THE RETURN OF THE BRITISH PAINTERS
TO ROME AFTER 1815

by

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Preface

The first colony of British artists to take up residence in Rome after the Napoleonic wars, had broken up by the early 1830s. This account of the activities of the painters in the colony, however, is completed by taking the narrative of events beyond that date in one or two instances. Thus, the story of the British Academy of Arts in Rome (1823-1936), which the colony founded, is continued to the end of the century. And the painting careers after 1830 of the four members of the colony who made their reputations through paintings which they sent home from Rome is also given.

The research on the history of the British Academy of Arts started on the assumption that the Academy's records, missing since they were deposited at the British Embassy in Rome in 1940, would reappear in some repository which would reflect the fact that the papers had originally been handed over to the Embassy for safekeeping. There may still be such a repository, but, if so, it has eluded a long search, during which a debt of gratitude has mounted to many persons who joined with me in looking for it. I should like to thank, in particular, Mr Brinsley Ford, Dr K. Garlick, Mr I. Greenlees, Mr C. Hardie, Dr C.A. Ralegh-Radford, Professor D.A. Robertson, Sir Hannibal Scicluna, Mr J.B. Ward-Perkins and Professor E. Waterhouse.

Without its records, the history of the Academy's foundation can still be known through the Eastlake-Lawrence correspondence in the archives of the Royal Academy in London, supplemented, principally, by information in the Literary Gazette of the 1820s. But the history of the later years suffers extensively from the loss of the papers. Fortunately, a Report on the Academy of 1874, found in Joseph Severn's manuscript material now at Harvard University, has provided, if not
details, at least a vital key to later events.

I chose a bad time for seeing this Severn material, which includes correspondence and autobiographical material from his Roman years in the 1820s. For it was not available for scrutiny during the years 1970-72, while in the process of being transferred, by sale, from an English owner to Harvard University. In consequence, I owe a special word of thanks to Mr Robert Gittings who, knowing the material, enabled me to decide that, whatever the delay, these manuscripts must be seen.

The delay brought its own compensation. During it, I learnt through the good offices of Professor Waterhouse that twenty-one letters of Charles Eastlake, written from Rome, where he was resident during 1816-1830, to his patron Mr Harman, had turned up in the City Art Gallery, Plymouth.

Hitherto, Eastlake's life in Rome has been known mainly through those of his letters to Mr Harman which are in the archives of the National Gallery, those to Sir Thomas Lawrence in the archives of the Royal Academy, and through information in Lady Eastlake's memoir of her husband which accompanies his "Contribution to the Fine Arts", 2nd series 1870. It is now clear that one of Lady Eastlake's sources for the memoir was the Plymouth letters. Even so, they contain significant information about Eastlake's painting days in Rome which Lady Eastlake did not use. For this reason, their discovery is of value.

I am grateful to Lord and Lady Coleridge, Lord and Lady Crawshay, Mr John Guest and Professor Waterhouse for permission to see and reproduce paintings in their ownership, and for their many attendant kindnesses. I am equally grateful to Lord and Lady Dormer, Mr G.
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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used in the text:

B.I. British Institution
cm centimetres
R.A. Royal Academy of Arts, London

Additional abbreviations used in the captions accompanying the plates:

Canvas Oil on canvas
d. dated
Ex. Exhibited
Panel Oil on panel
(Rome) Following the title of a painting, it signifies the work was painted in Rome. In one case, the reference "Naples and England" is given.
s. signed
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Chapter 1

MEMBERS OF THE NEW COMMUNITY AND THEIR PATRONS

When the Napoleonic wars ended in 1815, British artists once more began to make their way to Rome as their predecessors had done in the eighteenth century. By the 1820s a flourishing community of Anglo-Roman artists was again in existence. It was, of course, in large measure an ever changing group which men like J.M.W. Turner and David Wilkie joined on passing visits. On the other hand, a hard core of resident artists formed quite rapidly, and it is mainly through their activities that the nature of the link which British art circles re-forged with Rome in post-Napoleonic times may be known.

Charles Eastlake, one of the group's leading members, had arrived in 1816, and Joseph Severn, another leading figure, followed in the company of John Keats in 1820. Other early arrivals are less easily identified. But both Eastlake and Severn in letters home indicated that by 1823 the community numbered about fourteen or fifteen.

Unfortunately, neither says who these artists were.

However, the names of five artists, who had apparently struck roots in Rome, appeared on the committee set up in 1823 to guide the fortunes of the newly established British Academy of Arts in Rome. They were: Richard Evans, Seymour Kirkup and John B. Lane, together

1. C. and Lady Eastlake, Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts with a Memoir by Lady Eastlake (2nd series, 1870), p.60.

2. "The English artists in Rome met together last winter for the purposes of studying from the living model ... In the summer of 1822 Mr Hamilton made an offer of £100 to the artists ... I should tell you that one or two out of 14 or 15 felt hurt by the offer." Letter from C. Eastlake to T. Lawrence, Rome, 15 Jan. 1823 (London, Royal Academy). Also, Joseph Severn writing about his accommodation in Rome: "There are six rooms - the 1st is our Academy where 14 Englishmen meet every evening to study." Letter from J. Severn to his father, Rome, 24 March 1822 (Hampstead, Keats Museum).
with Eastlake and Severn themselves. 1 (The sculptors on the committee were John Gibson and Richard Westmacott, junior.) Then in 1824, the names of six more appeared in a guidebook to Rome, published by an Italian, Enrico Keller, who gave the surnames and addresses of the foreign artists residing in Rome along with the work in which they specialised. 2 Four of these are identified as James Atkins, Richard Cook, J.P. Davis and Thomas Dessoulavy. A fifth, 'West', is meet William E. West, an American. likely Robert Lucas-West. The last 'Wood' is untraced. (Keller's sculptors, in addition to Gibson and Westmacott, were: Gott, MacDonald, Rennie and Wyatt.)

Who precisely should be added to this total of eleven artists to give the fourteen or fifteen of 1823 is a matter of guesswork. The 1823 figure may well include birds of passage. In any case, it need not detain us, for three names which may be added to the list to provide an adequate cross-section of the 1820 community arrived after 1823. Two of them, Thomas Uwins who arrived in 1824 and Penry Williams who arrived in 1826, have much significance. 3 For these two men along with Eastlake and Severn are the four artists of the 1820 Anglo-Romans who made their reputations by paintings of Italian subjects which were sent home from Italy. William Bewick, the third of the latecomers who was in Rome by 1826, 4 was a copier who earns a place by reason of the rather special interest attached to his copying in the Sistine Chapel.

1. Letter from C. Eastlake to T. Lawrence, Rome, 6 May 1823 (London, Royal Academy).
2. Enrico Keller, Elenco degli Artisti esistenti in Roma L'Anno 1824, compilato ad uso de' Stranieri. (Copy at Oxford, Bodleian Library)
An account of the activities of this group¹ may best begin by showing how the artists reached Rome in the first place. In this respect, the most interesting are, perhaps, James Atkins, Charles Eastlake, John E. Lane and Penry Williams. For each owe their arrival in Rome to the good offices of patrons, who, in sending them there, were of course continuing an admirable feature of eighteenth-century patronage.

Little, however, can be said about the patronage Atkins, an Ulsterman received. Amongst those who bestowed it were the Marquess of Downshire and the Marquis of Londonderry who were attracted to his work when it went on exhibition at his Belfast school in 1818. The following year they sent him to Italy.² He appears to have settled down there, when his career as "a young artist of great promise", according to Samuel Redgrave,³ was cut short by his early death in 1832 while returning from Constantinople, where he had gone to paint a portrait of the Sultan.

Eastlake's patron was Jeremiah Harman, a banker of high standing with a country seat at Woodford, Essex, who rose to become Governor of the Bank of England in 1816.⁴ He had known the painter since 1809 when he commissioned him to paint The Raising of Jairus' Daughter.⁵

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1. For ease of reference, outline biographies of the fourteen artists are supplied in Appendix I.
5. "In December, 1898 ... some of his designs at this time were seen by Mr Jeremiah Harman who immediately proposed that Charles should execute a picture for him ... that of The Raising of Jairus' Daughter." C. and Lady Eastlake, op. cit., p.19. (The painting is now missing.)
In 1814, Harman's "liberal and judicious kindness" had enabled Eastlake to visit Paris where he studied French and Italian works of art until Napoleon's "100 days" forced him home.¹

Although Eastlake's Italian trip was initially financed by the £1,000 earned through the sale of his Napoleon Aboard the Bellerophon,² it was Jeremiah Harman's continued assistance which enabled him to stay there until his reputation had been established.

In 1818, Harman made possible Eastlake's trip to Greece from Rome by advancing him £300, which Eastlake undertook to repay by presenting his patron with the work he had done there.³

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1. Ibid., p.46.
2. Ibid., p.56.
3. "Mr Eastlake's journey to Greece was facilitated ... by Mr Harman's generosity. Charles received from him altogether £300 and repaid Mr Harman by presenting him with the pictorial fruits of his tour." C. and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.72. Also, "The prospect of settling in England at no very distant period makes me anxious to preserve every sketch of nature that can remind me of this country and tho' everything I have is yours I will only beg that you will not part with any of the things you have already." From C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 10 May 1821 (London, National Gallery). For further details, see Chapter 3, pp.31-33 below.
advances on other occasions further assisted Eastlake, while at home Harman acted as agent for his protégé, receiving his paintings from Italy and handling the business transactions of those that were sold.

In addition to this, Harman was a person with whom Eastlake could discuss his views on art, as their correspondence brings out. In 1824, Eastlake wholeheartedly acknowledged the vital part Harman had played in sustaining him through his early years. The significance of his patronage extends far beyond the benefits conferred on Eastlake as a painter. For in the twelve years which Eastlake spent in Italy he acquired that knowledge of Italian art which laid the foundation to his later career in England.

Penry Williams was sent to Rome by Joseph Bailey, later Sir Joseph Bailey, on the recommendation of Sir Thomas Lawrence. Bailey was an extensive landowner and was also a manager of Cyfarthwaite works, near Merthyr Tydfil, where Penry William was born. According

1. "But for your assistance I might never have held up my head. I never forget that I owe everything to you." From C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 9 June 1824 (London, National Gallery).

2. Diaries and certain letters which Penry Williams gave to Lord Aberdare in 1875 are now missing, but the covering letter written by the artist says "Packet of letters from Sir Thomas Lawrence (late P.R.A.) and Mr B. (afterwards Sir Joseph Bailey) - (who sent me to Rome at the recommendation of Sir T. Lawrence)."

(Copy at Cardiff, National Museum of Wales.)

3. £.N.B: Compilation by members of the Merthyr Tydfil Teachers' Association, *The Story of Merthyr Tydfil* (1932)
to T. Mardy Rees in *Welsh Painters, Engravers, Sculptors 1527-1911* (1912), Penry Williams had already been sent to study under Fuseli at the Royal Academy by a number of local notabilities. Rees only names one of them: a Sir John Guest, and does not quote his sources for the information.

Joseph Bailey's patronage ran on the same lines as Jeremiah Harman's. He undertook to support Penry Williams for a period of two years in Rome in return for receiving all the work the painter did there. In 1827 he duly received from Penry Williams three paintings: *A View of Rome, A Market Scene at Berne in Switzerland,* and *A Group of Italian Peasants.*

By 1828, however, Penry Williams was winning esteem in Rome and receiving commissions. Accordingly, he asked to be released from his agreement. A painting, unnamed, was recorded on its way to Mr Bailey in 1829. He then appears to fade out of Penry Williams' life which was to be passed wholly in Rome. But, of course, Joseph Bailey's patronage, like that of Jeremiah Harman, remained the vital

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1.2. Implied by Williams as follows: "May I beg Dear Sir to know from you ... if I may dispose of any picture painted for you - because the advantage would be to me very great in forming a connection with any of those great patrons of art ... I have also thought that if I had hitherto employed my time strictly for you as agreed upon the results would not have been satisfactory to you for now that I look back upon all that I have done within the two years there are so many unfinished pictures ... the only satisfactory way you can be repaid is in finished pictures - equal in value to what you have so kindly advanced to me." Letter from P. Williams to J. Bailey, Rome, 21 Aug. 1828 (London, Royal Academy). [Appendix 3, letter no.4, par.2 and 5.]

1.3. "I sent off three pictures which I intend for Mr Bailey ... They are namely, *A View of Rome, A Market Scene at Berne in Switzerland,* ... and *A Group of Italian Peasants.*" Letter from P. Williams to T. Lawrence, Rome, 16 Jan. 1828 (London, Royal Academy).

3.4. Note 1 above. For further details see chapter 6, pp.115-16 below.
means by which his protégé reached Rome in the first place and was able to live there until success came his way.

John Bryant Lane,¹ a Cornwall man, had started life as a medical student. He was able to give up that career when his talents as a painter came to the notice of Lord de Dunstanville, a patron of the arts whose family seat was at Tehidy.² He gave Lane a commission to paint an altarpiece (untraced) for a church of the de Dunstanville family in Cornwall. Later, he sent Lane to London where he painted history subjects, exhibiting at the Royal Academy from 1808 to 1813. Lord de Dunstanville continued his patronage by sending Lane to Rome. He, himself, had undertaken the Grand Tour as a young man before the Napoleonic wars with a high degree of thoroughness, a clergyman having been specially trained to tutor him on the journey.³

In Rome, his protégé proceeded to enact one of the most bizarre episodes in the annals of British history painting. For at least eight years he worked on a gigantic painting called The Vision of Joseph, during which time visitors were excluded from his studio while he constantly enlarged the work. Lord de Dunstanville remained loyal in his support during these Roman years, a fact to which contemporary Roman comment frequently refers: the commemorative piece written by P.E. Visconti, on the occasion of the painting's exhibition in Rome in 1827, was dedicated to the patron on a note of eulogy.⁴ The painting however was generally judged a failure, besides which the papal

¹. Biographical details of Lane, unless otherwise stated, are drawn from the D.N.B. and R and S. Redgrave, A Century of British Painters (2nd ed. 1890).

². D.N.B.

³. Ibid.

authorities took exception to certain of its features and expelled both the painter and the painting from the Papal States. The work was subsequently placed in the Pantechnicon in Belgravia, London, where it was allowed to decay to the point of ruin. One is hardly required to observe that the noteworthy side of this unhappy story is the strength of the tradition of patronage which, weathering assaults on its generosity, is found staunchly endowing British history painting in Rome at this period.

So much for the Anglo-Romans who enjoyed the benefits of patronage. As for the rest, Joseph Severn had set out for Rome in the first place on his own means when he was invited to replace Charles [Armitage] Brown as travelling companion to Keats.¹ True, Severn, having won the Royal Academy's gold medal, was qualified to apply for the travelling scholarship which would have taken him to Rome anyway, and which he did win later in Rome after Keats' death. But this success was hypothetical in 1820, and his appearance in Rome that year was fortuitous.

Richard Evans was commissioned to go to Rome to copy works of Raphael for John Nash who wished to use them in decorating his house in Regent Street,² while William Bewick was sent by Sir Thomas Lawrence to copy in the Sistine Chapel.³

Richard Cook was a man of considerable family means who would have reached Rome without difficulty. So too was Seymour Kirkup. The rest of the group also appear to have travelled by their own means.

2. Details of the commission appear in John Nash's account books of the time (London, Royal Institute of British Architects, slide ledger f.216).
Once there, the artists were notably well received in Italian circles. Canova's visit to England in 1815 had already created a happy relationship between Roman and London artists. These ties had been refreshed and strengthened by Sir Thomas Lawrence's stay in Rome of seventeen months, 1819-20, when he painted his portrait of Pope Pius VII. "It is delightful to hear in every part of Italy the favourable idea of English art your works have left", wrote Etty to him in 1823.

The respect which Lawrence won for British painting was only one feature of his part in the life of the Anglo-Roman community. To a greater degree than any other celebrity in British art circles in the post-Napoleonic years, he worked for the revival of the link with Rome. He encouraged young men of promise to go to Rome, providing them with valuable letters of introduction and once there supported them in various ways. He found a patron for Penry Williams and himself supported the sculptor Joseph Gott there. Eastlake and Penry Williams were amongst those who supplied him with scenes from Rome, while Richard Evans and Thomas Uwins copied for him along with William Bewick.


2. Letters from Gott to Lawrence, 1822-1825, in (Royal Academy archives, are published in the exhibition catalogue: Joseph Gott 1786-1860 Sculptor (Stable Court Exhibition Galleries, Leeds; Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, 1972).

3. Letters from C. Eastlake to T. Lawrence, Rome, 8 June 1819 and from P. Williams, Rome, 28 March 1827 (London, Royal Academy).


But nothing could be more mistaken than to imagine that Lawrence merely encouraged artists to go to Rome to emulate past styles. On the contrary, he has the distinction of being the first person to call clearly for modern interpretations of Italian subjects from British artists. Indeed, when in 1819 he summoned J.M.W. Turner to come to Italy to paint the Italian landscape in his unique style, he may be said to have opened a new chapter in the history of the British artist in Italy: one in which painters broke away from the classical styles of the Old Masters to paint new aspects of Italy in a new way:

'Turner should come to Rome,' he wrote to Farington, 'His genius would here be supplied with materials, and entirely congenial with it ... He has an elegance, and often a greatness for invention, that wants a scene like this for its free expression, whilst the subtle harmony of this atmosphere, that wraps everything in its own milky sweetness ... can only be rendered, according to my belief, by the beauty of his tones ... It is a fact, that the country and scenes around me, do thus impress themselves upon me; and that Turner is always associated with them; Claude, though frequently, not so often, and Gaspar Poussin still less.'

Lawrence was offered a unique opportunity to strengthen the connection with Rome when, in 1823, the resident British artists, amid much enthusiasm, set out to establish a British Academy of Arts there. Their enterprise was the first indication of the exceptional vitality of the new colony and, correspondingly, of the strength of the belief that Rome could and should remain a centre for British art in the nineteenth century. It won from Lawrence his powerful support as President of the Royal Academy.

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Chapter 2

THE FOUNDING OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY OF ARTS IN ROME IN 1823

Plans for an academy were circulating amongst the British community in Rome remarkably soon after the Peace of Amiens re-opened the city to travellers. It is true that the idea was not entirely new: an 'academy' under the patronage of Lord Charlemont existed in some small way in Rome for a period in the middle of the eighteenth century. And, the Anglo-Roman artists were sufficiently well organized in the 1790s for casts, sent by the Royal Academy, to be admitted duty free to them as a corporate body. But the mood of enthusiasm for a grand educational venture in Rome which was apparent in the English colony during the post-Napoleonic years never seems to have been equalled.

In 1817 hopes for an academy were running very high indeed. When Joseph Woods (1776-1864), while travelling abroad in connection with his studies was in Rome that year, the rumour was circulating freely that the Pope was prepared to offer a palace to the Prince Regent to accommodate it. Woods accordingly set about describing the minimum needs of the British artists there. These were published later in his Letters of an Architect from France, Italy and Greece (1828). He wanted first, quite simply, a "point of union" for them. After that, a collection of casts should be built up, both sculptural and architectural, and a library should be added. Woods was at pains to stress the need for books: new ones were particularly needed to

2. Royal Academy Council minutes, 12 Aug. 1797.
3. See Appendix 2a.
supplement those available in the Roman libraries. He estimated that two or three thousand pounds capital would be required at the outset and that an annual income of £1,200 would then be needed to maintain the undertaking. He concluded with the encouraging remark that the name of any patron who came forward to provide for the academy would certainly be held in permanent honour.

But a few years later, disappointment had replaced optimism. Charlotte Eaton in her Rome in the 19th Century, published in 1822, alleged that the Pope had offered the British government a palace for an academy but the gift had been rejected. She duly trounced the government for its parsimonious indifference to the arts. She pointed to the generosity and perceptiveness of the French State which, in contrast, maintained the French Academy in Rome at the Villa Medici in such a style that the interests of French art and French prestige abroad were well served. Many British supporters of the British Academy considered both these aspects equally worthy of emulation. Of course, patriotic sentiments were always likely to be present on such occasions. In this instance, they were especially lively, it must be said, as English eyes observed in Rome the cultural pre-eminence of their recent enemy.

Charlotte Eaton closed her appeal for official assistance for an academy by maintaining, apparently in defiance of common opinion, that taste and genius were to be found not only amongst persons of high rank but also amongst the middle and lower classes who could not afford to make their own way to Rome.

However, appeals for state aid on any grounds were unavailing. The British Academy in fact evolved from a humble move on the part of the Anglo-Roman artists themselves. One of them, whose name is now

1. See Appendix 2c.
unknown, has left an account of how this came about.  

He himself had arrived in Rome in 1820 to find that in order to study he must seek the favour of admission to the drawing classes of one of the foreign academies, usually the French or Italian ones, which were in any case already overcrowded. He and his colleagues therefore decided to wait no longer for help from outside. They banded themselves together to form a subscription academy which means at least models could be communally hired. Eastlake, along with fifteen other students, had already done this in London when the Royal Academy was closed.

Richard Westmacott (Junior) reported to a friend: "The English students have established an academy for the study of the best living models that can be procured. I feel proud at being the proposer and with Eastlake the most active in setting it going; we muster under a dozen and met for the first time last Monday; who knows that our little beginnings may lead in time to something of consequence - we are all as vain of it as possible."  

The group, who were soon meeting every evening in Joseph Severn's apartment, certainly lacked nothing in enthusiasm. Giving news of the academy in a letter home in March 1822, Severn reported the artists awaiting the delivery of a body, "from which", he wrote, "we are determined to be perfect in anatomy".

Almost immediately, their initiative was rewarded when William Hamilton, British representative at Naples, sent a donation of £100 to

1. See Appendix 2d.


4. Letter from J. Severn to his father, Rome, 24 March 1822 (Hampstead, Keats Museum).
their funds that summer. Hamilton had linked a diplomatic career with an active interest in the arts since his early days when, as secretary to Lord Elgin in Constantinople, he had assisted in the collection and dispatch of the Elgin marbles. More recently, as under secretary of state for foreign affairs, he had played a leading part in post-war talks which had encouraged the French to return Italian works of art, purloined in Napoleonic times. Hamilton's donation was given specifically to assist the group to place the academy on a permanent footing.

Thus encouraged, the artists now made their cause known at home in an effort to raise further funds and patronage. In November 1822, The Literary Gazette carried an anonymous article which is too well informed to be anything else but the first round of publicity for the academy, written most likely by one of the artists themselves. Eastlake may well have been responsible: shortly after he was sending information about the institution through Sir Thomas Lawrence to the gazette.

The article explained that the academy had now hired a place - presumably Joseph Severn's apartment - and engaged the best models in Rome. (Not an insignificant point: artists constantly referred to the superiority of Roman models over London ones when discussing the advantages of Rome.) The ultimate ambition of the English students in Rome, to found a national academy there, was boldly stated. The article held that the advantages of such an institution "must be

1. "In the summer of 1822 Mr. Hamilton made an offer of £100 to the artists to assist them in their public studies and lay the foundation of a permanent establishment." Letter from C. Eastlake to T. Lawrence, Rome, 15 Jan. 1823 (London, Royal Academy).

2. D.N.B.

evident to every man who has considered its importance, and the opportunities which are there afforded for completing the studies of an artist".

Readers were assured that Italian approval for the scheme had been demonstrated by promises of support from Canova, who was particularly anxious to assist young English students in Rome, in gratitude for the patronage he had received when he was in England. It seemed that the first day of 1822 in Rome had been enlivened by the whole body of English students setting off together to pay their respects to this valued friend of their academy.

As a result of the article, The Literary Gazette became a forum for public discussion about the academy. In the next edition "a lover of the Fine Arts", in correspondence with the editor, held that Rome was the only place from which England could hope for renown in painting and sculpture. And, appealing also to those who appreciated the importance of elevating the British nation in foreign lands, he suggested that a Roman palace should now be subscribed for through a public fund. He more than hinted that such an enterprise ought to attract Royal patronage. He himself offered to contribute generously. The Literary Gazette rose to the occasion by opening a fund for subscriptions.¹

Meanwhile, Sir Thomas Lawrence was informed privately of the foundation of the academy by a letter from Joseph Severn,² who asked through him for the advice of the Royal Academy regarding their undertaking. He also expressed the hope that the Roman Academy would

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² Severn's letter does not appear to be extant, but Lawrence's reply of 23 Dec. 1822 is quoted in full by W. Sharp, op.cit., pp.132-33.
eventually be taken under the protection of the London institution. In a personal reply to Severn, Lawrence began at once to guide the Anglo-Roman artists towards a wise appraisal of what their true aims should be and how they might best be achieved. He warned against indulging in solely prestigious projects, advising a policy of caution directed exclusively towards meeting the educational needs of the students in Rome. He added to his advice a personal donation of £50.

The long and somewhat unhappy history of the relationship of the Royal Academy with the infant institution in Rome began at the former's Council meeting in March 1823, when Severn's letter was discussed. Sir Thomas Lawrence, as president, said that "It would be worthy of the parent institution to present the English artists in Rome with some mark of the liberality of the Royal Academy and of its wish to promote so laudable an undertaking". The Council's support for these sentiments at this juncture was apparently wholehearted for the decision was then taken unanimously to donate £50, the maximum permitted by the regulations, to the academy in Rome.

Lawrence discouraged the Council from attempting to advise the Roman Academy, remarking, not unreasonably, that there was insufficient information to hand by which it might do so. But of course by refraining from offering advice, the Royal Academy was thereby refraining from doing anything which might appear to indicate that the London Academy had taken the Roman one under its protection.

Nevertheless, an official circular appealing for funds for the British Academy, which was published in Rome in February 1823 and reprinted in The Literary Gazette, makes it clear that the Anglo-Roman artists thought that in due course they would get all they asked

1. Minute of the Royal Academy Council meeting, 8 March 1823 (Appendix 2.e).
for from the Royal Academy. Their application to the Academy had been warmly received, the circular affirmed, and it hoped that the money raised by subscriptions in Rome would yet be administered by the London institution. Lawrence's subsequent reference to the Royal Academy as "the parent institution" at the March Council meeting tacitly assigned a rôle to that academy which the drafters of the circular must have felt had justified their initial optimism. Besides, in the event they had obtained something of very great importance: the Royal Academy had at least "sanctioned" the existence of the Roman one.

A glance at clause I of the Royal Academy's charter will show what supporters of the Roman Academy meant by this. That clause denies membership of the Royal Academy to artists residing outside Great Britain and to artists who were members of any other society of artists in London. This could logically be extended to mean any art society anywhere. The first prohibition was believed to be obsolete. Current evidence of its obsolescence was the arrival in Rome of Richard Cook, a council member of the Royal Academy, in 1823 for an indefinite period which certainly lasted at least until 1825. But, of course, the prohibition could always be revived. Similarly, while an obvious occasion for extending the second prohibition to art societies abroad had not yet arisen, clearly it did so now.

The power thus held by the Royal Academy to penalize the English artists in Rome and their academy by invoking clause I is an important feature of the history of the colony in the nineteenth century. But, in the early 1820s there were few signs that it would play a large

1. "The Secretary stated that Mr Cook before leaving England had requested him to send his admission cards for the private view to Mr Hayes." Minutes of the Royal Academy Council, April 1823.

T. Uwins, in a letter to T. Lawrence dated 31 May 1825, refers to Cook working in the Sistine Chapel (London, Royal Academy).
part in Anglo-Roman affairs. All seemed set fair for a happy relationship between London and Rome. The Royal Academy's sanction was followed by the even more resounding approval of George IV, who, in April 1823, sent a gift of £200 to the Roman Academy. Sir Thomas Lawrence almost certainly deserves the credit for drawing the Sovereign's attention to the worthy project afoot in Rome. At any rate, he recommended careful acknowledgement of the gift on the grounds that the King must not easily be allowed to forget the students in Rome, who were likely to stand in need of continued royal support. The group duly accepted this piece of advice by commissioning Eastlake to compose their address of thanks.

The donation from the Royal Academy was spent on lamps, and in 1823 "there was not a better equipped drawing academy in Rome", according to Eastlake. He is now found playing an ever more dominant rôle as the affairs of the academy, favoured with high patronage and receiving subscriptions, grew more elaborate. He proposed the committee which was set up to direct these affairs. He became its first secretary, while Severn took on the post of treasurer until deemed unfit by reason of his artistic temperament, when the post was passed to Signor Brunelli, former English Vice-Counsel in Rome.

Rules were drawn up by 1823. One immediately gave trouble:

2. Ibid.
3. Letter from C. Eastlake to T. Lawrence, Rome, 6 May 1823 (London, Royal Academy).
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
7. Report of the Committee of the British Academy of Arts in Rome (1874), p.5. [Copy at Harvard University.]
"I am sorry, though no friend to Academies", wrote Charles [Armitage] Brown in The Examiner, 1824, "that I have any thing to urge against our infant one at Rome. There a law is made, a preposterous law, that no one shall enter according to merit. The sole question asked is, if the applicant pursues the Art as a profession? - 'if so, Sir, you are an Artist!', - and he is instantly admitted. Thus any one possessed with a feverish notion of earning his bread by the Art, becomes their worthy Academician. Last winter an Amateur, as they call a man who cannot answer in the affirmative to their question, was preparing to make a drawing from a statue or the living figure, in order to gain admittance, when he was saved the trouble by being informed they could not pass their judgment on it; that as an Amateur, he had no right there whatever might be his merit, while they gave him, politely worded enough, an invitation. This he declined, insisting on his right as a British subject, according to their own printed advertisement, provided he could prove himself worthy of the name of Artist; but they stuck to their invitation, and so they parted."

A system of mutual instruction amongst the artists soon flourished:

Joseph Gott, the sculptor, was honoured to be "Visitor" to the academy in 1823. The appointment of Lawrence, Flaxman and Westmacott as trustees committed three major personalities at home to the interests of the academy abroad.

These interests continued to be discussed in The Literary Gazette where opinion was now modified to reflect closely Sir Thomas Lawrence's view of what could best be achieved in Rome by private effort. The student, said a contributor, must learn to benefit from a policy of


2. Letter from J. Gott to T. Lawrence, Rome, 4 May 1823 (London, Royal Academy).

3. "I have communicated to the artists the pleasing intelligence respecting the probable continued support of the Royal Academy ... Their feelings of gratitude were awakened towards you for the public interest you take in their concerns. Those feelings exceeded ordinary limits. When I communicated your wish to become an annual subscriber of ten guineas privately ... They accepted with gratitude your kind offer to be nominated as a Trustee ... I write to Mr Westmacott and Mr Flaxman ... to permit their names to be associated with yours for the same purpose." Letter from C. Eastlake to T. Lawrence, Rome, 20 Dec. 1823. Also see T. Lawrence to C. Eastlake, London, 16 Nov. 1823 (London, Royal Academy).
subsidiised self-help which any way was the only one for which sufficient financial help could be anticipated. The Academy should provide free tuition for those students who had proved their worth by finding their own way to Rome. It should be open to amateurs, including would-be connoisseurs who might learn much from practising the arts about which they wished to claim expertise.¹

Generous as the art circles at home were with advice, the subscriptions to The Literary Gazette's fund which were published in 1823² came predominantly from members of the English circle in Rome. However, the British Institution's donation³ of £100 in the following year made some amends and at least none of the advice given questioned the value of Rome as a centre for British artists.

The approval of the young artists in London for the new academy was certainly warm if the reaction of the sculptor William Ewing may be taken as typical.⁴ Ewing was numbered in the narrow circle of friends around Keats in Rome in 1820,⁵ and he had returned to England by 1821. One evening in February 1823 he called on the

¹ "For it is not in contemplation to attempt so impossible and undesirable a thing as a rival to the French Academy at Rome. Impossible because its funds could not be raised by subscription ... and undesirable as it leaves nothing to the energies and devotions of the artists themselves. What we want is an Academy in which all its means would be free of expense to [the students]. ... Let the student prove his devotion to his Art by a journey to Rome, and his perseverance and improvement there enable him to return to his native country.... The Academy should be open - to all the English - who might choose to avail themselves of such an opportunity; ... and prove the importance of sane practice to make a good connoisseur." From "C" to the Editor of The Literary Gazette, vol. VI, 10 May 1823.

² Ibid.


⁴ W. Sharp, op. cit., p. 93.

sculptor Donaldson, who read to him a letter from Westmacott which described the founding of the new institution. Next day, Ewing tried to find Westmacott to hear more details, but without success. So, that night he wrote directly to Joseph Severn to enquire if he would be admitted to the academy, saying that if there were opportunities to study in Rome he could find friends who would assist him to return. By the next year he had indeed returned to Rome and, furthermore, the secretaryship of the Roman Academy was soon placed in his enthusiastic hands. Ewing spent many years in Rome, but glimpses of him in letters home, as he mingled in English society, are fleeting and give no account of his work there.

In 1825, William Dyce set off for Rome on the strength of advice that he would learn more there than in London. He would have been glad to study at the British Academy, but the facilities of the two-year-old institution still fell so far short of those at the French Academy that, reluctantly, Dyce made his way to that institution.

Yet, confidence in the academy's ability to overcome its limitations was high and plans for its future abounded. The suggestion that the Anglo-Roman artists should take the initiative in asking the Roman government to provide adequate accommodation was made in 1823, for lack of space continued to be a besetting problem. Should this materialise, it was suggested, artists could then be allocated their own studios - the fashion for large history paintings had apparently increased accommodation problems in Rome. It would also be possible to hold annual exhibitions of British paintings there.

1. Loc.cit., p.20, n.5.


3. W. Dyce in evidence before the Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry on the Royal Academy (1863). (Parliamentary Papers, 1863, XXVII.1.)

4. Letter from J. Severn to T. Lawrence, Rome, 19 July 1823 (London, Royal Academy).
Joseph Woods, on a return visit to Rome in 1826, was able to regard with some satisfaction the progress of the institution he had heralded in 1817. True, the accommodation problem had not yet been solved and the equipment was still poor - the casts and books which he had called for remained in lamentably short supply. Part of the reason for this lay in a certain delicacy on the part of the artists, who, not wishing to appear to serve only their own needs with the subscriptions to the academy, decreed that all donations, except the Royal Academy's, should be invested and only the interest spent on current expenses.

In effect this meant that capital expenditure could only be met by the Royal Academy's donation, upon which therefore the Roman Academy was heavily dependent if it were to improve its facilities. However, Woods, recalling the "sanction" which the Royal Academy had bestowed on its Roman fellow and noting that the donations were increasing every year, was optimistic that the institution's limitations could be overcome.

His concern for the future lay chiefly in the basic instability of an organization which was administered by a floating population of artists, temporarily resident in a foreign city. He emphasized that this defect would have to be remedied at a "national level" if the academy were to become "an institution worthy of the nation" and he stressed that there was little time for delay because the artist who was the institution's mainstay might soon return home. Presumably

2. "The artists ... resolved to apply the interest only of the money received, in defraying the current expenses of their drawing Academy, ... The only exception to this law, is the application of the liberal contribution of the Royal Academy, in fitting up an Academy for permanent use."
3. Appendix 2.b.
he referred to Eastlake.

Unhappily, a cloud of a different nature had already gathered over the academy about which Woods apparently knew nothing. By the end of 1823 fears were already being voiced by artists in Rome that the Royal Academy's sanction of their institution was more apparent than real. Their reasons for so thinking at the time are not known, nor is the corporate mind of the Royal Academy on the matter in the course of the next few vital years ever fully disclosed by the available evidence. The missing records of the Roman Academy might have thrown some light on the matter. As it is, only the accounts of the Royal Academy and the very discreet correspondence between Lawrence and Eastlake are available for guidance.

A letter from Charles Eastlake to Lawrence in December 1823 shows how in Rome all was not thought to be well:

It is supposed that as all members of the Royal Academy may not have the same opinion of the ultimate utility of this growing school, such as think less favourably of the scheme will insensibly imbibe hostile feelings towards its well-wishers here. I am sure I only do justice to the gentlemen who compose the Royal Academy when I feel confident that neither I nor any other individual will incur their displeasure on this account. Should want of merit ultimately exclude me from the Academy, to which I may hereafter aspire, I shall bow to the decision of the best judges of Europe, without consoling myself by supposing even the existence of the hostile feeling alluded to.\(^2\)

Ominously, Lawrence vouchsafed no reply to Eastlake.\(^3\) The silence with which that courteous and considerate man responded to the fears of the young artists in Rome, many of them his protégés, could only have increased their anxieties. The Anglo-Romans were left in this

1. Preface


3. Deduced from the sequence of letters between Eastlake and Lawrence at the time and from Eastlake's comment to Lawrence quoted on p. 24 below.
state for a year when the outlook brightened again with the arrival of another donation of £50 from the Royal Academy. Yet, the artists were guarded in their response, as though convinced that the London institution's approval remained half-hearted. Acknowledging the gift to Lawrence, Eastlake observed that the Roman Academy, while thriving, was much better for the "countenance and support" of the Royal Academy "as far as £50".¹

A similar donation followed in 1826. Then the Royal Academy's subscriptions dried up altogether until 1843, when another contribution of £50 appeared as part of the later history of the London institution's relationship with the Roman one.²

The next blow during the academy's early history fell in 1830 when Eastlake did return home without any steps having been taken to meet that eventuality. The Royal Academy played a decisive part in the homecoming, which was a major event in the early Anglo-Roman community. For Eastlake, although his return was long overdue, did not wish to leave Rome: Lady Eastlake's testimony to that is unequivocal.³ But the pressure exerted on him to reside in Great Britain in strict accordance with clause I of the Royal Academy's charter was too strong to allow him to stay. Indeed, the award was thought by some to have been made on the explicit condition that he

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1. "The Academy is thriving and much better for the countenance and support of the Royal Academy as far as £50." Letter from C. Eastlake to T. Lawrence, Rome, 29 Dec. 1824 (London, Royal Academy).

2. See Chapter VIII, p. 145.

3. "On the 10th February, 1830, Mr Eastlake was elected full member of the Royal Academy. He now felt it an obligation to return and reside in London ... it was with great unwillingness that he turned his thoughts towards England ... he had a dread of the difficulties and conditions of a London professional life." C. and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.136.
would return home.¹

The reality of the Royal Academy's power to direct the fortunes of the Anglo-Roman community had now been demonstrated. A particularly embittering aspect of that power was the unpredictable manner in which it was exercised. There was no consistent policy, either good or bad, upon which artists could rely. Thus, prior to obtaining the Associate-ship of the Academy in 1826, Eastlake had worked on in Rome without knowing whether or not he was disqualifying himself for the award by so doing, let alone whether his membership of the Roman Academy would also disqualify him.²

The Anglo-Romans may well have been lulled into a false sense of security by his eventually receiving the award. We find Eastlake repeating to Uwins, because "it was interesting to any artist residing abroad",³ Lawrence's observation that Eastlake's Associateship showed "the jealous attention paid by the Royal Academy to the claims of genius and character, however separated from them by absence".⁴

Doubtless, some time before Eastlake's return home, the Anglo-

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1. "I think Mr Eastlake's election took place when he had been two years on the list. He was ineligible for he was residing in Rome; and I understand the Academy pledged themselves to bring him back, and he did return ... It may be a bad law [i.e. the first clause of the charter of the Royal Academy] but it is a law. I complain of the breach of the law ... by which I have in part suffered." A. Clint in evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of enquiry into the best means of extending a knowledge of the arts and principles of design among the people of the country (Parliamentary Papers, 1836, IX, p.86).

2. "While you have like myself doubts as to the possibility of an absentee becoming a candidate [i.e. for the Associateship]." Letter from C. Eastlake to T. Uwins, Rome, 28 Nov. 1826 (S. Uwins, op.cit., vol.I, p.297).

3. Ibid.

4. Letter from T. Lawrence to C. Eastlake, London, 6 Nov. 1827. See C. and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.113 for the complete letter.
Roman artists had recognised that their early hopes of founding a national academy in Rome, supported from London, were likely to be disappointed. The death in the same year of Sir Thomas Lawrence removed the project's chief champion and protector at home. Now undoubtedly left to go it alone in Rome, the little academy still resisted the temptation to set itself up in style by dipping into capital. Some supporters later regretted this prudence, for it relegated the institution to the status of a drawing school which could only afford to open six months of the year. But by living securely, if humbly, on the income from the untouched capital of the annual subscriptions, the academy was able to coast along independent of outside help and of the Anglo-Roman artists themselves, in all their ups and downs, for many years. Despite vicissitudes, a hundred years of life still lay before it and some of its founder members were yet to play a highly significant part in its later history.

1. See Appendix 2.d., par.2.
Chapter 3

LANDSCAPE AND HISTORY PAINTINGS BY C.L. EASTLAKE IN ROME

Landscapes by Eastlake were the first paintings to win renown for the new colony. True, Eastlake had gone to Italy with the sole intention of painting history, but once there the appeal of the Italian countryside and his own success at painting it made landscape work seem for a time "almost enough for an ambitious man." Consequently, four years after his arrival he was unable to tell even his patron of "a large or even a small historical painting begun" for him. And, while Eastlake did form lasting views on history painting in the early years, proposing many compositions and beginning some, only three were completed before 1824.

Two of them, Cicero in his Villa at Pozzuoli and Marius in the Ruins of Carthage, were acquired by the Duchess of Devonshire, for whose edition of Horace's Journey from Rome to Brundisium Eastlake also did two illustrations. Lady Eastlake dates both these history paintings to 1818, but Eastlake's correspondence with Mr. Harman shows the second at least was still only contemplated in the autumn of 1819.

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1. "It is curious that coming to study history painting, I should have been introduced to landscape painting." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 10 Jan. 1822 (London, National Gallery).

2. "I regret that I have no account to give you of a large or even a small historical picture begun. My commissions are numerous enough but they are almost all in the landscape way; but landscape in this country is almost enough for an ambitious man." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 7 August 1820 (Plymouth City Art Gallery, hereafter referred to as "Plymouth").

3. Ibid.

4. List of works executed by C. Eastlake. (C. and Lady Eastlake, Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts, with a Memoir by Lady Eastlake, 2nd series (1870), p.193.)

5. Ibid., p.65.

6. See pp. 35-36 below for the significance of this correction.
A postcard size water colour copy of the first, showing Cicero sitting before his villa looking out to sea, may be found in an undated travel diary, belonging to a Miss Caroline Boothby, in the Devenshire papers owned by Lord Dormer, at Grove Park, Warwick. Eastlake failed to sell his third early history painting, Paris and Mercury (1819) in Rome, a disappointment for his early hopes as a history painter which he used to justify continuing with his landscape work. All three are missing.

His outdoor studies began in a serious way in 1817 when he and Seymour Kirkup set out on a sketching trip to Naples, travelling by sea. Eastlake returned to declare that between them the whole of the coastline had been sketched. In the autumn of that year he spent six weeks at Tivoli "studying from the most glorious scenery in the world". In the next year, 1818, he made his trip to Greece with the assistance of his patron. Eastlake's visit to Poli with the Grahams followed in the summer of 1819 when he combined landscape painting with genre sketching to illustrate Maria Graham's Three Months in the Mountains East of Rome (1820).

These early oil sketches, sixty from Poli and Tivoli and ninety from Greece, are supremely important in Eastlake's career as a

1. "Its [i.e. the Paris and Mercury] not having sold in the midst of great commendation is another reason for my turning my hand to some more lucrative branch, and landscape is a great deal more interesting than portrait." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 12 April 1819 (Plymouth).

2. C. and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.65.

3. Ibid.

4. p. 4 above


painter. Not only did they bring him in good measure the patronage of
the English colony in Rome,¹ but they were also the preparatory
material for important subject paintings.² All these sketches are
now missing.

A large number of his Greek sketches were architectural views,
the visit having been planned as an architectural study trip. It was
made in the company of two architects: Charles Barry and a Mr. Kinnard.
In Greece, Eastlake struck up an acquaintance with yet a third,
George Basevi, whom he accompanied on a visit to Egina. But he worked
hard on landscapes too. Sketching all day protected from the heat by
an umbrella, he was the first artist to prove, in defiance of common
general view, that oil sketches painted under the Greek sun did not
necessarily melt. Consequently, part of the interest in the material
brought back from Greece lay in its total novelty.³ Eastlake also
did "costume" sketches in Greece which will be referred to with his
other genre work later.⁴

The first major commission based on the Greek material was given
in Rome by Lord Guildford for whom Eastlake did a painting of The
Erectheum (plate 1), from a sketch which he considered the best of
the Greek batch.⁵ Lord Guildford then commissioned a painting of
the Temple of Theseus.⁶ Both paintings were completed by the end of

1. Loc. cit., n.6 below.

2. See pp. 35-36 below.


4. See p.99 below.

5. Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 12 April 1819 (Plymouth).

6. "I have finished Lord Guildford's picture of the Temple of Erectheus.
He ... seemed much pleased ... and ordered another (The Temple of
1820 (Plymouth).
1820 and were taken back to England in 1821 by Eastlake as specimens of his work. The Erectheum is now owned by Professor Ellis Waterhouse. The Temple of Theseus is missing.

Lord Balgonie in 1819 had also given Eastlake a major commission, now missing if it was ever completed, for a Sicilian landscape, for which he was paid forty guineas in advance. Presumably the commission was the sequel of the pair's joint encounter with the splendours of the Sicilian landscape, for they visited the island while travelling back from Greece together. At the time, a week's rain foiled Eastlake's attempt to paint a panoramic view from the mountains near Palermo where the scenery rivalled anything he had ever seen.

Plans for a return visit to meet the commission were well advanced in 1819:

A French artist, an excellent landscape painter is going there, through Calabria this autumn, and I am not sure that I will not go too, as landscape has become an important study for me, as I wish to make a regular study from the scene wanted and as with a Frenchman I could almost make a tour for the 40 guineas, and get a good quantity of sketches.

The trip, however, appears not to have taken place, possibly because Eastlake was ill that autumn. Yet, other work was still being hastened to a finish before Christmas so that the Sicilian

2. Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 7 April 1819 (Plymouth).
3. C. and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.89.
4. Eastlake to Harman (loc.cit., n.2. above).
5. Returning from Tivoli in September, Eastlake wrote to J. Harman on 27 Nov. 1819: "After my return from the country I had a sort of flu which prevented my working for six weeks." (Plymouth)
painting could be started. Then nothing further is heard about it. This is a pity: the commission was clearly an important one, for which Eastlake was well paid. The *Erectheum* fetched only twenty guineas while the prices of the Roman landscapes ranged from five to thirty guineas.

Lord Belmore followed Lord Balgonie's commission in 1819 with a request for four Greek landscapes and four Italian ones. In the same year "twelve little pictures" of Roman scenery were on their way to Lord Caledon and Lord Gower in England. About 1820, Lord Balgonie, later Earl of Leven and Melville, commissioned the important subject painting *Byron's Dream* (plate 2), which Eastlake first proposed painting in 1819 but did not complete until 1828. That and other history paintings proposed around the 1820s will be dealt with later.

Eastlake's contract with his patron gave trouble as soon as his work was sought by others. Naturally, Mr. Harman was expecting to receive the Greek sketches on Eastlake's return to Rome, but Eastlake was now reluctant to part with such rich preparatory material. He promised to send the sketches in February 1819, apologizing because they were already late. They were still in Rome in April. Offering further regrets, Eastlake asked if he might retain the sketch of the Erectheum to do Lord Guildford's painting, undertaking to send the

1. "I have two little things to do for Lord G. Quinn... then I begin the large landscape for Lord Balgonie for which he paid me 40 guineas before he left Rome four months since." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 27 Nov. 1819 (Plymouth).

2. There are also no family records of the painting. (Information from the present Earl of Leven and Melville.)

3. "I am to have 20 guineas for the picture [i.e. *The Erectheum*]. My landscape sketches about Rome are from 5 to 30 guineas." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 7 April 1819 (Plymouth).


5. See pp. 34-45 below; p.36 and pp.41-42 for special references to *Byron's Dream*. 
rest in six weeks time. Two months later more apologies were on their way to Mr. Harman. All the sketches were still in Eastlake's possession, further commissions having followed Lord Guildford's.1

The dilemma of the young artist, bound by a contract which failed to allow for a widening clientele, was rendered acute by the silence with which his patron was suffering the continued delays. Hopes ebbed that he might be mollified so long as Eastlake carefully retained for him all the sketches on which his client's paintings were based.

Finally the painter was forced to acknowledge that he had treated his contract too lightly.2 He entered a nimble plea in his own defence: if the Greek sketches had been sent when they should have been he would have had "but the empty name of having travelled" and would have missed the well known Shakespearean tide, a fate he thought his patron would like him to avoid.3 As a token of his good intentions, Eastlake then complained that he was making some sacrifices to meet his obligations to Harman. The four paintings of Greece commissioned for Lord Belmore4 had been deferred until the painter returned to England.5

By September, Mr. Harman had released Eastlake from his original

2. "In strict justice I ought of course to do nothing from things which are not my own property ... now for the first time I fear that I can say that I have not done all to please you." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 23 July 1819 (Plymouth).
3. "If my dear Sir, on my arrival in Rome, I had sent off these sketches, I should have had but the empty name of having travelled ... I should have missed altogether one of those 'tides in the affairs of men which taken in the flood lead on to fortune'." Ibid.
4. See p. 31 , par.2 above.
5. Eastlake to Harman (loc.cit. n.2 above).
contract. The sketches were to remain with Eastlake who could use them for other commissions until his homecoming, when Mr. Harman would have his pick of them. Meanwhile, finished paintings would be sent to him from time to time.

There was little more discussion between patron and artist over the matter, beyond an anxious request some time later that Mr. Harman would not part with some sketches given to him during Eastlake's visit to England in 1821. Seemingly only "daubs", they could still be useful to the artist.  

The import duty on paintings sold or intended for sale was another threat to Eastlake's success in Rome. Lord Belmore cancelled his whole commission of eight paintings when he learnt that the four Roman ones would carry an import duty. Eastlake was driven to seeking the "kind interference" of his patron to save his Paris and Mercury from a £10 duty.

Still, the flow of commissions continued unimpeded. While details of these busy years remain scanty, names of purchasers or would-be purchasers occasionally turn up. Mr. Howell Carr, Director of the British Institution, is one such, and a Mr. Scrope, another director, to whom Eastlake gave art lessons in Rome, also commissioned a painting. Three surviving early landscape paintings are in the Tate Gallery. The Trajan Forum (plate 3) was painted for a Miss Catherine Fanshawe in 1821. The two views of the Colosseum, one from the Esquiline (plate 4) and the other from the Campo Vaccino (plate 5)

3. Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 23 July 1819 (Plymouth). No further information about the duty has appeared. For some further information about dutes see p.96, n.1.
also there, were the principal paintings of a commission given by a Colonel Greville Howard in 1820. They replaced The Erectheum, which he almost acquired when Lord Guildford's interest wavered. Four small views, now lost, of the Palatine Hill, completed the commission. Eastlake, burdened with work, increased by the popularity of his genre paintings at the British Institution, and often ill with eye trouble, let three years lapse before meeting the commission. The delay had won for his client, he then said, paintings slowly executed in detail in his mature manner. Special time and care had been devoted to experimenting with light and shade for The View of the Colosseum from the Maronite Convent (now known as The View from the Esquiline).

In spite of numerous commissions in Rome and London for his landscape and genre scenes, Eastlake in 1822 resolved to concentrate on history painting. The decision, which seems abrupt, may have been precipitated by the cool reception, detailed later, which was then being given to Eastlake's genre painting by art critics. He certainly took determined steps to implement it: clients who had commissioned landscapes were now asked to accept history paintings instead. His assault on their first preference was assisted by Lady Westmorland, a leading figure in the English colony in the 1820s. Hope was entertained that, with her encouragement, Mr. William Bentinck,

1. Ibid.
2. See p. 103 below.
3. Letter from C. Eastlake to Greville Howard, Rome, 9 May 1823 (Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey Record Office).
4. "As I have felt it my duty to keep up my original object in art I wrote some time ago to some persons who have honoured me by employing me to do landscapes and offered to do an historical subject or at least a subject of figures and landscape instead." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 15 June 1822 (London, National Gallery).
5. See pp. 104-5 below.
who had commissioned a view of Athens, would change his mind. Should he prove recalcitrant, the lucky painter could count on the lady herself acquiring the history painting on offer.  

A Mr. Baillie acceded to the alteration. A Mr. Hutchinson more or less stood his ground: "He would not let me off four landscapes", Eastlake reported, but he agreed to accept a history painting as well.

The decision to unite landscape with history, the cornerstone of Eastlake's history painting, had already been taken. He had watched while working on his Paris and Mercury in the winter of 1818-1819 how the landscape rather than the figures supplied the poetical mood befitting a mythological subject. For its poetry, therefore, landscape must appear in his history canvases. Of course, the union, securing landscape painting a place in his career as a history painter, appealed strongly. To his patron he wrote:

The nature of the pictures I have painted lately, and I am to paint, seems to constitute me a landscape painter and in such a city as this it is difficult to avoid being one. At least I shall unite it with history, but on the score of pleasure as well as profit. I think there is something very alluring in a landscape painter’s life.

His landscape sketches played a decisive part in the origins of his history paintings. He would hang these sketches about his studio walls where, seeing them together, accidental associations would form in his mind which would suggest subjects for paintings. Writing about

1. Eastlake to Harman (loc.cit., p. 34, n.4).
3. Eastlake to Harman (loc.cit., p. 34, n.4).
4. "The impression I wished to produce [in the Paris and Mercury] is a poetical feeling and an idea of a country and beings remote from our ordinary conceptions yet true. In the landscape I believe I may have attained this and perhaps in the conception of the figures, but as their execution has fallen for short of my own ideas I cannot expect others to be more indulgent." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 7 March 1820 (Plymouth).
this method of working to his patron, Eastlake said: "This mode of study is more valuable to me, as it is my own and original, and Sir Thomas Lawrence said of his own accord that he thought it was the best possible practice."¹

Single landscape sketches could also be used directly. The sketch for Lord Guildford's Temple of Erechtheus was considered a suitable background for a painting of Niobe and her children, planned in 1819 but perhaps never completed. A sketch of the Parthenon ruins offered material for his scene from Byron's Dream and also for Marius in the Ruins of Carthage.² Eastlake's reputation as a history painter as well as a landscape painter was, thus, founded on his early landscape sketches.

Both J.M.W. Turner and the German painter J.A. Koch, who, as Dr. John Gage has pointed out in an article in The Burlington Magazine entitled "Turner's Academic Friendships: C.L. Eastlake",³ were in Rome at the same time as Eastlake, also favoured a union of landscape with history. Turner's Liber Studiorum, published in numbers from 1807-1819 and Koch's Moderne Kunstchronik (1834) made known their

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¹ "I have brought home about 60 oil studies from Poli and Tivoli; these and the rest cover the walls of my painting room. These scenes first of all suggest subjects; next from seeing them together combinations are furnished by accident which one could not otherwise think of. This mode of study is more valuable to me, as it is my own and original, and Sir T. Lawrence said of his own accord that he thought it was the best possible practice. The way in which single sketches can be applied is the more obvious and equally useful way of using these. The last two Grecian sketches I have are the ruined part of the Parthenon and the Temple of Erechtheus, the latter I am to make a picture of - but I have also thought of it for the background of a picture of Niobe which I hope to paint. The other will first serve for Lord Balgonie's picture. It would also do admirably for Marius in the ruins of Carthage and for a scene from Lord Byron's "Dream" which I wish to paint." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 21 Sept. 1819 (Plymouth).

² Ibid.

views. Was Eastlake's outlook formed therefore in association with either of these artists in Rome?

Turner is at first sight a likely influence, for the correspondence which has emerged recently from Plymouth Art Gallery confirms Dr. Gage's surmise that Turner met Eastlake in Rome in 1819. Eastlake told Mr. Harman in January 1820 that they had seen a good deal of each other and that Turner had been "very kind" to him. However, the correspondence establishes also that the acquaintance ripened only after Eastlake had fixed on his way of composing history paintings from landscape studies. The full description of this practice, with the claim that it was his own, was written to his patron on 21 September before Turner's arrival in Rome, an event A.J. Finberg puts nearer the middle of the next month. In March 1820, his independent outlook was once more asserted. "I have made up my mind that poetry more exclusively belongs to landscape than to figures ... I have followed the art long enough to find out what my own feeling is and it is only by following that that I can hope to make others feel." Turner, a copy of whose Liber Studiorum Eastlake tried to secure in 1822, may have crystallized Eastlake's views on history painting. But it is as well to remember what the realities of the encounter in 1819 were likely to be: Eastlake, at the height of his enthusiasm for landscape painting, albeit uneasy that he was not painting more history, was much in Turner's company during the few weeks when Turner

1. "Mr. Turner, the painter has been here lately. I was a good deal with him and he was very kind to me." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, (loc.cit., p.35, n.5).
2. See p. 36, n. 1.
produced innumerable sketches of the countryside around Rome.  

Turner's visit, therefore, may have mainly acted as a stimulant to Eastlake's current career as a landscape painter. The latter first described himself outright to his patron as a landscape painter in the same letter in which he referred to his meeting with Turner.  

Certainly, too, Eastlake's landscape painting did continue with vigour after the visit, while his history painting was about to enter its most dormant period.  

Equally, the early formation of Eastlake's views, claimed as his own, also renders unlikely a strong association between him and J.A. Koch in their development.  

Eastlake reflected much about the colour and light effects of his history painting. The Paris and Mercury was painted in a dark and solemn manner which Eastlake then considered proper for a history painting and best represented by Guercino. The vogue for the seventeenth century Bolognese painters amongst travellers in Italy at the time caused the independent-minded Thomas Uwins to exclaim:  

"All the world seems captivated by [Bologna]; and the great authority in criticism, Mr. Hazlitt, told me in Rome, 'Sir, I patronize Guido'."

Eastlake's devotion to Guercino lessened after the Paris and Mercury was painted. But he still held that history subjects called

2. See pp.35; 36.  
3. See D. Clifford, Water-colours of the Norwich School (1863), p. 27.  
5. "It [i.e. the Paris and Mercury] is darkly painted and since I painted it I have again changed my mind on that subject. I then thought although I was ashamed to confess it that Guercino's style was perfection." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 7 March 1820 (Plymouth).  
for a dark colour range, to the dismay of Sir Thomas Lawrence who was sorry to hear that the Italian sun was winning no studies in light effects from Eastlake. Copies of Rubens, hung on his studio walls to catch the southern light, would aptly counsel him, Sir Thomas hastened to say. Stereotyped history subjects distressed the older painter as much as conventional colour schemes: Eastlake was further advised to avoid "every facile subject from Isaiah to Milton".¹

By the summer of 1822, Eastlake had renounced his heavy style of painting, and the Venetian system of colour and light had begun to win his heart enduringly. He was then reading Ticozzi's book on Titian published in 1817.² Surprisingly, Eastlake did not visit Venice until 1828.³ A visit planned for 1821 may have been postponed through his father's death.

Eastlake observed how the absence of shadow, the main difference between the light of Italy and that of home, had been reproduced by the Venetian painters, so that the clear blue of their skies and seas became the darkest part of their paintings. Eastlake now lightened his palette accordingly.⁴ But he was concerned, with good cause as Uwins was to be,⁵ that his "Italian" palette would seem artificial at home. The high, sharp colours of much of the Italianate work of the 1820 group in Rome, to be seen for example in the Victoria and Albert

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5. See p. 112.
Museum,¹ can still puzzle English eyes.

The Champion (plate 6), a life-size work now in the City Art Gallery, Birmingham, was the first substantial history painting done by Eastlake on his return to that field. Acquired by Mr. Hutchinson, it declared Eastlake's new devotion to Venetian light effects.

Benjamin Haydon, his old master, was among the first to comment on Eastlake's new style.² The scene on which it is based is probably a view near Calabria where Eastlake spent some time in 1824,³ the year the painting was completed.

The Champion was followed by Isadas, the Spartan (plate 7) in 1826, a subject taken from Plutarch's Life of Agelisaus. This painting, which was commissioned by the Duke of Devonshire, won Eastlake the Associateship of the Royal Academy. Now in a private apartment at Chatsworth, the style speaks of Poussin. Eastlake's knowledge of that artist had already enabled him to contribute to Maria Callcott's Memoirs of the Life of Nicolas Poussin (1820).⁴ Eastlake's contribution is unidentifiable.

Eastlake gave The Isadas a classical air by means of the architecture and costume. Originality was not aimed at in the figures, "battles have been painted so often", but in the composition and in the costume, which was also introduced for its colour harmonies.⁵

The Isadas was a triumphant success when put on view in his studio,

¹ Thus Edward D. Malins, in his Samuel Palmer's Italian Honeymoon (1968), refers to the "baneful influence on Northerners of those hot, clear skies and high tones" (p.63).

² C. and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.105.


⁴ Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 21 Sept. 1819 (Plymouth).

which for the first time he opened to the public following a custom amongst artists in Rome.¹

He next, and at last, finished his Byron's Dream (plate 2). The theme, taken from Canto IV of the poem, depicts the hero wandering in a strange land of dreams. It was a subject of poetical fantasy like the Paris and Mercury, and Eastlake first decided to paint it after completing that work.² Byron's Dream was noticeably required to give the effect which Eastlake had striven for, but felt he had not attained, in his Paris and Mercury: "A poetical feeling and an idea of a country and beings remote from our ordinary conceptions, yet true."³

But the small, mysterious landscape of Byron's Dream, with unobtrusive figures which achieved the effect, must have contrasted strongly with the life-size,⁴ dark-toned Paris and Mercury. Byron's Dream, therefore, must be one of the first, if not the first, history painting in which Eastlake abandoned his heavy colour range and united landscape with history to produce a poetical effect.

Eastlake had failed in his effort to finish Byron's Dream in the summer of 1820.⁵ While the Parthenon sketch already supplied some details of the scene, a suitable landscape was not found until

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1. C. and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.111.

2. See above p. 28, n.1, for evidence that the Paris and Mercury was completed by April 1819, and p.36 , n.1 for the evidence that Byron's Dream was in Eastlake's mind in Sept. 1819. Then, in August 1820 Eastlake wrote to Harman: "I am still about Lord Byron's dream which must be Lord Leven's picture, and when I send it, it will be accompanied by some sketches for you." (Plymouth)


4. C. and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.70.

5. See n.2 above.
Eastlake's 1824 stay near Naples. Then, the hills round the bay, by their similarity to Greek landscape, appeared right for the painting.\(^1\) Even so, although the landscape was now sufficiently advanced to win the admiration of C. [Armitage] Brown in The Examiner,\(^2\) once again the painting was laid aside for four years. It returned to Eastlake's easel in 1828 for completion when the painter wound up his work on hand on the eve of a visit to England.\(^3\)

Apparently, Byron's Dream was ill received in some way when it went on exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1829. Eastlake was sorry afterwards that, contrary to his wishes, the painting had appeared for it was "in great part an early work".\(^4\) Further evidence of a cool reception might be read into Lady Eastlake's remark that The Pilgrims, exhibited the year before in 1828, won her husband full membership of the Academy in the year after Byron's Dream was exhibited.\(^5\) Moreover, J.M.W. Turner's letter of congratulations on the honour suggests that Eastlake had recently been disturbed by comments of some kind.\(^6\)

The subject of Una delivering the Red Cross Knight from the Cave of Despair (plate \(g\)) was painted during 1828 for Sir John Soane, a patron who tried Eastlake's patience sorely. Asking for a small canvas, he delayed stating whether the measurements suggested (76.2 cm x 53 cm) were small enough. Eastlake, therefore, commenced work on a painting

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3. "I have made Lord Leven's landscape the winding up of my labours here for the present. I hope to be in London towards the latter end of April," Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 13 March 1828 (Plymouth).
4. "The picture which I told you was not to be exhibited, \textit{was} exhibited, after all, much to my regret, for it was in great part an early work." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 14 July 1829 (Plymouth). "The picture" must be Byron's Dream for it was Eastlake's sole exhibit in the R.A. in 1829, while he exhibited nothing at the British Institution that year.
which, as a safeguard, he endeavoured to make even smaller. Problems arising from the composition and from the complexity of the allegory were increased by minuteness. 1

In December 1828, after many trials, Eastlake was hopeful that the work might at last go well, but he still had not heard from Sir John Soane. 2 In 1829, Turner brought Eastlake the news that Sir John regretted having given the commission. Turner, who had discussed the matter with Mr. Harman before leaving England, offered Eastlake whatever consolation lay in learning that he also had been a victim of Sir John's caprice. Eastlake, with angry dignity, asked his patron to release Sir John from any obligation to take the painting. 3 But Turner learnt from conversation with Sir John on his return to England that he was still interested in the painting. Turner acquainted Eastlake of this in a letter which, while recommending Mr. Harman's qualities as an intermediary, passed on the tip that Sir John would like to hear from Eastlake directly. 4 If the next steps are unknown, the sequel to them is made apparent by 1830. Then, the painting was in Sir John's possession, and Eastlake himself was meeting with considerable diplomacy the news that the size of the painting still did not give satisfaction. He suggested that as compensation for its dimensions, the high composition, unique for this subject, might be thought to display most effectively the moment when Una descends the steps from

1. In fact, the measurements of the final painting do not differ significantly from the original ones.


Eastlake's concern over Soane's conduct was amply justified. He was burdened with commissions pressing to be completed. Most of them were for landscapes or genre scenes, which he was particularly anxious to complete because in 1827 and also in 1829 he had resolved yet again to paint only history subjects. In 1827, he wrote to his patron: "I am now winding up my concerns in order to pay a visit to England next year, about the summer, and I shall hope to return here to be an historical painter and nothing else."²

His landscape painting was to continue, however, for he now defined history painting as any kind of "elevated" subject and he defined landscape as "elevated".³ That branch of art had, therefore, advanced in his own esteem since the early days in Rome when its attraction had seemed only the appeal of the second best. His history painting had indeed remained centred on landscape. In his very last months in Rome, he was electing to paint Delilah's visit to Samson on the eve of his death because that was "a good subject for a landscape".⁴

The painting, possibly never completed, was intended for Mr. Harman. It is hard to believe that Mr. Harman may still have been waiting for the history subject promised thirteen years before.⁵ But some recompense might have been found for Eastlake's dilatoriness in


3. "In one of my last letters I said I hoped to return to Rome to be an historical painter only. I was sorry for this afterwards for I was afraid you might think it was directed against landscape, but by historical painting, I only meant elevated art of any kind." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 27 Dec. 1827 (Plymouth).


5. P.27.
in this direction by his performance as Mr Harman's buying agent in Rome. An antique bas relief, a candelabra, together with two pieces of sculpture by "Cippi", were among the acquisitions. Turner joined Bastlake in these activities in 1829, on behalf of Lord Egremont. British artists in Rome had combined art with business since the eighteenth century.

1. Bastlake gives an interesting account of the formalities of purchase:
   "A Committee is appointed to examine pieces of antiquity before exportation, and I declare that the government collections suffer no privations. This is generally a form, but on all such works exported there is a duty of 20% ad valorem. This law is so absurd that it is almost always evaded, by the acting individual of the committee fixing a nominal and low price on such things."
   Letter from C. Bastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 2 Feb. 1828 (Plymouth).

2. Unidentified.

Chapter 4

OTHER HISTORY PAINTERS, AND THE RISE OF
GENRE PAINTING AMONGST THEM

Almost all Eastlake's English colleagues in Rome went there
like him to paint history. Eight of the eleven English artists in
Enrico Keller's guidebook of 1824 were listed as history painters:
Atkins, Cook, Davis, Evans, Kirkup, Lane, Severn, and West.
Eastlake himself is listed as a landscape painter, in accordance with
his reputation at that time. So, too, was the unidentified Wood who,
however, must be dropped from the narrative along with Dessoulavy,
also described as a landscape painter, for lack of information about
them. For the same reason, West must also be abandoned.

Turning to the three latecomers who do not appear in Keller's
guidebook, William Bewick had been trained as a history painter
in Haydon's studio. Thomas Uwins, with a career as an eminently
successful book illustrator behind him, set out for Rome to try to
make a new reputation as a history painter. This leaves Penry
Williams, who is the one painter of the group definitely known to
have gone to Italy to paint landscape. The change in character of
the colony since the eighteenth century, when landscape painting
was the main activity of the artists, is noteworthy.

1. P. 2 above.
3. "You know my principal object in coming here was to paint a large
   historic picture - I had brought three scripture sketches out
   with me - [but] one from Spenser is chosen." Letter from T. Uwins
   (See Appendix 3: Extracts from P. Williams' correspondence,
   letter no.3, par.2.).
5. See L. Herrmann, British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth
   Century (1973), Chapter III: "The Discovery of Italy".
At the time of the death\(^1\) of J.A. Atkins, the first of Keller's
history painters,\(^2\) his studio was on the round of those frequented by
visitors to Rome. W.B. Gladstone called in 1832 and saw a picture of
the Corpus Domini procession.\(^3\) This is an interesting clue to Atkins'
work in Rome, for, although he copied and studied the old masters,\(^4\) other
interests besides "high" art had apparently claimed his attention. In
fact, no references to his own history painting have been found. But
paintings with titles like \textit{Italian Lacemaker}, \textit{The Cobbler} and \textit{Head of
a Greek Girl} have been in private ownership in Belfast, where all his
Italian work was auctioned in 1835.\(^5\) It is possible therefore that
Atkins is one of those Anglo-Roman artists who started to paint genre
scenes of Italian life with such success that their history painting
ceased altogether or fell into second place. This change in the
nature of the work done by the \textit{English} colony is so pronounced that
by 1830 it could no longer be described with any accuracy as a colony
of history painters.

Richard Cook had established himself in London as a landscape
and history painter, exhibiting at the Royal Academy exhibitions
between 1808 and 1822, and becoming an Associate member in 1816. He
must then have been a young artist of some promise: Farington
thought it worthwhile to record in his journal the pros and cons

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1. \(P.3\) above.

2. Biographical details of artists discussed in this chapter are taken
from the dictionaries listed in the Bibliography, unless otherwise
stated.

3. "Gibson took us to Mr Atkins's studio in the Corso, where we saw
an admirable portrait of him - a picture of the Corpus Domini
Foot (1968- ), vol.1, p.461.

4. W.G. Strickland, \textit{A Dictionary of Irish Artists} (1913), 2 vols, for
the only detailed dictionary account of Atkins.

5. \textit{Ibid.} Tracing these paintings during the present civic disturbance
in Belfast has not been attempted.
of a plan Cook had to go to Rome in 1816. 1 However, when eventually
he arrived in Rome in 1823, 2 he failed to develop his career as a
history painter. He did not exhibit at the Royal Academy after 1822.
In later years, he turned to book illustrations, eventually giving
up painting altogether to live on his private means.

J.P. Davis began exhibiting portraits at the Royal Academy in
1811 and continued to do so until 1844. He went to Rome in 1819,
but there is no record of his work there until 1824 when his portrait
of Pope Pius VII was exhibited at the Royal Academy. His painting
of the Pope blessing the Talbot family, now missing, was exhibited
in 1828 in the British Institution and was highly regarded by contem-
poraries. Apparently a very large work, it contained portraits of
Roman celebrities such as John Gibson and Canova. Davis' personal
friendship with Canova resulted in a study entitled Canova crowned
by the Genius of Grecian Sculptor. A later painting followed on
the same high note: The Meeting of Scott, Byron and Napoleon in
the Shades. Both are untraced.

These two paintings are the nearest Davis came to achieving a
reputation as a history painter in Rome. On the other hand, in 1826,
the year when his painting of Canova hung in the Royal Academy, the
British Institution exhibited a very different type of painting: a
Roman scene entitled The Love-Letter, a Contadina (of Frascati)
dictating to one of the Scribes, who ply in the Streets of Rome.
A noteworthy reference in Bryans' dictionary described that painting,
now missing, as the best known of Davis' works. On his return home,
Davis exhibited thirteen paintings between 1828-1844 at the British

1. The Farington Diary, by J. Farington, R.A. Ed. J. Greig
   (1922-28), vol.VIII, p.100.
2. P. 17, n.1 above.
Institution, all of which were genre scenes. During that period his exhibits at the Royal Academy amounted to three portraits, a painting of an infant Bacchus, and a view of St. Peter's, Rome.

Davis' transfer from history painting to genre painting was decisive, but little or nothing is known about his reasons for it. Later in life he gave up painting and took to writing about art. He dealt with general themes, on a polemical note, which cast no light on his own career as a painter.¹

Richard Evans' copies of Raphael's frescoes, commissioned by John Nash, later formed in his house in Regent Street what was known as "Nash's Gallery" which London art lovers of the time used to visit.² The Victoria and Albert Museum now holds some of these copies. Evans remained on in Rome for many years - exactly how many is unknown - after completing Nash's commission.

The apparently common place activity of copying had acquired in the nineteenth century a new importance in the eyes of visitors to Italy as they observed the alarming state of decay of the original works. Sir Thomas Lawrence, writing home in 1819 about the Sistine Chapel and the rooms of Raphael, lamented because "all, in too many parts in them, is ruin and decay."³ For this reason, Charles [Armitage] Brown in his survey in 1824 of the work of the Anglo-Romans specially commended Joseph Severn for copying Raphael's School of Athens full scale, an unprecedented undertaking apparently.

¹. Facts of vital Importance Relative to the Embellishment of the Houses of Parliament, appeared in 1843; The Royal Academy and the National Gallery appeared in 1858; and Thoughts on Great Painters in 1866.


"I hope", he commented, "that all the frescoes in the Vatican may with as skilful hands be preserved in copies - for alas! the originals are decaying fast. We have not, strange as it may appear, even good engravings of them."\(^1\) As late as 1858, Richard Redgrave, while outspoken about the trumpery imitations of the works of the great masters which he saw around him during an Italian tour, still pleaded for good copies to hasten to record the fast disappearing frescoes.\(^2\)

Thus, William Bewick regarded his copying in the Sistine Chapel as a dignified and worthwhile undertaking because his work could eventually constitute a valuable historical record. Sir Thomas Lawrence sent him to Rome in 1825 to copy, initially, the Delphic Sybil. He followed Bewick's efforts with the knowledge of an expert and the alertness of a man determined to obtain only the best. Bewick was in the process of completing a further commission to copy all the prophets and sybys when Sir Thomas Lawrence's death brought the project to an end. In 1853 Bewick turned down a request from America that the copies should be exhibited there, partly because he believed that no other similar copies would be made and he had received reports of a further decay in the originals. Bewick's copies are now lost.\(^3\)

Seymour Kirkup had entered the Royal Academy in 1809. In 1811 he won a gold medal for drawing in the antique school. He left for Rome around 1816. He was there for a number of years, but by the

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late 1820s, he had moved to Florence. He remained there until 1872 when he moved to Leghorn, where he died.

A sound reputation had followed him to Rome in 1816: The Literary Gazette welcomed his name amongst those who were taking responsibility for the British Academy of Arts in Rome in 1823. He had been a close friend of William Blake, and in Italy continued to move in gifted literary circles.

In 1824, Charles [Armitage] Brown found him at work on two history paintings, *Juliet being awakened by her Nurse* and *Mary Magdalen purchasing the precious Ointment*. In 1833, he exhibited in the Royal Academy Cassio, "Madam, I'll take my Leave". These and any other paintings by which Kirkup's history painting in Rome might be known are now missing. His record as a history painter in Rome follows the same course as many of his colleagues: his work was not sustained and his energies were applied to other fields. In his case, a study of Dante consumed his thoughts for many years. Some of the illustrations in Lord Vernon's edition of Dante's work are by him. They have become a more enduring testimony to this interest than his well-known recovery of a portrait of Dante from the walls of the Palazzo del Podestà, since scholars have not upheld Kirkup's attribution of that painting to Giotto.

A sketch of John Gibson, done in 1821, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (plate 9), indicates the sensitive talent which Kirkup's friends hoped would mature in Rome.

If Lane's efforts at history painting, already discussed, seem painfully sterile, the early career of Joseph Severn throws some light on the pressure a young artist of this period might be under to struggle on to succeed with his history painting. Severn was

enjoying a considerable reputation as a painter of miniatures in London when, around 1817, he decided to compete for the Royal Academy gold medal as a means of advancing his prospects. The Academy's awards fell only to those artists who could excel in history painting, so for the first time Severn turned to that branch of art. The Royal Academy "set" the subject. The number and size of the figures to appear in the painting was laid down, as indeed was the exact size of the painting. Severn therefore worked for a Cross year on a theme from Spenser's Faerie Queen, "Una and the Red Knight in the Cave of Despair", after which time the artist declared himself personally acquainted with that particular cave. But he won the gold medal.

In Rome, while nursing Keats in the weeks before his death, Severn worked on The Death of Alcibiades, by which he won the travelling scholarship. When the painting was temporarily lost on its way to the Royal Academy, his friend, Charles [Armitage] Brown, seized the opportunity to expostulate on the folly of trying to please the Royal Academy: "Over and over again have I to Keats lamented your reliance on a band of Academicians ... in preference to the pursuit of the art on your own account, independently, and at freedom from all conventional laws."¹

But Severn "felt bound to study academically", although his "passion" by then was for "Italian Pastoral nature", as he expressed

In any case, he was required to submit a further history painting to the Royal Academy as evidence of progress. Greek Hill-shepherds rescuing a Lamb from an Eagle (untraced), a subject from Keats' Endymion, was accordingly dispatched to London. At the same time, he painted Alexander the Great reading Homer (untraced), which was a little larger than life-size. He was planning an even larger work. "You see my dear Brown", he wrote in answer to his friend, "it will be expected from me to paint a grand Historical picture - whilst I am here - with the £500 [the scholarship money] I can do it." Possibly reassured by his success with the Academicians, he was in good heart about this and other history painting projects in 1822.

His enthusiasm did not last. Although the Greek Hill-Shepherds satisfied the Royal Academy, Severn regarded both it and the Homer as failures. By 1823, when the Royal Academy could no longer direct his work, he had begun to paint from "Italian Pastoral nature". His first major painting of Italian life, The Vintage, marked the beginning of a successful career in Rome which had eluded him as a history painter.

1. "My passion was Italian Pastoral nature, but I felt bound to study academically and I began an Alexander reading Homer and also [sic] from Keats Ode to Pan ... Both these works were failures for I had no turn for the? [word beginning "Class..."] but rather a turn away from them and my Italian Vintage was successful." "My Tediuous Life" (1873), J. Severn, p.32 (unpublished ms., Harvard University).

2. Letter from J. Severn to C.A. Brown, Rome, 22 Jan. 1822 (Stillinger, op.cit., no.37, pp.94-97).

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. n.l above

6. See Chapter VI below.
In a similar fashion, Thomas Uwins, while he worked in Rome on his history painting, started to paint contemporary subjects. A half-life size study of a girl from Gensano attracted the English colony in Rome to his studio for the first time, while his history painting laboured heavily on his hands. He finally abandoned that painting and set off for Naples, certain he would be compelled to leave there for home with little or nothing accomplished in Italy. But at Naples he built up an entirely new reputation, one upon which his subsequent career back in England was founded, by painting contemporary scenes. He postponed repeatedly his return to England to do so. No further history painting was attempted by him in Italy.

By 1827, Penry Williams had ceased to paint only landscape and was also working on scenes from everyday life, with which he eventually earned a European reputation.

Eastlake was the fourth member of the 1820 group to make a reputation with Italian genre paintings. He crowned his career in Italy through a genre painting when his Pilgrims arriving in Sight of Rome (plate 10) won him full membership of the Royal Academy.

Obviously, the activities of the Nazarenes in Rome at this time had done nothing to stimulate the English group of history painters to new endeavours. Whatever William Dyce's association with them amounted to during his two stays in Rome in the 1820s, if there was

1. "I have painted a half-length study of a peasant girl of Gensano, in her village costume, which has excited some attention here. It has led to my becoming acquainted with some distinguished people." Additional note to letter from T. Uwins to Z. Uwins, Rome, 2 Feb. 1825 (S. Uwins, op.cit., vol.I, p.246).

2. "I have abandoned the idea of painting the large historical painting for which I had made preparatory studies." Letter from T. Uwins to Z. Uwins, Rome, 10 April 1825 (S. Uwins, op.cit., vol.I, p.247).

3. See Chapter 6 below.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
one of significance, the resident English artists as a whole found the Nazarenes' outlook alien to them. And, it may be presumed that no conscious derivations from the German artists would be found in their work, even if more had survived for examination. They certainly did not bring wholly sympathetic accounts of the Nazarenes back to England with them.

David Wilkie, when he was in Italy, and of course Charles Eastlake later were prepared to follow the Nazarenes in their revival of fresco work, but they repudiated their art theories. Wilkie's comment when he saw the Nazarenes' work in 1825 runs as follows:

They have not hit the mark: their style, wanting so much of modern embellishment cannot now be popular, and can neither be admired nor followed as Pietro Perugino and Ghirlandaio were in that early day... With all this, however, in our country ... why not try to revive the art of fresco?²

Eastlake's opinion is contained in a discussion about his personal interest in classical themes:

I see more in the beauty and simplicity of a classical dream than in the less plastic and less picturesque materials of my own faith.... I cannot help thinking with respect to history painting that all the machinery of the Art - the picturesque - has little to do with Christianity, the purity of which is better expressed by the early Italian painters and present German painters, than by Venice, France and England.²

Thomas Uwins, spare as usual with elaborate comment but rich in perception, foresaw in 1825 that the Nazarenes would play a considerable part in contemporary art, but he did so with total detachment as though cross references between English and Nazarene painters in Italy were neither known to him or anticipated by him.³

2. C. and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.100.
Chapter 5

THE BACKGROUND IN ENGLAND AND ITALY TO THE
GENRE PAINTING OF THE 1820 COLONY

The only British precedents of significance to the genre paintings of the 1820 colony were works by David Allan. At the Royal Academy exhibition of 1777, for example, he exhibited *An Italian Shepherd Boy*, *A Neapolitan Girl* and *A Family Giving Alms to a Hermit on the Islands of Procida*. All are untraced. But it is, in any case, through his tinted drawings, which caricature evening amusements in Rome and Naples in the 1760s, now in Glasgow Art Gallery, that his interest in Italian life found its best known expression.1

Henry Howard's *Peasants Returning from a Holiday in the Vineyard at Subiaco* (plate 11), exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1808, looks at first sight like a successor to Allan's genre paintings. Mannered in style and costume, however, its contrived rusticity would appear to have much in common with some of the work of Opie, in whose circle Howard moved. Equally, the lapse of fifteen years between Howard's Italian visit and the appearance of the painting increases the likelihood that it is a studio effort done at home.2 Genuine successors to David Allan might have appeared if the Napoleonic wars had not intervened. But, in the event, eighteenth-century Continental landscape painters led the way towards the nineteenth-century Italian genre movement, which the British artists then found flourishing when they arrived in the 1820s.

Their patrons gave them every encouragement to join it. For


2. Biographical notes on Howard from *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, revised and enlarged by G.C. Williamson (1904).
the general taste for genre amongst British art lovers in the nineteenth century was quickened for those who travelled to Italy by Italian contemporary life, which they were now insisting on enjoying as much as the sights of the Grand Tour. Moreover, the transition from history painting to genre is less startling than might appear. Disparate as these two branches of art were, the skills in figure painting and composition acquired through history painting were exactly those required in genre painting. On the other hand, the mantle of honour pertaining to history painting fell less easily on genre painting. Around this fact much of the history of British genre painting in Italy turns.

(1737-1807)
J.P. Hackert was chief amongst the eighteenth century landscape artists in Italy who laid the foundations for nineteenth century Italian genre. Massimo d'Azeglio, the Italian statesman who, beginning his life as an art student in Rome in 1814, had a special knowledge of the Roman art world of the early nineteenth century, has explained that J.P. Hackert wished to replace the mannered style of eighteenth-century landscape painting, derived particularly from Claude Lorrain's work, with a new "meticulous realism". Hackert, d'Azeglio goes on, was one of the first to apply the theory, "apparently so simple but in fact so often denied, namely that art is the portrait of nature, and as you can't paint a portrait without knowing the original, you must study nature and, so far as possible, keep it in your mind". Hackert was born in Prenzlou in 1737, and trained at the Berlin Academy where he based much of his study on the work of Claude Lorrain, Svanevelt and Berchem. In 1768 he was in Rome, following a period sketching in Normandy, to begin his highly successful Italian career which culminated in his appointment as court painter to King Ferdinand IV of

Naples in 1782. ¹

The school of landscape painters founded by Hackert, which flourished for the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, included Giambattista Bassi (1784-1852, Italian), Pierre Chauvin (1774-1832, French), Simon Denis (1755-1813, French), Abraham Therlinck (1776-1857, Flemish), and Martin Verstappen (1773-1853, Flemish). ² The influence of Hackert's outlook on the technique of his followers was striking, according to d'Azeglio. Previously a studio based enterprise, landscapes were now composed out of doors right up to the completion of the work. D'Azeglio brings out the novelty of this while discussing the work of his own master, Martin Verstappen, who would live for three or four months each summer in the country studying from nature "like a beginner". ³ D'Azeglio followed Verstappen's example, learning to complete full size landscape canvases on the site. He claimed to have eliminated "the forced contrasts of mannered art" which studio studies produced. ⁴

Amidst the new observation of the realities of the countryside, a new attention to the life going on there was soon apparent. Of hitherto course ⁵/ diminutive figures were often found scattered about landscapes, engaging in some country pursuit in much the same way as small figures appear in strictly classical landscapes of the eighteenth century. J.P. Hackert's Landscape, Ruins and River Scene (plate 11) of 1768 is an example.

1. Thieme-Becker.
3. "Although he was an experienced artist and a man of about fifty he used to spend three or four months every summer studying from nature like a beginner." Ibid., p.155.
4. "I followed most scrupulously the precepts of this school ... I painted from nature on fairly large canvases, trying to finish a nature study on the site, without adding a brushstroke at home ... Finishing at the site, as one would finish a picture in the studio, helps one to scrutinize and fill in the background by simple natural means, not with the forced contrasts of mannered art." Ibid., p. 161.
But these figures, or "staffage", are frequently only clearly discernible to the straining eye, and the composition can well be conceived without them. Martin Verstappen’s *A Roadside Chapel between Albano and Ariccia* (plate 13) shows the country people and their life becoming a focus of interest, although they are still not studied in detail.

Key evidence that by 1800 they could be considered of central importance appears when Bartolomeo Pinelli (1781-1835), the engraver, was employed in that year by the Swiss landscape painter, J. Kaisermann (1765-1833), to assist him in painting costumed figure groups for his landscapes. Pinelli stayed with Kaisermann for six years,¹ gaining experience for producing later his own "costume" prints which, circulating widely, did much to create on the Continent and in England an interest in Italian genre.

But Léopold Robert (1794-1835), the Swiss painter, was the first nineteenth-century artist to win widespread recognition for oil paintings of Italian genre scenes. Conspicuously dressing his subjects in their native costume and granting them some lively action, he faded out the landscape background for all purposes except that of providing a compositional framework which indicates that his people are from the Italian countryside (plates 14 and 15).

The first of his genre paintings were produced in 1819 in quite distinctive circumstances. / Pope Pius VII, being determined to rid the Papal States of brigandage, uprooted the inhabitants of Sonnino, whose lawlessness was notorious, and brought whole families

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into captivity in Rome. Léopold Robert obtained permission from the governor of Rome to paint these country people and their families, whose appearance in costume was totally new to the outside world.

Maria Grazia, the wife of one of these brigands, became a leading model of much repute. In the 1860s, nearing sixty and now wearing modern dress, she gave her own story of her first encounter with the Roman artists to a French traveller, who had sought out in Sonnino these ex-prisoners of the Pope whom the artists had by then made famous.

She explained that when they were held in Rome:

Fine people were always coming to see us and the artists would come to paint us. That is how I started to pose for M. Schnetz and my sister for M. Robert. It's my sister playing the tambourine in his painting of the Madonna of the arc. As for me, I posed thousands of times in my costume.

1. "His holiness being convinced that ... the greater number of the banditti who have infested the provinces have been natives of Sonnino ... is come to the determination of ordering that all the inhabitants of the township of Sonnino shall be removed and placed in other situations and that the said town shall be destroyed." Extract from edict of Pope Pius VII. See Maria Graham, Three Months in the Mountains East of Rome (1820), appendix 1, for whole edict.

and I was told that my face was in the churches and palaces of your country.¹

Her husband was put in prison but "he was also allowed to pose for the painters, and he earned a little money".

Léopold Robert spent several months painting his novel subjects and was then faced with the problem of finding a public to view his work. For this he needed, but lacked, an introduction to the wealthy visitors in Rome. A fellow artist came to his rescue by introducing him to a Colonel de la Marre, a French resident in Rome, who liked his paintings and spread the news about them to his friends.

He held an exhibition in 1820 which was attended by the Duchess of Devonshire who subsequently commissioned a painting from him.

From then his genre scenes went from success to success in a Roman art world hiterto dominated by the classicism of Ingres and Camuccini.²

Robert explained that part of his joy in his success and some of the incentive to continue painting them lay in the freedom from dependence on benefactors which they won for him.³

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2. Information from F. de Conches, Léopold Robert (1848).

3. "J'avais contracté une dette considérable avec ma famille, et une autre avec M. de Roulet. J'n'eus pas de repos avant qu'elles ne fussent entièrement acquittées. C'est pour cette raison que je fis une grande quantité de petits tableaux qui m'en facilitèrent les moyens, plutôt que d'autres où j'aurais peut-être acquis davantage." E.-J. Delécluze, op.cit., p.20.
While Léopold Robert's genre paintings were winning accord in Rome, Bartolomeo Pinelli was producing his prints of Italian genre scenes. He called them "costume" prints, publishing his first collection in 1809 and making use of the knowledge he had acquired while employed by Kaisermann. Costume prints were not new: Mission's travel book, first published in 1688, which along with Keysler's and Nugent's were commonly used by eighteenth-century travellers, was illustrated with costumes from foreign places. What was heralded as novel was the way Pinelli, a fluent draughtsman, showed the wearers of the costume engaged in some day-to-day activity which is named in a caption and is more telling than the costume itself, although the prints continue to be called only by that now misleading title.

Pinelli's subjects work in the vineyards, dance when the vine harvest is saved, stop to watch a chained bear in the street, buy chestnuts, play the betting game "gioco di Morra", hunt wild animals, quarrel among themselves and are preached to from a public pulpit. They kneel in penitence before a wayside shrine, are curious about a hermit and his dwelling; they gather about a mendicant monk with alms and are found heralding advent with music before the Madonna.

By 1815, these scenes began to make their way to England when four prints from his Raccolta di cinquanta costumi pittoreschi were used by Henry Coxe to illustrate his new guidebook to Italy. Coxe

1. Raccolta di Cinquanta costumi pittoreschi incisi all' Acqua forte da B. Pinelli (1809).

2. "Impertanto i disegni che andavano levando fama del suo nome, fecero che mal potesse soffrire di accomodarsi al poco quadragno che Keiserman (sic) porgevagli; per cui venutosene a noia non più gli presto l'opera sua la richerca che da molti si faceva del Custodi e delle strane fantasie da lui disegnate lo indussero ad incidere all' acquaforte, con poca macchia pittoresca od a contorne, modo che pescia ritenne sempre." C. Falconieri, op.cit., p.8.

advised readers who wished to have a memorial of the costumes of the Roman people to procure the etchings of Pinelli, "a living artist of the first celebrity".  

There is no implication in this recommendation that Coxe sees that the importance of the costume prints might now lie in the scenes they depict, and, indeed, the four chosen are not the most vivid, indicating that he did not wholly do so. Nevertheless, Coxe claims very particularly that his guide gives descriptions of the common life of the Italian people, so that illustrations, recommendations and text, taken together are straws in the wind indicating that English eyes are being turned towards Italian contemporary life.

In 1820, when Maria Graham (later Lady Calcott), in her book Three Months passed in the Mountains East of Rome during the Year 1819, refers to Pinelli's "spirited etchings" of the Saltarella dance, she apparently did not find any preliminary introduction to him necessary.


2. "The returning peace having induced so many persons again to visit Italy, a Picture of that interesting country, as it is, cannot fail of being acceptable to the public, and more particularly, as there is no similar work on the subject in existence. Most of our books of travels are written rather to amuse the indolent, than instruct the active; and those few which contain actual information, are either too voluminous or too defective to be of any use ... The plan of the following guide embraces the usual grand tour of Italy, and is fully developed in our Introduction ... Besides our notices of antiquities and curiosities, the general reader will, doubtless, find much amusement in perusing the sketches of manners, society, peculiar customs, and religious ceremonies; as well as an account of the trade, commerce, manufactures, and natural productions of this favoured country. Here also will be seen all the valuable parts of an Itinerary, without its dryness; such as distances in posts and English miles, time in performing the journey, cross-roads, best inns, etc." Ibid. Introduction.

3. Following the death of her first husband, Captain Thomas Graham, R.N., Maria married Augustus Wall Calcott in 1827. For information about her, see R.B. Gotch, Maria, Lady Calcott (1937)

4. "The dance, the Roman Saltarella so well given in Pinelli's spirited etchings exhibited all the varieties of the bashful, the graceful, and the grotesque" (p.15).
In 1820 a collection of his prints was published in England, lithographed by Hullmandel, entitled "Roman costumes drawn from native by Pinelli and on stone by C. Hullmandel". He seems to have quickly attracted to himself the term "inimitable" for he appears in a diary by a traveller to Rome in 1822 as "Pinelli that inimitable and faithful delineator of Roman manners and Roman costume", and in 1830 Colnaghi's introduced his second English publication to his admirers with the title Pinelli's Five Last Days of the Carnival of Rome, in a series of five plates, drawn on the spot by that inimitable artist. The term "costume" print has now been dropped, and what Pinelli's English public obviously expect from him are genre scenes portrayed with immediacy and accuracy.

As with Léopold Robert, the Devonshires enter his life early in his career to commission in his case two oil paintings of Roman scenes. August patronage like this may have helped to move "costume" scenes out of the printmaker's provenance into that of the oil painter.

Pinelli's success in England would have been less assured, however, if the tide of interest in Italy had not been turning in the direction of his sort of subjects. This change of interest is evident from a glance at the travel books of the time and the reviews they were receiving, for both show the English admirers of his country laying aside their longstanding view of Italy merely as the territory, happily very picturesque, where the remains of classical civilization and the Renaissance might be found, and beginning to interest


2. They are untraced.
themselves in Italy "as it is". This is the phrase Coxe used in his guidebook. It was now repeated emphatically by successors to him in the field of travel literature.

Of course, the traditional view of the purpose of a visit to Italy continues to thrive and is still stated, sometimes in no uncertain terms. When R.C. Hoare, in his supplement to T.C. Bustace's renowned Classical Tour (first edition 1802), asks himself in the introduction why one should visit Italy, the reply is unequivocal:

The object particularly pointed out to us in Italy, is the recollection of former times, and a comparison of those times with the present; to restore to our minds the classical studies of our youth; to visit those places recorded in history as the residences of illustrious characters of antiquity, or rendered interesting by historical facts and anecdotes; to admire and reflect upon those remains of polished architecture and sculpture, which the hand of time has fortunately spared; and to trace the progress of painting, from the arid schools of Giotto and Cimabue, to the more perfect studies of Raphael, Correggio and the Caracci.1

Nevertheless, Hoare himself expressed astonishment that the interior of Italy should remain unknown, and on his second trip, with a knowledge now of the language enabling him to dispense with an interpreter, he left the beaten track to collect material for a guide book which would give a general description of Italy.2

1. R.C. Hoare, A Classical Tour through Italy and Sicily (1819), vol.1, p.8.

2. Hoare continues his introduction, as quoted in the text, with: "Such was the first tour undertaken by Mr Bustace in the year 1801; and such was my own at a preceding period .... With far different views, my second expedition to the Continent was undertaken, commenced, and terminated. Having gained a sufficient knowledge of the Italian language to enable me to interrogate without the aid of an interpreter, I quitted the road for the path, the capitals for the provinces, and proceeded with increased confidence, and I need not add with increased delight."
(Apparently, it was never written.)

But, indeed, amongst the public whom Gustave and Hoare addressed there were already many who regarded "the present" of value for more reasons than the opportunities it offered for comparisons with the past.

In 1806, The Edinburgh Review¹ adversely reviewed Lemaitre's Travels after the Peace of Amiens because it followed slavishly the convention of all travel books in dealing only with the antiquities cont....

"Whilst the more remote shores of Egypt, Greece, and India are visited and described, it is somewhat singular, that the interior of Italy should remain so little known, and so little frequented. From the native historians alone can we gain that information so necessary to the tourist, who ventures on an unbeaten track. A general description of Italy was much wanted, as a guide both to the old and the young traveller; none of any repute having been published since the travels of Keysler, Misson, and Nugent; for I cannot give implicit credit to the travels of Frenchmen, whose vivacity too frequently gets the better of fidelity." Ibid.

1. "Much of the knowledge chiefly wanted upon Italy, would present itself to an intelligent and industrious traveller, who went resolved to trust his own eyes, and procure his information more from observation and the intercourse of the natives, than from statistical works. The state of society - the character and manners of the people - the singular diversities observable in these particulars, both in different parts of the country, and in different ranks of the same community - the declining influence of the civil and ecclesiastical aristocracies - the real situation of the clergy - and the actual degree of superstition prevalent among the people:- all this might easily be learnt from a sufficient intercourse with the society of the various states. The effects which bad governments, and injurious systems of political economy have produced on the situation of different communities, might be illustrated with peculiar felicity in a country, where every kind of government, and every error in policy has flourished among various portions of the same race, in nearly the same physical circumstances, and geographical position, for several ages. The state of letters - the recent progress of arts and sciences, especially in the north of Italy - and the history of the academies which have, during the last half century, arisen there, forms another subject of interesting observation, which has never been handled by any writer of travels. The mere scenery and climate itself have not been described with sufficient liveliness and accuracy. The remains of antiquity; the fine arts; and the recollections associated with the soil, have engrossed, not unnaturally, almost all the attention of those who visited this fine country." Part of a review of J.G. Lemaitre's Travels after the Peace of Amiens, through parts of France, Switzerland, Italy and Germany (1806), by The Edinburgh Review, vol.8, 1806.
and fine arts of Italy. It could easily envisage a better account of that country: one based on knowledge acquired by personal encounters with the people of Italy and by the use of the writer's own eyes. The present state of society, the conduct and outlook of the people, the contrasts between the social ranks and between people of different localities should command his attention; so, too, should the contemporary arts and sciences, while even the climate and scenery still stood in need of accurate description.

Henry Coxe claimed to give such an account in his Picture of Italy. He assumed that there now existed in England Italiophiles who did not mind being referred to as "the general reader". To them, Coxe offered his sketches on the manners, society, customs, religious ceremonies, trade and commerce of the Italian people. Thus, a description of the "usual" grand tour was extended to embrace the passing world.¹

In 1818, The Edinburgh Review was still pleading for the account of Italy which it had sought in 1806, pointing out with much impatience that Henry Sass - of Sass's Art School - in his account of an Italian journey made in 1817 had failed to keep his promise in the introduction to describe contemporary Italy. This, said The Review, was a great pity because if he had enjoyed the opportunity of meeting the Italian people in their homes, he would have been the only foreigner recently to have done so.² Here one must recognize that

¹. P.63.


"Anything which could be mistaken for an account of the present state of society in Italy, we certainly have not been able to discover within the four corners of the tome ... If Mr Sass really enjoyed any opportunities of observing the state of Italian society by habits of intimacy in Italian houses, we will venture to say, first, that he is the only traveller who has recently had this good fortune; and, next, that his book contains not a single trace of his having profited by it."
a certain amount of British curiosity in the Italians shown in the
post-Napoleonic years stems from the fact that war had parted the two
peoples for many years. However, "the general reader" soon developed
sufficient strength of purpose to tilt at his betters in a way which
shows that, whatever part post-war curiosity played in his interest,
he was not going to be satisfied with re-hashes of eighteenth-century
attitudes and concerns. Thus, The Annals of the Fine Arts in 1820
welcomed H.W. Williams' Travels in Italy because the style and content
were opposite to that adopted by the tutors, "tainted, marrow-deep
with classical lumber", the dandies, and the poets who have hitherto
afflicted the English reader with high flown flights of rhetoric,
evocative only of the Italian past. They should have provided sensible
accounts of post-classical Italian art and of the life and character
of the Italian people. The thirst of the reviewer for the right kind
of information is measured by the fact that he welcomed Williams'
book although he found its main subject matter, which is a description
of the paintings of Italy, ludicrously inaccurate, and said so firmly.1

1. "Travellers through Italy, who have afterwards published their
lucubrations, have generally been either tutors in the train of
nobility, dandies with a train of their own, or poets so full of
fancies and fervour, high flights and brain-maddening, that to
have expected any thing like a rational account of the pictorial
state of this delicious country would have been quite absurd.

Tutors generally go out ripe from the universities, tainted,
marrow-deep with classical lumber ... and poets are so full of
their high calling, that to give any thing but an unintelligible
notion of the effect of some unintelligible picture, was as much
as any reasonable person had a right to hope.

It is evident, therefore, that from painters, and from painters
only, we could expect any interesting account of art; yet most of
the painters who have been in Italy were generally so occupied in
copying, and so little in thinking, that they had nothing to say
when they came home ... Any thing like a rational account of the
character of the country, the nature of the inhabitants, or the
principles of the great works, was out of the question ... His
tour through Italy is a most entertaining account of the present
and past state of Italian art - the most entertaining we have ever
read since the one of the younger Richardson, and seldom so
affected: his criticisms on the higher works of art shew he knows

.../over
J. A. Galiffe in a book published in 1820, based on material collected in 1816-1817, aimed at providing what Williams' reviewer called for. His introduction, indeed, amounts to another attack, albeit oblique, on affected writing on archaic Italy. He proposed describing Italy "exactly as it is", giving his principal attention to men and manners. He explained that he was incapable of eloquence in descriptive passages, but immediately mentioned some substitute virtues which were made to sound infinitely more worthy. They were: simplicity, fidelity, some originality in literary and historical matters, together with the ability to think for oneself. Committing himself to these, Galiffe leads his reader over the Simplon Pass from Geneva to Rome and then to Naples, commenting on scenes, customs, politics, opera, theatre, literature, history and works of art, as he goes. His panoramic view, based on the assiduous collation of a vast amount of information, is an early example of a class of writing which becomes so commonplace that in a short while few practitioners of the genre felt able to commit themselves to print without pleading the extenuating circumstance of the special angle.

In Rome, Galiffe was astonished, or affected to be, to find that he was not moving amongst depopulated ruins in accordance with the stock of eighteenth-century images, but threading through a bright

very little about them; but he tells his impressions in a manly way, and lets them take their chance in the world." Annals of the Fine Arts (1820), vol.V.

1. "My aim in the following pages is to describe Italy exactly as it is: - making men and manners the principal objects of my attention... To eloquence of description or the grace of style, - those excellencies which peculiarly mark the compositions of the present age, I have no pretensions but I hope to compensate in some degree for my deficiency in these respects, by simplicity and fidelity, - by some originality upon objects of literary and historical interest, - and by always thinking for myself." J.A. Galiffe, Italy and Its Inhabitants (1820).
city full of busy inhabitants.\(^1\) Nevertheless, Galiffe's glance at contemporary Italy was relatively superficial, suggesting that even travellers who wanted to be informed found it difficult to be so in his day. He passed through the Campagna with the remark that the surprisingly well dressed people were not apparently engaged in "some" festival as their appearance suggested, but going about their daily business, and with that moved on to Naples in his vettura.\(^2\)

If the first two decades of the century, therefore, bear records only of the intention to meet and know the Italian people, but are lacking in genuinely successful encounters, Maria Graham's Three Months in the Mountains East of Rome,\(^3\) published in 1820, makes the first amends. Recognized in its own day as a novel achievement,\(^4\) her book is decisive proof that the Italian countryside and its people had now gained the whole-hearted attention of English people of sensibility. This is of particular significance from the point of view of British painters of Italian genre for the book was illustrated by Charles Eastlake, who accompanied Maria Graham and her husband to Poli, 28 miles from Rome, where her material was collected.

1. "I had expected to find in modern Rome a gloomy, deserted city, where it was not easy to move without stumbling over ruins; and where we should meet ghostly creatures, more like phantoms than living creatures, wandering amongst ruined temples and deserted palaces. We were agreeably surprised to see large and clean streets, ornamented with handsome palaces and churches, and filled with crowds of good-looking, well-dressed, lively people; in short, a greater appearance of life and gaiety than even in Paris." J.A. Galiffe, op. cit., p. 217.

2. This abbreviation of the full title (p. 63, par. 2) will be used herewith.

3. "Albano is extremely picturesque ... the inhabitants of all the places through which we passed on this first day's journey, seemed so much more cheerful and were so much better dressed, than those we had left at Rome, that we fancied they must be celebrating some great festival; but we were told upon enquiry that it was an ordinary working day." J.A. Galiffe, op. cit., p. 50.

4. The Gentleman's Magazine commented on her account of the Roman country people as "almost a new field of enquiry and the result is very interesting". Anon., "Review of New Publications", supplement to vol.XC, part II (1820), pp.609-10.
Her intention was the same as Galiffe's: to show the Italian people as they were. But she abandoned the panoramic view to write about a stay of three months among the people of Poli, which enabled her to speak in detail with authority. Her fears that the reader would find her account of a small section of Italian life too minute confirm that she had no predecessors to guide her. The only comparable attempt, which she herself mentions, is by a French writer, M. de Châteauvieux. Appearing in English translation in 1819,¹ he

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1. "When there are so many travellers in Italy, and when so many travellers have published tours, picturesque and classical, and have exhibited that 'fair and fervid' land in all her various aspects: as 'native to famous wits;' as the cradle, if not also the grave, of the fine arts; as the temple of freedom, and as den of tyrants and slaves; it may appear presumptuous in one not capable of adding any thing to what is already known on any of these points, to write at all upon that country.

Yet there is one subject on which modern travellers have been silent: the state of the present inhabitants of the near neighbourhood of Rome. With the exception of M. de Châteauvieux, the visitors of the 'eternal city' seem to have forgotten that there are still living men to till the ground, and to dress the vineyards that surround it ... The object of the following little book is to describe the present state of the near neighbours of Rome: to show the peasants of the hills as they are, and as they probably have been, with little change, since 'Rome was at her height;' ... The notices of the banditti might have been more full and more romantic, but the writer scrupulously rejected all accounts of them, upon the truth of which she could not rely, thinking it better to give one authentic fact, than twenty doubtful, though more interesting, tales .... The description of the portion of the country which is the subject of the book is perhaps too minute. The apology for this fault is simply that the writer was anxious to show what facilities the very nature of the land affords to the banditti, as well as the obstacles it presents to their pursuers; and perhaps there is a charm in the scenes, which were once the summer retreats of the wise and the glorious, though long since ruined, that has induced her to dwell upon them longer, and with more fondness than may be consistent with the taste or the patience of her readers. The sketches from which the engravings are done, were made by Mr. Charles Eastlake, who accompanied the writer and her husband in their expedition to the hills. Mr. C. Eastlake is too well known as an artist to need the praise of the writer, who certainly could not give it without partiality." Maria Graham, op.cit., Preface.
alone had remembered "that men still work the land and tend the
vineyards which surround Rome". 1

The chance circumstance by which the Pope's edict against the
banditti coincided with Maria Graham's stay at Poli enabled her to
give a first-hand account of these people, for many of them fled
from the papal troops to the mountain regions. They were also, in
consequence, literally driven before Eastlake's easel, and on them
he founded his reputation as a painter of banditti,2 while Léopold
Robert painted their less fortunate fellows imprisoned in Rome. The
banditti also attracted Maria Graham's attention because they were
there to be studied. She was chiefly interested in describing the
seasonal round of the Italian countryside in an accurate and simple
manner.

Maria Graham was almost without a literary successor in spite
of the number of travel books published on Italy in the 1820s and
later, many of which do supply fresh details of Italian life. When
G.W. Hillard, an American, cast his eye over them in 1853, 3 none
emerged unequivocally her peer, and many well known writers were
condemned on the grounds of possessing scant knowledge of the Italians,
although Spalding's 4 Italy and the Italians (1841) escaped censure,
and so did Rogers's 5 Italy (1822), as well as

1. L. de Châteauvieux, Italy, being letters written by him in Italy,
in 1812 and 1813, trans. E. Rigby (1819).
2. P.108 below.
3. G.S. Hillard, Six Months in Italy (1853), 2 vols.
4. W. Spalding, Italy and the Italians (1841). "A truly admirable
work ... sound, generous and discriminating. Mr. Spalding has
lived in Italy, and his book shows a sincere interest in the
5. S. Rogers, Italy (1822). "A delightful poem ... with just the
right amount of personal feeling, with a warm sense of all that
is attractive to a poet and scholar in Italy, and a generous
judgement of all that is distasteful to an Englishman and a
protestant." Ibid., p.345.
Murray’s handbooks, first published in 1843. Lady Morgan was charged with strong Anglican and Protestant prejudices, lack of imagination and refinement, and want of judgment in seeking English comfort and neatness abroad. Charlotte Eaton, R. Rose and Mrs. Kemble were also held to be prejudiced. John Bell was excellent, but he was also fragmentary and brief. Moreover, turning to the great creative writers, Hillard held that Byron had indulged to the full that special gift of genius by which he was enabled to portray a people with whom he was only slightly acquainted (two weeks in

1. Murray, Handbook of Travels in Central Italy, including the Papal States, Rome and the Cities of Etruria (1843). "I have rarely had occasion to correct a statement, or dissent from an opinion. They are compiled with so much taste, learning and judgment." Ibid., p.353.

2. Lady Morgan, Italy (1821). "The defects of her work - its defects of substance, that is - arise in a great measure from her strong Anglican and Protestant prejudices, and her want of imagination and refinement.... She does not look at Italy from the proper point of view, English comfort, English neatness, and English liberty are not there, but to these wants she should have made up her mind before starting." Ibid., p.330.


4. R. Rose, Letters from the North of Italy (1819). "Like most Englishmen, he paints the people, especially of Lombardy, in rather dark colours. He was an invalid in pursuit of health; a point of view not favourable to kindly judgements." Ibid., p.346.

5. Mrs. Kemble, Year of Consolation (1846). "Her severe strictures upon the character of the people betray the exaggeration both of temperament and of sex." Ibid., p.350.

6. J. Bell, Observations of Italy (1825). "Brief and fragmentary, but excellent in their way." Ibid., p.346.

7. "It is a little remarkable that Byron, who lived so long in Italy, should have seen, comparatively speaking, so little of it.... The scenery of the Alban and Sabine Hills, and the peculiar aspect of the Campagna, are fruitful themes on which the descriptive genius of the noble poet would assuredly have paused and lingered, had his residence in Rome been prolonged ... He was only about a fortnight in Rome, and Naples ... he never saw at all." In a footnote, Hillard says: "Some of my readers may be startled in the text that Byron, whose descriptions of scenery, sculpture and architecture they have read with so much delight, was not a genuine lover of either nature or of art. But ... there is no necessary connection between imagination and sensibility, and ... emotions may be admirably painted which are not habitually felt." Ibid., pp.338, 343-45.
Rome, none in Naples), while Shelley appeared to have lived in Italy in isolation from the community.

When Hillard wanted an accurate account of life in the Italian countryside to draw on for his own book on Italy, he turned to Three Months in the Mountains East of Rome. Edward Lear did so also when he sought a book to prepare his sister for a visit to Italy in 1838. These are impressive tributes, for they come two and three decades after publication in an era of much writing on Italy. In the interval, it was the artists rather than the writers who followed Maria Graham's initiative: there is no literary counterpart to the long stays spent by the artists in remote regions of Italy, recording the impressions of the scenes they found there.

A writer of the stature of Charles Dickens travelled in the 1840s so lazily that he did not even find the country people, whom the artists had first begun to paint twenty years before he arrived. Passing through Rome in his vettura, he saw only their dressed-up imitators on hire as models on the steps of the Piazza di Spagna.

1. "Thus, in the various works produced by him [Shelley] while residing in Italy, there is no trace of any influence exerted upon his mind by Italian literature or Italian Society, but constant indications of the power which nature acted on him." Ibid., p. 333.

2. "Mrs. Graham, who spent three months in the mountains east of Rome, in the summer of 1819, and has published an interesting account of her experiences, states that in Poli, a town of thirteen hundred inhabitants, not far from Tivoli, in the Sabine Hills, the only handicraftsmen were a carpenter, a blacksmith, a shoemaker and a worker in leather for agricultural uses .... etc." Ibid., vol. II, p. 175.

He declared that "the cream of the thing" was that these models had no true originals, a misapprehension which, forming the basis for a satirical sketch in his *Picture from Italy*, cast a slur on all nineteenth-century Italian genre. The *Roman Advertiser*, an English journal published weekly in Rome from 1846 to 1849, rebuked Dickens for his inaccuracies, and also condemned his derogatory observations on the religious practices of the Italian people.

Only a few years before, in 1838, his equally clear-sighted but more energetic contemporary, Edward Lear, travelled by foot into the interior of Italy. He returned to tell of the genuine splendour of the costumed people, the reality of their physical beauty, and, not least, the true glory of the pageantry of their church festivals.

William Hazlitt was seemingly the sole writer of the 1820s to perceive the fine subject material which lay beyond the conventional Roman art world. He feared the deleterious effect the multitude of great works in Rome was liable to have on young artists who were driven to sterile reproduction of by-gone styles. And, drawing attention to the fresh world of subjects in the Roman countryside, he wanted to be taken seriously when he suggested a stay of five years there by the artists, if that should be necessary to master the new

1. After describing the models in unsympathetic terms, Dickens concludes: "And the cream of the thing is that they are all the falsest vagabonds in the world, especially made up for the purpose, and having no counterparts in Rome or any other part of the habitable globe." Charles Dickens, *Pictures from Italy* (1846), p.187.

2. "*[Pictures from Italy]* is a work of singular inaccuracy, on the whole calculated to leave impressions as erroneous as unfavourable" was the general conclusion. [Anon., "Charles Dickens' *Pictures from Italy*", *The Roman Advertiser*, 24 April 1847, pp.213-14.]

3. See p.97 below.
field. His outlook was echoed by H.W. Williams when he described in his travel book of 1820 the scope, as yet unexplored, in Italy for artists with talent like David Wilkie's.

William Hazlitt's recommendation was also supported indirectly by art comment of the time, which believed that the "picturesque" view of nature that had dictated the style and subject matter of so many paintings of Italy for so long was an artificial taste, encouraged by urban living, unwise patronage and the Academicians. It regretted that Salvator Rosa should have ignored the "gay scenes of the happy Campania" because they were too familiar to stir him.

The demand for scenes of familiar life in Italy is, of course, not only a sign of a shift of interest in Italian subjects, but also a sign of the universal interest in genre painting, which, affecting all continental schools, was a dominant feature of the British one.

1. "Or if he is still unwilling to quit classic ground, is chained by the soft fetters of the climate or a fair face, or likes to see the morning mist rise from the marshes of the Campagna and circle round the dome of St. Peter's, and that to sever him from these would be to sever soul from body, let him go to Gensano, stop there for five years, visiting Rome only at intervals, wander by Albano's gleaming lake and wizard grottoes, make studies of the heads and dresses of the peasant girls in the neighbourhood, those Goddesses of health and good temper, embody them to the life, and show (as the result) what the world never saw before!" W. Hazlitt, "English Students at Rome", The New Monthly Magazine, Oct. 1827.


The Englishman's taste for genre styles was recognized, with some bitterness, in the early years of the nineteenth century, by the supporters of history painting who joined with Fuseli in denouncing the "micromania", or love of small, domestic paintings, which continually threatened the establishment of a school of British history painting, such as, for example, Boydell and the artists who illustrated his "Shakespeare's Gallery" wished to found. Even while the history painters fulminated, however, W.H. Pyne's book, Microcosm, published in 1806, showed the extent to which a developed approach to genre subjects was under way, for Pyne set out to provide a repertory of figures and attitudes from English country life, which corresponded to the repertory of classical prototypes used by history painters. He observed that while the many English painters who treated humble subjects did so with as much skill as the Dutch or Flemish, there was a disconcerting tendency to borrow figures from "high" art. The consequence was that viewers of these paintings were expected to feel at ease when figures, which they were bound to recollect had appeared before in canvases portraying, say, the life of the Gods on Mount Olympus, were now found in simple scenes wearing peasant smocks and wielding hay rakes. "The elegant heads, the delicate hands and feet, and the languishing positions of the classic figures could not accord with the hardy habits of the peasantry", Pyne noted, in a further publication in which he offered more studies of the English peasantry.

2. W.H. Pyne, Microcosm (2nd ed. 1806).
for guidance. He also made plaster casts, eight inches high, for sale to students who wished to study groupings and effects of light and shade. The results of these exercises, if used incautiously, would have created paintings as mechanical as those they sought to replace. Happily, the originality of Wilkie's genre work, which first appeared at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1806, vindicated the public regard for paintings of this type.

It would be easy to assume that his influence was all pervasive in the development of other genre painting of the time. However, in the case of the Anglo-Italian paintings this cannot be shown to be so. By the time he visited Rome in 1825, the Continental painters had led the way in genre painting there, and the British painters were participating in this movement in a manner which suggests they would have done so even without the existence of the great Wilkie. Moreover, he himself added nothing of originality to the school he found there. He went to Rome in the first place because of illness, and his stay is an unhappy record of an apparently fruitless attempt to regain health. Painting of any sort was an effort, so that he appears never to have made the first essential step to catch a fresh breath of the life of the Italian people by avoiding the counterfeits of the Roman models and making his way to the countryside with his sketchbook. He himself returned home regretting that many of the impressions which he did obtain of Italy had been left unrecorded. Two of the four paintings which were completed in Rome are in the Royal Collection: the I Pifferari

1. Introduction to W.H. Pyne on Rustic Figures in imitation of chalk (1817).
2. Ibid.
playing Hymns to the Madonna, and A Roman Princess washing Pilgrims' Feet at Easter Ceremonies. The other two paintings were The Confessional, owned by Mr. James Morrison, and another version of the feet-washing ceremony, acquired by Sir W. Gordon, according to A. Cunningham.¹ Both are untraced. The "I Hfferari" theme is one of the commonest in the stock of Roman scenes, which are first found in engravers' illustrations and from there pass into the répertoire of subjects which artists in Rome offered in routine manner to the public.

In the 1830s, the British school of genre continued to dominate English taste. In 1837, the Royal Academy exhibited the painting which was to epitomize Victorian genre for later generations: The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner by Landseer, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In that decade, the talents of men like C.R. Leslie, William Mulready and William Collins were also contributing to the school. By the 1840s, Thackeray was triumphing in the overthrow of the grand style with its "old, heroic, absurd, incomprehensible, unattainable, rules",² although his rejoicing all but coincided with the establishment of the commission to enquire into the decoration of the Houses of Parliament, which was to secure for history painting a limited lease of life in the art world of the 1840s. However, the British exhibits in the Great Exhibition in Paris in 1855 showed that the resuscitation was largely artificial, for, while the French exhibits were dominated by huge history paintings, the English contribution was noticeable for small scenes from the common round of life. For the French contribution, Vernet's Smala, measuring

¹. Ibid. Appendix D.

11,000 square feet, was brought from Versailles. Ingres' Apotheosis of Homer, painted for the ceiling of the Louvre, was on exhibition, along with his Vow of Louis XIII. So too was Delacroix's Vergil and Dante at the Bank of Charon, and thirty-four of his other paintings. In contrast, when Baudelaire walked through the exhibition he welcomed C.R. Leslie's work as a true expression of British taste which, for him, had lost nothing in laying aside the heavy sophistications of high art.¹

However, history painting during these years had not stood in total antithesis to genre painting. The interplay between these two branches of art, as each borrowed aspects of the other and both bowed to the British taste for small, agreeable paintings, was commented on at the time.

Reynolds had recognized the common basis of the two branches when he referred to Dutch genre paintings as "history pieces", which were self-portraits of the Dutch people: "Whether they describe the inside or outside of their houses - we have their own people engaged in their own peculiar occupations, working or drinking, playing or fighting." He managed, however, to keep the distinction between, for him, the higher form of art, history painting, and genre painting clear, by maintaining that history pieces which merely recorded the visual particulars of a community lacked the nobility of "general history" which aimed instead at the grandeur of a universal statement about mankind. All other forms of history painting were "ornamental" and remained a different matter.²

Goethe in his tour of Italy in 1786 perceived the link between

² Reynolds's fourth discourse to the students of the R.A. (1771).
the two types of painting, when he observed the facility with which the German painter Tischbein turned his experience, gained in composing figures on canvas as a history painter, to painting scenes of Italian daily life.¹

A specific illustration from the paintings themselves of the intermingling of "high" art and "low" emerges from a look at the various treatments accorded to the subject of the trial and death by execution for high treason of Lord John Russell for his alleged part in the Rye House plot, a theme which caught the imagination of successive history painters in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

Sir Joshua Reynolds had rejected, as unsuitable for treatment by a history painter, the meeting, recorded in the memoirs of the time, between James II, who, as Duke of York, was believed to have called for the supreme penalty at the time of the trial, and the father of the executed man.² Reynolds' rejection arose from the same argument as that by which he had consigned Dutch painting to a lower level than true history painting: a conversation between two men savoured of the anecdotal and was bereft of references to the universal verities. However, when in 1825 George Hayter, who later became history painter to the Queen, painted the trial scene of Lord John Russell which now hangs in Woburn Abbey (plate 16), his contemporaries accepted his effort as a notable achievement in the field of history painting, although it fails to meet Reynolds' criteria. The problem of the local nature of the story was indeed recognized, but was met, with equanimity, by the simple means of providing the painting with

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its own literature. Hayter published a list of the names of the personages in the painting with their rôle in the trial scene, and, when the painting was engraved in 1828, an explanatory booklet giving the whole story of Sir John Russell was written to accompany the print.¹ A literary appendage to a narrative painting, whether history or genre, was the price painters of the nineteenth century paid for extending their story-telling beyond the familiar episodes of "general history". The Anglo-Roman artists in particular were impelled to add lengthy notes to their Italian subject paintings when they appeared on exhibition in the Royal Academy.²

Hayter's Trial of Lord John Russell, measuring 137.2 cm x 210.8 cm, contains 30 figures, which are therefore much smaller than the purist school of history painting would have deemed proper. Indeed, the effect, as the viewer approaches the painting, is of a small crowded canvas which looks like a genre painting.

Among the causes of the diminution in size of history paintings must be counted the demand by nineteenth-century patrons for paintings small enough to be comfortably accommodated on the walls of private houses. The demand is always advanced to explain the growth in small genre paintings at the expense of history painting in the grand style, without its being equally appreciated that the small, "ornamental" history piece also becomes a recognized type under these conditions.

By the 1840s, Eastlake had noted the "new kind of historic art, ornamental in nature, which combined the attractions of familiar

1. J. Landseer, A brief Memoir intended to accompany Mr. J. Bramley's engraving of "The Trial of William, Lord Russell, from the celebrated painting by George Hayter (1828).

2. The notes attached to T. Uwins' exhibits in the R.A. during the 1830s are good examples. See A. Graves, The Royal Academy Exhibitions 1769-1904 (1905).
subjects with the dignity of the historic style”. Recalling Reynolds’ strictures on the Lord John Russell theme, however, he called for state patronage to revive life-size history painting in the style of Reynolds, Opie and Fuseli. Thackeray, on the other hand, welcomed the “small, historical painting", at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1839, as the "great advance of the year".

If the love of the familiar and the need for small-size modified British history painting, British genre painting was held to have been "raised" in tone by the strong literary bias which history painting contributed to British art. Redgrave wrote in his introduction to the catalogue of the Sheepshank Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, published in 1857:

The subjects chosen by British painters have been disparagingly classed with those of the Dutch school, but they are of a far higher character, and appeal to more educated and intellectual minds. Thus, if we examine the works of Teniers, Terburg, Ostade, Jan Steen, De Hooghe, Dow, Mieris, and others of that school, they will be found to consist of music-meetings, tavern scenes, conversations, feasts, games, revels and drinking bouts - often very doubtful in their subject, and frequently of the very lowest taste and character. They seem to be the productions of men who never read, since the subjects chosen rarely or ever have any connection with literature, nor do they seem to have been taken from the poets or writers of their own or any other country ... The subjects of British artists, on the contrary, if they are below what is usually classed as historic art, almost always appeal to the higher sentiments, and embody the deep feelings and affections of mankind.... Even when the painter chooses for his subject our rough sports, our native games, our feasts and merrymakings, he contrives so that some touching incident, some tender episode, or some sweet expression, shall be introduced to link them to our common humanity.

Noticeably, neither wit nor humour, caricature nor character


2. C. Eastlake, Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts (1848). No.V: "Representation as Distinguished from Description".
study, were now championed in the school of Victorian genre. The humorous glances which William Hogarth, David Allan and, later, David Wilkie cast on the passing scene, to the great enrichment of the British school of genre painting, ill assorted with the new urge to emulate the idealizing tendencies and gravity of purpose of history painting. As far as Italian subjects are concerned, there was no follow up to David Allan's sketches of Italian life in the work of the genre painters of the 1820s. Yet the talent existed. The undated drawing, by Penry Williams, of A Gentleman being Cheated in the Purchase of some Carrots (plate 17), Cyfarthfa Castle Museum, Merthyr Tydfil, slight though it is, reveals an artist with the appropriate flair. A skit on the Englishman in Italy is suggested, for the gentleman is victimized close to some classical ruins, in front of Italian-style houses. More substantially, in the oil painting Ho, Ho, I've got the Chink\(^1\) (plate 18), Cyfarthfa Castle Museum, the painter has stepped with impressive bravura into the most robust tradition of British character painting. But these performances were not typical of Williams' Italian studies. In them, faces were cleared of individuality to produce idealized types, "painted with more than Raffaello's sweetness",\(^2\) according to one English visitor to his Rome studio.

Exactly the same point can be made about Thomas Uwins' work. The saint manufacturer and his priestly client in The Saint Manufactory (plate 19) are rich in character, but they have few peers amongst Uwins' other Italian studies. At home, contemporaries considered the tone of Uwins' work "more elevated" than genre.\(^3\) It was the history painters

1. Signature and date on the painting can no longer be deciphered. The handwriting of the title written on the back has been identified, to the museum's satisfaction, as Penry Williams'.
2. W. Gardiner, Sights in Italy (1847), p.154.
3. "The subject-matter in which Mr. Uwins has acquired celebrity is that of sentimental and pathetic narrative ... The tone of his work is more elevated than that of genre." "The Royal Pictures", The Art-Journal (1855), p.138.
who had first recommended the "elevation" of characters to idealized types, in a manner acclaimed by Reynolds: "Alexander is said to have been of a low stature: a Painter ought not so to represent him. Agesilaus was low, lame, and of mean appearance: none of these defects ought to appear in a piece of which he is the hero."¹

Credence is given to the speculation that an association exists between genre and history painting in the British School by the artists themselves. Those in Rome were to break into a vigorous discussion on the subject when Joseph Severn painted his Vintage.²

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1. 4th Discourse, 1771.
2. See pp. 90-93 below.
Chapter 6

THE GENRE PAINTINGS OF "THE ROMAN PARTY": JOSEPH SEVERN, CHARLES EASTLAKE, THOMAS UWINS, AND PENRY WILLIAMS

"Tiring of my classical studies on my return to Rome in 1823, I determined that I would paint a Vintage", Severn, in an autobiographical fragment, firmly recalled the origins of the first major genre painting of the colony. (It is now missing.)

He was equally determined to improve upon the working methods of his fellow genre painters in Rome. "Having made an oil sketch I decided not to do it in Rome but to go into the beautiful country and get the people in their unaffected simplicity, instead of adopting the usual way of painting from models dressed up at Rome." But the painting, it should be said, did not only represent an Italian harvest scene. It illustrated a story, now unknown, just as a history painting would do.

It came to the notice of Sir William Russell, brother of the Duke of Bedford, when on a visit to Rome in 1824 he met Severn through Seymour Kirkup. He began by taking a busy interest in Severn's history

1. See p. 95 below.
3. Missing since it was sold by the present Duke of Bedford in a London salesroom in 1951. (Information from Woburn Abbey.)
4. J. Severn, op.cit., m. 2 absce.
5. "Your description of the story represented is very explicit and the matter of it perfectly Picturesque - I only thought the interest would be heightened by as much of the real locality in the landscape as you could well give us. In the midst of scenery like that there surely can be no occasion for drawing much on the imagination." Letter from Sir William Russell to J. Severn, Paris, 21 Sept. 1825 (Harvard University).
paintings, but his attention moved to the harvest scene. That painting, he decided, would make a suitable addition to a collection of modern works which his brother was assembling at Woburn. Even without being able to bring one of the preparatory studies to England for appraisal in January 1825, as he hoped to do, he had secured the commission for Severn by August of that year.

Important details, however, had still to be settled. For one thing, the Duke wanted a smaller canvas than the one measuring 124.4 cm x 101.6 cm which Severn had started, to fit the space available in the collection's special room at Woburn. Also, a small painting would partner the cabinet size work which Charles Eastlake had agreed to contribute. His subject, pilgrims arriving in sight of Rome, had already been suggested. Further, Sir William thought Severn's price (£150) too high for an artist whose reputation was not yet made.

On neither price nor size would Severn give way, nor did he respond to Sir William's hints that he and Eastlake should work in collaboration, using Eastlake's genre painting on exhibition at the

1. "I am glad to hear that you are making progress with your Cordelia and that you accord with all my criticisms." Letter from Sir William Russell to J. Severn, Florence, 13 Jan. 1825 (Harvard University).

2. "I think I may now feel myself authorized to give you a commission for your Vintage for my brother, the Duke of Bedford ... I asked him some time ago to allow me to do so from a strong conviction that your work in general entitled one of them to a place in a small collection he is forming of Modern Paintings. I was struck as I told you with your price being a little beyond reasonable bounds for a beginner ... My brother [who] has given a commission to Mr Eastlake for a small picture ... seemed to think it would be well that you should agree with him on the size and paint one as a companion [still small]." Letter from Sir W. Russell to J. Severn, Cologne, 8 Aug. 1825 (Harvard University).

3. Ibid. The discussion proceeded piecemeal through a series of letters.

4. "You make no mention of Mr Eastlake's Pilgrims" is Sir William Russell's postscript to a letter of 13 Jan. 1825 to J. Severn (Harvard University).

British Institution in 1824 as their guide.\(^1\) The commission was eventually confirmed on the artist's own terms, but not without the warning from Sir William that he must take responsibility for any ill consequences of his own obduracy.\(^2\)

A mellower note was struck in 1826 after Sir Thomas Lawrence had warmly praised the young artist and his choice of subject, recalling before the Duke of Bedford his own memories of the scenery of Gensano and the striking aspect of its people.\(^3\) Coming upon them once in their gala costume on a festa day had been an unforgettable experience for him. With that, Sir William was ready to let Severn get on with the work according to his own judgement, within limits. The landscape background was still required to be an accurate study from nature of a known locality. Severn was instructed that the painting would companion a view of the Scheldt, near Antwerp, by Augustus Callcott who had gone over to Holland to study the scene from nature in a manner Severn was to follow.\(^4\)

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1. See p. 104 below.

2. "You will bear in mind that if The Vintage is to be the subject - what a very heavy responsibility there will be on your shoulders - there will be the question of inconvenience to get over - which is to be balanced only by the merits of the work." Letter from Sir William Russell to J. Severn, Paris, 21 Sept. 1825 (Harvard University).

3. "He [the Duke] is eager and very sanguine about your Picture ... Sir Thomas Lawrence [has] encouraged the highest expectations in him, as well from opinion of your subject, as from the very favourable idea he entertained of the judicious choice of your subject. Sir L. had never been he said in his life impressed more strongly or with more pleasing recollections than by the charms of scenery and Beauty of the Female Peasantry about Gensano. He described one particular day when [they were] all appareled in Gala costume to celebrate a Rural Fete as one of the most fascinating spectacles he had ever witnessed." Letter from Sir William Russell to J. Severn, Munich, 23 Jan. 1826 (Harvard University).

4. "Mr Callcott came over last year expressly to the low countries to paint the coast of Antwerp ..." Letter from Sir William Russell to J. Severn, Paris, 21 Sept. 1825 (Harvard University).
When the painting was well under way, Sir William checked on the extent to which the artist had followed his instructions. He was concerned to find a tree had strayed from Severn's imagination into the view, and, while gratified that the figures were all portraits from nature, wondered what business a particular old man had in the scene. He may also have thought Severn at fault (the reference is ambiguous) in choosing to paint a spot where a murder had lately been committed.¹

As these comments streamed across the Continent, Severn laboured on unmoved. But he must have been aware of the force of his mentor's repeated observation that The Vintage would hang amongst paintings by the leading British artists of the day so that his standing in England could well depend upon it.²

The painting reached England in 1826. It joined a collection which included, along with Callcott's and Eastlake's paintings, Sir William Allan's Death of the Regent Murray, a panel acquired after its exhibition in the Royal Academy in 1825. William Collins' Hasting Sounds, View near Hastings was also acquired for the collection and so too was Sir William Hayter's The Trial of Lord John Russell, exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1825. A painting by David Wilkie was due to join these works, but there is no record of a Wilkie in

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1. "The figures are I think all Portraits from nature - So I believe is the scenery in the background - but the large tree in the middle! does that actually exist on the spot? - and I remember an old man too - what business has he there? - and what in that part of the story, about the place where a murder had been committed? Be so good as to answer all these questions." Letter from Sir William Russell to J. Severn, Cologne, 8 Aug. 1825 (Harvard University).

2. For example: "It will hang by the side of those of the most distinguished artists of the present day, though the room is small and will not have space for many." Letter from Sir William Russell to J. Severn, Munich, 23 Jan. 1826 (Harvard University).
Sir William hastened to collect impressions about the painting to send to Severn. "The Duke is altogether satisfied - I think I may say more - that he is pleased", he allowed himself. While noting that Callcott and Leslie spoke well of the work, a coherent account of the reactions of Severn's fellow artists defeated him. He therefore selected the most august commentator amongst them and reported that Sir Thomas Lawrence, looking at the painting, it seems, from the aspect of Italian landscape which most interested him, thought the painter's handling of Italian light and atmosphere uncertain. It was a problem which had troubled the painter and to which he gave much attention in his next major pastoral painting, The Fountain (plate 20).

In Italy, comment among the colony of history painters was vigorous as the scene of contemporary life set off for England. Thomas Uwins was clearly aware that the distinction of the collection it joined would not save the painting from a poor ranking in the prevailing scale of art values, which still categorized history painting as "high" art, and genre painting as "low" art. The 1972 exhibition in London

1. "It is to hang in a chamber fitted purposely for pictures of the most modern artists - by the side of Wilkie, Hayter, Callcott, Allan of Edinburgh." Letter from Sir William Russell to J. Severn, Stuttgart, 20 Dec. 1825 (Harvard University). Also, see G. Scharf, Catalogue of Pictures at Woburn Abbey (1877).


3. Ibid.
entitled "The Age of Neo-Classicism" has been a recent reminder of the strength of these values in Uwins' day. He set out to challenge them, using Severn's *Vintage* to support his case.

He claimed that *The Vintage* represented a new type of genre, which could possess merits as great as those ascribed to history painting. It was certainly not a "costume" painting, though called so by Severn, for that term was only applicable when the story in the painting was used solely to set off peculiarities of dress. The story in Severn's painting dealt with harvest time, a "universal" theme, which, dealing with a fundamental feature of human life, could, given the right treatment, possess the same high seriousness as a history painting. Uwins suggested such paintings should be called "pastoral" paintings. They had a parallel in classical literature where accounts of country life, told simply and naturally, were esteemed as highly as the epic tale. "Your classical friends will object to the term 'pastoral' which I have given to your class of subjects", he wrote to Severn. "The truth is, it is very hard to find a word by which to designate them. I only wish to make out that they bear the same relation to historic art that the Idyls of Theocritus do to the Iliad of Homer."  

3. "It appears to me that you go wrong by calling these subjects 'costume pictures'. Surely a subject in which form, active, character, and expression are displayed deserves a higher name. A representation of the ingathering of the fruits of the earth is as universal as nature. Its proper character is pastoral, and it can only be made low by the way it is treated." Letter from T. Uwins to J. Severn, Naples, 10 Dec. 1825 (S. Uwins, *op.cit.* vol.11, pp.202-203).
It was an impeccable, if exalted, reference with which to confront the devotees of "high" art. But the right treatment was imperative. Uwins was very conscious that an Italian genre movement could slide with speed into sentimentality and "namby-pamby" work.¹ He was consequently withering about Charles [Armitage] Brown's view, expressed to Severn when he feared the painting was over-idealized, that the artist must embellish and perfect the world he painted.²

This, said Uwins, was the "poetry of the schools". Pastoral paintings must be true to the "poetry of nature", which required neither beautifying nor embellishment.³

The painting did win the approval of some of Severn's "Classical friends" in Rome when the final version, in accordance with "high" art teaching, was found to record visual facts accurately. Indeed, the relationship between the "academic" painters in the colony in Rome and the "pastoral" painters is glimpsed for a moment when Severn, having painted out a basket of grapes and replaced them, in strict accuracy, with pails, reported that "the Academicians were much struck by this as a most lucky thought, and even Mr Cook congratulated me on my perseverance in repainting them; he thought it not only well, but essential to the subject."⁴ But Severn, sounding tired of comments from the pundits, ended his own part in the discussion and deflated everybody else's by an abrupt descent to brass

1. See n.3 below.


3. "I am sure Brown is wrong. Let nature be 'beautified and embellished' as your friend Brown has it ... This may be the poetry of the schools, but it is not the poetry of nature. Shakespeare will teach you better things. If you can show me a single touch of this namby-pamby work in the whole of his writings, I will give up my point." Letter from T. Uwins to J. Severn, Naples, 4 Oct. 1825 (S. Uwins, op.cit., vol.II, p.196).

tacks. One thing at least was certain: the painting had been a success in Rome.¹

Nonetheless, he accepted Uwins' theories about his work. His Vintage, he explained in his memoirs, confirmed him in his desire to paint "pastoral" subjects. He then added: "In contrast with Sir C. Eastlake who had all along painted brigands."² A waspish observation, but revealing that the English artists in Rome did come to make a clear distinction between genre subjects of intrinsic value and those which they felt were merely anecdotal reportage in whimsical vein. Eastlake himself made the same distinction when he decided to abandon his brigand paintings while continuing to paint "modern Italy".³ These comments, taken with the paintings of the artists who made them, establish that the 1820s in Rome was a time and place in "The Age of Neo-Classicism" when the claim of "high" art to be the sole vehicle of worthwhile truth was directly challenged with the view that certain types of genre could perform the same function.

Happily, Severn's next major pastoral painting The Fountain is still extant. Commissioned by Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg in Rome around 1826, along with two other smaller paintings, The Praying Girl and The Mother and Child, all three are still in the Royal Palace at Brussels.


2. "My picture of the 'Italian Vintage' was very much admired ... this work decided my taste for Italian Pastoral Life in contrast with Sir C. Eastlake who had all along painted brigands." My Tedious Life, section 34. Unpublished autobiographical notes of J. Severn (Harvard University). See pp.102-6 for an account of Eastlake's brigand paintings.

He proceeded to paint it in the same manner as *The Vintage*, going out to the countryside to find his subjects. But in this case he ran into difficulties, for the country woman whom he required to pose for him refused to do so. Gifts of trinkets, specially brought from Rome, aroused in them no fitting sense of obligation. Severn, therefore, throwing chivalry to the winds, put it about the countryside that he was not so much an artist as a man in search of a wife. The ruse succeeded admirably from the artist's point of view. He was soon able to paint "a whole gallery of beauties", which he placed in his painting around an antique fountain, the original of which was located at the Gucci Park at Aricco.

Two of his handsome victims move off to the left of the fountain, with much grace, into trees illuminated from sunlight on the skyline beyond them. This particular play of light (lost in photographic reproduction) is Titianesque in effect. It almost certainly marks an advance on Severn's handling of light effects in *The Vintage*.

William Havell (1782-1857), whose own treatment of sunlight had long been admired by his fellow artists in Italy, was notably impressed by this aspect of *The Fountain*. He saw the painting during his visit to Italy when he joined the English group of painters for a time.

3. "But there is one thing which will excite a great bustle amongst artists and amateurs - it is a most extraordinary picture of Havell's in which he has painted sunshine so near to truth that it absolutely makes the eyes ache to look at it." Letter from T. Uwins to Mr Townsend of Trevelyan, London, 19 April 1815 (S. Uwins, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.37).
5. See p. 109 below.
Severn's knowledge of Titian's techniques, acquired first in London where he was familiar with the Bacchus and Ariadne, was deepened in the autumn of 1823 when he visited Venice. Writing in 1873 in an essay On Light and Sound, he referred to the studies he made in Italy of Titian's effects of light. In doing so, he mentioned particularly Titian's Sacred and Profane Love. Because of this, incidentally, the fleeting recollections of some of Titian's compositions which may come to mind while looking at The Fountain could be a correct association.

Be that as it may, the indisputable influence of Titian's handling of light in the painting demonstrates that the 1820 English painters in Rome were not only claiming the status of "high" art for their scenes of contemporary life, but Severn, at least, was steeping himself in techniques of the "high" art masters to paint them.

Encouragement to do so was current among patrons: Sir William Russell suggested Severn should study Titian "even for the very Picture now in question", when he was painting The Vintage.4

In the autumn of 1824, Severn displayed in his studio twelve full-length oil studies of figures which showed the chief attitudes of those in the finished Fountain. They impressed a host of viewers, foremost among whom were artists who were seeing for the first time in Rome major figure studies of contemporary subjects. Comment on their resemblance to the figures on antique statues was immediate.

1. W. Sharp, op.cit., p.32.
Severn was delighted. His intention had been to capture that particular grace of bearing which, like Sir Thomas Lawrence, he had found still a living reality among the people of contemporary Italy.\(^1\)

Other persons, equally unlikely to express high feelings without good cause, were as impressed as they were by the people of the Italian countryside. Artists perceived the extent to which the masters of "high" art themselves had observed and drawn upon the living world of men and women about them. Direct figure studies of similar people now appeared in the paintings of artists who had originally gone to Italy to develop their talents in an academic manner in Rome.

Severn's friend, Uwins, in his wanderings in Naples, was "surrounded by figures such as have furnished models for Raffaello and Michaelangelo, and whose simple and majestic beauty can find a prototype nowhere but in their works".\(^2\) Eastlake in Venice noted that "The costume of the women in Venice is the same as regards the white mantle for the head as it was centuries ago. Their faces have depth, richness and soft shade from it. Many of the veiled heads of the Madonna in Venetian pictures have precisely the shade, the colour, and the distant breadth of those heads as one remarks them when details are no longer perceptible."\(^3\)

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1. "When I got back to Rome in the autumn, my twelve whole length figures painted in oil of the chief attitudes in my picture, attracted crowds to my study, particularly of artists who at Rome had never seen this high standard of Italian female beauty painted before and they compared my sketches to the antique statues, which I confess pleased me greatly as all along my great object had been to find that elevated and abstract beauty of antique sculpture in the living people and here for the first time I had done it." J. Severn, Plan for Various Incidents of my Life, section 15 (Harvard University).


quarters of Italy, sketching scenes as he went, gave a minute description of the kind of people Severn painted:

The costume of the women is striking. Their hair is braided, and forms a knot behind à l'antique; the camisia is large in the sleeves, and very open on the bosom. The dress, red, and all of one piece, is supported by two worked shoulder straps, and a gold laced green jacket, worn or not, à volonté completes the equipment.¹

And Edward Lear described the festas which had captured the imagination of Sir Thomas Lawrence and were later a favourite subject amongst the artists. At Tivoli in May 1838, he watched the celebrations for the Feast of the Virgin:

The Figure of the Virgin was brought to a triumphant arch near town - and hundreds of people flocked to it - & cont. kneeling. Many of these poor peasants come 40 or 50 miles to be present - and the costumes are such as you must see to believe the effect of. The Chevara women with their red stockings and sleeves - their blue gowns and high heeled shoes - the Coichara people all in red - gold and white - the people of Albano with their scarlet heads - and the upper classes with their lace veils and superb stiff blue and rose brocaded satins - are positively astonishing: - as they kneel before the Madonna you cannot think of anything so beautiful.²

The Fountain was exhibited at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1830. Another painting, An Italian Fountain, exhibited in 1841, and a further one of a vintage scene in Southern Italy, exhibited in 1844, indicate that Severn repeated his early themes, but these paintings are now missing. One survivor from the 1820s is a painting known by its present owner, Lord Coleridge, as Shepherds in the Campagne [sic], signed and dated 1829. It answers completely the description of the painting which Severn exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1834 entitled Shepherds and their Flocks in the Campagna of Rome at Sunset. The

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¹ A.J. Strutt, A Pedestrian Tour in Calabria and Sicily, 1842, p.89.
² Letter from E. Lear to his sister, Subiaco, 11 May 1838 (Mitchell MSS)
Full Moon rising behind the Alban Mount (plate 21). A small painting (plate 22), owned by Mr Bryson, appears to be a preparatory sketch for this painting. The painting was acquired by William Gladstone in 1843 when Severn returned to England. Gladstone had met Severn in Rome during a visit there in 1832 when he was brought to the artist's studio by John Gibson. He later gave the painting as a gift to a member of the Coleridge family who was Attorney-General during his ministries.

A further painting from these years, now missing, was Severn's Vintagers at Eve, acquired in 1831 by Sir Matthew Ridley, then M.P. for Northumberland, a well known patron of the Arts who, like the Duke of Bedford, was making a collection of modern paintings. He purchased Italian subject paintings widely amongst the English artists in Rome: Eastlake, Uwins and Penry Williams all won much coveted commissions from him. The collection is now dispersed without trace.

Severn was faced with difficulties caused by distance in building up his reputation at home. He was indebted, like other English artists in Rome, to Charles Eastlake who took charge of their interests at the Royal Academy exhibitions when he was in London. He supervised the hanging of their paintings, and, circulating amongst the visitors.

3. Information supplied by the present Lord Coleridge.
5. See p. 111 below, n.6.
6. See p.101 below for commission to Eastlake; p.111 to Uwins; and p. 116 to Penry Williams.
7. Information from the present Lord Ridley.
to the exhibition, brought viewers to them, answered enquiries, and carefully reported back to Rome. Tasks such as obtaining a commission for Severn for a duplicate of his Praying Girl from Lord Lansdowne, to whom he explained that the original was already acquired by Prince Leopold, were conscientiously carried out.

Eastlake's own contribution to the pastoral paintings of the English artists in Rome began very early in his stay in Italy with "costume" paintings done during his Greek trip. Little or nothing is now known about them, however, beyond the fact that Eastlake in 1827 said his Haidee, Head of a Greek Girl (plate 23) was "representative of the kind of costume" he had done in Greece. Also, "costume" sketches from Greece were in the hands of some of his travelling companions when he returned to Rome. He appears to have turned back to these sketches repeatedly through the years to re-touch them or to work them up into finished paintings. As late as 1836 he finished a sketch of a Turk done during his Greek tour. A painting of Greek

1. There are letters at Harvard University written each May about the R.A. exhibition from C. Eastlake to J. Severn for the years 1828, 1832-34, 1836.

2. "Lord Lansdowne ... was enquiring if your praying girl was disposed of - I was determined not to let him slip and told him I believed the picture was due for Prince Leopold and that you could repeat it. He asked the price. I told him 30 Louis and offered in writing to you to communicate his wishes ..." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Severn, London, 5 May 1828 (Harvard University).

3. "Among them is the head of a Greek girl which you will do me kindness by accepting. You must consider it representative of the kind of costume which I did in Greece. It has been rather a favourite." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 4 Sept. 1827 (Plymouth).

4. "I should perhaps apologize for having kept the sketches of Greece so long but as one or two costumes are still with Lady Ruthven who has not yet returned I think it would be better to send all to gether." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, ? Feb. 1819 (Plymouth).
The undated painting now entitled *Emigrants returning to Greece* (plate 24), purchased by the Benaki Museum, Athens, in the London salesrooms in 1928, previous provenance unknown, may well be composed
from sketches from the Greek trip. The similarity between this painting and the Pilgrims in Sight of Rome would be even greater if the Duke of Bedford had not insisted on a cabinet-size Pilgrims. It would probably be wrong none the less, to assume that the painting belongs to the period when The Pilgrims was on Eastlake's easel in the mid-1820s. There is little doubt that the Greek painting is a work which was acquired by Sir Matthew Ridley, and exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1833 under the title Greek Fugitives: an English Ship Sending its Boats to Rescue Them. A replica of the painting in the Benaki Museum is reproduced in the Art Journal of 1855 under this title, with the information that the original was acquired by Sir Matthew Ridley and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1833. Besides, the gesture of the woman, on the left side of the main group, pointing to a ship coming from sea, is fair evidence of identification. It is known that Sir Matthew Ridley gave Eastlake a commission for a painting in 1828, the subject of which was to be chosen by Eastlake. It was still not started the next year because Eastlake was overwhelmed with work, but it was certainly very much on his mind. Eastlake would very likely have chosen a genre subject, for Sir Matthew's other commissions to the Roman colony were for genre paintings.

Eastlake was, of course, honour bound to hand over the Greek

1. p. 87 above.

2. See C. and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.195: list of works executed by Eastlake.


sketches to Mr Harman on his return to England. In 1832, he duly re-touched some of them for his patron.¹ Discharging this obligation may have revived his interest in his Greek genre, otherwise rather surprising at this date in view of the high reputation for Italian subjects with which he had just returned to England.

The first known Italian genre scenes by Eastlake were his illustrations for Maria Graham's *Three Months in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820). Apart from these illustrations, Eastlake at that time regarded brigand subjects, with which his name was later so firmly associated, only as appropriate material for giving interest in a discreet manner to his landscape paintings. If in 1819 he saw himself becoming better acquainted with them, it was primarily because he planned to see more of the splendid countryside they inhabited.² At the same time, he was exceptionally interested in the general community of people in which he found himself. More so than any of the other English artists in Rome, according to Maria Graham, who wrote in 1821 that "He has the curiosity and the means of knowing all popular stories and traditions about Rome; and, of all the English I know, has most acquaintance with the people of the country."³

And back in Rome in the 1820s, he followed Léopold Robert to Castel San Angelo where the families of the brigands were held to paint them. He composed a series of genre scenes, intended for

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² "A painter may introduce a band of robbers with effect in a landscape but it would not be so agreeable to find them fill an actual foreground ... I have a sort of presentiment I shall one day be better acquainted with them for it is impossible to resist the attractions of the scenery of the Apennines near Rome and there is always great risk in being there." Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 7 Aug. 1820 (Plymouth).

³ Letter from Maria Graham, as she then was, to Francis Palgrave, 1821 (R.B. Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 1st ed. 1937, p.171).
engraving, based on themes suggested by Maria Grazia's description of life among the brigands.\(^1\) The engravings were done in 1824 by the new method of mezzotinting on steel. The results were hailed in London as an outstanding example of the merits of the process.\(^2\)

At the level of an engraved series, the scenes took their place as successors to Pinelli's sketches.\(^3\) But Eastlake also chanced five of them in the British Institution exhibition of 1822, although he was very apprehensive of the viewers' reaction there to new subjects.\(^4\) All five shown had already been acquired by patrons in Rome.\(^5\) Eastlake may have been encouraged by this to exhibit them in London. And, in the event, his fears to all appearances were confounded.

The genre scenes, more of which were exhibited in the British Institution's exhibitions of 1823 and 1824, won for him in London the same kind of reputation that his Greek sketches and paintings had first gained him in Rome.

The Secretary of the British Institution received, on the painter's behalf, as many commissions for similar scenes as he could hope to complete.\(^6\) Amongst old clients, they rivalled in popularity

\(^1\) "The models are remarkable persons ... The woman is a native of Sonnino who lives in Rome under police surveillance. Many scenes which Eastlake depicts are as she described them." Letter to the editor of the *Somerset House Gazette*, signed "L - a Brother painter", no.xx, 21 Feb. 1824.


\(^3\) See p. 64 above.


\(^5\) "[[Eastlake's] Italian subjects are already the property of patrons who superior to prejudice are pleased to judge for themselves, and thus generously manifest their taste, by rewarding living talent." Review of exhibition at British Institution, 1824, *Somerset House Gazette*, no.xvi, 24 Jan. 1824.

\(^6\) C. and Lady Eastlake, *op.cit.*, p.102.
his landscape paintings. Colonel Greville Howard wanted Eastlake to add a number of genre subjects to his commission for landscape paintings which Eastlake was completing in 1823. The painter was too heavily employed in Rome to do so. Besides, the price for them, he now explained to Colonel Howard, was much higher than for his landscapes "owing to the great demand for them and the elaborate study I am obliged to give them to keep pace with the degree of reputation those that I have sent to London have gained me". Another patron, the Duke of Bedford, was impressed by The Child Leading a Blind Woman to Mass, owned by Mr Douglas Hickman, which was exhibited in 1824. It may have helped Eastlake gain the commission for The Pilgrims, while Severn was advised by Sir William Russell to model his Vintage on it.

Critics at the outset commended both the paintings and their London patrons who "superior to prejudice" and willing to exercise their own taste and judgement were prepared to reward "living talent". But they turned sour. The painter was attacked in The Somerset House Gazette in 1824 for the repetitive nature of his brigand paintings. He was defended in the correspondence later by "a brother painter", signing himself "L", who pointed out that not all Eastlake's genre paintings were brigand subjects and those that were had all

1. See p.34 above.
2. Eastlake to Howard (loc.cit., p.34, n.3 above).
3. "The Duke of B. had been particularly struck last year with a picture sent by him [i.e. Eastlake] to the Exhibition at Somerset House, A child leading a Blind Woman to Mass - it struck me ... that something of the same nature ... would suit your style." Letter from Sir William Russell to J. Severn, Spain, 18 Aug. 1825 (Harvard University).
4. See p.103, n.5.
been commissioned by a clientele who obviously liked them. Yet in Rome, Eastlake's colleagues shared the view of his attackers at home. Severn's viewpoint, already quoted, had been echoed by William Etty, who, on a visit to Rome in 1823, stated the general belief that Eastlake should return to history painting. No attempt was made by his critics to assess correctly the strengths and weaknesses of Eastlake's originality in treating contemporary Italy at all. Yet, if his first genre paintings were done in Greece, as the evidence now suggests, he was the true pioneer of genre subjects amongst the English artists in Rome, working early with few precedents to guide his judgement. By 1824, he himself had made the distinction between his brigand paintings and his paintings of "modern Italy". Both types in the end, however, were compelled to give way before his determination to subordinate all to history painting.

There is room for the reflection that if the criticism of the period around 1823, which, significantly or not, does coincide with his resolve to return to history painting, had been less sharp Eastlake might have been encouraged to join Uwins, and the other "pastoral" painters in Rome, in finding a genuine place for genre in his work.

His own remarks, as well as those made by Maria Graham to Francis Palgrave in 1821, indicate that painting the contemporary life of Italy attracted him at least as much as it did them. Thus,

2. p.93 above.
3. Letter from William Etty to Walter Etty, Rome, 30 Jan. 1823
4. p.99 above.
5. p.93 above.
6. p.102 above.
leaving England a son of "The Age of Neo-Classicism" who assumed he would love Italy because of its links with antiquity, he later "loved it more for its landscape and its modern costume".\(^1\) This is an extraordinarily strong statement, made with deliberation, to come from Eastlake. True, he finally loved Italy best of all for being the land of Titian, whose style influenced so much of his later history painting. Yet, the fact remains that the most accomplished of his work, even a painting like Byron's Dream\(^2\) which at first sight appears a fairly late work, was composed from material collected when he first sketched the landscape and people of Greece and Italy "con amore".\(^3\) It is tempting to suggest that if he had continued to do so with his whole heart, the impetus of his early years of talented originality might have continued longer than it did.

But at the time, Eastlake, always uneasy about his lapse from history painting and very sensitive\(^4\) to criticism, may have felt impelled to resist the appeal of the contemporary scene when he found that his standing as an artist was diminished in some circles by his first attempts to paint it. The criticism took the most biting of all forms: cheerful ridicule, to which his brigand subjects fell easy victims.

1. "When I sent home what I fancied would be my last Banditti picture, I looked forward to following the art as I wished, and to soon becoming more strictly an historical picture .... Long ago I never thought I should get attached to Italy for any other reasons than what made it attractive to Poussin - that is, for its antiquities and classic materials. I have since loved it more for its landscape and modern costume; and I have lastly loved it most for its being the country of Titian." C. and Lady Eastlake, \textit{op.cit.}, p.136.

2. p.36 above.

3. Writing on 16 Oct. 1822 to J. Harman, about the prospects for his brigand paintings due to be exhibited in the British Institution, he said his reputation might make some progress if the public were not "very hard on him for the subjects are new and treated 'con amore'." (London, National Gallery)

Yet, his clients did not allow him to relinquish his brigand paintings readily. In 1828, commissions for them were still accumulating. Although some were refused, he had five on hand the next year, one of which was for John Sheepshanks, and he was still determining to cease painting them and encouraging his clients to accept other subjects. At least one of them, a Mr Banks, certainly hoped for an Italian subject, but received a history painting instead.¹

The Duke of Bedford's Pilgrims is amongst the best known surviving genre painting of Eastlake's Italian years. The Duke had not been attracted to the subject, considering it dull, but in the end had assented to Eastlake's wish. The first known reference to a Pilgrims painting was made by Sir William Russell in January 1825 to Joseph Severn who was asked for a comment on "Eastlake's Pilgrims."² This suggests that either the painting which the Duke of Bedford later acquired was well under way in 1824 or there was an earlier version. In either case, it places the first conception of yet another of Eastlake's major paintings to his early years in Rome. Lady Eastlake's implication that The Pilgrims belongs to the year 1827 or thereabouts is misleading.³

The theme was not a new one. David Allan did an etching, date unknown, entitled "Pilgrims in St Peter's", according to the list of his works given by T.C. Gordon in David Allan, the Scottish Hogarth (1951). It was then in a private collection belonging to Allan's descendents. There is also a watercolour by Friedrich Helmsdorf, a German painter who was in Italy from 1816-1820, in the Ashmoleum Museum, Oxford, entitled Distant View of St Peter's, Rome, with

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¹ Letter from C. Eastlake to J. Harman, Rome, 12 Dec. 1829 (Plymouth).
² "You make no mention of Eastlake's Pilgrims" is Sir William Russell's postscript to a letter of 13 Jan. 1825 to J. Severn (Harvard University).
Pilgrims in the Foreground. More information, therefore, about the genre painting in Rome prior to Eastlake's arrival might provide a background for his Pilgrims which it now lacks.

When Uwins arrived in Naples from Rome in 1825,¹ he received two commissions for "classical" subjects from Sir Richard Acton who invited him to stay at his house while he painted them.² Without Acton's patronage, it is difficult to see how Uwins could have done other than hold to his original plan to sail back to England. With it, Uwins laid the foundation to his success in Italy as a painter of "pastoral" scenes.

By the winter of 1826, he was established in Naples, the only English artist in residence there. While now supporting himself by painting portraits, he was also exploring the Neapolitan countryside with almost ecstatic delight. Apart from Edward Lear, no other artist of the period in Italy has recorded so convincingly in letters home their joy at coming upon a people still pursuing a living belonging to antiquity in a countryside of undreamed of beauty. (His talent for vivid but unaffected writing was recognized at home, but he rejected a suggestion that he should give some of his time to writing about Italy.)²

At the end of 1826, commenting that during the previous year with Acton's support he had worked harder than ever before, he gave an account of what he had done. A group painting of children with a Neapolitan background, and two cabinet-size paintings - a Mandoline player and a scene of a Festa day - had been completed for Sir Richard

¹ P. 54. above.
Acton (all untraced; none answer the description of Acton's original commission for "classical" subjects). The Festa scene may have depicted the Festa of San Antonio of which there is a water-colour by Uwins in the British Museum dated 1825, or the Festa of the Madonna dell'Arco which Uwins mentioned sketching in 1826. A water-colour of that subject in the British Museum is undated. He had also done a study of a girl bathing (also untraced) for Mr Woodburn, a well known London picture dealer, and had made sketches of groups for further subject pictures together with sketches of landscape scenery.\(^2\)

Uwins described the first Neapolitan subject painting for Sir Richard Acton as "about the same size as Wilkie's 'Distraining for Rent'." The allusion points to an important source of encouragement to Uwins at the time. For David Wilkie, in Naples in 1826, had seen the work in progress in Uwins' studio and his completed paintings in Sir Richard Acton's residence, and he had urged Uwins to continue painting genre subjects. William Havell, who turned up in Naples in 1828, offered similar encouragement. His arrival in Italy in 1827 had been an event of note amongst the English "pastoral" painters there. An early member of the Water-Colour Society, his work was already well known to some of them.\(^4\) But in 1816 he had left England for the East, working first as a draftsman attached to Lord Amhurst's Embassy in China, and later independently in India. He

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4. See also p. 94 above.
returned home in 1825 to set about retrieving his almost forgotten reputation. Samuel Redgrave in his Dictionary of Artists of the English School (1874) explains that he did so by changing from water-colours to painting in oil and exhibiting chiefly Italian subjects. The first seven of these appeared in the Royal Academy exhibition in 1830 and continued to do so for the next decade. In 1827, in Rome Havell's drawings, which Severn said were "like magic", duly impressed artists there. He then travelled to Naples with Penry Williams in the spring of 1828, where Uwins and he met. Havell joined Uwins in painting scenes of local life with an enthusiasm and talent which Uwins greatly admired, and, believing that Havell had much to teach him, Uwins once more postponed his return home. The pair wintered in 1828 in a house they rented jointly at the foot of Vesuvius. By this time, Uwins considered his position in Italy to be much more favourable than it would be at home. He now knew the country. He had the models and the materials he wanted, and he had patrons to help him. His confidence in his ability to succeed as a painter of Italian scenes had already led him to give up portrait painting and water-colour work.

Uwins was impressed by Havell's handling of light effects, finding in them "the true poetry of nature", and also by the freedom and naturalness by which Havell captured the graces and felicities

of country life. He wrote enthusiastically to Severn saying that the themes, which Cowper and Wordsworth had written about at home and Byron in Italy, were being expressed on canvas for the first time by Havell. In the autumn of 1828 he was painting A Vintage which particularly excited Uwins. But, unhappily, this painting together with the rest of Havell's Neapolitan work is missing. He may well have sold much of it locally. He was known amongst his contemporaries for his willingness to sell his paintings cheaply, a practice which would have accorded well with conditions in Naples where English painters usually chafed at the low prices.

Five of Uwins' own Neapolitan scenes were on exhibition at the British Institution in 1829. They were: Love at Naples, The Tired Dancer, The Morning of the Wedding, The Young Prisoner, The Confession. These paintings were exceptionally well received in London (all are untraced). A commission from Sir Thomas Lawrence confirmed his rising stock there. Sir Matthew Ridley also patronized him.

Uwins now planned to exhibit his Neapolitan scenes in the Royal Academy. Those which had appeared in the British Institution had been

small, cabinet-size, paintings. Encouraged by Eastlake, he now aimed at painting larger works.\(^1\) In 1830, Uwins was painting a picture which almost certainly is The Neapolitan Saint Manufactory (plate 19) at Leicester Art Gallery, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1832. In contrast to a painting like The Tarantella (plate 25) of 1842 in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in which the bright, unmodulated colour portrays the shadowless Italian summer, Uwins has chosen an interior scene where the drawn blinds cut out the sun, which appears only through the open doorway. The low colour range was intended to satisfy English eyes.\(^2\) Part of the painting, indeed, was completed in 1831 when Uwins had returned home but was still painting Italian pastoral subjects, as the next chapter will relate.

Penn Williams, who had left England to paint landscape in Italy,\(^3\) turned to subject painting apprehensively with one ear keenly alert for reaction from his supporters at home. Yet the urge to alter the direction of his work followed fast on his arrival in Rome.

He gave Sir Thomas Lawrence the first hint of his new and unexpected interest in a letter of March 1827: "The fine weather will now soon be coming on, I look forward anxiously to the pleasure of going to the country, I have lately made at short intervals from painting several careful studies of rustic figures (sic)."\(^4\) In October 1828, the first outcome of those studies, Young Italian Peasants.

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3. p. 46 above.
4. See Appendix 3, abstract no. 1 , par. 2.
now missing, was on its way to England, along with View of Rome from
the Barbarini Gardens and A Town in Switzerland, both also missing.
The last is described in letters by Williams as "a Market Scene at
Berne in Switzerland" so that it was probably in some measure a
figure composition, like the Italian peasant painting.\(^1\)

These paintings were sent first to Sir Thomas Lawrence, who was
to decide if they should be exhibited in that year's Royal Academy
exhibition, and then they went on to their rightful owner, Williams'
patron, Mr Bailey.\(^2\) While they were crossing Europe and later while
Williams waited anxiously for news of their reception at home, he
elected to paint another "pastoral" painting called The Return - a
Cottage Scene in the Campagna di Roma (missing). "The principal
objects are the figures", he wrote somewhat defensively in January
1828 to Sir Thomas Lawrence, who was no doubt expecting Williams to
follow his advice to paint landscapes.\(^3\) Williams explained that he
had not neglected his landscape painting: in the autumn he had
been out at Subiaco and Olevano making studies and during the
good weather in Rome in the winter he had worked on sketches in oil
of the city. He had decided to do a figure subject, however, partly
because his summer and autumn sketches had not provided him with
enough material to do a landscape adequately and partly because he
wanted to take advantage of the special opportunities offered in
Italy to paint the figure from nature.

\(^1\) Letter from P. Williams to Sir T. Lawrence, Rome, 16 Jan. 1828.
[See Appendix 3, extract no.2, par.2.]

\(^2\) Ibid.

\(^3\) Pency Williams does not give the title of the figure painting in
his letter of 16 Jan. 1828 to Sir T. Lawrence, but one to Mr
Bailey of 21 Aug. 1828 confirms that it was The Cottage Scene.
[See Appendix 3, extracts no.2, par.3 and no.4, par.3.]
He had now additional cause for feeling that he must show good reason for giving his time to the uncertain pursuit of Italian subject painting: success as a landscape painter was by now virtually assured if he continued to give his energies to that branch of art. The View of the Tiber (plate 26), signed and dated 1828, which was purchased in the salesrooms in recent years by Col. Sir William Crawshay of Abergavenny, may be taken as a sample of his "finished studies in oil principally about the River" which he was doing in the winter of 1828. The View of Castelgandolfo (plate 27), dated 1830, which Mr John Guest of Belgrave Mews, London, also acquired in the salesrooms recently, is another survivor from Williams' landscape paintings of these years. His prowess was recognized by J.M.W. Turner, who in 1828 bore to Sir Thomas Lawrence in London good news of his protégé's progress. Lawrence, himself, commissioned a drawing of a view of Rome from Williams in 1828, an expression of confidence which the young painter appreciated.

But equally, in Rome, Penry Williams was receiving encouragement to continue with his figure subjects. Charles Eastlake lent his support to his new endeavours. Another supporter, a rather surprising one, was Pietro Camucinni who became a constant visitor to Williams' studio, located by chance in his family's property. But the most valuable support of all at this time came from Augustus Callcott who saw The Italian Cottage Scene when he was in Rome in the winter of

1. See Appendix 3, extract no.2, par.3.
2. See Appendix 3, extract no.3, par.2.
4. See Appendix 3, extract no.2, par.2.
1828. He was impressed, and, in consequence, brought distinguished members of the English circle in Rome to Williams' studio. Among them was Lord Caledon, who in his turn brought a great many of his friends. Lord Caledon himself ordered a major painting, now missing, size and subject being left to the artist's own choice. Lord Arundell and a Mr Hamilton, brother of Mr William Hamilton, the late British ambassador at Naples, also commissioned paintings.¹

Rome's appreciation of Williams' subject paintings was shared by London after their appearance in the Royal Academy exhibition of 1828. Charles Eastlake, in London that year, performing the same friendly service to Williams as he did for Severn, was amongst the first to send news to Rome of the good reception the paintings had received. And, taking charge of his friend's affairs at the private view, he was able to tell Lord Leveson Gower, who wished to purchase one of the paintings, that none was available.² It was on the strength of this information that Penry Williams followed Eastlake in seeking release from the strict conditions of his contract with his patron. He now wanted to be free to sell paintings when the opportunity arose. Like Eastlake, he had also come to feel hampered by his obligation to hand over to his patron sketches which he could still use as preparatory material. He appears now to have made much the same arrangement as Eastlake did with Mr Harman, undertaking to supply Mr Bailey with finished paintings to the value of the financial support he had received from him.³

When Penry Williams sent his Cottage Scene to England, he explicitly

2. See Appendix 3, extract no.4, par.2.
3. See Appendix 3, extract no.4, par.2 and 5.
sought Lawrence's opinion about such subject painting and now frankly
admitted his preference for that kind of work. "I am very anxious to
know if you will approve of this kind of subject", he wrote, "I here
must confess that with all the advantages I have while in Italy it
is more fully after the inclination of my own mind than landscape
although I dare not think for a moment of ever neglecting the latter." ¹
He was able to tell Sir Thomas of further significant commissions for
his subject paintings given to him in Rome. He was particularly
gratified that Sir Matthew Ridley wished to have two of them. ²

Lawrence replied: "Think no explanation to me necessary, for
change in your choice of subject, provided it be advance in character;
for the painting of your figures last year convinced me of your
increasing ability in the study of the human figure. You already walk
in perfect safety, and need fear no pitfall in your path." ³ He
offered Williams two comments about his technique: more attention
should be paid to physiognomy and his backgrounds should be freely
scumbled to achieve an effect of atmosphere. But as a final testimony
to his approval, Lawrence had acquired a commission for the painter
from Robert Vernon.

The seal was now set on Williams' career as a painter of "pastoral"
subjects in Italy. The small-size tentative attempts to break into a
new field of painting were followed in the 1830s by large-scale
"pastoral" paintings which suggest a painter confident of his powers.
Notable amongst these is The Procession to the Christening: a Scene
at l'Ariccia near Rome (plate 28), which was owned by Lady Charlotte

¹ See Appendix 3, extract no.3, par.2.
² Ibid.
³ Letter from Sir Thomas Lawrence to Penry Williams, London, 9 March
1829 (loc.cit., p.114, n.3).
Schreiber who had been the wife of one of Penry Williams' early patrons, Sir John Guest, whom she outlived. The Procession, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1832, now hangs at Cyfarthfa Castle Museum, Merthyr Tydfil. The composition has a monumental air and a dignity more often attempted by history painters than by painters of genre. Williams then followed Uwins by doing a scene of the Festa of the Madonna dell'Arco, exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1833, now missing. Another painting of the same subject was done in 1836 (plate 29). It is presumably this painting which was exhibited under the same title at the 1837 Royal Academy exhibition.

It was purchased in 1909 in a Cardiff shop by Cardiff Corporation with a bequest to the city. One of these paintings of the Madonna dell'Arco was commissioned by Sir Matthew Ridley. He died before the work was completed whereupon three offers, from the Marquis of Westminster, Lord Colborne and Sir Henry Bunbury, were then made for it, but Sir Matthew's son claimed a priority right and obtained the work.¹

It may be taken as representative of the best of Penry Williams' mature work and a major example of the "pastoral" paintings of the English artists in Rome. But fresh and original though the composition and style of The Festa is, both it and Uwins' Festas remain examples of the manner in which the English artists in Rome turned to themes with which their European fellows were already familiar.

Two paintings of the subject by the Neapolitan genre painter Gaetano Gigante (1770-1840) hang in the San Martino Museum, Naples.


The one entitled Ritorno dalla Festa della Madonna dell'Arco (plate 30) is undated, the other, Festa della Madonna dell'Arco (plate 31), is dated 1825. These are products of the school of Neapolitan painters of genre scenes which had flourished since J.P. Hackert's stay there from 1782. After him, Anton Pitlooo, the Dutch painter who arrived in Italy in 1812, led a Neapolitan group in painting landscapes which were filled with genre scenes, at a time when, of course, the British artists were out of Italy.¹

A much better known precursor, however, to Williams' Festa than either of Gigante's modest canvases was Léopold Robert's Le Retour du Pèlerinage à la Madonna de l'Arc (plate 14). It was planned as one of a set of four paintings of local Italian scenes which were probably also intended to symbolise the four seasons. One of his contemporary biographers holds that Robert intended the set to show that genre scenes could express the fundamental aspects of human life just as fully as classical paintings of "High" art.² It is interesting, therefore, that Robert's "Festa" was known to the English painters in Rome when Uwins was making the same claim for their paintings of contemporary scenes.³ The set's links with history painting were

1. R. Causa, La Scuola Di Posillipo (1967).

2. "La grande quantité de petits tableaux et l'extrême simplicité des achevés jusque là par L. Robert, avaient fait considérer cet artiste, par quelques critiques superficielle, comme un peintre de genre ... L. Robert ... prit pour sujet le retour de la Madonna de l'Arc, où ne figurent que des paysans et des hommes de la dernière classe du peuple, mais qu'il eut l'art de représenter, tout en se conformant à la nature, avec une grâce et une majesté que rivalisent avec celles que l'on admire dans les plus belles compositions antiques." E.-J. Delécluze, Notice sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Léopold Robert (1838).

noted by the review in The Literary Gazette of the first exhibition in 1830 of La Società degli Amatori dei Arti, where the second painting of the set, L'Arrivée des Moissonneurs dans les Marais Pontins (plate 15), now in the Louvre, was shown. The series was not completed. Le Retour du Pèlerinage à la Madone de l'Arc had been exhibited in the Paris salon in 1827.

Painters no doubt chose to depict the return from the pilgrimage because, while the believers set out for the ceremony in penitential spirit, they afterwards cast off that mood and conducted themselves with much gaiety. The pole, surmounted with wine leaves and fruit, which many of them carry, has a likely antecedent from antiquity in the thyrsus borne by the potestaries of Dionysus in pre-Christian celebrations. To the English traveller, the pentacostal scene of the Feast, enhanced by the natural enchantment of the southern Italian countryside, was a unique and arresting sight:

The vineyards surrounding the church are, after divine service, thronged with parties dining under their shady festoons, and the roads which lead from it are till a late hour at night crowded with those who return to their respective homes. Carts, canopied with green boughs, and drawn by oxen adorned with wreaths of wild flowers, are the most universally adopted mode of conveyance; but every other kind of vehicle may be seen, as well as long strings of mules and asses, all equally heavily laden. The most unwieldy and the aged, as well as the village minstrels, journey in this manner, but the young and active of both sexes usually go on foot, dancing their way for the space of two or three miles at a time without intermission ... and a noisy procession of this kind, winding along the base of the volcano, now reduced into one broad mass, and melting its lower outline into the shades of night, but throwing up volumes of smoke and jets of fire in awful tranquillity above, is a scene difficult to imagine, and of which no other country can produce a parallel.  

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1. "The best picture is certainly one by Robert, a Swiss ... The subject represents a harvest home in the Pontine Marshes, but he has thrown an almost historic interest into it." "Exhibition in Rome, Feb. 1831", The Literary Gazette, 23 April 1831.

2. See p. 132 below.

Pencil sketches at Cardiff Museum indicate that Williams studied directly every detail of the Festa (plate 32). Flowers and foliage are identified correctly, the women's hair styles and head dress noted, and the costume carefully studied. There is also a small painting of the Festa (plate 33) owned by the Fine Art Society Ltd., which is slightly but tellingly different in composition from the Festa under discussion, and may be a study relating to the missing Festa. Alternately, it could be a small identical copy of the missing Festa which was meant to exist in its own right, like the small copies of the works of the renaissance masters which Penry Williams was skilled in painting.1

The differences in the composition of the small festa and the large one are of minor interest: in the large, the indistinct crowd on the right has been eliminated and the ridge of mountain in the background, which in the small festa is allowed to shrink into insignificance, plays a dramatic part in the composition. The sketches of the Festa reproduced in plate 32 would appear to include yet another composition of the subject.

In 1837, Penry Williams visited England where the reception he received was abundant evidence of the high standing his Italian subject paintings were enjoying at home.2 The Duke of Newcastle who, disappointed that he was too late in offering to buy the Festa della Madonna dell'Arco on exhibition at the Royal Academy that year, commissioned a substitute for which he was prepared to pay £300. The subject was to be left to Williams' choice. No further information about this commission has come to light.

1. There are examples at Cardiff, National Museum of Wales.

2. Letter from P. Williams to J. Gibson, Oxford, 30 July 1837 (London, Royal Academy) [see Appendix 3, extract no.5, par.1].
Penry Williams' tour of triumph continued with a visit to Robert Vernon. He received a commission from John Sheepshanks, again for a subject of his own choosing. Lord Grosvenor (Marquis of Westminster) confirmed a commission for a painting known as Il Voto to replace the Madonna dell'Arco he had hoped for. \(^1\) Il Voto was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1842 and was then hung in Grosvenor House. \(^2\) It is now missing.

Penry Williams' standing and the continuing demand for contemporary paintings of Italian subjects is again made apparent in the acquisitions of the Sutherland family around the 1840s. The walls of one of their reception rooms at their home at Trentham, Staffordshire, were entirely hung with contemporary Italian paintings, nine of which were by Penry Williams. Another room was decorated with five panels of Views of Venice painted by C. Stanfield, R.A. in 1840. \(^3\)

Not all of Penry Williams' paintings were dated in the Trentham records, but those that are were painted around 1840, with one exception which is dated 1872. Their titles, which suggest they were mostly views, are probably misleading. They were most likely similar to the one, for example, in the Cardiff Art Gallery called Scene in the Campagna: (plate 47) which maintains a balance between figures and landscape. R.P. Bonington was also represented with A View of the Palace of Count Maffei at Verona with Religious Procession. Dessoulay makes one of his brief appearances in the records of these years with a landscape and figure painting. This collection has now been dispersed.

As Italian subject paintings thus made their appearance in the

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1. Information supplied by Penry Williams to The Art Journal (1864), vol.xxvi, p.154.
2. See p.139, n. 2.
great houses in England, Edward Lear was recording journeys of the artists far into the interior of Italy to collect materials for them. These wanderings, incidental to the history of the British artist in Italy, are one of its most engaging features. Lear in Italy in 1838, a year after Penry Williams' visit to Italy, made no bones about the allure of the foreign countryside to the artists:

Soon after Easter I mean to go to Naples, with an artist of the name of Uwins - a quiet good tempered, sensible fellow.... Uwins knows all the Neapolitan ground well, wh. is an advantage .... We shall go to Amalfi, and Sorrento - and in the hot summer time to the beautiful islands of Ischia and Procida, - wh. are said to be Paradise. I am sometimes melancholy at having seen and being about to see so much loveliness - for I think England will look very queer and dummy bye and bye.¹

Once at Naples, he pointed the contrast again between Italy and home:

All along most of the paths are fountains of most delightful water and the wild flowers are really superb - red lilacs - roses - myrtles and thousands of other plants cultivated by us, grow here wild on all the rocks, and the butterflies and all sorts of insects are beautiful.²

He referred to a trip with Penry Williams:

On the 2nd Oct., I and Penry Williams who is the first English painter resident in Rome ... set off in a Venutram... for Frascati.

On the 5th we left Val Montone, being desirous of seeing Segni - a very curious town - and one would not go there alone - but Williams having been so long in Italy speaks like a native.

Oleavano - We passed 2 days very pleasantly here - several artists being there also - and the vintage being at its height. It seems absurd but if you say to a peasant 'I wish you would give me a few grapes, I am thirsty!' he brings you 6 or 8 immense ripe bunches and goes away - never taking any money for it! In such profusion are these vast vineyards that you may ramble on picking whatever you please of all sorts; and I can assure you it is a most beautiful thing to see the ... branches down to the ground full of purple and green clusters.

¹. Letter from E. Lear to his sister, 29 March 1838 (Mitchell MSS).
². Ibid., 10 June 1833.
Yesterday 10th. We left Oleavano—and came by a long mountain rd. here (Tivoli). We passed San Vito—Fisciano—Givano and Ciciliano—all sublime towns on jagged mountains—surrounded by chestnuts and olives, and looking over boundless views—most of them exactly like pictures of Claude—who studied hereabouts....
Williams has just gone to Rome leaving me in the dumps.¹

Finally, Lear summed up Rome on behalf of those artists like Eastlake, Uwins, Severn and Williams who had been able to make something of it:

Alack you have little notion how completely an artist’s paradise is Rome—and how destitute all other places would be of capacities to study and to prosper. Rome is Rome.²

¹ Ibid., 11 Oct. 1838.
² Ibid., 29 Oct. 1838.
Chapter 7

THE BREAK-UP OF "THE ROMAN PARTY"

In 1832, Thomas Uwins from London wrote Severn an account of the current Royal Academy Exhibition. "We of the Roman party are remarkably well placed. My Saint Manufactory occupies an honourable situation in the eye-line in the great room; you are very well hung, and seen in the ante-room, and Williams in the school of painting."¹ (Severn was exhibiting his Italian Vintagers Returning and Williams The Procession to the Christening.)

The exhibition was the last one in which "The Roman party" appear together as an identifiable group working in common on Italian themes. They had already gone their separate ways. Eastlake had been home for two years and Thomas Uwins for one. Joseph Severn was still in Rome where he would remain another decade, while Williams was settling down to spend a lifetime there. In Rome, Severn was soon recalling the better days of the 'twenties when fervour abounded amongst his fellow artists. Eastlake, a central figure of the early community, was a special loss.² The history of the thirties, however, lies outside the scope of this narrative except in so far as it affects these four artists. In one telling way it did so, for during that decade the Royal Academy grew more and more determined to withhold its honours from artists who lived abroad. Eastlake had already felt the force of its determination. The other three were still to do so.

Thomas Uwins applied for Associate membership of the Academy as

2. "Eastlake - he is a loss to me which I feel more and more ... After your absence from Rome there came a race of Englishmen, and still come, who have never studied the art before and if they do study depends on the lodgings they may fall into." Letter from J. Severn to S. Kirkup, Rome, 20 Aug. 1833 (Hampstead, The Keats Museum).
soon as he returned to England, and was elected in 1833. But he felt totally ill at ease in London where art seemed to him "a paltry trade" and he ached for the freedom of Italy and the opportunities he had enjoyed there to develop his talents. He stayed on in England to remain qualified, according to his own account, for full membership, planning to return to Italy when that ambition had been achieved.

The Royal Academy could scarcely have quibbled if he had made away once the award was in his pocket: John Gibson had just been awarded the Associateship in 1833 while firmly domiciled in Rome. However, Uwins did not become a full member until 1838. By then, the Royal Academy had formally revived statute 1 of its charter, on a motion proposed in 1837 to the Council of the Royal Academy by J.M.W. Turner and seconded by F.L. Chantrey, the sculptor. Charles Eastlake was absent from the meeting. So, too, was David Wilkie, leaving C.R. Cockerell, W. Hilton, H. Howard, H. Pickerskill and Sir Martin Shee to give Turner the support he sought.

Turner's reasons for his stand, which he must have realized would adversely affect his fellow artists in Italy where he himself had spent, to all appearances, a happy and fruitful time, are unknown. Chantrey's opposition, on the contrary, was longstanding. Rome had failed to win his heart during a brief visit in 1819, and a few years later he strongly advised John Gibson against taking

2. "I should have been in Rome before this had they made me a member of the Academy." Letter from T. Uwins to J. Severn, London, 13 Oct. 1834 (S. Uwins, op.cit., vol.II, p.269).
3. P. 17 above.
4. Minutes of the Royal Academy Council, 16 Nov. 1837; 22 Nov. 1837.
5. I am indebted to Dr J. Gage for answering an enquiry on this point.
But the propriety of reviving the first article of foundation at this juncture was particularly dubious. For Sir Martin Shee, as President of the Royal Academy, had only just assured the 1835 Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry into the Arts that he regarded the clause as obsolete. And Shee's assurance may well have led the commission, who from their questions to the President obviously disliked the clause, to believe that no recommendations regarding its modification need be made.

The distress of the colony in Rome at the Royal Academy's action was conveyed to London by William Collins in a letter to David Wilkie, who had first informed Collins of it. Collins, who had been in Italy since 1836, living an active painter's life while dodging in and out of areas affected by the severe cholera epidemic of that year, argued the case against the Royal Academy's decision with determination. The Academy had been faced with finding talent to fill four vacancies in the membership caused by death. Very well, the deficiency could be made good, with justice, by honouring Penry Williams and Richard Wyatt, the sculptor, in Rome. After all, the high esteem in which the English artists in Rome were held amongst the international circle of artists there ought to be reflected in due recognition from the London institution. Furthermore, the


2. Referring to Statute I of the articles of foundation Shee said: "I think that the law is no longer necessary, and the Academy have long since ceased to act upon its spirit ... It was originally formed to guard the institution ... from a deficiency of the talent that was requisite to attract the public [to its exhibitions]." (Report from Select Committee on Arts and Principles of Design [1836].)
revival of the rule would "deprive the exhibition of a very interesting class of work which can be done better here than in England."¹

Collins must have been referring to paintings of Italian pastoral scenes. He had discussed them at some length in his earlier correspondence from Italy with Wilkie, for they were the kind of work he himself was doing there. He was concerned with the quantity of "mere costume pictures" which "must always be failures" that were now appearing by their side.² His concern was shared by Uwins who, working long and diligently, according to Eastlake,³ in 1832 to complete his Saint Manufactory, feared that the Italianate paintings of poor quality, done in London without a knowledge of the original subjects, would cause a general loss of patronage in England for all Italian subject painting.⁴

The Royal Academy ignored the appeal from Rome. In June 1837, Penry Williams, moving amongst its members at the Academy's annual dinner, learnt that he could become one of their number only if he

4. "The Exhibition now opened at the British Institution is full of costume pictures ... There is no invention, no sentiment, no mind in the whole catalogue. [They] will go near to disgust the world with Italian subjects." Letter from T. Uwins to J. Severn, 21 Feb. 1833 (S. Uwins, op.cit., vol.II, p.263).
In 1840, Joseph Severn's prospects suffered in the same way when his election to membership was opposed by J.M.W. Turner. Meantime, John Gibson had moved from Associateship to full membership, still resident in Rome, in 1836.

The Royal Academy's open withdrawal of favour from the colony in Rome appears only briefly on the record of the 1830s as it is now known, leaving much unsaid. Assertions, therefore, about the direct effect on the British art link with Rome are hard to make, even, as will appear, in the case of the British Academy of Arts in Rome which had now received the blow it first feared would fall in the 1820s.

Uwins' first experiences at home suggested that his talents certainly thrived best in Italy. His *Saint Manufactory* went to the Royal Academy exhibition in 1832 with the warm approbation of David Wilkie, and was well received by fellow artists, yet no commissions followed. His letters to Severn in the 1830s crave for Italy. "It was good for an artist to be in Italy" and he sighed "for the tranquillity of Rome".

Lord Normanton's purchase of *The Festa of Pié de Grotta* which, now missing, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1834 offered the first sign that Uwins' subjects might still find a new clientele.

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1. "I dined at the Academy dinner the day after the close of the Exhibition ... They almost all complimented me in some way upon my Pictures ... Many of them hinted that as soon as I should come to England to settle they should admit me into the Academy, but not before ..." Letter from P. Williams to J. Gibson, Oxford, 30 July 1837 (London, Royal Academy).


in England. The tide turned totally in his favour in 1839 when he enjoyed an unprecedented triumph at the Royal Academy exhibition where seven of his paintings found ready purchasers. Giving the news to Severn, Eastlake commented: "The tide of public favour has in short turned effectually towards him [Uwins] and his position has never been so prosperous or promising as it now is." The Saint Manufactory was by then sold to an unknown purchaser, who proceeded, to Uwins' exasperation, to best the painting back to Italy. When it returned to England, Uwins bought it back from its owner and exhibited it at the British Institution in 1842.

Uwins exhibited Italian subjects at the Royal Academy and British Institution exhibitions until 1854. A Neapolitan Boy decorating the Head of his Inamorata at the Festa of the Madonna dell'Arco, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1840. So, too, was the Neapolitan Peasants dressing up the Standard of the Virgin previous to quitting the Festa of the Madonna dell'Arco (missing). In 1841 The Bay of Naples on the 4th June. Various groups returning from the Festa of Saint Antonia, and chanting a hymn in praise of the Saint (missing), was exhibited at the Royal Academy.

4. Letter from T. Uwins to J. Townshend, London, 28 June 1841 (S. Uwins, op.cit., vol.III, p.112). The painting was purchased by the Leicester Museum and Art Gallery in an auction in 1892. There is no record of its previous owner. (Information from Leicester Art Gallery.)
There is a sketch in the British Museum of *The Feast of San Antonio* which is dated 1825, and an undated one of a scene from the Festa of the Madonna dell'Arco. Uwins made sketches of this Festa in 1826, and these may have been used to compose earlier versions of the subject which are now missing. But these sketches remained the grounds for Uwins' claim that paintings of Italian subjects which he completed in England were carefully based on original studies from nature.¹

At the same time, studio compositions had their place in his work in England. The contents of his studio, listed in the catalogue² of the auction sale of his property following his death, show that he returned to England with elaborate props to compose studio paintings of Italian subjects. *Le Chapeau de Brigand* (plate 34), in the Tate Gallery, was the sequel to his landlord's child donning some of the belongings she found in Uwins' studio.³

The return to studio methods of composing a picture even applied to the subject of *The Vintage* (plate 35), a painting of the grape harvest in France which was a major work of Uwins' later years. The painting illustrates a passage from a book, author unknown, called *Autumn in the South of France*. Uwins, however, had known the French countryside well since 1817 when he had sketched the harvesters in the Mèdoc. The 1840s painting most likely sprang from fresh studies made from a visit in 1846, The first owner of the painting, Mr Bicknell, offered it to the Vernon collection because he considered it more representative of Uwins' work than *Le Chapeau de Brigand* which

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² Catalogue of Christie and Manson sale, 3 June 1858.

Vernon had acquired.\textsuperscript{1}

Charles Eastlake, like Uwins, continued at home for a few years, as has been shown, to produce paintings from sketches made in the 1820s. His history paintings, now notably displaying Venetian effects of light, were represented in this decade chiefly by works like The Escape of Francesco Carrara (plate 36), Christ lamenting over Jerusalem (plate 37), and Christ blessing Little Children (plate 38). All three - attractive paintings and technically accomplished - should have an honorable place in the field of British history painting. Nonetheless, neither they nor the other works by Eastlake of these years was the expected sequel to the hopes of the Italian years. Lady Eastlake believed that he damaged his reputation by consenting to requests for copies of near copies of his most successful paintings.\textsuperscript{2} Five versions of the Pilgrims in Sight of Rome were executed.\textsuperscript{3} Lady Eastlake defended the procedure by pointing to the variations in some of the copies, but it is doubtful whether she would have seriously held that variation for the sake of variation in a group of paintings was sufficient to transform a questionable practice into an acceptable one.

A portrait of Mrs Bellenden-Kerr dressed in Italian costume as a contadina (plate 39) is an instance of the Italian influences pervading Eastlake's London studio in the 1830s. The conceit was not new. Sir William Beechey had represented Thomas Hope in Turkish

\textsuperscript{1} S.C. Hall, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.II, no.47: "The Vintage in the South, painted by T. Uwins, R.A."

\textsuperscript{2} C. and Lady Eastlake, \textit{op.cit.}, p.146.

\textsuperscript{3} These were executed for Earl Grey, the Marquis of Lansdowne who acquired two, Mr. G. Vivian, as well as for the Duke of Bedford. (\textit{Ibid.}, p.146.)
costume.\textsuperscript{1} Oppé would lend variety to his portraiture by transforming sitters of rank and wealth into agreeably costumed and very pretty peasants. Eastlake could have made his livelihood in London by doing the same, but he took care not to do so.\textsuperscript{2}

Joseph Severn, in Rome, in the 1830s was also working on history paintings once more. At the first exhibition of the new Società degli Amatori dei Arti in 1830, Severn planned to exhibit a painting of Ariel, having returned to Shakespearean themes. The society was formed in Rome by artists of all nations to foster the contemporary arts there. An exhibition was to be held annually from November to April.\textsuperscript{3} Severn, Williams, Geddes and Gibson were on the first committee, along with Lord Northampton and Lord Shrewsbury.\textsuperscript{4} The Ariel, which was commissioned by Robert Finch, was subsequently withheld from exhibition because the papal authorities, mistaking it for a painting of the angel 'Uriel', held it to be blasphemous.\textsuperscript{5}

There followed one of Severn's most substantial works, an altar piece entitled The Infant of the Apocalypse caught up into Heaven, a commission given to him by Cardinal Weld, who was resident in Rome from 1830 until his death in 1837. The painting was placed in the

\textsuperscript{1} Thomas Hope in Turkish Dress, 1798 (London, National Portrait Gallery).

\textsuperscript{2} "These 'fancy portraits' as they were called were greatly admired, and would have filled his hands with this class of occupation, had he not pertinaciously refused to devote himself to portraiture." (C. and Lady Eastlake, \textit{op.cit.}, p.146.)

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Diario di Roma}, no.96, Dec. 1829.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Ibid.}, no.30, April 1830.

\textsuperscript{5} Letter from J. Severn to C.A. Brown, Rome, 15 April 1830 (The \textit{Letters of Charles Armitage Brown}, ed. J. Stillinger [1966], p.315). See also the Finch correspondence at Oxford, the Bodleian Library.
Cathedral Church of "St Paul beyond the Walls". The cardinal also acquired from Severn a picture of the Roman Ave-Maria, and Czar Nicolas of Russia commissioned a duplicate of this painting. (Both are missing.) But other commissions of the 1830s continued to be subjects drawn from history or literature. An Ophelia and a painting called Temptation were acquired by the Duke of Devonshire, Angelica by the Earl of Eglinton and The End of the Venetian Mask and The Abdication of Mary, Queen of Scots. These paintings are missing.

In 1838, Severn's Rienzi was on exhibition in his studio in Rome for three days when the English colony flocked to see it. The next year his Ancient Mariner (plate 40), then owned by Sir Thomas Acton and now by the present Lord Coleridge, was well received at the Academy exhibition. Severn was therefore led to hope that he could establish himself as a history painter back in England, where family obligations were compelling him. He rejoined Uwins and Eastlake in England in 1841.

All three were now drawn into the history painting schemes of the 1840s. Commissions to contribute to the fresco decoration of the garden pavilion at Buckingham Palace, now destroyed, with scenes from Milton's "Comus", were granted to Uwins and Eastlake in 1843.

1. W. Sharp, op.cit., pp.168-69. The painting is still at the church. (Information supplied by Mr W. Vaughan, History of Art Department, University College, London.)

2. Ibid., p.169.

3. Ibid.


latter had already decorated a room in Mr Bellenden-Kerr's house at 27 Park Road, near Regent's Park, in "Pompeian style", using an oil technique.

Eastlake's appointment to the secretaryship of the Fine Arts Commission, set up to direct the decoration of the Houses of Parliament, was made in 1843. Both he and Uwins were now taking up the official appointments which, while they continued to paint and to exhibit, dominated their later careers. Eastlake, appointed to the librarianship of the Royal Academy in 1842, relinquished the post to Uwins to become Keeper of the National Gallery in 1845. Uwins, appointed Surveyor of Pictures to the Queen in 1845, also followed Eastlake as Keeper of the National Gallery in 1847. Charles Eastlake's appointment to the Presidency of the Royal Academy in 1850 won "the Roman party" its highest honour in that sphere. Directorship of the National Gallery followed in 1855.

Severn's career in England, meantime, had begun with a disappointment in his failure to win one of the commissions to fresco the Buckingham Palace garden pavilion. His prospects temporarily brightened when he gained one of the £100 prizes, with his cartoon, in the competition through which candidates were chosen for commissions to fresco the Houses of Parliament, but he was not amongst those finally selected.

In 1843 he began to paint an altarpiece, The Holy Sepulchre, which would appear to be an attempt to follow up at home the altarpiece he had painted in Rome. Plans, with which Gladstone was associated, to place the work in a church, now unknown, fell through. It made an appearance in 1856 when a picture exhibition in the

1. Ibid. The room is now destroyed.
2. Letter from J. Severn to W. Gladstone, B.M. Add. Mss. 44360, f.147.
Crystal Palace provided adequate space for its display. Trace of the work is then lost. In 1844, Severn started to work at Gatton Park, Reigate, on frescoes which were destroyed in a fire that burnt down the house in the 1930s. Cornelius, the German painter, had lost the commission to Severn when in 1841 the death of Lord Monson, who was granting it, brought a change of plan. Severn was still working at Gatton Park in 1848. He considered the undertaking, which he believed was a unique venture of the time into the fresco decoration of domestic architecture, to be amongst his most important works.

A more modest survival from the year 1844 is the painting of Shelley (plate 41) writing his *Prometheus* in the ruins of the baths of Caracalla. It was painted for Sir Percy Shelley, and later presented by him to the Keats-Shelley Memorial House in Rome, where it still is.

With the three ambitious ventures into history painting in the grand style of the 1840s, Severn had firmly abandoned the kind of paintings by which he had made his name in Rome, and history or literary subjects were exhibited by him in the Royal Academy from 1843 to 1857. But commendation from contemporaries still harked back to his Roman work. Locker Lampson, who knew him in London, referred in his memoirs to "a beautiful little painting by him of the Campagna at George


2. Information obtained locally.

Likewise, William Bewick in 1850 spoke in special admiration of The Vintage of Severn's Roman days when speaking of him in a letter to a friend. Severn, himself, observed to Uwins as early as 1845 that his career as an artist was in decline. When he reached Rome in 1861, as English Consul, his reputation was already passing out of the annals of British painting and into those of British literature, as the friend of John Keats. The letters and biographical material, now mostly at Harvard University, of the 1823 period establish what Severn's place is in the first record. The reappearance of paintings like that admired by Locker Lampson could fortify it there.

By the 1840s, when Penry Williams was the sole survivor of the 1820 quartet still painting genre scenes in Rome, artists there had come to regard the earlier decade as an arcadian moment in the nineteenth century Italian genre movement. They learnt quickly that Rome had other aspects besides the paradisical one which Edward Lear had enjoyed. Rudolf Lehmann, a German artist who later settled in England, arriving in Rome in the 1840s, cast a sardonic eye on them in a way his English predecessors of the 1820s never felt impelled to do. He noted how the ciceroni, holding sway in an alarming fashion, brought visitors to artists' studios or not, according to the inducements offered them by the artists. This was a venal variation of

5. P. 123 above.
a discretion the ciceroni exercised in a general way over the taste of travellers to Rome, to which Professor A. Smart in a lecture at Leicester University in 1969 entitled "Before the Grand Manner" referred. Mentioning that they would decide what works of art travellers should see, he thought their rôle as hidden arbiters of taste in Rome still required some investigation.

When therefore an artist was able to live by private commissions, he had achieved more than might at first appear: he was freed from the chicanery of the market place which Lehmann held few artists were able to resist. In the light of this, the patronage of the English circle in Rome appears in a protective rôle which merits recognition, especially as it can be credited with admitting artists to its ranks with ease. Often entrée was achieved by the wholly appropriate avenue of one artist introducing another on the strength of his talents, so that any artist whose experience led him to conclude that social excellence was the prerequisite for advancement must be deemed to have been singularly unfortunate. Joseph Severn was introduced by Seymour Kirkup to Sir William Russell before the fame of Keats had given Severn his special status, and it will be recalled how the young Penry Williams was introduced to Roman society through a judgement about his work by the established older artist, Augustus Callcott. Thomas Uwins was accepted by the English circle, reasonably enough, when he had ceased doing paintings to which his talent was unsuited.\(^1\)

Another aspect of the Roman world which distressed Lehmann was of course the absence of the troupe of country people which had captivated Léopold Robert and his fellow artists in the 1820s. Lehman escaped from their dressed-up successors in the Piazza di Spagna to find models in the community from which the originals had

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1. Pp. 86, 114, 54 for the patronage in Rome of Severn, Williams, and Uwins, respectively.
come in the Abruzzi mountains.\textsuperscript{1} Even then, one further problem for an artist of integrity in Rome, already a matter for comment\textsuperscript{2} in the 1820s, had worsened: Rome in the nineteenth century was a community in which there was a ready outlet for whatever an artist could effortlessly produce. This was not necessarily destructive of worthwhile painting as the precedent of the Dutch seventeenth century shows, but now the excessive reproduction of stereotyped images, facilitated by improved means of mechanical reproduction, meant a proliferation of Italian genre scenes, always one remove from the painter's hand.

Rudolf Lehmann finally encountered the features of his model, "a wild, untamed beauty", gazing from a Birmingham manufactured window blind.\textsuperscript{3}

Through this Roman art scene, Penry Williams lived on in an obscure quarter of the city, remote from the public eye.\textsuperscript{4} A visitor to his studio in 1842 found that his private clientele was so extensive that he had sufficient commissions to keep him occupied for three years.\textsuperscript{5} Thorvaldsen, the Danish sculptor, was still waiting at the end of two years for a painting he had commissioned from Williams,\textsuperscript{6} and none of his paintings could be found in public sale in Rome. His

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] R. Lehmann, \textit{op.cit.}, p.54.
\item[2.] See Massimo d'Azeglio, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.163-65.
\item[3.] R. Lehmann, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.46-47.
\item[4.] "Great artists do burrow in the oddest places" was the comment of a contributor to the \textit{Art Journal} who located Penry Williams in 1854. ("A Walk through the Studios of Rome", part IV, \textit{The Art Journal} (1854), p.352.
\item[5.] "I prize the gift of a painting Penry Williams has given me. It is impossible to get a picture of his for sale anywhere in Rome. He has more commissions on hand than he can execute in the next three years." Letter from H. Morgan to ? Williams, Rome, Feb. 1842 (Cardiff, The National Museum of Wales).
\item[6.] John Gibson, R.A., in a letter from Rome to Mrs Sandbach in Wales, Jan. 1842, quoted Thorvaldsen: "It is two years since I gave him [P. Williams] a commission and I have nothing yet but promises." (Aberystwyth, University of Wales.)
\end{itemize}
work was as much in demand by Continentals as by the English, and he had a special following amongst the Germans.¹ But these commissions tended to disappear from public view and are now lost.

Moreover, Williams did little or nothing during these years to maintain his reputation at home. Between 1837 and 1849 he exhibited at the Royal Academy one Italian scene and three portraits. The consequence is that few paintings from the years when his European reputation was at its height are now to hand. The Artist's Portfolio (plate 42), exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1848, which passed through the salesrooms in London in recent years, and The Fountain (plate 43), dated 1859, are amongst the survivors. The former, together with a missing painting called A Young Goatherd of the Campagna of Rome, were in the 1848 Royal Academy exhibition and were commissions from a Lady Davy.² She bequeathed them to the Marquis of Westminster, intending one of them to be a companion for Il Voto.

If Penry Williams' private clientele enabled him to live apart from the Roman art world, he nonetheless shared in full measure its practice of making replicas of successful paintings. His Tambourine (plate 44) in the Tate Gallery, belonging originally to the Vernon collection and acquired as a partner to his Wayside in Italy (plate 45),

¹ "Williams is with us. His paintings are admirably drawn and very highly finished. He is run down by English painters because not in the English style, but he is much esteemed by others. He has the honour to paint for the Grand Duke of Russia, the Queen of Naples, for German Patrons and for many of our nobility." Letter from J. Gibson, R.A. to J.B. Crouchley, Innsbruck, 29 Aug. 1842 (Aberystwyth, University of Wales).

² "My picture of The Portfolio and a Shepherd boy told well in the exhibition last year. I was written to that the Queen was much captivated by both and that she was mortified when told that the latter was disposed of - they were both painted for Lady Davy and ultimately to belong to the Marquis of Westminster to whom she [words missing] it at her death, as a companion to a picture of the "Voto" that I painted for his lordship." Letter from P. Williams to ?, Rome, ? 1849 (Cardiff, The National Museum of Wales).
has an exact fellow in the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum, Merthyr Tydfil, and there are two watercolour replicas in the National Gallery of Wales, Cardiff, and in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. The hesitations of the English art world over Eastlake's versions of his paintings were bound to arise in even greater degree before Williams' replicas, and may in part account for a similar loss of standing. Moreover, there is a very great difference in quality between Williams' larger works and the much reproduced smaller ones which found their way into major collections. Wayside in Italy and The Tambourine lack the spirit of the three surviving large compositions, The Festa della Madonna dell'Arco, The Christening and The Fountain, yet they were in the Vernon collection and must have been the paintings by which he came to be known to the public. Again, as far as taste and draughtsmanship go in the figure painting, The Artist's Portfolio might seem a work from an early moment in Williams' career, but this is not the case.

Plate 46 illustrates further the difficulty of obtaining a clear impression of the paintings of quality by Penry Williams. The plate is a reproduction of one of a group of photographs, owned by the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, of Penry Williams' paintings, which are now missing. In the absence of any record indicating when or why the museum acquired these photographs, a surmise is that they are the photographs of the exhibition at Cyfarthfa Castle Museum, Merthyr Tydfil in 1909-10, of Williams' paintings, of which no exhibition catalogue has been found. Whatever the facts are, the photograph, entitled Market Scene, Rome, reproduces an attractive painting, without known replicas, and it stands as a valuable indication of what might be found amongst Williams' missing works.

John Gibson held¹ that Williams' English fellow artists criticized

¹ P.139, n.1.
his high finish because it was not in the English style. The dearth of surviving paintings from these years makes comment on this difficult. But, at least, The Art Journal in 1854 breaks into the prevailing vagueness with a panegyric which shows how misleading the blank in the record is, even if Williams did not find universal favour:

Mr Penny Williams is undoubtedly the first English painter in Rome: his fame is European, and deserves to be so. It is difficult accurately to describe his style, because excelling equally in landscape and figures, neither are subordinate, but mutually blend and relieve each other with that perfect harmony observable in Claude's work. I may say Williams has founded a school of his own, but a school requiring such varied powers and highly poetic conception is not likely to find many disciples patient, earnest and imaginative enough faithfully to follow the careful footsteps of this admirable master. Great delicacy and facility of execution, united with exquisite taste, the finest poetic feeling, and the utmost freshness of colouring, pervade his works.¹

Mass being performed for the Reapers during Harvest Time, in the Campagna, near Rome, now missing, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1860 after an absence of six years, was hailed as a reminder of the gifts of the painter who had allowed his name to almost disappear from the English art world.² He exhibited in 1861 and lastly in 1869. Sixteen years of active life then remained before him in Rome. During them he must be presumed to have followed an intention expressed when he hurried back to Italy from a holiday in Wales in the 1860s, saying that he wished to paint ancient and picturesque Rome before it was destroyed by "modern railway stations and Government building".³ His Scene in the Campagna (plate 47) of 1865 is the last known painting of the Italian countryside and its people by the 1820 group.

If replicas and uneven standards were a feature of their work and if much of it is now missing, enough of worth survives to make a captivating group of paintings to the British School. And, inasmuch as they worked in Rome when the classical values, which first drew British artists to that city, were challenged, they have an explicit place in the history of the British artists' link with Italy.
The British Academy of Arts in Rome was handicapped after its foundation by the failure of a second wave of artists to come forward in the 1830s with the same vigour and resourcefulness as the first. Such was the opinion given to a visiting journalist in Rome during the 1840s by an unnamed artist, who had been a founder member of the Academy.\(^1\) It was shared by E.M. Ward, R.A. During 1836, he and Lord Knighton had been almost the sole attendants at the Academy's evening classes out of a community of artists whom Ward found notably indolent.\(^2\) Stalemate was also evident, the founder member told the journalist, in the composition of the board of trustees which had remained unaltered since the 1820s, even though its members were all artists whose careers now left them little time for other concerns. They were: John Gibson, Penry Williams, William Theed and Richard J. Wyatt.\(^3\)

The management of the Academy would certainly appear to have been languishing when it passed over without protest the re-activation of clause I of the Royal Academy's charter in 1837. But raised voices would probably have gone unheeded: Sir Martin Archer Shee had stated frankly to the parliamentary commission of enquiry of 1835 that the clause prohibiting members joining other societies was designed to prevent

1. See Appendix 2.d., par.2.

2. "The English were, with very few exceptions, the idlest of all the students in Rome, - The English life Academy - was very badly attended - Sir W. Knighton and myself being almost the only students who frequented it during last year in Rome." E.M. Ward, Personal Reminiscences (unpub.). Quoted by J. Dafforne, The Life and Works of E.M. Ward, R.A. (1879), p.5.

the Royal Academy losing talent to them. The reluctance of the Academy therefore to brook rivals, no doubt well known to the board of trustees of the Roman one, emerges somewhat relentlessly as the explanation of the home institution's treatment of it. The Royal Academy's initial welcome, under the auspices of Sir Thomas Lawrence, had soon given way to actions which appeared guided by the principle "Thou shalt not kill; but need not strive officiously to keep alive."

When the founder member took up the old cry for benefaction from home before the journalist, it is noticeable that he did not look to the Royal Academy for relief. After merely recalling the original sanction and assistance it gave, he envisaged succour coming from government sources, "now that we see a ministry exerting itself to develop by a well directed encouragement of artists resources of the country in this branch of intellectual wealth". The date, it will be remembered, is the early 1840s. Apparently, the competition for the frescoes to decorate the walls of Westminster had kindled hopes that the Roman Academy would now be rescued by a newly enlightened government: if state patronage had been extended to history painting, there was a logical reason for supposing that an academy for training British students in Rome would commend support.

The artist's hopes were unfulfilled, of course, so far as government assistance went, but help came in other ways. In 1843, the English community in Italy once more subscribed to a fund for the Academy. News of this was published in The Post in November of that year, along with plans for improving the Academy which were welcomed unreservedly by The Athenaeum a week or so later. Queen Victoria

1. P. 126 above.
2. See Appendix 2.d., par.3.
3. See Appendix 2.f.
made a contribution of £300. The Royal Academy, encouraged by a letter of appeal from Rome, sent £50, its last donation. The British Institution also sent £30. Charles Eastlake was suggested as a possible director of the revived institution.

The endeavours of the 1840s resulted in the little Academy being established as an adequately equipped drawing school and as a centre for artists. The students elected to spend the interest of the new capital on a teaching master, but not before the merits of artists drawing from the figure were appraised. "Some said they wanted no master, others that they ought not to come there to be taught." Compromise was reached: the master was appointed to give instruction in drawing to such of the members who wished his assistance. Equipment was also acquired. The library, augmented by a bequest of fifty useful books, was well stocked.

The running of the Academy was placed in the hands of a committee appointed by ballot from artists resident in Rome. Although still only able to remain open six months of the year, the school was thriving when, benefiting by the recent "great influx of British artists to the city", twenty-five to thirty students were attending each night in the mid-1840s. The Academy had every reason to be in good heart when the annual dinner of American and British artists

3. Loc.cit., n.1 above.
4. In discussing the opportunities open to her husband in the early 1840s Lady Eastlake wrote, "He was proposed to be sent as Director of a contemplated English Academy at Rome." Charles and Lady Eastlake, op.cit., p.175.
6. Ibid.
held there in 1847 toasted the Queen as its patroness.¹

Five years later the committee proposed establishing, in addition to the life school, a class for the study of "the Costumed Figure". It was to be financed by a separate fund raised amongst the artists themselves, but under the sanction of the trustees. Led by John Gibson, the trustees refused this sanction, and the committee resigned in a body.²

What happened next only emerged twenty years later when a board of enquiry was set up in 1874 to find out why the Academy was in a state of decline. The immediate occasion of the enquiry was the inability of the institution to defray the cost of the life class. It reported that, following the resignation of the committee in 1853, "Mr Gibson then took the entire direction of the Academy into his own hands". And, "his influence being sufficient to control the other Members in Rome", there had been no management committee for twenty years and no funds had been raised since 1846.³

Which artists participated in this passage of arms with John Gibson, the immovable defender of the classical tradition? By what arguments did each side press their case? The records of the Academy, which are now missing,⁴ might have answered these questions. But the only known information about their contents, which appears in an article published in 1933 by an anonymous contributor to the Roman

2. Report of the committee of the British Academy of Arts in Rome (1874). (The only traced copy is amongst Joseph Severn's material at Harvard University.) "The committee" of the title was the board of enquiry set up in 1874.
3. Ibid.
4. See preface.
The article does say that Lord Leighton was on "Il consiglio
di ammistrazione", presumably this was during his first visit to Rome
in the 1840s. It records that Ford Madox Brown, E. Poynter, Alma-
Tedema, G.F. Watts and John Ruskin had some connection with the
Academy. It states that the institution was known for its generosity
to poor students and for permitting Italian artists to attend classes
for periods of three years. As a result, a number of Italian artists
were also associated with the Academy, amongst whom were apparently
Adolfo Apolloni, Antonio Mancini, E.P. Michetti, Aristide Sartorio,
Ettore Tito. These names suggest that whatever misfortune the
school had suffered in the 1850s, it was still playing a part in the
Roman community during the later years of the century.

All the same, its plight in the 1860s called for an astonished
comment from C.R. Weld, a visitor to Rome in 1864. "Few things had
surprised [him] more than to see the forlorn condition of the English
Academy [sic]." He had never seen more than one artist drawing from
the nude model who had posed each night through the winter. This was
the more astonishing because attendance was free, the model good,
the light admirable, and the accommodation airy and comfortable.

Virtually at the same time as C.R. Weld was making his dis-
coveries in Rome, a parliamentary commission set up to enquire into
the position of the Royal Academy, had taken up, rather surprisingly,
the question of art education in Rome. The submerged aspect of the
Roman Academy may explain why the commission was able to reach the
point of finally recommending that, funds permitting, the Royal
Academy should establish a small branch academy in Rome, without

1. Anon., Il Messaggero, 14 June 1933.
making any reference whatsoever to the existing one. The new enthusiasm for Rome, coming late in time, was no doubt encouraged by the Earl of Stanhope, chairman of the commission, now probably remembered best as the moving spirit behind the establishment of the National Portrait Gallery. He had been appointed to the parliamentary commission on the arts in 1844 and was President of the Society of Antiquaries in London. In Rome in the 1840s he had assisted in revitalizing the British Academy of Arts. In 1856, he considered asking the government from the House of Lords to found a national institution on the French model. As a consequence of the commission's bias, Charles Eastlake had now the ironical experience of being positively encouraged to make a case for establishing a branch of the Royal Academy in Rome. In doing so, he stressed the importance of having a centre as an amenity for travelling students. Teaching requirements were modest: the director should be qualified to give instruction "where required". The commission was alert in reminding witnesses of all the facts if they appeared slow in stating the advantages of Rome. J.P. Knight suggested to them that artists could see a sufficiency of great masters' works at home, which he presumed had been the main object in going to Rome. He acknowledged, on questioning, that David Wilkie's genre painting The Confessional, which had lately been on international exhibition, had been a product

2. D.N.B.
3. Anon., Proposed British and American Institute in Rome (undated pamphlet). See Appendix 2.g.
5. International Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum, 1862.
of Rome.

Macilise, who in the 1830s had failed to go abroad on the Royal Academy travelling scholarship, said that while Rome had once been considered a necessary part of an art student's education, this was no longer thought to be the case, but a stay there could still be helpful. This was the burden of the evidence given by the witnesses, apart from John Ruskin who stated the case against pedagogy abroad with a vengeance: "If a man goes to travel, he ought to travel, and not be plagued with schools."\(^1\)

The commission's failure to make any proposals for financing the project probably doomed it from the outset. Then, from Rome itself came an imaginative proposal for establishing a new academy there on the foundation of the old one by first uniting the British Archaeological Society in Rome with the British Academy of Arts, and then inviting the Americans, who were increasing in numbers there, to form with them "The British and American Institute and Academy of the Fine Arts". The British and American governments would be asked to contribute £500 each. At the time, the Academy had a capital of £2,000 and was paying £20 a year for two rooms at 75 Via Sistina. The Archaeological Society existed in the same way. Both employed a secretary and a librarian. Once more, the Earl of Stanhope's name was associated with this proposal so that it may well have been his way of trying to implement the commission's recommendations.\(^2\)

These recommendations appeared in a pamphlet entitled Proposed British and American Institute in Rome, which was undated and unsigned. The date of publication probably lies near 1870 for the Bodleian Library acquired a copy that year, and was certainly after 1861 for

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2. See Appendix 2.g., par.12.
the pamphlet refers to Joseph Severn's consulship in Rome. The supposition that John Gibson's death in 1866 opened the way to reforms suggests itself.

However, in the event the Americans established their own school in Rome. In 1901, the British archaeologists founded their Roman school. In 1910, the parliamentary commissioners, who were in charge of dealing out the surplus funds from the Greek Exhibition in 1851, selected the archaeologists to implement a scheme for awarding Rome scholarships in painting, sculpture, engraving and architecture. A year later, the same commission presented to the archaeologists the land in Via Giulia, which the Italian state had given recently to the British nation. On this, the archaeologists built their school.1

The British Academy of Arts in Rome thus entered the twentieth century as the unfavoured one of the three parties to the proposed union of the 1860s. There the nineteenth century history of the Academy, so far as it is known, may be brought to an end. The doors were to close finally during the political upheavals of the 1930s in Rome.2

It might appear legitimate, at this late hour, to invoke John Ruskin's views in order to allow a muted judgement to be passed on the maiming of the Academy in 1852. But this would scarcely do justice to the founders of the Academy, whose institutional pursuits in the 1820s did not prevent their living in Rome in total accord with the spirit of his dictum.

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2. Ibid.
Appendix I

Selected Biographical Details of Fourteen British Artists who were in Residence in Rome during the 1820s

Information is drawn from the books of reference given in the bibliography (p. 197), unless otherwise stated. The present whereabouts of paintings is given, if known.
Index to the Biographies of the Artists

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Wood, ? p. 172
Atkins, James (1799-1833)¹

1799  Born in Belfast.
1814  Entered the drawing-class of the Belfast Academical Institution. Taught by an Italian, Gaetano Fabbrini.
1818  Won the B.A.I.'s prize medal for portrait painting.
1819  Sent to Italy by patrons, two of whom were the Marquis of Downshire and the Marquis of Londonderry.
1831  Exhibited a portrait of a gentleman at R.A.
1832  W.G. Gladstone saw a painting of the Corpus Domini procession in his Rome studio. Went to Constantinople to paint a portrait of the Sultan.
1833  Exhibited a portrait of J. Pennethorne, Esq. at R.A.
1835  Died at Valetta on his way back from Constantinople.
1900  Italian work sold in a Belfast auction.

Paintings of his, loaned by private persons, were on exhibition at the Linen Hall Library, Belfast. They included The Italian Lacemaker and Head of a Greek Girl.

¹ See p.47, n.4.
Bewick, William (1795-1866)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Born at Darlington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1815</td>
<td>Apprenticed to Benjamin Haydon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824-1825</td>
<td>Returned to Darlington to paint portraits, having had to answer a surety he had gone for Haydon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Lawrence sent him to Rome to copy in the Sistine Chapel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Returned home on Lawrence's death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Sistine Chapel copies exhibited at his London home in Hanover Square.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Entered <em>Triumph of David</em> for the Westminster Hall cartoon competition.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cook, Richard (1784-1880)

1784 Born in London.
1800 Entered Royal Academy School.
1808-1822 Contributed history paintings and portraits to R.A. exhibitions.
1817 Elected A.R.A.
1822 Elected R.A.
1823 Went to Rome. The length of his stay is not known, but he was still there in 1825.\textsuperscript{1} Copied in the Sistine Chapel.
7-1857 Having returned to England, he illustrated editions of The Lady of the Lake and Gertrude of Wyoming. Ceased his painting profession to live on private means. A large collection of drawings for his book illustrations and sketches of Italy are in the British Museum. (The Italian sketches are landscape and architectural subjects.)

\textsuperscript{1} P.17, n.l.
Davis, J. Pain (1784-1862)

1784
Born in Devonshire.

1811
The first exhibit of his portrait painting at the R.A.

1814
The first exhibit of his subject painting at the British Institution.

1824
1819
He was in Rome by this date.\(^1\) The length of his stay is unknown.

Exhibited portrait of Pope Pius VII at R.A.

1826
Exhibited The Love-Letter, a Contadina dictating to One of the Scribes, who ply in the Streets of Rome at the British Institution.

1828
Exhibited The Talbot Family receiving the Benediction of Pope Pius VII, at British Institution. It hung at Alton Towers, Staffordshire, but is now missing.

1843
Published "Facts of Vital Importance Relative to the Embellishment of the Houses of Parliament".

1844
Ceased exhibiting at the R.A. He had chiefly exhibited portrait paintings and history subjects. He also ceased exhibiting at the B.I. He had shown mostly genre subjects.

1858
Published "The Royal Academy and The National Gallery".

1866
His "Thoughts on Great Painters" published after his death.

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Dessoulavy, T. (? - 1869)

Biographical information about Dessoulavy is lacking. Known references of significance are given here.

c.1820s Arrived in Rome.¹

1824 Described in Enrico Keller's guidebook to Rome as a landscape painter.²

1829-1848 Exhibited, in all, five landscapes of Italy at the R.A. and two at the B.I.

1831 Eastlake wrote to Severn: "Your picture and Dessoulavy's are both hung at Sir M. Ridley's in very good company."³

1832 11 April. Gladstone noted in his diary, "We went to Desoulevey's [sic] and Wilson's⁴ studios. Liked both; but particularly the former; his colouring is deep and rich."⁵

1838 Knew Samuel Palmer in Rome.⁶

1839 Painted a "Landscape and Figures" (Rome) which hung at Trentham, Staffordshire, seat of the Sutherland family.⁷

1843 Recorded in 1st edition of Murray's Handbook for Travellers to Central Italy [see bibliography] and duly appears in subsequent editions. His studio was at no.33 Via Margutta. The handbook describes him as "One of the most talented of our English landscape painters ... His great merits are well known to admirers of this beautiful branch of art, and have been honoured with the highest praise by the first German critics."

1847 W. Gardiner, visitor to Rome, described him as "The principal English landscape painter in Rome".⁸

1854 Article in The Art Journal says: "The landscape painter of Rome is Mr Dessoulavy, who has resided here for the last thirty years, ... although rejoicing in a well-earned and well-deserved celebrity, a more retiring, modest man than Mr Dessoulavy does not probably exist." Florentia, "A walk through the Studios of Rome", Part IV, The Art Journal, vol.VI, 1 Dec. 1854.
Died in Rome.

Note:

The only known work of Dessoulavy is "Ruine mit Turm" at Hannover, Restner Museum.

1. The inscription on his tombstone says that he had lived 50 years in Rome, making the year of his arrival 1819; The Art Journal of 1854 (see reference for that year above) would have it as 1824.
2. P.46.
4. Unidentified.
5. Loc.cit., p.47, n.3.
7. Loc.cit., p.121, n.3.
8. Loc.cit., p.84, n.2.
Eastlake, Charles L. (1793-1865)

1793
Born at Plymouth

1808
Requested his father to remove him from the Charterhouse so that he could begin his training as a history painter.

1809
Apprenticed to Benjamin Haydon. Admitted to the Antique School of the Royal Academy, and later to the Life School. Admitted to Charles Bell's School of Anatomy.

1810
Won the silver medal of the Society of Arts for a bas-relief drawing.

1812
Completed a commission from Mr Harman, The Raising of Jairus' Daughter.

1815
Visit to Paris. Studied in the Louvre. Painted Napoleon Aboard the Bellerophon. (Owned by the Earl of Rosebery.)

1816
Set out for Italy in September.

1817
Sea trip to Naples with Seymour Kirkup.

1818
Visit to Greece. Worked on architectural landscape and "costume" sketches.

1819
Met J.M.W. Turner in Rome and "was a good deal with [him]." Sketching at Poli with the Grahams in the summer.Illustrated Maria Graham's Three Months in the Mountains East of Rome (1820).

1820
Completed The Erectheum (plate 1, owned by Professor Waterhouse, Oxford) for Lord Guildford. Worked on Byron's Dream (plate 2, London, Tate Gallery), using one of his Greek sketches as background material. Exhibited Paris and Mercury.

1823
First banditti subjects exhibited at B.I. Three views of Rome exhibited at R.A.

1825
The Champion (plate 6, Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery), which marked Eastlake's return to history painting, exhibited at B.I.

1826
His Isadas, the Spartan (plate 7, Chatsworth), displayed in his Rome studio, won widespread acclaim.
1827
Isadare, the Spartan exhibited in R.A.
Elected A.R.A.

1828
Exhibited Pilgrims arriving in Sight of Rome (plate 10, Woburn Abbey) at the R.A.

1829
Exhibited Lord Byron's Dream at R.A.

1830
Elected full member of the R.A.
Returned to England.

1830-1855
Exhibited at the R.A. in the early years genre scenes from Greece and Italy, later almost exclusively history paintings. These included:
1834: The Escape of Francesco di Carrarre (plate 36, London, Tate Gallery)
1839: Christ Blessing Little Children (plate 38, Manchester, City Art Gallery)
1842: Christ Lamenting over Jerusalem (plate 37, London, Tate Gallery). One version of this painting was exhibited at the R.A. in 1852.

1832
Presented with the freedom of the City of Plymouth.

1835
Gave evidence before the Parliamentary Commission set up to enquire into the best means of promoting the arts in the country.

1841
Secretary of the Fine Arts Commission.

1842
Librarian to the Royal Academy.

1843
Keeper of the National Gallery. (Resigned in 1847). Commission to contribute fresco to the garden pavilion, Buckingham Palace.

1850
Elected President of the R.A.

1855
Director of the National Gallery.

1865
Died at Pisa.

Principal Literary Works:

1819
Six articles for the London Magazine.

1848
Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts, first series. A second series with a memoir by Lady Eastlake was published in 1870.

1840
Translation of Goethe's Theory of Colours.

1842
Translation of Kugler's Schools of Painting in Italy.
1852-1863  Presidential Lectures at Royal Academy

1860  Article on fresco painting in Edinburgh Review.
Contributions to C. Knight's Portrait Gallery.

2. P. 37.
4. P. 36.
Evans, Richard (1784-1871)

1784 Born at Hereford.

1814 Visited Paris. Copied in the Louvre.

1816 The first exhibit of his portrait painting at the R.A.

? Attached to Sir Thomas Lawrence's studio as a drapery and background painter.

1822 Travelled to Rome, with William Etty, on a commission given to him by John Nash to copy the loggia frescoes by Raphael in the Vatican. The length of his stay in Italy is unknown but it is believed to have been lengthy. He tried fresco work.

1831-1856 Occasional exhibits at the British Institution of history and Italian subjects.

1845 Ceased exhibiting portraits at the R.A.
Kirkup, Seymour (1788-1880)

1788  Born in London.
1809  Admitted to School of Royal Academy.
1811  Won R.A. medal for drawing in the Antique School.
1817  He was in Rome by this date.¹
1824  Working on Juliet being awakened by her Nurse and Mary Magdalen purchasing the Precious Ointment.²
      By the end of the 1820s he was in Florence where he remained until 1872.
1833  Exhibited Cassio. "Madam, I'll take my Leave" at the R.A. and the next year a portrait of a lady.
1841  Found a portrait of Dante in the chapel of the Palazzo del Podestà at Florence. Scholars have not upheld its first attribution to Giotto.
1858-1865  Lord Vernon's edition of Dante's works, to which Kirkup contributed illustrations, published in 3 volumes in London. Circulated privately.
1865(?)  Created Cavaliere of the Order of S. Maurizio e Lazzaro in recognition of his services to Italian scholarship.
      In Florence he was the centre of a literary circle, and maintained a wide correspondence in the literary and art world of his day. An interest in spiritualism added to the impression of eccentricity and wasted talent which he made on contemporaries. Observations then and since rarely mention that he was deaf from an early age.³
1872-1880  Lived at Leghorn.

¹. P.28.
². P.51.
³. As Professor D.A. Robertson of Barnard College, New York, is preparing for publication an account of Kirkup's life, no attempt has been made here to collate Kirkup's extensive source material, a knowledge of which would be essential to any student of the English literary and art circle of nineteenth century Italy.
Lane, J. Bryant (1788-1868)

1788 Born at Helston, Cornwall.

1808 Exhibited at R.A., an altarpiece commissioned by Lord de Dunstanville of Tehidy. Three history subjects were exhibited by him 1808-1813.

1817 Sent to Rome by Lord de Dunstanville. Worked continuously there on a monumental painting *The Vision of Joseph* (destroyed).

c.1827 Returned to England. Exhibited *The Vision of Joseph* in London. It was later placed in the Pantheon.

1831-1834 Exhibited at the R.A. portraits and history paintings.
Severn, Joseph (1793-1879)

1783  Born at Hoxton

?  Apprenticed to an engraver.

c.1816  Met John Keats.

1818  Won R.A. gold medal for history painting with Una and the Red Cross Knight in the Cave of Despair.

1819  Exhibited at the R.A. Hermia and Helena.

1820  Set out to Rome with John Keats.

1821  Sketch of Keats on his deathbed (Rome, Keats-Shelley Memorial House).

After Keats' death, Severn completed The Death of Alcibiades by which he won the R.A. travelling scholarship. Also painted at this time Greek Shepherds, Endymion and The Death of Alexander.

1823  Began going out to the Roman countryside to make studies from life of the Italian country people.1

1825  Commission to complete his Vintage for the Duke of Bedford's gallery of modern art.

c.1826  Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg acquired his Fountain (plate 20, Brussels, the Royal Palace).

c.1830  Commissioned by Cardinal Weld to paint an altarpiece The Infant of the Apocalypse caught up to Heaven for the Cathedral Church of St Paul beyond the Walls.

1830-1841  Continued to paint history subjects in Rome.

1838  His Rienzi was exhibited with much success in his studio in Rome.3

1841  Returned to England.

Won a prize in the Westminster Hall cartoon competition.


1861-1871 British Consul in Rome. Continued to live in Rome until his death.

1. P.86.
2. P.87.
3. P.133.
4. P.134.
Uwins, Thomas (1782-1857)

1782
Born at Pentonville.

1797
Apprenticed to the engraver Benjamin Smith.

1798
Entered the Royal Academy Schools.
Admitted to Charles Bell's School of Anatomy.

1808

1809
Elected an Associate of the "Old Water-Colour" Society and began exhibiting there. Between 1809-1818 exhibited 95 frames, illustrating literary subjects, rustic scenes, historical paintings and portraits.

1811
Sketching in the hop-fields at Farnham, Surrey.

1813
Elected full member of the "Old Water-Colour" Society.

1814-1815
Drawings for the illustrations of the academic costumes in Rudolph Ackermann's History of the University of Oxford (1814) and his History of the University of Cambridge (1815).

1817
Visited France. Sketched vintage scenes in Bordeaux.

1818
Resigned from the "Old Water-Colour" Society, of which he was secretary, to pay off a debt caused by having to meet a surety for the Society of Arts.

c.1820
Settled in Edinburgh. Painted water-colour portraits and illustrated the Waverley novels.

1821
Elected member of The Sketching Society (also called The Society for the Study of Epic and Pastoral Design).

1823
Returned to London.

1824
Set out for Rome with the intention of painting history subjects.1

1825
Abandoned a history painting2 he had been working on in Rome and left for Naples.

1826
Settled in Naples, with the assistance of Sir Richard Acton's patronage. Met David Wilkie who was visiting Naples.

1827
Abandoned water-colour painting, but completed at this period some fine pen-and-ink drawings.3

1828
Wintered with William Havell at foot of Vesuvius.

1829
Exhibited five paintings of Italian scenes at the B.I.
1830 Exhibited Neapolitans dancing the Tarantella at the R.A.
1831 Returned to England.
1832 Exhibited The Saint Manufactory (plate 19, Leicester Museum and Art Gallery) at the R.A.
1833 Elected A.R.A.
1836 Exhibited at the R.A. The House of Mourning (Royal Academy, Diploma Collection).
1838 Elected Academician.
1839 Exhibited seven paintings of Italian scenes at the R.A. with notable success.
Exhibited Le Chapeau de Brigand (plate 34, London, Tate Gallery) at R.A.
1843 Appointed Librarian to the Royal Academy. Commissioned, with other artists, to fresco the garden pavilion at Buckingham Palace (now destroyed). The painting of his subject from Spenser's "Faerie Queen" was drastically damaged in the 1928 Tate Gallery flooding.
1845 Appointed Surveyor of Pictures to the Queen.
1846 Visited France.
1847 Appointed Keeper of the National Gallery, in succession to Eastlake.
1855 Resigned from all official life because of ill health.

1. P.46.
2. P.54.
4. P.129.
West?

The identity of "West" has not been easy to establish for known references to a "West" in Rome in the 1820s all omit to give his initial. Some of the references clearly refer to William B. West (1788-1857), who was an American. He came to Europe in 1819 and moved in the Keats-Shelley circle, doing a portrait of Shelley at Livorno. He also painted Byron. He was settled in England from 1825 to 1839, when he returned to America. In 1826, he exhibited a painting of an Italian flower girl at the Royal Academy. Thus, he appears to have followed the other history painters of the colony in turning to genre.

References

1824 A "West" is listed as a history painter in Enrico Keller's guidebook to Rome.

A portrait of Byron by "West" in Rome was being sent to England [C. (Armitage) Brown, "Actors and Artists in Rome", The Examiner, 3 Oct. 1824].

1826 Thomas Uwins encountered a "West" copying in Venice. [Letter from T. Uwins to Sir T. Lawrence, 26 Aug. 1826.]

Samuel West (1810-1840) is specifically recorded as going to Italy when youthful, and as William B. West was in England by 1826, it may have been Samuel whom Uwins met in Venice.

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Williams, Penry (1802-1885)

1802
Born at Merthyr Tydfil. [Due to confusion with an elder brother "Pendry" who died in infancy, his date of birth is sometimes given as 1800.]

1820
Did water-colour illustrations for John Britton's account of Deepdene, the seat of Thomas Hope, which appeared in two manuscript volumes in the 1870s. Vol. I is held by the R.I.B.A. and Vol. II at Brixton, the Minet Library.

1821
Awarded silver medal by the Society of Arts for a chalk drawing. Exhibited a portrait of a lady at the R.A. In 1824, exhibited a portrait of a gentleman.

1822
Entered the Royal Academy Schools, supported by Sir John Guest and other patrons. (There is a strong family tradition that William Crawshay, proprietor of Crawshay mineworks, Merthyr Tydfil, was one of them.)

1822-1826
Exhibited landscapes at the R.A. and B.I.

1826
Sent to Rome by J. Bailey (later Sir J. Bailey).

1827
Painting in Naples.

1828
Exhibited three Italian subjects in the R.A. and continued to do so regularly until 1837 and then intermittently until 1869. Key exhibits are indicated below. Elected an Associate of the "Old Water-Colour" Society.

1828-1833
Exhibited 11 peasant scenes at the "Old Water-Colour" Society exhibitions.

1829
Exhibited at the R.A. The Return - A Cottage Scene in the Campagna di Roma.

1832
Exhibited at the R.A. The Procession to the Christening (plate 28, Merthyr Tydfil, Cyfarthfa Castle Museum).

1833
Exhibited at R.A. Festa of the Madonna dell'Arco (plate 29, Cardiff, City Hall).

1837
He was received with much favour on a visit to England.

1838
Sketching tour on foot to the interior of Italy with Edward Lear.

1840
Exhibited at R.A. Il Voto, or the Convalescent. In Rome he was receiving more commissions than he could meet.

1848
Exhibited at R.A. "The Artist's Portfolio" (plate 42).
1854 An article in the Art Journal speaks of his European fame. 10

1859 Painted Neapolitan Peasants at a Fountain (plate 43, London, Tate Gallery).

1860 Exhibited Mass being performed for the Reapers in the Campagna, near Rome.

1865 Scene in the Campagna (plate 47, Cardiff, The National Museum of Wales), his last known painting.

1. Information from the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
3. Council minutes of the Royal Academy, April 1822.
5. Information from Col. Sir W. Crawshaw.
6. P.5.
7. P.120.
8. P.122.
10. P.141.
Wood?

None of the reference books record any artist of this name, who could be identified as the "Wood" of Keller's guide-book of 1824; nor has any reference been found to him in the source material of the 1820 colony.
Appendix 2

Extracts from documents relating to the British Academy of Arts in Rome (1823-1936).
"It is reported here, that the Pope has offered a palace to the Prince Regent for the purpose of receiving an English academy. The French, you know, have an excellent establishment here on a large scale, occupying the house of the Villa Medici. They have dwelling-rooms for the students, and workshops for such as require them; a suite of apartments for the director; a common dining-room; a handsome suite for the public exhibitions; and a fine gallery of casts. An English establishment might be formed on a much less expensive plan. It would not be necessary, or even desirable, to maintain the students; but if it were in contemplation to provide any further assistance of that sort, beyond what is now done by the Royal Academy, it would be better to supply it from a perfectly distinct fund. The most essential requisite is a point of union, and the facility of reference, which would be obtained by a library, and a collection of casts; and two or three thousand pounds at first, and then ten or twelve hundred per annum afterward, would be amply sufficient for every useful purpose. An institution on a much more moderate scale than even the one above mentioned, and such as would be within the reach of many English gentlemen, would be a very great advantage, and the patron would immortalize himself by it. A library is the most important object, and the necessary attendance on it, the most expensive one; but by properly availing oneself of the assistance of the students, that might be much diminished. We must in this case give up any idea of a librarian who should be capable
of directing their studies. His duty would be merely to take care of
the books, and there are many very competent persons in Rome who
could execute this office and attend at stated times for very little
remuneration; not perhaps English, but Germans or Italians; and
in this way a sum of five hundred pounds for the commencement, and,
from two to three hundred per annum, would accomplish the most
important objects. New books are of more consequence than old, both
because the student ought to be pretty well acquainted with the
latter before he visits Italy; and because they are to be found in
the Roman libraries, where a new book seldom enters. Books of
established merit are the next things to be procured; then archi-
tectural casts; the productions of sculpture are so much more
accessible; and conveniently situated for the student, than those
of architecture, that casts of the latter are of prior importance.
But though the students in sculpture will prefer copying the originals,
cases of the finest statues must not be neglected, with the opportunity
of displaying them in different positions, and under different
lights."

vol. 1, pp.147-49.
In the winter of 1821 the English artists who resided at Rome established an evening academy for the purpose of studying from the living model, defraying the expenses by occasional subscriptions among themselves. The advantages of such an institution were felt and valued, and the interest with which the artists regarded their infant academy, was communicated to many of their countrymen. Subscriptions were raised, and the Royal Academy gave both their sanction and assistance. The object of the institution was not merely to provide accommodation for the students who happened to be at Rome at the time of its formation, but to found a permanent school for the benefit of British artists, where they might pursue their studies unimpeded by the inconveniences attending crowded schools, and without being indebted to the liberality of foreign institutions. It was therefore resolved to defray the current expenses, as nearly as possible, from the interest of the money subscribed, and this now amounts to 331 scudi per annum, which is sufficient to cover the expenses, on the present very small scale. But in its actual state, though highly useful, it must still be acknowledged to be very insufficient. It possessed one cast, that of the Apollo; a few books, but no library, nor indeed any room in which either that, or a collection of casts, could be placed. The rent of a suitable range of apartments would alone swallow up twice the whole income of the academy. However, as additional subscriptions are obtained every year, the fund continues slowly to increase, and I trust will continue to do so till the whole is placed in a state worthy of the English nation. It is peculiarly a national concern, for the artist who has exerted himself the most for its prosperity, leaves Rome in a year or two, and reaps no other advantage from his labours, than the reflection of having contributed something to the common good. J. Woods, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 148-49.
The magnificent Villa Medici, almost the only modern villa on the Pincian Hill, the Collis Hortulorum - has been converted into the French Academy, where, at the charge of their own Government, a certain number of young French artists of promise enjoy the inestimable advantages of a few years' study at Rome. I think this institution as honourable to that nation, as the want of it is disgraceful to our own. The illiberality, and the pitiful penurious spirit our government has always manifested in everything relative to the fine arts, form a remarkable contrast to its lavish expenditure in all other respects. The utility of such an academy is too obvious to require comment. Taste and genius are confined to no rank; and, in general, in all countries, men who have attained eminence in the arts, have risen from the middle and lower classes of society.

... When I first came to Rome, in the winter of 1820, no English Academy of any sort existed. Myself, and the other few English students were, if we desired to draw from the living model, constrained to attend one of the crowded Italian schools, or to have recourse to the French Academy at Villa Medici. At length, animated by a spirit of independence, a few of us determined to use our utmost exertions to found an English Academy, which, however small and poor, compared with the magnificent schools of France and Italy, should at least relieve us from the oppressive idea of owing any part of our education, as artists, to the liberality of foreigners, and more particularly to the French, who cherished against us at that time all the smothered resentment of a baffled enemy. The idea of drawing in a French school was intolerable to me .... we determined to carry our designs into effect by means of a private subscription among ourselves. We did so: and I am happy to be able to state, that as soon as our Academy opened, no English artist any longer continued his humiliating dependence as an interloper in foreign schools. In the following year, 1822, Mr. Hamilton, the English minister at Naples, approving of the spirit which had animated the English artists, and no doubt regarding the establishment of a national academy at Rome as an important step in the progress of British Art, made us an offer of 100 l. The gradual formation of a fund for the maintenance of a durable institution, had been all along the main feature of our scheme; but few of us being fixed residents in Rome, the mode of disposing of such contributions as we might receive for this purpose, and managing the interests of the Academy in such a way as to render it a permanently useful institution, demanded
more experience in such matters than most of us could be expected to possess, and imposed a greater responsibility than most of us were willing to incur. We therefore wrote to Sir Thomas Lawrence, informing him of our plan and its prospects, of Mr. Hamilton's generous offer, and soliciting through him the advice and sanction of the Royal Academy before accepting such contributions. The Royal Academy approved the scheme, and contributed 50 l., the President generously adding 50 l. from his private purse, for the purpose of carrying it into effect. In the meantime, our plan was furthered by liberal donations from several distinguished individuals. Finally, his Majesty George IV. was pleased to crown our endeavours by his patronage and assistance.

Par.(2) The condition, upon which these various contributions were given, being the formation of a permanent school for drawing from the living figure, we were obliged to restrict the expenditure of the Academy to the interest of the money received. From this restriction, no doubt, not only salutary, but essential to the establishment of a lasting institution, we suffered all the inconvenience of an ill-adapted and confined place, for the prosecution of our studies, and even that, from the shortness of our funds, we were obliged to keep closed during half the year. This, I am sorry to say, is still the case, either from apathy in the English visitors at Rome to the progress of their countrymen in the Arts, or from a pause in the exertions of the students to obtain, for their Academy, the notice it deserves from such as could afford them valuable assistance .... Another reason, I imagine, for the present state of neglect, in which the Academy languishes, is the consignment of its interests into the hands of the elder and more distinguished artists. These having finished their academical
studies, retired more or less out of the sphere of the (junior) students, and absorbed naturally by the works they are commissioned to execute, can scarcely be expected to possess leisure enough to bestow that attention or interest upon the affairs of the Academy, which the successful rearing of an infant institution so imperatively demands ...."

Par.(3) "This institution should therefore be regarded as a main-branch of the national means for the education of artists, and as such fostered and maintained, not only by all Englishmen who have the character of their country at heart, as a civilized and refined nation, but by the government itself. And now that we see a ministry exerting itself to develop, by a well directed encouragement of the labours of artists, the resources of our country in this branch of intellectual wealth, we have every reason to hope that so efficient an instrument for aiding in the attainment of their object, will not be suffered to remain, from the insufficiency of its pecuniary means, comparatively inert."

(Extralnt from an article, based on information given to a journalist visiting Rome by an anonymous artist, which was published, most probably in 1843 or 1844. The cutting of the article was found in John Gibson's papers for 1843 at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. The journal of publication has not been traced. As for the identity of the anonymous artist, all that can be said is that Richard Evans was the only founder member of the Academy, among the painters, who may still have been in Rome in the 1840s. He is recorded as "staying a long time" in Rome [see Appendix I }. He was not only on the Academy's first committee, but supported it financially for three months at its inception. [See R. Evans to T. Lawrence, 24 April 1824 (Royal Academy).]}
Minutes of the Royal Academy Council Meeting, 8th March 1923

President submitted to the consideration of the Council a letter which he had received from the English artists in Rome acquainting him with their endeavours to form a permanent academy there with a view to carry on their studies more advantageously, and requesting the advice of the Royal Academy as to the best mode of regulating such an establishment - stating also that they had been favoured with some very liberal donations to assist them in their object from the English Ambassador at Naples and others.

The President added that he conceived it would be worthy of the parent Institution to present the English artists in Rome with some mark of the liberality of the Royal Academy and of its wish to promote so laudable an undertaking, but in the absence of more particular information, he thought it impossible to offer them useful advice.

Mr. Westmacott moved and was seconded by Mr. Bailey that the Treasurer be directed to place Fifty Pounds in the hands of the President, and that he be requested to transmit the same to the English Artists at Rome, in the name of the Royal Academy - which passed unanimously.
"A letter from Rome in The Post mentions that an event is on the tapis which causes much satisfaction amongst the English artists here. The English students have hitherto been unable to follow their professional associations without many disadvantages, as the institutes here have not afforded them facilities to carry out their artistic pursuits not from any want of courtesy, but from... want of accommodation. The fund already amounts to near three thousand pounds with which it is intended to erect an Academy, in which all English students will be enabled to progress with their studies throughout the year, and not be compelled to remain inactive for months, without access to the public collections. The establishment is to contain all that is necessary for their use..."

"Notes from Rome", The Athenaeum, 18 Nov. 1843.
There is much need in Rome of an INSTITUTE for the use of those persons who speak English only, or are not accustomed to the use of any other language. This INSTITUTE should include General Literature with History and Archaeology, the Natural Sciences, such as Geology, Botany etc. and the Fine Arts (Architecture, Sculpture and Painting). The number of English speaking residents in Rome with the help of the annual Visitors, is quite sufficient to render such an INSTITUTE highly desirable, almost a necessity, but it is not large enough to be divided. The number of Americans in Rome is every year increasing in number, in importance and in intelligence. All real science is Cosmopolitan, the modern divisions of Empires, of Kingdoms, or Republics, or Provinces, are nothing to Science. All science requires comparison of one City one Province or one country with another. Science therefore naturally excludes all Politics or Polemics.

Par.(2) It is thought that this object may be accomplished by the Union of the "British Archaeological Society" with the English Academy of the Fine Arts" and that this union will be beneficial to both.

Par.(6) The name of British was originally chosen in preference to English in order to include the whole of the British Race the English speaking people, whether belonging to the United States of America or to the British Colonies, or to England or Wales, Scotland or Ireland, all included under the general name of "Great Britain.
and Ireland" or the Natives of the British Islands and their descendants. It is a disgrace to their Race not to have an Institute in Rome. It is proposed to call the United Society "The British and American INSTITUTE and Academy of the Fine Arts".

Par.(7) .... Our proposal is that the two Governments of the United States and of Great Britain shall each contribute £500 a year to the "British and American Institute and Academy in Rome" which will enable us to do all that is needed for the assistance and guidance of British and American Artists in the studies of their respective Arts. If the Governments decline to act, there is little doubt that the necessary funds can be raised by private subscription among the Members of the British Race in England in America and in the Colonies.

Par.(8) The Academy has a fixed income of about £100 a year derived from the interest on £2000, collected for it by subscriptions, about the year 1840, chiefly under the influence of Lord Mahon now Earl Stanhope, the president of the Society of Antiquaries of London. This example may very well be followed now and a sufficient sum collected for the wants of the United Institute and Academy.

Par.(9) The Archaeological Society has received about the same amount from the sale of the tickets to the Members and Associates annually - The Academy pays about £20 a year for two rooms at 75 Via Sistina. It has about two years of its lease unexpired, and after that time the rent will probably be raised to such an extent as to be above its means.

Par.(10) The Archaeological Society pay £22 a year for two rooms at the Palazzo Poli: the tenure of this is still less secure as it depends on M. Severn continuing to occupy the suite of Apartments
to which these belong. Each body has to pay a Secretary and a Librarian who might very well be united with advantage to both.

Each body requires one large room, the Academy for its models, the Society for its Meetings and Lectures, and one smaller room for its Library: if the two Libraries were united, the same room would do for both and one librarian would suffice. Two large rooms and a smaller one are therefore required, and if in addition to those, dwelling rooms for the Secretary and Librarian could be provided, it would be a great advantage....

Par. (12) It should be mentioned that the majority of the Trustees of the English Academy consider that as the money was subscribed for an English Academy only, they are not at liberty to admit Americans as Members of the Academy, although they are always ready to admit American students to make use of it, as a matter of favour and in point of fact a considerable proportion of their students are Americans. The minority consider that this question should be submitted to Earl Stanhope and the survivors of the original subscribers of the money. Whether they understand the name of English to be limited to the natives of England, or to include any Members of the English Race who happen to be in Rome....
Appendix 3

Extracts from Pency Williams' Correspondence

1827-1837

(Royal Academy Archives, London)
Dearest Sir,

Par. (1) I avail myself of the opportunity kindly offered me by Mr. P. Cammucini to send you two little sketches; the scenes, I have chosen more for the history attached to them than anything particularly striking in themselves, the annexed having been the residence of Raphael and the other of Claude Lorrain, had I received earlier notice of Mr. Cammucini's departure for England I should have bestowed more pains on them in the hope of rendering them more worthy your acceptance, but from the nature of the subjects, I trust they may not be altogether uninteresting to you as they are - I became known to P. Cammucini by taking apartments in a part of his house where his brother's studios are, in Vicolo de Greci, he has repeatedly called to see them and has expressed himself much pleased with my sketches, and also with my pictures, he will be able to speak of them to you.

Par. (2) I was obliged to have my former lodging much to my inconvenience in moving, owing to the unkindness of the people who let them. Where I am now, I have a better study, young Mr. Theed has one also adjoining it we live together, I am happy to say very comfortably. I have lately received a kind letter from my friend Mr. Bailey, I wrote to him in return, with respect to my pictures I had only to apologize with the explanation I made in my letter to you of the 2nd March, which I hope you have received. The fine weather will now soon be coming on, I look forward anxiously to the pleasure of going to the country, I have lately made at short intervals from painting several careful studies of rustic figures.
Extracts from letter of Penry Williams to Sir Thomas Lawrence

Rome,
16th January, 1828

Par.(1) .... The commission with which you have honoured me I am truly delighted, being not the less flattering to my humble abilities, than it is generous in this encourage and assist me - Your choice of view could scarcely have been more congenial to my own feelings - as it is one, I have repeatedly looked upon with the highest admiration, and often contemplated painting a picture of - In the execution of the drawing I shall use my utmost endeavours to produce the charming effect you have described, it would be my ambition to rival your impression of it, but that you seem to retain too well to leave me the hope, however, as far as regards the detail I promise every possible care and truth.

Par.(2) In the beginning of October I sent off three pictures which I intend for Mr. Bailey - agreeable to your kind permission I directed them to you - I gave them into the care of Messrs. Freehorn & Smith Banders - they will be delivered at Messrs. Bingham, Richards and Co. No.8, Kings Arms Yard Coleman Street - they are namely, View of Rome, A Market Scene at Berne in Switzerland - and a group of Italian Peasants it is needless to say that on each of them I bestowed the most diligent attention - and often consulted the advice of several artists here upon them, particularly Mr. Cammucini and Mr. Eastlake - the latter assured me you would be pleased with the carefulness of execution in each of them - Your remarks, Dear Sir, which I earnestly solicit, I look forward to the benefit of with great anxiety - should you consider the Pictures worthy of being sent to the
Exhibition I must intrude on your kind attention to order the frames, your very kind promise I have already acquainted Mr. Bailey, with, and I expect that on this he will already have written to you on the subject. Fearing they may arrive too late to afford time for the making of the Frames I have taken the liberty of offering their Dimensions, so that perhaps they may be done in the meantime - View of Rome 3' ½" by 2' ½", Market Scene 2' x 18" the other, an upright picture, 18½" x 14½" these are the exact right measures.

Par. (3) The picture of the view of Rome occupied so much of my time during the summer that I was much deprived of the opportunity of studying from nature excepting as regarded itself (sic) - I however made several occasional excursions to the places mentioned to me by Mr. Bury, in the Campagna of Rome, and in the autumn I passed some time at Subiaco where I was highly delighted with the noble scenery of its neighbourhood. I made some studies there, as also at Oleavano, where the country is equally beautiful though of a different character. Since my return to Rome I have made during intervals of very favourable weather, several finished studies in oil of views in Rome, principally about the River - I have also made many studies of figures, in oil, lately, - I am now about a Picture, composed of landscape and figures, the principal objects are the figures, I must excuse myself for this deviation from your advice because I did not make studies enough in the summer to compose a landscape sufficiently to my satisfaction and more especially as I have so favourable an opportunity here of painting the figures from nature - this Picture I intend to send to England with some others which I have to finish, left, since last winter, about May I hope to set off to Naples, this journey I hope to make in company with Mr. Havell - Mr. Callicott is just arrived here.
Poor Mr. Metz is very ill with inflammation of the lungs - I called on Mr. P. Cammucini this morning, he is quite well and desires to be most kindly remembered to you, he intends himself the pleasure of writing in the course of next week. I have to acknowledge much kindness and attention on the part of Mr. Eastlake towards me, as also from Mr. Gott. They are particularly kind in lending books. I have lately been much entertained with the perusal of the life of L. de M.
Excerpts from letter of Penry Williams to Sir Thomas Lawrence

Rome,
17th February, 1829

Dear Sir,

Par. (1) I have always been reluctant to intrude upon your valuable time unless urged by the real necessity in my part of doing so - with this plea I should have ventured on writing to you at present had not your kind bequest already been communicated to me by Mr. Eastlake which encourages me to do so with increased pleasure and satisfaction.

Par. (2) On Thursday last I sent off a case by Diligence, containing a picture and two water colour drawings - which agreeable to my arrangement with Mr. Bailey I directed to Russell Square - The Picture I intend for him and have sent it with a view to its being exhibited, should it meet your approbation to send it to Somerset House, in this case I have to solicit the favour of you to order a Frame for it - 2'5" x 1'10'3" is the exact right measure - Mr. Bailey, I trust I need not ask, is full attentive to the expenses of carriage Framing of my pictures. The two drawings I intend for the Exhibition of Water colour drawings - my sister will take the liberty of calling upon you for them and to take them to Mr. Robson who has kindly undertaken to get them framed for the Exhibition. I look forward to the advantage of your observations on my picture with great desire - and am very anxious to know if you will approve of this kind of subject - I must here confess that with all the advantages I have while in Italy it is more fully after the inclination of my own mind than landscape although I dare not think for a moment of ever neglecting the latter - it will be satisfactory intelligence to you that I have lately
received commissions for two Pictures of similar subjects, and particularly that one is from Sir Matthew W. Ridley - for whose lady I am now engaged upon several water-colour drawings - the other picture is for a Mr. Labouchere. Mr. F. for whom I have also several other pictures to do - another commission I have lately received pleases me equally as it is of a charming subject and to be upon a large scale - it is a view of Sorrento near Naples. Mr. Turner was pleased to admire my sketch of it much. This picture is for a Mr. Taylor of Yorkshire and were he very much richer would be an encourager of Art - I have two other small figures to do for him and he has besides extended his patronage to my friend Mr. Theed.
No.4

Extracts from letter of Penry Williams to Joseph Bailey

Rome,
21st August, 1828

Dear Sir,

Par.(1) I have now just returned from Naples in the neighbour-
hood of which I passed somewhat more than three months. During that
time I made the most delightful and profitable excursions, perhaps
I have ever enjoyed - the account of which I must however beg to
defer for another letter.

Par.(2) Previous to my departure for Naples I had all along
intended to write to you, informing you of my proceedings last winter,
and always delayed in the expectation of having Sir Thomas Lawrence's
observations upon my Pictures, in order that I might convey the same
to you - but I was disappointed of this gratification - I have had
however the satisfaction to know that he was pleased with them from
several artists lately arrived here who saw him on their leaving
England - I am informed of their having been highly spoken of in
some of the papers - Lord Leveson Gower was very anxious to purchase
one of them at the private view - but my Friend Mr. Eastlake whom
he consulted, told him they were all engaged. May I beg Dear Sir
to know from you, in case of such another circumstance, if I may
dispose of any Picture painted for you - because the advantage would
be to me very great in forming a connexion with any of those great
patrons of Art ....

Par.(3) A considerable part of last winter I employed myself
upon a Picture which I think I mentioned to you in my last letter -
the scene is an Italian cottage, the subject principally in the
figures which cost me a great deal of trouble as they are carefully studied from nature.

Par. (4) Mr. Callcott the Royal Academician who was here last winter admired this picture exceedingly ... He brought several great people to see my studio among whom was Lord Caledon. This nobleman took considerable interest in me and also brought a great number of his friends to my studio, many of them gave me commissions...

I have two small pictures to do for Lord Arundell and the same for Mr. Frederick (?) Hamilton brother to the late ambassador at Naples. I have likewise two small Pictures to do for the celebrated Mr. Sykes of Yorkshire.

Par. (5) .... When I look back to all I have done within the two years, there are so many unfinished sketches and mere slight Pencil outlines, only useful to myself and would be uninteresting to you, that were you to have all, there being so few pictures that I think it would not be a proper recompense to you ... the only satisfactory way you can be repaid is in finished Pictures which may be considered equal in value to what you have so kindly advanced me.
My dear Gibson,

Par.(1) As the pleasure a man feels in his success is much augmented by telling it to those that take an interest in him, I venture to write to you on the present occasion, certain that you are one of those who have evinced great interest in my welfare from the kindness with which you have assisted me in my progress and efforts to gain that success. You will then be glad to hear therefore that the Duke of Newcastle has honoured me with a commission for a picture, the subject of which he leaves entirely to my own choice, and for which he is to give me three hundred pounds. The Duke's first application to me was through Mr. Howard the Secretary of the R.A. wishing to purchase my picture of the Madonna del Arco finding this was already disposed of he called on me and left a message in my absence to call upon him. I had much conversation that morning with his grace and it will be the more interesting as the greater part of it was about you and your works ....

Par.(2) Since I wrote to you last I have seen Mr. Vernon and I have seen his house with its magnificent collection of Pictures and I saw the place destined for your group - but Mr. Vernon begged me to call again on my return from Wales and before I leave England for that then I might see the group in its place, that he should be glad if I took a good account of it to you - he seems to take great interest in it and desired me to tell you how glad he will be to see you if ever you come to England. I have seen also Lord
Grosvenor who was very glad to hear of the great progress in his Figures. I am happy to tell you that I have decided with him upon the subject of the Picture that I am to do for him; he did not like to settle upon it without seeing some sketch so I did quite a slight scratch in pen of the subject I talked to you about—"The sick woman going to the Madonna" with which and my description of the subject he and Lady Grosvenor seemed much pleased and they both fixed at once and he told me to handle it just as I pleased, and not to keep to the sketch any more than I felt inclined and to make any alterations in the arrangement I might think best. I have just received another commission for a Picture for any subject I like to Paint from a Mr. Sheepshanks who has a fine collection of Modern Pictures and who is a great friend to artists. Mr. Collins used to talk about him often.

Para. (3) I dined at the Academy dinner the day after the close of the Exhibition, and enjoyed it very much, I had already seen a great many of the Academicians and those that I had not I was introduced to on the present occasion. They almost all complimented me in some way upon my Pictures and expressed their regret that I had not returned to England for good, that is to "remain among us" as they said. Many of them hinted that as soon as I should come to England to settle they should admit me into the Academy, but not before—so that I do not hope now that they wish to elect me— I believe Wyatt will be made next time an associate for they universally admire his works. Some say there will be a struggle between Wyatt and young Westmacott but there can be no doubt as to which will succeed.
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VII. *Books and Articles Published after 1900*


Birkenhead, S. *Illustrious Friends* (1965). Contains extensive bibliography of manuscript material relating to Joseph Severn.


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Plates

Measurements, giving height of the painting first then width, have been obtained through painting catalogues, or, in the case of works in private collections, through enquiry. If known, the date of each painting is given. If not, the date of exhibition in the R.A. is given where possible. If practical, a page reference in the text to the illustration is given. If not, a chapter reference is given.
Plate 1: Charles Eastlake, View of the Temple of Erechtheus, Athens, 1820 (Rome)

Canvas 64.8 cm x 87.7 cm

Oxford, Professor E. Waterhouse (Chapter 3)
Plate 2:
Charles Eastlake, *Byron's Dream*, 1828 (Rome)
Canvas 116.8 cm x 170.2 cm
London, Tate Gallery
(Chapter 3)
Plate 3:
Charles Eastlake, The Trajan Forum, Rome, 1821 (Rome)
Canvas 38.1 cm x 89.2 cm
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Canvas 52.7 cm x 65.4 cm London, Tate Gallery
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London, Sir John Soane's Museum

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Pencil, black chalk and water colours, 31.7 cm x 23 cm
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
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Canvas 104.1 cm x 78.7 cm

Bedfordshire,
Woburn Abbey

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Canvas 238.8 cm x 147.4 cm

London, Victoria and Albert Museum

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J.P. Hackert, Landscape, Ruins and River Scene, s.d. 1768

Canvas 45.7 cm x 64.2 cm

Glasgow, Art Galleries and Museums

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Canvas 35.3 cm x 48.4 cm  
Copenhagen,  
Thorvaldsen Museum  
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Canvas 142 cm x 212.5 cm

Paris, Louvre

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Canvas 141.7 cm x 212.0 cm
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Paris, Louvre
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Canvas 137.2 cm x 210.8 cm
Bedfordshire, Woburn Abbey

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Thomas Uwins, *A Neapolitan Saint Manufactory*, 1832 (Naples and England)

Canvas 74 cm x 86.4 cm

Leicester, Museums and Art Gallery
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Joseph Severn, *The Fountain*, 1828 (Rome)

Canvas 102 cm x 130 cm

Brussels, Royal Palace

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Joseph Severn, Shepherds in the Campagne (sic), 1829 (Rome)
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Oxford, J. Bryson Esq.
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Canvas 63.5 cm x 50.8 cm

London, Tate Gallery

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Penry Williams, The Procession to the Christening, 1831 (Rome)
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Gaetano Gigante, Ritorno dalla Festa della Madonna dell'Arco, s.
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Canvas 20.3 cm x 48.9 cm
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Joseph Severn, *The Ancient Mariner*, 1838 (Rome)

Canvas 71.1 cm x 142.3 cm

Ottery St. Mary, Lord Coleridge

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Joseph Severn, Shelley Writing 'Prometheus' in the Ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, s.d. 1845
Canvas 101 cm x 123 cm
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Penry Williams, Italian Peasants Looking at a Sketchbook, 1848 (Rome)
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Canvas 66.1 cm x 91.4 cm
Provenance Unknown
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Penry Williams, Neapolitan Peasants at a Fountain, s.d. 1859 (Rome)
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Penry Williams, Rest by the Wayside (Rome)
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Penry Williams, Market Scene, Rome  PROVENANCE UNKNOWN
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Penry Williams, *Scene in the Campagna*, s.d. 1865 (Rome)
Canvas 91.4 cm x 182.9 cm
Cardiff, National Museum of Wales
(p.141)
Fourteen British artists, four of whom were supported by patrons, had taken up residence in Rome by the early 1820s. At least eleven of them went there to paint history.

Their belief that Rome could and should remain a centre for British art was given lively expression in 1823 when they established the British Academy of Arts in Rome (1823-1936). The Royal Academy was asked to support their enterprise, and was thereby drawn into the affairs of the Roman community.

By 1823, a leading member of the community, Charles Eastlake, having temporarily laid aside his ambition to paint history, had acquired the first reputation for the colony with his landscape and genre paintings.

This last, unexpected, interest was taken up by the colony as a whole. Indeed, by the 1830s it had ceased to be a community of history painters. And, Joseph Severn, Thomas Uwins and Penry Williams had joined Eastlake in winning acclaim for the colony, principally by their paintings of Italian life which were sent home to the London exhibitions.

The background to the interest in Italian genre among painters and patrons of the 1820 colony can be traced in England and Italy. Artists in Rome defended the taste by claiming, in a carefully thought out case, that the "low" art of genre could have excellencies as great as those ascribed to "high" art. Thus, from the colony of the 1820s came a challenge to the art values of the "Age of Neo-Classicism" in which the artists were living.
The history of the colony, which broke up in the early 1830s, is completed by relating the painting careers of its four successful members after that date, and also by giving the later history of the Academy which they and their fellows had founded.