in 1724 after the indebted Vanderbank absconded whilst Chéron was to die the following year.¹⁴

These two sheets, reduced versions of life drawings that Chéron made in one of the London academies were made in preparation for prints; both drawings were etched by Gerard Vandergucht in 1722 or 1725. The warrior figure is based on a life drawing now in the British Museum, from an album of life

drawings and historical compositions by Chéron. The source drawing for the figure of Bacchus has not been identified. The British Museum album was the final and most valuable lot of Chéron's posthumous sale, it eventually fetched the huge sum of 265 guineas.¹⁵ This suggests both the level of interest in Chéron as an artist and the value placed upon his life drawings immediately after his death and gives important context for Vandergucht's prints.

The engraver Vandergucht was closely associated with Chéron, having been taught drawing by him. He had joined the Great Queen Street Academy in 1713, at the same time as Vertue who recorded that Vandergucht 'by means of his drawing distinguished himself from many other young men that learnt in that accademy' and shook off the stiff manner he had learned from his father, the engraver Michael Vandergucht. Only a few weeks after Chéron's death in 1725, 'six Academy Figures with a Frontispiece, drawn from the Life by the late Mr. Cheron' were advertised for sale.¹⁶ That among these six were the prints after our two drawings is strongly suggested by a newspaper advert which appeared a few months later, which named 'Gerard Vander Gucht in Queen Street, Bloomsbury, of whom may be had a Set of Academy Figures, drawn from the Life, by the late Mons. Louis Cheron, and engraved by G. Vander Gucht.'¹⁷ Confirmation is provided by the recent appearance at auction of a bound copy of these six prints with its frontispiece, which is dedicated to Dr Richard Mead.¹⁸ The identity of the dedicatee, who was both one of London's leading physicians and a major collector of drawings, underlines Chéron's commitment to anatomical study.

The print of the warrior in the 1725 publication appeared not as Mars but as a figure of impious fury ('furor impius') accompanied by a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book 1. It follows, then, that the warrior print was issued more than once, in different guises. Perhaps it appeared first as Mars, for writing in 1722 Vertue judged that Vandergucht's 'Figures done from Chérons Accademy Figures. are well & some of the first and last things of him [i.e. best and latest] that has yet appeard.'¹⁹ It could be that Chéron planned to issue a group of six or more academy figures in 1725, perhaps as a way of extending the reach of his teaching after the St Martin's Lane Academy had ceased the year before. Certainly this pair of drawings are carefully squared for an engraver and Chéron has adapted his large chalk life studies into bold, graphic figures complete with antique attributes. Alternatively, Vandergucht may have taken the opportunity to publish these figures in the immediate wake of Chéron's death, as a memorial to a then newsworthy figure. Vandergucht continued to publish and sell works after Chéron, such as 'four prints of the Acts of the Apostles' in 1728, and in the early 1730s a set of the Labours of Hercules Chéron had left unfinished at his death.²⁰



Fig.13.1 | Gerard Vandergucht, after Louis Cheron, *Mars*

Engraving
 11½ × 8½ inches · 284 × 215 mm
 Wellcome Library, London



Fig.13.2 | Louis Cheron, *A male nude seated, with right arm raised*, c.1720

Black chalk heightened with white on grey paper
 25¾ × 22¼ inches · 654 × 565 mm
 © The Trustees of the British Museum



Fig.13.3 | Michael Vandergucht, after Louis Cheron, *Bacchus*

Engraving
 11½ × 8½ inches · 282 × 216 mm
 Private collection, UK.



cat.13a



cat.13b

JOHN VANDERBANK 1694–1739

Hercules Capturing Cerberus Alive

Pencil, pen and ink with wash heightened with white and black chalk
 14¼ × 10½ inches · 362 × 264 mm

Signed and dated 'J. Vanderbank. Fecit, 1731', lower left

COLLECTIONS

Sotheby's, London, 23 January 1963;

Private collection, UK, to 2016

Vanderbank's drawing demonstrates the practical application of Louis Chéron's teaching at the St Martin's Lane Academy. The scene is an episode in the labours of Hercules; Hercules has descended into the underworld to rescue Prosepina, the wife of Orpheus. Hercules encountered Cerberus, a monster who guarded the entrance, whom Hercules brought back to the world of men. In Vanderbank's drawing, Hercules is in the act of leashing the many headed Cerberus.

Hercules was traditionally depicted as a highly muscular hero, most famously in the fantastical anatomy of the *Farnese Hercules*, one of the most replicated works of art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Judging by the evidence of a 1729 auction catalogue which included a large collection of Vanderbank's drawings, Vanderbank appears to have drawn

the *Farnese Hercules* in Rome.²¹ Indeed, a highly finished drawing of the Farnese Hercules by John Vanderbank signed and dated 1732 formed part of the apparatus of the St Martin's Lane Academy that was acquired by the Royal Academy in 1768.²² The subject of Hercules was an opportunity for artists to display their knowledge of anatomy and a rich tradition of artists treating the story of Hercules would have informed Vanderbank's work. Vanderbank would certainly have known the Herculean figure by Domenichino in Jan de Bisschop's *Paradigmata Graphices* (1671) who is walking to the left with a fire blazing in the background, which Vanderbank's drawing also recalls.

The immediate context for this drawing, though, was the series of the *Labours of Hercules* begun by Louis Chéron, Vanderbank's partner at the St Martin's Lane Academy, and completed after Chéron's death in 1725 by his former pupil Gerard Vandergucht. In 1729 'six prints of the Labours of Hercules. Design'd and Etched by L. Cheron, and finish'd by B. Picard, G. Vandergucht, &c.' were published.²³ Vandergucht completed the set with six further labours, for which he was receiving subscriptions in 1732.²⁴ It seems very likely, therefore, that these were designed and engraved between 1729 and 1732, in the same period when Vanderbank made the present drawing. It is impossible to say if Vanderbank's design was intended for Vandergucht's series, or whether he simply made the drawing in the knowledge of it. The loose style of the sheet is typical of Vanderbank's first thoughts for a composition, which he would redraw in a more finished state to guide the engraver.²⁵ By 1731, the two men were already collaborating over a print of Hercules, for on 1 September 1729 Vanderbank had made a drawing for the allegorical frontispiece to the luxury edition of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1738), the illustrations to which occupied Vanderbank from the early 1720s almost until his death. Vandergucht engraved that design, which depicted Cervantes in the guise of Hercules and which is now in the Morgan Library.²⁶



Fig.14.1 | Gerard van der Gucht, *Twelve Labours of Hercules: Cerberus extremi Suprema est meta laboris*, c.1729–32

Etching · 12 × 9¼ inches · 305 × 248 mm
 © The Trustees of the British Museum



BERNARD LENS 1682–1740

Two Studies of a Male Nude

[A] STANDING FIGURE WITH HIS RIGHT ARM RAISED

[B] SEATED FIGURE

Red chalk

Each 7¾ × 5½ inches · 197 × 140 mm

A. Signed and dated 'B. Lens 1722', verso

COLLECTIONS

William Drummond;

Private collection, UK, (purchased from the above), to 2018

These two studies were made in the drawing academy that Louis Chéron and John Vanderbank established in 1720 off St Martin's Lane, after the failure of the Great Queen Street Academy. Although Vertue does not list Lens among the subscribers, his presence there is suggested by the date on the verso of drawing [A], 1722, as well as by Lens's ownership of at least twenty academy figure drawings by Chéron.²⁷ The first sheet, shows a standing figure, with right arm up, leaning on a series of rough wooden boxes; the second, shows the model seated and from behind. Rapidly handled in red chalk, Lens's loose underdrawing is apparent throughout, suggesting that these sheets are both life studies rather than finished exercises. The omission of a right hand in the standing figure also points to them being ad vivum.

The arrangement of both the standing and seated figures

can be found amongst the selection of poses devised by Chéron and illustrated in the album of his surviving academy drawings in the British Museum. However, Lens was not part of the generation of young artists who were influenced by Chéron's teaching at the academy, and he diverges from Chéron who paid meticulous attention to the muscles of the torso. By contrast, in the drawing manual Lens published in 1751, he advised readers to draw: 'according to the Rules of Anatomy ... when the Limbs and Members are drawn with few and large Muscles, they shew themselves with Majesty and Beauty.'²⁸

Four figure drawings in one of Edward Byng's albums in the British Museum can now be attributed to Lens, on the basis of comparisons with the two red chalk drawings described here. All six drawings display the same hatching technique and Knelleresque modelling, such as in the thighs in the standing figure; the left hand and wrist and the dark shading running down the left arm, are closely comparable with fig.15.1. Croft-Murray does not offer an attribution for these four sheets, while Stewart notes their origins 'somewhere in the studio or circle of Kneller'; the museum currently attributes one fully to Kneller.²⁹

Lens's work was greatly in demand in the early 1720s. Following his appointment in 1720 as 'Painter in Enamell' to George I, he produced a spectacular series of copies after old master paintings in a series of notable collections. He is much less well known for his life drawings, but these two sheets offer important evidence for the ambitions of artists working in London's short-lived academies in the 1720s.

Fig.15.1 | Bernard Lens, *Figure Drawing*, 1710s?

Black and white chalks

11½ × 14¾ inches · 291 × 365 mm

© The Trustees of the British Museum



cat.15a



cat.15b

THOMAS CARWITHAM 1701/2–1748

Athena and Arachne, from Ovid's Metamorphoses

Pen and ink and wash

5½ × 7¾ inches · 132 × 187 mm

Inscribed 'Met. lib. 6', lower left

Drawn c.1729–30

COLLECTIONS

Sotheby's, 8 June 1972, lot 219;

Major A. R. Tavener, to 2017

This rare drawing by the enigmatic draughtsman Thomas Carwitham shows the impact of his training at the Great Queen Street Academy in the orbit of James Thornhill. Carwitham made at least twenty compositions from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The scene here comes from the start of Book 6, and tells the story of a talented tapestry weaver, Arachne, who refused to acknowledge that Athena, goddess of crafts and weaving, was the source of her accomplishments. In the guise of an old woman, Athena appeared to her to urge her to make peace with the goddess, but Athena spurned her advice, instead proposing a tapestry weaving duel. Carwitham has drawn the moment in the story when Athena, on the left reveals herself to Arachne, and prepares to start weaving. A related study, now in the Tate, illustrates the story's conclusion. When the two tapestries were finished, Athena praised Arachne's skill but, affronted that Arachne had chosen to depict a scene of godly misdeeds, struck her in anger. Desperate and unhappy, Arachne hanged herself from a tree; but rather than allowing her to die, Athena transformed Arachne into a spider.

At least one of Carwitham's historical drawings is dated, a sheet depicting Aurora, Jupiter and Tithonus, is inscribed 1715; it reveals the extent of his progress as a draughtsman since making his first posture studies as a 10 or 11 year old at the



Great Queen Street Academy in 1713.³⁰ Stylistically the scenes from Ovid are close to the 1715 scene, though generally more loosely drawn. In their fluid use of ink and wash, the drawings call to mind the freely-drawn compositional jottings of Sir James Thornhill. In contrast to Thornhill, Carwitham's instinct is to arrange his scenes as a single chorus of figures with perhaps two or three leading players at the front, rather than the dynamism of the baroque groupings of which Thornhill was master. Carwitham also learned technical drawing, for in 1723 he published a textbook on geometry, in which he advertised his services in 'Historical and Architectural Painting.'³¹

While his posture studies suggest that Thornhill's formative influence on Carwitham was at Great Queen Street during the 1710s, Carwitham also worked alongside Thornhill at Hampton Court at the end of the 1720s and *Athena and Arachne* may date from this later period. Between 1728 and 1732 Carwitham was employed by the German-born pupil of Carlo Maratti, John Christopher Le Blon on a scheme to weave tapestries mechanically; a scheme designed to reduce labour costs and make them affordable to a wider public. As well as making technical drawings of the tapestry looms at Lambeth to guide the construction of Le Blon's Chelsea manufactory, during 1729 and 1730 Carwitham was making copies of the Raphael Cartoons, at the same time that Thornhill was making his own copies.

In 1730 or early 1731 the secretary of the Royal Society, Cromwell Mortimer, inspected Le Blon's enterprise. Mortimer owned two sketches by Carwitham – including a subject from *Metamorphoses* book 2 – raising the possibility that the Ovid compositions date from about this time.³² The possibility then arises that Carwitham conceived them as designs for Le Blon's tapestry works. However, Carwitham's time under Le Blon was acrimonious and he took his employers to court in 1733, when the enterprise collapsed without ever going into commercial production. In the words of the 1567 translation, the moral of Ovid's tale of Arachne was 'that folk should not contend against their betters, nor persist in error to the end.' A highly sceptical Vertue called Le Blon a 'bubble monger' and, if Carwitham's *Athena and Arachne* was drawn c.1728–30, it is easy to read it as an allegory on Le Blon who over-reached himself, believing that he could out-smart the natural order.

Fig.16.1 | Thomas Carwitham,
Illustration to Ovid: The Death of Arachne

Ink and watercolour
6¾ × 7¾ inches · 162 × 189 mm
© Tate, London 2017





III

The Rise of the Sketch

Striking evidence of the rising value placed on the practice of drawing by both artists and collectors in the first decades of the eighteenth century, is the survival of sheets that are unconnected to finished works: drawings made for their own sake. Drawing increasingly became a vehicle for artists to assert their intellectual credentials, frequently detached from the day to day demands of their profession.

The successful portraitist John Vanderbank made rapid, virtuosic ink and wash drawings which were essays in the manner of Van Dyck. Unconnected to his portrait practice, these sheets were prized by collectors of old master drawings. Similarly, from 1740 onwards Michael Rysbrack began to draw historical compositions that emulated seventeenth-century Italian drawings and contemporaries collected and mounted them in the same way. One such collector, Charles Rogers, described the sheets as Rysbrack's 'amusement' which 'he continued to the last days of his life.' Drawings were increasingly operating as markers of an artist's powers of invention and education, rather than simply valued as preparatory for a finished work.

FRANCIS LE PIPER 1640–1695

Head Study of a Preacher

Pen and ink and grey wash over pencil
 4⁷/₈ × 3³/₄ inches · 125 × 95 mm
 Drawn c.1670

COLLECTIONS

Hugh Howard of Shelton (1675–1737);
 Bequeathed to his brother Robert Howard, Bishop of Elphin
 (1670–1740);
 Ralph Howard, 1st Viscount Wicklow (1726–1786);
 By descent to Eleanor, Countess of Wicklow (1915–1997);
 her sale, Christie's, London, 24 March 1987, part of lot 4;
 Colin Hunter;
 Colin Hunter, sale Sotheby's, London, 11 July 1991, lot 8;
 Private collection to 2018

Despite Le Piper's reputation as one of the most perceptive draughtsmen of his time, very few drawings by him survive.¹ Le Piper was the son of a wealthy merchant from Kent who was trained for business or academia. However, 'his genius leading him wholly to design ... drawing took up all his time, and all his thoughts; and being of a gay, facetious humour, his manner was humorous or comical.' He was especially fond of drawing caricatures and had a reputation for liveliness of character, even when not drawing from life. Bainbrigg Buckeridge noted in his biographical account of Le Piper published in 1706: 'he would, by a transient view of any remarkable face of man or woman that he met in the street, retain the likeness so exact in his memory, that when he expressed it in the draught, the spectator, who knew the original, would have thought the person had sat several times for it.'²

Although chiefly aligned to the tradition of Dutch drollery or tavern scenes, Le Piper's drawings also owe something to Leonardo's caricature profiles. He used his wealth to travel widely in Europe to learn about art, and Buckeridge reported his admiration for Agostino Carracci and Rembrandt, among others. Hogarth's first biographer acknowledged the impact of Le Piper's work, and Le Piper's paintings of scenes from Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (four of which are now at the Tate) may well have informed Hogarth's own treatment of the subject.³ Butler's mockery of religious zealotry is reflected in Le Piper's interest in sketching preachers. The present characterful drawing captures a surly looking preacher, he was evidently a familiar figure to Le Piper as he appears in another drawing, now in the British Museum, which was originally in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane. Our drawing was originally in the collection of Hugh Howard. Howard had trained as a painter in Rome, but was appointed Keeper of State Papers and Paymaster of the Royal Palaces from 1726. He held a high reputation as a connoisseur, and advised Duke of Devonshire and Earl of Pembroke on their collections.

Fig.17.1 | Francis Le Piper, *Two clerics conversing*

Grey wash with pen and brown ink
 4¹/₈ × 5³/₈ inches · 106 × 137 mm
 © The Trustees of the British Museum

SIR JAMES THORNHILL 1675–1734

*The Encouragement of the Arts:
Study for a Ceiling Design*

Pen and brown and grey inks and wash over pencil
 9³/₄ × 7³/₄ inches · 245 × 195 mm
 Drawn c.1720

COLLECTIONS

Abbott & Holder;
 Major A. R. Tavener, to 2017

The subject of this study preoccupied Thornhill throughout his final decade and a half of life: the encouragement of the arts. At the bottom left, a winged Saturn sits, refreshing three putti with river water. One putto wears a laurel crown

representing fame, another with a lyre represents music and third with a palette and brushes represents the fine arts. Justice observes from a distance in the skies, emanating beneficent rays and on the hill Mercury, representing trade, sits on Pegasus, a symbol of poetry. In ancient myth, Saturn brought forth a golden age when he arrived at Latium, a city on the banks of the Tiber built on the hills where Rome was later founded. Through his allegory, Thornhill is asserting the centrality of the arts in a properly functioning society and expressing a hope that the nascent arts are on the verge of a golden age. The shape of the central compartment of this ceiling is uncommon in Thornhill's work and it is likely that this was one of many drawings that Thornhill made in the 1720s as an intellectual exercise, rather than as part of a commissioned project.



JONATHAN RICHARDSON, THE ELDER
1667–1745

Jonathan Richardson, the Younger

Pencil, pen and ink, grey wash
6 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches · 175 × 110 mm

Signed with monogram and dated '13 Sep. 1739', lower right,
Also inscribed in another hand 'Colcrafts' (?) July. 1771', lower left

COLLECTIONS

Jonathan Richardson (1667–1745);
Jonathan Richardson junior (1694–1771);
Presumably his sale Langford's, 5 February, 1772;
Spink, London (K3/8175);
Major A. R. Taverner, to 2017

This is a fine example of the portrait studies that Jonathan Richardson senior made in the leisure of his retirement. Richardson's career as a portrait painter wound down during the 1730s as he became more involved in personal and literary projects, and in 1740 he announced that he had finally 'given over his Business, and his Continuance in Town being uncertain.'⁴ A theme that had long preoccupied Richardson's writings was how to lead a happy and virtuous life. A portrait was more than a flattering image of someone's looks, but was a means of expressing a person's character; portraits could provide an improving moral example for a subject to follow. For Richardson in his final years, making self-portraits and drawings of his immediate family became a form of daily self-examination, which he combined with writing contemplative poetry.⁵

Richardson utilised a range of drawing materials. His most highly finished portraits were drawn in coloured chalks on blue paper, or in graphite on vellum. Often, as here, he made

an underdrawing in graphite and drew over it in pen and ink, blocking certain areas out with wash applied by a brush. Other examples of this method of working include a 1735 portrait of an old friend, the anatomist William Cheselden, and another portrait of Richardson junior, c.1736, both of which are in the British Museum.⁶ Sketches such as these were sometimes preparatory studies of which more finished versions also survive, for the portrait of Richardson junior at the British Museum is developed further in a drawing on vellum now in the Courtauld Gallery.⁷ While drawing himself and family members regularly, Richardson also drew copies from his own collection of paintings. For example in June 1739 he made three copies of Lely's portrait of Oliver Cromwell in quick succession.⁸

Richardson junior and his father had an extremely close relationship and the son shared his father's interests and temperament.⁹ The younger Richardson painted only a little, as his father aimed to provide sufficiently for his son to live as a gentleman, sending him to study abroad and making him his sole heir rather than dividing his estate between his children.¹⁰ Although Richardson junior sold his father's famous collection of old master drawings in 1747, he retained these family portraits which were finally dispersed in 1772 after his death. Walpole was a purchaser at the sale and remarked that 'there were hundreds of portraits of both [father and son] in chalks by the father, with the dates when executed; for after his retirement from business, the good old man seems to have amused himself with writing a short poem, and drawing his own or son's portrait every day.'¹¹ The later ink inscription on the drawing presumably relates to the dispersal of Jonathan Richardson junior's collection, he died in June 1771 and the inscription is dated July of the same year.



Fig.19.1 | Jonathan Richardson, the Elder, *Jonathan Richardson, the Younger*

Black and red chalk, touched with white on blue paper
13 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches · 353 × 225 mm
Dated '22 Nov. 1737', lower right
© The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig.19.2 | Jonathan Richardson, the Elder, *Jonathan Richardson, the Younger*, 1733

Red and white chalk on blue paper
9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches · 240 × 287 mm
© The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London





20

COLONEL JAMES SEAMER c.1661–1737

Head Study of a Man

Pen and ink · 3½ × 3⅞ inches · 90 × 80 mm
Drawn c.1700

COLLECTIONS

Stanhope Shelton;
Colin Hunter;
The Collection of Colin Hunter, Sotheby's, 11 July 1991, lot 27;
Private collection to 2017

Seamer's surviving drawings are private records of family and friends and exercises in composition and texture, informed by his upbringing as a calligrapher and his devotion to seventeenth-century art. It is easy to discern in the elegant curls of the child's hair in cat.21 the ancestry of Seamer's drawing style. In 1675 he was apprenticed to the goldsmith-banker Sir John Johnson and only a year later published the first of two books on calligraphy; the second in 1684.¹² In 1719 Seamer's 'early Genius, not only to that most polite, commendable, and commodious Art of Writing, but those of Drawing and Engraving' were praised.¹³ Yet Seamer's achievements were short-lived. By 1764 the author of a biographical dictionary of penmen 'can give my reader very little intelligence concerning this James Seamer. I cannot so much tell when or where he lived.'¹⁴

Seamer was best known as an art collector. He assembled one of the great collections of prints and drawings of his day which was 'well known to the Curious; and from his Application for about 50 Years in the collecting, its believed it will be the best that has been sold since the late Lord Somers's.'¹⁵ No catalogue

survives but advertising for its sale in 1737 pointed to Seamer's 'several excellent Limnings and enamell'd Pictures of Pettitoe, Cowper, Hoskins, &c. Also his well-known Curious Collection of upwards of 8000 Prints and Drawings of Raphael, Julio Romano, Mark Antonio, Anibal Carracci, and all others of the best Masters of the Italian, German, Dutch and French Schools. Amongst which are near a Thousand of Vandycke's Heads, mostly by the best Engravers.'¹⁶ Seamer owned an oval self-portrait by Isaac Oliver, which was probably the one subsequently owned by Horace Walpole.¹⁷ At Seamer's death, Vertue recorded that 'his great Age gave him an early opportunity and acquaintance with Artists long ago dead, as Mr.Faithorne, Sr.P.Lelly, Mr.Simons Modeller, Quellin. Sr.Chris Wren &c.' In 1678 Seamer had met the enamel painter Jean Petitot, who had originally come to England in 1637 with letters of introduction to Theodore de Mayerne.¹⁸

Vertue also knew of Seamer's copies after Samuel Cooper's work in crayon and noted: 'Some sketches of heads with the pen Loosely done good Expression done by Coll. Seymour Banker. in the manner of Inigo Jones. multitudes he has done so.'¹⁹ One hundred and fifty-five of these were acquired by the silversmith and art dealer Panton Buteux (1722–99), and offered at his sale on 12 June 1799.²⁰ Examples of Seamer's drawings are in several collections but have been quite widely mis-attributed due to the similarity of Seamer's drawings to better-known artists. For example, a small group at the Ashmolean museum was previously attributed to Isaac Oliver.²¹ At the Courtauld Gallery is a head in profile that is part calligraphy, which at one time attributed to Jonathan Richardson the elder but which is surely the work of Seamer.²² At the British Museum are two pen and ink drawings attributed to Lely (and previously to Richardson) which are characteristically Jonesian sketches of Seamer (fig.20.1).²³

The *Head of a Boy* (cat.21) may well depict one of Seamer's own children, possibly even James Seymour the equestrian artist who was said to be a favourite of his father.



Fig.20.1 | James Seamer, *Studies of three male heads*

Pen and brown ink over pencil · 3 × 4 inches · 77 × 101 mm
© The Trustees of the British Museum

21

COLONEL JAMES SEAMER c.1661–1737

Head of a Boy

Pen and ink
6 × 3¾ inches · 152 × 97 mm
Drawn c.1690

COLLECTIONS

Christopher Lennox-Boyd;
Christie's, London, 13 November 1990, lot 51;
Thomas Williams Fine Art, London, until 1994;
Private collection, London, until 2010

EXHIBITED

London, Agnew's, *121st Annual Exhibition of English Watercolours and Drawings*, 1994, no.13, repr.



Fig.21.1 | James Seamer, *Head of a Boy turned to the right*

Pen and brown ink · 4¼ × 3⅞ inches · 105 × 85 mm
Christie's, 5 March 1975, part lot 67



JAMES SEYMOUR 1702–1752

A Sheet of Sketches of Horses and Riders

Pencil

7¼ × 7½ inches · 184 × 180 mm

Inscribed: 'black/old white'

Drawn c.1730

COLLECTIONS

Covent Garden Gallery Ltd, London;

Judy Egerton (1928–2012), purchased from the above, 1978;

By descent to 2015

EXHIBITED

London, Covent Garden Gallery Ltd, *'The Ingenious Mr Seymour'**James Seymour 1702–1752*, Summer Exhibition 1978, no.51.

James Seymour was a prolific and popular equestrian artist. His father, Colonel James Seamer, was a passionate amateur draughtsman who, according to George Vertue, collected pictures and 'curiosities', knew many artists, was steward of the Virtuosi of St Luke in 1702 and a subscriber to Kneller's academy in Great Queen Street in 1711. Seymour junior therefore grew up at the heart of the London art world. We know he attended the second St Martin's Lane Academy under the directorship of Vanderbank and Chéron, a fact that may explain the appearance of a number of his drawings.

George Vertue noted: 'Jimmy Seymor... from his infancy had a genius to drawing of Horses – this he pursued with great Spirit.' The present sheet shows a collection of studies of horses and riders made rapidly in pencil. Probably executed whilst visiting a race meeting, the sheet shows Seymour's ability to capture horses in movement with a fluid line. A substantial number of drawings by Seymour exist depicting horses and riders, they ultimately informed his work as an equestrian painter.



JAMES SEYMOUR 1702–1752

A Jockey Up, Seated on a Horse

Pencil

8¼ × 6¼ inches · 210 × 160 mm

Drawn in c.1730

COLLECTIONS:

Major A. R. Tavener RE, to 2017

This characterful drawing by James Seymour shows a mounted jockey, executed rapidly on the page of a sketchbook it is typical of Seymour's surviving drawings. Vertue tells us that Seymour 'from his infancy had a genius to drawing of Horses – this he pursued with spirit' adding that he: 'livd gay high and loosely – horse racing gameing woman &c.'²⁴ Judy Egerton established that Seymour's father, Colonel James Seamer, was involved with racing, supplying plate for racing trophies, and was instrumental in organizing race meetings at Guildford. Racing was a burgeoning activity in early eighteenth-century Britain and Seymour's rapid, ad vivum studies offer fascinating evidence of the sport in its infancy.



JAMES SEYMOUR 1702–1752

Study of a Jockey's Head

Pencil

4¼ × 3¾ inches · 108 × 95 mm

Drawn in c.1730

COLLECTIONS

Major A. R. Tavener, to 2017

This sensitive study of a jockey was made from life by James Seymour. Seymour was a prolific and successful equestrian painter. He produced a large number of drawings of horses and their riders, but few are as attractively handled as this sympathetic study of a jockey.



25

JAMES SEYMOUR 1702–1752

A Hunt-Servant

Pencil · 6½ × 4¾ inches · 165 × 118 mm

Drawn in c.1730

COLLECTIONS

Leonard Duke (1890–1971);

Spink, London;

Judy Egerton, acquired from the above;

And by descent to 2015

EXHIBITED

London, Covent Garden Gallery Ltd, *The Ingenious Mr Seymour*

James Seymour 1702–1752, Summer Exhibition 1978, no.54 (lent by

Judy Egerton).

This unusual drawing by James Seymour shows a hunt-servant wearing a broad-brimmed hat, carrying a hare slung from a stick, his right hand resting on a greyhound's head. Seymour produced numerous drawings relating to hare coursing, including a series of lively depictions of running hares in black ink; here Seymour has captured a jovial hunt servant. The present drawing belonged successively to Leonard Duke and Judy Egerton, it was Egerton, the great scholar of George Stubbs, who first drew attention to Seymour's work.



26

JOHN VANDEBANK 1694–1739

An Imaginary Portrait

Pen and ink and wash

7¾ × 5¾ inches · 195 × 146mm

Signed with initials and dated 1730, lower right

The loosely indicated second head and Vanderbank's choice of grey wash suggest that this boldly handled drawing is more likely to be based on a drawing than a lost engraving, perhaps of an early seventeenth century artist. It is comparable to many of the portraits in Van Dyck's series of prints, known as the *Icones*, such as the portrait of Inigo Jones, of which Vertue records that Vanderbank made a copy.²⁵ In the British Museum is a similar drawing by Vanderbank which seems to have been adapted from Van Dyck's etching of the 4th Earl of Pembroke from this series.²⁶ We know from the evidence of contemporary auctions that Vanderbank's bravura wash drawings were highly valued by collectors.



JOHN VANDERBANK 1694–1739

A Head Study

Pen and ink

6⅜ × 5⅝ inches · 162 × 130 mm

Signed with monogram 'JV' also inscribed, lower right, in another hand 'Van Dyke'

Drawn c.1725

COLLECTIONS

Major A. R. Tavener, to 2017

This sketch demonstrates Vanderbank's verve and originality as a draughtsman. Vanderbank probably copied the drawing from a sketch by or attributed to Van Dyck, which appears to depict a monastic figure wearing a hooded cloak. Although no such sketch is known now, it could have been based on a study for any number of religious paintings from Van Dyck's Antwerp period.

By 1725 Vanderbank was one of London's leading portrait painters, Vertue wrote that following the death of Godfrey Kneller in 1723, he could have 'carry'd all before him', yet although he lived in a grand style, he is not known to have assembled a collection of old master drawings in the tradition of Lely, Riley, Richardson and Hudson.²⁷ Perhaps any collecting ambitions were held in check by his constantly precarious financial situation, which led to insolvencies in 1724 and 1729.

Fig.26.1 | John Vanderbank, *Self-portrait*, c.1720

Pen and brown ink · 14½ × 13 inches · 370 × 330 mm
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Even so, this drawing reveals that Vanderbank engaged closely with old master drawings by making copies and pastiches and this study informed his own work as is apparent from a self-portrait now at the Metropolitan Museum (fig.27.1).

Vanderbank may not have been attempting an exact reproduction of a Van Dyck sketch, if the example of a huge copy he made in 1723 of Raphael's Villa Farnesina ceiling, the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*, is a guide. Vanderbank painted a version in monochrome, twenty-two feet wide by eight high; its destination is unknown but, given its size and instructive potential it is likely to have been displayed at the St Martin's Lane Academy where Vanderbank was the co-manager alongside Louis Chéron. Vertue thought this copy 'most nobly painted & drawn. the light & shade finely dispos'd. suteable to the original. yet not as a Copiest, but intirely like a Master ... a great proof of his skill in drawing, the foundation of the Art of Painting. & is an Honour to this Nation having never travelled abroad.'²⁸ Vertue's praise shows what a huge statement copies could make within the art world, for through them painters could demonstrate their mastery and understanding of the techniques, styles and ideas of the great artists of the past. It is tempting to think of Vanderbank's huge copy of Raphael as having stimulated Thornhill in the project he began in 1729 to make full-scale copies of the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court.

Vertue underlined the influence of Vanderbank's draughtsmanship at several points in his notebooks. His own brother studied under Vanderbank, and 'there particularly improved his drawing much.'²⁹ Arthur Pond, another of Vanderbank's pupils, studied 'by drawing and studying after painting the heads of Vandyke &c ... [and] drawing in Clair-obscur.'³⁰ Vertue also suggested that the idea of painting sitters in costumes from Van Dyck's era was first proposed by Vanderbank's pupil John Robinson in the 1740s. However, Vanderbank's 1737 portrait of Lady Yonge at Sudbury Hall, which is based on a portrait of Rubens's wife then thought to be by Van Dyck, indicates that the innovation was his.³¹ On learning of Vanderbank's death, Vertue judged him in 'drawing, and Painting, of all men born in this nation superior in skill.'³²

JOHN MICHAEL RYSBRACK 1694–1770

A Study of the Death of Meleager

Pen and black ink and brown wash, heightened with white,
on prepared laid paper

7 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 14 inches · 195 × 356 mm

Paul Sandby's collector's mark (L.2112), lower left

Drawn c.1740

COLLECTIONS

Paul Sandby (1731–1809);

Sotheby's, London, 18 March 1959, lot 14;

Ralph Holland (1917–2012)

The study here highlights Rysbrack's sculptural approach to drawing, for he has borrowed heavily from the left-hand section of plate 21 from Perrier's *Icones et Segmenta* (Rome 1645). It is far from a straightforward copy, however, for even in the central grouping around Meleager's body which are based on Perrier's etching, Rysbrack has varied the heads of the two female mourners and simplified the bed. The right section of the relief is omitted altogether, in which Meleager's mother condemns him to death by flinging a cursed piece of wood onto the fire whose destruction, it had long previously been prophesied, would cause Meleager's death. Rysbrack's introduction of a male figure on the left, might be seen as a replacement for the fire scene, if we imagine that he is discoursing on the fulfilment of the prophecy.

Eighteenth-century sculpture in England was fundamentally shaped by models from the ancient world. The most famous examples were studied in Rome and widely communicated through prints, notably by the French artist François Perrier in his two books of sculpture, *Segmenta nobilium* (Rome 1638) and *Icones et Segmenta* (Rome, 1645). Rysbrack's practice as an architectural sculptor was informed by ancient Roman reliefs, which he adapted for use in domestic settings such as on fireplace surrounds. This design may relate to the central tablet of a fireplace, but the fact that it was owned in the eighteenth century by the painter Paul Sandby points to the demand for Rysbrack's drawings by contemporary collectors and dealers.



Fig. 28.1 | François Perrier,
Icones – Death of Meleager,
1645

Etching
Photo: Warburg Institute

JOHN MICHAEL RYSBRACK 1694–1770

Composition of Classical Figures

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white,
on prepared laid paper

7 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 10 inches · 195 × 254 mm

COLLECTIONS

Colonel Gould Weston;

Weston sale, Christie's, London, 15 July 1958, lot 125;

Ralph Holland (1917–2012)

Rysbrack was the leading monumental and architectural sculptor working in England in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, but when he faced competition in the 1740s from Peter Scheemakers and Louis-François Roubiliac he found himself 'somewhat at leisure, business not being so brisk.'³³ According to his patron Charles Rogers, Rysbrack would 'amuse himself with making high-finished Drawings in an admirable taste; these are generally of his own invention, designed with a smart pen, washed with bister, and heightened with white.'³⁴ The present classically-inspired drawing is characteristic of this type of Rysbrack's drawings. It was natural for Rysbrack to present his narrative in the form of a relief, for he created many reliefs in his work as an architectural sculptor.



cat.28



cat.29



IV

From Prospect to Landscape

The growth of interest in early English drawings in the mid-twentieth century was largely prompted by collectors keen to construct a pre-history for the rise of English watercolour painting. There was a need to understand how the work of John Robert Cozens, Thomas Girtin and J.M.W. Turner had come about. This teleology has largely obscured the rich and varied types of landscape drawings being made in Britain during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Kim Sloan identified three categories of landscape drawing that had emerged by the end of the seventeenth century: 'views of real places, especially of great houses or estates, but more usually the strictly topographical approach... the imaginary ideal landscape... and the natural landscape, either drawings or watercolours of a detail of nature, an object like a ruin or a small part of a larger composition drawn or painted entirely on the spot.' This section contains drawings that fall into each of these categories, as well as works that point to the flowering of landscape as a dominant genre in Britain from the middle of the eighteenth century.

As with portraiture, the development of landscape in Britain was indebted to the practices and traditions of migrant artists; this section contains several works that highlight the absorption of Dutch and Italian models.

MICHEL VAN OVERBEEK fl.1650–80

Four London Views, drawn c.1663

[A] A VIEW OF WESTMINSTER SHOWING WESTMINSTER ABBEY, WESTMINSTER HALL AND ST MARGARET'S CHURCH FROM ST JAMES'S PARK

Pen and ink and sepia wash
4 × 8½ inches · 110 × 215 mm
Inscribed: 'St Iaems Park'

[B] ST JAMES'S PALACE FROM THE PARK

Pen and ink and sepia wash
4 × 8½ inches · 110 × 215 mm
Inscribed: 'St Iaems Park'

[C] A VIEW IN HYDE PARK

Pen and ink and sepia wash
4 × 8½ inches · 110 × 215 mm
Inscribed: 'In Hey Perck'

[D] A VIEW IN HYDE PARK

Pen and ink and sepia wash
4 × 8½ inches · 110 × 215 mm
Inscribed: 'In Hey Perck'

COLLECTIONS

The Rev Dr Henry Wellesley (1794–1866);
Private Collection, 2008

LITERATURE

J. Yarker, 'Four rediscovered seventeenth-century views of London parks by Michel van Overbeek', *The London Gardener or The Gardener's Intelligencer*, vol.17, 2013, pp.11–19.

One of the immediate impacts of the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 was an influx of tourists from the Continent, although travel had by no means been forbidden during the interregnum, the prospect of patronage from Charles II and his new court prompted the arrival of a number of painters in London during the 1660s. One such visitor was the Dutch artist Michel van Overbeek who made pen and ink studies of his journey from Dover to London and in the environs the city. These sheets depict two views of Hyde Park and two of St James's Park offering a rare glimpse of the Royal parks shortly before the campaigns of formal planting would transform them from Tudor hunting grounds into public pleasure gardens.

Michel van Overbeek was a Dutch painter and picture dealer, the nephew of the topographical draughtsman Bonaventure van Overbeek. Overbeek senior was born and died in Amsterdam, but was most celebrated for his publication of Roman ruins, *Les restes de l'ancienne Rome*, which was completed in 1709. Dedicated to Queen Anne the book was, according to Arnold Houbraken, published posthumously by Michel van Overbeek.¹ Like his uncle, Michel seems to have travelled extensively in France and Italy and made what appears to be a brief stay in England from about 1663 until 1666. Both

Christopher White and Celina Fox have concluded that he was in London by 1663 as a distant view from Greenwich (Royal collection, Windsor Castle) shows the tower of Old St Paul's covered with scaffolding which was in place from August 1663 until the church was destroyed by fire on 4 September 1666.

The work from Overbeek's English tour accords with the contemporary convention of topographical travel views, such as those prepared by the Bohemian etcher, Wenceslaus Hollar in the 1640s.² The oblong, ink drawings are all the same size and probably come from a single sketchbook, they are all prominently titled, suggesting Overbeek had some kind of publication in mind. It would seem, from the internal evidence of the extant British drawings that he landed at Dover, probably from France, and travelled up to London. Amongst the five English views by Overbeek in The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is a drawing of Dover Castle as well as a view on the Medway. Once in London, he completed several conventional views of the city and its environs, including a fine drawing of the Palace of Westminster from the Thames now in the British Museum, a prospect entitled 'About Grinwiche' (Fitzwilliam Museum) and two further views of Westminster (Westminster Public Library). Overbeek seems to have traveled to St Albans, a view of which survives in the British Library, as well as a view of Kingston showing the Copper-mills at Kingston (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven). The largest concentration of studies seem to have been of London's parks.

Overbeek's focus on the parks to the west of London perhaps reflects the reorientation in the life of the nation following the Commonwealth, away from Parliament and the City, back to the King, aristocracy and court, who were based at St James's Palace. Recreation became a conspicuous element of metropolitan life, and London's parks were used not only for relaxation but, as documents such as the diary of Samuel Pepys reveal, forums for political lobbying and intrigue.

Hyde Park had been acquired by Henry VIII in 1536 from the monks of Westminster Abbey; in Overbeek's views, the inclusion of herds of deer suggest its initial use as a hunting ground. At the Restoration, it reverted to the Crown and rapidly became a fashionable public space on the western limit of London. In March 1668 Pepys noted: 'to Hyde Park, the first time we were there this year, or ever in our own coach, where with mighty pride rode up and down, and many coaches there.'³ In one of the drawings, which shows an extensive landscape looking north from the park, a coach can be seen followed by several fashionably dressed riders.

St James's Park had been acquired from Eton College by Henry VIII in 1532; initially an area of marshland, traversed by the Tyburn, it lay to the west of York Palace, which had belonged to Cardinal Wolsey. James I had the land drained at the beginning of the seventeenth century and turned into a park where he kept exotic animals. Overbeek's two views of



cat.30a



cat.30b



cat.30c



cat.30d

the park, both inscribed *St Iaems Park*, show the park following its restitution to the Crown, but before it was transformed by Charles II with more formal planting by the French landscaper André Mollet. This included the creation of the large canal and avenues of trees, the most famous being designed for the King's favourite courtly game, a kind of boules-cum-croquet named pell mell. Following these alterations, St James's Park became indelibly associated with two conflicting sides of Restoration culture, represented by two great poetic works. The first, Edmund Waller's *Poem on St. James's Park as Lately Improved by His Majesty* of 1661 which depicted the park as a cultivated idyll and location of genteel courtship. The second, John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester's *A Ramble in St James's Park* of about 1673, exposed the park's status as a locus for imagined and actual sexual congress.

Overbeek's views show the roofline of St James's Palace from the south and Westminster Abbey, Westminster Hall and St Margaret's apparently from the north. The latter view is not

topographically accurate and raises questions of the purpose of these drawings and the circumstances of their execution. The skyline clearly shows the massive bulk of Westminster Abbey on the right, to the left the long, low roof of Westminster Hall and framing the composition on the far left, the spire of St Margaret's Westminster, an incompatible combination. Furthermore, the title, 'St Iaems Perck', is misleading. St James's Park is somewhat to the north of the viewpoint of this scene and Overbeek was more likely to have been standing in Tothill Fields, although it would never have been possible to have seen this precise combination of buildings from any angle. If they were executed in preparation for engravings, this topographical inaccuracy seems inexplicable. It is more likely therefore, that they formed a private record of Overbeek's trip, which may have been linked to his activities as a dealer in art rather than his practice as a painter. A merchant's record of his journey to London rather than an artistic proposition in their own right.



Fig.30.1 | Michel van Overbeek, *A View of Greenwich*
Pen, brown ink, brown and grey wash on brown tinted paper
4¼ x 8¼ inches · 108 x 210 mm
Inscribed 'About Grinwiche'
© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



Fig.30.2 | Michel van Overbeek, *Dover Castle*
Pen, brown ink, brown and grey wash on brown tinted paper
4¼ x 8¼ inches · 104 x 207 mm
Inscribed 'Dover Castel'
© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

ATTRIBUTED TO JACOB ESSELENS 1626–1687

A View of Rye, Sussex

Ink on paper laid down on a paper mount

5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches · 149 × 195 mm

Inscribed with title on mount

Collector's mark 'E. Blum', lower right

Drawn c.1665

COLLECTIONS

E. Blum;

Private collection, Connecticut, to 2018

Esselens was an amateur Dutch landscape painter and silk merchant whose business led him to visit Italy, France, England and Scotland. Many of his panoramic views of English towns dating from the 1660s were included in the *Atlas van der Hem*, now at the National Library in Vienna. This is a forty-six volume extra-illustrated edition of Johannes Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* (1662), enhanced with more than two thousand maps, prints and drawings by the Amsterdam lawyer, Laurens van der Hem (1621–78). As well as Esselen's drawings, the atlas



Fig. 31.1 | Jacob Esselens,
A view of Rye from Point Hill

Brown ink and grey wash

9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches · 250 × 370 mm

Signed, lower right

© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



contains English landscapes by Willem Schellinks and Lambert Doomer.⁴

This is a view of the town from Playden Cliff. The church of St Mary is at the top of the hill in the centre of town, and the Ypres Tower is prominent in the lower foreground. Esselens adopted the same vantage point in one of his two drawings of Rye in the *Atlas van der Hem*; another version of one of these is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (fig.31.1).⁵ The present drawing, though, is concerned with a precise description of the townscape, whereas in the atlas and Fitzwilliam drawings Esselens is more interested in the town's setting of hills and sea. Rye was a point of disembarkation for travellers arriving from northern Europe. Already in the early sixteenth century French, Dutch Flemish and other Europeans inhabitants are recorded in the parish records and in 1582 more than fifteen hundred French refugees were living there.⁶ It was natural, therefore, for artists newly arrived in England to sketch the town, especially as the journey to London, though only thirty miles, took a further ten or more hours even in the 1680s.⁷ As well as Esselens's drawings of Rye, Schellink drew the town for the *Atlas van der Hem*, and Van Dyck's drawing, which is close in spirit to the drawing here, is dated 27 August 1633.⁸

32

FRANCIS PLACE 1647–1728

Castel Novo on the Golfo Di Caturo

Pen and ink

5 × 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches · 127 × 274 mm

Inscribed 'Golfi di Caturro' lower centre,

further inscribed 'Castel Novo in Dalmatia', upper centre

Collector's mark for Sir Bruce Ingram on backing sheet. (L. 1405a)

Drawn late 1670s

COLLECTIONS

Francis Place, by descent to;

Patrick Allan Fraser (1812–1890);

And by descent to Fraser sale, Sotheby's 10 June 1931;

Sir Bruce Ingram (L. 1405a);

Ingram sale, Sotheby's, 21 October 1964, lot 110;

Private collection to 2018

This is a view of Herceg Novi in the Bay of Kotor, Montenegro. Place's inscriptions are in Italian, as this region was then part of Venetian Albania, territories along the Adriatic coast that had been taken from Ottoman control. Place sketched widely within England and Ireland, but his overseas travels are little known. Richard Tyler wrote of a 1677 sketch of Le Havre as being 'the most specific of the meagre records of his travels abroad.'⁹ The current sheet, therefore, represents valuable evidence that Place visited northern Italy, feasibly in the late 1670s.

33

FRANCIS PLACE 1647–1728

Figure Studies

Pen and ink
4¾ × 6¾ inches · 115 × 172 mm
Drawn c.1700

COLLECTIONS

Francis Place, by descent to;
Patrick Allan Fraser (1812–1890);
And by descent to Fraser sale, Sotheby's 10 June 1931;
Sir Bruce Ingram (1877–1963);
P. & D. Colnaghi;
Eileen & Herbert C. Bernard, New York, to 2017

This characterful sketchbook sheet contains figure studies that Place would have used as staffage in his finished landscape drawings. Judging from the fontange headdresses on the female figures in the top left corner and in the centre of the middle row, and the men with large centrally parted wigs, this was drawn in France in the first decade of the eighteenth century. However, other figures are Near Eastern in character. Given their miscellaneous characters, therefore, perhaps these are not life studies that Place made on his travels but are instead either based on prints or else intended as a study for a print. A contemporary model was Sebastian Le Clerc (1637–1714) whose tiny etched copy book *Quelques figures, chevaux, paysages* (1696/1700) was widely used in England. Though this is not Place's direct source, Le Clerc's etchings may have been Place's inspiration, for both Place and Le Clerc use the same range of poses intended to be inserted into landscapes: men looking to the right with outstretched arms, ladies with fans, men bowing and labourers carrying sacks.



34

FRANCIS PLACE 1647–1728

A Grotto

Pencil and pen and ink
7⅞ × 13¼ inches · 195 × 335 mm
Drawn c.1700

COLLECTIONS

Francis Place, by descent to;
Patrick Allan Fraser (1812–1890);
and by descent to Fraser sale, Sotheby's 10 June 1931 (possibly lot.137);
Private collection to 2018

Almost all known drawings by Place were sold at Sotheby's on 10 June 1931 by the family of his descendant, Patrick Allan Fraser (1812–1890) of Hospitalfield, Arbroath. Lot 137 contained 'drawings of different places on the Continent', among which were views in Flanders, Germany, Genoa and Naples. If these were by Place, they may have been drawn on the same tour as this cavernous study of ruined and overgrown arches. Its location is unknown but it may well be a site then known as the stables of the Villa Maecenas at Tivoli. Place may have travelled to Italy with the landscape painter Thomas Manby, who travelled to Italy several times in the 1670s and 80s, for Place owned Manby's only surviving drawings, all of which were made in Italy and which include views drawn at Tivoli.¹⁰ The present sheet, with its rich use of tonal washes was probably made towards the end of Place's career, when his work began to reflect the impact of Dutch-Italianate artists like Bartholomeus Breenbergh and Thomas Wyck instead of the more linear style of his earlier drawings.



ENGLISH SCHOOL

A Panoramic View of Greenwich

Pencil, pen and ink and watercolour

On laid paper on an eighteenth century backing sheet

5⁷/₈ × 7⁷/₈ inches · 152 × 199 mm

Drawn c.1690

COLLECTIONS

Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), collection stamp (L. 2364);

Arthur Melville Champernowne (1871–1946) collection mark in script (L. 153);

Sir Bruce Ingram (1877–1963), collection stamp (L. 1405a);

Michael Ingram (1917–2005), nephew of the above, collection mark;

Ingram sale, Sotheby's, London, 8 December 2005, lot 226;

Lowell Libson Ltd, purchased from the above;

Stanley Seeger, purchased from the above, 2006;

Seeger sale, Sotheby's, London, 6 March 2014, lot 567

EXHIBITION

Burlington Fine Arts Club, *An exhibition of the works of British-born artists of the seventeenth century*, 1938, no.55.

This study of Greenwich from the Isle of Dogs is a remarkably early example of the use of transparent washes in a landscape watercolour. Many Dutch and Flemish artists painted Greenwich, which was itself a site of picture-making in the late seventeenth century as the marine painters Willem van de Velde the elder and his son maintained a studio at the Queen's House. However, painters such as Jan Griffier usually painted Greenwich from the hill with the London in the distance, rather than from the Thames as here. This drawing, in fact, describes two stretches of the Greenwich shore, one above the other, in a form of note-taking that would have been used in preparation for a wide prospect. The continuous landscape was perhaps made from a ship, it shows on the top, the gravel pits along Greenwich Reach and on the bottom, Crowley House, Trinity Hospital and the King's Observatory; in the foreground a frigate at anchor.

The date of this watercolour is unknown, but it cannot be older than 1675, when the Observatory, visible in the right-hand distance, replaced Duke Humphrey's Tower. The red ensign on the ship shows only the cross of St George, so must pre-date the 1707 union with Scotland. These were the decades when many painters crossed from the Netherlands to seek work in London, including landscape specialists like Griffier, Hendrick Danckerts, Leonard Knyff and Jan Siberechts.

This watercolour, then considered a mid-seventeenth century work, was featured in the first exhibition of early drawings, *British-Born Artists of the Seventeenth Century*, held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1938. This was a ground-breaking display envisaged as a survey of drawing, that was designed to encourage the study of early drawings beyond the consideration of individual artists' work. This sketch was included



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principally because its lively use of watercolour, applied rapidly in transparent washes, was unexpected at this date. Kim Sloan has suggested that the use of transparent washes of watercolour that became ubiquitous in Britain in the later eighteenth century had its origins among the Flemish immigrant painters, from Van Dyck to Siberechts and Tillemans.¹¹ Watercolours such as this view of Greenwich, therefore, are important documents in the early history of English watercolour. Handled with fluency and assurance, this hugely appealing topographical view of the Thames river bank was owned in the eighteenth century by Joshua Reynolds, suggesting that it was understood to be by a known artist, possibly Siberechts or Griffier.

36

SIR JAMES THORNHILL 1675–1734

*A Landscape Seen Through an Arch:**A Study for the Queen's Theatre, Haymarket*

Pen and brown ink and watercolour over pencil

8⁵/₈ × 10¹⁵/₁₆ inches · 220 × 277 mm

Drawn c.1705

COLLECTIONS

Colnaghi, 1948;

Sir Bruce Ingram (1877–1963), collection stamp verso (L. 1405a);

Michael Ingram (1917–2005)

EXHIBITED

London, P. & D. Colnaghi, *Loan exhibition of English drawings and watercolours in memory of the late D. C.T. Baskett*, 1963;London, Guildhall, *Sir James Thornhill*, 1958, no.90.

LITERATURE

Graham F. Barlow, 'Vanbrugh's Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, 1703–9', *Early Music*, November 1989, vol.17, no 4, pp 515–21, fig 1.

It has been proposed that this drawing is a design for the forestage of the Queen's Theatre on Haymarket, which opened in 1705 with a production of the pastoral opera *The Loves of Ergasto*. Sir John Vanbrugh designed the building, which was altered in 1708–9 and finally destroyed by fire in 1789. Thornhill's involvement with stage design at this early point in his career is established through four landscape sketches at the Victoria and Albert Museum, whose inscriptions show that they were produced for the 1705 production of the opera *Arsinoe* at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.¹²

Graham Barlow identified the present drawing in a 1989 article in which he reconstructed Vanbrugh's design for the Haymarket theatre, based on what was already known of the building from plans published in the later eighteenth century and on four more of Thornhill's drawings, whose connection to the theatre had not been recognised.¹³ Barlow identified a



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sheet in Thornhill's British Museum sketchbook as an outline elevation of the stage, whose measurements showed that it belonged in a building that was fifty-four feet and eight inches wide, which were the dimensions of Vanbrugh's theatre.¹⁴ The same measurements were also inscribed on the back of Thornhill's ceiling design at the Huntington Library on the theme of *Queen Anne's Patronage of the Arts*, which also contained three blank circular holes through which three chandeliers were to be hung.¹⁵ The two remaining drawings – the present landscape watercolour and a sketch now at the Art Institute of Chicago which is inscribed 'The 1st Great flat scene' – were clearly scenery designs.¹⁶ Barlow suggested the present sheet be entitled 'The Pastoral Scene' in an allusion to the theatre's

Fig.36.1 | James Thornhill,
Design for a wall of the saloon, Roehampton House, after 1712
Pen and brown ink, with brown-grey wash
5½ × 4¾ inches · 140 × 121 mm
© The Trustees of the British Museum



inaugural production. If so, it would have been painted on a huge scale, as in real life the columns in the watercolour would have been twenty-foot-tall and two foot in diameter, and topped with three feet high gilded capitals that supported a five foot high cornice.

Thornhill painted landscapes in domestic settings too, and there are many landscape sketches in the British Museum sketchbook. For example, Thornhill decorated the closet and dairy of Mr Loader at Deptford, whom Croft-Murray identified as 'anchorsmith' to King William and Queen Mary.¹⁷ In 1710 Thomas Cary commissioned Thomas Archer to build him a house in Roehampton, Surrey and in about 1712 Thornhill was asked to decorate the main Saloon, for which he devised a composition of the *Feast of the gods* for the ceiling and a series of landscapes set within architectural frameworks around the walls. The house still stands, but Thornhill's work was destroyed in 1940. The present watercolour, although more fully worked, is similar in style and subject matter to the studies for Mr Loader and at Roehampton (fig.36.1).

This watercolour supports the idea that a taste for pastoral classical landscapes flourished in the early eighteenth century. Histories of British landscape painting have typically traced the origins of the genre to topographical or chorographical representations of real scenery and suggest that taste for ideal classical landscape in the style of Gaspar Dughet emerged only around the middle of the eighteenth century as the influence of the Grand Tour grew. In fact, this design and others confirm that a taste for Italianate landscape formed much earlier and suggest that the role of decorative painting in the history of the emergence of classical landscape in England has been overlooked.

37

JACQUES RIGAUD c.1681–1754

The Rotunda at Stowe

Pen and black and grey ink with grey wash, on two joined sheets of laid paper, watermarked: *lvc* and with the strasburg lily
10⅞ × 19 inches · 277 × 483 mm

Drawn in 1733

COLLECTIONS

Christopher Powney, London, by 1972;
Walter Brandt, acquired from the above in 1972;
And by descent to 2011

'Mon^s Rigaud about February... from Paris came over here at the request of M^r Bridgman the Kings Gardner. To be employ'd by him to make designs of Gardens. Views &c. of which at Ld Cobhams he has been some time made many drawings most excellently perform'd. He being perfect Master of perspective finely disposes his groups of Trees light. & shade & figures in a masterly manner. – some of the plates he has begun to Engrave.'¹⁸

This is how George Vertue succinctly recorded the arrival of the great French landscape draughtsman and engraver Jacques Rigaud in London in 1733. Rigaud had recently achieved significant success with a series of engravings, after his own drawings, representing *Les Maisons Royales de France*, published in 1730. The present drawing of the *Rotunda at Stowe* was one of those 'excellently perform'd' drawings commissioned by George Bridgman to commemorate his work in the garden created by Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham at Stowe in Buckinghamshire. This large, impressive and richly worked sheet was not one of those engraved, instead it offers a rare contemporary depiction of Britain's greatest landscape garden populated with fashionable visitors.

The gardens at Stowe were begun by Cobham shortly after he inherited the estate in 1713, he employed the Royal Gardener, Charles Bridgeman to execute his plans. Cobham's concept for the landscape at Stowe was ambitious. In 1717 he opened the New Inn on the outskirts of the grounds to accommodate tourists. Throughout the next couple of decades Bridgeman extended the gardens further south, adding an octagonal lake, whilst a group of distinguished architects, including Sir John Vanbrugh and James Gibbs, contributed ornamental buildings. It was Vanbrugh who constructed the Rotunda in 1720–1, as a circular temple, consisting of ten unfluted Roman Ionic columns raised up on a podium of three steps designed to house a statue of Venus. The Rotunda is at the heart of Rigaud's drawing. Bridgeman had placed the circular temple at the end of four radiating walks, Rigaud shows three of them dominated by the central walk of the Queen's Theatre, which contained a formal canal basin and elaborate terracing. In the present sheet Rigaud shows the Rotunda with some differences to the architecture – the columns are doric, rather than ionic – and the sculpture in



cat.37

the centre is not Venus but the statue of Queen Caroline which was eventually installed at the end of the Queen's Theatre. This may explain why this view was not included amongst those engraved by Rigaud for Charles Bridgeman and why the present drawing was not amongst those included in an album now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.¹⁹ Rigaud did engrave an alternative view of the Rotunda, *View of the Queen's Theatre from the Rotunda* which shows the vista as it was in 1733. As Peter Willis has pointed out, the gardens were changing at such a rapid rate at this date, Rigaud's drawing may depict a projected alternative layout designed by Bridgeman.

By Rigaud's arrival at Stowe, the garden, as Cobham had intended, was already attracting considerable numbers of visitors: the antiquarian Sir John Evelyn described them in 1725 as 'very noble' and in 1724 John Percival, 2nd Earl of Egmont noted that Stowe: 'has gained the reputation of being the finest seat in England... The Gardens, by reason of the good contrivance of the walks, seem to be three times as large as they are.'²⁰ Rigaud has filled his composition with fashionable figures admiring the new landscape, although this may equally reflect the convention of populating gardens with figures as Rigaud had done in his engravings for the *Maison Royales de France*.

Rigaud's drawings had been commissioned by Charles Bridgeman, who prepared a sumptuous publication of views of Stowe plus a plan which were engraved partly by Rigaud and partly by Bernard Baron. The publication did not appear until 1738, after Bridgeman had died and Rigaud had returned to France. Other English landscapes by Rigaud survive, eight views of Lord Burlington's villa at Chiswick in the collection of The Duke of Devonshire.²¹



Fig.37.1 | Jacques Rigaud and Bernard Baron, *Stowe Gardens in Buckinghamshire: View of the Queen's Theatre from the Rotunda*
 Etching · 14¾ × 20¼ inches · 368 × 512 mm
 Numbered on plate: '8'; titled in English and French
 Published by S. Bridgeman, 1739
 © The Trustees of the British Museum



38

SAMUEL BUCK 1696–1779

The North Prospect of Gravesend in the County of Kent

Pen and black and brown ink with grey wash over pencil, on laid paper, squared for transfer · 12¼ × 32 inches · 307 × 812 mm
 Inscribed in pen and brown ink, as titled, upper centre
 Drawn in 1735

COLLECTIONS

Sir Bruce Stirling Ingram (1877–1963) (L.1405a);
 Ingram sale, Sotheby's, London, 21 October 1964, lot 10;
 Walter Brandt;
 By descent to 2011

EXHIBITED

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, *Exhibition of English Drawings and Water-colours from a Private Collection*, 1971, no.11.

ENGRAVED

Engraved by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, published according to the Act of Parliam.t March 26th 1739, Garden Co. No. 1. Middle Temple London.

This large, squared-up drawing was made by Samuel Buck in preparation for an engraving of *The North Prospect of Gravesend* which he published with his brother, Nathaniel, in 1739. By this date the Buck brothers were celebrated and successful engravers and publishers. From 1735 they operated from number 1 Garden Court, Middle Temple, with a second address at the Green Canister, by the Crown and Anchor Tavern, opposite St Clement Danes in the Strand. The Bucks had two ambitious projects in progress, a series of 24 perspective views of ruins in Yorkshire and a second series of town prospects. The present, grand sheet was made in preparation for a print in the second series.

In the Bucks' series of townscapes, each prospect consisted of an image on a single sheet measuring 305 mm × 775 mm. They habitually took the views from the nearby countryside, 1 mile or 2 miles from the town, and from an elevated spot where possible. In the case of Gravesend, which lies seven miles to the north-west of Rochester, on the south bank of the River Thames, Buck took the view from an elevated position above Tilbury Fort from the north bank of the river. The view therefore shows the northern prospect of the town along the

Thames itself. Gravesend had suffered a devastating fire in 1727 which destroyed not only the fifteenth-century St George's church, but 110 houses. Reconstruction was largely completed by 1731, the Bucks therefore show the town with its new skyline including newly built tower of St George's church. In the foreground of the view, the Bucks included the fortifications of Tilbury. The drawing shows how careful the Bucks were to dress their prospects with a suitably fashionable staffage, the elegant figures in the foreground provide an unexpectedly rococo note. These additional figures may well be the work of

another hand, as Ralph Hyde has pointed out Gravelot, Claude Chatelain, Peter Monamy and possibly Samuel Scott were all employed to strengthen the Bucks drawings, to draw staffage, and generally to bring their awkward drawings to life. All the town prospects carry a numbered key and most are accompanied by a diligently compiled panegyric. The Bucks' usual practice was to market the town prospects in sets of six, in this case the prospect of Gravesend was accompanied by views of Dover, Sheerness, Woolwich, Greenwich and Deptford all then in Kent.



Fig.38.1 | Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, *The North Prospect of Gravesend in the County of Kent* Engraving 18¼ × 33½ inches · 465 × 850 mm



39

AUGUSTIN HECKEL 1690–1770
Cholmondeley House, Richmond

Pen and ink over pencil on laid paper
5 1/8 x 14 1/2 inches · 130 x 370 mm
Drawn in 1748

COLLECTIONS

Probably Horace Walpole (1717–1797) at Strawberry Hill; Strawberry Hill sale, George Robins, 13 June 1842, part of lot.1247, ‘Drawings of Views of Richmond, Surrey, and vicinity, by Augustin Heckel’; Edward Croft-Murray (1907–1980); By descent to 2018

LITERATURE

John Cloake, *Prospects about Richmond: Mid-Eighteenth-Century Drawings & Prints by Augustin Heckel*, exh. cat., Richmond (Museum of Richmond), 1993, no.24A.

EXHIBITED

Richmond, Museum of Richmond, *Prospects about Richmond: Mid-Eighteenth-Century Drawings & Prints by Augustin Heckel*, 1993–1994, no.24A.

ENGRAVED

by Augustin Heckel, printed by J.Mason and published by John Bowles in 1749, 10 7/8 x 16 7/8 inches · 277 x 427 mm. A copy of the print accompanies the drawing

This drawing of the river at Richmond looking towards Richmond Hill was made by the German engraver, Augustin Heckel and probably belonged in the eighteenth century to Horace Walpole, who lived at Strawberry Hill close to Richmond. It was one of a series of views of Richmond and its environs made by Heckel and owned by Walpole, it was published by John Bowles and is first listed in his catalogue in 1749.

Heckel’s lively view shows fashionable figures walking on the banks of the River Thames in front of Cholmondeley House. Cholmondeley House was built for George, 3rd Earl of Cholmondeley and completed in around 1748. The house was constructed from part of the outer wall of the destroyed Richmond Palace, and the land for Cholmondeley Walk was acquired from a neighbour in exchange for the ‘Great Orchard’ of the Old Palace in 1711. Heckel was born into a family of goldsmiths in Augsburg and spent his career in London where he worked as a painter, engraver and designer. He moved to Richmond in 1746 and lived on the edge of Richmond Park. His career as a gold chaser and jeweller also led him to produce drawings and prints of Rococo ornaments, Chinese landscapes, and paintings and gouaches of flowers. The latter were used in books of patterns for needlework, such as Robert Sayer’s *The Florist* (1759) and Thomas Bowles’s *The Lady’s Drawing Book* (1753). Heckel also produced a series of topographical views around Richmond. A further version of this composition exists

Walpole and was included in a famous extra illustrated edition of *A description of the villa of Mr. Horace Walpole. Strawberry Hill* (1784), now in the Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington. Walpole seems to have owned a large number of Heckel’s drawings; two further drawings Heckel made in 1748, *Dr Battys house at Twickenham* and *Governor Pitt’s house a[t] Twickenham*, which were also engraved by Mason and published by Bowles were listed in Walpole’s collection at Strawberry Hill. It seems likely that this drawing was also part of the group owned by Walpole.

40

JOSEPH GOUPY 1689–1770

Augures – a Mountainous Landscape with Figures, after Salvator Rosa

Gouache, the verso blackened
Traces of framing lines in gold and black at the edges,
10 1/8 x 15 3/4 inches · 256 x 400 mm
Painted in 1717

COLLECTIONS

Commissioned by John Hedges (1638–1737) in 1717; Charles Hedges, by descent from the above; Galeria d’Arte Cesana, Venice, Dipinti di Due Secoli, 1963, no.49; Anonymous sale, London, Christie’s, 26 November 1968, Lot 156 (as Marco Ricci, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching*) bt. Rogers, 420 gns.

LITERATURE

Reginald Grundy, ‘Documents Relating to An Action Brought Against Joseph Goupy in 1738’, *The Walpole Society*, vol.9, 1920–1921, pp.77–87; Bruce Robertson and Robertson, ‘Joseph Goupy and the art of the copy with a checklist of prints, drawings and paintings,’ *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, vol.75, no.10, December 1988, p.377, no.3(b), p.382, note 6.

ENGRAVED

Etched by Joseph Goupy, published in 1724. The print lettered below the image: ‘Salvator Rosa pinxit/Jos. Goupy fecit Londini/Augures/Servatur Exemplar in Ædibus prahon^{bis} Domini D. Cooke M. Britanniae Regis Vice Camerary.’

Writing in 1755 in his *Present State of the Arts in England*, Jean-André Rouquet devoted a whole section to ‘Painting in Water-Colour’ in which he praised the work of Joseph Goupy, who he claimed:

‘copies in the most perfect manner, in water colours, the drawings of the most eminent masters; he knows how to accommodate his pencil to their different manners of designing and painting. He executes this branch, which in appearance is merely servile, with a skilful freedom, by which his copies preserve the spirit of the originals.’²²

which Heckel prepared to be engraved by James Mason and published by Thomas Bowles in 1749. In the finished print, Mason alters the figures on the riverbank, simplifying Heckel’s original composition. Heckel himself sketched in a second boat, mid-channel, which he decided not to work up in ink. Heckel’s second version of this drawing belonged to Horace



Fig.39.1 | Augustus Heckel and James Mason, *Cholmondeley House, Richmond*, 1749

Engraving · 10 7/8 x 16 7/8 inches · 277 x 427 mm
Inscribed in ink: ‘Ld Cholmondeley’s House & Walk at Richmond’ and printed ‘J. Mason sculp.’
Lowell Libson and Jonny Yarker Ltd.

This impressive gouache by Goupy was made after a painting by Salvator Rosa and it neatly demonstrates his ability at preserving 'the spirit of the original'. This painting offers valuable evidence of both the demand for miniature copies of old master paintings in early eighteenth-century London and the market for reproductive prints.

We know a remarkable amount about the circumstances surrounding Goupy's execution of copies after Salvator Rosa, thanks to a court case he was embroiled in with the brother of his most important and consistent patron, John Hedges.²³

Goupy was born into a family of French artists, probably in London, in 1689, Goupy is said by George Vertue to have studied under his uncle Louis Goupy. In Goupy's own account, written for the 1738 court case, he states that he travelled to Rome to improve himself 'for near seven years together.' He had returned to London by 1711, when he is recorded as one of the subscribers to the Great Queen Street Academy. Shortly after his return from the Continent Goupy became a fashionable drawing master, teaching the daughters of Frederick, Prince of Wales. Goupy established himself as a leading practitioner in producing miniaturised copies of old masters in gouache. In 1717 Goupy completed copies of the seven Raphael Tapestry cartoons for the Hanoverian minister Baron Kilmansegge, for which he was paid 200 guineas. Following his death, later the same year, Kilmansegge's widow sold the copies – of which the *Death of Ananias* is now in the Center for British Art at Yale – to the Duke of Chandos for 50 guineas each.²⁴ This was a considerable sum and substantiates Goupy's claim in 1738 that he was earning with 'the greatest ease £600 per annum and upwards.'²⁵

Reduced copies of celebrated paintings occupied a privileged position in the burgeoning art market of early eighteenth-century London and Goupy's success should be read as the coalescence of several factors. Miniature copies of old master paintings had been popular in Britain since the seventeenth century when Peter Oliver had both produced reduced versions of paintings in the collection of Charles I. Goupy's

choice of medium, gouache – watercolour mixed with white pigment to render it opaque – had been made fashionable by Marco Ricci, who worked in Britain from 1711. Cabinets of miniatures continued to be a feature of English interiors until the middle of the eighteenth century; on a visit to Leicester House in 1749, Vertue records some 13 reduced copies by Goupy decorating Princess Augusta's dressing room.

The present work relates to a series of six prints Goupy made after paintings by Salvator Rosa which he published in 1724. Vertue observed that the prints were 'Etch'd...from several rare original pictures of Salvator Rosa in the Collections of the Curious.' The 'curious' represented some of the most familiar and influential connoisseurs in early eighteenth century London, including William, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, the diplomat and collector Sir Paul Methuen and Jonathan Richardson. *The Augures* belonged to Thomas Coke, Queen Anne's vice-chamberlain, although it can now no longer be traced. The project probably dates from 1717. During the 1738 court case it was claimed that Hedges: 'bespoke four pictures to be copied by [the] defendant [ie. Goupy] from landscapes by Salvator Rosa for which he agreed to pay...20 guineas.' Later in the proceedings three of the landscapes are named as the '*Augures*', '*Tobit and the Angel*' and '*The Robbers*.'²⁶ Hedges' pictures formed the basis for Goupy's etchings, which show the original compositions reversed. The fact that the verso of this work is blackened gives direct physical evidence it was used as the model for the etching, the chalk enabling Goupy to transfer the design directly to the surface of the plate. Goupy also used the present work as the basis for a number of copies, a gouache of the same subject-matter is preserved in the British Museum, which differs considerably in scale – being smaller and squarer than Goupy's etching – and in the disposition of the figures.

Goupy's etchings were the first set of landscape prints produced after an Italian *seicento* artist in Britain, they therefore represent a major contribution to the evolution of landscape painting in Britain.



Fig.40.1 | Joseph Goupy, after Salvator Rosa, *Augures*,
Etching
12 x 16½ inches · 306 x 420 mm
© The Trustees of the British Museum



cat.40

ALEXANDER COZENS c.1717–1786

The Isle of Elba from the Sea

Pen and ink and grey wash heightened with black chalk
 11 × 17½ inches · 280 × 445 mm
 Signed on the artist's original backing sheet
 Drawn in 1746

COLLECTIONS

William Ward (acquired Sotheby's, 29 July 1891, lot 26);
 Herbert Horne (1864–1916);
 Sir Edward Marsh (1872–1953);
 Henry Charles Green (1883/4–1966);
 Green sale, Sotheby's, 18 October 1961, lot 32,
 (130 gns to Walker's Galleries);
 Dr Theodore Besterman (1904–1976), by 1969;
 Lowell Libson Ltd;
 Private collection, UK, 2007, acquired from the above, to 2018

LITERATURE

A. P. Oppé, *Alexander and John Robert Cozens*, 1952, pp.11, 81 and
 footnote, (and comparison pl. 3).

EXHIBITED

London, Leger Galleries, *English Watercolours and Drawings from the
 collection of Theodore Besterman shown in aid of the National art-collections
 fund*, June 1969, no.15.



Fig.41.1 | Alexander Cozens, *Porto Longona, the Elba island*
 From an album of drawings made by Alexander Cozens during
 his visit to Italy c.1746.

Pen and black ink with grey wash and watercolour
 4¾ × 7¼ inches · 117 × 185 mm
 Inscribed: 'Porto Longona in ye Island Elbe' and '-2'
 © The Trustees of the British Museum

This drawing is the most impressive surviving work dating from Alexander Cozens's visit to Italy in 1746. By the time Cozens visited Rome, Continental travel was deemed essential for an ambitious painter. In his only surviving Roman sketchbook Cozens wrote ambitiously:

'I will study the beauty of Form & enjoy elegant Ideas set the Image of a charming face fore my mind feed on its lovely Innocence & by it flatter my longing Soul with Visions of happyness tho' but in Picture for I will immure myself in solitude & paint the Graces act Truth and contemplate virtue'

Whilst in Rome, he spent some time working with Claude Vernet, who although only three years Cozens's senior, had already been in Rome some twelve years and had established himself as the most successful landscape painter in the city. Vernet's style of landscape drawing had been influenced by the work of Claude and he had developed a drawing style based on the earlier artist's method of sketching freely in monochrome, using a mixture of loose washes and a free, bold line. Although already a highly competent draughtsman, it was this manner of drawing which influenced Cozens and encouraged him to experiment still further with techniques and materials. The combination of chalk, pen and wash used in the present work attests to the artist's innovative experimentation during this period.

A small study related to this composition is in the book of tracings by John Robert Cozens which formerly belonged to Sir George Beaumont (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven). It is interesting to note that J.M.W. Turner, copied the present drawing, when he was a student at Dr Thomas Monro's informal 'Academy' for young artists. That watercolour, dating from c.1796, was formerly in the collection of William Henry Hunt (a fellow student at Monro's), and was latterly in the Walter Hetherington collection by which time it was incorrectly identified as being of Monaco. Monro, a considerable collector of drawings probably had access to Alexander Cozens's original through his role as John Robert Cozens's doctor at Bethlem Hospital where the artist was under his care.



RICHARD WILSON RA 1714–1782

A View of Hounslow Heath

Pencil, black and white chalk and stump on buff paper
 10 × 15¼ inches · 254 × 381 mm
 Drawn c.1765

COLLECTIONS

Francis Milner Newton (1720–94), first Secretary of the Royal Academy;
 and by descent to Francis Wheat Newton;
 (Possibly) with Agnew's, London, 1913;
 (Possibly) with Knoedler's, New York, by 1914;
 Mrs Harry C. Cushing IV, New York;
 Martin Gruss, New York, to 2011

LITERATURE

J. Hayes, 'An Unknown Wilson Drawing of Hounslow Heath', *Burlington Magazine*, cv1, July 1964, pp.337–9, fig.35.
 David Solkin, *Richard Wilson: The Landscape of Reaction*, exh. cat., Tate Gallery, London, 1982, p.220.
 Martin Postle and Robin Simon eds, *Richard Wilson and the Transformation of European Landscape Painting*, exh. cat., New Haven 2004, pp.314–5, no.141, repr.

EXHIBITED

New Haven, Yale Center for British Art and Cardiff, National Museum of Wales, *Richard Wilson and the Transformation of European Landscape Painting*, 2014, no.141.

This is Richard Wilson's most beautiful landscape drawing of a British subject. Made in about 1765, the large sheet shows a sweeping empty vista in the southwest of London. As David Solkin points out, this composition is the earliest in which Wilson treated such an: 'undignified site not much more than a piece of common nature, treated in the unpretentious manner of seventeenth-century Dutch art.'²⁷ Wilson's precise view shows the watermeadows near Whitton Place, an estate in part of Hounslow Heath, beside the River Crane. The estate was formerly a residence of Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll but by 1765 it belonged to the architect Sir William Chambers, Wilson's friend.

Wilson had known Chambers in Rome, where he had developed his approach to landscape drawing. Wilson's Roman landscapes combined a profound understanding of the compositional mechanics of Claude and Gaspard Dughet without sacrificing truth to nature. Wilson's great sequence of landscape drawings, made for William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth in Rome in the 1750s, demonstrate this approach. Broadly handled in black chalk, heightened with white on toned paper, they suggest the influence of French draughtsman working at the Académie de Franch à Rome. It was this ability to combine the technical innovations of European landscape painting with a sense of naturalism that appealed to contemporaries. Wilson's pupil the landscape painter Joseph Farington noted:

'Wherever Wilson studied it was to nature that he principally referred. His admiration of the pictures of Claude could not be exceeded, but he contemplated those excellent works and compared them with what he saw in nature to refine his feeling and make his observations more exact; but he still felt independently without suffering his own genuine impressions to be weakened.'²⁸

The strong repoussoir of the river and dramatic lighting effect suggest, at first viewing, that this drawing is a carefully composed studio production. But it is very likely that this drawing of Hounslow Heath was made by Wilson *en plein air* on a visit to Chambers. Thomas Hastings, who etched the version of the oil formerly owned by Benjamin Booth (Tate Britain), stated that 'Paul Sandby was with Richard Wilson at the time the Sketch was made for the subject of Hounslow Heath.'²⁹ Whether the 'Sketch' is the present drawing is unclear, but the artist Ozias Humphry noted in a memorandum of 12 March 1773 that: 'Mr Wilson says the best & most expedient Mode of drawing from Nature is w.th black chalk & a stump on brown paper touch'd up w.th white.'³⁰

At least four oil paintings deriving from the present drawing are known, one having been exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1770 (no.203). The version (private collection, UK) most closely related to the present drawing is generally accepted as the earliest of the group, having likely been purchased from Wilson in 1765 by Thomas Green, the London journalist. Two other versions of the composition are now in the Tate Gallery; one, formerly in the collection of Benjamin Booth, a director of the East India Company, was acquired from Wilson by the Bloomsbury bookseller, Tom Davies and etched by Hastings in 1820. Davies, was one of an expanding group of middle-class patrons of English landscape artists during this period.



Fig.42.1 | Richard Wilson, *On Hounslow Heath*

Oil on canvas · 16¾ × 20¾ inches · 425 × 527 mm
 Commissioned by Tom Davies
 © Tate, London 2017





V

From Ceiling to Exhibition Room: the Progress of History Painting

Charting the development of history painting in Britain presents distinct problems of definition. Following the hierarchy of genres articulated by the Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture there is a sense that Britain was frustratingly slow to produce an artist who could be considered in any real sense a history painter. It was a situation that contemporaries recognised. Writing in *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues* published in 1685, William Aglionby lamented that whilst Britain had produced Inigo Jones in architecture and Grinling Gibbons in sculpture, she had failed to nourish: ‘an historical painter native of our soyl.’¹

Yet artists who produced complex multi-figured compositions illustrating ancient texts abounded in late seventeenth-century London, but they worked on interior walls and ceilings rather than easel paintings; but importantly they also worked on paper. This section contains a number of vital, intelligently worked drawings by decorative history painters. A series of works by James Thornhill show him working from compositional sketch through to complex finished sheets. Thornhill’s career suffered at the hands of the Italian-trained painter William Kent, whose largest surviving drawing, made in preparation for a history painting commissioned by Queen Caroline is published here for the first time. But it was the rise of exhibition culture in the mid-century which finally gave an impetus and mass forum for history painting in Britain.

SIR JAMES THORNHILL 1675–1734

Design for the Decoration at Canons

Pencil, pen and brown ink
 7¾ × 12 inches · 193 × 308 mm
 Inscribed 'D. Chand^s a Canons', lower centre
 Collector's stamp 'RMW' (L.2228b) verso
 Drawn in 1710

COLLECTIONS

Sir Robert Witt (1872–1952) (L-2228b);
 Iolo Williams (1890–1962), by 1950;
 Edward Croft-Murray (1907–80);
 By descent to 2018

LITERATURE

William Osmun, *A Study of the Work of Sir James Thornhill* (PhD thesis, 1950), vol 1, p.228;
 Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, London, 1962, vol 1, p.266;
 Susan Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron: The Patronage and Collecting of James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos (1674–1744)*, Aldershot, 2007, p.64, n.27.

This is an early design for the decoration of the staircase at Canons, Little Stanmore in Middlesex, which was one of the early eighteenth century's great palaces of art. Canons was built between 1714 and 1723 by James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos to designs by James Gibbs. The Duke was a patron

of music as well as painting, and Handel was employed as his resident composer in 1717–18. After his death, though, the late Duke's debts were so severe that his collections were auctioned off and Canons itself was sold before being dismantled for building material in about 1750.

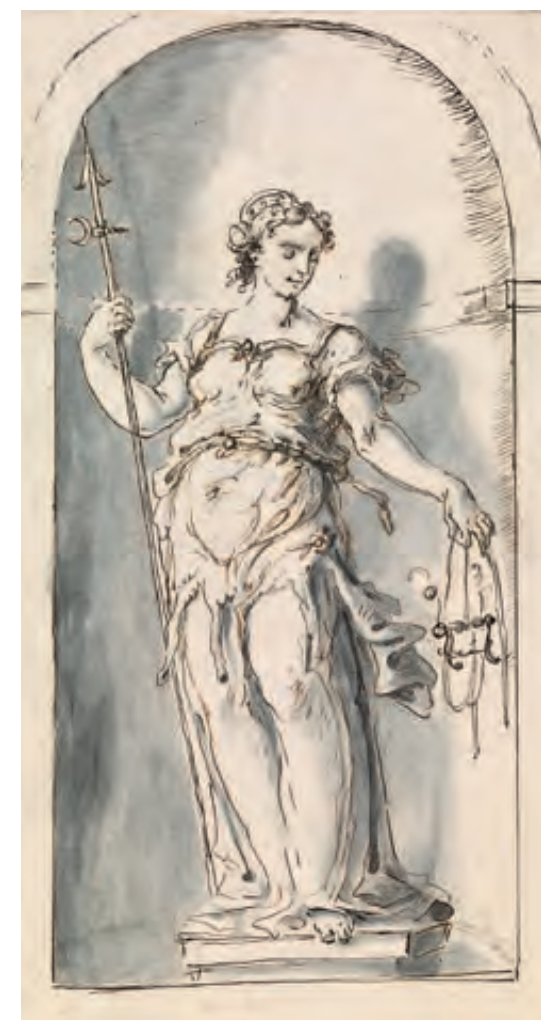
This dynamic sheet is the only preparatory study recognised by both Osmun and Croft-Murray for Thornhill's decorations at Canons. On the left is a preliminary sketch for a grand historical panel depicting the meeting of Dido and Aeneas and on the right a study of the decorative articulation of a wall. The scene apparently shows Dido standing on a raised dais in the temple of Juno being approached by Aeneas. Susan Jenkins lists a further three drawings handling scenes with Dido and Aeneas, which she associates with Thornhill's work for Chandos. A sheet published by Edgard Mayhew shows the same scene as our drawing carefully labelled 'Dido falls in love with Æneas in y^e Temp: of Juno', shows the orientation of the scene reversed, with Dido seated.² This is the format Thornhill preserves in the finished oil sketch in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Yet as the 1725 inventory states, the decoration of the staircase was given to Laguerre, so that all of Thornhill's designs remained unexecuted.³ Thornhill's work at Canons was limited to the Saloon, where he painted a ceiling of Apollo and the Muses valued at £500.⁴ If the measurements and valuations in the 1725 inventory are indicative of actual costs, Thornhill was



the most expensive decorative painter employed at Canons, for his work was valued at roughly 10s per square yard of painted ceiling. Bellucci and Sleter were valued at 7s, Laguerre at just over 3s and Charles Simon and Henry Trench at about 2s. If the cost of employing Thornhill was the reason for choosing Laguerre, it would not have been the only occasion when Thornhill had priced himself out of work, for in about 1716 at Blenheim Palace the Duchess of Marlborough had replaced him with Laguerre for the same reason.⁵

The right-hand section of the sheet shows Thornhill's scheme for ground-level architectural painting. At its centre, winged figures stand either side of a rectangular space that are probably intended as the east end of a chapel and may be associated with the church of St Lawrence, near Canons, which served as the Brydges family chapel and was extensively rebuilt by the Duke of Chandos in 1714–16. The winged figures are comparable with a study at Tate Britain for the east end of the chapel at Wimpole, the finished version of which is dated 1724.⁶ This sheet was owned in turn by three of the major twentieth century connoisseurs of early English drawings.



cat.44

SIR JAMES THORNHILL 1675–1734

Study for a Statue in a Niche

Pen and brown ink, grey wash
 10⅞ × 5½ inches · 250 × 140 mm
 Drawn in 1705

Thornhill's complex architectural decorative schemes generated large numbers of preparatory designs, with multiple treatments for each project. This boldly drawn standing figure in a niche relates to two of Thornhill's grandest schemes, the painted hall at Stoke Edith House in Herefordshire and the Sabine Room at Chatsworth both executed before 1708. Fluidly executed in ink and wash Thornhill's drawing depicts a female deity holding a spear and bridle; the latter is usually associated with Nemesis and may be a variant on the figure of Justice that was eventually included as the centrepiece of the hall at Stoke Edith; at Chatsworth Thornhill included a figure of Concord. Both projects date from the beginning of Thornhill's career, before he gained the commission to paint the ceiling at Greenwich. In both schemes, Thornhill situated the niche centrally in the room above the fireplace, and on the walls either side painted a curved colonnade that ran behind the statue, a motif Thornhill favoured for structuring his complex, multi-figural histories.⁷ Thornhill is known to have prepared alternative schemes for his client at Stoke Edith, and a representation of Minerva may well have been in consideration at an early point in the design process. Thornhill's work there was destroyed by fire in 1927, but Osmun judged the hall: 'one of Thornhill's most ambitious decorations for a private house ... larger than the rooms he painted at Chatsworth or Hanbury, and more complex.'⁸



Fig.44.1 | The Hall,
 Stoke Edith House,
 Hereford
 from *Country Life*,
 13 April 1945, p.168,
 fig.170.

SIR JAMES THORNHILL 1675–1734

*Psyche Amongst the Olympian Gods:
possibly a Ceiling Design for Stoke Edith House,
Herefordshire*

Pen and brown ink and brown wash over traces of pencil, oval

7 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches · 194 × 315 mm

Drawn c.1710

COLLECTIONS

Christie's, 11 November 1969, lot 45;

Christie's, London, 11 December 1990, lot 204;

Ralph Holland (1917 – 2012)

This ceiling study represents the reception of Psyche into Olympus, among an assembly of the gods. This was the subject of Raphael's famous ceiling at the Villa Farnesina in Rome and became a popular theme for baroque decorative painters in England. Louis Laguerre, for example, painted 'when Mercury take up Physke in to heauen withe some cupides' at Castle Bromwich in 1699, and Thornhill himself selected it for his important early commission for Thomas Foley MP at Stoke Edith in Herefordshire.⁹ It is possible that Thornhill drew this study for Stoke Edith, but the destruction of the interiors by fire in 1927 makes an assessment of its role uncertain. The oval shape of this study argues against a link to Stoke Edith, where the hall was a two-storey cube so that the ceiling would have been square rather than oblong.¹⁰ On the other hand, an oval ceiling design from the collection of Sir Brinsley Ford, on the subject of Cupid and Psyche, has also been associated with Stoke Edith.¹¹

Most of Thornhill's surviving preparatory drawings represent his attempts to arrive at the most satisfactory arrangement and grouping of classical gods. Thornhill was a relentless experimenter with approaches to composition, and could make many rough sketches of alternate groupings of an allegorical scene. What makes this drawing interesting, though, is that Thornhill has already resolved the composition, and does not make corrections to any parts of it. Instead, he is concerned with the potential for the flow of light to cohere and structure the space. To achieve this, Thornhill has applied a thin wash very quickly and with a very wet brush so that it covers the sheet evenly. The potential for light to provide a unifying structure for large-scale allegorical history painting was exploited by Thornhill successfully in dramatically-lit works such as the east end of the chapel at All Souls' College, Oxford, where an intense heavenly light from above throws the rest of the scene into dark relief.¹²



ATTRIBUTED TO DANIEL MAROT 1661–1752

Assembly of the Gods: Study for a Painted Ceiling

Pen and grey ink, grey and yellow washes

10¾ × 8¾ inches · 275 × 220 mm

Drawn c.1690–1710

COLLECTIONS

Christie's 11 November 1969, lot 43;

Sotheby's 21 September 1983, lot 402

This ceiling design, datable to c.1690–1710, shows an assembly of Olympian gods within a bold decorative border. The informality and sketchiness of the sheet recalls the work of Louis Laguerre; certain elements of handling – such as the rapid pen hatchings – and mannerisms of form, such as the structure of the hands – with individual fingers indicated by a pen line – all suggest an attribution to Laguerre.

Yet arguably the more confident and lively section of the drawing is its ornamental border, which is clearly where the draughtsman evidently felt more at home. The border design is related to a ceiling design published in 1712 by Daniel Marot. Marot was a Dutch designer whose work became influential in England through his close association with King William III and Queen Mary, for whom he designed gardens and interiors at Hampton Court and Kensington Palace. He also worked for leading courtiers, such as the Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu at Montagu House and for the Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset at Petworth. Marot's work is known now chiefly through his prints, and because so few of his drawings survive it is uncertain whether this sheet should be considered Marot's own work or that of a follower. The figure drawing in Marot's pen and wash *Ceiling Design with an Allegory of Victory* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig.46.1), is consistent with a full attribution, especially when comparing the scenes at its bottom and left margins with our drawing. Both the ornamental and figure drawing may also be compared with Marot's pen and ink embroidery designs for Hampton Court Palace, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹³

Fig.46.1 | Daniel Marot the Elder *Ceiling Design with an Allegory of Victory*

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash with traces of watercolour

7¼ × 7¾ inches · 184 × 187 mm

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1937

Fig.46.2 | Daniel Marot the Elder, *Ceiling with trompe-l'oeil vault*

Engraving

273 mm × 181 mm

Rijksmuseum, Purchase from the F.G. Waller Fund, 1964



ATTRIBUTED TO LOUIS LAGUERRE 1663–1721

Study for a Ceiling

Pen and brown ink, brown washes, over indications of red chalk

9⁷/₈ × 15¹/₄ inches · 250 × 382 mm

With an associated sheet inscribed with currency calculations

Drawn c.1690

COLLECTIONS

Edward Croft-Murray (1907–1980);

By descent to 2018

This preparatory drawing for a ceiling was identified by Edward Croft-Murray as a design by the French decorative painter Louis Laguerre. The study was almost certainly made for a patron, showing two alternative schemes for a ceiling on the same sheet. Unlike Thornhill, Laguerre produced few oil sketches and even fewer drawings. An anecdote related by Joseph Highmore, suggests the reason for this paucity: 'Burleigh House is adorned with the paintings of several masters, among others, of Cheron and Laguerre; these two were employed on different apartments. At their arrival, Cheron opened his chest of drawings after the life, such as academy figures, draperies &c. and Lord Exeter observing that Laguerre produced nothing of this kind, asked him where was his box of drawings. Laguerre, pointing to his head, answered, 'I carry them all here.'¹⁴ This has the immediate problem of making attributions to Laguerre complex and problematic.

George Vertue noted, in his short biography of Laguerre, that he was the son of a Catalonian who was 'Maitre of the Menagerie of Foreign Fowles & Animals' and that Louis XIV was his godfather.¹⁵ Laguerre trained at the Académie Royale under Charles Le Brun, in 1682 he won third prize in the prix de Rome for a painting entitled *Cain batit la ville d'Hénoch*, and another third prize the following year, for his sculpture *Invention des forges ... par Tubal-Cain*. Rather than stay in France Laguerre travelled to London in the company of another decorative painter Ricard. He rapidly established a practice in London, as Vertue noted: 'so young, yet so forward a Genius soon afterwards mett with encouragement from many Noblemen. & painted for them. Halls. Stair cases. Ceilings, &c. in a great Number'.¹⁶

At the centre is a loosely sketched study for a painting, whose subject is probably Providence accompanying Psyche, indicated by the vessel she holds, in which she was charged to carry water from the river Styx to Olympus. In creating a diminutive central panel and dividing the remaining decoration into smaller compartments, rather than creating a unified painted space as was to become common, the design is consistent with French decorative ceilings of the third quarter of the seventeenth century, such as Charles Le Brun's influential work of the 1660s at Vaux-Le-Vicomte. Laguerre's early work in England, including his staircase ceiling at Sudbury Hall, Derbyshire, which he painted for George Vernon in 1691, also adopted this pattern of decoration. The vertical and horizontal crease marks throughout the sheet suggest that it was sent through the post and served as the painter's means of communicating his work to the client. As was common, the artist has offered two alternative approaches to the design of the plasterwork and the smaller painted compartments. The drawing is entirely consistent in style with Laguerre's early British works, but with so few drawings to use for comparison a definitive attribution remains difficult.



SIR JAMES THORNHILL 1675–1734

The Discovery of Achilles Amongst the Daughters of Lycomedes: A Study for the Staircase at Hanbury Hall, Worcestershire

Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
heightened with white over red chalk
7⅞ × 10⅛ inches · 187 × 257 mm
Drawn 1710

COLLECTIONS

Christie's, Paris, 16 December 2005, lot 3, (as Passeri)

This spectacular, highly finished drawing was made by Sir James Thornhill in preparation for the decoration of Hanbury Hall in Worcestershire. This previously unpublished sheet demonstrates both Thornhill's absorption of continental drawing styles, but also his ambitions in presenting a complex mythological composition to his client. Hanbury was the home of lawyer Thomas Vernon an eminent Chancery barrister who amassed a considerable fortune. He remodelled Hanbury from 1700, commissioning Thornhill to decorate a series of rooms in around 1710.

Thornhill chose scenes from the life of Achilles, with a depiction of the Assembly of the Gods on the ceiling and the walls illustrating other episodes. It was on the west wall that Thornhill depicted *The Discovery of Achilles amongst the daughters of Lycomedes*.

Achilles's mother had disguised him as a woman in order to prevent him dying in combat during the Trojan Wars. She sent him to live as a woman in the court of King Lycomedes of Skyros. When Odysseus and Diomedes later came to retrieve

him, they tricked Achilles into revealing himself. Bringing gifts of jewellery and clothes for the ladies of the court, as well as a sword and a shield, Achilles instinctively seized the weapons thus revealing himself. This was a popular subject for history painters, with several versions being recorded on the London art market in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The story was best known through a series of eight etchings of the *History of Achilles* (1679) based on tapestry designs by Rubens.¹⁷

Thornhill's working method was to make his first thoughts about a project in rapid pen and ink sketches, and frequently he worked up several competing treatments of the same story. Thornhill's first ideas for this composition survive in a pen and ink sketch now at Hanbury. Initially the figures of King Lycomedes and his queen were most prominent, with Achilles shown handling a spear at the bottom of a flight of steps, surrounded by the ladies of the court.¹⁸ Thornhill's ideas changed significantly between this early stage and this more considered and fully developed drawing. Thornhill did much of this thinking on the sheet itself, which retains the loose red chalk drawing underneath the pen and wash, which he made at the initial stage of working when experimenting with poses and gestures. In our drawing, Lycomedes has been removed to the background, with Achilles holding a spear and shield given greater prominence. This brings the narrative and composition closer to Rubens's design. The finished painting at Hanbury represents a further development. Lycomedes is now omitted altogether, and Thornhill has made a clearer spatial distinction between Achilles and the women, who are clustered in a triangular shape on the right; Achilles is positioned more emphatically on the left, close to Odysseus and Diomedes, perhaps signifying his into readmission into the world of men. A further, fully developed drawing at the Cooper Hewitt in New York shows the same composition, but in reverse, and what must have been Thornhill's oil on canvas sketch of this subject was sold as: 'The Discovery of Achilles' for £3.8s at the artist's posthumous sale in 1735.¹⁹ At the British Museum is a staircase design on the theme of Achilles's story, which includes this episode. It was acquired as by Thornhill but is here re-attributed to his pupil Thomas Carwitham.²⁰ Thornhill's use of red chalk, brown wash and white heightening on a buff coloured paper points to his familiarity and interest in Italian drawing styles. Indeed, when this drawing first appeared at auction it was attributed to Maratti's pupil, Giuseppe Passeri.



Fig.48.1 | Sir James Thornhill, *Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes* on the painted staircase at Hanbury Hall

© National Trust Images/John Hammond



BERNARD LENS III 1682–1740

Hercules Between Virtue and Pleasure,
after Nicolas Poussin

Gouache on vellum · 15 × 11⁷/₈ inches · 380 × 300 mm
Signed in gold with initials and dated 1719, lower right
In the original 'Lens' frame

COLLECTIONS

Bernard Lens;
Lens sale, Christopher Cock's 11 February 1737, lot 23 (*Hercules between Virtue and Pleasure*, after Poussin, in the collection of his Grace the Duke of Chandos);
Private collection to 2018

This masterpiece of limning was made by Bernard Lens III in 1719 after a celebrated painting by Poussin, then in the collection of the great collector James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos. Executed in gouache on vellum and housed in its original 'Lens' frame, this work points to Lens's fascination with the heritage of miniature painting in Britain and to the enduring appeal of finely worked miniaturised copies of celebrated old masters for British collectors. Like all of Lens's surviving copies, this work is recorded in the auction of Lens's collection held by Christopher Cock in Covent Garden in 1737.²¹

Bernard Lens came from a distinguished family of artists. His father, also Bernard, had been a successful engraver, who worked particularly in mezzotint and his grandfather was recorded by Vertue variously as a 'Dutch preacher' and painter. Lens was a highly skilled miniaturist who pioneered the use of ivory as a support in Britain. He was at the heart of the London art world, Vertue listed him as one of the original subscribers to Kneller's Academy and he achieved considerable reputation as a miniaturist holding Royal Appointments in this capacity under both George I and George II.

Lens was aware of the heritage of limning in Britain, consciously fashioning himself as the heir to Nicholas Hilliard and particularly the great seventeenth-century miniaturist, Samuel Cooper. From 1712 he worked for John Hervey, 1st Earl of Bristol producing a series of copies of portraits of famous painters, completing in 1718 heads of Rubens and Raphael.²² These were joined by a series of portraits of great 'British' painters: John Greenhill, Van Dyck, William Dobson and Samuel Cooper, the latter inscribed by Lens 'famous performer in miniature he having far exceeded all that went before him in England in that way and even equell the most famous Italians insomuch that he was call'd ye Van Dyck in little.'²³ He also advised collectors on the care of their collections. Notably he worked for Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford. The simple stained black pear-wood frames he produced to house pieces from the earl's collection are still known today as 'Lens frames'.

But it was in his production of ambitious, highly finished copies after celebrated old masters that Lens showed his

commitment to the traditions of seventeenth-century miniaturists. Lens's copies of old master paintings made on vellum, continued a respected tradition begun by Peter Oliver, who had made copies for Charles I of paintings in the king's collection. Horace Walpole noted of Lens: 'his excellence was copying works of great masters, particularly Rubens and Vandyck, whose colouring he imitated exactly.'²⁴ The evidence of the sale of his collection by Christopher Cock in 1737 shows that he copied paintings from notable collections including the Duke of Marlborough, Sir Robert Walpole and Dr Mead, as well as pictures belonging to friends and neighbours.²⁵ The fact that the present work is recorded in his 1737 sale, suggests that Lens made the copy for his own collection. Vertue observed that Lens's pupil, Catherina da Costa: 'learned to limne of Bernard Lens for many years. She having begun about 1712 continued to 1730 – in time she Coppyd many pictures & limnings mostly all the remarkable of Faime in England painted by Rubens Vandyck & other masters, which Mr Lens her instructor had coppyd.'²⁶

Hercules between Vice and Virtue is one of the largest and most impressive of Lens's copies to survive. It demonstrates Lens's ability to successfully communicate Poussin's style in miniature. As Kim Sloan has pointed out, Lens: 'used a miniature technique for these small copies on vellum, each highlight or leaf a dot of pure colour on the surface of broader areas of colour carefully built up with layers of tiny strokes of the brush over laid-in grounds.'²⁷ Preserved in exceptional condition, this is one of the most impressive miniature copies of old masters to survive from the early eighteenth century and points to an important element of British engagement with European old masters.



Fig.49.1 | Nicolas Poussin, *The Choice of Hercules*, c.1636–7
Oil on canvas · 34³/₄ × 28¹/₄ inches · 883 × 718 mm
Stourhead, Wiltshire © National Trust Images/Prudence Cuming



WILLIAM KENT 1685–1748

The Marriage of Henry V

Pencil, ink and heightened with white on buff paper

25¼ × 21¼ inches · 641 × 540 mm

Drawn 1729

COLLECTIONS

Sir Mark Masterman-Sykes (1771–1823);

Masterman-Sykes sale, Christie's 15th May, 1824, lot 54;

Edward Wenman Martin (d.1853);

Wenman sale, Sotheby's, London, 1854;

George Willis, Bookseller, Covent Garden, London (bought Hudson);

Private Collection, Scotland, to 2016

LITERATURE (FOR THE PAINTING)

Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the**Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London, 1963, pp.171–172,

cat.no.506;

Ed. Susan Weber, *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, New

Haven and London, 2014, p.139;

Eds. Joanna Marschner, David Bindman and Lisa Ford, *Enlightened**Princesses: Caroline, Augusta, Charlotte and the Shaping of the Modern**World*, exh. cat. New Haven and London (Yale Center for British Art

and Kensington Palace), 2017, cat.no.12.06, p.224.

This large, ambitious drawing was made by William Kent in 1729 in preparation for an important canvas commissioned by Queen Caroline, wife of George II. The finished painting, preserved in the Royal Collection, was one of three scenes from the life of King Henry V Kent executed, and for which he was paid the substantial sum of £166.10s.²⁸ The present preparatory drawing is the only one to survive for the project and it is Kent's largest and most fully developed drawing not related to an architectural scheme. Executed in black chalk, strengthened with ink and white heightening on buff coloured paper, the drawing demonstrates Kent's remarkable ability as a painter, specifically a history painter at the height of his career.

Kent initially trained as a painter. He travelled to Italy in 1709 with John Talman and Daniel Lock. In Rome he entered the studio of Giuseppe Chiari, a successful pupil of Carlo Maratti. A group of British patrons provided Kent with a stipend of £40 a year in hope, as Burrell Massingberd wrote: 'of your becoming a great Painter' adding in a letter the following year: 'I have nothing to add but to beg you'll study & not think of coming over *donec Raphael secundis eris* [until you are the second Raphael].'²⁹

Fig.50.1 | William Kent, *The Marriage of Henry V*

Oil on canvas · 30 × 23¾ inches · 762 × 605 mm

Signed and dated 1729

Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015





In 1722 it was Kent, rather than the king's Sergeant Painter, Sir James Thornhill, who was offered the commission to decorate the new Cupola Room at Kensington Palace. In 1729, Queen Caroline commissioned Kent to paint three scenes from the life of King Henry V. According to Caroline's Privy Purse accounts, he was paid a total of £166.10s.³⁰ The present drawing is the only preparatory drawing for the project to survive and by far the most ambitious sheet Kent made for an easel painting; the drawing is only marginally smaller than the finished canvas. The drawing itself shows considerable compositional variation from the finished painting. In the drawing the figure of Henry V and Catherine of Valois are reversed, the attendant holding the king's sceptre and crown is placed to the right of the king, rather than in between the couple as he is in the finished painting. Kent has also included the figure of King Henry VI of France, Catherine's father, in the balcony surveying the scene, which he omitted from the final canvas. Kent originally placed two dogs in the foreground in an obvious allusion to the marriage taking place above, he reduces this to a single dog in the painting. The oil also integrates a number of other decorative features, such as the military trophies hanging on the piers, which are absent in the preparatory drawing.

These changes tell us much about Kent's working practice. First, that he was meticulous in planning his compositions, particularly a complex multi-figural historical painting such as this, destined, as it was, for the apartments of the wife of the sovereign. Secondly, that he was a restless designer, changing elements as the project progressed. The changes in the

composition may have been in response to a contemporary work. In 1728 the printseller John Bowles published ten prints illustrating *The Remarkable Transactions of the Reign of Charles I.*³¹ One of the plates, *The Marriage of Charles I*, was based on a painting by Louis Chéron. Chéron's composition bears a number of striking compositional similarities to Kent's design: for example, the allegorical figure holding a flaming torch, the spectator on the far left seen from behind, turning with a billowing cloak and martial figure framing the composition on the right appear in both Chéron's print and the finished painting. Unlike Chéron's composition, the preparatory drawing arranges the action of the marriage from left to right: priest blessing, Catherine seen front-on and then Henry seen in profile to the right. In the finished painting Kent has followed the format established by Chéron, with Henry V on the left facing Catherine on the right, suggesting he may have made the adjustments after examining Chéron's engraving.

The rediscovery of this important sheet also raises certain questions about the iconography and purpose of the commission. The three canvases, including the other two paintings in the series, *The Meeting Between Henry V and the Queen of France* and the larger *Battle of Agincourt*, were all recorded in 1758 by Horace Walpole hanging in the Queen's Dressing Room at St James's Palace. As has been pointed out, Queen Caroline celebrated Henry V as a Royal hero, commissioning a further depiction of him in the form of a bust by Rysbrack.³² More than a hero, Henry V, or more precisely, Catherine of Valois represented an important ancestor for the house of Hanover. Catherine of Valois was commonly thought to have married Owen Tudor and that Edmund Tudor, father of Henry VII, was therefore her son. In commissioning a portrait of Catherine's marriage to Henry V, Queen Caroline was providing an image that tacitly legitimised the Hanoverian succession presenting it as a continuation of the Plantagenet dynasty.



Fig. 50.2 | Nicolas Gabriel Dupuis, after Louis Chéron, *The Marriage of the King*, 1625, *The Most Remarkable Transactions of the Reign of Charles I*

Etching and engraving
Published by John Bowles and Thomas Bowles II, 1728
16¼ × 18½ inches · 412 × 474 mm
© The Trustees of the British Museum

JOHN MICHAEL RYSBRACK 1694–1770

Two Drawings from the 'Joseph' Series

[A] JOSEPH MAKES HIMSELF KNOWN TO HIS BROTHERS

Brown wash on blue paper heightened with white

11¼ × 17⅞ inches · 285 × 435 mm

Inscribed by the artist 'No.8 / Joseph maketh himself known / unto his Brethren. – ' on the original mount, now detached; and, in a later hand, 'Michael Rysbrack – No.2' and 'From Lord Hampden's Collection June 1827.'

Drawn c.1767–8

[B] JOSEPH EMBALMED

Brown wash on blue paper heightened with white

11½ × 17¼ inches · 292 × 438 mm

Inscribed by the artist 'MRK. Æ.74.' and 'No.12 – / Joseph embalmed' on the original mount, now detached; and, in a later hand, 'Michael Rysbrack – No.1 / From Lord Hampden's Collection June 1827.'

Drawn 1767 or 1768

COLLECTIONS

John Michael Rysbrack (1693–1770);

Rysbrack sale Christie's, 7 February 1774, lot 68, 69, 70 or 71;

John Hampden-Trevor, 3rd Viscount Hampden (1748–1824);

Hampden sale, Sotheby's, 27 June 1827;

Private collection, UK 1978 to 2018

These large historical compositions were Rysbrack's chief artistic products in old age, after he had retired as a sculptor. Yet although he has set the action in an interior space with a strong sense of perspectival recession, his approach to the organisation of the figures, who are all set in strong relief, betrays his background as a sculptor. Similar large historical monochrome compositions are now at Stourhead, Wiltshire, having been acquired at Rysbrack's sale on 14 February 1767 by Henry Hoare II.

Rysbrack made a series of a dozen drawings on the Old Testament history of Joseph, nine of which were sold in 1774 after his death.³³ At the Victoria and Albert Museum is *Joseph's brethren selling him to the Ishmeelites*, the same size as the drawings here.³⁴ *Joseph Makes Himself known to his Brothers* is perhaps the most dramatic scene of the entire story, when Joseph reveals his true identity to his brothers, who have come to him as ragged shepherds in search of food. Rysbrack has followed the biblical text closely, for in the background are Joseph's servants leaving the room, as noted in chapter 45 verse 1 that Joseph ordered 'every man to go out from me' so that he was left alone with his brothers. Later, Joseph sends his brothers back home laden with food and money, but orders one of his servants to catch up with them to search their luggage. A slightly smaller drawing in the Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston, shows the moment when Joseph's silver cup was found in the sack of his younger brother Benjamin. *Joseph Embalmed* captures the very last sentence in the Book of Exodus, 'So Joseph died, being an hundred and ten years old: and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.'

Large works such as these demonstrate the suitability of drawings for public display in the pre-Royal Academy era, from 1763 until his death Rysbrack exhibited many at the academy's predecessors, the Society of Artists of Great Britain and the Free Society of Artists. A drawing now at Stourhead was shown in 1763 (no.189) and a scene from Homer's *Iliad*, now at the Yale Center for British Art, was exhibited in 1765.³⁵ Walpole commented in 1767 that 'Mr Rysbrack's drawings are very fine.'³⁶ However, in 1772 the Royal Academy ordered that 'persons who only exhibit Drawings cannot be admitted as Candidates for Associates.'³⁷ The decision fuelled a debate about the treatment and status of drawings and watercolours within the Academy in the ensuing decades, and was a prime cause of the decision of a group of watercolour painters to form their own exhibiting society in 1805.



cat.51a



cat.51b



VI

Face Painting

In 1712 Richard Steele became a member of the Great Queen Street Academy, probably at the invitation of Sir Godfrey Kneller. He responded by publishing a letter on painting addressed to its members in the *Spectator*, in which he observed that each national school tends to excel at only one genre, singling out: 'England for portraits.'¹ He continued: 'And accordingly, in fact, face-painting is no where so well performed as in England...If foreigners have oftentimes, or even for the most part, excelled our natives, it ought to be imputed to the advantages they have met with here, jointed to their own ingenuity and industry... so that, instead of going to Italy, or elsewhere, one that designs for portrait-painting ought to study in England.'²

Steele was referring to the succession of European born painters who had flourishing careers as portraitists in Britain: Van Dyck, Lely, Kneller and Dahl. Van Dyck in particular was seen as having left Britain with a valuable resource in the form of his portraits. Jonathan Richardson noted in his 1715 *Theory of Painting* that: 'this Nation is many Thousands of Pounds richer for *Van-Dyck's* Hand, whose Works are as current Money as Gold in most parts of *Europe*,' adding: 'England has excelled all the world in the great branch of the art, and being well stored with the works of the greatest masters, whether paintings or drawing, here being, moreover the finest living models, as well as the greatest encouragement.'³

Despite this national preference for portraiture, we still know surprisingly little about the mechanics of busy portrait studios and, in particular, the role drawings played.

SIR PETER LELY 1618–1680

A Study of a Seated Figure

Black chalk
 15 × 8⁷/₈ inches · 380 × 228 mm
 Drawn c.1660

COLLECTIONS

Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680) (L. 2092);
 Thomas Hudson (1701–1779) L. 2432);
 probably Iohan Quirijn van Regteren Altena (L. 4617)

It was Lely's practice to dead colour the portrait on the canvas and then to pause in order to work out the fall of the drapery by making a sketch on paper. In 1674, for example, when Lely was painting Charles Beale junior, Beale's father noted that Lely 'took a drawing upon paper after an Indian gown which he had put on his back, in order to the finishing the drapery of it.'⁴ The sketch here shows Lely thinking about the appearance of drapery. There is a similar study, for the figure of Lord Cornbury in the double portrait from the Clarendon collection, which is at the Fondation Custodia (fig 52.1), which Oliver Millar dated to the early 1660s.⁵

The drapery was the main point of interest in the drawing for Lely, and therefore the most highly developed part of the sketch. This explains both the cursory treatment of the face and the slightly ambiguous drawing of the figure. The sheet cannot immediately be related to any surviving portrait by Lely. Whilst the identity of this sitter is unknown, he was clearly youthful and we could also speculate that it was an artist, since the backwards look over the right shoulder was a pose made

famous by Van Dyck's self-portraiture, such as in the example engraved by Lucas Vorsterman for *Icones Principum Viorum*. This is also the posture adopted by Lely's pupil John Greenhill for his self-portrait now at Dulwich Picture Gallery which has been dated to the early 1660s when he was a student in Lely's studio.⁶ Greenhill was probably also aware of Robert Walker's widely copied self-portrait of c.1645 in the Royal Collection in which he holds a drawing, much as Greenhill does. Ingamells has suggested that Greenhill is holding the portrait drawing that Lely made of him, c.1662, which is now in the British Museum.⁷ Indeed, given the close similarity of Lely's pose with Greenhill's self-portrait, it is tempting to associate Lely's drapery study with Greenhill's work. This might also explain the ambiguity in the sketch for it appears that Greenhill's self-portrait was originally a three-quarter canvas – i.e. a portrait of the sitter's head and torso – but two further strips of canvas were added which had the effect of converting it to a half-length – i.e. showing the sitter down to the knee. Ingamells has suggested that Greenhill decided to enlarge his self-portrait, by adopting a seated pose and adding a long flowing sash draped over his right shoulder, perhaps to mask difficulties in the shoulder which has been drawn somewhat too forward of the body.⁸ Perhaps Lely drew this sketch in an attempt to help Greenhill resolve the challenge of adapting his self-portrait, by roughly sketching a half length portrait of a youth – reflecting the original state of Greenhill's self-portrait – and then below it elaborating an arrangement of drapery, to mimic the process that Greenhill was himself attempting in expanding the painting.



Fig.52.1 | Sir Peter Lely,
Study for a Seated Male Figure
 Red, black and white chalk, with
 an area of grey and dark brown
 oil paint, on grey-brown paper
 15¹/₈ × 10 inches · 385 × 255 mm
 Fondation Custodia (Coll. F.
 Lugt), Institut Néerlandais,
 Paris

Fig.52.2 | John Greenhill,
Self-portrait
 Oil on canvas
 1063 × 829 mm
 Dulwich Picture Gallery,
 DPG418



MICHAEL DAHL 1659–1743

Portrait of a Gentleman

Charcoal and white chalk
13 × 9½ inches · 330 × 240 mm
Drawn c.1725–35

COLLECTIONS
Colin Hunter

This portrait study, which represents a new addition to Dahl's small oeuvre of drawings, demonstrates his great sensitivity as a draughtsman. The sitter here has not been identified, although he resembles James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormonde as portrayed in a studio portrait now at the National Portrait Gallery.⁹ Ormonde's jaw is more prominent, but the head study follows closely the tone and modelling of the painted face and demonstrates the closeness of drawing and painting in Dahl's practice.

Dahl came to England from Sweden in 1682, probably to exploit the opportunity left by the death of Sir Peter Lely, and he rose to become one of the leading portrait painters of the early eighteenth century. Dahl became Kneller's great competitor and he was deeply influenced by Kneller. His practice of making large head studies from the life, such as this example, probably originated during the time that Dahl probably spent working in Kneller's studio as a new arrival in London, before he travelled to Rome with his close friend Henry Tilson in 1684; the pair, in fact, accompanied Kneller who was travelling as far as Paris in order to paint Louis XIV.

All the drawings now recognised as Dahl's work were once attributed to Kneller. In 1973 J Douglas Stewart established Dahl's distinctive hand by linking the sitters in some drawings to established paintings by Dahl; this enabled Stewart to establish further drawings by Dahl, finally making a group of sixteen drawings in all.¹⁰ Apart from Dahl's distinctive approach to features of the face, such as the deep shading of the edge of the mouth, the highlighting of the nose and the nostril structure, more broadly where Dahl draws with close and gentle hatchings, Kneller's head studies are looser and bolder. Kneller's study of William Congreve at the Courtauld Galleries shows his vigorous and quick drawing technique which contrasts with Dahl's cooler and more studied approach, as seen in a study of an unknown man, called William Congreve, in the same collection.¹¹ The present drawing may be compared with similar head studies in the Morgan Library and Museum, New York, such as the portrait of 'Mr Reed'. Based on such comparisons, these drawings may be datable quite late in Dahl's career, to the decade 1725–35.

The appearance of this drawing is an opportunity to consider drawings that Stewart did not include in his checklist of Dahl's work but which have a claim to authorship by Dahl. Stewart omitted three portrait drawings at the British Museum that are somewhat in the style of Lely's crayon studies, believing that they 'find no parallels' among the sixteen drawings he identified as by Dahl. They may, however, represent the manner of drawing that Dahl adopted on his arrival in England. One of the three, of a young man, carries an old attribution to Dahl and is shaded with Dahl's characteristic gentle hatchings,

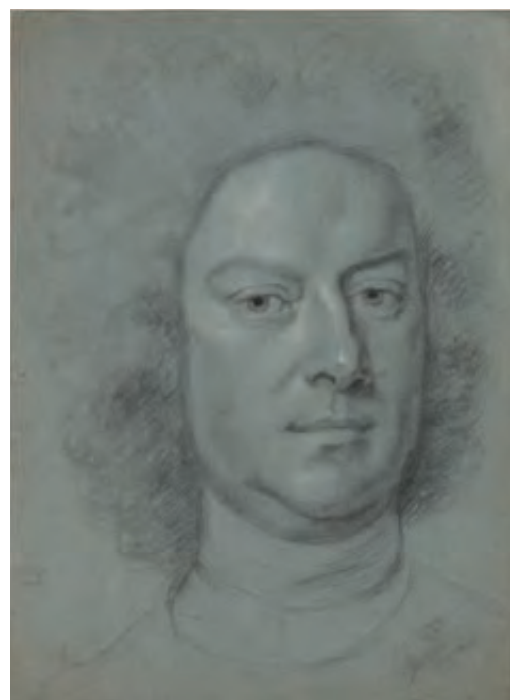


Fig. 53.1 | Michael Dahl,
Portrait of Christopher Lethieullier
Black and white chalk
on blue paper
17 × 12¾ inches · 430 × 324 mm
Inscribed 'Lethieullier', lower left
© The Samuel Courtauld Trust,
The Courtauld Gallery, London

Fig. 53.2 | Michael Dahl,
Portrait Head of a Man
(*Mr Reed?*)
Black chalk heightened with
white, on blue paper
15½ × 11 inches · 385 × 280 mm
Inscribed 'Reed', lower left
The Morgan Library & Museum



and all three exhibit the robust sense of three dimensionality that also characterises Dahl's later drawings.¹² If their authorship must remain a matter of conjecture, these drawings at least permit us to imagine how artists outside Lely's immediate circle responded to his crayon portraiture. Stewart also omitted a head study at the British Museum previously attributed to Richardson and now to Kneller, but with a strong claim as Dahl's work.¹³ Three head studies on the art market in recent years can also be convincingly attributed to Dahl.¹⁴ Perhaps most interesting among the head studies still attributed to Kneller is one at the Courtauld drawing called a portrait of William Congreve, which is very close to Dahl's study of Christopher Lethiullier in the same collection. On the verso is a powerful study of a male torso evidently drawn in an academy, whose close gentle hatchings surely mark it out as by Dahl. If so, this represents the first example of Dahl's draughtsmanship outside the genre of portraiture. Dahl was a founder director of the Great Queen Street Academy in 1711 but nothing else is known of this aspect of his work. Dahl's drawing would not have been limited to portrait heads; for example, the final lot of drawings in the sale of Friderich Christian Zincke's collection in 1749 was 'A parcel of hands, by Dahl &c.'¹⁵

Although the practice of making large head studies has come to be most closely identified with Kneller, arguably it was Dahl's adoption of this mode of working that had a greater impact. While Kneller ran a busy studio with many assistants, no portraitist of stature was nurtured there who later thrived as an independent portrait painter. By contrast, the Swede Hans Hysing lived with Dahl as a pupil 'many years' and painted 'much in Mr. Dahls latter manner.'¹⁶ Hysing, suggested Stewart, passed on the technique of making large head studies to Allan Ramsay, who was Hysing's student in 1734.

Dahl died aged ninety and outlived his reputation. He appears frequently during his final years in the diary of his close friend Robert Lee of Binfield, such as in an entry on 21 April 1736 when Binfield took a walk to Chelsea with Dahl and William Hogarth.¹⁷ On Dahl's death, the Earl of Egmont recorded the anecdote in his diary that the painter 'had the mortification to be told that in the sale of the Earl of Oxford's pictures (he died about 2 years ago), that a picture of his was sold for 39 shillings, for which the Earl had paid 30 guineas, which greatly discomposed him, as may well be thought.'¹⁸ Dahl was a long-time member of London's leading club for art connoisseurs, the Virtuosi of St Luke; however with Dahl's death, the club disbanded. Dahl's collection of prints and drawings was sold by Christopher Cock on 18 January 1744, but the catalogue does not survive.¹⁹

ATTRIBUTED TO CHARLES BOIT 1662–1727

Study of a Young Woman

Black and white chalk on buff coloured paper

8 7/8 × 5 7/8 inches · 205 × 150 mm

Drawn c.1710

COLLECTIONS

Major A. R. Tavener, to 2017

This portrait is proposed as the work of Swedish miniaturist Charles Boit, none of whose drawings are currently known. Among the sixteen drawings that J Douglas Stewart established as by Dahl, only four were of female sitters.²⁰ Our portrait drawing of a young woman is substantially smaller than these but is attempting a recognisably Dahl-like serenity and effects, especially in the sweep of hair; however, it is technically distinct from Dahl's oeuvre. If this is not by Dahl himself, it is surely by a miniature painter whose habits of drawing were shaped by Dahl's influence, for our artist has enhanced and simplified the sitter's features and head consistent with the demands of miniature painting, rather than for the more nuanced large-scale form of portraiture on canvas. This could be a life study that Boit made preparatory to painting a miniature portrait in watercolours. There are many points of comparison with examples of Boit's work such as (fig 54.1), a portrait of *Lady Anne Churchill* at the Victoria and Albert Museum including the modelling of the chin and neck; the lighting of the nose; the tightly drawn lips, with an area of shade beneath them and then a dot of light beneath that on the chin; the recessed ear; the shaping of the brow and eye brows; and the heavy and strongly-lit eye lids.



Fig. 54.1 | Charles Boit, *Anne Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough*, c.1710

Enamel on copper · 88.9 × 68.2 mm

© Victoria and Albert Museum, London, courtesy of The Rosalinde & Arthur Gilbert Collection



SIR GODFREY KNELLER 1646–1723

Portrait of a Lady

Black chalk on blue paper

14 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches · 371 × 293 mm

Inscribed bottom right 'G. Kneller'

Drawn c.1715–20

COLLECTIONS

William Drummond to 2016

This bold, immediate head study was made by the most prolific and successful painter of the early eighteenth century, Godfrey Kneller. Kneller was born in Lübeck in Germany, he came to Britain, according to his early biographer, Marshall Smith, after time spent studying in Italy: 'longing to see *Sir Anthony Van Dyck's* Works, being most ambitious of imitating that great Master, he therefore at length came into England.'²¹ By 1700 Kneller had achieved an unassailable position as the most successful painter in London. He was principal painter to William III and Queen Mary and was knighted in 1692, royal favour was further underlined by his appointment as a gentleman of the privy chamber and by the gift of a sword. Perhaps at the King's instance, Kneller received an honorary doctorate from the University of Oxford in 1695 and four years later William III gave him a large gold medal with the royal image and a gold chain, similar to those presented to Van Dyck by Charles I.

Kneller had a large studio in the Piazza, Covent Garden where he employed a formidable number of personnel ensuring the smooth running of his complex practice. Vertue, in his notebooks, lists drapery assistants (such as Marcellus Laroon the elder and John Peeters) 'posture' painters, such as John Baptist Gaspar and professional copyists, who replicated his portraits for clients. It is unclear precisely how important drawing was to Kneller's practice; comparatively few drawings survive. The present drawing suggests Kneller was aware of the model of Van Dyck. The painter William Gandy noted: 'Little Gibson told me Vandyke would take a little piece of blue paper upon the Life & draw his figures & postures all in Sudan lines, as angles with black Chalk & heighten with white Chalk.'²² Kneller's use of blue paper and his rapid use of black chalk to record the sitter's likeness all suggest his knowledge of Van Dyck.

Although the sitter has not been identified, the head and pose is the same type as seen in Kneller's full-length portrait of Mary, Marchioness of Rockingham at Aston Hall, a work of 1720.²³ Stylistically, it is comparable to a *Man in a Cap* which J Douglas Stewart dated to c.1715–20.²⁴ Stewart points out that in every case where a comparison can be made, there are differences between the preparatory drawing and the finished painting, which he considered as evidence that Kneller used his drawings as an aid rather than as something to be transferred literally from paper to canvas.²⁵ This large sheet is a rare survival comparatively few *ad vivum* portrait drawings by Kneller are known.



EDWARD BYNG 1676–1753

Portrait of a Seated Woman

Pen and ink and wash on blue paper
 11½ × 8½ inches · 290 × 215 mm
 Drawn c.1700

COLLECTIONS

Major A. R. Tavener, to 2017

EDWARD BYNG 1676–1753

A Young Man with a Lamb in an Arcadian Landscape

Pen and ink and wash on blue paper
 11¼ × 8½ inches · 285 × 215 mm
 Inscribed verso: 'No 35'

COLLECTIONS

Iolo Williams (1890–1962);

By descent in a Suffolk private collection, to 2016

These drawings provide insights into the workshop practices of London's leading portrait painter of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Sir Godfrey Kneller. They were made by Kneller's studio manager, Edward Byng, to record the basic appearance of the work being produced. In 1879 the British Museum acquired from Byng's descendants six sketchbooks containing Byng's record drawings, and an album of drawings containing work by Byng, Kneller himself and other highly talented draughtsmen whose identities have not yet been established.²⁶ Byng's collections comprise an extensive visual archive of the output of Kneller's portrait studio and of the Great Queen Street Academy.

The drawings catalogued here must have come from further sketchbooks or albums that were no longer part of Byng's family collection in 1879, or which had descended to another family member.²⁷ The *Young Man with a Lamb* and *Portrait of a Seated Woman* are both on paper of the same type and size as two of the British Museum sketchbooks, and *Young Man with a Lamb* is numbered and marked with a small red chalk cross at the bottom edge, consistent with drawings in the British Museum.²⁸ However, the purpose of these drawings is not entirely clear. They are certainly not sufficiently detailed to have served as copies for engravers. Instead, they must have been used within the studio itself.

J. Douglas Stewart, Kneller's most recent biographer, has characterised his studio as: 'a somewhat loose conger of assistants, pupils, and, later, members of the Kneller academy' rather than a highly organised production line with assistants to prepare canvases and specialists contributing the drapery, hands, landscape and so on.²⁹ It seems, though, that Kneller made great efforts to exploit the commercial opportunity that the demand for his works represented, even to the extent of compromising his own reputation as an artist. For Horace Walpole, Kneller was 'a man lessened by his own reputation as he chose to make it subservient to his fortune.'³⁰ This required Kneller to be highly organised: in 1693, another portrait painter noted that he could take up to fourteen sitters in a day.³¹ At his death, Kneller's studio contained four hundred unfinished canvases. Having an archive of small-scale drawings of portraits may have helped to impose a sense of order without which the machine may have ground to a halt. Byng's distinctive drawings may well have provided a visual complement to financial records, or as an aid to clients and studio assistants when choosing a pose or having to make a copy in the absence of the prime version of the portrait. Whatever their precise purpose their number and survival demands further research.

Kneller could not have managed this without administrative help. Byng's involvement with Kneller's studio is documented by July 1694 when he signed a receipt for Kneller.³² If he had not already completed an apprenticeship under Kneller, Byng may well have joined Kneller's studio in the early 1690s. Byng



would have been nineteen years old in 1694, and Kneller had only fairly recently begun his period of domination of the portrait market following the death of Riley in 1691, his knighthood in 1692 along with other marks of the King's favour. It would make sense, then, if Kneller had wished to take on administrative help to support the expansion of his business.

George Vertue joined the Great Queen Street Academy in 1713 and almost immediately sought a long account of Kneller's early life and career which Byng, who was a founding subscriber to the Academy in 1711, supplied.³³ Thereafter Byng occasionally divulged information about Kneller's financial arrangements. He described 'a book wherein he writes the money Received advance for all the Pictures he has done since 1682. which may help towards computing the number of Pictures he has done from the life since then. tho' therein is not mention'd whether heads; half lenghts or whole lenghts.'³⁴ A few years later, Byng told Vertue that Kneller had lost £20,000 in the South Sea Bubble: this shockt him much', yet Kneller retained an annual income of £2000.³⁵

Kneller's trusting relationship with Edward Byng is implicit in Byng's knowledge of his affairs. Kneller declared as much in a bequest to Byng 'who hath for many years faithfully served me and now lives with me' of an annuity of £100, a sum equal to Kneller's annuity to his own brother Andrew. Kneller also left Byng a share in his unfinished stock of paintings if they were subsequently completed and sold by Byng 'or by his directions.'³⁶ However, Kneller's wife Susannah must have intervened after reading the will, for in two codicils Kneller revised the gifts to Byng in her favour. Firstly, he clarified that Susannah owned 'all my pictures finished and unfinished other than such as now are in and about my house at Whitton ... for her own absolute use' and that Byng was not obliged 'to perfect any of the said pictures further or otherwise then he and my said wife can agree concerning the same.'³⁷ Then for the avoidance of all doubt, Kneller stipulated that if Byng did not 'at all times when and as my dear wife shall think fit be aiding and assisting to my said Wife in the sale and disposall of my pictures to her given,' then Susannah could reduce his annuity permanently to £80.³⁸

JACOPO AMIGONI c.1682–1752

Study for a Portrait of a Gentleman

Brown ink heightened with white on blue paper

Sheet size: 8¾ × 11½ inches · 221 × 290 mm;

image size: 7¾ × 6½ inches · 195 × 175 mm

Drawn c.1734

COLLECTIONS

F R Meatyard, c.1925;

Edward Croft-Murray (1907–1980), c.1932;

And by descent to 2018

LITERATURE

Elaine Claye, 'A Group of Portrait Drawings by Jacopo Amigoni', *Master Drawings*, vol 12 no.1 (1974), p.48 no.37.

The Venetian history painter Jacopo Amigoni arrived in London in late 1729 and established his reputation with a much admired decoration of the staircase in the Earl of Tankerville's house in St James's Square (1730–31). He was persuaded by 'the Courtiers and quality' to turn to portraiture which was, remarked Vertue in 1732: 'not his inclination – nor Talent.' Even so, he was 'much employ'd' in 1734 and the following year newspapers reported 'a great Concourse of Persons of Distinction' clamouring to see his 15-foot tall portrait of the opera star Farinelli.³⁹ Even so, Amigoni's practice as a portrait painter was limited to the royal family and courtiers; his likeness were not regarded as good enough to satisfy a large clientele and demand was limited by his high price of £60 for a full-length. In an approach that anticipated Reynolds's historical portraiture, Amigoni included 'ornamental figures &c that made agreeable pictures' such as in his portrait of the Queen and the Duke of Cumberland in which



she was 'delivering up his Royal Highness to the Goddess of Wisdom.'⁴⁰

Elayne Claye identified thirty-four of Amigoni's portrait studies that the London dealer F.R. Meatyard had in about 1925. These came from 'at least one notebook' and several loose sheets, examples of which are now in the Louvre, the Courtauld Galleries, Fitzwilliam Museum, British Museum, Nationalmuseum Stockholm and at Princeton (fig.58.1). Claye was uncertain of the role these studies played in Amigoni's portrait practice; whether they were record drawings in the manner of Edward Byng, or posture sketches to show clients in the tradition of Lely. The fact that many were found in a notebook might argue that Amigoni drew them after finished paintings. Claye identified several of the sitters among the English royal family, including Frederick Prince of Wales and William, Duke of Cumberland, and the daughters of George II. Though the sitter's identity in the present drawing is unknown it is likely that he was a courtier.

Vertue's disdain for Amigoni's portraiture – remarking that it 'has some Air but neither firm lines nor certainty of features. but intirely gay and light' – was in line with press criticism of Amigoni's decorative work, which was 'only calculated to please at a glance, by the artful mixture of a variety of gay colours, but have no solidity in them; and of course, will not bear an examination'⁴¹ Both of these critiques were made in a general defence of English painting and in the immediate aftermath of the death of Thornhill, England's acknowledged history painter whose reputation had suffered when his work at Moor Park, Hertfordshire, had been rejected in favour of Amigoni. In 1734 Hogarth had intervened to prevent Amigoni from painting the staircase at St Bartholomew's Hospital by offering to do it himself.⁴²



Fig.58.1 | Jacopo Amigoni, *Portrait of a Man seated at a Table*

8¾ × 9½ inches · 224 × 242 mm

Pen and brown ink and brush and brown wash heightened with white on blue paper

Bequest of Dan Fellows Platt, Class of 1895

© Princeton University Art Museum

HENRY TILSON 1659–1695

Giuseppe Francesco Borri

Pastel

10½ × 8 inches · 268 × 204 mm

Inscribed and dated 'Il Ritratto / di Ca[va]lliere Borri / [S?]et = 2[6?] = 16[8]7 / ... o Henry Tilson di [Londra] / fecit / In Roma / in Castello St Angelo / No2' on the back of the frame

COLLECTION

Perhaps Kingsweston Collection, 1695;

J. W. Hansteen, Oslo, 1941;

Sotheby's, London, 19 July 1973, lot 90, (£650)

LITERATURE

Edward Croft-Murray & Paul Hulton *Catalogue of British Drawings: XVI and XVII centuries*, British Museum, 1960, vol I, p.480;

Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530–1790*, London, 1994, p.144;

Neil Jeffares, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, (online edition, updated March 2018), J.7162.102

Henry Tilson was a well-connected pupil of Lely who studied in Rome and specialised in pastel portraiture. The connections that enabled Tilson's brother Christopher to become Clerk of the Treasury in 1685 must also have benefited Tilson's career as a painter. However, his early death by suicide, following his rejection by a female patron, has obscured his success as one of the leading portrait painters in post-Lely London. When he died in 1695, he was 'possessed of a very considerable personal estate consisting of Bonds Bills Debts Notes and Memorandums of mony oweing to him great sums of Reddy money gold and silver plate jewells and diamond rings and other rings medalls of gold silver pictures drawings paintings all sorts of rich household stuffe and utensills of household and ornaments belonging to his house'.⁴³

Tilson was a close friend of Michael Dahl, and in 1684 the pair travelled to France and on to Rome the following year. Dahl's portrait of Tilson is inscribed 'Memoria per mio caro amico Enrico Tilson, fatto Roma, 1686'.⁴⁴ Buckeridge stated that Tilson spent six or seven years in Italy 'and during that time copied with wonderful care and exactness a great number of pictures of the best masters' which helped him 'become not a little famous' when he returned to London. He 'had a particular genius for crayons, in which he performed admirably well, after the pictures of Corregio, Titian, and the Caracci, while he was at Rome'.⁴⁵ Tilson must also have travelled to Venice because, once he was back in London in 1693, he gave William Gandy an account of the studio practices of the Venetian painter Sebastiano Bombelli.⁴⁶ Tilson's knowledge of pastel portraiture must have been grounded in his time in Lely's studio, but his greater use of colour was doubtless informed by the months he spent in Paris.

Tilson's sitter, Giuseppe Borri, was a controversial alchemist and religious propagandist who was confined to prison in

Castello San Angelo under the protection of Queen Christina of Sweden. Dahl had gained access to Queen Christina following his conversion to Catholicism on arrival in Rome, and Tilson doubtless benefited from Dahl's connection in order to gain access to Borri. Tilson was also in contact with the Earl of Castlemaine's embassy to Rome in 1686–7, for in 1687 he painted the Hon Thomas Arundell, who accompanied Castlemaine.⁴⁷ Tilson's portrait of Borri is housed in an early frame and extensively inscribed on the backboard: 'Il Ritratto / di Ca[va]lliere Borri / [S?]et = 2[6?] = 16[8]7 / ... o Henry Tilson di [Londra] / fecit / In Roma / in Castello St Angelo / No2', but it gives no clue as to the history of the drawing. At least one version of Tilson's portrait of Borri is recorded in a seventeenth-century English collection: a 1695 inventory of the paintings at King's Weston contains an entry describing: 'no.11 Signior Bori a famous Italien Chymist done Coppy by / Mr. Henry Tilson when at Rome in 1686'.⁴⁸ The inventory lists three pictures purchased from Tilson's father: '12. Signior Bernino a famous Italian sculpture done in Creons by Mr Tilson' and '13. Michael Angello. Done likewise in Creons by Mr. Tilson.' Although the specific identification of this picture as a 'Coppay' suggests that it was a repetition of the present drawing.



ENGLISH SCHOOL 17th CENTURY

Portrait of a Lady in Ottoman Costume, perhaps Princess Cameria, Daughter of Suleiman the Magnificent

Coloured chalks

14 × 11¼ inches · 355 × 287 mm

Sir Peter Lely's collection mark (L. 2094)

Drawn c.1660

COLLECTIONS

Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680) (L. 2094);

Colin Hunter;

Private collection UK, to 2018

LITERATURE

Neil Jeffares, *Dictionary of pastellists before 1800* (online, updated 2018), J.85.2179.

English engagement with near eastern culture in the seventeenth century was often expressed through a fascination with Ottoman customs and costume. Knowledge of dress was fostered through travel and the circulation of prints such as the *Recueil de divers portraits des principales dames de la Porte du Grand Turc* (1645–8) by Nicholas Cochin after Georges de La Chapelle, and Cesare Vecellio's book of costumes, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (Venice 1661). John Greenhill's 1663 pastel



portrait of the actor Thomas Betterton in the character of Solimano in Matthew Lock's opera *The Siege of Rhodes*, now at Kingston Lacy, demonstrates both the potential of *Turquerie* for vivid characterisation both on stage and in portraiture.⁴⁹

Among the few images of Ottoman woman known in seventeenth-century England was the portrait of Cameria, Princess Mihrimah Sultan, a daughter of the sixteenth-century ruler Suleiman the Magnificent. She was the most powerful princess in Ottoman history becoming her father's chief adviser. Cameria's portrait after a lost original by Titian was known through copies such as the seventeenth-century example now at Lacock Abbey and a 1569 engraving within a series of leading members of ruling families from Europe and beyond, *Imagines quorundam principum et illustrium virorum*, which was published in Venice.⁵⁰ Our chalk drawing may well be a freely copied version of Cameria's portrait; small differences in posture and costume between it and versions currently identified may be accounted for by the fact that variations occur also among the established versions of Titian's painting. Although Cameria's image may merely have been used as a model for a contemporary portrait, perhaps for an actress *en role*, as in Greenhill's portrait of Thomas Betterton.

Given the frequent traffic between England and Venice, the portrait may have been drawn in Italy by one of Lely's pupils or associates. It is clearly drawn with knowledge of the crayon portraiture that Lely made his own, in which only the face was fully coloured, and Lely's collectors stamp confirms that it was in his collection. Roger North, Lely's executor, stamped Lely's drawings in preparation for their sale in 1688, but very few of Lely's preparatory drawings for oil portraits were included, nor were his chalk portraits taken from life; these were sold separately. The presence of Lely's stamp on our drawing, therefore, lends weight to the idea that it had a status distinct from Lely's portrait studio.



Fig.60.1 | After Titian, *Cameria, or Mihrimah Sultan daughter of Suleiman the Magnificent*

Oil on canvas

46¼ × 34¼ in; 1175 × 870 mm

© National Trust Images

THOMAS FORSTER *c.*1677–1712*Portrait of a Gentleman*

Plumbago on vellum, laid on card

4½ × 3½ inches · 115 × 90 mm, oval

Signed and dated 'T. Forster: delin 1704', lower right

COLLECTIONS

Mrs Cowan;

Agnew's, 1974;

Reginald Humphris, acquired from the above in 1974;

By descent, to 2015

EXHIBITED

London, Royal Academy, *British Art*, 1934, no.1314;London, Agnew's, *101st Annual Exhibition of Watercolours and Drawings*, 1974, no.44.

This is a fine example of the work of one of the period's most brilliant yet enigmatic portrait artists, who was the foremost exponent of the plumbago drawing. As C.F. Bell and Rachel Poole observed in 1926, 'as specimens of virtuosity in handling a black-lead point with amazing sensitiveness and dexterity, Forster's miniatures have never been surpassed.'⁵¹

'Plumbago' or graphite drawing developed within the Dutch print trade for drawings made for engraving and was introduced into England at the Restoration. The discovery of plumbago in Cumberland in the third quarter of the century encouraged its use by artists, including David Loggan and Robert White, who commonly made small monochrome portraits for engravings.⁵² With its potential for lustrous and tonal effects, the plumbago portrait became a popular form of intimate portraiture at a time when the practice of miniature watercolour was at a low ebb following the death of major exponents such as Samuel Cooper and John Hoskins. Although several of Forster's sitters were linked with James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormonde many of his clients were private individuals rather than public officials. Forster's portraits of women are frequently less sharp and lifelike than the men, and it may be that he relied less on *ad vivum* sittings; equally, unsigned examples may be the work of his close imitator Charles Forster (active 1709–17). Indeed, Bell and Poole attributed the downfall of the plumbago portrait to the habit of draughtsmen who relied on paintings rather than *ad vivum* study, these include portraits of Queen Anne and the Duchess of Marlborough by the plumbago portraitist Charles Forster which are taken from prints after Kneller.⁵³

Despite his brilliance, the most basic questions about Forster's identity are still unresolved. He was certainly working as early as 1690, the date of his portrait of Dorothy Yates.⁵⁴ Vertue noted that a self-portrait by 'Foster' aged thirty-one was dated 1708, from which it is assumed that Forster was born in 1676 or 7; if so, Forster was something of a prodigy at the outset of his working life.⁵⁵ A much earlier birth date,

of around 1660, is to be inferred from an engraving of a self-portrait of 'T.Foster.1689 from a Pencil Drawing by himself' which was published in 1803 and which depicts a man in his late twenties or early thirties working in Forster's style.⁵⁶ However, Basil Long called this 'an alleged self-portrait' and it was rejected entirely by Bell and Poole.⁵⁷ Long and Edward Croft-Murray have both suggested that Charles Forster, who worked in Forster's style, was his son; if this was so (as seems likely), a birth date in the later 1670s is unrealistic.⁵⁸ A T Forster drew an elevation of the Banqueting House which is now at Yale and may indicate that he had an architectural training.⁵⁹ Evidently Forster enjoyed some reputation, for 'Mr. Wooton, by the famous Forster, in black lead' was listed in a catalogue of the Countess of Gainsborough's limnings in 1740, yet even this reference suggests some lack of familiarity with the artist.⁶⁰

62

THOMAS FORSTER *c.*1677–1712*Sir Andrew Fountaine*

Plumbago on parchment

oval, 4½ inches 3½; 115 × 90 mm

Drawn *c.*1701–04

COLLECTIONS

Presumably Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676–1753);

Commander Andrew Fountaine (1918–1997) by descent at Narford Hall, Norfolk;

Christie's, London, 15th October 1996, lot 133;

Mrs T. S. Eliot (1926–2012);

Eliot sale, Christie's 20th November 2013, lot.106

Sir Andrew Fountaine was 'the immediate predecessor of Horace Walpole as a national arbiter in matters of taste and virtue.'⁶¹ This portrait by Forster captures him as a young man, either shortly before or after his first continental tour of 1701–4. Fountaine was a precocious figure, whilst at university he was selected by Henry Aldrich, dean of Christ Church to make the Latin oration to William III on his entry to Oxford in 1698 and he was knighted as a result the following year. Fountaine accompanied Lord Macclesfield to carry the Act of Succession to the Elector of Hanover in 1701 before travelling on to Italy. According to a manuscript biography of Fountaine written for Walpole, Fountaine stayed in Italy for two years and 'became acquainted with most of the principal literati, connoisseurs, virtuosi, &c. and made a large acquisition of medals (which was his forte)'. On coming back to England, he returned to Oxford to complete his studies and inherited Narford Hall in Norfolk on his father's death in 1707. Fountaine made a second Grand Tour in 1714 where he acted as an agent for his friend Thomas



cat.61



cat.62

Herbert, 8th Earl of Pembroke acquiring paintings for Wilton.

This exquisitely rendered portrait captures Fountaine at the beginning of his career. Forster shows Fountaine in a fashionable full-bottomed wig, elaborately embroidered jacket and silk drapery over his right arm. Fountaine's features are rendered with minute attention to detail. Inventories of Fountaine's possessions at Narford survive, dated 1753 and 1758, but his collections are now largely dispersed.⁶² His famous collection of majolica sold at Christie's, 16–19 June 1884, and his prints and drawings, which included 'magnificent impressions' of Van Dyck and many early German prints, 7–10 July 1884.⁶³ Among English drawings, Fountaine owned a volume of drawings by Francis Barlow which is now in the British Museum, and Jonathan Swift's own drawings for the *Tale of the Tub*, 'sent to Narford for Sir Andrew's approval and never returned.'⁶⁴ His collection of miniature portraits was destroyed by a fire in 1733. A sale of pictures took place at Christie's on 7 July 1894 and Fountaine's library was sold at Sotheby's on 11 June 1902.

63

THOMAS FORSTER c.1677–1712

John St Lo

Pencil on vellum, oval
4 1/8 x 3 1/8 inches · 105 x 80 mm, oval
Drawn in 1704

COLLECTIONS

Mrs Felton Matthew;
Mrs Agatha Thorneycroft, 1890;
Mrs Robert Tritton;
Tritton sale, Christie's, London, 12 July 1983, lot 533;
Colin Hunter;
Hunter sale, Sotheby's, London 11 July 1991, lot 31

EXHIBITED

London, Sotheby's, *Childhood: A Loan Exhibition of Works of Art*, 1988, no.94.

This rare portrait of a toddler is by the foremost exponent of the plumbago portrait, Thomas Forster. The sitter's father, George St Lo, was appointed Resident Commissioner at Chatham in 1703 and remained in that post until 1712. He sat as an MP from 1705 and was an equerry to Prince George of Denmark from 1700 to c.1704. Thomas Forster drew George St Lo in 1704 (now in the British Museum) and, as Forster's other portraits of the immediate family are dated 1704–5, this portrait too was doubtless made at about the same time.⁶⁵ Forster alludes to the profession of the baby's father by placing the child on a large anchor, and John St Lo seems to have followed his father into the navy, for a John St Lo was commanding the ship *Ludlow Castle* in 1724; the 20-gun *Phoenix* in 1731, the 80-gun *Princess Ameila* in 1742 and the 90-gun *Princess Royal* in 1744.⁶⁶ In 1747 John St Low was named a Rear-Admiral.⁶⁷

64

THOMAS OR CHARLES FORSTER c.1677–1712

Portrait of a Young Lady

Pencil on vellum
3 7/8 x 3 inches · 98 x 77 mm, oval
Drawn c.1709–1717

This drawing of an unidentified young woman is either the work of Thomas Forster or of Forster's presumed son, Charles Forster, from whom work survives with dates between 1709 and 1717. Charles Forster worked in plumbago in a style very close to Thomas Forster. Several of his portrait drawings are copies from oil paintings.



cat.63



cat.64



VII

'A noble, delightful and useful art': Drawings by Antiquarians, Amateurs and Artisans

Jonathan Richardson penned a justification of painting at the beginning of his 1715 *Theory of Painting*, noting that it is: 'a noble, delightful and useful art', these labels neatly encompass the motivations for the drawings contained in this section. Our period witnessed the rise of drawing outside the professional studio, an art that was both useful and practiced as an amusement. Drawing had a new role in the pre-disciplinary discoveries being made by the amateur members of the Royal Society; it was a tool of empire, being taught by the Ordnance office to instruct surveyors and engineers and increasingly a leisure activity for those benefitting from Britain's increasing wealth.

The fashion for antiquarianism that flourished in Britain throughout the late seventeenth century culminated in the foundation of the Society of Antiquaries. The Society had specific need of accurate drawings, which stood in for archaeological finds and architectural curiosities and were discussed at the Society's meetings. Antiquarians were frequently amateurs. From Henry Peacham, drawing was seen as a desirable, and pleasurable, attainment amongst patrician men and increasingly women.

Amateurs appreciated the utility of drawing, but the seventeenth century also saw the rise of drawing as a tool for a diversifying range of professionals and craftsmen. This section includes two drawings by the furniture designer Thomas Johnson whose flamboyant rococo creations demanded being planned on paper before they could be carved.

JOHN TALMAN 1677–1726

The Warwick Ciborium

Watercolour over traces of pencil, heightened with gold paint, on laid paper, watermarked with the Strasburg Lily

Gouache and pen and ink

9 × 12¼ inches · 230 × 310 mm

Inscribed in pen and brown ink: 'Font / A Pix or of. Copper Gilt and enamelld.', upper centre; further inscribed in pen and brown ink 'The Body is adorned with Six rounds whereon are figured as many Storys, out of / the Old Testament, alludeing to the Sacrament and in the fascia over the said rounds are inscriptions / in Blew [sic] enamell explaining each history. about august 1717 it was bought at a Braziers shop in Londn.'

COLLECTIONS

With the Fry Gallery, London, by 1970;

Walter Brandt (1902–1978), purchased from the above in 1970;

And by descent to 2011

The emergence of London's learned societies – the Royal Society, founded in 1660 and the Society of Antiquaries in 1717 – gave new imperative for the need for accurate draughtsmen. This drawing was made by John Talman when he was first director of the Society of Antiquaries to record the remarkable discovery of a twelfth-century gold and enamelled ciborium, one of the most important pieces of English medieval goldsmith's work. Made in 1717, this drawing was designed to record the decoration of the cup – six enamelled scenes from the Old Testament – and is one of three versions Talman made at this date. The decoration of the cup was subsequently seriously damaged, meaning that the present sheet offers important evidence for its original condition.



Fig.65.1 | John Talman, *The sandal of St Bernard, from an album, from the Abbey of Valombrosa, Tuscany*

Watercolour over black chalk · 8¾ × 13¾ inches · 218 × 347 mm

Signed, inscribed and dated 1719

© Trustees of the British Museum

John Talman was an architect, antiquary and avid art collector. The eldest son of the architect William Talman, he was born in King Street, St James's and educated at Eton. In August 1709 Talman went to Italy, in the company of the young designer William Kent, who was heading to Rome to study painting. As an antiquarian, Talman was particularly assiduous in recording the ecclesiastical treasures he encountered. A catholic convert, he knew Pope Clement XI, himself an antiquary, who granted him access to the Vatican treasures. He also knew Cardinal Ottoboni, the principal artistic patron of Clementine Rome; in 1710 Talman became a member of the Accademia dell'Arcadia. Talman returned to Britain in the spring of 1717 in time for the founding of the Society of Antiquaries in Fleet Street at the Mitre Tavern in July. He was elected the first director, in charge of the drawings, prints and books of the Society; this drawing was therefore executed in the first months of the Society's existence and neatly encapsulates its aims. The drawing is also the first record of the Warwick Ciborium: Talman's drawing is inscribed: 'about august 1717 it was bought at a Braziers shop in Londn.' Talman made two further versions of this sheet which he sent to two of the greatest antiquaries of the day: Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford (Society of Antiquaries, Harleian Collection, vol.11, f.30) and Richard Gough (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 43, no.84). The Harley drawing records that the ciborium had been acquired by Mr George Holmes Deputy Record Keeper in the Tower of London. The Ciborium was acquired by the Earls of Warwick in the nineteenth century, before being purchased by the V&A in 1919.



GEORGE VERTUE 1684–1756

*Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk
by Hans Holbein, after Lucas Vorsterman I*

Pen, ink and wash

9¾ × 7½ inches · 250 × 190mm

Verso, annotated detail of the Garter chain.

Drawn c.1748

COLLECTIONS

Major A. R. Tavener, to 2017

Hans Holbein and the Howard family were central figures in George Vertue's antiquarian researches into the history of art in Britain. Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk was one of Holbein's major patrons and Vertue made several notes on the traditional story that Holbein died of the plague in the Duke's London house: 'Holbein was always a favorit of the old Duke of Norfolk.'¹ Vertue also recorded that many of Holbein's drawings descended in the family to Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel, 'he who collected so affectionately the Workes of Holbein.'² In the 1620s the earl employed Lucas Vorsterman I to copy Holbein's portrait of his great-great-grandfather for an engraving (fig 66.1). Arundel must have taken the painting with him when he moved to Antwerp in 1642, for it was listed in an inventory of the Arundel collection compiled in Amsterdam in 1655.³ It was sold anonymously at an Amsterdam auction in 1732 before being imported back to London for re-sale in 1735, when Vertue saw it for the first time. It did not reach its reserve of £200 but fetched £300 when offered again in 1744.⁴ The buyer was presumably Frederick, Prince of Wales for in 1750 Vertue saw the painting for a third time in his collection.⁵

Although Vertue knew Holbein's painting well, his immediate source for this copy was the watercolour by Vorsterman, which is now in the British Museum (fig 66.2).⁶ Vertue made another copy of Holbein's portrait of the 3rd Duke, for it appears hanging on the wall in the background of a group portrait by Van Dyck of the Earl of Arundel's family, from which Philips Fruytiers made a copy in watercolour in 1645. Vertue engraved Fruytiers's copy in 1743 on commission from Edward Howard, 9th Duke of Norfolk. In an apparent reference to this, Vertue wrote in about 1748: 'concerning a picture of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk the third of that family. I did draw from a small limning, for the Duke of Norfolks Collection.-of his family pictures.'⁷ Vertue may have made the present watercolour after Vosterman for the same purpose. Vertue's engraving was not published until 1782, by John Thane who also probably owned Vosterman's watercolour as the British Museum acquired it from his son in 1846.



Fig.66.1 | Lucas Vorsterman I, after Hans Holbein, the Younger, *Thomas Howardus Dux et Comes Norfolciæ*, 1624–30, Engraving

22¾ × 7¾ inches · 220 × 194 mm

Lettered within image 'Æ. 66 / OBYT 1554' and 'LV', top right;

Lettered in lower margin, with production details and two lines of Latin 'THOMAS HOWARDVS DVX ET COMES NORFOLCIE ... / ... ANGLIÆ. &C.' and 'Hans Hollbain pinxit'

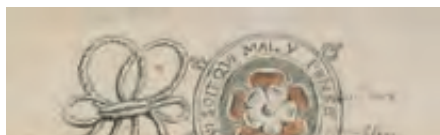
© The Trustees of the British Museum



Fig.66.2 | *Lucas Vorsterman after Holbein*, Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, 1624–1630 (circa)

Brown and grey wash · 9¾ × 7¾ inches · 248 × 193 mm

© The Trustees of the British Museum



Drawing on the verso of cat.66



WILLIAM BYRON,
4TH BARON BYRON 1669–1736

A Tree Struck by Lightning

Watercolour over pencil on laid paper,
with partial watermark of fleur de lis
7⅞ × 10½ inches · 200 × 265 mm
Inscribed and dated 'A Tree Struck by Lightning 1718', lower left

COLLECTIONS

Prue Heathcote-Williams;
Gifted to Sir John Clermont Witt (1908–1982) by his wife (L.2228b);
By descent, to 2017

William Byron, 4th Lord Byron of Newstead Abbey, Nottinghamshire was a talented amateur draughtsman, collector and patron. Byron's interest in art appears to date from quite late in his life and may have been stimulated by his receipt of a court pension of £1000 in 1717. His aspirations as a fashionable art collector are suggested by his attendance at the most important picture sale of the decade, the 1722 auction of the 1st Duke of Portland's pictures, when he bought works by Ludovico Carracci and Giovanni Bellini for almost £70. Byron's large collection of paintings was sold by his son, William 5th Baron Byron at Christie's on 20–25 March 1772. Byron combined his collecting with an antiquarian interest in the history of the arts in England. Vertue visited him at least twice and noted that he owned a 1582 miniature by Nicholas Hilliard, a portrait by William Dobson, and an important collection of drawings by the Elizabethan architect John Smythson, who was active in Nottinghamshire.⁸

Byron employed the Flemish painter Peter Tillemans extensively. Tillemans had left Antwerp with his brother-in-law Peter Casteels in 1708 in order to work as a journeyman painter

for the leading London picture dealer, Henry Broome Turner. By the 1720s, Tillemans was himself a prominent picture dealer. The business of picture dealing required a painter to meet the entirety of his client's art-related needs, whether that involved acquiring old master paintings, painting their own fresh work on commission, restoring a client's art collection, or teaching them to draw. Tillemans painted several views of Newstead, and taught Byron both to use watercolours and to paint in oil. Indeed, among several views of Newstead by Tillemans is one, still at the house, that Byron finished.⁹ Several of Byron's landscape watercolours are also still at Newstead, as well as in the British Museum and at the Yale Center for British Art. The British Museum also holds examples of Byron's landscape etchings, including one after Guercino. As a picture dealer, Tillemans was called on to paint in various styles, and Byron was able to imitate both Tillemans's freely-washed classical landscape watercolours and, as in the example here, his well observed nature drawing.

A very similar tree study by Byron, in the same mount, is now at the Yale Centre for British Art. They are reminders that landscape sketching was commonly practiced in the early part of the eighteenth century, although often it did not serve a purely picturesque function as in the final decades of the century. These are clearly individual trees well known to Byron, and there is something of the record-making landowner in his close observation of their characteristics. Byron has taken great care to record the damage to the bark caused by a lightning strike in 1718. They can be placed with a tradition of topographical description with which Tillemans was also heavily involved around this time, between 1719 and 1721 he made about 200 drawings of Northamptonshire for an antiquarian county history.



Fig.68.1 | William Byron, 4th Baron Byron,
View of a Park with Deer

Watercolour with pen and brown ink, pencil, gouache and gold
7¾ × 10¾ inches · 197 × 271 mm
Inscribed: 'Wm. 4th lord Byron 53'
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection



ALEXANDER GEEKIE 1655–1727

Portrait of John Locke

Pastel

14¾ × 11⅝ inches · 375 × 298 mm

Inscribed verso: 'A Copy of John Locke esq. After Sir Godfry Kneller. Drawn by A.G: 1704.'

COLLECTIONS

Alexander Geekie (1655–1727);

John Geekie (1695–1747), son of the above;

John Geekie jnr (1724–1822), son of the above;

Francis Cotes (1726–1770),

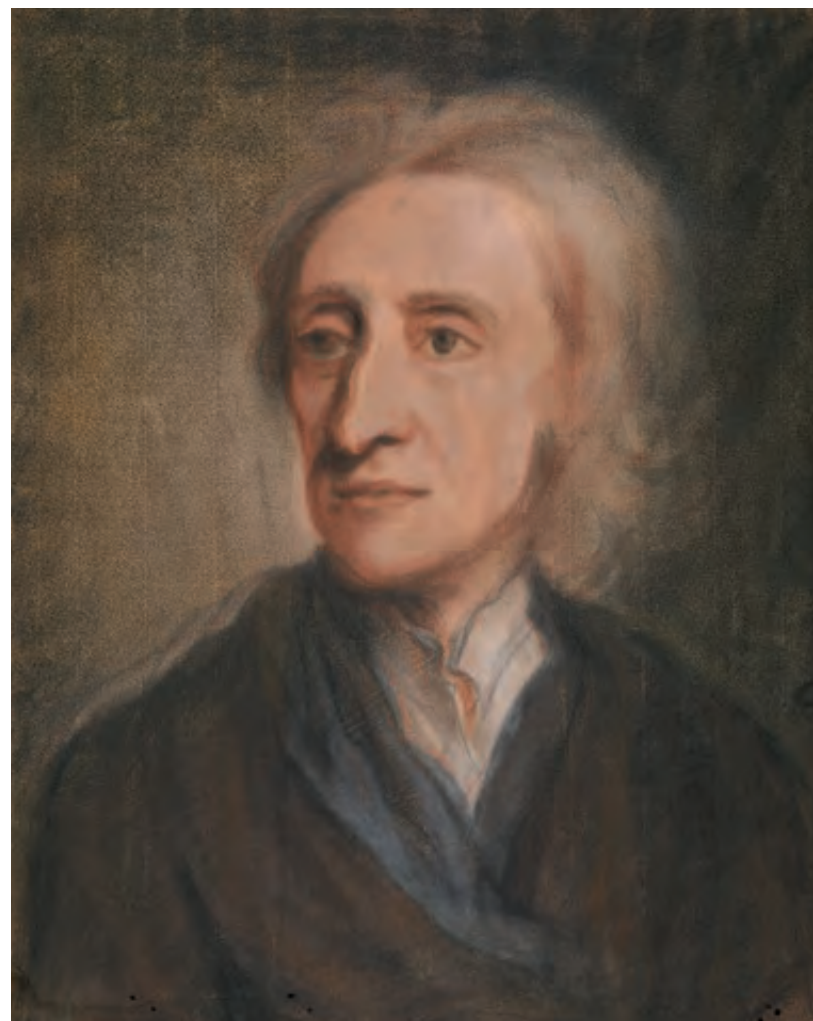
Cotes sale, Langford and son, February 21–23 1771, lot.14

LITERATURE

Neil Jeffares, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800* (Online edition, updated 2018), J.3419.1015.

This portrait was among several that Geekie made to memorialise significant intellectual affiliations. Geekie was a London-based Scottish physician and amateur artist, who assembled a collection of portraits of philosophers and scientists. Geekie corresponded frequently with the philosopher John Locke and wrote to him on 26 February 1703 that 'Sir G.Kneller has been so kind to let me have that Picture he did of you upon some consideration'.¹⁰ Given the date of Geekie's pastel, it was surely drawn after news of Locke's death had reached him in 1704.

Geekie subscribed to the Great Queen Street Academy on its foundation in 1711 and this was doubtless where he met Vertue, who joined in 1713, for he engraved the Kneller portrait of Locke in that year.¹¹ In 1742 Vertue recorded the fact that Ranelagh Barret had also copied the portrait, when in the possession of Geekie's son. It later belonged to Sir Robert Walpole and is now at the Hermitage Museum (fig.67.1).¹² Vertue also noted that Geekie owned the portrait of Inigo Jones by Van Dyck which is now in the Hermitage Museum, which he acquired from John Webb's daughter-in-law.¹³ Geekie also owned a portrait by Isaac Fuller of the Dutch philosopher Van Helmont and a wax relief of 'an Eminent Apotecary' by Abraham Symonds, and had offered £50 for a portrait of Locke by Greenhill but was turned down.¹⁴ Among other pastel copies that Geekie made were portraits of Erasmus and the physician and anatomist Walter Needham. These two and the portrait of Locke described here were the 'three crayon portraits' that Geekie's son John bequeathed to his own son, and which were later in the collection of the pastellist Francis Cotes.¹⁵

Fig.67.1 | Sir Godfrey Kneller, *John Locke*, 1697

Oil on canvas · 30 × 25 inches · 760 × 640 mm

Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

© bpk, Berlin/ Photo: Roman Beniaminson

WILLIAM KENT 1685–1748

*A Sheet of Studies*including *Designs for Frames, a Cartouche and a Drawing of the Head of a Young Woman*

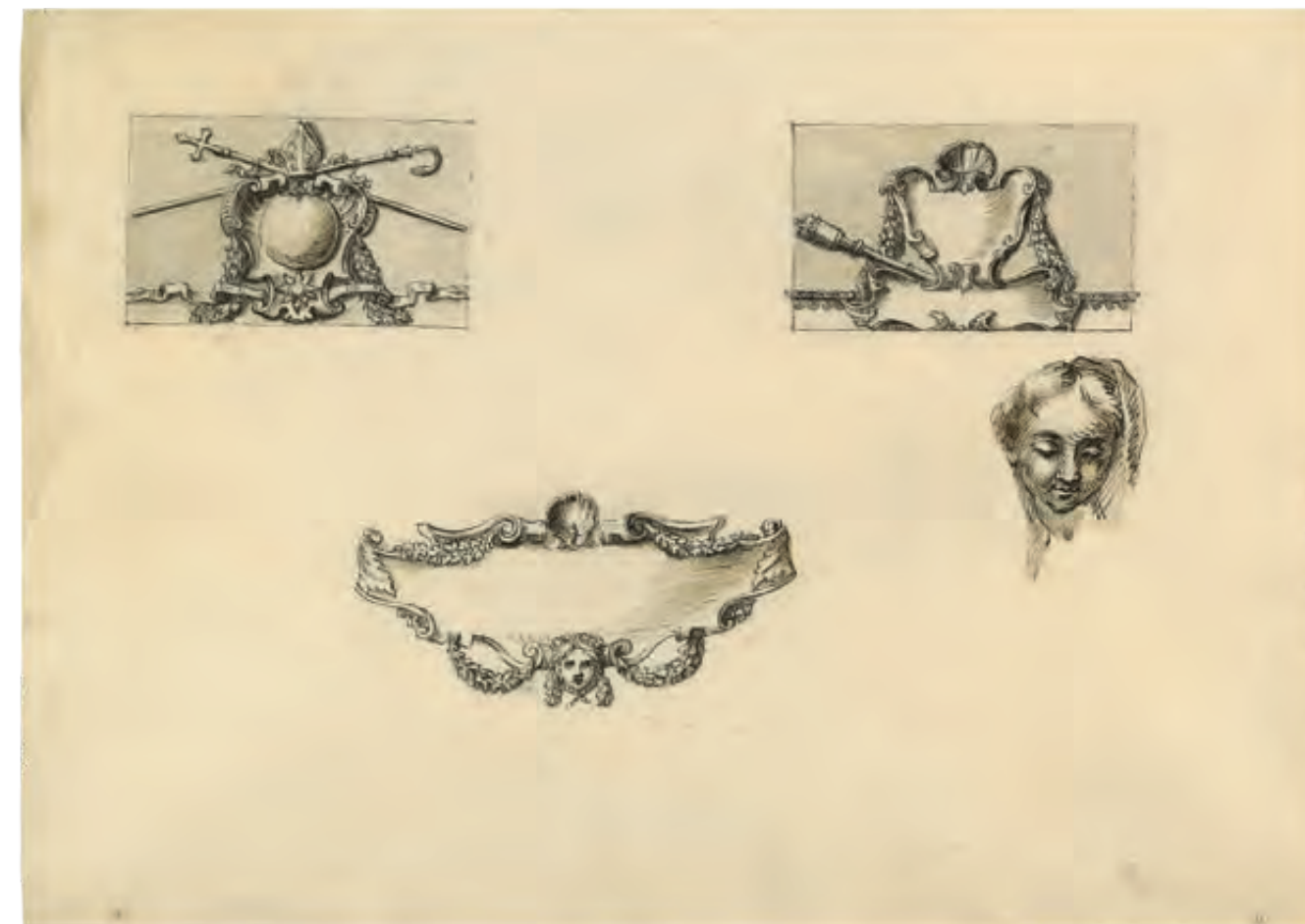
Pen and ink

10¼ × 14½ inches · 260 × 370 mm

Drawn c.1730

COLLECTIONS

Private collection, France



This characteristic sheet shows William Kent's habit of combining his designs with whimsical marginalia.¹⁶ The studies at the top of the sheet, neatly contained within drawn borders, appear to be designs for furniture or picture frames; on the left a cartouche is surmounted by a mitre, crosier and cross possibly to surmount the portrait of a bishop and on the right a cartouche with a mace, suggesting it may have been designed for the portrait of a Lord Chancellor. During the 1730s Kent was involved in a series of schemes for rebuilding and refurbishing government buildings, including a new parliament

building and the present designs may well relate to an aspect of the interior. At the bottom of the sheet is a small drawing of a cartouche containing swags, a female mask and shell, is reminiscent of motifs found on Kent's seat furniture. The head of a young woman is typical of Kent's ideal of female beauty and a variant features in many of his designs and drawings.

THOMAS JOHNSON 1723–1799

Design for a Table Support Illustrating Aesop's Fable of 'The Crane and the Wolf'

Pen and ink with watercolour
 4¼ × 5½ inches · 105 × 140 mm
 Collection stamp TEL, lower left (not in Lugt).
 Drawn c.1755

COLLECTIONS

Thomas E Lowinsky (1892–1947);
 Anthony Hobson (1920–2000)

This is a rare drawing by 'one of the most influential English designers of the eighteenth century.'¹⁷ In 1737 Johnson was apprenticed to his cousin, a carver called Robert Johnson whom he described as 'the worst carver I ever knew.'¹⁸ In the mid-1740s Johnson learned to draw under Matthias Lock, who in the words of Johnson's autobiography, was 'reputed to be the best Ornament draughts-man in Europe.'¹⁹ After a decade working in Liverpool and Dublin, Johnson returned to London where, with his book of *Twelve Girandoles* (1755), he launched a career as a designer of exuberant rococo ornament. Following

the success of these designs, he was encouraged to publish 'a larger work, of furniture in general' and the leading frame maker Thomas Vials employed him to 'make all his drawings' which he did for more than two decades, until 1777.²⁰

Johnson provided designs across the breadth of fashionable styles and he was skilled at adapting to changing tastes. The leading furniture workshops could not rely on engraved designs as they were not exclusive and became dated very rapidly; carvers like Johnson provided unique designs, such as the example here in what was known as the 'rural' or rustic taste. Matthias Lock was an innovator of this style in the early 1750s which was taken up by Johnson in his 1758 collection of designs, re-issued as *One Hundred and Fifty New Designs* (1761) (fig 70.1).²¹ Aesop's Fables were a popular source for mid-century rococo furniture. The fable of the crane and the wolf appears on a chimneypiece tablet at Blickling Hall, Norfolk, on plates from Chelsea and Staffordshire and on embroidered chair coverings.²²

This drawing was previously in the collection of Thomas E Lowinsky, a collector of drawings and a distinguished artist in his own right, most of whose collection was sold *en bloc* to the Yale Center for British Art.



THOMAS JOHNSON 1723–1799

Design for a Girandole, with an Oriental Smoking and a Monkey

Pen and ink, watermark 'CM'
 7½ × 3¾ inches · 190 × 95 mm
 Drawn c.1755

COLLECTIONS

William Drummond, to 2016

This drawing shows an especially fantastical rococo design for a girandole, a piece of furniture with which Johnson was closely associated. On his arrival in London in 1755, Johnson launched his career by carving a girandole 'in a taste never before thought on; the principle of it was a ruined building, with cattle, &c ... this taste being so well received, I immediately published a small book of designs for girandoles.'²³ Several books of furniture and ornament designs appeared in the 1750s by Matthias Lock, Thomas Chippendale, William Ince and John Mayhew. Johnson's books were distinguished by his inclusion of sixty mirror and girandole designs (fig 71.1), double the number by Chippendale or Ince and Mayhew.



Fig.70.1 | Plate 40 – *One Hundred and Fifty New Designs*, by Thomas Johnson Carver, London 1761
 Engraving and etching
 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Fig.71.1 | Plate 6 – *One Hundred and Fifty New Designs*, by Thomas Johnson Carver, London 1761
 Engraving and etching
 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



VIII

The Age of Hogarth

One of the most important engines of the art world in London during the first half of the eighteenth century was the print trade. Enterprising printsellers could be found throughout the city and their shops were rich entrepôts filled with the latest engravings from the Continent, they were also important patrons of British artists, commissioning prints for a burgeoning domestic audience. In an environment where there were few opportunities to complete history paintings, the market for prints frequently allowed artists to compose complex designs for engravings. Involvement with the print trade is a central, if underappreciated, aspect of most artists' careers before the foundation of the Royal Academy.

William Hogarth began his career as an engraver and print seller; he remained close to the print trade throughout his career, in 1735 initiating the Act for the Encouragement of the Arts of Designing, Engraving, Etching &c. Known as Hogarth's Act, it vested the copyright of engravings in their artists rather than their publishers. This gave legal protection to the large number of draughtsman who worked as designers for London's print publishers. This section traces a number of draughtsman and their work for print makers from an exceptionally rare drawing by Marcellus Laroon made for Pierce Tempest's highly successful, *Cries of London* in the 1680s through to the group of French designers who worked with Hogarth at the St Martin's Lane Academy, Hubert-François Bourguignon, known as Gravelot and Bernard Baron. Baron's highly finished red chalk drawing made in preparation for his engraving after Hogarth's portrait of *Bishop Hoadly*, reminds us that no print could be made without a drawing, even an apparently reproductive print after a painting.

JOHN SAVAGE fl.1683–1701

George Walker

Pen and ink and wash

10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches · 272 × 201 mm

Inscribed 'Mr Walker. Dr D', lower centre

Drawn in 1689

COLLECTIONS

William Drummond (1934–2018)

ENGRAVED

by John Savage, line engraving, and published by John Bowles.

The print lettered below the image: 'Mr George Walker/Minister of Dungannon / And Govenour of LONDON DERRIE in Ireland when besieged in 1689 / I. Savage Sculp./Printed for John Bowles in Cornhill London.'

This ink and wash drawing was made by the engraver and printseller John Savage in preparation for his engraving of George Walker, a theologian and soldier who was a celebrated governor of Londonderry killed at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.¹ This drawing offers important evidence of the process engraver/printsellers went through to create images for the print market. Savage has framed the image of Walker, dressed in clerical bands, holding a sword, within a highly decorative border. Such emblematic borders were major features of the increasingly popular series of engraved heads which appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Savage is a significant, if under researched figure in the evolution of British printmaking and printselling in the late seventeenth century. As Anthony Griffiths pointed out, Savage was responsible for the seventy-two plates of *Tempest's Cries of London* published in 1688. The earliest sign of his activity yet noted is as engraver of plates for the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society from 1683 onwards. Savage entered the print-selling business when he bought the shop of Isaac Beckett at the Golden Head in the Old Bailey from his widow in October 1688. According to a card in the Bagford collection Savage had purchased Beckett's 'mezzotinto plates & prints' but pointing to the diversity of the trade, Savage also advertised: 'all sorts of mezzo-tinto prints, frames, glasses &c.'² Made in 1689 shortly after the siege of Londonderry, Savage's print was undoubtedly produced in an attempt to capitalise on popular interest in the news.



Fig.72.1 | John Savage, *Mr. George Walker Minister of Dungannon And Govenour of London Derrie in Ireland when besieged in 1689*

Engraving · 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches · 290 × 211 mm

Lettered with title

© The Trustees of the British Museum



MARCELLUS LAROON, THE ELDER 1653–1702
A Sow Gelder: a Drawing for the 'Cries of London'

Pen and ink ad wash
 8½ × 6 inches · 215 × 152 mm
 Drawn c.late 1680s

COLLECTIONS
 Private collection, UK

LITERATURE
 For the engraving see: Sean Shesgreen, *The Cries and Hawkers of London: Engravings and Drawings by Marcellus Laroon*, Aldershot, 1990, p.78.

ENGRAVED
 by John Savage, published by Pierce Tempest in 1688. The print lettered: 'M.Laaron delin:/A Sow Gelder/Le Chatreur de Chiens/Castra Porchetti/P Tempest exc:/Cum Privilegio.'



Fig.73.1 | After Marcellus Laroon, *A Sow Gelder* from *The Cries of the City of London Drawne after the Life*
 Etching and engraving · 9½ × 6¾ inches · 242 × 161 mm
 Published by Pierce Tempest, 1688
 © The Trustees of the British Museum

This rare, previously unpublished drawing was made by Marcellus Laroon in the 1680s in preparation for the publication of *The Cries of London*. First advertised in 1687 by the print publisher Pierce Tempest, the plates were engraved by John Savage. Laroon's *Cries* were enormously popular throughout the eighteenth century, forming the model for similar series by Paul Sandby and Francis Wheatley.

Laroon was born in the Netherlands, he trained in London with 'La Zoon' (perhaps Hendrick Sonnius, Lely's assistant), and with Balthazar Flesschier, a painter of seascapes and portraits. He then became a portrait painter in Yorkshire (where, he told George Vertue, he met Rembrandt at Hull). After returning to London, Laroon joined the Company of Painter-Stainers in 1674. Pierce Tempest, an enterprising print publisher, was originally from Tong in Yorkshire where he may have first known Laroon. From about 1680 he was based in the Strand and maintained lucrative relationships with other Yorkshire based artists, including Francis Place. The idea for a series of prints depicting the 'Cries' of London probably came in response to the popularity of Jean-Baptiste Bonnard's *Cris de Paris*, published around 1666 in a suite of 36 prints. Temple eventually published 74 prints based on Laroon's drawings, although the precise chronology of the *Cries* is complicated.³ The series begins with the *Sow Gelder*.

Joseph Addison, writing in *The Spectator*, divided London's street hawkers into two classes, vocalists and instrumentalists.⁴ The sow gelder blowing the hooked trumpet and five other hawkers are instrumentalists; they include the vendor of singing glasses who plays the horn he sells, the hobby horse crier who sounds a trumpet, and the tinker who strikes his brass kettle with a hammer. As Sean Shesgreen has pointed out, Laroon's drawing captures a figure familiar from medieval London, but one being gradually made redundant by late seventeenth-century London's rapid urbanisation.⁵ The Sow Gelder, who castrated male pigs and gelded sows, would become a rural curiosity by the following generation. This is true of a number of the professions captured by Laroon, suggesting an antiquarian inflection to Tempest's project.

Laroon's wash drawing shows the figure from behind, dressed in a ragged coat. Laroon's use of rapid, descriptive ink lines suggests that he was working in full knowledge of the engraving process; indeed Savage's plate follows Laroon's model closely. This drawing is particularly important because it has been prepared for transfer, the back of the drawing has been covered in chalk and the drawing has been incised. This is a rare sheet, made in preparation for one of the most influential series of prints published in London at the end of the seventeenth century.



BERNARD BARON c.1696–1762

Dr Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester, after William Hogarth

Red chalk

13 × 10½ inches · 330 × 270 mm

Signed and inscribed 'Hoadley [sic] Bishop of Winchester/ B. Baron Del', on the backing sheet.

Drawn in 1743

COLLECTIONS

The Hon. Christopher Lennox-Boyd (1941–2012)

LITERATURE

for Baron's engraving see: Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic works*, London, 1989, pl.226.

ENGRAVED

by Bernard Baron, copper engraving, published 1743.

This highly finished red chalk drawing was made by the leading French engraver Bernard Baron after William Hogarth's 1741 portrait of Dr Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester. This important, previously unpublished drawing offers vital evidence for the process Hogarth undertook to producing reproductive engravings after his works.⁶

Bernard Baron was born in France, the son of the engraver Laurent Baron, and studied under his step-father, Nicolas-Henri Tardieu. Baron moved to London in 1712 at the invitation of Claude Dubosc to assist him in producing prints of the Laguerre murals at Marlborough House. Baron was an important conduit for bringing the techniques of French engraving to Britain; he produced plates of Thornhill's paintings in the dome of St Paul's Cathedral and in 1720 he assisted Dubosc and Nicolas Dorigny with their engravings after the Raphael cartoons. In 1729 Baron returned to Paris – according to Vertue, because there was 'not much business' in London – where he contributed to the *Recueil Crozat*, the monumental publication of Italian drawings from the collection of Pierre Crozat and engraved four plates for the *Recueil Jullienne* a compendium of 271 engravings of Watteau's paintings and decorations commissioned by the textile manufacturer and collector Jean de Jullienne.

The present sheet is the first evidence of Baron's relationship with William Hogarth. This drawing also answers the question, first raised by Wark in 1957, of whether the engraving was made from Hogarth's painting of Bishop Hoadly now in the Tate, or whether the Tate painting was made after the engraving.⁷ Baron's drawing is clearly after the Tate painting and was



Fig. 74.1 | William Hogarth, *Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester*, 1741

Oil on canvas
50 × 40 inches · 1270 × 1015 mm
© Tate, London 2017



Fig. 74.2 | Bernard Baron, after William Hogarth, *The Right Reverend Father in God, Dr Benjamin Hoadly, Lord Bishop of Winchester, Prelate of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Act, 67, AD. 1743*

Engraving · 17 × 11 7/8 inches · 430 × 303 mm
© The Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 74.3 | Bernard Baron after Hogarth, *Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury*

Inscribed on verso in pen "Herring Archbishop of Cant / B. Baron del"
Red chalk · 13 1/2 × 10 3/4 inches · 340 × 273 mm
© The Trustees of the British Museum, 2011,7084.52



made in preparation for the engraving which was published in 1743. An advertisement in the July 14th edition of the *London Daily Post* records that impressions were available 'to be had at the Golden Head in Leicester-Fields' this was Hogarth's shop, 'price 3s'. The publication of this plate marked the beginning of Baron's association with Hogarth and Baron was one of four French engravers employed by Hogarth to engrave plates for *Marriage a la Mode* in 1745.⁸ Two carefully worked red-chalk drawings relating to Baron's engravings survive in the Royal Collection and suggest that this was his standard working practice.⁹ It is revealing that Hogarth subsequently employed the same method in preparation for the *Four Stages of Cruelty* published in 1751, Hogarth's highly finished preparatory sheets are now in the Morgan Library & Museum, New York. Christopher Lennox-Boyd, who owned the present drawing, gave the British Museum a second highly finished red chalk drawing of Archbishop Thomas Herring made by Baron in preparation for the engraving published in 1750, suggesting that the two drawings had historically remained together.¹⁰ The present highly finished drawing offers important evidence for understanding Hogarth's relationship with the engravers he employed, as well as important evidence of the complex relationship between French printmakers and British painters in the early eighteenth century.



Fig.75.1 | George Bickham, after Louis-Philippe Boitard, *The Merchant Taylors*, 1749

Etching and engraving · 9¼ × 13¼ inches · 250 × 335 mm
© The Trustees of the British Museum

A Peruke Maker's Shop

Pen and ink and brown and grey wash
8⅞ × 12¼ inches · 225 × 310 mm
Drawn c.1748–9

This fascinating record of an English peruke-maker's shop of the mid eighteenth century was intended for engraving as part of a series. Though no impression of the engraving has been identified, Boitard's design is certainly a print study as the date 1733 and lettering HMW on the cistern in the right foreground, and the almanac posted on the wall in the far-left background, all appear backwards, in the expectation that they would be reversed in the printed version.

A related drawing by Boitard, of the same size and medium and set within a similar ornamental cartouche depicting a tailor's shop survives in the Royal Collection.¹¹ This was engraved by George Bickham (fig.75.1) who published it on 29 June 1749. It depicts a workshop with tailors sitting crossed-legged by a long window which was added to many attic workshops in London, where a source of natural light was essential. Bickham gave Boitard's design the title *The Merchant Taylors* and the lettering below the image gives a brief history of the Merchant Taylors' livery company in London. These two designs may have been envisaged as part of a series depicting London trades, or livery companies perhaps – given Bickham's addition of a French version of the title, 'Les Merchsands Tailleurs Anglois' – in a publication that would have had a market overseas as well as in England.

London in the mid-eighteenth century exerted huge economic influence nationally, and its retail environment drew comment from overseas. The French writer André Rouquet judged that London's shops gave it: 'an air of wealth and elegance that we do not see in any other city'.¹² There was also a literature on London's trades that, like Robert Campbell's *The London Tradesman* of 1747, was intended to guide potential apprentices and employees. Campbell explained that the peruke maker 'has his fashions from Paris, like all other tradesmen, and the nearer he can approach to the patterns of that fickle tride, the better chance he has to succeed with his English customers.' Boitard has drawn a customer sitting in a chair and being shaved for as Campbell added, the peruke-maker was 'not only a Wigg-Maker but a Barber. They generally all Shave and Dress.'¹³

The drawing shows many of the graphic conventions of printmakers from Hogarth's circle: the rococo cartouche, decorated whimsically with emblems of the peruke makers trade (shaving basin, brushes and scissors). In the foreground a dog and cat confront one another, adding a touch of typically Hogarthian humour.



HUBERT FRANÇOIS BOURGUIGNON,
KNOWN AS GRAVELOT 1699–1773

'Friendly as a Ballad Singer at Ye Country Wake'
A Scene Outside Sir Thomas's House taken from the
Opera 'Flora'

Pen and ink
2¼ × 3⅞ inches · 70 × 98 mm
Drawn c.1737

COLLECTIONS
Private collection, UK

ENGRAVED
Engraved by George Bickham in *Songs in the opera of Flora / with the humorous scenes of Hob design'd by ye celebrated Mr. Gravelot & engrav'd by G. Bickham junr; the musick proper for ye violin, German & common flute, harpsichord or spinet with a new base & thoro' base to each song*, London, 1737.

This small, highly finished ink drawing depicts a scene from the popular ballad opera *Flora*. Hubert François Bourguignon, known as Gravelot exerted enormous influence in London during the 1730s and 1740s. A prolific and elegant draughtsman and designer, Gravelot was employed on a number of important book projects and as a friend of Hogarth's he was an important member of the second St Martin's Lane Academy. Gravelot's influence can be found in the works of his friend Francis Hayman and his pupils including Thomas Gainsborough and the engravers Thomas Major and Charles Grignion. Perhaps most significantly Gravelot had a significant impact on Hogarth, as Paulson has identified, introducing him to elements of French rococo design.¹⁴



Fig.76.1 | Hubert François Gravelot,
Study for an engraving of 'Songs in the Opera of Flora'

Black chalk with pencil · 2¼ × 3⅞ inches · 72 × 100 mm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mr and Mrs Isaac D. Fletcher Fund, 1944
Accession Number:44.54.12



This drawing was engraved by George Bickham in 1737 as part of a book of the songs from the opera *Flora*. *Flora* was presented at the Covent Garden Theatre in 1730 by John Rich, the producer of *The Beggar's Opera*, and was a comic ballad opera of the type that Rich had made so successful. It was adapted from Thomas Doggett's *Country Wake* by John Hipsley, a comedian who had played Peachum in *The Beggar's Opera*. A sequel, *Flora, or Hob's Wedding* appeared in 1732. The title on the book of songs reads: *Songs in the Opera Flora With the Humorous Scenes of Hob Design'd by ye Celebrated Mr. Gravelot & Engrav'd by G. Bickham Junr*. It is dedicated to John Rich: 'The presumption of laying this small Treatise before you is a crime I am too conscious of, especially as it has been so long in Print. But as the Town hath given it so frequent & favourable a reception I thought I might venture to add ye small improvements I am capable of by Engraving the Musick Songs & proper Designs to each Subject in the manner it now appears.' The present sheet depicts the central protagonist Friendly 'a Gentleman in Love with Flora' disguised as a ballad singer performing outside the walls of Flora's uncle and guardian, Sir Thomas Testy's house. A preparatory drawing by Gravelot is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig.76.1), the present drawing, which is the same size as the New York sheet, seems to be the finished study Gravelot prepared for Bickham; shows evidence of incised lines, suggesting it was used directly by Bickham to prepare the engraving.

FRANCIS HAYMAN RA c.1708–1776
The Rape of the Lock

Pen and ink · 4¼ × 2¾ inches · 108 × 70 mm
Drawn c.1750

COLLECTIONS
William Drummond, to 2016

Francis Hayman was one of the leading history painters of the mid-eighteenth century, he also had a flourishing portrait practice and a successful career as an illustrator working for the London book trade. Working in a fashionable rococo style, Hayman produced nearly two hundred designs for book illustrations in the course of his career with almost half of them being engraved by Charles Grignion.¹⁵ Hayman was an active teacher and instructor at the second St. Martin's Lane Academy and would become instrumental in the establishment of the Society of Artists, the first of London's exhibiting societies which held its first exhibition in 1760. This attractive pen, ink and wash drawing appears to be an unrealised design for an illustration to Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*. While it does not seem to have been engraved, Hayman did execute an illustration for Pope's *Dunciad*, engraved by Charles Grignion in William Warburton's 1760 *Collected Edition of Pope*. Hayman has depicted the pivotal moment of the story: Belinda comforted by her maid, while the Baron holds the lock of her hair he has cut aloft. Pope's mock-heroic narrative poem was hugely popular throughout the eighteenth-century, and its imagery would have been well-known.





78

LOUIS-PHILIPPE BOITARD 1712–1758

Study of Headdresses in Covent Garden

Pen and ink and watercolour
2¾ × 7½ inches · 70 × 190 mm

Inscribed and dated 'Headdresses in Covt Garden 1747', lower centre

COLLECTIONS

John Bowles (1702?-1779);
Margaret Bowles, daughter of the above;
Ponsonby Shaw (1784–1871), son-in-law of the above;
Colnaghi, London;
Leonard Duke (1889–1971), acquired from the above by 1940;
Spink, London;
William Drummond, to 2016

LITERATURE

Iolo Williams, *Early English Watercolours*, London, 1952, p.20.

Louis-Philippe Boitard has long been assumed to have been a Frenchman who migrated to England in the 1730s, in emulation of his father Francis, a pupil of Raymond Lafage. In fact, father and son were both more closely linked with England than has been recognised. Francis Boitard was a French designer and engraver, drawing master and dealer in prints and drawings. Hitherto thought to have been based in London only briefly (from 1709–12), Francois was probably working there as early as 1701¹⁶ and married Grace Sarviss/Sarviso at St James Clerkenwell on 24 September 1704.¹⁷

Louis Philip was their second documented child, baptised on 11 November 1712 at St Mary-le-Bow. He was presumably taught by his father, and by the 1730s was gaining work as a designer and engraver. Boitard's growing success reached the House of Commons in 1742, where 'a great sound of Fame was made' by one of his supporters to mark the fact that he was

then working in Paris, 'an Englishman under pay to the King of France.'¹⁸ Given the many French engravers who had been brought to England in the early eighteenth century due to the limitations of English workmanship, the desire to record this reversal was understandable. Success was not long-lasting, for in the mid-1740s, when he had returned to London, he was working as a journeyman engraver for William Henry Toms, in whose workshop John Boydell criticised the louche habits of both Boitard and his fellow engraver Chatelain.¹⁹ Not long after, in 1748, Boitard was living in Fleet as an insolvent debtor.²⁰ He died in 1758, 'the ingenious Mr Boitard, a Copper-Plate Engraver', and was buried at St Martin in the Fields.²¹

Most of Boitard's surviving drawings, including five described here, were originally in an album of sixty-five studies. These bear witness to his troubled way of life. Most were drawn on the streets and in the taverns of Covent Garden and are solitary studies of poor men and women who are often drunk or asleep. Others (such as cat.79) depict exhausted seamen on the cross-channel packet boat. Their candour and immediacy was doubtless made possible because Boitard himself shared his subjects' poverty. Boitard made duplicate versions of several of his studies, such as the man asleep at the table (cat.80), another version of which is at the Huntington Library; and the study of Covent Garden headdresses, which also exists in two versions.²²

Several of the album drawings are related to the 1747 engraving *The Covent Garden Morning Frolick* which Boitard designed, engraved and published himself. The print depicts a group of dishevelled revellers being carried home after a late night, as the grimy characters of Covent Garden by day crowd around them. A link boy called 'Little Cazey' whom Boitard sketched in Bridewell Prison (British Museum 1962,0714.11),

leads the way; the right-hand woman in cat.78 is visible in the extreme right of the print and next to her is the woman in the drawing with a blue band over her eye. By making duplicate versions of his sketches of Covent Garden low life Boitard may have found a way to broaden the commercial usefulness of the print by offering buyers additional 'on the spot' studies. Their particularity was doubtless due in part to the fact that these were identifiable people; indeed one of the drawings is inscribed with the subject's name, Molly Doyle (cat.81).

Mid-eighteenth-century Covent Garden was an area of contrasts: a centre of theatre, the art world, taverns and prostitution as well as flower and vegetable markets. Boitard's *The Covent Garden Morning Frolick* (fig.78.1) belongs to the genre of art that used Covent Garden as a stage for encounters between rich and poor, whose early and most notable example was Hogarth's 1738 engraving *Morning*, in which a lady walks uncomfortably to church past a ragged group of prostitutes and beggars. Like Hogarth on this occasion, Boitard's intent seems more humorous than moral and his print celebrates the cacophonous energy of city life that Covent Garden exemplified. Boitard had a close knowledge of Hogarth's work, and was alleged to have pirated *The Rake's Progress* a fortnight before the actual set came out in 1735, which motivated Hogarth to press for his act of parliament to protect his copyright in his engravings.²³

It is evident that, by the time Boitard was making his studies of the poor in the later 1740s, watercolour was established as a medium to be applied in transparent washes in conjunction with pen and ink outlines, in contrast to the earlier application of more solid colours and small brush strokes. Boitard's technique is comparable to Paul Sandby's early work, including the watercolour figure studies he made in Edinburgh in the later 1740s. Boitard also used watercolour for more fully worked up



Fig.78.1 | Louis Philippe Boitard, *The Covent Garden Morning Frolick*, 1747
Etching · 9% × 12% inches · 245 × 322 mm
© The Trustees of the British Museum

drawings, such as of a country vagrant (cat.82), his bandaged limbs perhaps indicating his status as a war veteran; in its use of watercolour it is no different from a drawing of the 1770s.

The Boitard album was broken up by the collector Leonard Duke between 1943 and 1960.²⁴ Nineteen of the drawings are now at the Yale Center for British Art, two are in the British Museum and one is at the Huntington Library. Duke's album was inscribed by two earlier owners: Ponsonby Shaw of Dublin and his father-in-law Jonathan Eade (died 1811) of Stoke Newington. In 1770 Eade had married Margaret, daughter of John Bowles the printseller of Cornhill and Croft-Murray suggested that the album had been part of Bowles's bequest to her of his 'Book Case and all the books therein'.²⁵ Of the five drawings, four remained in the album when Duke acquired it and were among thirty five drawings he sold to Spink, but he purchased the study of the sleeping sailor separately.

79

LOUIS-PHILIPPE BOITARD 1712–1758

A Sleeping Seaman

Pen and watercolour · 6¼ × 9% inches, 157 × 250 mm
Drawn c.1740

COLLECTIONS

John Bowles (1702?-1779);
Margaret Bowles, daughter of the above;
Ponsonby Shaw (1784–1871), son-in-law of the above;
Mavis Strange, by 1964;
Leonard Duke, acquired 1964;
Duke sale, Sotheby's, January 1971, lot 16;
Judy Egerton (1928–2012);
By descent to 2015

80

LOUIS-PHILIPPE BOITARD 1712–1758

Study of a Gentleman Asleep at a Table

Pen and ink and watercolour · 7 × 5 inches · 175 × 127 mm
Drawn in c.1745

COLLECTIONS

John Bowles (1702?-1779);
his daughter Margaret Bowles;
her son-in-law Ponsonby Shaw (1784–1871), son-in-law of the above;
Colnaghi, London from whom acquired by Leonard Duke, by 1940;
With Spink, London;
William Drummond, to 2016
Version: Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Acc. No.67.37.

LITERATURE

For the Huntington version: see Robert Wark, *Early British Drawings in the Huntington Collection: 1600–1750*, San Marino, 1969, p.20.

81

LOUIS-PHILIPPE BOITARD 1712-1758

Study of Molly Doyle with a Tankard

Pen and ink and watercolour
7¼ × 4¼ inches; 185 × 107 mm
Inscribed 'Molly Doyle', lower left
Drawn in c.1745

COLLECTIONS

John Bowles (1702?-1779);
Margaret Bowles, daughter of the above;
Ponsonby Shaw (1784-1871), son-in-law of the above;
Colnaghi, London;
Leonard Duke (1889-1971), acquired from the above by 1940;
Spink, London;
William Drummond, to 2016



cat.81

82

LOUIS-PHILIPPE BOITARD 1712-1758

A Country Vagrant

Pen and ink and watercolour
14 × 10 inches; 355 × 255 mm
Drawn c.1740

COLLECTIONS

John Bowles (1702?-1779);
Margaret Bowles, daughter of the above;
Ponsonby Shaw (1784-1871), son-in-law of the above;
Colnaghi, London;
Leonard Duke (1889-1971), acquired from the above by 1940;
Spink, London;
Colin Hunter;
Colin Hunter sale, Sotheby's, London, 11 July 1991, lot 40;
Private collection to 2018



cat.80



cat.82

83

LOUIS-PHILIPPE BOITARD 1712-1758

Study of a Seated Woman with a Tankard

Pen and ink and watercolour
6⅞ × 4¾ inches; 175 × 120 mm
Drawn c. 1745

COLLECTIONS

John Bowles (1702?-1779);
Margaret Bowles, daughter of the above;
Ponsonby Shaw (1784-1871), son-in-law of the above;
Colnaghi, London from whom acquired by Leonard Duke (1889-
1971), by 1940;
Spink, London;
William Drummond, to 2016

LITERATURE

Iolo Williams, *Early English Watercolours*, London, 1952, p.20.



cat.83



cat.79

MARCELLUS LAROON THE YOUNGER
1679–1772

Old Age and Comfort

Pencil, pen and brown ink, grey wash,
watermark I.H.S./Villedary
16 × 13 inches · 345 × 330 mm
Inscribed 'Highgate', lower left,
Also inscribed and dated 'Hogar^d [sic] fecit 1729', lower left

COLLECTIONS

Mrs M A Steele;
Christie's, London 17 June 1975, lot 73, for 850gns;
Martyn Gregory, London

This reflection on benign old age is one of the final works of perhaps the longest-lived artist of eighteenth-century England. For although it bears a spurious date of 1729, it is actually a very late work of c.1771.²⁶ Much of what survives from Laroon's hand dates from after he retired from his army career in 1732 and even in his nineties Laroon remained active as a draughtsman, though his characteristic dancing rococo pen line was more hesitant and heavy than in drawings of the 1730s and 40s. In very late works such as this, Laroon does not alleviate the hardness of his outline by shading his forms, and this produces a flatness that can overwhelm and which requires time for the viewer to explore. Laroon put this to good effect in *A Marketplace in a high wind* at the Courtauld Gallery, where the dense penwork amplifies the scene's Brueghelian commotion. Laroon made that remarkable drawing – which is more than half a metre tall and seventy-five centimetres wide – in 1771 and proudly inscribed it 'Ætat 92'.²⁷ The present drawing may also be compared with another drawing of 1771, *Two Gentlemen going shooting with a dog and a groom* at the Tate.²⁸ In both works, Laroon has sketched over a pencil outline using light and dark brown inks, and applied touches of grey wash before the ink had dried, causing it to run.

Raines suggests that drawings from Laroon's extreme old age were sometimes pencil sketches that he had begun years earlier.²⁹ This could be the case here, and certainly he has relied on a compositional format that had served him in decades past when drawing domestic scenes. For example, in a highly finished drawing dated 1736 of a concert party at Montagu House, Laroon arranged a group of figures in the right-hand corner of a room, seated around a keyboard (situated where the table stands in our drawing); a door is to the left and a figure is busy at work in the background.³⁰ At Yale there is another drawing staged like this, called *A Tea Party*, which Raines dates to c.1770 (fig.84.1).³¹ It exhibits remarkable similarities with the present drawing, and might be considered a companion work. The arrangement of the room is almost identical, as is the grouping of the family members: the woodcutter's head is angled the same way as the man on

the left at the tea party who is handing a cup and saucer to the boy, whose features resemble the boy playing with a dog in our drawing; the young girls in both drawings resemble each other too; in both drawings a woman in domestic service stands at the centre and in both drawings a figure on the right by a chair is represented in profile facing the room. By this point, Laroon was about ninety years old, an age achieved by very few men born in the 1670s. For all his enduring vitality, his draughtsmanship was centred around long familiar themes drawn from his own life. There is surely an element of autobiography in these two drawings, which might be understood as imaginative reflections on different eras of Laroon's long life. It is notable that the frock coats worn by the men in both drawings are of a style of half a century before.

The contrasts of high life and low life were the enduring themes of Laroon's art and doubtless account for the spurious attribution of this drawing to Hogarth. These differences are juxtaposed in the drawing here and its companion at Yale as well as in Laroon's own family. For although he was brought up in a large Covent Garden house where he received a genteel education, his father was a man 'of loose conversation & morals sutable to his birth & education. being low & spurious.'³² Laroon's own sister Elizabeth was recorded a pauper from 1714 onwards and entered the poorhouse several times in the 1720s.³³ Laroon was well placed to describe the disparities and insecurity of social condition.



Fig.84.1 | Marcellus Laroon the Younger, *The Tea Party*, c.1770

Grey and brown washes with pen and brown ink over pencil
17 7/8 × 13 inches · 454 × 330 mm
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection





Cat.49 · Bernard Lens III
Hercules Between Virtue and Pleasure,
 after Nicolas Poussin

Notes and References

'The spirit and force of art': Defining drawing in England, 1600–1750

Pages 11–31

1 See Diana Dethloff, 'The Executors' Account Book and the Dispersal of Sir Peter Lely's Collection', *Journal of the History of Collections* (1996), vol.8 no 1, pp.22–3 and n.85.

2 Anthony Gerbino and Stephen Johnstone, *Compass & Rule: Architecture as Mathematical Practice in England* (2009), and Matthew Walker, *Architects and Intellectual Culture in Post-Restoration England* (2017), especially chapter 2: 'Collecting Architecture'.

3 J Douglas Stewart, 'Some Portrait Drawings by Michael Dahl and Sir James Thornhill', in *Master Drawings* (Spring 1973), vol.11 no 1, pp.34–45, 86–102; Jeremy Wood, 'Peter Oliver at the Court of Charles I: New Drawings and Documents', in *Master Drawings* (Summer 1998), vol.36 no 2, pp.123–53; Gordon Higgott's article on Edward Pearce junior is expected to be published by the Walpole Society in 2020.

4 ed. David McKitterick, *The making of the Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge* (1995), pp.142–5.

5 Catherine Whistler, *Venice & Drawing 1500 to 1800: Theory, Practice and Collecting* (2016).

6 David Howarth, 'The Southampton Album: A Newly Discovered Collection of Drawings by Francis Cleyn the Elder and His Associates', in *Master Drawings* (Winter 2011), vol.49 no.4, p.473.

7 Bainbrigg Buckeridge, *An essay towards an English School of Painting* (3rd ed, 1754; facsimile, 1969), pp.373, 420.

8 J Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English Baroque Portrait* (1983), p.149.

9 Lindsay Stainton and Christopher White, *Drawing in England from Hilliard to Hogarth* (1987), p.20.

10 Jill Finsten, *Isaac Oliver: Art at the Courts of Elizabeth I and James I* (1981), vol.1, pp.144–5.

11 Finsten provides a catalogue of Oliver's work, though many of the attributions to him were rejected by Jeremy Wood in 1998.

12 Vertue, vol.1 pp.68, 130, 153.

13 An example by Hollar is a sketch of *Westminster Abbey* in the British Museum, museum no.1935,0608.3 which is on an eighteenth-century mount and has been enhanced by the addition of a tower on a separate piece of paper on the left.

14 Vertue, vol.1, p.150.

15 John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (1989) p.13.

16 Quoted in John Newman, Inigo Jones (1573–1652), *Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; online ed, Sept 2010); accessed 10 Nov 17.

17 See Jeremy Wood, 'Inigo Jones, Italian Art, and the Practice of Drawing', in *The Art Bulletin* (June 1992), vol.74 no.2, p.249 and n.12.

18 John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (1989) p.25.

19 John Harris and Gordon Higgott, 'Provenance of Inigo Jones's Drawings', John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (1989), pp.22–4. Burlington bought Jones's masque drawings from the estate of Elihu Yale. Vertue, vol.1, p.110.

20 Vertue, vol.1, p.149.

21 Ware's studies for his 1731 work, based on drawings by Jones and his assistant Webb, are Soane Museum, vol.112.

22 Giles Worsley, 'Chambers and Architectural Draughtsmanship' in John Harris and Michael Snodin, *Sir William Chambers: Architect to George III* (1996), pp.186–7.

23 John Harris, 'History of the Collection', in John Harris and A.A. Tait, *Catalogue of the Drawings by Inigo Jones, John Webb and Isaac de Caus at Worcester College Oxford* (1979), pp.1–3.

24 *A Catalogue of the Genuine and Entire collection of... Christopher Wren Esq... together with the Collection of Drawings of Architecture of the late Sir Christopher Wren, his Father*, 4 April 1749.

25 David Howarth, ‘The Southampton Album: A Newly Discovered Collection of Drawings by Francis Cleyn the Elder and His Associates’, in *Master Drawings* (Winter 2011), vol.49 no.4, p.473.

26 Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Works of British-Born Artists of the Seventeenth Century* (1938), p.8. The organizing committee was the Earl of Ilchester, C.K.Adams, Edward Croft Murray, H.M.Hake and Ellis Waterhouse.

27 Soane Museum, vol.110.

28 Anya Matthews, ‘A *Great and Noble Design*’: *Sir James Thornhill’s Painted Hall at Greenwich* (2016), p.11.

29 Now Albertina, museum no’s 18031, 18032. These were perhaps sourced from Thornhill by D’Argenville who visited him in London, or by Thornhill’s pupil Dietrich Ernst André who moved to Paris in the 1720s.

30 Rimmelt Daalder, *Van de Velde & Son: Marine Painters* (2016), p.19. A little over half of the large van de Velde collection at the National Maritime Museum are datable to the artists’ English period.

31 In Rimmelt Daalder, *Van de Velde & Son: Marine Painters* (2016), pp.19–23. M.S Robinson, *Van de Velde Drawings: A Catalogue of Drawings in the National Maritime Museum made by the Elder and the Younger Wilem Van De Velde* (1958) pp.17–25 discusses development of their style.

32 Oliver Warner, ‘Van de Velde Drawings in the National Maritime Museum by M.S.Robinson’ (book review), in *Burlington Magazine* (August 1958), vol.11 no.665, pp.291–2. Sir Bruce Ingram’s gift to the museum doubled their holdings of Van de Velde drawings to about fourteen hundred.

33 Lodewijk van der Helst, Rijksmuseum, museum no.SK-A-2236. Kneller’s portrait of 1680 is known through John Smith’s mezzotint issued after the sitter’s death in 1707.

34 Rimmelt Daalder, *Van de Velde & Son: Marine Painters* (2016), p.158.

35 Will of Cornelius van de Velde’s will, 28 May 1712, National Archives PROB 11/543/44.

36 The van de Veldes were offered alongside the rump of Remigius van Leemput’s Italian prints and drawings, and not long after sheets from the Arundel and Lely collections had been advertised. *Post Man*, 31 March 1705; *Daily Courant*, 30 December 1707.

37 Rimmelt Daalder, *Van de Velde & Son: Marine Painters* (2016) p.197.

38 *A Catalogue of the Genuine and Entire Collection of Italian and other Drawings... of the late Eminent Mr Jonathan Richardson*, 22 January 1747; *Catalogue of Sir James Thornhill’s Collection of Prints, Drawings, Models, Plasters, &c*, 26 February 1735; *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures, Drawings, Prints and valuable Library of Books of the Right Honourable Thomas Coke*, 19 February 1728.

39 *A Catalogue of a Fine and Large Collection of Prints and Drawings belonging to Solomon Gautier*, 1 February 1725. Gautier sent a copy of his May 1725 catalogue of drawings to Humfrey Wanley, the Earl of Oxford’s librarian. Eds C E and R C Wright, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley* (1966), vol.2, p.357.

40 Even Sir Hans Sloane, whose interest in drawing rarely strayed beyond early German artists and botanical illustration, owned a group of van de Velde drawings, now in the British Museum.

41 Quoted in Richard Johns, ‘After Van de Velde’, in ed Eleanor Hughes, *Spreading Canvases: Eighteenth-Century British Marine Painting* (2016), pp.17–39.

42 André Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England* (1755) pp.60–1.

43 On his retirement to Ludlow, Scott offered for sale 115 van de Velde drawings and a ‘large parcel’ at Langford, 1 April 1765. At his posthumous sale 724 drawings were listed, plus three ‘parcels’ and ‘a large parcel’ of further drawings, Langford, 12 January 1773. The sale catalogues are transcribed as Appendix A in Richard Kingzett, ‘A Catalogue of the Works of Samuel Scott’, in *Walpole Society* (1982), vol.48, pp.1–134. Hudson’s portrait of Samuel Scott, circa 1731–3, Tate museum no.N01224, shows him holding a large marine drawing, feasibly by van de Velde.

44 Rimmelt Daalder, *Van de Velde & Son: Marine Painters* (2016), p.185; G Reynolds, ‘Turner and Dutch Marine Painting’, in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (1970), vol.21, p.385.

45 Peter D Fraser, ‘Charles Gore and the Willem Van de Veldes’, in *Master Drawings* (Winter 1977), vol.15 no.4, pp.375–87, 456–69.

46 For example, National Maritime Museum, museum no.PAD7142–5.

47 Rob Ruurs, ‘Even if it is not architecture’: perspective drawings by Simon de Vlieger and Willem van de Velde the Younger’, in *Simiolus*

(1983), vol.13 no.3/4, pp.189–200. Surviving designs for ships include M.S Robinson, *Van de Velde Drawings: A Catalogue of Drawings in the National Maritime Museum made by the Elder and the Younger Wilem Van De Velde* (1958), p.94, nos 543–5.

48 For example British Museum, museum no’s.1946,0413.189 and SL5214.25.

49 M.S Robinson, *Van de Velde Drawings: A Catalogue of Drawings in the National Maritime Museum made by the Elder and the Younger Wilem Van De Velde* (1958), pp.27–8.

50 Dozens of pre-prepared canvases were sold by Lely’s executors after the painter’s death. M Kirby Talley, ‘Extracts from the Executors’ Account-Book of Sir Peter Lely, 1679–1691: An Account of the Contents of Sir Peter’s Studio’, in *Burlington Magazine* (November 1978), vol.120 no 908, p.747.

51 J Douglas Stewart, ‘Some Portrait Drawings by Michael Dahl and Sir James Thornhill’, in *Master Drawings* (Spring 1973), vol.11 no 1, p.149.

52 *A Catalogue of the Intire Collection of Mr.Michael Rosse; consisting of Curious Prints and Drawings*, 2 April 1723. Lely’s drawings appear throughout the catalogue.

53 Van Aken’s drawing of Jane Champernowne is National Gallery of Scotland, museum no. D2175. In the same collection, museum no.RSA1190 might be mistaken for Byng’s work.

54 Edward Croft Murray and Paul Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings: XVI & XVII Centuries* (1960), vol.1, p.151.

55 Susan Owens, ‘Learning to Draw’, ed Colin Harrison, *Great British Drawings* (2015), p.13.

56 Though Vertue stated that this was the engraver John Carwitham, Thomas’s presumed elder brother.

57 Yale Center for British Art, museum no. B1977.14.4081(31). Winstanley’s student activities are described in Jonathan Yarker, ‘Hamlet Winstanley and the 10th Earl of Derby’, ed Stephen Lloyd, *Art, Animals and Politics: Knowsley and the Earls of Derby* (2016), pp.107–10. A further sketchbook which Winstanley used in Rome is at Warrington Museum and Art Gallery.

58 Vertue, vol.III, p.22.

59 Thornhill’s own large copies of the Cartoons were only a few doors away.

60 Two are in the British Museum, museum no’s Gg,5.1–175 and 1981,0516.15.1–72, one

is in the Morgan Library, museum no. III 6–11; the location of the fourth is unknown. The status of a fifth book, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, museum no. E.4528–1919, is unsettled.

61 Elizabeth Walsh and Richard Jeffree, ‘*The Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*’, (1975), p.54.

62 Tabitha Barber, *Mary Beale: portrait of a seventeenth-century painter, her family and her studio*, (1999), p.74.

63 Michael Kitson, ‘Hogarth’s ‘Apology for Painters’, in *Walpole Society* (1966–68), vol.41, p.99.

64 Richard Graham, *A Short Account of the most Eminent Painters, both Ancient and Modern* (1695), p.343, published within John Dryden, *The Art of Painting by C.A.Du Fresnoy* (1695).

65 Comments transcribed in the ‘Memorandum Book of Ozias Humphry’, British Library Add Mss 22950, f.14 under the date 20 February 1696.

66 Quoted Carol Gibson-Wood, ‘A Judiciously Disposed Collection’: Jonathan Richardson Senior’s cabinet of drawings’, in eds Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam and Genevieve Warwick, *Collecting Prints & Drawings in Europe c.1500–1750* (2003), p.165.

67 ‘Diary of Pierre Jacques Foucheroux’, 1728, National Art Library MSL/1912/1255; the diary of the Comte de Caylus, 1722, appears in Charles Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité* (1857), vol.1, pp.xcciii–xcv.

68 *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, 19 June 1725; a subscriber’s receipt for the prints in ‘claro obscure’ dated 1722 is in the British Museum, museum no.Heal 59.98.

69 *Flying Post*, 22 February 1729.

70 *London Evening Post*, 25 January 1735; H M Hake, ‘Pond’s and Knapton’s Imitations of Drawings’, ed. Campbell Dodgson, *The Print Collector’s Quarterly* (1992), vol.9, pp.322–49.

71 There is a set at the Yale Center for British Art, museum no.B1978.27.1 to 31.

72 William Gilpin, *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty* (1794; facsimile, 1972), p.62.

73 William Aglionby, *Painting Illustrated in Three Diallogues* (1686), pp.23–4.

74 Greg Smith, ‘Turning ‘his back to the scene’’, in eds Michael Broughton, William Clarke and Joanna Selborne, *The Spooner Collection of English Watercolours* (2005).

75 Charles Rogers, *A Collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings* (1778), vol.2, p.228.

76 James Burgess, *Lives of the most eminent modern painters* (1954), p.139.

77 Susan Owens, *Jonathan Richardson: By Himself* (2015), p.10.

78 Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment* (2000), pp.118–36.

79 Susan Owens, *Jonathan Richardson: By Himself* (2015), pp.26–7. Richardson’s drawing is British Museum, museum no.1870,1008.2384, the Bernini drawing is museum no.1897,0410.10.

80 *London Daily Post*, 11 December 1736.

81 Vertue, vol.v, p.50. In the twentieth century these have been variously attributed to Isaac Oliver, Lely and Richardson. Ashmolean Museum Blayney Brown 208–11, National Gallery of Scotland, museum no.RSA 607, British Museum, museum nos.1954,0604.1 & 2, Courtauld Gallery, museum no.D.1952. RW.1604.

82 British Museum, museum nos.T,14.25 and 1884,0308.10.

83 Vanderbank was insolvent and living in the Fleet Prison in May 1729. *London Gazette*, 27 May 1729.

84 British Museum, museum nos T,14.25, T,14.13, Gg,3.364, T,12.44, T, 14.17, T, 13.59, G,g.3.362 and Gg,3.363.

85 John Barnard sale, 16 February 1787, lot 35 on the 3rd night, lot 31 on the 4th night, lot 40 on the 5th night. Barnard’s sale catalogue was the first to group English drawings under their own separate heading, of ‘English School, and those who have resided in England’, reflecting the influence of Walpole’s publication in shaping an identity for English draughtsmanship.

86 The work of the two is occasionally confused, such as two historical compositions at the National Gallery of Scotland, *Christ Healing the Leper*, museum no.RSA 385 and *Christ and His Disciples*, museum no.RSA 433 which are currently attributed to Vanderbank but which are surely by Chéron.

87 Including by Cipriani, Alexander Cozens, Fuseli, Gainsborough, Gilpin, William Hamilton, De Louthebourg, Stothard, Tresham, Sir David Wilkie, Wilson and Zucchi.

A Lost Art? Collecting early British drawings and their critical fate

Pages 33–38

1 David Blayney-Brown, *Ashmolean Museum Oxford: Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings Volume 1v: The Earlier British Drawings* (1982), p.xvi.

2 Bulfinch’s notebook contains many lists from the early 1720s of the prints and drawings with which he had extra-illustrated books. British Library Add Ms 19929

3 Lucy Peltz, ‘Engraved Portrait Heads and the Rise of Extra-Illustration: The Eton Correspondence of the Revd James Granger and Richard Bull, 1769–1774’, in *Walpole Society* (2004), vol.66, p.6.

4 Bull’s correspondence with Granger, now at Eton College, was published by Luzy Peltz See Lucy Peltz, ‘Engraved Portrait Heads and the Rise of Extra-Illustration: The Eton Correspondence of the Revd James Granger and Richard Bull, 1769–1774’, in *Walpole Society* (2004).

5 Pierpoint Morgan Library and Museum, museum no. Ref B3 028 A11.

6 Arthur Hind, *Engraving in England in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (1952), p.310.

7 Luzy Peltz, ‘Engraved Portrait Heads and the Rise of Extra-Illustration: The Eton Correspondence of the Revd James Granger and Richard Bull, 1769–1774’, *Walpole Society* (2004), vol.66, p.132.

8 British Museum, museum nos. ESTC T171956, nos.3409, 3410, 3432, 3438, 3442. A Thornhill study in the Courtauld has a Thane provenance, (museum no.w.2828), as do as two print studies by Barlow now at the Ashmolean that were bequeathed by Francis Douce rSA see David Blayney-Brown, *Ashmolean Museum Oxford: Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings Volume 1v: The Earlier British Drawings* (1982), pp.58–9.

9 *A Catalogue of the collection of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Oxford Deceas’d* (1742), lot 28 on the first day.

10 Such as Horace Walpole, *A Catalogue of Engravers who have been born, or resided in England* (1763) and James Caulfield, *Calcographiana: The Printsellers Chronicle* (1814).

11 *A Catalogue of that superb and well known cabinet of drawings of John Barnard Esq* (1787), Preface.

12 Richard Rawlinson, *The Deed of Trust and Will of Richard Rawlinson* (1755), p.27.

13 C F Bell, ‘English Seventeenth-Century Portrait Drawings in Oxford Collections’, *Walpole Society*, vol.5 (1915–17), p.2.

14 Robert Wark, *Early British Drawings in the Huntington Collection 1600–1750* (1969), pp.9–10. For a brief overview of the collection, see A.E. Popham, *A Handbook to the Drawings and Water-Colours in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum* (1939), pp.105–8; Edward Croft-Murray and Paul Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings: Volume One: XVI & XVII Centuries* (1960), pp.xxx-xli provides a more detailed account of the seventeenth century drawings.

15 John Physick, *Designs for English Sculpture 1680–1860* (1969). Forward. Many of the museum’s purchases were from Edwin Parsons & Sons of 45 Brompton Road, which was in business for a century from the 1850s.

16 British Museum, museum no.1989,1104.429.

17 Felicity Myrone, *Looking at topographical images* (2017), at https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/looking-at-topographical-images (accessed March 2018).

18 Arts Council, *Exhibition of Drawings from the Bruce Ingram Collection* (1946), p.7.

19 Judy Egerton, ‘L.G. Duke and his Collection of English Drawings’, *Old Watercolour Society’s Club*, vol.49, (1974), pp. 11–30.

I · Towards an English School

Pages 41–66

1 British Museum, museum no.D.6.40.

2 Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Rawl.poet.146; London, British Library, ms Royal 12, A.lxvi and Harley 6855, art.13.

3 Henry Peacham, *The Art of Drawing with the Pen*, London, 1606. ‘To the Reader’, quoted Katherine Coombs, ‘A kind of gentle painting’: Limning in 16th century England’, in ed Kim Sloan, *European Visions: American Voices*, British Museum Research Publication 172, 2009, p.80.

4 Edward Norgate eds Jeffrey Muller and Jim Murrell, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, New Haven and London, 1997,p.68.

5 Edward Norgate eds Jeffrey Muller and Jim Murrell, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, New Haven and London, 1997, pp.89–90,

6 Edward Norgate eds Jeffrey Muller and Jim Murrell, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, New Haven and London, 1997, pp.89–90. One was offered at Sotheby’s, New York, 26 January 2011, lot 517, the other is Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers, museum no.MBA J 415 (11881) P Dép.

7 Quoted in Mary Edmonds, *Hilliard and Oliver*, London, 1983, p.172.

8 Edward Norgate eds Jeffrey Muller and Jim Murrell, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, New Haven and London, 1997, p.89.

9 The burst of scholarship on early water-colour painting of the 1970s and early 1980s – such as Jill Finsten’s 1981 monograph on Oliver, *The English Miniature* (1981) by John Murdoch, Jim Murrell, Patrick Noon and Roy Strong, and Mary Edmond’s *Hilliard and Oliver* (1983) – predated the re-emergence of Oliver’s masterpiece, the *Entombment*, which was only recognised in 1983 as having been at Angers since at least 1797.

10 Victoria and Albert Museum, museum no.P.12–1971. Roy Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The portrait miniature rediscovered*, exh. cat.London (Victoria & Albert Museum), 1983, cat.no.271.

11 Fitzwilliam Museum, museum no.3902. The sitter’s identity is discussed in ed Karen Hearn, *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Stuart England (1530–1630)*, exh. cat., London (Tate), 1995, p.140.

12 Oliver Millar, ‘Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I, by Abraham van der Doort’, *Walpole Society*, 1958–60, vol.37, p.123. Van Der Doort’s reference to ‘divers Angells’ probably rules out the possibility of Peter Oliver’s version being identified with the present watercolour, in which only the archangel appears.

13 J.Paul Getty Museum, museum no.80.PB.72. On circular portraits by Holbein and others, see ed Karen Hearn, *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Stuart England (1530–1630)*, exh. cat., London (Tate), 1995, p.104.

14 Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, London, 1622, p.128.

15 Oliver Millar, ‘Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I, by Abraham van der Doort’, *Walpole Society*, 1958–60, vol.37, p.44 no.13.

16 Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House*, London, 1976, vol.24, pp.194–210, payment of 9 March 1612. Buckett’s painting is reproduced in ed Karen Hearn, *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and*

Stuart England (1530–1630), exh. cat., London (Tate), 1995, p.171, fig 46.

17 Alexander Browne, *An Appendix treating of The Art of Painting in Miniature or Limning*, London 1675, p.6.

18 Raphelle Costa de Beauregard, ‘Un miniatriste français à la cour d’Angleterre: Isaac Oliver’, *Journal of the British Institute in Paris*, Autumn 1993, no 16, p.58.

19 Jeremy Wood, ‘Peter Oliver at the Court of Charles I: New Drawings and Documents’, *Master Drawings*, Summer 1998, vol.36, no 2, p.126, citing L. Batiffol, *La vie intime d’une Reine de France au xviiiè siècle*, Paris, 1906, pp.435, 521–2. Peter’s presence in France may explain the absence of his signature from Isaac Oliver’s will of 1617.

20 Statens Museum for Kunst, museum no.kms6938 and Royal Collection, museum no.RCIN 913528.

21 Royal Collection, museum nos.RCIN 913528 and RCIN 420058.

22 Royal Collection, museum no.RCIN 913529.

23 Victoria and Albert Museum, museum no.P.15–1931.

24 Vertue, vol.I, p.146. Vertue’s note is ambiguous: it states that the portrait was of the Earl of Hertford, son of the Lord Protector’s son, but the Earl was a grandson. Mary Edmonds, *Hilliard & Oliver: the lives and works of two great miniaturists*, New Haven and London, 1983, p.170.

25 Jeremy Wood, ‘Peter Oliver at the Court of Charles I: New Drawings and Documents’, *Master Drawings*, Summer 1998, vol.36, no 2, pp.123–53.

26 Jeremy Wood, ‘Peter Oliver at the Court of Charles I: New Drawings and Documents’, *Master Drawings*, Summer 1998, vol.36, no 2, p.139

27 Jeremy Wood, ‘Peter Oliver at the Court of Charles I: New Drawings and Documents’, *Master Drawings*, Summer 1998, vol.36, no 2, pp.129–30

28 Jeremy Wood, ‘Inigo Jones, Italian Art, and the Practice of Drawing’, *The Art Bulletin*, June 1992, vol.74, no 2, pp.247–70.

29 Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689*, exh cat., London (British Museum), 1998, pp.98–100.

30 Rijksmuseum, museum no. RP-P-1888-A-1452. Antony Griffiths, ‘The Print in

Stuart Britain’ Revisited’, *Print Quarterly*, June 2000, vol.17 no 2, p.117.

31 Antony Griffiths, ‘The Print in Stuart Britain’ Revisited’, *Print Quarterly*, June 2000, vol.17 no 2, p.117.

32 Reproduced Jeremy Wood, ‘Peter Oliver at the Court of Charles I: New Drawings and Documents’, *Master Drawings*, Summer 1998, vol.36, no 2, fig.19.

33 Jill Finsten, *Isaac Oliver: Art at the Courts of Elizabeth I and James I*, New York, 1981, vol.1, pp.234–5, 237–9, nos 193, 195, 197 and 198, where attributed to Isaac Oliver.

34 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon, museum no.D.3042, reproduced Jill Finsten, *Isaac Oliver: Art at the Courts of Elizabeth I and James I*, New York, 1981, vol.2 fig 184.

35 see John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones Complete Architectural Drawings*, exhibition catalogue, London (Royal Academy), 1989, cat.nos. 63–5,69–70, 72–6.

36 Vertue, vol.V, p.57.

37 Edward Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Social and Cultural Study*, Cambridge, 2001, p.204.

38 Rijksmuseum, museum nos. RP-P-1898-A-20543 and RP-P-1906–2042.

39 Rijksmuseum, museum nos. RP-P-OB-46.319, RP-P-B1-5941 and British Museum, museum no.1983,U.5.

40 M. S. Robinson, *Van de Velde Drawings ... in the National Maritime Museum...*, vol.I, Cambridge, 1958, pp.84, 168, no.441, reproduced pl. 100.

41 Richard Johns, ‘After Van de Velde’, in ed. Eleanor Hughes, *Spreading Canvas: Eighteenth-Century British Maritime Painting*, exh. cat.New Haven (Yale Center for British Art), 2016, p.20.

42 John Ingamells, *Dulwich Picture Gallery: British*, London, 2008, pp.176–7.

43 Bainbrigg Buckeridge, *An Essay Towards an English School of Painters*, London, 1706, p.455.

44 Bainbrigg Buckeridge, *An Essay Towards an English School of Painters*, London, 1706, p.456.

45 London, British Library, Add Mss 22950, vol.II, p.4.

46 Vertue, vol.IV, p.172.

47 Ed. Paget Toynbee, ‘Horace Walpole’s Journals of Visits to Country Seats &c’, in *Walpole Society*, 1927–8, vol.16, p.69; Oliver

Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, exh. cat. London (National Portrait Gallery), 1978, pp.51–2.

48 Ed. Caroline Campbell, *Peter Lely: A Lyrical Vision*, exh cat.London (Courtauld Gallery), 2012, cat.no.12, pp.136–9.

49 Vertue, vol.IV, p.86; Bainbrigg Buckeridge, *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters...*, London, 1706, p.378.

50 *Notes and Queries*, July 1893, 8th series IV, p.86.

51 British Museum, museum no.Ff,4.49, currently attributed to Lely. The attribution to Greenhill of a further chalk drawing, museum no.1949,0411.27, is doubtful.

52 Greenhill also experimented with prints. A 1667 etching of his brother Henry is both his only known print and the only etching by an English artist from the reign of Charles 11. Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart England*, London, 1988, pp.208–10.

53 *Pinacotheca Bettertonaeana*, 24 August 1710; *A catalogue of the pictures and household goods, late belonging to Signior Verrio*, 24 June 1708.

54 Bainbrigg Buckeridge, *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters...*, London, 1706, p.379

55 Rubens’s sketch is British Museum, museum no.1860,0616.36; the oil painting is at North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh.

56 London, British Library, Sloane ms 2052.

57 Several variant copies of Norgate’s treatise are known. Edward Norgate, eds. Jeffrey M Muller and Jim Murrell, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, London, 1997.

58 National Trust, museum no.537432.

59 London, British Library, Harley Mss 5947(27), *Lottery Proposal*, 1710.

II · Academies

Pages 69–82

1 Vertue, vol.III, p.74.

2 William Raymond Osmun, *A Study of the Work of Sir James Thornhill*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1950, p.410.

3 William Raymond Osmun, *A Study of the Work of Sir James Thornhill*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1950, p.141, who suggests it may have been a satire on Thornhill’s aspirations as an architect.

4 British Museum, museum no.1879,0813.9.

5 Letter from Kneller in October 1713, quoted in William T. Whitley, *Artists and their friends*, London, 1928, vol.1, p.12.

6 *Weekly Journal*, Saturday 10 November 1716.

7 Chéron’s St George and the Dragon academy study, also in red chalk, is British Museum, museum no.1953,1021.11 (99).

8 Vertue, vol.III, p.24.

9 Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, London, 1962, vol.1, pp.244–5.

10 Vertue, vol.III, pp.21–2.

11 Vertue, vol.III, p.11.

12 Fremont’s work failed, however, and by 1729 he was a prisoner in the Fleet.

13 Vertue, vol.III, p.22

14 Vertue, vol.II, p.126.

15 See Francis Russell, ‘Louis Chéron: a Sale Catalogue’, in *Burlington Magazine*, vol.130, no 1023 (June 1988), pp.464–7. A further sale of Chéron’s drawings took place in 1740 after the death of his executor, Isaac Grassineau, whose estate included one hundred and thirty-four academy figures. Inventory of Isaac Grassineau, 1740, London, The National Archives, PROB 31/200.

16 *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, 19 June 1725.

17 *Daily Post*, 19 January 1726.

18 Lyon and Turnbull, Edinburgh, 7 September 2011, lot 8.

19 Vertue, vol.III, p.7; Vertue, vol.vI, p.169.

20 *Daily Post*, 6 December 1728. Two print studies for the Hercules series were in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane and are now British Museum, museum no.SL.5223.21 and 22.

21 A Catalogue of the pictures, prints and drawings... begin the entire collection of Mr William Sykes Painter, Deceas’d, 23 January 1729. A unique copy of the catalogue is at the East Riding Record Office, ref DDGR/38/6. However, in 1723 Vertue stated that Vanderbank had never been abroad.

22 See ed. Robin Simon, *The Royal Academy of Arts: History and Collections*, New Haven and London, 2018, pp.180–181.

23 *Country Journal*, 29 September 1729.

24 British Museum, museum no.1978.U.784.

25 For Vanderbank’s stages of drawing, see H A Hammelmann, ‘John Vanderbank’s ‘Don

Quixote”, *Master Drawings* (Spring 1969), vol.7 no 1, pp.3–15, 65–74.

26 The drawing is Morgan Library and Museum, New York, museum no.1975.17:1.

27 Lens’s sale, Christopher Cock’s, 16 February 1737, lots 137, 201, 392.

28 Bernard Lens, *A New and Compleat Drawing Book*, London 1751, p.5.

29 Edward Croft-Murray and Paul Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings: volume one: xvi and xvii Centuries*, London, 1960, vol.1, p.264 Album 8, nos 68–71; J. Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English Baroque Portrait*, Oxford, 1983, pp.170–1, nos 58–61; British Museum, museum no.1897,0813.9.68 is currently given to Kneller.

30 *Disegni antichi di maestri italiani e stranieri dal xvi al xix secolo*, exh. cat. Turin (Galerie Zabert), 19 April to 7 May 1972, no.63.

31 Thomas Carwitham, *The Description and Use of an Architectonick Sector*, London, 1723; it ran to a second edition published in 1733.

32 Thomas Osborne, *A catalogue of the libraries of the late Dr Cromwell Mortimer ... to be sold on the 26th day of November 1753*.

III · The Rise of the Sketch

Pages 85–98

1 Four are at the British Museum and six at the Yale Center for British Art; others were sold at Christie’s on 2 March 1971, lot 50.

2 Bainbrigg Buckeridge, *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters...*, London, 1706, pp.409–10.

3 Edward Croft-Murray and Paul Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings: volume one: xvi and xvii Centuries*, London, 1960, pp.424–5.

4 *London Daily Post*, 12 December 1740.

5 Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*, New Haven and London, 2000, pp.128–36.

6 British Museum, museum no.1866,0714.17 and museum no.1989,1104.428.

7 Courtauld Gallery, museum no.D.1952. RW.1986. Both are reproduced in Susan Owens, *Jonathan Richardson by Himself*, exh. cat., London (Courtauld Gallery), 2015, pp.68–9. Another pair, from 1734, are reproduced in Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Artist of the English Enlightenment*, New Haven and London, 2000, p.129.

8 British Museum 1902,0822.26, 27, 30.

9 Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*, New Haven and London, 2000, p.52.

10 Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*, New Haven and London, 2000, pp.54–5.

11 Quoted in Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*, New Haven and London, 2000, p.134. A volume of thirty-six drawings by Richardson senior that Walpole bought in 1772 was acquired by the British Museum in 1902.

12 James Seamer, *Arts masterpiece or The pens glory a copy book*, London, 1676 and James Seamer, *A compendium of all the usuall hands written in* England, London, 1684. See also Walter Shaw Sparrow, ‘Colonel James Seymour or Seamer: Goldsmith, Banker, Penman, Engraver and Collector’, *Country Life*, vol.86 no.2221, 12 August 1939, pp.142–3.

13 Edward Hatton, *Merchant’s Magazine*, London, 7th ed 1719.

14 W. Massey, *The origin and progress of letters, an essay*, London, 1764, p.127.

15 *London Daily Post*, 11 December 1736.

16 *London Evening Post*, 22 January 1737. His jewels and plate were auctioned on 14 September 1736 and two freeholds in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, were sold in February 1738. Creditors eventually received 7s in the pound. *London Evening Post*, 2 September 1736; *London Daily Post*, 10 February 1738; Shaw Sparrow, ‘Colonel James Seymour or Seamer: Goldsmith, Banker, Penman, Engraver and Collector’, *Country Life*, vol.86 no.2221, 12 August 1939, p.142.

17 Vertue, vol.11, p.47.

18 Vertue, vol.111, p.86, vol.IV, p.83.

19 Vertue, vol.11, p.47; vol.V, p.50.

20 *A catalogue of the valuable drawings and prints, some pictures, models by Rysbrack... late the property of Mr. Panton Betew*, London, 1799, lots 3–6 & 165.

21 David Blayney Brown, *Early English drawings from the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1982, pp.117–9, nos.208–11.

22 Courtauld Gallery, museum no.D.1952. RW.1604.

23 British Museum, museum no.1954,0604.1 and museum no.1954,0604.2.

24 Vertue, vol.111, p.86.

25 Vertue, vol.I, p.35.

26 British Museum, museum no.1856,0815.73.

27 Vertue, vol.111, p.98.

28 Vertue, vol.111, p.15.

29 Vertue, vol.111, p.157.

30 Vertue, vol.111, p.105.

31 Vertue, vol.111, p.124–5.

32 Vertue, vol.111, p.97.

33 Vertue, vol.111, p.122.

34 Charles Rogers, *A collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings*, London, 1778, vol.II, p.228.

IV · From Prospect to Landscape

Pages 101–124

1 See K. Jonckheere, *The Auction of King William’s Paintings 1713: Elite International Art Trade at the End of the Dutch Golden Age*, Amsterdam, 2008, p.54–5.

2 For Hollar’s illustrations to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel’s tour of 1636, see A. Griffiths and G. Kesnerová, *Wenceslaus Hollar Prints and Drawings*, exh. cat., London (British Museum), 1983, p.21.

3 Samuel Pepys, 18 March, 1669. ed. R. Latham, *The Shorter Pepys*, Berkeley, 1985, p.999.

4 Paul Hulton, ‘Drawings of England in the Seventeenth Century by Willem Schellinks, Jacob Esselens & Lambert Doomer from the Van der Hem Atlas of the National Library, Vienna’, *Walpole Society*, 1954–6, vol.35.

5 Paul Hulton, ‘Drawings of England in the Seventeenth Century by Willem Schellinks, Jacob Esselens & Lambert Doomer from the Van der Hem Atlas of the National Library, Vienna’, *Walpole Society*, 1954–6, vol.35.nos 37–8.

6 William Holloway, *The History and Antiquities of the Ancient Town and Port of Rye*, London, 1847, pp.474–5.

7 William Holloway, *The History and Antiquities of the Ancient Town and Port of Rye*, London, 1847, p.457.

8 Paul Hulton, ‘Drawings of England in the Seventeenth Century by Willem Schellinks, Jacob Esselens & Lambert Doomer from the Van der Hem Atlas of the National Library, Vienna’, *Walpole Society*, 1954–6, vol.35, no.39.

9 Richard Tyler, *Francis Place 1648–1728*, York, 1971, p.49 no.16.

10 Such as British Museum, museum no.1956,0414.4. Manby’s drawings were lot 149 in the 1931 sale and included ‘two views of the Ponte Lucano, near Tivoli.’

11 Kim Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c.1600–1800* exh. cat., London (British Museum), 2000.

12 Victoria and Albert Museum, museum nos.D.25–1891, D.26–1891, D.27–1891, D.28–1891.

132. Graham F. Barlow, ‘Vanbrugh’s Queen’s Theatre in the Haymarket, 1703–9’, *Early Music*, November 1989, vol.17, no 4, p.515.

14 British Museum, museum no.1884,0726.40, f.47.

15 Huntington Library, museum no.63.52.256.

16 Art Institute of Chicago, Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection, museum no.1922.1617.

17 British Museum, museum no.1884,0726.40, ff.36v & 37r. Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, London, 1962, vol.1, p.267.

18 Vertue, vol.111, p.69.

19 Peter Willis, ‘Jacques Rigaud’s Drawings of Stowe in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol.6, no.1, Autumn, 1979, pp.85–98.

20 Quoted in Peter Willis, *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*, Newcastle, 2002, p.111.

21 M. Jaffé, *The Devonshire Collection of Northern European Drawings, vol.V*, London, 2002, pp.730–737, nos. 1829–1836.

22 Jean-André Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England*, London, 1755, p.61–62. In the French edition of his book Rouquet heads the section, more accurately, ‘*De la Peinture à gouache*’. See Jean-André Rouquet, *L’état des arts, en Angleterre*, Paris, 1755, p.95.

23 Reginald Grundy, ‘Documents Relating to An Action Brought Against Joseph Goupy in 1738’, *The Walpole Society*, vol.9, 1920–1921, pp.77–87.

24 See Susan Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron: The Collecting and Patronage of James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos (1674–1744)*, Aldershot, 2008, p.185.

25 Reginald Grundy, ‘Documents Relating to An Action Brought Against Joseph Goupy

in 1738’, *The Walpole Society*, vol.9, 1920–1921, p.79.

26 Reginald Grundy, ‘Documents Relating to An Action Brought Against Joseph Goupy in 1738’, *The Walpole Society*, vol.9, 1920–1921, p.82.

27 David Solkin, *Richard Wilson, the Landscape of Reaction*, exh cat., London (Tate), 1982–3, pp.103–5, 220.

28 Quoted in eds Robin Simon and Martin Postle, *Richard Wilson and the Transformation of European Landscape Painting*, exh. cat., New Haven (Yale Center for British Art), p.13.

29 *Etchings from the Works of Richard Wilson, with some Memoirs of his Life*, London, 1825, p.9.

30 London, British Library, Add mss 22940, p.111.

V · From Ceiling to Exhibition Room: the Progress of History Painting

Pages 127–144

1 William Aglionby, *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues*, London, 1685, p.54.

2 Edgard Mayhew, *Sketches by Thornhill*, exh. cat., London (Victoria and Albert Museum), 1967, p.17, cat.no.24.

3 Susan Jenkins, ‘An Inventory of His Grace the Duke of Chandos’s Seat att Cannons Taken June the 19th 1725’ by John Gilbert’, *Walpole Society*, 2005, vol.67, p.131.

4 Susan Jenkins, ‘An Inventory of His Grace the Duke of Chandos’s Seat att Cannons Taken June the 19th 1725’ by John Gilbert’, *Walpole Society*, 2005, vol.67, p.119.

5 Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, London, 1962, vol.I, p.75.

6 Tate, museum no.T08521, National Trust, museum no.207910.

7 Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, London, 1962, vol.1 p.70.

8 William Osmun, *A Study of the Work of Sir James Thornhill*, unpublished PhD thesis, 1950, vol.I, p.441.

9 Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, London, 1962, vol.1, pp.62–3; William Osmun, *A Study of the Work of Sir James Thornhill*, unpublished PhD thesis, 1950, vol.I, p.441.

10 William Osmun, *A Study of the Work of Sir James Thornhill*, unpublished PhD thesis, 1950, vol.I, p.441.

11 Brinsley Ford, John Ingamells, Francis Russell, John Christian, Nicholas Penny, Jennifer Montagu, Howard Coutts, Timothy Wilson and Dudley Dodd, ‘The Ford Collection – 11’, *Walpole Society*, 1998, vol.60, p.241.

12 Klara Garas, ‘Two Unknown Works by James Thornhill’, *The Burlington Magazine*, November 1987, vol.129, no 1016, fig 23.

13 Victoria and Albert Museum, museum no.8480:12.

14 *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol.LXXXVI, part 1, April, 1816, p.302.

15 Vertue, vol.111, pp.125–6.

16 Vertue, vol.111, pp.125–6.

17 British Museum, museum no.R.4.112.

18 National Trust, museum no.413823.

19 Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York, museum no.1900–1–1; Christopher Cock, 24 February 1735, lot 74.

20 British Museum, museum no.1962,0512.2.

21 A recent article by Marjorie E. Wieseman was based on the incorrect premise that Lens’s large copy-miniatures on vellum were commis-sions. Her article discusses a copy after Rubens now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York stating that it has been commissioned by Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough: it is actually listed in Lens’s posthumous sale: ‘Lot. 99 Rubes, his wife and Child, after a Capital Picture of Rubens, in the collection of her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough, at Blenheim’ as are all the known surviving copies by Lens. Marjorie E. Wieseman, “Bernard Lens’s Miniatures for the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough,” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 9:1 (Winter 2017) DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2017.9.1.18.

22 In his diary Bristol records April 16 1715: ‘Paid Mr Peter Lentz ye limner for Raphaels & Rubens pictures (when he made me a present of his own) £6.9.0’. The Diary of John Hervey, First Earl of Boston, with Extracts from his Book of Expenses, 1688 to 1742, Wells, 1894, pp.166–7.

23 Bristol records payment for them: ‘1721, July 26 Paid Mr Bernard Lens ye limner in full for six pictures of Vandycke, Sam Cooper, Sir Peter Lely, Greenhill, Dobson, & Sir Isaac Newton, 18 guineas.’

24 Quoted in A-M. Logan, ‘Bernard Lens the Younger and the Marlborough Collection’, in ed J. Wilmerding, *In Honor of Paul Mellon, Collector and Benefactor*, Washington, 1986, p.203–217.

25 It has not been noticed before but the copy of a landscape by Lens after Jan vander Vaart now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, museum no.610–1882 was copied from a picture in James Gibbs’s collection and included in the Lens sale as lot. 96.

26 Vertue, vol.III, p.115.

27 Kim Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c.1600–1800*, exh. cat., London (British Museum), 2000, p.52.

28 Eds. Joanna Marschner, David Bindman and Lisa Ford, *Enlightened Princesses: Caroline, Augusta, Charlotte and the Shaping of the Modern World*, exh. cat.New Haven and London (Yale Center for British Art and Kensington Palace), 2017, cat.no.12.06, p224.

29 See Carol Blackett-Ord, ‘Letters from William Kent to Burrell Massingberd from the Continent, 1712–1719’, *The Walpole Society*, vol.63, 2001, p.104 and p.106.

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VI · Face Painting

Pages 147–166

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3 John Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, London, 1715, p.16.

4 Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, London, 1763, vol.3, p.73.

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8 John Ingamells, *Dulwich Picture Gallery: British*, London, 2008, p.70.

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24 J. Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English Baroque Portrait*, New Haven and London, 1983, p.169 no.54, and fig 104a.

25 J. Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English Baroque Portrait*, New Haven and London, 1983, p.151.

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65 Forster’s portrait of George St Lo is British Museum, museum no.1890, 0512.81. There is also an engraving of St Lo by Joseph Nutting, museum no.1864,0813.1240. Other family portraits were sold at Christie’s, 12–13 July 1983, lots 530–4.

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67 *London Evening Post*, 25 July 1747.

VII · ‘A noble, delightful and useful art’: Drawings by antiquarians, amateurs and artisans

Pages 169–179

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2 Vertue, vol.IV, p.30.

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6 British Museum, museum no.1846,0709.9.

7 Vertue, vol.V, p.73. A copy of Vertue’s engraving is British Museum, museum no.1979,U.1195, annotated with Vertue’s own comments copied from a proof belonging to his widow in 1762.

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VIII · The Age of Hogarth

Pages 181–196

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4 *The Spectator*, 18 December 1711, p.474.

5 Sean Shesgreen, *The Cries and Hawkers of London: Engravings and Drawings by Marcellus Laroon*, Aldershot, 1990, p.78.

6 For Hogarth's relationship with his French engravers see Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic works*, London, 1989, pp.13–14.

7 Robert Wark, 'Two Portraits by Hogarth', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol.99, no.655, October 1957, pp.344–345.

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10 British Museum, museum no.2011,7084.52.

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13 Robert Campbell's *The London Tradesman*, London, 1747, p.204.

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15 Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman*, New Haven and London, 1987, pp.183–6.

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19 Eds Kenneth Garlick and Angus MacIntyre, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, New Haven and London, 1979, vol.IV, p.1415.

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25 Edward Croft-Murray, unpublished type-script catalogue, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.

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28 Tate, museum no.NO3642.

29 Robert Raines, *Marcellus Laroon*, New York, 1966, p.58.

30 British Museum, museum no.1848,0708.207.

31 Yale Center for British Art, museum no.B1977.14.6213.

32 Vertue, vol.I, p.147.

33 Jeremy Boulton, 'The Painter's Daughter and the Poor Law: Elizabeth Laroon (b.1689-fl.1736)', *The London Journal*, March 2017, vol.41 no.1, pp.13-33.

