

THE LIFE AND WORK OF
SIR AUGUSTUS WALL CALLCOTT, R.A.

1779 - 1844

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In his day Callcott was one of the most admired of English landscape and marine painters; his was the name most often linked with Turner's, and he gained honours denied to Turner and Constable. In 1827-8 he made, with his wife, Maria Graham, a tour of continental galleries and collections, which added a wealth of connoisseurship to his already impressive professional attributes. On his return he became a major figure in the cultural establishment, gaining a knighthood in 1837 and the Surveyorship of the Queen's pictures in 1843. However, after his death his reputation declined, and neither his life nor his work have ever received proper coverage in the literature.

This thesis is divided into two parts, the first devoted to a biography, the second to a discussion of Callcott's work, followed by a catalogue of known or fully recorded paintings and drawings. The primary sources throughout have been the papers belonging to Callcott's indirect descendants. The appendices consist firstly of an itemised list of these, and then of extracts from them, including a full transcription of Callcott's MS. Catalogue of his work, with its valuable records of patrons and purchasers.

It is no part of this thesis to make exaggerated claims for Callcott as an artist. In examining his life and work closely for the first time, it is intended rather to account for his success by the standards of his own time, and to investigate his professional and social links with his fellow artists, and with Turner in particular. Because Callcott identified himself so completely with the artistic conventions of his day, he was bound to suffer when these conventions began to change. For the same reason also, his work and career have valuable light to throw on English artistic life in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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My researches into Callcott's life and work have been vastly assisted by access to the family papers preserved by the descendants of J.C. Horsley, Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Whitelegge, Lady Edward Robinson, and the late Mrs. Nancy Strode, all of whom willingly placed their archives on extended deposit in the Ashmolean Museum, where they could be consulted. To their generosity and hospitality I owe my most grateful thanks. Among Horsley descendants I must also mention Mr. and Mrs. Derek Hudson and their daughter, Miss Katherine Hudson.

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis arose initially from my interest in the work of J.M.W. Turner, and from the feeling that studies of his work have perhaps too often tended to consider their subject in splendid isolation from contemporary English practitioners of landscape and marine painting. Augustus Wall Callcott was the artist whose name was most often linked with Turner's during his lifetime, and was, in worldly terms, certainly the most successful of Turner's several close competitors and followers. A study of Callcott seemed long overdue, and a major element in it had clearly to be an investigation into the extent of his thematic and social links with his great contemporary; it had also to account for Callcott's own high reputation, and hence I have devoted some considerable space to the probable reasons for his success and to the patronage by which he was sustained; and, finally, it was important to establish basic facts about Callcott's life and work, neither of which have ever been fully covered in the literature.

The thesis is divided into two main sections, the first, consisting of six chapters, devoted to Callcott's life, the second, of three rather longer chapters, to his work; there follows a catalogue of known or fully recorded paintings and drawings arranged in what it is hoped is a chronological order. Despite the scarcity of evidence concerning the specific question of Callcott's personal links with Turner, a wealth of other biographical information has survived. For the first section of the thesis I have relied most heavily on

the large collections of family papers and journals preserved in the possession of the several descendants of Callcott's great-nephew, John Callcott Horsley. A large proportion of these are in fact the work of Callcott's wife, Maria, a powerful personality whom it has sometimes been difficult to prevent from eclipsing her husband, but sufficient of his own survive to add very considerably to our knowledge of his work and career. Maria Callcott's valuable journals of her honeymoon tour of Germany and Italy with Augustus in 1827-8 are extensively referred to in Chapters 4-5; Callcott's MS. Catalogue of his own work, divided into sections for exhibited and unexhibited paintings (and some drawings) is transcribed in Appendix II, and the more significant passages from his critical and theoretical notes and letters are given in Appendix III; Appendix I is devoted to a list of the Callcott Papers in the order in which I arranged them in 1974-5.

Callcott was very badly served by the only full-scale study of his work ever attempted in print, J.C. Dafforne's Pictures by Sir Augustus Wall Callcott R.A., with a Biographical Memoir, published in 1876. Dafforne hopelessly confused the chronology and identity of Callcott's work, to a degree which it has taken considerable time and thought to overcome, and clearly made no attempt to collect any positive biographical information; he was, for instance, quite ignorant of the dates and extent of Callcott's continental travels, which contribute so much to his interest today. Of greater use are the accounts included by the Redgraves in their Century of Painters of the English School, and contributed

by E.V. Rippingille to the Art Journal in 1860; though written from different viewpoints, both give something of the flavour of the man as well as of the painter. T.C. Dibdin's Sir Augustus Wall Callcott's Italian and English Landscapes, published in 1847, contains no text, but offers, in splendid coloured lithographs, a representative - and totally reliable - corpus of Callcott's work which has greatly eased the tasks of discovery and identification attempted in the second half of this thesis, and provides an important record of works still untraced. Although quite a number of paintings and drawings remain in this latter category, including some major works, it is still possible to attempt a broad survey of Callcott's production. From this one becomes aware not only of striking similarities to Turner, but also of very pronounced divergences, confirming Callcott as an artist fully entitled to consideration in his own right. There is undoubtedly much more to be discovered about Callcott's life and work, and the present study makes no claim to being more than an introduction.

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P A R T I

CHAPTER 1

Early Life and Studies 1779 - 1801

Kensington Gravel Pits, where Augustus Wall Callcott was born on 20 February, 1779, must have been an ideal birthplace for a landscape painter. The village was within easy reach of London but was still surrounded by open fields and farms, enjoying in 1820, according to the Kensington historian, Thomas Faulkner, 'an excellent air and beautiful prospects to the North, and lying in the direct road for Uxbridge and Oxford, it is enlivened every hour by the passage of mail coaches, stages and waggons. High Row, on the Eastern side of the road leading from the town to the Gravel Pits, is a very pleasant row of houses built in part on ground belonging to Dulwich College, near which is a large pond now filling up.'¹ The Mall, the row of Queen Anne houses in which the Callcotts lived, also adjoined this pond, which would have been the remains of the gravel workings which had given the district its name. Their decline must have been recent, as John Linnell's painting of them, made in 1811-12 and now in the Tate Gallery, shows them very much in use.

Shortly before his death in 1844, Callcott seems to have thought of writing his autobiography; only a few passages survive, but these suffice to present a very clear picture of his family

¹ Thomas Faulkner quoted in W.J. Loftie, Kensington Picturesque and Historical, 1900, p. 264.

and early life.² The Callcotts came originally from the Midlands; 'Of my father's family the only information I ever gained was that my Grandfather (a working bricklayer) had walked up to town from some place in Shropshire, in a pair of wooden shoes, and that on his arrival in the vicinity of London, he had settled himself in Kensington.'³ Shortly afterwards he had married, and had two sons, Thomas and Richard. Augustus was the son of the former, a bricklayer and builder like his father. Richard Callcott, however, achieved greater success. The then Lady Holland, for whom the eldest Callcott often worked, took a liking to him as a small boy, sent him to Harrow and then into the Navy as a Midshipman under Admiral Digby, whom he seems to have impressed, for when ashore he lived with the Digbys, and soon rose to the rank of Post Captain. Perhaps inevitably, he lost touch with his humbler relatives, which they felt keenly.⁴

'My father', Callcott continues, 'who seems to have thought less of serving himself than of forwarding the interests of his younger brother, never rose, I believe, above the station of an ordinary tradesman. He was successful in marrying persons both possessed of more fortune (little as their fortunes were) than from his position in life he had a right to aspire to, but he had evidently been in his youth very handsome, and to a clear and good understanding, united a good deal of amusing conversational

2 Callcott's autobiographical passages are mainly contained in the Fragments of Family History written by Sir Augustus Wall Callcott R.A., a few years before his death in 1844, Robinson Papers, A.W.C. I ff. 1-13. Other relevant information is also to be found under 'C' in Sir A.W.C.'s Dictionary of Anecdotes, Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIb, ff. 345-352.

3 Robinson Papers, A.W.C. I f. 1.

4 Ibid., f. 2.

power. These combined qualifications seem to have had great weight in the eyes of the ladies, for the first (wife) eloped with him, and the second (my mother) married him against the urgent advice and wishes of her friends'.⁵

Callcott was brought up in an educated household; this was largely the doing of his mother, Charlotte Wall, the daughter of 'a wealthy Butcher of Market Street, St. James's, who had a business sufficient to allow of his keeping a country residence'.⁶ It must have seemed as if she were marrying beneath her, and the worst fears of her family were realised when her husband became involved in a shady land deal with the vicar of Kensington, Dr. Waller, as a result of which Thomas Callcott was 'obliged to desert his home, and to keep out of the way till arrangements were made to allow him to return to his family without danger of arrest'.⁷ No doubt these arrangements consisted simply of Charlotte putting up some money, and judging by Augustus's description of his parents' home, the family seems to have lived well on her generosity. 'In every room in the house were to be found prints after the best masters, among them of course were some of the Hogarth series. The little staircase was hung with tolerable oil copies from the Dutch or Flemish masters. There was also a considerable number of works by the best English authors receptions on a liberal scale'.⁸

Augustus was the youngest of eleven children, and far from

5 Ibid., f. 4.

6 Ibid., f. 6.

7 Ibid., ff. 5-7.

8 Ibid., f. 12.

strong: 'From what I have heard I gather I must have come into the world in a state of sickness that gave little prospect of my surviving many days, but good medical treatment and Dr. James's new powders got me through'.⁹ At the age of four he was sent to 'a Dames' School in Silver Street about 2 or 3 doors from the Mall corner'. Even here it seems he was showing an interest in drawing: 'I was fond of looking at the prints in an old Bible, and trying to draw brewers' horses. Some time after I determined to compose a drawing in colours, an imaginary farm'.¹⁰ According to legend, these first artistic endeavours were inspired by the sight of Thomas Stothard's illustrations to Robinson Crusoe, which first appeared in 1781.¹¹

Callcott's two half brothers by his father's first marriage were probably somewhat remote figures. His father 'brought up the eldest to his own trade, the other to that of a Carpenter, I believe I might say a Cabinet maker but I do not wish to show any ostentation in speaking of any one of my connections. They were both less successful in business than even my father, but the eldest, the bricklayer, had a very strong political twist, was a member of the Corresponding Society and an occasional visitor at Horne Tooke's table'.¹²

It was through the Corresponding Society that Callcott received his first introduction to a practising artist: 'His (my father's) first step as I was trying to become a painter was

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Cf. J.E. Hodgson and F.A. Eaton, The Royal Academy and its Members, 1905, p. 248.

12 Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIb, f. 346.

to take me to Chamberlayn the portrait painter who was one of the click and who then resided in Golden Square. But I was too much at that time absorbed in my own pursuits to care for anything else and as Chamberlayn's talents were obviously even to me of a very third rate description I never took any further advantage of the introduction'.¹³

Before this, however, Callcott's family had been determined that he should become a musician, no doubt inspired by the success of his elder brother, John Wall, as a composer and organist.¹⁴ Aged just over six, Augustus found himself being 'drilled by my sisters to wail for hours and hours at a time the treble of Handel's "Wretched Lovers" sometimes to the jingle of a worn out piano made by Backinger and at others to that of an old worn out Spinnett. This was all preparatory to my being eventually placed in the choir at Westminster Abbey under Dr. Cooke and to which situation I was sent between my 7th and 8th years'. There he spent a miserable six years, receiving in return for 'the total want of my education, music included £7 a year and 3 yds & $\frac{1}{2}$ of coarse black baize'.¹⁵

The art of Mason Chamberlin, to whom Callcott was taken by his father, awaits re-assessment,¹⁶ but as Chamberlin died in 1787, Callcott must have met him at the age of eight or even younger, and his reaction to his work cannot be taken seriously.

13 Ibid., f. 346. Callcott is referring to Mason Chamberlin, the founder Academician (died 1787).

14 John Wall Callcott was nine years older than Augustus. He became a Doctor of Music in 1801 having begun by studying medicine. From 1805 he lectured at the Royal Institution, and was the composer of a symphony under Haydn. He later suffered a mental breakdown but had recovered by about 1815.

15 Robinson Papers, A.W.C. I, ff. 12-13.

16 For a note of Chamberlin's work, cf. E.K. Waterhouse, Painting in Britain 1530 - 1790, 1953, pp. 194-5.

It is possible that as an adult Callcott was anxious to underplay all his early connections with portraiture. Alternatively, if his father and half brother were familiar with Chamberlin through the Corresponding Society, Callcott may have grown thoroughly tired of hearing him held up as an example.

It is, in fact, quite likely that the Corresponding Society had something to do with Callcott's studies with John Hoppner, which seem to have begun about the same time as his enrolment as a student at the Royal Academy in 1797. James Northcote told Hazlitt that Hoppner had once taken him to the hustings to vote for Horne Tooke, so clearly he was a supporter of his, and may well have known some of those active in the Society who were acquainted with Chamberlin and Callcott's half brother. The link is a tenuous one, but a word in the right ear could easily have brought Callcott to Hoppner's attention.¹⁷

The very mixed blessings available to a student at the Academy just before the turn of the century are too well documented to need repetition here. Although there are few records of Callcott's studies among his own papers, there can be little doubt that he felt immediately at home; he was to become a devoted Academy man. The one personal opinion that does survive from his student days is a description of Fuseli's style of lecturing, which is over enthusiastic in its parody. 'His sentences,' we learn, 'are a kind of Extermination of Ideas, the Extortion of a barren invention, the Exudation of Vanity and self-conceit, a Prodigality of words and Frugality of Ideas, his

17 For Hoppner and Horne Tooke cf. W. Hazlitt, Conversations of James Northcote Esq., R.A., ed. F. Swinnerton, 1949, p. 2.

fulminating sentences a garrulity, a loquacity of style, gorbellied, overgrown sentences. His ideas are lost in the Impetuosity of Exterminating Acclamation. Mr Fuzelly's Ideas are too outrageously hid and entombed in a wilderness of words that they may not improperly be said to lie in ambush and rush upon you by surprise, since frequently when you are contemplating perplexing confusion and expecting to arrive at some truth somewhat in character with the splendour of its dress you on a sudden discover that if deprived of its tawdry and cumbrous frippery it is but a commonplace and trite observation'.¹⁸ This would have been a very private outburst; Callcott and Fuseli seem in fact to have got on well together, and it was to Callcott that the Professor of Painting made his famous remark that Constable's landscapes made him call for his greatcoat and umbrella.¹⁹

Callcott's contemporaneous work in Hoppner's studio must have been important to him, especially as his earliest ambitions were towards portraiture. Hoppner's tuition would, moreover, have brought him into close contact with the Reynolds tradition, just as, a little later, his friendship with Farington would deepen his appreciation of Richard Wilson. The more individualistic elements of Reynolds's practise, the use of wax and the habit of dead-colouring in various colours, were, as John Gage has pointed

18 Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIId, Addenda.

19 Cf. C.R. Leslie, Memoirs of the Life of John Constable, ed. J. Mayne, 1951, p. 101, Constable to Fisher. That Fuseli addressed his remark to Callcott is generally accepted. Callcott presumably passed it on to Constable; he had been speaking with him shortly before Constable wrote to Fisher (on 9 May, 1823), for 'Callcott admires my Cathedral; he says I have managed it well'.

out, probably available to Turner through Hoppner, and there is no reason to suppose that he would not also have passed on whatever he knew to Callcott.²⁰ This does not, in fact, seem to have amounted to much, and Callcott felt that there could have been a far wider knowledge of Reynolds's methods than existed after his death. Hoppner himself, and their mutual friend John Opie shared this view: in his diary for 1805 Callcott noted that 'H. (Hoppner) thought even Sir Joshua's lectures afforded little assistance to any but such as were in some degree advanced in the profession - Opie said he thought Sir Joshua had not dealt honestly and that he might have communicated more useful information alluding to the practical part. It is certain that with regard to his mode of painting little is known since altho there are some memorandums remaining of the process of some of his pictures yet in certain stages the operation is hid under the terms of applying the secret. What is meant also by his Aycea Seratum (?) is not known, H. said he once had a receipt for mixing water and wax which was done by some means of melting gum sandrack (?) with the other two things but for want of knowing the just proportions of the different ingredients, never could succeed in accomplishing the difficulty. Opie also said that Sir J. in his Theory of Colour had made a considerable blunder since he stated in one place that the less colours were mixed the brighter they were yet recommended the use of few which to produce variety necessarily must be mixd to a great extent'.²¹

20 For Turner's knowledge of Reynolds through Hoppner, cf. J. Gage, Colour in Turner, Poetry and Truth, 1969, p. 33.

21 Callcott, Journal, 1805, Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIa ff. 340-41.

Edward Villiers Rippingille, in his Personal Reminiscences of Callcott, implies that Callcott was deliberately secretive about his technique, stating that he had 'one great peculiarity as an artist - you were never asked into his painting room I never heard of exceptions Sir Joshua Reynolds, it is said, did the same; none of his brothers in art ever entered his sanctorum. Whenever this is the case secrecy is supposed to exist, more in connection with processes, nostrums, and pigments, than in any other way'.²² If Callcott knew of the story of Reynolds's closed studio, it is possible that, when Rippingille knew him, he was keeping his own strictly private to emulate him. Turner's secrecy, however, is probably the more likely motivation.

Although it is clear that he was brought up in an atmosphere of healthy criticism of Reynolds, Callcott had the deepest admiration for him both as painter and theorist, and for one who was, as Dafforne's informant put it, 'devoted to his profession and to society',²³ Reynolds would have been the perfect paradigm. Nevertheless, how much Hoppner was able to teach Callcott of Reynolds's particular methods must remain uncertain. Hoppner's own technique is not especially unusual, and Callcott's canvases have not suffered the same decay as those by Reynolds. Like his fellow pupils, Callcott probably knew of some aspects of Reynolds's technique, but was unwilling and unable to put them to the test.

22 E.V. Rippingille, 'Personal Reminiscences of Great Artists', Art Journal, 1860, p. 100.

23 J.C. Dafforne, Pictures by Sir Augustus Wall Callcott, R.A., with a Biographical Memoir, 1876, p. 18.

Callcott's own theoretical interests always lay in colour, and this was undoubtedly partly the result of his upbringing in the free-for-all of 'secrets' and nostrums from old and living masters which prevailed in the 1790's. In 1797, around the time Callcott entered his studio, Hoppner himself became one of the dupes of the Venetian secret, and appeared as such in Gillray's satire Titianus Redivivus; and an interest in colour was of course one which Callcott would have shared with Turner.

Callcott's thinking about colour may be seen in the various notes surviving among his papers, the most important of which are those on landscape art, begun in 1801, which will be found transcribed in the appendices of this thesis,²⁴ but it should also be remembered that connoisseurs and critics from Sir Richard Colt Hoare to the Redgraves thought that Callcott made an original practical contribution as a colourist, and, when discussing his paintings, I shall hope to show that their view had some foundation.

If, around the turn of the century, Callcott felt an intellectual compulsion towards landscape, it is unlikely that Hoppner would have offered resistance. Indeed, Callcott's work in his studio should be seen as having considerable significance for his development as a landscape artist. Hoppner's own pursuit of landscape as a diversion and as a means of building up convincing backgrounds was almost certainly derived from his own master; Reynolds's holidays at Wick House, Richmond Hill,

24 These date mainly from 1801-5, and are to be found in Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. Ia-i, ff. 1-246; see Appendix III.

resulted in some attractive landscape work. Callcott's greatest debt to Hoppner was an enthusiasm for Gainsborough, whose style he could appreciate at first and second hand in his teacher's studio. W.H. Pyne considered that Hoppner was only rivalled by Dr. Monro as an imitator of Gainsborough's draughtsmanship,²⁵ and in 1803 Farington was shown several sketches by Hoppner after that artist, 'with whose drawings He is passionately enamoured'.²⁶ Hoppner owned at least eleven drawings by Gainsborough, as can be seen from his sale of 1810, as well as a copy of Wells and Laporte.²⁷ The Gainsboroughs seem to have been practically the only drawings Hoppner owned, and their impact on the young Callcott, rummaging around his studio, would have been all the more intense. It is hardly surprising that several of Callcott's early pencil sketches bring Gainsborough to mind, and that Gainsborough's lush picturesque landscape and some of his fancy pictures helped to condition Callcott's own imagination.

Hoppner's own landscapes, in oil, or at least those that are known today, do not retain the relaxed immediacy of his sketches in pencil or chalk; a heavy Hilly Landscape reproduced by Colonel Grant appears to be an uneasy blend of Gainsborough and Ibbetson.²⁸ The Tate Gallery's Gale of Wind, however, treats the sea in a far livelier manner, and perhaps played some part

25 For Hoppner as a draughtsman in Gainsborough's style, cf. J. Hayes, The Drawings of Thomas Gainsborough, 1970, pp. 80-81.

26 Farington, Diary, 21 October, 1803.

27 One of Gainsborough's drawings, now in Philadelphia (Hayes, pl. 359), was actually made from nature in Hoppner's presence and given to him.

28 M. Grant, 'Some "Unexpected" Landscapes', The Connoisseur, CXXIX, 1952, p. 79, pl. VI.

in directing Callcott's interest towards marine subject matter - a tendency intensified by admiration of Turner and by friendship with F.L.T. Francia.²⁹ Hoppner's pupils would have been in the best possible position to know about their master's work as a landscapist and marine painter.

It was probably as much through Hoppner, as through the general Academy milieu, that Callcott first met Turner. Titianus Redivivus places Turner in the enemy camp in the Venetian Secret argument in 1797, but during the following year Farington noticed a growing rapport between Hoppner and Turner. In January, Hoppner went to Maiden Lane to see what Turner was preparing for the Academy, and was particularly impressed by Buttermere Lake and Coniston Fells.³⁰ Turner seems also to have been taking advice from Hoppner on questions of colour,³¹ so it is highly likely that Callcott knew him personally by 1798.

Such brief accounts of Callcott's work as have appeared from time to time have at least established his debt to Turner, fully recognised during his own lifetime and acknowledged by Callcott himself, as an historical commonplace. Although evidence of personal contact between the two artists remains lamentably sparse, it is some compensation to have found, among Callcott's papers, two long passages about Turner and his work. The first and most important, probably written during the 1830's and included in Callcott's so-called Dictionary of Anecdotes, is an account of his first sight of a Turner drawing, and contains

29 Francia was a member of Girtin's Sketching Club, which, as will shortly be noticed, Callcott probably joined in 1801.

30 A.J. Finberg, The Life of J.M.W. Turner, 1961, p. 45.

31 Cf. Gage, op. cit., p. 33.

his most sustained judgement of the artist's work. It is well worth quoting in full:

'My first drawing I remember of his I saw exhibited for sale in a window of a man of the name of Brooks who kept a shop for the supply of watercolour materials and a kind of circulating library for the tracing of drawings to copy in Coventry Street. It was an upright drawing about 10 inches of a water mill and the price asked half a guinea - but alas at that time half a guinea was far beyond my power to expend, whose pockets seldom contained a single sixpence even. I was therefore obliged to content myself with looking, and I made several days pilgrimage to town from the Gravel Pit to visit the image of my admiration if not of idolatry. Some one however after the lapse of a week more favoured by fortune if not more enraptured than myself purchased this idol of mine and deprived me of this object of my pleasure and study.

'It was the more tantalizing as there was a youth of my own age who was a pupil to the then vicar of Kensington ... of the name of Ducane with whom I was on terms of great intimacy. He had a great love of drawing and being the son of a man of considerable wealth had it in his power to indulge his taste ... But he was not sufficiently imbued by nature or instructed in art to be as much smitten with the work as I was and preferred squandering what he spent in this way upon the drawings (if they were entitled to be called by that name) of a fashionable artist of the day named Pain, whose flimsy tricky moonlight mannerisms filled every shop window. From that moment on I became a devout admirer of J.M.W. Turner. His were among the very first works I rushed to on the opening days of the coming exhibitions and invariably have I kept to my faith and admiration for his talents up to this moment. Much as it is to be lamented that a species of perversity induces him to court public outrage, even the most extravagant of his late pranks is not without its charms or destitute of indications that might astonish if the feeling with which the scene had been conceived had been fully developed and the picture carried to completion. Those who now scoff would be supposed to admire and worship. But as long as there shall be such works as the Mercury and Herse in Sir John Swinburnes collection and the Storm in that of L. Francis Egerton, the Echo of Ld Egremont, the numerous drawings made for Walter Fawkes of Yorkshire and others too numerous to mention in this place Turner's name will deserve to stand in the same rank with the names of the highest in his department of art.' 32

The passage is more revealing of its author than of its

subject. If Callcott continued to admire Turner's later paintings, it was for the wrong reasons. His love for his earlier work is, however, obviously quite unquestioning, and comes as a distinct contrast to the somewhat glib dismissals of the work of other artists which occasionally occur in his notebooks. The opinion of William Payne given in the above account, would have been shared by many professional artists, and if this was what Callcott was really thinking at the time, and not the view he wanted to put on record, he must have been moving among artists and students for some time before seeing the Turner in Coventry Street;³³ Ducane was not 'instructed in art', but the inference is that Callcott was. But although Payne's stagy manner aroused suspicion and contempt, few who saw his work could remain totally unaffected by his bravura use of new or rediscovered methods, and that Callcott was able to see several of Payne's drawings in his friend's house should not pass unnoticed.³⁴

1799 was an important year for Callcott. He sent his first exhibit to the Academy, a lost portrait of a Miss Roberts, and actively took up the cudgels on Turner's behalf. The works Turner exhibited that year must have made a profound impression on him, and his reactions survive in what appears to be a draft account of them written for a fellow-exhibitor, a Mr. T. Bennet.³⁵

33 For other, mostly unfavourable, opinions about Payne, cf. M. Hardie, Watercolour Painting in Britain, 1971 ed., III, pp. 238-9.

34 An early critique of Payne was probably responsible for Callcott's dislike of what he called 'tricks', which gave an 'appearance of finishing when it is not' (Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. II, f. 231 verso).

35 Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIIb, f. 398. Apparently this was a draft for a letter to Bennet. Small sketches of the paintings to which Callcott refers are included, although these are too small and slight to justify inclusion in the catalogue of drawings presented with this thesis.

This artist was not a student at the Schools, as a reference to the Academy purge of 1800 suggests,³⁶ but, because of a mention of 'Mr. Holloway's picture', he can be identified as that T. Bennet from Woodstock who exhibited several farmyard scenes between 1796 and 1799, the last of which, shown in the latter year, was Portrait of a Hunter, the property of B. Holloway, Esq. 'All his [Turner's] work is truly astonishing for one so young', writes Callcott, himself only twenty. 'One of his best pictures is Fishermen becalmed previous to a storm at twilight. The composition is exceedingly simple, the effect is astonishing and most artfully managed. He paints somewhat in the stile of Wilson. This picture is about fifteen inches high and long in proportion. Another is Harlech Castle from Twygywn Ferry summer evening, twilight. This is a larger size. The colouring of this is equal to anything I have seen, and the water is most admirable as it is in the former. The scene is very picturesque and beautiful and the effect is perfectly naturel. Kilgarren Castle is also a fine picture but less finished than the others, and (the Battle of the Nile) drawing he has brought nearly to the effect of oil painting. Kaenavon Castle at sunset is brilliant and beautiful, he has sold this for five and thirty guineas, it is nearly thirty inches long. Abergavenny bridge Monmouthshire

36 The draft ends as follows: 'There is a report but how true I know not that a council of the Academicians have voted that every student of Somerset House shall be deprived of his studentship till such time as he shall have proved himself deserving thereof. If so Mr. Callcott shall have the honour of seeing T. Bennet'. This is somewhat ambiguous, but it seems clear that Callcott had not met his correspondent. If this was indeed the case it suggests that he was already known by repute as an admirer of Turner, or at least could be relied upon to know all about his most recent work.

clearing after a showery day (as Mr. Richards has expressed himself) and Warkworth Castle, Northumberland with an approaching thunderstorm at sunset are uncommon bold fine drawings. The morning from Dr. Langhorne's Visions of Fancy is sublime in its effect and grand in point of composition, but the "blue stream sparkling bright" is too much a spot. I shall here conclude ... The accusation of courtier has prevented me paying the due praise to Mr. Holloway's picture lest I should be thought guilty of adulation.³⁷

Presumably Callcott's gift for impressing the right people was already in evidence, and had offended somebody. Hoppner certainly thought very well of him. However, Callcott's comments on Turner's exhibits suggest that he was already moving away from portraiture and thinking seriously about landscape, and his membership of Girtin's Sketching Club two years later confirmed this new commitment in his work. He was not a founder member, and the details of his membership cannot be deduced from the surviving minute books; the last entry in the one covering the society's early phase is dated 11 January, 1800, and Callcott had not joined then.³⁸ We do know, however, that he was active in the Club before November, 1801, when Girtin left for Paris, for a set of seven drawings of An Ancient Castle is recorded as including an example by Callcott as well as by Girtin.³⁹

37 Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIb, f. 398 and verso. 'Mr. Richards' is John Inigo Richards, Secretary to the Academy.

38 For the minute books, cf. Jean Hamilton, The Sketching Club, V. & A.M., 1971. Miss Hamilton has kindly communicated much of her further information about the Club, none of which, however, threw any light on Callcott's membership.

39 This set is now dispersed; Callcott's contribution is unknown to the present writer. See also Chapter 7.

Callcott's membership was, in fact, probably restricted to 1801 itself, for during that year he was living at 24 Leicester Square, close to Ker Porter's Great Newport Street lodgings where the Club's first meetings had been held.⁴⁰

Callcott did not enjoy living in London itself. He was distracted from his work, and told Farington in 1806 that he had since 'Found an advantage in residing a little way from London as He is not now so liable to have His time invaded by Loungers who in London were accustomed to call upon Him to look over His Portfolios'.⁴¹ Nevertheless, membership of the Club itself can have done him nothing but good by bringing him together with a group whose ideas were entirely of the moment. Although the romantic and historic subjects set at Club meetings seem only to have had a delayed impact on his own work, Callcott would have drawn real benefit from the intellectual scope of the Club, the high degree of literacy reflected in its reference to 'poetick passages',⁴² and its knowledge of art history. These were standards for any ambitious young painter to make his own, and Callcott's participation must have instilled an ambition and a sense of professionalism, and a love of landscape for its own sake, beyond what he learned at the Schools or even from Hoppner. When, at the end of 1801, now aged twenty two, Callcott returned to live and work at the Gravel Pits, his proper destiny must already have been revealed.

40. Cf. Jean Hamilton, op. cit., p. 5. Callcott's Leicester Square address is taken from the lists of Royal Academy exhibitors. It appears only in 1801, and thereafter reverts to the Gravel Pits.

41 Farington, Diary, 24 October, 1806.

42 Jean Hamilton, op. cit., p. 5.

CHAPTER 2

Successes and Controversies 1801 - 1815

The first fifteen years of the new century were those during which Callcott established his reputation as one of the foremost landscape painters of his day, and entered vigorously into the politics of art by placing himself at the centre of the controversy between Sir George Beaumont and Turner, and allying himself firmly with the Royal Academy as it struggled to meet the challenge of the British Institution. They were, therefore, some of the most crucial years of his life, and his activities must be examined as closely as possible.

The period is at first shrouded in mystery, for no records survive of Callcott's life immediately after his return to Kensington and his break with the Sketching Club. Certain suggestions can be made, however, of which the most positive is that he went to Wales in 1804. His exhibits at the Academy in 1805 included two Welsh drawings commissioned by Edward, Viscount Lascelles,¹ so it seems reasonable to infer a visit the previous year. This was almost certainly Callcott's first picturesque tour in Britain. His recorded work gives no indication that he had so far moved any distance from the Gravel Pits, and perhaps

¹ A Scene Between Bala and Dolgelly, Looking Towards Cader Idris, Merionethshire, and A Waterfall in the Vicinity of Tany Owlch, Merionethshire. See Callcott's Catalogue of Paintings, Strode Papers, A.W.C. a, p. 1 (transcribed in Appendix II). See also No. 129.

it was because he still had so much of his own country to see that he passed over the opportunity to cross to the continent in 1802.²

On the evidence of the Lascelles subjects and others derived from this tour, Callcott must have confined himself to North Wales, approaching via Shrewsbury, taking in the valley between Dolgellau on the coast and Bala, near Cader Idris, and thence moving north along the Vale of Conway to Conway itself. Like Constable in the Lakes, he found difficulty in adjusting his eye to the unfamiliar scenery, and told his friend Mr. Holworthy in 1805 that Wales was 'too monotonous and too little diversified by woods, wanting principle features in building, and tiresome for any but painters to travel through'.³

Beyond what can be deduced from his brief membership of the Sketching Club, nothing is known of Callcott's friendships before 1805, and here again one has to fall back on informed guesswork. It is a major disappointment that the name of the recipient of a group of letters on art written between 1801 and 1804, which survive among the Whitelegge Papers and will be found partially transcribed in Appendix III, has not been preserved.⁴ He must have been a close friend who shared Callcott's professional interests, and we can guess from references to paintings that he

2 Callcott's first channel crossing took place in 1814.

3 Callcott, Journal, 21 July, 1805. Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIa, f. 334. Probably James Holworthy (1781-1841), friend also of Turner, and a founder member of the Water Colour Society.

4 Whitelegge Papers A.W.C. Ia-e, ff. 1-65. The letters are addressed simply to 'My dear Friend' and are probably draft copies.

had accompanied Callcott to William Young Ottley's sale in May, 1801.⁵

Apart from the many younger artists who were to flock to Kensington in later years, only the Bristol surgeon and amateur painter, Francis Gold, is known to have received advice from him in any quantity. The results, according to a somewhat snide account by Edward Villiers Ripplingille, were that 'Gold 'lost all heart, took disgust, studied and mastered the Persian language entered the service of the East India Company, went out and died',⁶ but this is difficult to reconcile with the known facts of Callcott's friendship with Gold. Gold does not seem to have become seriously interested in painting until around 1819,⁷ but Callcott's advice was probably proffered much earlier, for he refers to Gold as 'my early friend' and began a portrait of him in 1799.⁸ This makes it just conceivable that the letters were addressed to Gold, although one might expect the substance of Callcott's advice to him to have been technical, whereas the Whitelegge letters attempt to

5 The first letter, dated 'July 1801', refers to 'the large Salvator at Otleys <sic>'. Op. cit., f. 2.

6 Ripplingille, op. cit., p. 100.

7 At the Royal Academy F. Gold of 3 College Green, Bristol, exhibited A Portrait of Sir W.W. Doveton in 1819, and a Landscape the following year. What seems to have been Gold's most ambitious painting, a subject of Hagar, was sent to the British Institution in 1820, the year his friend Francis Danby exhibited his Upus Tree. The Hagar does not seem to have been hung. See E. Adams, Francis Danby, Varieties of Poetic Landscape, 1973, p. 16.

8 Callcott's Catalogue lists 'A small portrait whole length of my early friend Francis Gold begun in 1799 and finished about 1831 as a present to Dr. Henry Thomson of Piccadilly.' Op. cit., p. 4.

state the need for rules and standards in painting as well as to provide practical guidance on composition and colouring. Although the sections on colour are interesting, and relevant both to Callcott's own practise and to his appreciation of some aspects of Turner's work, many other passages are unoriginal, and it is clear from their tone that Callcott's correspondent was a more romantic spirit whose own ideas were rather different. Callcott himself emerges as a somewhat solemn young man, with a pedantic philosophical bent, who was probably writing as much for his own reassurance as for his friend's instruction.

How Callcott became acquainted with Francis Gold cannot be known for certain, although it is possible that he met him through his elder brother John, who had himself begun a career in medicine before devoting himself to music. His slightly later friendship with William Mulready, which must have been a significant element in his life during the years before 1805 when it is so thinly documented, is more easily explained. Callcott would have encountered the Varley family at an early stage through his fellow member of the Sketching Club, William Fleetwood Varley; Mulready was staying with the Varleys at least by 1802, and Callcott could have met him at their house.⁹ Mulready was seven years younger than Callcott, and their temperaments might appear

9 It was apparently in 1802 that Mulready made his first attempt to marry John Varley's sister, so he must already have been a close friend of the family. See J.C. Horsley, Recollections of a Royal Academician, ed. Mrs. Edmund Helps, 1903, p. 18.

very different, but they nevertheless struck up a lasting friendship. Callcott, Mulready and the Varleys are frequently mentioned together at unspecified dates, notably in the well known story of Callcott's horoscope - that he would remain single until he was fifty, would then marry and go to Italy - cast by John Varley and handed to Mulready for safe keeping.¹⁰ Probably in 1806, John Linnell, the friend and protégé of Mulready and the Varleys, joined this small group of artists who were to remain together, often as neighbours and always as friends, throughout their lives. Linnell's early portrait of Callcott is our most authoritative likeness of him, and although he does not seem to have reciprocated by painting Linnell, Callcott did paint a spirited half length of Mulready which sadly has been lost (No. 6; Pl. 3). This showed Mulready in his late teens or early twenties, so cannot have been painted later than 1810.¹¹ The most likely date is 1808-9, when Mulready moved his family to Kensington Gravel Pits to live.¹²

Mulready had probably found the new house for himself and his family while on a visit to Callcott, and soon after moving there he brought Linnell to stay with him. It is now generally recognised that both artists' most naturalistic work was done at the Gravel Pits, but Callcott's part in it has never been

10 R. & S. Redgrave, A Century of Painters of the English School, 1890 ed., p. 342.

11 The portrait is reproduced by Horsley, op. cit., pl. 4.

12 Although the Mulready family moved to Kensington in 1809, William's own visits were probably still sporadic, as he continued to spend much of his time in London with Linnell.

examined.¹³ His own work reveals only an incidental appreciation of the concern for homespun realism instilled in the younger men by John Varley, and the account quoted by Roget of Mulready, Linnell and W.H. Hunt 'sitting down before any common object, the paling of a cottage garden, a mossy wall, or an old post to imitate it minutely',¹⁴ makes no mention of his name. Callcott seems to have had mixed feelings about these efforts. He certainly attempted to give Mulready positive encouragement by obtaining for him a commission from a Mr. Horley to paint a pair of canvases of the Gravel Pits, but when The Mall and Near the Mall in the Victoria and Albert Museum were completed in 1811 and 1812, found them too 'literal' and declined to recommend them to Mr. Horley.¹⁵ Nevertheless, it was almost certainly due to Callcott that Mulready and Linnell came to work at Kensington in the first place, and friendship with them was undoubtedly one of the major interests of his early years, keeping him in touch with developments in landscape which were by no means the same as those initiated by Turner.

Callcott's encouragement of his juniors was usually generous. At the same time it is perhaps revealing of his character that Mulready's name, although it would already have been well known to him, does not appear in the first important piece of documentary material relating to his life after 1800, a portion of his diary

13 Mulready's Mall, Kensington Gravel Pits of 1811 and Near the Mall of 1812 in the V. & A.M. and Linnell's Kensington Gravel Pits of 1812 in the Tate Gallery have won wider recognition from their inclusion in several recent exhibitions, but have failed to rouse interest in the work of Callcott.

14 J.L. Roget, A History of the Old Watercolour Society, 1891, I, p. 390.

15 For Callcott's handling of Mr. Horley's commission, see F.G. Stephens, Memorials of William Mulready, 1867, p. 61.

for the summer of 1805.¹⁶ The friends mentioned here are older and better established, Henry Thomson, William Owen and John Opie. Thomson and Owen were to be Callcott's closest professional associates, the latter collaborating with him on at least one painting. Both men were enjoying success, while Opie was at the height of his powers two years before his premature death in 1807.¹⁷ Callcott had presumably been introduced to these artists by Hoppner, and it was at his dinner parties that he saw most of them during 1805. These were small, serious, all-male affairs, at which the talk was largely of 'the art'; Callcott seems to have taken his friendship with the older men very solemnly, recording the substance of their conversation in some detail, although he cannot have been backward in contributing to their discussions, for his own observations are preserved, and on one occasion he was himself the host at a dinner for Hoppner, Opie, Thomson and Owen.¹⁸

That Callcott was able to act as host to such a party argues a distinct rise in status. There are, however, few other signs of this in the diary. His visits to grand houses were still confined to their galleries, and it is clear that he was not yet received in society nor even its artistic fringes. Nevertheless, 1805 was the crucial watershed in Callcott's career, the year when

16 'Journal 1805' is in fact limited to July. Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIa, ff. 336-344.

17 Thomson had been elected A.R.A. in 1801 and R.A. in 1804; Owen became A.R.A. in 1804 and R.A. in 1806. Opie, who had been R.A. since 1787, was made a Professor at the Academy in 1805; his series of lectures, which Callcott must have attended, were published posthumously in 1809.

18. Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIa, ff. 342-3.

he exhibited The Water Mill (No. 14; Pl. 6) one of the most talked-about paintings of its time which Thomas Hearne heard compared to Ruysdael,¹⁹ and sold works to an impressive trio of collectors, Sir John Leicester, Richard Payne Knight and Viscount Lascelles.²⁰ The Water Mill was bought by Sir John Leicester before the exhibition after discussing it with Thomson, and Callcott's friendship with this older artist, as with other habitués of the Hoppner circle, goes far to explain his rapid rise to fame, although other factors must shortly be taken into account. It was from Thomson that Farington heard his first personal impression of Callcott, as well as a description of The Water Mill while it was still in the studio. 'Thomson called,' he noted on 20 March. 'He told me that He was at Kensington a day or two since to see an Landscape, an Upright painted by Calcott, and was much struck with it. Sir John Leicester then bought it for 80 guineas. Thomson said Calcott will press hard upon Turner, - and that He is a modest well behaved young man'.²¹

Although it was undoubtedly The Water Mill which did most to attract attention to Callcott, other factors had probably already combined to make artists and collectors receptive to his work. The most significant must have been the consistent backing of Hoppner, through whom Callcott had first come to know artists like Thomson who willingly spread the word about the work

19 Farington, Diary, 4 July, 1809. Hearne thought this view exaggerated.

20 See Callcott's Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 1.

21 Farington, Diary, 20 March, 1805.

he had in progress. Callcott was undoubtedly helped further by his personality, which as Thomson's words to Farington indicate, included a gift for getting on with his elders. No doubt this was the characteristic which had prompted, as early as 1799, 'the accusation of courtier',²² but it does not seem to have struck many people as sycophancy; the truth probably was that Callcott already showed something of the cautious dignity of manner which remembered him to Ripplingille as 'a somewhat stately personage',²³ and to the Redgraves - in no pejorative sense - as 'a courtly man and something of a courtier'.²⁴ This would have been a particular asset at Holland House, where Callcott was constantly received as an old family friend. At the beginning of his career, the Hollands would certainly have spoken kindly of their young painter neighbour, and a recommendation from them may have lain behind Callcott's first commission from an aristocratic patron, that given by Lord Lansdowne in 1802, at least four years before his name became widely known. Callcott would also have enjoyed reflected glory from his brother John, widely respected, in Farington's words, as 'the celebrated musical composer', who achieved the peak of his success in the early years of the century when Augustus was first trying to make his own name.²⁵ Furthermore, the particular impact of The Water Mill in the Academy was un-

22 Callcott wrote of this in his letter about Turner to T. Bennet quoted in the previous chapter (Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIIb, f. 398).

23 Ripplingille, op. cit., p. 100.

24 R. and S. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 343.

25 Farington, Diary, 2 November, 1812.

doubtedly enhanced by Turner's absence. After touring the exhibition with the Academy council, Farington reported that 'Gilpin's Horses, - Calcott's upright landscape of a Mill &c, - Lawrence's Portrait of Mr. Hoare, - a Half Length by Hoppner, - were the artists most admired.'²⁶ By 27 April, The Sun announced that 'A young artist named Callcott has come very forward as a landscape painter. Turner, though a Royal Academician, has not thought fit to exhibit anything this year, but is preparing an exhibition of his own.'²⁷

The linking of Callcott's name with Turner's, as rival or disciple, was another fundamental source of his success, and of the controversy which sometimes surrounded him. However, it was not until 1806 that Callcott exhibited any paintings which were specifically likened to Turner,²⁸ so it is difficult to believe that the associations or comparisons made in 1805 were other than superficial. It is, in fact, more likely that in that year his style appealed as an alternative to Turner's rather than an imitation of it, and here at least the 1805 diary has some valuable insights into the critical climate as it affected Turner and Callcott that summer. On the evidence of conversations reported there, it seems that the association of Callcott with Turner began, not as the stylistic comparison it became later on, but as an incipient campaign to make Callcott a rival who could oust Turner from his emerging supremacy in

26 Ibid., 4 April, 1805.

27 The Sun quoted in Whitley Papers, British Museum, 'Notes on Artists', 2, f. 206.

28 Probably Nos. 15-16, Pls. 7-8.

landscape. Callcott's friends, particularly Henry Thomson, associated this policy with the newly formed British Institution, whose objectives they regarded with suspicion from the outset. During one discussion about it in 1805, 'we all seemed to agree it had the appearance rather of desiring to get the patronage into its own hands than to benefit the Arts - H. (Hoppner) hoped that nothing would be sent but what was of the greatest exertion and that artists ought to try their earnestness by demanding very large prices.'²⁹ On a second occasion, the issue of Callcott and Turner was raised specifically. 'T. (Thomson) told me he had been conversing with Opie further on the subject of the new institution, that he was himself of the opinion that the committee was composed of such persons as would be biased, and appealed to me with openness whether I did not think they would endeavour to raise me at the expense of Turner. I acknowledged I thought such a disposition too evident - my reputation is assuredly too much owing to this.'³⁰

These worries about the role of the Institution vis-à-vis the modern artist and the Academy came to preoccupy Callcott increasingly in the coming years, and it will be seen that they were the root of his clashes with Sir George Beaumont. These, however, still lay ahead, and, not surprisingly as Beaumont numbered both Hoppner and Thomson among his friends, his initial relations with Callcott were comparatively cordial. 'Sir George had been today at Kensington and had seen Callcott's

29 Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIa, f. 339 verso.

30 Ibid.

pictures,' Farington noted in April, 1806. 'He spoke of them as being like pictures by Ruysdael, which had been worn down and then worked upon in a fuzzy manner, but that there were silver grey skies well imitated, and good colour.'³¹

The paintings Beaumont had especially in mind were probably the two coastal subjects which Callcott exhibited in 1806, and which had been commissioned by Sir John Leicester and by another northern collector who must soon be discussed in some detail, Thomas Lister Parker of Browsholme Hall (probably Nos. 15-16, Pls. 7-8).³² Most commentators were reminded of Turner rather than of Ruysdael; Northcote, for example, told Farington that 'Callcott had founded Himself on Turner's manner',³³ and Hearne almost certainly had the 1806 paintings in mind when he admitted that Callcott 'had done some coast scenes, imitating Turner, pretty well'.³⁴ Hearne's comment was made in 1809, and its somewhat grudging tone may be ascribed to the influence of Beaumont, whose views about Callcott had changed drastically since his first encounter with him. The change came about very rapidly, for it was hardly more than a week after Sir George praised 'good colour' that he began to complain of 'the white look of Callcott's pictures'.³⁵ That Beaumont did not immediately take the opportunity of slating paintings which may be said to have established Callcott's reputation as a disciple of Turner, suggests that he was more than willing to give the young artist

31 Farington, Diary, 5 April, 1806.

32 Both 1806 paintings were subsequently in Sir John Leicester's collection for a few years.

33 Farington, Diary, 6 May, 1806.

34 Ibid., 4 July, 1809.

35 Ibid., 13 April, 1806. Beaumont's comment about 'good colour' was made on the 5th.

a fair chance. His sudden change of heart may, therefore, have originated with some ill-judged remarks of Callcott's own, probably about the baronet's role in the British Institution, which have not come down to us.

Sir George's criticism did not at once hinder Callcott's prestige, and Callcott emerges from the pages of Farington during 1806 as something of a prodigy, watched and discussed by many of the diarist's visitors. Farington had first met Callcott in June the previous year, when Callcott had called to introduce himself, and had 'expressed a desire to put His name down to be an Associate & said He had been told He might call upon the Academicians. I spoke to Him with much commendation of His pictures.'³⁶ Callcott's ambitions as Associate were presumably based on the stir caused by The Water Mill, but Farington must have been reluctant to hold out too much hope until Callcott had proved himself further. Callcott was not successful in that year's election, but called again in 1806 to tell Farington that 'He proposed to put His name down to be a Candidate for an Associateship. I told Him He knew my sentiments but that in the present state of the Academy, divided as it is, what may be attempted I knew not.'³⁷ Then, to take Callcott's mind off the election, Farington showed him his Wilsons, 'with which He was much pleased, but still more with my two small pictures by Wilson He observed that Wilson's pictures have great strength of colour witht. appearing to possess it till placed by the side of other pictures.' Here Callcott could not

36 Ibid., 20 June, 1805.

37 Ibid., 2 July, 1806.

resist a dig at Beaumont. 'Sir George's He said were dirty skies when by Wilson's.'³⁸ In spite of Farington's obvious misgivings, Callcott was elected on 3 November by a majority of eight, his only serious rival, the architect William Porden, securing only four votes.³⁹

Callcott celebrated his success with a visit to the North, to stay for the first time at Tabley and with Thomas Lister Parker at Browsholme. At Tabley he was accompanied by Thomson, and he also met, as another fellow guest, the Duke of Gloucester, who commissioned a further coast scene which was shown in 1808 as Sea Coast with the Remains of a Wreck.⁴⁰ As well as extending his range of patrons, Callcott was becoming fully integrated with his fellow artists, and one important, if sadly brief, acquaintance formed at this time must have been that with Sawrey Gilpin who, 'abt. 10 days before He died wished Calcott to put in the Back ground to that picture (Horses for Mr. Whitbread), and to one which He had begun for Lord Gwydir'.⁴¹ If, as may be judged from this proposal, Callcott's competence was becoming widely recognised, his personality was still proving an advantage, particularly in the Academy, so that his election as Associate was soon followed by rumour of a candidature as Academician. When two vacancies occurred in 1807, Farington felt that 'Calcott

38 Ibid.

39 William Porden, c. 1755-1822.

40 For Callcott and Thomson at Tabley and Browsholme, see Farington, Diary, 22 August, 1806; 'Thomson & Calcott have been sometime at Tabley where the Duke of Gloucester came on a visit and ordered a picture from Calcott who from thence was going to Parker's.'

41 Ibid., 18 March, 1807. The outcome of Gilpin's proposal is unknown.

would be a more agreeable member than Phillips if the Academy should be disposed to it'.⁴² But, understandably as Callcott was very much a newcomer, there were some dissenting voices, including Lawrence's,⁴³ and the 1807 vacancies were filled elsewhere. The following year, Callcott seemed further out of the running, his name only being 'mentioned faintly' in discussions about elections to come.⁴⁴

It seems probable that in 1808 Callcott revisited Tabley, and almost certain that he returned to Browsholme, where he was to receive a commission to make a replica of a Turner marine which, because of its importance for Callcott's own development and its wider implications for the arts of the day, must be examined in some detail. Apart from the existence of the replica (No. 21), which was almost certainly painted from oil sketches made at Browsholme in 1808,⁴⁵ there is other evidence which points to a northern expedition that year. Henry Thomson, Callcott's regular travelling companion, was certainly at Tabley that summer, and Callcott was able to provide Farington with an account of Turner's work on his views of the lake.⁴⁶ Moreover, Callcott had sold two works to Sir John Leicester from the

42 Ibid., 15 July, 1807.

43 Ibid., 7 May, 1807; 'Lawrence thought Howard and Philips had the best claims to be the next elected Academicians. He thought Callcott's claim less than that of Philips, and that Havil's <sic> pictures were better.'

44 Ibid., 18 June, 1808.

45 For a further discussion of the replica, see Chapter 7; also David Brown, 'Callcott, Turner and Thomas Lister Parker; New Light on Turner's Junction of the Thames and Medway in Washington', The Burlington Magazine, CXVII, 1975, pp. 721-2.

46. Farington, Diary, 11 February, 1809; 'Callcott told me Turner while He was at Sir John Leicesters last Summer painted two pictures for Sir John, views of Tabley'

1807 Academy, one of which, Cow Boys (probably No. 18; Pl. 10), he bought on the advice of Thomson; Callcott's friend had been highly taken with the painting and had even thought it 'of better colour' than Turner's Sun Rising through Vapour, which Sir John had acquired the same year. He had, however, thought it would look better shortened, and this task may have taken Callcott to Tabley in 1808.⁴⁷ Thomson's comparison suggests that Sir John's patronage of Turner and Callcott was essentially complementary, and the same would be true of Thomas Lister Parker, the more so as Turner and Callcott were the only contemporary British artists to be patronised by him before 1808.

Parker, who was exactly Callcott's contemporary, had been Sir John Leicester's guardian, and played some part in moulding his taste, for his obituary of 1858 tells us that he 'assisted him in forming his valuable gallery of paintings'.⁴⁸ He was also a friend of Walter Fawkes,⁴⁹ and may well emerge from closer scrutiny than can be attempted here as a crucial figure in the story of Turner's relations with his northern patrons. Parker's obituary stresses his close friendship with Turner, which began in 1799 when Turner made a drawing of the north front of Browsholme,

47 Ibid., 31 March, 1807; 'Callcott has finished a Landscape, an evening, of which Thomson speaks highly, and recommended it to Sir John Leicester who has bought it.' On 7 April Thomson told Farington that 'half the Sky might be taken away & the picture would be better for it.'

48 Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. 49, 1858, p. 447.

49 Fawkes took a practical interest in Parker's collection, for he presented to it a 'Landscape, by Velvet Brughel, from the Orleans collection.' The work is listed in the Catalogue of the Paintings in the Gallery at Browsholme, the Seat of Thomas Lister Parker, Esq., Lancaster 1808, which survives in typescript. V. & A.M., Box 72D.

and was later deepened by Parker's scholarly and financial assistance to his neighbour, the Revd. Whitaker, whose Histories Turner illustrated.⁵⁰ Parker's role as an arbiter of taste was not confined to advice to fellow-collectors, for his own activities as a patron aroused interest among the Farington circle in London, and among the alterations to Browsholme carried out by Jeffry Wyatt in 1804-5 was the provision of a gallery. A catalogue of 1808 lists some sixty works, almost all old masters, but its publication was followed within months by a substantial sale, after which Parker concentrated on the modern collection he had already anticipated by purchases from Callcott and Turner.⁵¹

The Callcott coast scene exhibited in 1806 had been commissioned by Parker the previous year, and was his first original work by a contemporary British artist. The Turnerian style which struck many who saw it might suggest that Parker was trying to approach Turner's own art by a circuitous route, and if so Sir John Leicester, who had bought The Shipwreck in 1805 and exchanged it the next year for The Falls of the Rhine at Schaffhausen still at Tabley, must rank as the more adventurous

⁵⁰ Turner's drawing of Browsholme (with Spink, 1975), together with three others, appeared in engravings in Whitaker's History of Whalley. Parker, according to his obituary, made Whitaker his 'almost daily guest', giving him the run of his collection of manuscripts, and 'of the four plates of Browsholme in Whitaker's History all were drawn and engraved at his expense.' Loc. cit., p. 448.

⁵¹ For information about the 1808 sale, I am indebted to the former owner of Browsholme, the late Colonel Robert Parker. It will be seen that Parker's painting by Turner was entered in this sale, having remained in the Browsholme collection for an untypically short period; it was, however, apparently bought in, as it re-appeared with a Parker provenance in 1811.

collector. Parker did, however, subscribe to Charles Turner's mezzotint of The Shipwreck, and was probably obliged to buy paintings on a more limited budget; as his executor he was to have good cause to regret his relative's massive expenditure.⁵² Parker acquired his own Turner in the spring of 1807, as we know from The Morning Post, which reported on 6 May that he had 'just purchased a fine Sea Piece, by Turner, which is in his best manner'.⁵³ Until recently it had not proved possible to identify the painting, but Callcott's identical replica, still at Browsholme, reveals it to have been The Junction of the Thames and Medway now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.⁵⁴

The existence of this replica, highlighting as it does Callcott's close association with the Art of Turner, must stand as justification for so lengthy a discussion of Parker, for it is essential to place the somewhat unorthodox transaction which must have lain behind the execution of the painting in its

52 For Parker as Lord de Tabley's executor, see his obituary, loc. cit., p. 447.

53 The item from The Morning Post was quoted by Finberg, Life, p. 134; Finberg was unable to relate it to any specific painting.

54 The timing of Parker's purchase of this painting suggests that it was exhibited in Turner's Gallery in 1807. It seems possible that Parker may later have commissioned from Turner the Whalley Bridge now in the Loyd Collection. Whalley is close to Browsholme, and Turner may well have made the sketch for the painting during a visit there in the course of his longer stay at Tabley; moreover Parker's assistance to Whitaker over the History of Walley would make the subject a very appropriate one; and, finally, there is the circumstantial evidence that both the Whalley Bridge and the Washington marine belonged to John Newington Hughes of Winchester. It may well be that Parker was disappointed by the low price offered for the marine on his first attempt to sell it in 1808, and thus withdrew his claim on the Whalley. For a summary of my views on this, see M. Butlin and E. Joll, The Paintings of J.M.W. Turner, 1977, pp. 42 and 74, under Nos. 62 and 117.

proper context. That an artist with a growing reputation of his own should not only allow himself to become identified, both popularly and by discerning connoisseurs, with the work of another artist, but also to copy it to order, might seem extraordinary in an age when originality and newness have become essentials of artistic expression. But while it is true that, in the first years of the nineteenth century it was precisely these attributes, associated in his case with those of a prodigy or even a magician, which attracted attention to Turner, there was also an inherent readiness to identify with the new and radical which was, perhaps, a further variant of the sublime experience. Hence Northcote, when he noticed that Parker's coast scene was in Turner's manner, could already add that it was one 'which several others had also adopted'.⁵⁵ Nor was Turner the only artist to be the subject of an imitative trend; other lesser, and less individual, artists were thus honoured, notably Sir Francis Bourgeois, a friend of Turner and himself a conspicuous imitator, whose work attracted great attention during his lifetime. In 1803 Constable wrote to John Dunthorne; 'I saw, as I thought, a great many pictures by Sir F. Bourgeois, but it proved that not half of them belonged to him, but to another painter who has imitated his manner exactly. Sir Francis was the hangman, and was so flattered by these imitations that he has given them as good places as his own.'⁵⁶ Turner also saw imitation as a compliment or an advertisement, and few seasoned

55 Farington, Diary, 6 May, 1806.

56 Letter, 23 May, 1803, in Leslie, op. cit., p. 17.

observers were willing to write it off as plagiarism. His friendships with Callcott, and later with artists like James Baker Pyne - friendships which embraced genuine respect for their work - indicate that he saw them as part of a movement in which he, as the innovator, most often took the lead, but in which the followers were capable of genuine artistic expression.

This tendency for groups of artists to identify with the styles of certain of their contemporaries, as with popular old masters like Cuyp or van der Velde, Claude or Rosa, inevitably led in some cases to a generalised approach to collecting, or a preoccupation with effect rather than a loyalty to a particular artist. Parker of Browsholme, with his apparently small concern for the autograph, was typical of this. His gallery contained in 1808 at least one commissioned replica of an original painting which he had sold, no doubt at a worthwhile profit.⁵⁷ In the same year he repeated the procedure. After remaining only a year in the gallery his Turner - the work of an artist who, as Parker rather mercenarily noted in his 1808 catalogue, now fetched 'the same prices with the most celebrated of the Dutch or Flemish schools'⁵⁸ - was placed on the market, and Callcott was asked to paint a full size replica to remain at Browsholme.⁵⁹

57 'Boys Playing at Cards, a copy of a picture by Le Naine, which Mr. Parker bought of Castiglione at Rome, & was afterwards bought by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales His Royal Highness most graciously permitted Mr. Callender to copy it for Mr. Parker'. Catalogue of the Paintings ..., 1808, loc. cit., no. 24.

58 Ibid., no. 25.

59 As discussed in Chapter 7, it is unlikely that this was a direct commission; more probably Callcott made reduced copies of the Turner for his own instruction, and these later suggested to Parker the idea of a replica.

Neither the replica still hanging there, nor the smaller versions which are almost certainly Callcott's preliminary copies (Nos. 22-3; Pls. 13-4) are listed in Callcott's Catalogue, indicating that he regarded the commission as a private service to a patron who was by now his friend. It would, however, also have played a crucial role in publicising Callcott's allegiance to Turner's work.

After his return to Browsholme, Callcott does not seem to have left Kensington again until 1810, when he went to stay with another patron, William Chamberlayne, at Weston Grove near Southampton. Mr. Chamberlayne, the solicitor to the Treasury and M.P. for Southampton, was a noted collector of English paintings, and patron of artists like Thomson, Richard Westall and Henry Richter, and at about this time bought Callcott's Water Mill from Sir John Leicester, probably as part of a package deal with the two coastal subjects exhibited in 1806, both of which were by now in Sir John's collection.⁶⁰ Callcott remained at Weston for two months in the autumn, working on three paintings for his host and probably on another for Lord Lansdowne,⁶¹ and returned full of 'the benevolent and agreeable disposition of Mr. Chamberlain'; he told Farington 'He never passed two months more happily'.⁶² In 1812 Callcott paid another visit to his patrons, this time to Mr. Heathcote at Embly, near Romsey, Mr.

60 For Chamberlayne, see G. Nares, 'Cranbury Park, Hampshire', III, Country Life, CXX, 1956, p. 1116; for the Leicester/Chamberlayne sale, see Chapter 7.

61 Farington states that during Callcott's two months at Weston he 'painted there' (Diary, 15 December, 1810). Callcott's commissions for his host included Southampton from Weston Grove (No. 36; Pl. 25), Itchen Ferry (No. 35; Pl. 24), and a lost copy of a German print of Lausanne.

62 Ibid.

Cary of Torre Abbey and Sir Richard Colt Hoare at Stourhead. The journey was also to include a return to Wales, 'up the River Wye to Ludlow'.⁶³ He asked Farington 'to give Him directions what scenery in that neighbourhood to look for, and to write to Him at Mr. Heathcote's for that purpose'.⁶⁴ Returning after some three months, Callcott told the diarist that while in Wiltshire he had 'passed a month with his Brother Doctor Calcott, the celebrated Musical Composer who had for 5 years past been in a state of insanity, but now appeared to be recovering, & Calcott trusted that in twelve months more He would be restored to his friends & the public. Dr. Calcott is perfectly sensible of his situation, & is very careful to guard against irritation. His disorder manifests itself in an extreme hurry of mind.'⁶⁵ The composer was staying with his brother-in-law, a clergyman, at Bradford-on-Avon, and it was presumably while Callcott was with him there that Archdeacon Fisher met them and, as he wrote to Constable, 'spent three most delicious days in this country with Dr. Callcott and his brother the artist.'⁶⁶

These interludes with loyal patrons and relatives must have been invaluable escapes from London, where Callcott was becoming drawn into increasingly bitter clashes with Sir George Beaumont over his attitude towards Turner, and his role in the British Institution, which must now be examined more closely. It has been argued with some success by Martin Hardie, that the

63 Ibid., 29 July, 1812. Mr. Heathcote had an estate at Embly, near Romsey, and was thus a near-neighbour of Chamberlayne.

64 Ibid., 29 July, 1812.

65 Ibid., 2 November, 1812.

66 Letter, 13 November, 1812, in Leslie, op. cit., p. 37.

damage done to Turner by Sir George's barracking was almost entirely a fabrication of Callcott's, and that it has gained a disproportionate importance from the space given to it by Farington, who seems to have taken it seriously.⁶⁷ Hardie's point is valid as far as it goes; Callcott was certainly oversensitive, at least in so far as Beaumont's attitude affected Turner, who was perfectly able to look after himself. It does, however, require some qualification, and indeed the whole issue needs to be cast in a quite different light. Firstly, it should be said that Beaumont's adverse criticism of Turner, in spite of the quantities of ink expended on it, was not the root of Callcott's complaint; rather it seems to have been the threat posed by the British Institution to the traditional supremacy of the Academy, a theme which runs through almost all Callcott's recorded remarks about Sir George. Secondly, it has already been suggested that Callcott himself caused the initial provocation by some untimely comment about Beaumont's role in the Institution; how else to explain Beaumont's very sudden change of mind about Callcott in April, 1806?⁶⁸ However, Callcott would not have been acting entirely on his own initiative, and the final point to be made here is that Hardie's implication that Callcott was in a minority in his views about Beaumont is not supported by the evidence. The only artist Hardie could find expressing similar opinions was Thomas Phillips, who is abruptly dismissed as a

67 For Callcott, Farington and Beaumont, see Hardie, op. cit., III, pp. 272-3.

68 See above for Beaumont's conflicting opinions on the colour of Callcott's two coast subjects shown in 1806.

'lackey' of Lord Egremont,⁶⁹ but it will be remembered from the passage already quoted from the 1805 diary that it had been Thomson and Opie who first suggested to Callcott that the Institution's committee, including Beaumont, was biased against Turner, and that Hoppner had also voiced suspicion of its motives.⁷⁰ Thomson's other comment, that 'they would endeavour to raise me (Callcott) at the expense of Turner', perhaps implies that Beaumont and his colleagues first saw Callcott as a clever but pliable artist whose work could be manipulated to steal Turner's popular appeal. It may well have been in reaction to this that Callcott led his art closer to Turner's style. In any event it must have become obvious that his career was not following the pattern the directors had envisaged, and that it was doing nothing to mitigate Turner's popularity.

It is likely that Callcott never took to the Beaumonts. A note about them in his Dictionary of Anecdotes indicates that he found them superficial - 'the greatest lion hunters of the day'.⁷¹ - but is basically good-humoured, and it would seem that Callcott only took Beaumont seriously when he was in hostile mood. One issue on which Callcott felt Beaumont's views to be damaging was that of watercolour drawing, the vogue for which he had discussed with Farington in 1805.⁷² By 1811, he was

69 Hardie, op. cit., p. 273, citing Farington's Diary, 3 June, 1815; Phillips spoke to Farington of the 'great injury done to Turner by the reports of Sir George Beaumont and His circle ... By such speeches Phillips thought Turner was greatly injured.'

70 Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIa, f. 339 verso.

71 Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIb.

72 Farington, Diary, 20 June, 1805; Callcott 'said the demand for (watercolour) drawings is very great. All that were in the Exhibition in Brook Street were sold.'

telling Farington 'that he believed Sir George Beaumont had done much harm to the Water Colour painters by his cry against that kind of art'.⁷³ In the same conversation, Callcott spoke of Beaumont's 'continued cry against Turner's pictures'.⁷⁴ In both cases he seems to have deliberately exaggerated the importance attached to the baronet's views, and one can only conclude that he was trying to blacken his name.

Neither objection, however, satisfactorily accounts for the intensity of Callcott's feelings about Beaumont, and his real fear was of the platform Sir George could command for his opinions in the British Institution. Both Callcott and Beaumont were in fact strongly conservative figures, and it is highly unlikely that Callcott would have disagreed with Sir George when he told Farington of his wish that young painters would pay greater attention to the examples of Reynolds and Wilson.⁷⁵ He would have shared, too, Sir George's understanding of the process of marking down promising young artists and embracing them within the tradition. The difference was that, at least as a young man, Callcott would have maintained that both teaching and talent spotting were the exclusive functions of the Royal Academy, not to be shared with the Institution or with an individual patron. Beaumont, as a principal director of that body, and a patron whose creative associations with rising artists were well known, was therefore a deeply suspect figure. The Institution had no right

73 Ibid., 8 June, 1811.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid., 5 June, 1815; Beaumont 'wished that the Painters of the present time would look at and study the pictures of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Richard Wilson in which they would find true art of the first character.'

to impinge on the prerogatives of the Academy, and Beaumont individually had no authority to set himself up as an arbiter of taste, promoting some artists and hindering others. Thus although it was Beaumont's reverence for the tradition which first aroused his suspicion of Turner, a different and perhaps narrower conservatism goes furthest to explain Callcott's resentment of Beaumont.

Callcott's fears about the Institution must have grown as his own commitment to the Academy was intensified. After being defeated by Nathaniel Marchant in the election of 1809, by twenty votes to nine, he was elected Academician the following year in place of Paul Sandby, by eighteen votes against three each for Philip Reinagle and Richard Westmacott, and one each for George Dawe and David Wilkie.⁷⁶ Thereafter he lost no time in playing his full part in Academy life, serving on the hanging committee in 1811 and, the following year, drafting a 'Memorial' to the Prince Regent opposing the admission of engravers to the Academy - doubtless a further sign of conservatism, in which he had Turner's support. He seems to have been a very regular attendant at meetings, and as a bachelor probably found the social life of the Academy an asset. The club-like atmosphere was quite sufficient to contain him, just as he would have thought it sufficient for the Academy, if properly organised, to administer every artistic issue and uphold the canons of taste as it had in Reynolds's day.

It was this comfortable and exclusive world which Callcott

⁷⁶ For this election see W.T. Whitley, Art in England 1800-1820, 1928, p. 163.

feared to see changed. The Water Colour Society, as a specialist body, in no way threatened its ascendancy. The Institution, however, did so from the moment of its inception. Significantly, Callcott's feelings about it came to a head in April, 1813, at the same time that his quarrel with Beaumont about Turner really emerged into the open. On 8 April, Callcott told Farington that 'the active Directors of the British Institution will gradually assume a controuling power over Artists, and should they obtain the application of any fund granted by the Government for promoting the Arts, will oust the importance of the Royal Academy'.⁷⁷ A specific point of contention that year was the Reynolds exhibition held by the Institution at the same time as the Academy exhibition. When it was first mooted the previous year, Callcott and others felt their worst fears about the Institution to have been realised. 'Smirke, Turner & Calcott', noted Farington in December, 'thought the plan of exhibiting a Collection of pictures by Sir J. Reynolds at the British Institution during the Exhibition of the Royal Academy invidious towards the Artists of the present day'.⁷⁸ This is useful evidence of support for Callcott's views from Turner, and also of a putative alliance with Robert Smirke, to whom authorship of the most virulent attacks on the Institution in general and Beaumont in particular, the Catalogues Raisonnés of the Pictures now in Pall Mall of 1815 and 1816, is sometimes attributed.⁷⁹

It was in 1813 that Callcott took his decision not to exhibit

⁷⁷ Farington, Diary, 8 April, 1813.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 26 December, 1812.

⁷⁹ Smirke had been elected R.A. in 1793, and was another of Callcott's more senior friends.

at the Royal Academy, a decision clearly intended to draw attention to his disagreements with Beaumont as well as being defensive. James Ward told Farington in March that 'He dined with Calcott a few days ago, & that Calcott said He should not exhibit this year. Westmacott sd. that He & Thomson had endeavoured to persuade Him to exhibit but in vain. The cause was understood to be that Calcott was mortified by the continued criticism of those who cry out against "the White Painters" as they call them.'⁸⁰ That Beaumont was indeed the cause was made plain by Calcott himself a few days later. He told Farington he thought it 'prudent' not to exhibit, and that Sir George's 'persevering abuse of His pictures had done Him harm, that He had reason to expect that Lord Brownlow would have purchased His large upright landscape exhibited two years ago, but was prevented by Sir George's remarks upon it He said Turner has also suffered from the same cause, and had not sold a picture in the Exhibition for some time past. Turner called upon Calcott at Kensington a while since and then said that He did not mean to exhibit from the same cause that prevented Calcott, but He has since altered His mind and determined not to give way before Sir George's remarks. Calcott said He had no objection to its being mentioned that He forebore from exhibiting from the cause here assigned. He said that in the last year's private view of the Exhibition Sir George manifestly declined any intercourse with Him, and turned

80 Farington, Diary, 29 March, 1813.

away from Him when addressed by Him.'⁸¹

From this it appears that Callcott had by now come to believe in his rather exaggerated interpretation of Beaumont's behaviour, but his reaction when Farington was finally roused to mediate with Beaumont indicates that his fundamental objection still lay elsewhere. On reporting the above conversation to Beaumont, Farington was told that 'Sir George personally liked Callcott, but did not approve His manner of colouring His pictures, nor His imitating Turner; indeed, there was no way of knowing the pictures of one from those of the other.'⁸² One result of Farington's intervention was that Beaumont bowed to Callcott in the Academy several weeks later,⁸³ but Callcott was more put out than mollified, and, diverted from his direct attack on Beaumont, he fell back on a more generalised critique of the policies of the British Institution, complaining that its directors

81 Ibid., 8 April, 1813. The 'large upright landscape' can only have been the Diana and Actaeon (No. 32; Pl. 21), actually exhibited three years before in 1810, and eventually sold, somewhat altered, to Sir Richard Colt Hoare. The truth of Callcott's complaint about lack of sales may be appreciated from the entries in his Catalogue for the 1811 Academy (loc. cit., p. 3). Of the ten paintings and drawings shown by him, only Itchen Ferry and Southampton from Weston Grove, which had been painted for William Chamberlayne, were sold. There would certainly seem to have been a boycott, but a much more likely explanation than criticism from Beaumont is resentment that Callcott, who was on the hanging committee that year, had not only exceeded the permissible number of exhibits, but had also hung them 'in the very best positions.' Turner, who showed nine works, similarly infringed the rules, and there was bad feeling although, apparently, no official reprimand. See Whitley, op. cit., p. 187.

82 Farington, Diary, 15 April, 1813.

83 Ibid., 3 May, 1813.

were not 'patrons of Artists but breeders of Artists', presiding over a 'nursery for such a purpose'.⁸⁴

Callcott returned to the point the following year, when he again declined to exhibit. That January, Turner may have delivered his own snub to the Institution itself, if, as seems reasonable, one follows a recent interpretation of his submission of Apullia in Search of Appullus in the Tate Gallery to the Institution's show too late to qualify for its annual prize for a 'Historical or Poetical composition'.⁸⁵ If this was indeed part of an orchestrated campaign, Callcott would certainly have known of it, for he remained watchful for any developments concerning the Institution. In December, he noticed a new and more sinister challenge, and told Farington that 'Sir Thos. Bernard had informed Him that in the great Plan proposed for building a Palace for the Prince Regent it was intended to make a grand gallery for statues for Students in Art, & yet the superintendence of it shd. be in the Governors of the British Institution. He was ignorant till Calcott informed Him that the study of the Antique was one great part of the business of the Royal Academy. - He also sd. that it was intended to attach a Royal Academy to this Grand Plan. - Calcott apprehended that all this tended to add to the power and influence of the Governors-of

84 Ibid., 15 April, 1813.

85 Paper delivered by Katherine Nicholson at the Turner Symposium at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 18 April, 1975; for a summary of her views about Apullia in Search of Appullus, see Butlin and Joll, op. cit., pp. 81-2, under No. 128.

the British Institution, - who might eventually look to establish an Authority over the Body of Artists.'⁸⁶ Without doubt, this was the real source of Callcott's antagonism towards Beaumont; the 'holy war' against Turner of which Callcott made so much was probably a topical strategy to whip up dislike of a man who represented a far wider threat.⁸⁷

A final question remains in the saga of Callcott's feud with Beaumont and the Institution - whether, as has been suggested, he had a hand in the writing of the Catalogues Raisonnés of 1815 and 1816. A bound set of Institution catalogues formerly in the possession of John Sheepshanks includes both of these, on one of which is a note in pencil, in Sheepshanks's hand, 'By Sir A.W. Callcott, R.A. & Thomson R.A.'⁸⁸ Finberg, who first published this, remarks quite rightly that as Callcott was knighted in 1837, the attribution must have been recorded after that date, when there would have been no risk in revealing the old secret, and as a number of the Sheepshanks catalogues and other miscellaneous papers bound up with them had evidently once belonged to Callcott himself, Finberg was 'inclined to attach some importance to his ascription', adding that Walter Fawkes, himself said by Henry Thomson to be the author, may have contributed to the printing costs.⁸⁹ It is, indeed, perhaps significant that Callcott's was the one name which was not suggested at the time the Catalogues appeared; had the

86 Farington, Diary, 1 December, 1814. This plan came to nothing.

87 For the 'holy war' see Finberg, op. cit., p. 220.

88 V. & A.M. Library, Sheepshanks Papers.

89 Finberg, op. cit., p. 226.

Institution's directors suspected him they would hardly have attempted, as they did, to buy his Passage and Luggage Boats from the Academy in 1815, as part of the policy of acquiring major modern pictures which prompted their purchase of Wilkie's Distraint for Rent the same year.⁹⁰ Callcott himself told Farington that during visits to Lord Grey and Sir John Swinburne, 'He saw the "Catalogues Raisonnés" which had been sent, He said, profusely to different parts of the Country. - He thought it was acceptably received though rather coarse',⁹¹ which might either be a genuine disclaimer or a calculated smokescreen. There seems no reason to attach any more or less significance to this than to the conflicting attributions mentioned by Farington and the Redgraves, and while the prose style of the Catalogues does not seem Callcott's own, Beaumont was probably correct in thinking that they were 'not written by one person only but by four or five';⁹² the views expressed are certainly precisely those held by Callcott, Hoppner, Thomson and Owen, which had begun to take shape, as we have seen, as early as 1805.

Nevertheless, it does not seem likely that an artist who had so high a regard for the Dutch masters could, for whatever reason, write a mockery of at least the first of the two catalogued exhibitions, which was devoted to their work. Moreover, in 1815 Callcott felt sufficiently reconciled to resume

90 Whitley, op. cit., p. 244.

91 Farington, Diary, 4 November, 1816.

92 Ibid., 9 June, 1815.

exhibiting, with the Passage and Luggage Boats. At the same time this painting, now lost, was by all accounts based on Cuyp, and was probably designed to show that a modern British artist could rival the old masters whose work was then hanging at the Institution. Callcott had evidently decided that actions spoke louder than words, and this seems to indicate a healthier state of mind inconsistent with the rather shrill tone of the Catalogues. There can however be no denying the close proximity to his own thinking about painting and patronage, and the sympathy and appreciation with which the Catalogues were greeted in many quarters must have given him great satisfaction. In the long term Callcott gained more than he lost by his somewhat artificial clash with Beaumont and the Institution, and emerged from it to enjoy a spell of unprecedented popularity and prosperity.

CHAPTER 3

The Marine Painter

The resounding success with which Passage and Luggage Boats was greeted in the Academy in 1815 was to transform Callcott's life for more than a decade. In contrast to the rather lean years when he did not exhibit and was only scantily supported by individual private commissions, he now found himself with enough commissions to keep him occupied for several years ahead. It was fortunate that the Peace of Amiens was concluded in 1814, for had it come a year later Callcott would have been unable to spare the time to pay a trip to Paris to see the magnificent array of works of art then assembled in the city. We have seen that he missed his first opportunity, in 1802; but in 1814, with few other commitments, he wasted no time in arranging a passage with William Owen, and, accompanied by a Col. and Mrs. Annesley and a miscellaneous party of strangers, the two friends left London on 31 August.

Callcott's movements on this trip are known from an abridged transcript of his diary, which must have been a far livelier document than that kept in 1805.¹ Rather too lively, one suspects, for the summary is often of extreme brevity, leaving tantalizing puzzles like the occasion outside Chantilly when 'The surgeon sticks to the French lady. Her sudden leap over the hedge',²

1 Strode Papers, A.W.C.Ia, ff. 1-41.

2 Ibid., f. 17.

that in Calais when Callcott and Owen 'discover a house of loose ladies',³ or the curious woman accompanying a Parisian acquaintance who wanders in and out of the diary always dressed as a man.⁴ Nevertheless, without the diary we would know nothing of Callcott's movements in Paris beyond what Owen told Farington of his own activities there.⁵

The crossing was rough,⁶ but Calais was a success save for the obvious hostility towards the English. Paris, which the party reached on 4 September, did not impress Callcott; he found it dirty, its citizens rude, and its splendours superficial; 'all pasteboard at Paris', he noted on one occasion.⁷ Owen agreed; 'in general a union of display and filth', he told Farington.⁸

Callcott's reactions to the paintings of which he clearly made an extensive study have been cruelly bowdlerised in the summary of the diary, and often only bare lists survive, too painfully spelt to quote. Where personal opinions remain, they are frequently deprived of their justifications. One would, for instance, dearly like to know why Callcott and Owen found the 'Justiniani collection in the possession of Mr. Bonmaison' to be 'a wretched collection of pictures'.⁹ Similarly, Callcott only tells us that they saw St. Peter Martyr in 'a strong light',¹⁰

3 Ibid., f. 16.

4 This lady was accompanying a Mr. Nixon, who may have been the artist John Nixon, c. 1750-1818, who worked extensively in France.

5 Farington, Diary, 28 October, 1814. Owen's comments, as will be seen, generally bear out those made by Callcott in his diary; Callcott was probably influenced by his older friend.

6 Strode Papers, A.W.C. Ia, f. 5.

7 Ibid., f. 7.

8 Owen to Farington, loc. cit.

9 Strode Papers, A.W.C. Ia, f. 29.

10 Ibid., f. 27.

although Owen told Farington 'it has been so much painted upon that excepting the composition of it, a Painter may look with curiosity for that on which its reputation for colour was formed.'¹¹

There are, however, more revealing passages; of Rubens, Callcott found the 'best picture the Peace and War. His best historical pict. St. Andrew fine, the Assumption of the Virgin and the Flagellation next best. The two landscapes and the tournament were excellent Vandyke not much in the historical way, flimsy and poor Ostades cold and unsatisfactory on the whole and the most successful is his sea shores except in one small picture. P. Potters of little importance The fulness richness and elegance of Metsu quite compleatly overpowers all the other flemish painters in the gallery, Terbury excepted Poussins Landscape is a fine piece of composition but too monotonous in colour. It has no keeping from the want of variety in this respect between the tones in the distance and foreground. The buildings are also portraits of well known palaces in the vicinity of Rome, this is an anachronism for a scene in the vicinity of Athens with a Diogenes.'¹²

Another more vital account is that of Callcott's visit to 'the Raphaels from Spain that escaped the Duke of Wellington at Battle of Vittoria.'¹³ All, Callcott notes, were 'exceedingly

11 Owen to Farington, loc. cit.

12 Strode Papers, A.W.C. Ia, ff. 29-30. Owen was similarly impressed by Metzu; Farington noted that 'The works of Metzu, a Flemish Master, particularly attracted His attention for their excellence.' Loc. cit.

13 Strode Papers, A.W.C. Ia, ff. 34-6.

injured by their recent ill usage but sufficiently perfect in parts to shew that the Raphaels in the Gallery and other places are little entitled to the reputation of being his painting..... The Madonna de la Peete is the finest in my estimation. The expression of the angel Tobit and the Virgin are exquisite. In the Salutation there is a fine instance of the expression of color in the bashful blush on the Virgins cheek. The Madona de la Pista is a smaller and more wrought picture, but exceedingly black in the shadows and more crude in the oppositions. This it was said by Mr. Bonmaison arose from the circumstance of it always having been covered by a glass. This may in part have produced it but it must have been originally black. The Madona de la Spazimo is a composition of the Crucifixion the heads are some of them exceedingly fine. This and the Madona de la Peete are so injured that the paint is worn from the panel in pieces of three inches square, but in neither in any of the most essential parts The Madona de la Pista is only injured on the hair and in the drapery below the Virgins knees. The other Holy Family is perhaps as well painted as any but is by no means so agreeable a picture. There is something in the head of the Virgin de la Pista that is pretty and less elevated than Raphael and the head of the infant Jesus is not very good either.¹⁴

As well as studying the old masters, Callcott was able to examine modern French artists and the artistic institutions of

14 Ibid. The works by or ascribed to Raphael which King Joseph took with him on his flight from Spain in 1813 were The Madonna with the Fish, the 'Spasimo di Sicilia', The Holy Family under the Oak, The Visitation and the Holy Family known as La Perla. Of these only the first two are accepted as largely the master's own work (see C. Gould, Trophy of Conquest, 1965, p. 100).

Paris. He was not impressed by the work of David, writing of 'a most abominable theatrical style with feeble execution, not a hundred part as good as West like Raphael his sketches in pen and ink exceedingly good. The picture of the young men swearing at the Luxembourg well executed but that of Brutus after having condemned his sons is very poor. The bearing of the dead body finely conceived.'¹⁵ Owen would have concurred; 'Of David's work', reported Farington, 'He sd. it might be called "talent misapplied."¹⁶ Another day Callcott called on Guerin, with whom he was apparently already familiar; 'Saw his picture of Orestes &c and Ulysses and Dido, the picture of Cato that he painted for the prize at Rome.'¹⁷ Callcott found his work inferior to that of Girodet, 'the best of the French painters', although even he 'still wants much to entitle him to rank very high when

15 Strode Papers, A.W.C. Ia, f. 8. As well as the paintings mentioned here, The Oath of the Horatii and the Brutus, Callcott also saw The Intervention of the Sabine Women, The Coronation of Napoleon and The Oath of the Tennis Court.

16 Owen was critical of the predominance of Davidian classicism. 'He spoke', Farington noted, 'of the modern French Artists and their total insensibility to all that does not correspond with the practises of the present French School with David at the head of it. He said that in the Luxembourg Palace where great works of Rubens are exhibited & pictures by Le Sueur, the French Artists never proceed further than two pictures by David, - one "Brutus after the Death of His Sons", - the other "The Horatii and Curatii" which absorb all their attention.' Loc. cit.

17 Strode Papers, A.W.C. Ia, f. 22. Guerin's 'Orestes &c' may have been the Clytemnestra which was completed in 1817, and the 'Ulysses and Dido' must also have been unfinished as the painting now entitled Aeneas and Dido dates from the same year. The Death of Cato had won the Grand Prix de Rome in 1797.

compared to the works of the great masters.'¹⁸ On an introduction the same day, Callcott 'called on Gros and saw two pictures by him of Buonapartes visit to the sick in Egypt and on the field of battle the morning after the battle of Gilan. He has more notion of colour than the other French painters but is exceeding gross in his characters. His portraits of the officers very bad.'¹⁹ The following day Callcott 'went with Owen to Girodet's. His picture of the Deluge fine in parts but miserable in effect and detestable in color except the tone on the flesh on the old man and the upper part of the figure that is supporting him. The second picture of the burial of the girl by her American lover better in places and might have made a very impressive picture under the treatment of a person acquainted with the means of giving form to the design by effect, by color and light and shade. His Endymion a very unpleasant picture in every respect

18 Ibid., ff. 22-3. This is almost certainly a received opinion. Callcott does not mention seeing any works by Girodet on this occasion. When he did, the following day, his reactions were extremely hostile. Girodet was certainly enjoying a high reputation as second only to David as the champion of classicism, and was regarded by some as his rival. It had earlier been fashionable to promote Guerin as David's rival, but the theatricality of his work had earned him increasing criticism, and as early as 1802, English visitors to Paris had noticed a certain coolness towards Guerin. Martin Archer Shee, retailing to a 'Genteel' Frenchman the conventional English view that Guerin was not only equal but also superior to David, had been met by a preference for Girodet and Gerard. See Farington, Diary, 1 October, 1802.

19 Ibid. The two paintings are presumably The Victims of the Plague at Jaffa and The Battle of Eylau. David himself had approved of Gros's colour.

and his Portraits no better than Oliver in design or effect, but more complicated in detail tho exceedingly ill even in this respect. Somewhat like dinner in execution.'²⁰ This crushing account of an artist who, only the previous day, had been declared 'the best of the French painters', must owe something to an indisposition from which Callcott was then suffering, although his remarks about Gerard, whom he visited another day when recovered, are scarcely more polite. At first the artist would not admit Callcott, and he went to see 'Carle Vernets battle of Marengo' instead. Although he had condemned Carle's uncle Claude Joseph as 'not better than old Dominic Serres',²¹ the Marengo impressed Callcott as 'more like a picture on the whole than any thing we have seen among the Moderns', even if its origins were clear enough; 'a mixture of Louthembourg and Vander Meulen but more of the latter in point of composition.'²² After this, Gerard proved an anticlimax. He allowed Callcott in, but produced 'horrible stuff, tame and imbecile in every department. As a draughtsman, a colorist, no pretensions whatever to anything. Saw him a little fat punch of a man, plain and simple in his person and action.'²³

If Callcott was unimpressed by the established French artists, visits to the École des Beaux Arts did give him small hope of improvement in the future. The sculpture students seemed

20 Ibid., f. 24. Girodet's Deluge dates from 1806, the Endymion, painted in Rome, from 1793. The third painting may have been the Atala at the Tomb of 1808.

21 Ibid., f. 7.

22 Ibid., f. 27.

23 Ibid.

particularly able, and after seeing their prizewinning models, Callcott wrote; 'If the works of their best sculpture are better than those students they can fall little short of the antique in this department of art. The display at this exhibition is very honorable to the arts and to the country. The subject given for the prize was that of Achilles tearing the arrow from his heel for which there were nine models exhibited all displaying great knowledge of the human figure, most of them in a good taste and one in particular evincing a very intimate acquaintance with the antique.'²⁴ Other fields of study, however, had produced less encouraging results; 'In another department of the same building we found the room put apart for the life Academy of the painters. It is by no means equal to our room at Somerset house. On the walls were hanging the various of the figure drawings and the historical pictures that had obtained medals. There was nothing of any consequence among these things. The only drawing that was tolerable was an Academy figure by Guerin.'²⁵

The rest of Callcott's time in Paris was filled with excursions in and around the city - to Montmartre, the cathedral of St. Denis, and to Versailles, which last Callcott found in 'compleat confusion inside and out, not a room free from scaffolds and workmen. The outside a monstrous pile of monotonous taste most dilapidated'.²⁶

Finally, bearing books, prints, casts, cambric and brushes, including a set bought for Henry Howard, it was time to return home, this time by the Dieppe ferry. The homeward crossing was

24 Ibid., ff. 19-20.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., f. 37.

even rougher than the outward; Callcott slept for most of the trip, but woke to find 'my berth blocked up by sick men. Bolted out as soon as possible, very sick for an hour, better afterwards. Had a dreadful gale in night, carried up to Hastings a tremendous sea off beachy head at 4 o'clock the next day. Thought we should have been obliged to put out to sea but fortunately the wind dropping at sunset we contrived to get under shelter of shore and landed at dark on the rocks at Newhaven. Had some tea and went to bed having secured two chaises for Brighton in the morning.'²⁷

The date of Callcott's return to London is not clear from the diary, but according to Farington he had been in Paris for five weeks. On 28 October, Owen called on the diarist to report his stay, telling him that Paris was much dirtier than London, that modern French artists were narrow-minded in their obsession with the classicism of David, and that 'excepting a few pictures upon a large scale, we have in England in the aggregate pictures that would fully rival the French collection.'²⁸ Callcott himself, however, admitted that 'the Galleries at Paris afforded a fine opportunity for comparing the works of art of the different schools', although 'He approved their being restored to their former situations.'²⁹

Once back in his studio, Callcott began in earnest on the Passage and Luggage Boats, which was to mark his return to the Academy. The effort proved a complete success and the painting

27 Ibid., ff. 40-41.

28 Owen to Farington, loc. cit.

29 Farington, Diary, 13 October, 1815.

won such celebrity as to ensure that for rather longer than the next decade, Callcott was able to support himself entirely by commissions; all the seascapes and river scenes shown by him at the Academy up to 1830, and the majority of unexhibited paintings of that period, were commissioned works. Thus, although the marines will have a chapter largely to themselves, they must be mentioned here in so far as they illuminate the patronage Callcott was coming to enjoy. It was these paintings more than any others which established him as an artist who had to be represented in any major collection, whether or not it was concentrated on contemporary art, and, as necessarily followed, a figure accepted in the highest circles. The marines dominated Callcott's life in the next twelve years both creatively and socially. His time was devoted more and more to the one large exhibit for the year ahead, travelling to sketch in the location stipulated by the patron, returning to long hours in the studio. For relaxation, the completion of a major commission was frequently followed by a summer or autumn holiday with the patron concerned, and thus, in the autumn of 1815, he stayed '8 or 10 weeks' with Sir John Swinburne in Northumberland - the first of several visits. For much of the time his friend Mulready was also a guest, and made himself 'a great favourite of the family'.³⁰ Callcott was back in London by 13 October.³¹

Callcott's exhibit of the following year, The Pool of London

30 Farington, Diary, 13 October, 1815; 'Callcott called. He has been at Sir John Swinburne's in Northumberland 8 or 10 weeks and during 6 weeks of the time Mulready was there' Sir John Swinburne was to be one of Mulready's principal patrons.

31 He called on Farington that day.

painted for Lord Lansdowne (No. 48; Pl. 36), won still greater praise. According to Thornbury, Turner, 'on being told that Callcott had painted one of his finest scenes on the Thames for two hundred pounds, observed in the presence of several patrons of the fine arts, "Had I been deputed to set a value upon that picture I should have awarded a thousand guineas."³² When Turner's Dort was sent to the Academy in 1818, Callcott may have seen in it Turner's pictorial tribute to his own painting, for he had his own exhibit of that year, The Mouth of the Tyne (No. 55; Pl. 40), removed from the commanding position where he had heard Turner wanted his picture to hang.³³ Turner was not alone in voicing his admiration for The Pool. At the Academy dinner the Duke of Sussex praised it in his speech, and Farington noted that it was 'universally admired' by a company including Beaumont.³⁴

The practical benefits of the painting's celebrity were commissions from Earl Grey and Sir Mark Sykes for marines of the same size, this time at a price of 250 guineas each.³⁵ Callcott stayed with Earl Grey at Howick in August, 1816, to discuss his commission, the Rotterdam finally shown in 1819 (No. 56; Pl. 41),³⁶ but did not pay a visit to Rotterdam to make the necessary studies until 1818, probably partly because he was already occupied with a Boats on a River for Sir Thomas

32 W. Thornbury, The Life and Correspondence of J.M.W. Turner, 1877 ed., p. 275.

33 Farington, Diary, 25 April, 1818.

34 For the Duke of Sussex's speech see ibid., 27 April, 1816; for Beaumont and others, ibid., 26 April, 1816.

35 For commissions, ibid., 1 May, 1816.

36 Ibid., 4 November, 1816; 'Callcott told me towards the end of last August He was at Sir John Swinburnes in Northumberland, and at Lord Greys at Howick.'

Heathcote (No. 53; Pl. 39), a composition apparently repeated in the 1827 Dead Calm, Boats off Cowes Castle (No. 70).³⁷

Nothing is known of the painting for Sir Mark Sykes, but the name of this noted collector and bibliophile is worth emphasising as further evidence of the predominance of landed proprietors from the newly industrialised North among Callcott's patrons - Leicester of Tabley, Parker of Browsholme, Grey of Howick, and Sykes of Sledmere; men of the same class, and all judicious purchasers of modern British art. Callcott's exhibit of 1818, The Mouth of the Tyne, with a View of North and South Shields (No. 55; Pl. 40), was also painted for a Northern patron, Sir Matthew White Ridley of Seaton Burn, Northumberland, who, like his neighbour Sir John Swinburne, was an admirer of Mulready, whose The Travelling Druggist was painted for him in 1824.³⁸

Callcott stayed again with the Swinburnes in the summer of 1816, and may have repeated the visit while working on the Ridley painting; in 1817 he painted a large View of the River Tyne for Lady Swinburne, which was not exhibited.³⁹ During his stay in 1816, he was able to relax from marine work for a while; Sir John took him on 'an excursion to the Lakes He thought the scenery very fine, & superior to that of Wales. - He was particularly struck with the scenery at the Head of Coniston.'⁴⁰

The Mouth of the Tyne created scarcely less of a sensation

37 Callcott had stayed with Sir Thomas Heathcote at Embly, near Romsey, in 1812.

38 Exhibited R.A. 1825.

39 Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 2; '1817 - a View on the River Tyne painted for (the late) Lady Swinburne. A large picture nine feet long of a river scene.' This cannot now be traced.

40 Farington, Diary, 4 November, 1816.

than The Pool of London, and resulted immediately in a commission from yet another northerner, John Lambton, later Earl of Durham, for 'a picture from Callcott same size as His View of Shields'.⁴¹ This time, however, the subject was not to be a local one, but of the river Medway. Callcott did not start on it at once, but turned instead to the overdue Rotterdam for Earl Grey. At an unknown date in the summer of 1818, he spent four days in and around Rotterdam making pen and ink sketches,⁴² finding the port 'large as Bristol, with very good inns'.⁴³ By the following April, Earl Grey was 'in raptures' with the finished painting,⁴⁴ and Henry Thomson was declaring it Callcott's best work so far.⁴⁵ Encouraged by such praise, Callcott fixed its price at 500 guineas.⁴⁶

The Lambton painting, Dead Calm on the Medway, with Small Craft Dropping Down on the Turn of the Tide; Sheerness in the Distance (No. 59), was ready for exhibition in 1820, although work on it must have been interrupted by several weeks spent in Scotland in May, 1819, to make drawings for Scott's Provincial Antiquities of Scotland, to which Callcott was to contribute several plates. 'He is going to Scotland to make drawings for a work of Scotch views in which a Revd. Mr. Thomson, a Scotchman, appears a very ingenious artist,' Henry Thomson told Farington,⁴⁷ probably indicating that Callcott had already seen something of the work of John Thomson of Duddingston; Turner had been with

41 Ibid., 4 May, 1818.

42 See Chapter 8, and, for Callcott's Rotterdam visit, his remarks to Farington, ibid., 5 May, 1819. 'Callcott told me that He was at Rotterdam the last Summer abt. 4 days.'

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 3 April, 1819.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., 5 May, 1819.

47 Ibid., 24 May, 1819.

Thomson in Edinburgh, working on the same project, the previous year, but would not have spoken of his Scottish collaborator's abilities in quite these terms.⁴⁸ Callcott almost certainly met the artist himself while in Scotland, for, like Turner, he was welcomed into the sophisticated intelligentsia of Edinburgh of which Thomson was a prominent member. No doubt he was an easier guest - it is hard to imagine him displaying the cockney sparrow manners by which Turner delighted to shock his Edinburgh hosts - and his already warm friendship with David Wilkie, a neighbour in Kensington since 1811,⁴⁹ would have given him extra credentials.

Edinburgh proved a new experience, at once more exotic and strenuously intellectual than London - 'all points and needles, each striving to exhibit the brilliancy of his thoughts', Callcott told Farington. One particularly eccentric evening was spent with 'Jefferys - the Edinburgh Reviewer, at his country house two miles from the city Champaigne &c was on the table Jefferys attended to no form in His dress. He wore a Jacket & Trowsers & half boots and had a silk handkerchief round His neck - after sitting some time after dinner an eminent pleader at the Scotch bar, put his wine glass in his waistcoat pocket & saying "We have sat long enough," threw open the window & leapt

48 'You beat me in frames' was Turner's comment after seeing the contents of Thomson's studio. Callcott could hardly have received his favourable impression of Thomson's work from Turner. Presumably he had been affected, even before his arrival in Scotland, by patriotic claims that Thomson was the Scottish Turner. See Gage, op. cit., p. 97.

49 Wilkie had moved to an address in Lower Phillimore Walk.

through it to the grass plot and being followed by the rest, they drank Champagne in the open air, and then played at leap frog. The same humour prevailed on their way back to the city.⁵⁰

Although Callcott spent most of his time in Edinburgh, making, with the help of an etching lent by Farington from one of his own drawings of Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat,⁵¹ drawings of the city from the Braid Hills and from the Grass Market, he also travelled to Linlithgow to draw the castle, and, apparently, to Haddington and Dumbarton.⁵² This was Callcott's first work for the engravers of any magnitude, but proof impressions from at least the Edinburgh drawing were ready by the end of December,⁵³ and he was able to complete the Lambton painting in time for the 1820 exhibition.

The 1819 Rotterdam had not only earned the Lambton commission, but also others from Lord Liverpool, Lord Egremont and a Mr. Fazakerley.⁵⁴ Lord Liverpool, as Prime Minister, presumably had priority, for his Dover, from the Sea: a Squally Day: Wind against the Tide (No. 60) was exhibited in 1821. Sir Thomas Heathcote's Smugglers Alarmed (No. 61; Pl. 44) followed in 1822, and another Rotterdam (No. 62; Pl. 45), painted for the Earl of Essex, in 1823. A commission from Sir George Phillips resulted

50 Farington, Diary, 5 August, 1819. Francis Jeffrey, critic and lawyer, had sole management of the Edinburgh Review from 1803 to 1829. He had been called to the Scottish bar in 1794, and became Lord Advocate for Scotland in 1830.

51 For the loan of the etching, see ibid., 24 May, 1819.

52 A painting of Dumbarton was in the Swinton collection (No. 58; Pl. 43) and a drawing of Haddington is in the V. & A.M. (No. 232).

53 Callcott brought a proof impression of the Edinburgh plate to Farington on 31 December.

54 For these commissions, see ibid., 24 May, 1819.

in Rochester, from the River, below the Bridge (No. 63), shown in 1824, and the following year, no doubt because his energies were too widely deployed, Callcott did not exhibit at all. Lord Egremont's Heavy Weather coming on, Vessels running to Port (No. 68; Pl. 48), was not ready for exhibition until 1827; presumably it was understood that Callcott worked out his own order of precedence. The same exhibition included Bruges, from the Ghent Canal (No. 69; Pl. 49), another commission from Sir Matthew White Ridley, The Thames below Greenwich (No. 71) painted for Sir John Soane, and Dead Calm, Boats off Cowes Castle (No. 70) painted for Mr. Bennet and apparently a replica of the unexhibited Boats on a River painted for Sir Thomas Heathcote in 1817.⁵⁵

Callcott had already broken his now established habit of showing only a single work in 1826, when he exhibited two paintings, commissioned by the Duke of Bedford and by Jesse Watts Russell. The first of these commissions, the Duke's for Antwerp Quay during the Fair Time (No. 66; Pl. 46), marked a significant apogee in Callcott's career. The Duke, an outstanding example of the aristocratic patron and collector, but one whose taste was nevertheless sometimes more cautious than that of men like Sheepshanks, Vernon, Knott and Wells, had first begun collecting in Rome in 1815 in the conventional style of the grand tourist, returning laden with ancient and modern sculpture, and had continued to amass safe purchases of this sort for some years. In this he was encouraged by his second son, Lord William Russell,

55 Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 7.

a soldier and diplomat of sternly Neo-classical temper who made many suitable acquisitions for his father, and 'dreaded his having been set against them by the Goths'.⁵⁶

However, Lord William had no reservations about a scheme for creating a gallery of modern British paintings, which took shape in his father's mind after 1820. He was a friend of several artists, including Callcott, and gave his father enthusiastic assistance. Although the Duke did not begin collecting in earnest until the 1820s, occasional earlier purchases reveal literary and dramatic interests which continued to set the tone of the collection. At the Duke's death in 1839, it contained narrative subjects by Eastlake, C.R. Leslie, G.S. Newton, William Hayter, Abraham Cooper, William Allan and Wilkie, but although he did buy landscapes, notably those of Frederick Richard Lee,⁵⁷ he ignored Turner and Constable. Similarly, he seems to have been unwilling to rely entirely on his own initiative, frequently leaning heavily on Landseer and other painter friends for advice; in 1835, for instance, he asked if Landseer could come to his studio with 'Mr. Wilkie and Callcott and Kartz if you think they will let me see their pictures of the exhibition I have seen or heard little of the arts these last five or six months - I am literally quite ignorant of all that is going on.'⁵⁸ Letters from Lord William to Joseph Severn, urging him to make

56 Lord William Russell to his wife, 27 April, 1823, in Georgiana Blakiston, Lord William Russell and his Wife, 1815 - 1846, 1972, p. 84.

57 Lee owed his success largely to the combined patronage and influence of the Duke and of William Wells of Redleaf. He worked often at Woburn.

58 Bedford to Landseer, Easter Sunday, 1835. V. & A.M., Landseer MSS, 86KK, 5a, A-D, 33.

haste with his contribution to the Woburn gallery, An Italian Vintage, amply convey the cautious spirit in which his father approached his collection. The painting was to hang, wrote Lord William in 1825, in a 'chamber fitted purposely for pictures of the most approved modern artists'. On a second occasion he referred to these artists as those 'most distinguished'.⁵⁹ Clearly the Duke, beyond a preference for history and narrative genre, was not applying his own personal standards - a qualification which may partly explain his absence from the noble ranks of P  ter Christoph Wonder's Patrons and Lovers of Art of 1826 in the National Portrait Gallery, although, as John Steegman has pointed out, this compendium of collectors does generally exclude those specialising in modern art.⁶⁰

Antwerp Quay was the first marine subject to enter the Duke's collection. The commission was given in 1824, and Callcott would certainly have known of the plan for a select gallery. He went to Holland that year specially to make studies for the painting; 'My friend Calcott went over to Holland last year on purpose for a view of the Port of Antwerp,' Lord William wrote to Severn in 1826 - meaning to say the year before last.⁶¹ The majority of the paintings commissioned for the gallery were small in size, and Callcott's larger contribution was clearly intended

59 Russell to Severn, 21 September, 1825, and 23 January, 1826. Houghton Library, Harvard (as yet uncatalogued; kindly communicated by Mrs. Kathleen Wells). The room appropriated by the Duke for his collection was the former Print Room at Woburn; later the paintings spread into the next room.

60 J. Steegman, Victorian Taste, 1970 ed., pp. 57-8.

61 Russell to Severn, 23 January, 1826, loc. cit. above. Lord William's memory was playing him false; his earlier letter to Severn, written the previous September, had mentioned a visit to Antwerp by Callcott 'last year' - 1824.

to be one of its major set-pieces, an authoritative and even synoptic work which was to stand for the English fascination with the Dutch tradition. It took its place in a collection regarded in its day as representative of what was most valuable in British painting, as well as being placed, unlike those of aristocratic northern patrons - by no means always concentrated on their town houses - so as to attract attention from a wide variety of quarters. Dr. Waagen, for instance, was able to see at Woburn 'two rooms contain(ing) a large number of works by the most eminent living English painters',⁶² and appropriately, these were those used by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert on their visit in 1841; the Royal couple must have been gratified to see so large an example of the work of an artist whom they perhaps already had in mind as their future Surveyor of Pictures.

For the most satisfactory counterpart to the Duke as an aristocratic patron one must turn to Lord Egremont, although, as his relations with Turner show, he was more adventurous in his collecting activities. Callcott's first commission from Lord Egremont came, as we have seen, in 1819, and was completed by 1827. In 1825, however, Callcott also painted a view of a sea port for him (No. 65), and was probably already being entertained at Petworth, for another unexhibited painting of that year was 'an effect in Petworth park but with Italian buildings in the distance sold to Sr Henry Bunbury but afterwards given up to the Earl of Egremont at my request'.⁶³ Callcott's

62 G.F. Waagen, Treasures of Art in Great Britain, III, 1854, p. 446.

63 Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 4.

relationship with Egremont was probably warmer than his association with the Duke of Bedford, but the Duke himself would have attached more importance to Callcott's work for him than did Egremont. Callcott had known Lord William Russell at least since 1805, for a lost Rural Scene; Mid-day was painted for him in time for the Academy the following year,⁶⁴ and could have met the Duke himself not only through the son but also through Holland House, where he was a constant guest during the 1820s, playing the part of artist and connoisseur-in-residence.⁶⁵ As such he probably enjoyed, with Landseer, a crucial role in the formation of the Woburn collection of modern art, for it was Callcott who inspired the Duke's most adventurous and unexpected purchase, that of a Bonington Scene on the French Coast at the Bonington sale in June, 1829. According to a letter of 1826 from the Hollands' friend and almost permanent guest, John Allen - also a close friend of the Callcott family - Callcott had advised both the Duke and Lord Holland, when in Paris, to visit Bonington's studio, and had praised his work highly.⁶⁶ Bonington's first London exhibition was in 1826, at the British Institution, but the Duke was in Paris in the New Year, so Callcott must have been well aware of Bonington's work before that date. The most plausible explanation for this is Callcott's friendship with Francia, Bonington's early teacher in Calais, but he may also have heard accounts of the Salon of 1824 which contained four works by

64 Ibid., p. 1. Lord William evidently relinquished his claim on the painting as Callcott lists it as 'bought by Edward Millar Mundy of Shipley'.

65 For Callcott at Holland House see the Earl of Ilchester, Chronicles of Holland House, 1937.

66 Holland House Papers, British Library.

Bonington, and could conceivably have heard more when the young artist visited England the following year with Delacroix. In any event, Bonington's painting may well have been bought with Callcott's own in mind. With William Collins's Buying Fish on the Beach, Hazy Morning, painted for him in 1825, it was the only other coastal or marine subject in the Duke's collection which could complement The Port of Antwerp. The Collins may also have owed something to Callcott's recommendation; Collins was by now a friend of Callcott's, and, as Waagen noted, his painting for Woburn 'successfully approaches the style of Callcott.'⁶⁷

Callcott's dealings with the Duke of Bedford illuminate emergent roles as connoisseur and entrepreneur. His other exhibit of 1826, Dutch Fishing Boats Running Foul in the Endeavour to Board, and Missing the Painter Rope (No. 67; Pl. 47), painted for Jesse Watts Russell, reveals a lighter side to his nature. Clarkson Stanfield had intended to exhibit a painting entitled Throwing the Painter, but was unable to complete it in time. Callcott heard of this, and produced Missing the Painter Rope, a caprice which amused Turner, who, in Thornbury's words 'with the radiant triumph of a boy who at leapfrog takes the last and highest back',⁶⁸ capped it by showing Now for the Painter the following year.

A stroke of wit such as Callcott's in 1826 could only be carried off by an artist of the first rank, and his status continued to be reflected not only in extensive patronage, but also in active

67 Waagen, loc. cit.

68 Thornbury, op. cit., p. 293.

participation in the running of the Academy. In 1817 he had been elected to the Academy Council and as a Visitor to the Life-School, and great professional value now attached to his influence. No rising artist was more aware of this than Constable, who once repainted one of his own paintings so that it could hang as a pendant to one of Callcott's;⁶⁹ Mulready and the young Alfred Chalon were however able to put their acquaintance with the great man to better use, for their work was more to his taste; Linnell and William Collins, and later Kensington neighbours like Thomas Creswick and Thomas Webster, also shared reflected glory.⁷⁰

For his chosen friends, artists, writers and patrons, Callcott proved a generous and generally loyal advocate, always ready with introductions and advice. When Maria Edgeworth was in London in 1822, she was introduced by Callcott to Mulready and Wilkie, and through his intercession saw the former's Careless Messenger Detected, which had been exhibited the previous year, at Lady Louisa Lambton's, and Wilkie's Chelsea Pensioners while still in the studio.⁷¹ Miss Edgeworth described Callcott to her mother as an admirable Cicerone, 'a very gentlemanlike and most obliging man (who) has been more civil than I can tell you about preparing the way, for seeing pictures of Lord Liverpools

69 See R.B. Beckett, John Constable's Correspondence, III, p. 84; and for the Callcott, below, No. 50; Pl. 38.

70 Creswick and Webster moved near to Callcott in 1837 and 1833.

71 For The Careless Messenger, see Maria Edgeworth to Callcott, undated, but certainly 1822, Beinecke Rare Book Library, MSS Vault, shelves 'Edgeworth'. For Chelsea Pensioners, Miss Edgeworth to Mrs. Ruxton, 9 March, 1822, in Maria Edgeworth: Letters from England, 1813-44, ed. Christina Colvin, 1971, p. 367.

- Sir J. Swinburnes &c.⁷² But Callcott could also be a hard taskmaster whose standards, both artistic and moral, were rigid, so that in the respect shown him by his younger colleagues there was perhaps an element of fear. Rippingille's account of Callcott's dealings with Francis Gold conveys a hint of this, and it may even be detected in Callcott's friendship with Mulready. Callcott had not allowed private acquaintance to soften his reaction to Mulready's paintings of the Gravel Pits - 'I cannot conscientiously recommend them, I really cannot' are his recorded words⁷³ - and he probably brought considerable pressure to bear on Mulready to abandon his early interest in landscape, for, apart from Blackheath Park, exhibited in 1852, the Kensington subjects were his last exercises in pure landscape.⁷⁴ Nor did Callcott refrain from investigating his friend's moral character, which came into question in 1816 as a result of his estrangement from his wife. Clearly Callcott intended only to prove rumours false, but Mulready may have resented his interference; it is probably significant that when Mulready complained to Farington about the rumours, he chose to speak of Wilkie as 'His most confidential friend in professional matters'.⁷⁵ An undated letter from Callcott to Mulready is almost certainly

72 Maria to Mrs. Edgeworth, 6 February, 1822. Loc. cit., pp. 345-6.

73 Stephens, Mulready, cit., p. 67.

74 Callcott's support for Mulready in the Academy may have been to some extent conditional on his changing his subject matter. A letter from Wilkie to Mulready at Capheaton, 4 December, 1813, rather gives this impression; Wilkie stresses his own and Callcott's efforts to secure Mulready's election as A.R.A., adding that they strongly advise him to return to London and to begin 'a subject of interest'. V. & A.M., Mulready MSS, 86 NNI.

75 Farington, Diary, 12 February, 1816.

Callcott's attempt to heal the breach; 'Turner and Jackson are coming to eat their dinner with me I am anxious to shew you that I have no feeling remaining(?) that you would not wish and if you would like to join the party come and let us shake hands at once.'⁷⁶ This seems to have been the only break in Callcott's friendship with Mulready, but the following year he showed the most uncompromising side of his character to George Dawe, whose conceited habit of 'puffing himself in the press' had made him an undesirable member of the Academy Club.⁷⁷ Callcott, aided by Thomas Phillips and Constable, finally ousted Dawe by the ingenious, if somewhat dubious, method of mass resignation followed by the reconstitution of the Club without him.⁷⁸

Although this and other incidents might suggest otherwise, Callcott seems to have prided himself on using his influence sparingly and judiciously, and his relations with Constable amount to something of an object lesson to show that his goodwill could never be taken for granted. Constable marked Callcott down as a useful ally from an early date, but his hopes were invariably frustrated, and Callcott's praise of his work heavily qualified. In 1812 he met Callcott at 'Mr. Crotch's oratorio ... (Callcott) told me that my pictures had very respectable situations in the Academy & that they looked very well, but rather dark and heavy.'⁷⁹ By 1815 Callcott still felt unable to support Constable's

76 Callcott to Mulready, V. & A.M., Mulready MSS, 86 NNI.

77 For Dawe's boastfulness, and the general reaction, see Farington, Diary, 9 May, 1817.

78 Ibid.

79 Constable to Maria Bicknell, 24 April, 1812, in Beckett, op. cit., II, p. 65.

candidature as Associate; he told Farington he 'hoped Mulready wd. be elected an Associate in November next', but when Farington 'mentioned Constable also Callcott wished He could vote for Him but did not think His claim equal to that of Jackson & some others'.⁸⁰ In 1819 Constable was resignedly telling Farington that 'from what He had heard, ... He had no expectation that Callcott would ever vote for Him'.⁸¹ He had to wait until 1823, when he showed Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds, for a really encouraging word; 'Callcott admires my Cathedral; He says I have managed it well.'⁸² However, three years later Callcott chose to believe malicious rumours about Constable which had apparently emanated from his early mentor J.T. Smith, who had long since transferred his allegiance to younger protégés like George Arnald and George Dawe. C.R. Leslie intervened with Callcott, and received from the aspirant a letter of painfully humble gratitude which speaks volumes about Callcott's status in the art world. Constable assured Leslie 'that it is entirely owing to your kindness and discretion, that I have been received so favourably by Mr. Callcott & have had the opportunity (in which I have entirely succeeded) of clearing away this wretched nonsense which has so much vexed me, and of being restored to his friendship - and above all of being assured by him that I had much risen in his esteem All this mischeif was done me by Mr. Smith of the Museum (whose conduct ought to have been very different) - and Callcott was the person to whom he addressed him-

80 Farington, Diary, 13 October, 1815.

81 Ibid., 1 November, 1819.

82 Constable to Leslie, 9 May, 1823, in Leslie, op. cit., p. 100.

self and who acted upon the relation - under the impression that it was really true All this mischief was done to me by Mr. Smith to make way for his friend Mr. Arnald.'⁸³ However, Constable never succeeded in persuading Callcott to take his work seriously, although it was not until the 1830s that he betrayed any trace of resentment. In 1832 he wrote to Leslie that Callcott's paintings were those of a 'correct, sound - and just - bigot - but he has the soft side. He said I did not believe what I said, but only wished to attract attention by singularity.' Having admitted so much, Constable allowed Leslie two glimpses of his real bitterness. 'Who would not "rather rule in hell than obey in heaven"', he commented after John Landseer had told him of 'Callcott's commands, or dictations to vote for Linnell' in yet another of that artist's attempts at an Associateship,⁸⁴ and in a second letter, Constable's scorn embraced the whole art establishment, of which Callcott was a prominent member, and rejected all its beliefs; 'What must I feel when I push my head against the clouds and (waves) of poor Callcott - or breath the stagnate sulphur of Turner - or smell the - of a publick house skittle ground by Collins - or be smothered in a privy by Linnell or Mulready - but let them alone, is best of all.'⁸⁵

Callcott did not always act with the studied caution he

83 Constable to Leslie, undated, 1828, in Beckett, op. cit., III, pp. 15-16. The nature of Smith's slander is unknown to me. Constable had been defeated in the 1828 election of Academicians by William Etty, his junior by four years as Associate.

84 Constable to Leslie, 4 December, 1832, ibid., p. 84.

85 Constable to Leslie, ibid., p. 77.

showed towards Constable; he seems to have been an active supporter of Linnell, and in 1816 his enthusiasm for Alfred Chalon's candidature as Academician caused a major furore. Chalon had been elected Associate in 1812, and his prospects for advancement seemed excellent until, one fateful morning, several Academicians, including Farington, received letters from him setting out his case. To call, when invited to do so, was accepted practise, to write an unheard-of solecism, and shock waves reverberated through Farington's diary for several weeks. Investigations revealed that Chalon had written at Callcott's suggestion - a decided black mark which Callcott explained away only with difficulty. Chalon, it transpired, had begun his round of calls, but had fallen ill before he could complete it. Letters seemed a logical answer, but Chalon had neglected to explain his reasons for writing them. Reluctantly, the Academicians accepted this; Farington met Chalon and told him he 'regretted' his decision to write, but that his work deserved his continued support. Chalon was duly elected, but both the candidate and his unduly enthusiastic advisor suffered some tarnish to their reputations.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, Callcott continued to see himself as a kind of watchdog for the Academy. In 1819 he complained to Farington of 'the disorderly state of the Antique Academy' and proposed a more rigorous supervision,⁸⁷ and the previous year was at the centre of a serious row which arose from the decision to elect Richard

86 For the Chalon affair, see especially Farington, Diary, 7 February, 1816.

87 Ibid., 31 December, 1819. Callcott's remarks were especially directed against his old teacher, Fuseli.

Payne Knight as the Academy's Professor of Ancient Literature. Although Callcott's earlier fears about the British Institution had not been realised, the independence of the Academy remained a sensitive issue, and the adoption of a leading member of the 'Committee of Taste' must have seemed something of a surrender. Callcott was at first prepared to admit the lack of a practical alternative, but for no accountable reason his attitude suddenly hardened, and on 28 February, 1818, he insisted on registering a formal protest in the Academy Journal; if this were refused, he threatened to 'throw up His Diploma'.⁸⁸ He was dissuaded from this, but continued to campaign against Payne Knight, proposing instead the Bishop of London, who had been rejected from the initial list of candidates. On 1 March Callcott told Farington that 'it was now known beyond the wall of the Academy, that Mr. P. Knight had been thought, and the choice had been considered by several respectable persons to be ill-judged The opinions which Mr. Knight had given respecting Arts, and some Artists, and an improper publication upon a gross subject, and the tendency of it, made Him a very unfit person to be attached by name to the Royal Academy.'⁸⁹ In the end the Bishop was approached, but Payne Knight appointed. Callcott sulked for a while, and Farington thought he had gone too far in threatening to resign his diploma - 'unexampled in the annals of the Academy, & a most dangerous precedent', he told Henry Thomson, no doubt hoping that the implied reproof would find its way to Callcott

88 Ibid., 28 February, 1818.

89 Ibid., 1 March, 1818. The 'improper publication' must be Knight's Discourse on the Worship of Priapus, published for the Dilettanti Society, 1786.

himself.⁹⁰

After these incidents, which, like his behaviour towards Sir George Beaumont a decade earlier, reveal a tendency to over-react not easily reconciled with the benign picture of Callcott painted by the Redgraves, Callcott withdrew somewhat from the political life of the Academy. During the 1820s the demands of his work and the private social life that accompanied it could in any case have left him little time for officialdom. By now the subject at once of fashion and of serious critical acclaim, patronised by leading aristocratic patrons of modern art and poised to attract the attention of the new generation of commercial collectors, he was at the peak of his profession, and Kensington Gravel Pits was already a minor landmark of artistic London. It would not remain minor for long, for an inevitable result of Callcott's fame was that he would rarely dine at home again unless himself the host, and was perfectly placed to meet the latest social lion. Sooner or later - and probably sooner than many - he was bound to meet that most remarkable of lionesses, the widowed Maria Graham, who had established herself in rooms in number 6, High Row. However, nobody could have foreseen their marriage, which took place within months of their meeting.

90 Ibid., 9 March, 1818.

CHAPTER 4

Marriage and Honeymoon: the Netherlands and Germany, 1827

'Poor Callcott is to marry the intrepid Mrs. Graham', wrote Lady Holland to a friend in January, 1827. 'He is a quiet man, hitherto very happy with his own family, who live around him, and many who depend upon him entirely for subsistence. Unfortunately he fell in with this undaunted lady, and there he sank. It vexes all his friends for she will quite sink him, being a most determined lady and as proud as Lucifer of her family and connections. Besides she has not a penny, probably debts, a bad prospect for him, poor man. She is writing a history of Spain, so her pen and his brush are the fond du menage.'¹

As Lady Holland's somewhat acid letter suggests, Callcott's engagement came as a considerable surprise. He could hardly have chosen a more unlikely bride than Mrs. Graham, for her background and personality were totally different. She came from the Scottish family of Dundas - her father was a Rear-Admiral, her brother a general - and whereas Callcott had only been out of England for limited periods and distances, she had taken full advantage of the privileges then accorded to naval wives and had travelled extensively with her first husband,

¹ Lady Holland to Miss Fox, 7 January, 1827, in the Earl of Ilchester, op. cit., pp. 108-9.

Captain Thomas Graham, who had died in 1822.² Her voyages had brought her many adventures which, it was widely agreed, made thrilling reading in the books she produced from them, just as they made her an invaluable curiosity at a party, but had served to form a most unfeminine personality who, as she once remarked to John Linnell, preferred to be called a bitch than a female, and was understandably considered too demanding for her new bridegroom.

Even Mrs. Graham's appearance was out of the ordinary, for she had a Byronic habit of wearing a turban of striped silk - in fact a cover for a scar she had received as a child by falling and hitting her head against a hot fender. Her talk, like her books, which Lord Holland considered 'unfeminine and abusive',³ was forthright. Some, like Croker, who admired spirited women, were impressed; Croker gave Graham his own command after clashing with the captain's wife, a fanatical Whig, over politics; Turner, in 1827, found her a 'most agreeable blue-stocking';⁴ Sydney Smith, finding the Callcotts his only fellow guests at Bowood in 1829, thought them both 'very sensible, agreeable people.'⁵ Others, particularly women, were uneasy in her company; Maria Edgeworth, meeting her in 1830, found 'something too bold and odd about her - Lestock says too much of

2 For a good account of Maria's earlier travels see R.B. Gotch, Maria, Lady Callcott, 1937. Her own autobiographical fragment, dictated to the Hon. Caroline Fox (sister of the third Lord Holland) from her sickbed between 1836 and 1842, is fully transcribed by Mrs. Gotch. Maria's relationship with the Holland family had by then blossomed into a warm friendship.

3 Journal of the Hon. Henry Edward Fox, 4th Lord Holland, ed. the Earl of Ilchester, 1923, p. 272.

4 Turner to Holworthy, December 1826, in Finberg, op. cit., p. 298.

5 Sydney Smith to N. Fazakerly, ? October, 1829, in The Letters of Sydney Smith, ed. N.C. Smith, 1953, I, p. 505.

the bold dragoon - nothing feminine or ladylike and all men dislike that intensely. Mr. Callcott however looks well and happy and thanks her for it - with eyes and with mouth and there's the essential for her and him.'⁶ There remained, however, a final black mark against Callcott's bride; not long after her second marriage it became clear that she was tubercular, and for thirteen years until her death in 1843 she was to be an invalid. While this restriction to the Kensington house was the origin of her famous salon, and to that extent advanced her husband's career even further, it took a considerable toll on him. Like many invalids, she indulged her suppressed energies vicariously; it never occurred to her that her husband or friends might themselves feel tired or unwell. 'Why does Lord Holland get ill?' she demanded of Caroline Fox in 1834. 'I should think just now he has not time.'⁷ It was perhaps a symptom as much of frustration as of aesthetic conviction that she began to influence and even to manipulate her husband's career. While, as has already become plain, it would be quite wrong to attribute Callcott's success to his wife's influence, it is nevertheless true that had he not married Mrs. Graham, the direction of his life and his art would have been somewhat different.

Mrs. Graham's credentials for an artistic marriage were better than may have appeared so far. As a girl at the Misses

6 Maria Edgeworth to Sophie Ruxton, 8 December, 1830, in Maria Edgeworth; Letters from England 1813 - 1844, ed. Christina Colvin, 1971, p. 444.

7 Maria Callcott to Caroline Fox, ? 1834, in the Earl of Ilchester, op. cit., p. 281.

Brights' school at Carswell House, Buckland, she had been taught drawing first by William Delamotte and then by Dr. William Crotch, 'there being', as the doctor noted in one of his sketchbooks, 'no drawing master then in Oxford.'⁸ Presumably Crotch's own master, J.B. Malchair, was by then too ailing and blind to take on Maria Dandas, but Crotch, who only began drawing regularly in the 1790s, must have seemed more like a fellow-pupil than a teacher. Nevertheless, Callcott told Crotch that his wife 'always said you were the first person who instilled into her the advantages of practical skill in the cultivation of a taste for art, and in my opinion (as I always told her) she could not have had a better elementary instructor than yourself who, by making the faithful imitation of nature your sole object, insured the best end to be sought for by a beginner, correctness of eye, and the use of the pencil uncontaminated by conventional signs for things visible, and thus thwarting the bane of all art, mannerism.'⁹

Maria was a competent draughtswoman and watercolourist, and, under Callcott's guidance, experimented in oils; Crotch was able to copy an Italian coastal scene painted by her in the style of her husband.¹⁰ However, as Callcott implied in his letter to her old master, drawing and painting were for her only tools in the broader purpose, 'the cultivation of a taste for

8 Note on p. 15 of a Crotch sketchbook filled with mixed media copies after paintings and drawings by Callcott made in 1845, before and during the Callcott sale. Norwich Central Library, Nor. MSS, 1108.

9 A.W.C. to Crotch, 6 June, 1843; letter copied by Crotch on p. 16 of the above sketchbook.

10 Loc. cit., p. 14; 'From an oil painting by Lady Callcott - my pupil!'

art'. For a woman of her vigorous intellect and range of mind, this would have been but one of many essential duties, but she was no dilettante; whatever she undertook she did with care and attention to detail. When only a child she had found reading Reynolds and Burke, given to her by Delamotte, 'like finding out another sense', and, as she added in her unfinished autobiography, 'even to the present day my happiness has been much increased by what I then learnt.'¹¹ By 1827 she had studied art in sufficient depth to provide common ground with a leading artist, had formulated standards of criticism which probably went beyond Callcott's own, and, in a single pioneering work, had proved herself not only a competent art historian, but one who drew lessons from the past appropriate to her own day.

Memoirs of the Life of Nicolas Poussin, published in 1820, had not only, as the first life of the artist in English, provided an original contribution to scholarship, but had also, in a stimulating introduction to which too little attention has been paid by historians, offered an advanced and courageous critique of contemporary British painting and patronage. Much of the research for the book had been done in Rome with her first husband in 1819, when she had come to know the colony of English artists working in the city, especially the young Charles Eastlake, who had stayed with the Grahams in their lodgings in the Piazza Mignanelli. Eight years Maria's junior, Eastlake had become something of a protégé; 'I wish you would

¹¹ M.C., autobiographical fragment, Gotch, op. cit., p. 44.

let me introduce him to you,' she wrote to Francis Palgrave, 'he has the curiosity and the means of knowing all popular stories and traditions about Rome Besides all this there are few people I love half so well in the world, which is a reason for introducing him to my friends, for he is a brother to me.'¹² And, three years later, she promised John Murray 'great pleasure in knowing a gentleman of as much modesty and accomplishment, whose taste and talents as an artist must one day place him very high among our native geniuses.'¹³ Eastlake's companionship made her entirely at home among artists in Rome, and deepened her commitment to English painting; 'Excepting among English artists,' she was to recall, 'I never saw the poetry of Rome painted.'¹⁴ When writing Poussin's life, it occurred to her that it offered many lessons to young artists in England, and she presented them in her introduction.

Her argument centred on patronage. Poussin, she pointed out, had survived with very little, and so should English artists, for, just as art could only flourish in a free society, 'no English artist could submit to the absolute controul of any individual patron.'¹⁵ However, Mrs. Graham admitted that they were to some extent justified when they complained of want of patronage at home, and, in a survey of trends on the continent, sharply attacked the English habit of preferring the foreign to the native. 'The English school of painting,' she wrote, 'though

12 Mrs. Graham to Palgrave, ? 1821, in Gotch, op. cit., p. 171: she told Palgrave that Eastlake's landscapes, 'views of Rome and Athens', were 'most beautiful'.

13 Mrs. Graham to Murray, in Gotch, op. cit., p. 172.

14 Maria Graham, Memoirs of the Life of Nicolas Poussin, 1820, p. 107.

15 Ibid., p. XV.

far inferior to either the first or second splendid periods of Italian art, is now the best in Europe for the truth of this the Academy may appeal with confidence to the many thousands of Englishmen who have lately visited the continent, and looked with impartiality at the foreign exhibitions. The German artists have the best feeling abroad: they imitate the old masters, but have mistaken reverse of wrong for right: and, avoiding the extravagant action, glaring colour, and false feeling of the French, they have adopted babyish simplicity. The Italians are nothing in painting and one's very heart is grieved, to see the excellent English works that are held cheap, while portfolios are filled, and walls are covered, with French and German trash that, when the fashion and the novelty are gone, will inevitably be sent to the garret and the cheesemongers.'¹⁶

However, Mrs. Graham foresaw a happier future: 'Our patrons will discover that our artists are better painters, better scholars, and more respectable men than most of those who assume the name of painter elsewhere. And our artists will content themselves with the degree of patronage that the times and circumstances of our country allow.'¹⁷ She was thinking particularly of demands for the revival of major decorative schemes in public buildings, but was unable to sympathise with them; instead, the mutual understanding between Poussin and his individual patrons was revealed as her ideal. 'Modern artists are apt to complain of want of public patronage, and to lament that no fair occasion of distinguishing themselves can

16 Ibid., pp. XII-XIV.

17 Ibid., pp. XIV-XV

now occur, because it is no longer the fashion to decorate churches or palaces, within or without, with historical pictures. Now, Nicholas Poussin did so distinguish himself without such occasion His friends or patrons, or employers, were gentlemen who loved the arts, and loved to have their chambers adorned with pictures of historical or poetical subjects of a convenient size and price.'¹⁸

By an interesting coincidence, this was written only just before the Duke of Bedford began his collection of modern English pictures, but it was not for him, nor to Lord de Tabley, Thomas Lister Parker, Lord Egremont or Sir John Swinburne that her words seem to hold a special relevance; rather they look forward to the munificence of a generation still in its teens, to John Sheepshanks, Robert Vernon, William Wells and others of their taste and background, and to a type of intellectual or humorous cabinet picture or serious subject from English history, as yet in its infancy. Such subjects would soon be recognised as the Englishman's forte, for in her opinion he was not at home with the higher reaches of classicism; in her concluding paragraphs in the Memoir, she remarks that unless and until the English student could attain the pure idealism of Poussin, he 'would please his countrymen better, if he brought home more from Venice than from Rome.'¹⁹

Mrs. Graham had also used the Memoir to summarise the attributes she expected in artists and theorists. Breadth of mind as well as of vision was her first essential in the artist:

¹⁸ Ibid., p. VI.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 153.

'He must look into the minds of men, that he may understand their feelings and passions. He must be acquainted with history and poetry, that he may choose subjects worthy of his pencil.'²⁰ And, speaking of Poussin's friendship with Marini, she seems to foreshadow the salon which she was to create as much for Callcott as for herself: 'The speculative studies of a painter should be mingled with conversation and society, as his practise in painting should partake of study from the life, as well as from the fine forms of antiquity; otherwise, his conceptions will want ease and grace, as his painting would want colour and animation.'²¹

One may well wonder what was Maria Graham's estimate of Callcott's art in the 1820s. In a letter of 1836 to her German friend, August Kestner, she seems to have been slightly disparaging, and, as Kestner had apparently imagined that his 'principal pieces were sea pieces', had probably drawn a veil over large areas of her second husband's career.²² 'Is it not odd,' Kestner wrote to her, 'that I am not able to form any idea in myself about his manner, not having seen any of his works, excepting a very few in prints, but in a very small shape?'²³ Charles Eastlake, in spite of his long acquaintance with Maria,

20 Ibid., p. VII.

21 Ibid., p. 21.

22 Kestner to M.C., 25 July, 1836, V. & A.M., Eastlake MSS, 86 PP 14, IV, 4. Speaking of Callcott's latest painting, probably the Raphael and the Fornarina shown the next year (No. 107; Pl. 72), Kestner 'trusts that you shall not be partial in his account, I think we are the most severest in judging works of persons who are the nearest to us'

23 Ibid.

and with Augustus himself in Rome in 1828, was kept similarly in the dark; 'I long to see what will be the produce of the year and see what Mr. Callcott has,' he wrote to Maria from Rome in 1829. 'After all I saw none of his grand works when I was in England and have an idea of every English talent but his.'²⁴ Maria's taste in modern art was certainly in advance of Callcott's, but she found in him a mature connoisseurship which complemented her own, and the formidably energetic tour of Germany and Italy which was their honeymoon was in every sense a joint project. Both husband and wife had their own objectives and interests, but Maria never lost respect for Augustus's opinions. 'I am travelling,' she wrote home, 'with an artist loving everything connected with his profession and old enough to have formed a riper judgment than most travelled painters who, you say, generally go abroad at an age when what is new to them is too apt to be taken for the beautiful, what is strange and incomprehensible for the sublime, and what is serene and chaste for the dry and hard, (and) draw inferences and make descriptions which (they) themselves at a riper age condemn. All this is true; but I beg you will remember that my companion is too much occupied in studying the things I only see as an admirer, to be able to give me so much of his time as to enable me to write criticisms such as you might perhaps expect, and that he is so wise in his taste that he would deprecate my writing anything that was not correct, lest you should imagine that

24 Eastlake to M.C., 6 March, 1829. V. & A.M., Eastlake MSS, 86 PP 14, IV, 5.

because I am with him I express his opinions.'²⁵ This is unduly modest, for in Italy at least Callcott must have relied heavily on his wife's knowledge and experience, and the bias of the tour towards early German and Italian art probably derived from Maria's disillusionment with the more hackneyed forms of the academic tradition. Nevertheless, the hard work of the journey, little less than the detailed cataloguing of the contents of almost every major public and private gallery, remained firmly her husband's preserve, while Maria herself kept a detailed day-to-day journal of their experiences, which now enables one to follow closely in their footsteps across Europe.

* * *

Maria and Augustus were married on 20 February, 1827; hardly three months later, on 12 May, Maria began her travel diary with their departure from Tower Pier down the Thames for a stormy channel crossing.²⁶ The tour began in earnest in Germany, but the Callcotts delayed a little in Holland on the way, in Rotterdam and Dort, 'which we looked at with interest for the sake of Cuyp who was born there.'²⁷ However, Cologne was the first major city on their itinerary, and it was there, after an uncomfortable steamer journey up the Rhine, that they began their study of buildings, galleries and artists. Maria's personal standards were soon revealed, when in the frescoes of

25 Copy of a letter, apparently written home in 1827, contained at the end of a condensed version of Maria's travel diary of 1827-8. Whitelegge Papers, M.C. IIa, ff. 135-6.

26 M.C., Journal I, to Dresden including first visit to Munich, May 12th, 1827, to August 10 ..., Strode Papers, M.C. Ia, p. 1.

27 M. C. condensed journal, loc. cit., f. 15.

Jacob Gotzenberger, the pupil of Cornelius who was later to work in Bridgewater and Northumberland Houses in London, she found a message expressed clearly, without adornment or affectation. After visiting the cathedral, she and Augustus went 'to the "Aula" where the modern frescoes are in progress. One only is finished, it is by three hands, Jacob Gotzenberger von Heidelberg and his friends. The former was the designer and while we were looking at his picture he came into the room The parts (of the fresco) are all clearly developed. The feelings are assisted at first in favour of the work by an appeal to our best appreciations, even in the colour we are reminded of those works which belong to the age when painting had for its object to tell the story and convey the sentiment required, rather than to display the minor excellences of the art.'²⁸

This sympathetic account of the work of a Nazarene was by no means typical of Maria's reactions to contemporary continental artists. Those who emulated later traditions - and, one may well feel, were the truer counterparts of her husband - were universally condemned. When, in Stuttgart, she was confronted with the voluminous oeuvre of Philipp Friedrich von Hetsch, she was appalled by its dependance on safe precedents; not only were there 'large historical pictures in the French taste', but 'a Haitch copy of a Titian, landscapes in the style of Vernet and P. Pannini are by Haitch, and at Ludwigsburg Haitch appeared as a master of every school - a Barroccio, a Vandyke, a Paul Bril, were all by Haitch - poor Haitch however is said to be

28 M.C., Journal I, loc. cit.; Jacob Gotzenberger (1800 - 1866), studied after 1820 under Cornelius, and in Munich from 1824. Visited Rome and Naples in 1828.

alive and blind.'²⁹ Such artists as Hetsch were, at least for Maria, among the more depressing revelations of the tour, suggesting an unthinking pursuit of the hackneyed and outmoded. However, the early schools of painting in Germany and Italy were a revelation of a different kind, opening unexplored vistas for scholarship and creative inspiration. The sense of personal discovery that pervades the journal as Maria tells of their studies in these fields, makes it fascinating reading.

Here the Callcotts were indeed ploughing a new furrow, for knowledge of the Italian Quattrocento was only just dawning in England, and early German and Netherlandish painting was even less explored. The Callcotts would have been familiar with the collections formed earlier by William Young Ottley, and with his Series of Plates engraved after the Paintings and Sculptures of the Most Eminent Masters of the Early Florentine School published in 1826; they would have known the collection of Samuel Rogers, whom Augustus disliked and called 'Mr. von Dug Up' but whom he respected as a connoisseur,³⁰ and, through Linnell, could have seen that of the Aders family. They were also acquainted with Seroux d'Agincourt's Histoire de l'Art, and no doubt also with some other manifestations of continental revivalist taste, but the depth of their receptivity to early art still remains astonishing, and their tour, for the facilities it provided for meeting and learning from pioneers of art history and taste like

29 Ibid. Philipp Friedrich von Hetsch (1755 - 1839), studied at Stuttgart School of Art, and under Vien, Vernet and David.

30 For this nickname, which Callcott considered superior to the 'Dead Dandy', see Maria Edgeworth to Mrs. Edgeworth, 9 February, 1822, in Christina Colvin, op. cit., p. 347.

the Boisserées, Lasinio and the Nazarenes, and from professional curators like Dillis in Munich and Camuccini in Rome, is of the greatest importance for the development of English taste.

Although the Callcotts' response to early German paintings was by no means uncritical, it was not long before they identified, as had Ludwig Tieck, Wilhelm Wackenroder and Friedrich Schlegel in Germany and Pugin in England, a unity between Gothic architecture and the pictorial art it contained, which produced both an effect of richness and the didactic message which Maria at least expected to find in painting. When the Callcotts reached Frankfurt and saw in the Staedel Institute examples of the elder Holbein and Dürer, Maria wrote that 'the effect of the German pictures with the Gold grounds, brocaded stuffs, and brilliant colours is gorgeous in the extreme and the side of the great room occupied by the more immediate followers of van Eyck such as Roger van der Weyden has something grand in its aspect which reminded me of rich painted windows.'³¹ By the time she had seen more of the elder Holbein's work in Augsburg, she could appreciate that it 'accords particularly well with the Gothic architecture and should be considered as not so much an art in itself as part of the whole system of decoration which belonged to the buildings of that style. These pictures lose much of their splendour and a great part of their fitness by being removed from the places for which they were executed. They have not the qualities of art that might make each a whole in itself, and being taken from the churches or altars where they

31 M.C. Journal I, loc. cit., p. 31.

formed the centres of rich and splendid decorations half their value is gone.'³²

Even if the qualified enthusiasm and the implied caveat for collectors and curators seem early if not first impressions, the Callcotts were sufficiently well primed for their studies to view critically from the outset. One of the first works by Dürer which they saw, the great Heller Altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin in the Staedel gallery in Frankfurt, was pronounced 'too well authenticated to doubt', although Maria felt 'It has some features which would make me suppose it the work of a later period, such as making coloured shadows to a white drapery somewhat after the style of Masaccio.'³³ Similarly at Splugen, where they arrived after an unsuccessful visit to Stuttgart - the 'old German pictures we came there expressly to see are packed for Munich'³⁴ - Maria directed a chilly stare at Martin Shaffner, who was alleged by a guide to have assisted Hans Schaufelein with an untraced altarpiece in the cathedral; 'We found no notice taken of him by Humbert (de Superville?) although mentioned to me by Bruliot as an engraver on wood and the monogram the same If this picture is the work of one who had been a pupil of Albrecht Dürer and allowing for the advance in art that he must have witnessed it is not very creditable to his powers The quality of the colour is very inferior to that of Albert's school, it wants its depth and vigour.'³⁵ But Maria's heaviest irony was everywhere reserved

32 Ibid., p. 58.

33 Ibid., p. 31.

34 Ibid., p. 46.

35 Ibid., pp. 49-50. François Brulliot, keeper of prints in Munich.

for the Germans' ignorance of their own art. In the same cathedral 'a curious old picture of compartments of the life of the Virgin in a family chapel' was 'said to be 1309'; Maria preferred to date it 1509, and therefore 'more like the painter Albrecht Durer which it is called.'³⁶

At Augsburg the Callcotts made an extended stop, and, inspired by the fine collection of German paintings which now forms the nucleus of the Staatgalerie, began work in earnest, spending all the time they could compiling the massive series of catalogues to which Maria's diary often refers and which were brought back to London, but of which few traces survive today. It was arduous work; 'we spent every hour the Bathhouse^(sic) was open making a Catalogue Raisonne.'³⁷ They were able, as they thought, to add several new names to their list in Augsburg. 'The oldest painter whose name is attached here to his work is Wolgemuth a St. Lawrence and a Death of the Virgin (displays) some knowledge of the human frame but it is dry and deserving Fuseli's epithet of uncouth, but it is not without expression or merit The next painter here in chronological order is Amberger, by whom we saw a portrait in a high state of preservation. It has not some of the defects of the German school of his time, but we are at a loss to see in the performance those merits which entitled him to the praise of Sandrart. It wants almost all that Holbein has.'³⁸ Works by both Holbeins

36 Ibid., p. 53. The altarpiece cannot be traced.

37 Ibid., p. 60.

38 Ibid., p. 56. These examples were evidently wrongly attributed, and cannot be convincingly identified today.

also interested them, particularly the elder's Basilica S. Maria Maggiore now in the Staatgalerie, and the Life of St. Paul also there today, 'attributed to his son though Paul von Stetten says positively that such a picture was painted for St. Catherine's Convent by the father.'³⁹ Cranach's Samson and Delilah, in the Staatgalerie today, 'dissappointed us',⁴⁰ and Burgkmair's three crucifixion subjects 'pleased us most.'⁴¹ The Callcotts also visited the Lutheran Church, where Augustus played the organ, and the drawing school, a poorly lit establishment over the meat market but, as Maria earnestly observed, good for the town.⁴²

The Callcotts' more intensive investigations in Augsburg were no more than a rehearsal for the highlight of their German tour, their two visits to Munich, where they arrived for the first time on 21st June. This visit was not to be a complete success as many of the paintings they had come to see were inaccessible, but was the most stimulating for company. To be in Munich in 1827, when Cornelius was decorating the Glyptothek, when the brothers Boisserée had just completed their plates of Cologne Cathedral and were supervising the amalgamation of their own early German paintings with the Bavarian royal collection to create what they called 'the fullest and most instructive collection of the world's art ever seen',⁴³ and when Georg von Dillis was planning the arrangement of the new Pinakothek, must

39 Ibid., p. 59.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid. These cannot be traced.

42 Ibid., p. 64.

43 Sulpiz Boisserée to Ludwig I, in Wolf-Dieter Dube, The Munich Gallery, 1970, p. 60.

have been a uniquely inspiring experience. It is clear from the journal that the Callcotts missed little of its excitement.

One of their first expeditions was to the Glyptothek, standing half finished awaiting the marbles collected in Italy by Ludwig of Bavaria, to see Cornelius at work. A completed dome with subjects of Diana, Apollo, Aurora and Dis struck Maria as 'at first unfortunate in reminding one of the designs of Guido, Guercino and Giulio', although individual figures were 'very well' or 'very pretty'. The Callcotts also had mixed reactions to the frescoes of the Fall of Troy, on which Cornelius was still at work. A medallion of Paris and Helen was 'very well', but 'as to the Taking of Troy, though the composition is good and right the attitudes are forced.....'⁴⁴ They saw the decorations from the painter's platform, 'not the best place for judging of the intended effect from below, but we saw the drawing the better - it is not good, the extremities are especially faulty'.⁴⁵ This was not to be the Callcotts' final judgement; they had already admired Gotzenberger's work in Cologne, and understanding and respect for his teacher's art grew with time.

The following day, the Callcotts went to Schleissheim, whose collection had numbered over a thousand pictures when catalogued in 1775,⁴⁶ and now apparently filled sixty seven rooms. They saw there more examples of the 'older Germans and

44 M.C., Journal I, loc. cit., p. 69.

45 Ibid.

46 The Schleissheim collections had been catalogued by Johann Nepomuk Edler von Weizenfeld in 1775.

two or three "Greek" pictures. I mean the Christian Greeks', and 'A. made a careful examination before dinner'. Among these finds would have been the group of works by Michael Pacher including the Altarpiece of the Church Fathers, SS. Augustine and Gregory, and Altdorfer's Birth of the Virgin, all now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.⁴⁷

The next Monday they visited the Munich 'print cabinet',⁴⁸ and 'the rooms of a society to which there are 700 subscribers for the promotion of art - It shows the poverty of the land as to encouragement. The society buys pictures of artists which are disposed of by lottery at the end of the year. This opens the door to the least beneficial kind of patronage, that of a few directors who by means of a public establishment promote individual views.'⁴⁹

A further day was spent looking at Rubens, but even the magnificent examples now in the Pinakothek failed to please Maria's somewhat puritan eye; 'Mr. Callcott busily engaged in making critical remarks upon them. For myself I should say that however refined Rubens' practise in painting and exquisite his taste in colour he was badly deficient both in refinement

47 Ibid., p. 71.

48 Ibid., p. 72. The Callcotts 'looked at some old masters and some Rembrandts.' The collection was then in the care of François Brulliot, who, Maria noted, was 'writing something on the subject of engravings but I do not know the precise object. I fancy it will be more extensive than Bartsch who has only described such plates as were at Vienna.' This must have been the Dictionnaire des Monogrammes, Marques, Figurées, Lettres, Initiales, Noms Abrégés, etc. Avec lesquels les peintres, dessateurs, graveurs et sculpteurs ont designé leurs noms, Munich, 1833-4.

49 Ibid., p. 72.

and taste in choice of form and in adapting his figures to his subjects!'⁵⁰ The next day, in the Lichtenberg gallery, the couple were united in disliking William von Kobell, whose work, ironically enough, has survived their charge of imitation better than Callcott's own, and Gerard: of Ossian Receiving the Gallic Heroes, Maria wrote that 'Were I a Frenchwoman, which thank God I am not, I should be indignant at seeing the shades of Dessaix, Marceau and their brave companions treated in such a half barborous, half ludicrous, manner.'⁵¹

During their next visit to the Munich gallery, the Callcotts were 'shown into the apartment of Georg Dillis, the Supreme Director, a landscape painter of but moderate talent but a very good judge of pictures and well versed in their individual histories.' Dillis produced Dutch paintings for them, a courteous gesture probably based on what he knew of Callcott's own work, but not entirely what his guests could have wished; they were better pleased when 'the Director obligingly looked at some of the old German pictures with us.'⁵²

Their session with Dillis was the prelude to a much more important meeting with the brothers Sulpiz and Melchior Boisserée, whose magnificent collection of early Flemish, Dutch and German painting, formed since 1802, had entered Ludwig of

50 Ibid. These would have included the Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus, the Large Last Judgment, the Battle of the Amazons, Rubens and Isabella Brandt in the Honeysuckle Bower, and the Massacre of the Innocents, which Maria thought, 'though splendid, extremely deficient in taste'; these had been transferred to Munich with the Dusseldorf collection in 1806.

51 Ibid., p. 75.

52 Ibid., p. 83.

Bavaria's own in February, 1827. Sulpiz came to call the following Wednesday, and they met Melchior shortly afterwards.⁵³ The Callcotts were fascinated by their enthusiasm and by their art historical views, which Maria avidly recorded: 'We find that B.'s opinion is that the specimens here of old high Dutch art are by no means fine ones, and many are much misnamed - that the only genuine Van Eycks excepting those in his own collection is the Worship of the Lamb, the rest, he says, seem to be acknowledged copies of much later date even the pictures of old Hans Holbein now at Schleissheim are said to be doubtful on comparing these works with the painting of St. Paul at Augsburg their genuineness may indeed be doubted.' Here Maria, who had already seen the elder Holbein's Life of St. Paul now in the Augsburg Staatgalerie, interposed her own opinion: 'At the same time it must be owned that much of the design in these works, however caricatured, seems to originate in the same mind - and the figure of Xt. Mocked in the small division above the Paul Preaching at Augsburg is precisely the same made use of in one of the Scleissheim Gallery. It is possible they may be of an earlier date, or as they are so numerous the work of his pupils painting on his designs.'⁵⁴ Despite the Boisserées' undoubted discrimination and foresight, their attributions were not infallible. One can only hope that they spared the elder Holbein's Keisheim Altarpiece of the

53 Sulpiz Boisserée impressed the Callcotts at once; 'We find him an exceedingly good connoisseur sensible, and intelligent (with) liberal feelings on all subjects.'

54 Ibid., p. 85.

Presentation of the Virgin from their rather sweeping censure. Interestingly, their climactic 'Van Eyck', the St. Columba Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Kings, was itself wrongly attributed; it is of course now known to be by Rogier van der Weyden.

After their first meeting with the Boisserées, the Callcotts called on Dr. Schorn, an artist and connoisseur who had just returned from three years in Paris under Gros and Ingres, having begun his career as a pupil of Cornelius. They found him a 'sensible intelligent young man full of admiration for Flaxman', although 'despising the English painters considerably with one or two exceptions'.⁵⁵ With Schorn to guide them they studied 'Boisserée's superb plates of the cathedral of Cologne - as it was intended to be from the ancient plans',⁵⁶ and visited the Munich Academy, of which Schorn was to become Professor in 1847. There they had further opportunity to examine the work of Cornelius, and saw his cartoon for the Roman room of the Glyptothek, 'made in charcoal which is fixed by charring with a small spouted vessel under which there is a lamp of convenient size not to tire the hand.'⁵⁷ As with the Troy frescoes, they were not quite able to enter Cornelius's stern and demanding world: 'As in the other works of Cornelius and his school

55 Ibid., p. 86. Karl Schorn (1800 - 1850), worked under Gros and Ingres 1824-7, later in Berlin. Produced historical pictures, often of English themes, and decorated the arcades of the Munich Hofgarten. His 'exceptions' are not named.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

there is an endeavour to introduce great variety of character. This is sometimes successful as in both the sons of Atreus. The Nestor is also good, and the Ulysses is well, but Achilles and above all Apollo partake too much of vulgar feeling and fashion which is proper in Thersites alone, and even in him it is overdone considering the epic character at which the picture professes to aim The execution of the work is by no means successful, nor is the drawing of the extremities.⁵⁸

In another room the artist's pupils were at work, and Maria's remarks show that the Callcotts were fully conscious of the irony whereby Cornelius, the declared enemy of academies in his Roman days, now presided over one in Munich; 'The drawings of those most advanced were for the fresco pictures which are intended to adorn the arcades of the Hofgarten the design we saw was Ludwig after the battle of Muhlberg, the whole was in outline it was apparent that every detail was to be added with the paint There was a great deal of merit in parts and some good character mixed up with a good deal that bordered on caricature. This room is appropriated to the class of Academy students who practise design and several were at work on it who were merely practising. This practise of carrying forward the intellectual part of the art in competitions has hitherto led to consequences quite opposite to the intention of the founders of such schools, as in the case of the Carracci. Whether there is anything in the system of Cornelius to meet the difficulties and prevent the recurrence of the same mischief we know not. We think from the Mannerism already evident in the

58 Ibid., p. 87.

works proceeding from this school that such effects must be looked for.'⁵⁹ However, when they visited the Antique Academy immediately afterwards they found the students to be 'without manner, and the professor told us that it was the earnest wish of the director Cornelius that nothing but the purest imitation should be encouraged.'⁶⁰

The Callcotts lost no time in calling on the Boisserées again; 'Boisserée,' Maria wrote of one of the brothers, 'improves every day on further acquaintance He is anxious to make us feel and know the difference between the High and Low Dutch schools. At the head of the Low Dutch school whose headquarters was Cologne he places as far as the painters are known Meister Wilhelm the painter of the picture in the cathedral and also the painter of several works in his collection. His pupils the Van Eycks especially Hubert the elder brother of John who died in 1432 increased the power of art by his knowledge of chemistry which enabled him to blend his colours with oil in an easier and surer manner than had been practised before John, who survived Hubert communicated the method to the Italian artists the Upper German School appears from the first to have been more meagre than the others the first of the painters were also engravers on wood and copper.'⁶¹

More time was spent with Brulliot, Schorn and Cornelius, and they made a new acquaintance in Maximilian Wagenbauer whose studio they visited: 'The landscapes he paints are from nature and mostly scenes in the Bavarian hills and lakes. The subjects

59 Ibid., pp. 87-8.

60 Ibid., p. 88.

61 Ibid., pp. 90-1.

are good but the treatment not that of a superior man.'⁶²

Schorn also took them to see the studio of Carl Neff, where they were especially impressed by a composition of Apollo and the Muses - 'good form, expression and character, the groups well put together, and without the slightest affectation.' However, "A. says on looking close the drawing is timid and the execution feeble. Schorn says in defence that nature throws equal light on all objects and they are so anxious to go back to nature that they object to the introduction of what they call artificial helps in art, such as particular effects.' This the Callcotts could not accept: 'If this principle is too fully applied painting would be absurd and impractical.'⁶³

On their last Saturday in Munich Brulliot took them to the old Dusseldorf gallery, where they met both the Boisserées again, and to the house of Leo von Klenze, architect of the Glyptothek, who 'wanted us to see his collection of pictures by the modern Germans.'⁶⁴ Among these they were struck by 'a view of a mountain scene with Snow and Glaciers', and even more impressed by Klenze's 'own drawing of the Valhalla the King is building on the banks of the Danube near Ratisbone',⁶⁵ which they must have been among the first English travellers to see; it is tempting to imagine that they talked of it to Turner, who used it in his composition of the Opening of the Valhalla of 1842. Among the Callcotts'

62 Ibid., p. 91. Maximilian Joseph Wagenbauer (1774 - 1829), a landscape painter, was for a time court painter to Maximilian I of Bavaria, and was appointed director of his gallery in 1815.

63 Ibid., p. 92. Timotheus Carl von Neff (1805 - 1877), a Russian artist from Esthonia, studied under Hartmann (q.v.) at Dresden, and later worked in Rome, returning to his native country in 1826.

64 Ibid. Leo von Klenze (1784 - 1846), painter as well as architect, also worked in Russia, and was the architect of the Hermitage.

65 Ibid.

final excursions in Munich was a visit to see the collection of Raphael drawings so that Augustus 'might explain to Sir T. Lawrence the difference between them and the lithographs'. They came away convinced of the superiority of Lawrence's collection; those in Munich they thought 'very indifferent or poor things.'⁶⁶ Their final days were spent completing their catalogues as far as they could, having seen, as they fully realised, only a fraction of the collections which would one day be visible in the city; as they made their farewells to Dillis, Schorn, Brulliot and the Boisserées, who gave them an introduction to Goethe, they resolved to return.

From Munich they moved on to Nuremberg, where they saw Dürer's house and made an appointment with the Holzchuher family to see Dürer's portrait of Jacob Holzchuher now in the Deutsches Museum, Berlin; they thought it 'more in character with the reputation of the master than any we have hitherto seen', although 'like almost every other picture of the school it has been doctored, the background which was originally green has been entirely repainted.'⁶⁷ In Nuremberg they struck up an acquaintance with Baron Haller, who showed them private collections and took them to a dealer who was offering 'Wolgemuths, Cranachs, Durers in profusion the Durers certainly are not and as to the Italian pictures they are trash.'⁶⁸

On arrival in Dresden, they lost no time in inspecting the gallery and print room, with its engravings which 'appeared to

66 Ibid., p. 96.

67 Ibid., p. 112.

68 Ibid., p. 116.

be by the Low Germans of the period of Van Eyck - they are very beautiful and shew that art was far advanced and the taste of a higher character than that which prevailed at a later period in the school of higher Germany.'⁶⁹ Their most interesting times in Dresden were spent in the company of Karl Christian Vogel, who had been appointed Professor of the Academy in 1820 and court painter four years later, after seven years in Italy where he had been a principal figure in the Nazarene movement. With Vogel they visited 'the Exhibition which is a sort of exposition of manufacturing as well as Pictures - we liked two pictures of Friedrich's very much particularly a view in Tyrol - Dahl's Norwegian scenery is very good - Haiche has a well drawn well composed but feebly coloured picture.'⁷⁰ A few days later the Callcotts visited Dahl's studio, which since 1823 had been housed in Friedrich's own home; this time they thought his work 'clever but cold.'⁷¹

Vogel was anxious that his guests should see his own work in order to comprehend the precepts of the modern German school, and took them to Pilnitz to see his frescoes in progress. Their investigations, noted Maria, 'added fresh strength to A's

69 Ibid., p. 132.

70 M.C. Journal, II; Journal from August 10th 1827, Dresden to Munich, Whitelegge Papers, M.C. I., p. 1. The Callcotts were also accompanied to the exhibition by Christian Ferdinand Hartmann (1774 - 1842), a painter of classical and particularly Trojan subjects, who had studied under Hetsch in Rome in 1794, and had been appointed Director of the Dresden Academy in 1820 on his return from a second sojourn in Italy. Maria noted that 'We like his Howard-like pictures.' Vogel himself became a firm friend, and drew Callcott's portrait.

71 Ibid., p. 5.

conjecture that the Venetian process was a mixture of fresco and oil painting. Vogel seemed to think this improbable on account of the difficulty of making the lime adhere to the canvas. This we think inconceivable and refuted indeed by the fact of the transference of the frescoes of Paul Veronese now in London to canvas; the colour is simply mixed with water without any other binder than a small portion of lime mixed with every colour.⁷²

Vogel also made a point of showing the Callcotts how far he and his contemporaries were emulating early Italian and German art in their attempt to regain clarity of expression. In this context he brought out for them a series of drawings after Giotto, 'particularly at Assisi drawn by himself from the original pictures', which, though 'too hastily looked over to admit of very minute observation', may have helped to inspire the Callcotts' own published survey of the Arena Chapel,⁷³ and then took them to see his frescoes in the Palace Chapel, based on his studies in Italy. In these the Callcotts found 'more beauty and less originality than in Cornelius and his followers. The roof is intended to comprehend three subjects from the legend - the entombment, the assumption and the coronation of the Virgin. Of these the last only is done.' They thought the colour defective, but noted many good points in individual parts. More frescoes in the palace dining room of emblematical designs were 'gayer', but here as with much of the most progressive

72 Ibid., p. 4.

73 Ibid., p. 5.

German art, 'there is evidently a desire to restore the style of the early Italians and to interest the feelings rather than to please the eye.' Vogel was eager to justify all these objectives, and the Callcotts equally ready to argue and learn. 'He is an enthusiast and speaks not only with the rapture but the positiveness of a prophet. We told him of our pleasure from his designs and A. asked him if like Poussin the fresco painters had formed to themselves any system of colour which they conceived peculiarly fit for those more intellectual subjects on which they turn their attention. This he denied at the same time making an observation that the fine colouring of the Flemings would by no means suit them and in the course of the conversation said that the great naturalness of the colour as in the other things counteracted the feelings it should be the object of the intellectual painters to inspire he talked of the obstacles presented by the materials of fresco paintings themselves and speaking of the dining room he said that he had not so much considered the colour of the pictures in themselves but had distributed his tints with a view to the general decorations of the hall and when the fresco colour was defective had tinted it after it was dry with water colour. This we think is a kind of unintentional admission that each picture is not considered as a whole in itself but as part of the series. The new German school professes to lay down as a principle that Van Eyck and the other early Germans only differed from the early Italian painters in consequence of the advantages the latter enjoyed from the existence of antique sculpture etc. in their own country. And as they profess to be reviving what they conceive to have been the art of the early German painters,

it is not improbable that the decorative principle we supposed to have been adopted in their works may form part of their plan, in which case any individual picture forming a whole in itself, would be as improper as that any one part should do so in any of our own pictures. They have signified their determination not to adopt any style of painting posterior to Raffaele by returning in many instances to Gold Grounds, gold aureoles etc. I was amused at the lengths to which system may be carried when Vogel set aside the influence which the antique sculpture remaining in Italy may have had on the early painters. "No said he it was devotion that had led them on to the end of the 15th century and produced those holy expressions and deep intellectual feeling. Statues and often marbles they threw aside as pagan things - but the spirit of the age now caused researches into literature to be made, the poets and other writers of Greece and Rome were studied. That brought their sculpture into repute and Raffaele and Michelangelo received the fruits of that spirit, and could combine the feelings of the early painters with the Grace and Beauty of the Antique."⁷⁴

This intriguing insight into Nazarene philosophy was soon followed by a practical revelation; while in Dresden the Callcotts were able to see some of Overbeck's cartoons for the frescoes in the Villa Massimo. They liked them at once and were henceforth to regard Overbeck as the most satisfying of the Nazarene brotherhood. 'A. is very much struck with Overbeck's cartoon (of) the story of Sofronio (and Olindo) (It)

74 M.C. Journal I, loc. cit., p. 135.

has) propriety in the buildings and all the accessories but the chief merit lies in the character given to the surrounding group of Mohammedans some of the heads A. says are fine as anything can be and he thinks Overbeck could have afforded to abstain from so freely appealing to our appreciations with what is good in the old pictures without loss.'⁷⁵ The Callcotts were no less impressed when they saw the completed decorations in Rome.

From Dresden they continued through Toplitz and Prague to Vienna, where they found both the Imperial Library and the Belvedere Gallery closed for repairs. However, the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Wellesley, intervened on their behalf, and they were able to see something of the collections. In the Belvedere they were most struck by Titian's Diana and Callisto and Correggio's Jupiter and Io, which recalled for Augustus the copy by his friend Henry Thomson,⁷⁶ and by four paintings which they thought were by van Eyck, of which only one, the male portrait which they found 'a little hard', can have been by that master; it must have been either the Cardinal Albergati or The Goldsmith Jan de Leeuw in the Kunsthistorisches Museum.⁷⁷ The Descent from the Cross, in which 'the expression is exquisite, and the colour very good', was probably one of the two Lamentations by Hugo van der Goes or Geertgen van Haarlem also there today.⁷⁸ Of the other supposed van Eycks, the St. Catherine and the Madonna

75 Ibid., p. 142.

76 M.C. Journal II, loc. cit., p. 48. This copy apparently belonged to Callcott himself.

77 Ibid., p. 49.

78 Ibid., p. 71.

must have been those by Rogier van der Weyden in the Kunst-historisches Museum.⁷⁹ The Callcotts were back in Munich by the 13th September, to find that both the Boisserées and Dillis were away, but had made arrangements for the Callcotts to see the collections they had missed on their first visit; their cicerone was now to be the Boisserées' friend and collaborator, Johann Baptist Bertram. Since their earlier stay, many more works of early art had arrived in Munich, and Bertram showed his guests these first. Later he took them out to Schleissheim where they were fortunate enough to see a significant part of the King's personal collection, together with many paintings acquired by the Boisserées which had joined the royal collection in 1827. This was an unprecedented honour which, Maria noted, 'has occasioned great marvel here - as they say Humbolt has been refused admission even at the Prussian Ministers request and the Queen herself has not yet seen it.'⁸⁰ On the mezzanine floor of the palace the Callcotts found 'about a third of the Boisserée collection, and as we presume the best part open for the sake of light and air at first we were taken into the room where William of Cologne and his school were placed - there is great feeling for beauty and more breadth in the painting particularly the heads than in the upper German school.'⁸¹ Here Maria refers to her husband's notes; these have not been traced, but among the many fine examples of the Cologne school now in the Alte Pinakothek, which had particularly interested the Boisserées, it is safe to suggest that the Callcotts saw the St. Veronica with the Holy Kerchief which the brothers had rediscovered and

79 Ibid., p. 69.

80 Ibid., p. 71.

81 Ibid.

bought in 1811 or 1812, Stephen Lochner's Madonna of the Rosebank, and the St. Bartholomew Altarpiece by the Master thereof, with its splendid backdrop of gold brocade, which the brothers had acquired from the church of St. Columba in Cologne in 1809.⁸² The 'large and well conditioned specimens' of van Eyck would, once again, have been incorrectly attributed; they seem to have filled a whole room, but from Maria's account only one can be identified today, the St. Columba Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Kings, bought by the Boisserées as by van Eyck in 1808, and now known to be by van der Weyden.⁸³ 'Memlink,' noted Maria after inspecting another room, 'is a delightful painter (many) pictures there are Memlink but all yield to the incomparable Legend'; this must have been the incorrectly titled Seven Joys of the Virgin, which the Boisserée brothers had bought in 1813.⁸⁴ Other artists accessible at Schleissheim were Dieric Bouts, both Elder and Younger; it was probably the latter, whose 'Pearl of Brabant' Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Kings had entered the Boisserée collection in the same year, who impressed the Callcotts as a 'true landscape painter.'⁸⁵ Dürer himself, they felt, was apt to suffer by comparison with the other masters represented at Munich; his 'saints', presumably the Four Apostles from the Royal collection now in the Pinakothek,

82 Although Maria does not mention them specifically, these were certainly in Schleissheim at the time of her visit, and were always recognised as among the highlights of the Boisserée collection.

83 Maria speaks (*ibid.*, p. 71) of 'the St. Luke painting the Virgin Hubert van Eyck is said to be St. Luke'; this must be a reference to a figure in a wing of the St. Columba Altarpiece.

84 *Ibid.*

85 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

were 'better than usual in colour but far below the company they are in.'⁸⁶

These were first reactions, put on paper after an excited and somewhat hurried tour of the galleries; 'Such', wrote Maria in her diary, 'were the things we saw and the impression made on us by one view.'⁸⁷ The coming days gave them chance to reflect, either with Bertram who 'came home to dine with us and talked over the pictures - the degree of restoration they had required, the history of the painters etc',⁸⁸ or during closer inspections of the paintings themselves, which yielded such revelations as that 'these pictures are painted on white absorbant ground - but it does not seem to have been a thick one.'⁸⁹ Most of their more considered opinions were evidently confided not to the diary but to Augustus's own lost notebooks and catalogues, so that we cannot fully penetrate their thoughts. We may however be certain that their discoveries in Munich were not chance good fortune, but the result of diligent research and planning. 'By the King of Bavaria's permission to see the Boisserée collection,' Maria wrote, 'our object as it affects the works of art in visiting Germany has been completed.'⁹⁰ Even for Maria, the revelation was disturbing as well as exciting; 'The pictures certainly deserve the whole honour the King is

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid., p. 73.

90 Ibid., p. 75.

paying to them,' she wrote to John Murray', 'and when they are placed, as intended, in a fine building and in proper lights, I half suspect a revolution in Art, and that we shall be in danger of too great a revolution from the classical to the romantic, in Painting as well as Poetry.'⁹¹ 'Wholly and solely Mrs. Callcott's fears, Mr. Murray,' Callcott added in the margin.⁹²

He was, however, as impressed as she by both early and contemporary German painting, and was sharing with her in the formulation of standards of criticism to which it could properly be subjected. These, rather surprisingly, did not favour Dürer, whose work lay outside the evolutionary perspective they employed; 'We feel,' Maria observed, 'that deservedly high as Albrecht Dürers name is in some respects yet that as a painter he was far below most of those of the low German school.'⁹³ This latter seemed to the Callcotts a more logical development, 'a continuation of such painting as survived the wreck of art in Italy and Greece as practised in the country then the most polished in Northern Europe.'⁹⁴ Here art had been fostered by the encouragement given by the court of Charlemagne and by the Christian faith; 'Religion,' wrote Maria, 'consecrated the pictures, and their whole character is appropriate';⁹⁵ and her comment reveals how far, in their conversations with Bertram and the Boisserées, and with Vogel and Cornelius, the Callcotts had been conditioned by the ideas of

91 M.C. to John Murray, in Gotch, op.cit., p. 260.

92 Ibid., p. 261.

93 M.C. Journal II, loc. cit., p. 75.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid.

Tieck, Wackenroder and Schlegel.

It was with a final comment on the artists who seemed best to typify the purity and piety of the early German and Netherlandish schools that Maria closed the third volume of her travel journal. Thinking again, perhaps, of St. Veronica and the Holy Kerchief and of the St. Bartholomew Altarpiece, she mentioned the Cologne school before saying farewell to the van Eycks and to Memlinck; the Virgins and saints of the Cologne masters, she concluded, were 'mannered, but they have not the stiff hardness of the Byzantines - the forms were less meagre, their colour more agreeable and though as yet far from perfect imitation of nature they approach it. The introduction of rich stuffs to vary the background instead of the flat gold before used seems to me to be a great step forward towards improvement - imitation in one department would naturally lead to it in another. The Van Eycks seem to have entirely abandoned the gold grounds, to have first filled up their pictures with architecture and landscape, to have endeavoured to give individuality to their heads, and their scholar Memlink to have carried all these things as far as was consistent with the nature of the subjects he wanted to represent.'⁹⁶ These were Maria's last words in Munich; she began another journal in time to record the departure from the city on 25 September with Jacopo, the Italian vetturino who was to accompany the Callcotts during their forthcoming tour of Italy.

96 Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

Honeymoon in Italy 1827-8

'Italy is coming!' Maria noted in her journal at the beginning of October, shortly before she and Augustus entered the Brenner Pass,¹ and she greatly needed a fillip to her spirits, for at Salzburg she had been unwell. However, encouraged by the warmer weather and pleasant personal associations of Italy, her strength returned, and by 13th October, when the party reached Verona, she seemed recovered.

The Callcotts did not remain long in Verona, as their main objective was Venice. 'Mr. C. as much pleased as possible and finds Canaletto very true though imperfect,' noted Maria as Venice came in sight,² but their delight in the city was momentarily tarnished by the company they found in their lodgings, 'a gang of English, Irish and Scotch ladies perfect nuisances',³ and by a mysterious ailment of Augustus's, which confined him to his room for four days, during which time the wit and salon entertainer, Peter Powell, arrived from Milan to cheer him. 'I fell in with Callcott and his wife at Venice,' Powell wrote later to C.R. Leslie, 'and have not yet fallen out with them the first I heard of him was from the English Consul here, who told me he was very ill; and accordingly, on

1 Journal 3 Munich to Gribon Sep 1827. Whitelegge Papers M.C.I., p. 4.

2 Ibid., p. 44.

3 Ibid., p. 45.

going to his hotel, I found him in bed, looking very woebegone and terribly hipped. It turned out, however, that he was more frightened than hurt, and the doctor pronounced his disorder to be of short duration, though poor Callcott's face was as long as my arm. In two days he was quite well, and we enjoyed about ten days together at Venice very much, as you may suppose Mrs. Callcott who I had never before seen more than once, I like vastly, and she is certainly a most extraordinary woman in point of information and talent, notwithstanding which, we became firm friends!!!⁴

Mr. Powell accompanied the Callcotts on almost all their pilgrimages to churches and altarpieces - the Accademia, S. Rocco to see 'Tintoretto in his Glory', the Frari for Titian's 1519 Assumption, 'a beautiful and true picture which A. says justifies all the reputation that great painter enjoys', the Salute, the Redentore, S. Giorgio Maggiore and S. Trovaso for Tintoretto's Last Suppers and SS. Giovanni e Paolo for Titian's St. Peter Martyr about which Maria says regrettably little.⁵ In the same church Powell listened with Maria while Augustus played the organ, and he was also their companion on sketching trips to Murano and the 'stupid lido'.⁶ When colder weather spurred them southwards towards Padua he remained with them, to share their first concentrated experience of Giotto, a revelation which was to gain in significance as they continued their travels in Italy. All in Padua, wrote Maria, 'yields to

4 Powell to C.R. Leslie, in Leslie, Autobiographical Recollections, 1860, pp.184-5.

5 M.C. Journal 3, op. cit., pp. 44 ff.

6 Ibid., p. 50.

the little church of the Annunziata because of Giotto's works which adorn the whole of the inside.' Of the New Testament subjects along the walls she noted the 'feeling, grace and expression not an ignoble or common thought is to be seen, (all is) sweet and noble In the Last Judgement the saints and choirs of angels as well as the company of the elect on the right of the saviour are full of the same qualities.'⁷ Nevertheless, Maria's summary of her first impressions is cautious, and one feels that it was only after more prolonged study of Italian painting that the real importance and aesthetic qualities of Giotto were brought home to her; 'The effect of the whole is not disagreeable because the painter's eye is too delicate to have made or suffered deformity, but there is a want of all the qualities of a colorist in the whole, and in nearly all the particular subjects, where he is happier, it is entirely from native feeling and not from knowledge or dexterity in his art.'⁸ Probably Maria was finding Giotto difficult to assimilate so soon after the sensuality of Venetian painting, but it is only fair to add that both she and Augustus were sufficiently moved to subject Giotto's work in Padua to close scrutiny; Augustus made copies of the frescoes in the Arena chapel and in the Town Hall, and even Powell made a sketch of the exterior of the church of the Eremitani.⁹ It is also clear from her

7 Ibid., pp. 56-7.

8 Ibid., p. 57.

9 Powell's sketch was lithographed by Maria herself for the frontispiece of the Callcotts' Description of the Chapel of the Annunziata dell'Arena or Giotto's Chapel in Padua, London, 1835. It has been reproduced recently by I. Hueck, 'Zu Enrico Scrovegnis Veränderungen der Arena-kapelle', Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, xvii (1973), fig. 9.

diary that the party was distressed at the decay of the frescoes; the Callcotts' fundamental motive for producing their Description of the Chapel of the Annunziata in 1835 was the need to publish a record of a vanishing art historical document before it was too late. The Description was also to include notes on and illustrations of the frescoes in the Eremitani and the Town Hall; in the former the Callcotts did not neglect to copy the frescoes by Giusto de' Menabuoi as well as those by Giotto.

It is probable that the Callcotts' estimation of Giotto rose substantially when, soon afterwards in Mantua, they saw the work of Giulio Romano, which struck them as florid and grotesque. Augustus 'had no high opinion of the painter', but even he was unpleasantly surprised. The cathedral on which Giulio had worked seemed to them both to convey 'more the idea of a heathen temple than a Christian church', and the Palazzo del Te was dismissed as full of 'very inferior things. The designs are academically fine but grace is very rare and the story neglected and of feeling there is none. Beauty is scarcely aimed at and the taste even of mere decorative painting very low. As to the Camera of the giants - the poor creatures are ludicrous in their fall.'¹⁰

The 19th November found them in Milan, and falling under the spell of Luini. They saw his work in the Brera, with Guido Reni's St. Peter and St. Paul, Raphael's Spozalizio, Francia's Annunciation and many others, and returned to find that 'they

¹⁰ M.C. Journal 3, op. cit., p. 60.

gain on being seen again.'¹¹ Of Luini, Maria wrote, 'this painter has the most delicate feeling for grace and for female and angelic beauty'.¹² At Saccone they saw a further series of his paintings, a Marriage of the Virgin, 'modest and dignified a beauty and expression scarcely to be found elsewhere', an Adoration of the Magi, 'fine in character', and a Christ in the Temple, a subject which Maria felt 'had never been so worthily treated';¹³ they also saw Luini's frescoes in the Monastero Maggiore, and were again delighted by his 'peculiar sweetness of character'.¹⁴ They did not, however, neglect other artists while in Milan, looking at drawings ascribed to various masters in the Ambrosian Library, and visiting Sta. Maria della Grazie for Leonardo's Last Supper - 'worse, much worse than when I saw it eight years ago; more faded in colour and more chipped. Still there is something in it which seems to justify its former fame, and that neither print nor copy conveys.'¹⁵ From Milan they travelled to Certosa where they found 'little in the way of pictures' to delay them from pressing on to Piacenza and Parma, which they thought a 'dull' town although the views it commanded were magnificent in clear weather; at this point Maria makes her first references to a concurrent 'sketched' or 'picturesque' journal which has not as yet been found.¹⁶

11 M.C. Journal 5, Italy, Strode Papers, M.C. I, p. 2.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., pp. 3-4.

14 Ibid., p. 6. Luini's frescoes in the Monastero Maggiore are concentrated in the western portion of the interior, walled from the rest of the church, and probably the only part the Callcotts would have seen.

15 Ibid., p. 2.

16 Ibid., p. 7. The Callcotts did admit that Certosa was a 'rich place in marble and workmanship'. In the Duomo at Piacenza they 'did not much like the pictures', which included the frescoes by Guercino and Morazzone in the central dome. At Parma they found the Correggio Assumption in the cupola of the Duomo and the Vision of St. John at Patmos in the dome of S. Giovanni Evangelista 'dissappointing'.

At Modena, the next major town on their itinerary, the Callcotts were up early on their first morning to see the cathedral, and also the ducal picture gallery, where, 'remembering that one hundred of the best pictures of Dresden had been purchased from the Dukes of Modena, our expectations of works of art of any importance were low indeed. We only looked to see Nicolo dell' Abbate's Aeneas a poor thing.' However, they were 'agreeably surprised to find some very good pictures chiefly of the Lombard school but there is a fine Giorgione, some fine Tintoretts, excellent Dosso Dossis, beautiful Garafolos and some curious ancient pictures, and a recent acquisition by Van Eyck.'¹⁷

By now the winter cold had set in, and although a snow fall during the night made the next day's journey to Bologna rather milder, the unheated Pinacotheca there was so cold that 'we were obliged to come home (for) a little warmth of fire and a morsel to eat' before attempting a tour; nevertheless the Callcotts were sufficiently determined on their first day in the city to see the dismantled church of Sta. Cecilia with its frescoes by Francia, that of S. Petronius, and the cathedral with its 'tolerable pictures by the followers of the Carracci.'¹⁸ 'A's notes', now lost, are apparently considered the definitive statements on what Maria simply calls the 'great riches of the

17 Ibid., p. 7. The pictures to which Maria refers are mostly still in the Galleria Estense; the 'Van Eyck' cannot be identified, but was presumably either the Madonna by Memling or that by Joos van Cleve.

18 Ibid., p. 10. The oratory of Sta. Cecilia, attached to the Cappella Bentivoglio of S. Giacomo Maggiore, contains frescoes by Francia and Lorenzo Costa of the Lives of SS. Cecilia and Valerian. These must have particularly impressed the Callcotts, for they paid them several visits during their stay in Bologna to 'finish our observations.' (Ibid., p. 11).

school of Bologna', for she herself makes no comments on them, confining herself instead to further visits to the church of S. Giacomo Maggiore to see Francia's frescoes, and S. Domenico for Guido's 'celebrated fresco of the reception of the saint in heaven',¹⁹ and Ludovico Carracci's St. Raimond. On the whole they were not impressed by the Carracci; Ludovico's Christ in Glory and Apostles at the Sepulchre did not please them,²⁰ his Assumption in S. Giorgio was 'disappointing',²¹ and 'we did not like Ludovico's St. George so much praised by Vasari.'²²

The Callcotts' stay in Bologna was soured by the weather, and their departure from the town reached a nadir of misery; 'thick mist, snow and wind by turns, and at last all at once beset us.'²³ The snow was soon left behind, but although the weather was clear as they approached Florence, two days later, 'by the by the mist entirely prevented our seeing the city till we were almost in it. The day was as bright and warm as possible but the tops of the hills only were clear, the sides of the mountains and the whole of the plains were concealed by as dense a fog, as we could have had in London.'²⁴

The Callcotts' first day in Florence was spent in a survey of the Annunziata admiring Andrea del Sarto's frescoes,²⁵ and

19 Ibid., p. 12. Reni's Glory of St. Dominic is in the apse of the chapel of the Arca di S. Domenico.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid. Andrea del Sarto's frescoes in the Santissima Annunziata are of the life of St. Filippo Benizzi, of 1509-10.

at their bankers and in bookshops where they bought 'Vasari and Cennino Cennini'.²⁶ Afterwards, in the Accademia, they were 'much pleased with the series of old pictures - and still more so with the beautiful deposito of Pietro Perugino,²⁷ and at S. Lorenzo Michelangelo's chapel was 'finer and finer for seeing it again';²⁸ in Sta. Maria Novella there was, at the end of the day, 'enough light just to show what fine things Ghirlandaio and his contemporaries and scholars did'.²⁹ The following day Augustus was unwell; 'breakfasts in bed', Maria noted tersely; 'receives letter from home and gets well - works at lists and Catalogues - MC reads Cennino - receives letter from Cape and sorts books - writes to the Gravel Pits - Mr. Powell here.'³⁰

Mr. Powell had his customary recuperative effect, and the next day Augustus was able to accompany Maria to the church of Santo Spirito to see the 'interesting old pictures by Giotto, Fra Filippo Lippi, Sandro Botticelli besides modern ones'.³¹ Here Maria intriguingly observed that Botticelli was 'so like Stothard that one might fancy the old Tuscan's spirit had taken

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., p. 14.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid. Maria is presumably referring to the subjects of the Annunciation and the Nativity by the school of Botticelli, and to Filippino Lippi's Madonna and Child, with the Infant St. John and Saints and Donors; the church contains no work by Giotto.

its abode in our veteran.'³² This supposed affinity between Stothard and Botticelli presumably explains why Stothard was one of her favourite artists, and the one among their contemporaries whom the Callcotts most assiduously collected; later they were to find another admirer of Stothard in Carlo Lasinio. In the Pitti Palace the Callcotts found 'the choicest collection in the world', on which Augustus made what must have been extensive notes,³³ and in the Annunziata he made 'a sketch from Pocchetto of whom Pietro da Cortona used to say it was a wonder he had missed having great fame - I think want of taste was one great cause of his missing it',³⁴ Maria added abruptly. She herself preferred to return to admire the Ghirlandaio frescoes in Sta. Maria Novella.³⁵

In the same church the Callcotts recognised in Orcagna's Christ in Majesty with Saints of 1359 a crucial work for the Quattrocento, and also admired the Paradise fresco in the Strozzi Chapel; although 'as ancient in art as in date there are heads of great beauty and attitudes and actions of exceeding grace.'³⁶ This, with the other frescoes in the Chapel, the Callcotts thought also to be by Orcagna; today they are known to be by Nardo di Cione. Maria and Augustus also made studies of the frescoes by Uccello along the walls of the Chiostro Verde

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid. Augustus's notes, referred to by Maria, have not been found.

34 Ibid., p. 15. The Pocchetti frescoes are actually in the Spedale degli Innocenti in the Piazza della Santissima Annunziata, and not in the church of the Annunziata itself.

35 Ibid. The frescoes are in the Sanctuary of the church.

36 Ibid.

and in the refectory - 'several remarkable things among the fragments that remain especially the Deluge' - and those by Andrea da Firenze in the Spanish chapel, which they thought were by Simone Memmi and Taddeo Gaddi - 'many passages of great interest very fine character graceful and expressive.' A visit was also paid to the Carmine to see the frescoes by Masolino, Masaccio and Filippino Lippi in the Brancacci chapel, and Maria records much the same reactions.³⁷ Repetitive as her comments tend to become, they show a genuine and growing appreciation of early Italian art for its clarity, discipline and lack of false rhetoric.

Throughout their time in Florence the weather was deteriorating rapidly. Two of their last afternoons, one spent at the Pitti Palace 'to get A. del Sarto's compositions', were curtailed by the cold and rain.³⁸ On both occasions they returned to their lodgings to roll prints, of which they had amassed a substantial collection; they had also been buying paintings including 'a head of Botticelli'.³⁹ On yet another day, Maria notes 'came home through a violent rain, obliged to go far round because of the river running in the streets.'⁴⁰ However, they managed to complete their handlist of the Pitti pictures, to sketch their favourite compositions, and to crystallise their impressions more clearly; 'more and more delighted with Padre Angelico',

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., p. 18.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid., p. 19.

Maria exclaimed on one of their final days in Florence, and her thoughts were also turning back to Giotto.⁴¹

The Callcotts left for Arezzo on 27 December, and paused there only to see Piero della Francesca's frescoes in S. Francesco, which impressed them for their greater 'attention to light and shade than is common at so early a period' and their 'natural and elegant attitudes',⁴² before pressing on to Cortona. The scenery along the road was 'rich and rather picturesque', but hilly, and 'on arriving at the foot of the cone on which Cortona stands, took the help of two oxen to drag us up'.⁴³ Two works of Luca Signorelli in the cathedral, Christ Giving the Wafer to the Apostles and the Descent from the Cross pleased them for their composition, as did a further two works by the artist in the Church of the Gesù, a Nativity and a Conception of the Virgin.⁴⁴ They also examined a small series of subjects from the life of the Virgin by Fra Angelico.⁴⁵ Pietro da Cortona was not a painter to interest them, and after looking over the Etruscan Academy with its archeological relics and climbing the hill to the church of St. Margaret to see the view of the lake of Perugia and Montefiascone beyond, they continued their journey to Perugia itself. 'We have now most delightful weather', Maria wrote; 'only the wind is high and cold but the sun is bright and the distance clear, the lake looked lovely.'⁴⁶

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., p. 20. The frescoes are of St. Mary Magdalen, of 1466.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., p. 21.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., p. 22.

At Perugia, a mass in progress in the church of S. Augustine made it difficult to see Perugino's altarpiece of the Madonna and Child with Saints in the Tesi chapel; the altar is now in the Umbrian National Gallery, and its predella is in Berlin; Perugino's greater work for the main altar had been taken apart and dispersed in 1654. Under the circumstances the Callcotts saw the artist better by his frescoes in the Collegio di Cambio.⁴⁷ In Perugia they were also able to see more of the work of Fra Angelico in his Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels in the chapel of the Guidalotti in the church of S. Domenico, now in the Umbrian National Gallery, and 'interesting small pictures of Pisanello of the life of St. Bernard' in S. Francesco.⁴⁸ Eyes constantly open for early works of art, they also noticed in the Confraternity of St. Bernard, carved over the door of the church, a crucifix by Margaritone d'Arezzo, 'rude in the extreme but there is an attempt at expression, good folds in the draperies and a feeling for nature in the ways in which the body is made to hang heavily on the cross.'⁴⁹ Perugia provided an additional opportunity to make or renew acquaintance with members of the English colony in Rome, whose orbit they were now entering and some of whom were passing through the city. The last dinner of the old year was eaten with Mr. and Lady Katherine Halkett, old friends of Maria's, and they wrote to Eastlake, warning him of their arrival in Rome.⁵⁰

47 Ibid. The frescoes, of the Virtues and assorted biblical subjects, are of 1499-1507.

48 Ibid., p. 23.

49 Ibid.

50 For Maria's earlier friendship with Eastlake, see Chapter 4.

They left Perugia on 2 January to spend a single night at Assisi in order to study the early frescoes in S. Francesco in good light. They found 'the Cimabues most ruined, only the four donors of the church remain perfect - The rest has however a gravity of character and feeling in the design that show how good a master Giotto happily found - Giotto's designs are generally full of intelligence, and in them the story is always told, but there is less finish and delicacy of expression in them than in the chapel at Padua.'⁵¹ The Descent from the Cross in the lower church, which like all authorities of their time they ascribe to Puccio Capanna, struck them as 'a marvellous composition for its time, the Magdalene especially beautiful, the entombment is rather less well.' That fresco, now attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti, had been copied by William Young Ottley and engraved by Piroli for the former's Series of Plates of 1826, but Maria does not mention this.⁵²

The final stage of the journey to Rome took the couple from Foligno, where they rejoined Hare, and Spoleto to Narni, where a day was spent beside the waterfall. It was 'a most beautiful day. A. more struck by the cascade than by anything I have accompanied him to see. Then he was charmed by the exquisite scenery about Narni. In fact the day, the scenery, and altogether I know no day that he seemed to have liked so much since we left home - we had only to regret that we had no time to stay three

51 Ibid., p. 27.

52 Ibid. Ottley's drawing for that plate, signed and dated 1793, is now in the Ashmolean (acquired 1976).

or four days.⁵³

Rome was reached on 7 January, and Eastlake was there to meet them.⁵⁴ During the following weeks 'Signor Carlo' as the Callcotts called him was to be a constant companion, managing to balance time spent with Maria when she was bedridden, by hours taking Augustus around the city. Maria's health began to fail soon after her arrival in Rome. After a party at Lord Hardwick's house on 11 January, she was 'attacked in the night with spasmodic asthma', and remained in her lodgings next day although foolishly arranging supper for Eastlake, Severn, Gibson, Hare and Powell, who 'played the melodrama'.⁵⁵ That night she was again taken ill, and rested properly this time while Augustus went with Eastlake to the Colosseum. In another two days she felt able to accompany them both to Thorvaldson's studio - 'very fine, like both Ganymedes and frieze, Lord Lucan's Venus too much bent',⁵⁶ - and to the Palazzo Rospigliosi to see Guido's Aurora ceiling, with which Augustus was 'delighted'.⁵⁷ Visits to the Villa Albani and the Palazzo Sciarra, and dinner at Lord Hardwick's completed the day, but Maria fell ill at table.⁵⁸ After four days' rest she was again accompanying Augustus, this time with the Hallams, to the Villa Albani,⁵⁹ and the following day resumed her customary frantic pace, covering large tracts of Rome and

53 Ibid., p. 28.

54 Ibid., p. 29.

55 Ibid., p. 30.

56 Ibid., p. 31.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., p. 32.

59 Ibid., pp. 33-4.

spanning the centuries from Sebastiano del Piombo in the Chigi Chapel to the Nazarenes in the Casa Bartholdy, 'where they are sawing the frescoes off the walls and transferring them to canvas - the Famine and the Selling Joseph out of Egypt are Overbeck's. The Plenty and the Joseph and Zuleika Veit - the Expounding of Pharoah's Dream and the Meeting of Joseph and his Brethren Cornelius - the Joseph in Prison with the Butcher and the Baker and the Bringing Joseph's Coat to the Father are William Schadow's. The little sea ports are Catels - had enough.'⁶⁰

This final comment on the Nazarene frescoes in the Casa Bartholdy must have been due simply to exhaustion; the Callcotts were very much impressed with the work of the German artists in Rome, and wrote, in the Remembrancer, a compilation produced to divert Maria during her serious illness in 1836, a highly sympathetic account of the Nazarene achievement, with particular reference to the frescoes in the Casa.

Eastlake was also the Callcotts' companion on a visit to the studio of 'Mr. Overbeck, with whose drawings we were much pleased, especially the design of Sts blessing the little children.'⁶¹

Thence the party continued to S. Gregorio to see 'the chapel where Guido and Domenichino's rival frescoes are. There can be no question of the superiority of the latter.'⁶² That evening they dined with the Hallams and again met Thorvaldson. Another meeting at about this time was with the German diplomat, historian

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid., p. 35.

62 Ibid.

and amateur artist, August Kestner, who had been Secretary and then Minister to the Hanoverian Embassy in Rome since 1817, and represented England at the Vatican. They were introduced to him by Lord Caledon, a friend and patron of Augustus who was presently sharing a Roman establishment with the Hardwicks, and went with him to see Kestner's 'curious collection of Egyptian antiques.'⁶³ In Rome Kestner was to take on something of the mantle of Vogel in Munich, as an enthusiastic and informed guide to contemporary German artists. They could hardly have found a more sympathetic companion on a visit to the decorations in the Villa Massimo, where they saw Overbeck's designs from Tasso, one by Schnorr from Ariosto and one from Dante by Veit, and met Anton Koch, 'whose gay fat face and merry grey eye made a strong contrast with the doleful subjects from the Inferno on which he was engaged. We all then went to the Vatican gallery of statues - A. quite pleased.'⁶⁴

On 2 February the Callcotts, still attended by Jacopo, set out across the Campagna towards Palestrina, Valmontana and Frosinone, on the first leg of a trip to Naples.⁶⁵ The state of the roads soon turned the journey into a nightmare, and 'on the edge of his Holiness's territory' they lost the track altogether and, in attempting to cross a series of ploughed fields, became stuck in a quagmire. Nothing could move the coach, until 'an old good humoured peasant brought his oxen' and it was pulled clear, but could bear no weight, so that 'for three miles this

63 Ibid., p. 36.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

cativissima strada continued, the oxen and peasants accompanying us all the way. A. walked all the way, and I, the worst part.' They rejoined the road nine miles from Arpino, but the light was failing, and 'of Cicero's birthplace, we have seen only the distant summit.'⁶⁶

After pausing at Capua they continued to Naples, arriving on 6 February. The first day was spent sketching at the grotto of Pausilippo, the second walking round the city walls. That evening Thomas Uwins, then living in the city, called, and the following day took them to see his own studio and paintings; ''tis a pity,' thought Maria, 'such pretty things are spoilt by their Mania for Naples yellow.'⁶⁷ Most of their time in Naples was spent sketching at the traditional sites around the city - Baiae, Salerno, Vietri, Amalfi, Nemi, and Pompeii. With the last excursion Augustus was especially delighted, but Maria thought everything there 'in as bad taste as anything at Sadlers Wells the pictures still left on the walls are ill executed, most ill drawn - the attempts at landscape poor - in short 'tis little better than paper hanging.'⁶⁸ Another visit was to Cicero's tomb at Mola di Gaeta, which clearly moved them deeply.⁶⁹

By 27 February the party had arrived back in Rome across the Pontine Marshes, and Maria needed rest; she had not, indeed, been completely well in Naples, and Lord Holland, expecting the worst, had found her company at a dinner party an anticlimax; 'I was curious to hear Mrs. Callcott talk', he noted in his diary,

66 Ibid., p. 39.

67 Ibid., p. 41.

68 Ibid., p. 42.

69 Ibid., p. 50.

'but unfortunately she was ill, and too oppressed to display.'⁷⁰
 But Eastlake, the Hallams, Lord Caledon and Powell kept her company while Augustus was out sketching. The evenings were filled with parties and musical gatherings; on one occasion, while William Theed worked on a cast of Augustus's face, Powell entertained the assembled company - Eastlake, Severn, the Gibsons, Williams - with a one-man oratorio and a female impersonation.⁷¹
 Maria was less amused, however, when her husband was introduced to 'the Blessington profligate party' by another friend, and did not accompany him to dine in their lodgings a few evenings later.⁷²

When Maria felt sufficiently strong, there were more excursions - Praeneste, Tivoli, the villa of Maecenas - but much of their time was now spent in galleries and in the Vatican finishing what she called their 'remarks'. In the Vatican Museum Maria saw much that was 'new since I lived in Rome the arrangement of the new rooms of the pictures at the end of the Gallery of Vases promises to be very complete unless indeed director Camuccini should pursue his hatred of Titian and put his St. Sebastian completely out of sight.'⁷³ There were also renewed visits to the Capitoline Museum, the Sistine chapel, which Augustus thought 'improved' on a second look, and to other parts of the Vatican. With Severn they visited Jean-Baptiste Wicar, the artist

70 Journal of the Hon. Henry Edward Fox, 4th Lord Holland, ed. the Earl of Ilchester, 1923, p. 272.

71 M.C. Journal 5, op. cit., p. 54.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

and connoisseur whose collection of drawings is now in the Musée des Beaux Arts in his native Lille, and saw his drawings by Raphael - 'a few very fine but not to be compared with Lawrence's collection - a charming little picture by Masaccio - his own productions contemptible.'⁷⁴ They saw more of Kestner, who took them to the Vatican Library, and of Thorvaldson. Calling on the latter one morning they were shown 'his little collection of pictures vases Egyptian antiquities and his present work from the house we went to the studio off the Piazza Barberini where we found an amazing number of works in progress.'⁷⁵ It was while they were looking over these that Thorvaldson told them of his early struggles in Rome, and his eventual rescue by Thomas Hope, a story which moved his hearers and was recorded almost word for word in the Remembrancer in 1836.⁷⁶ But until then the Callcotts had another reminder of their friend; before their final departure from Rome, Thorvaldson brought them 'the drawing of his little children coming to Christ and an inscription and signature under it.'⁷⁷ He also 'spoke of his love of the sea and promised to come to England,'⁷⁸ but the visit never materialised.

The greater part of their time during their last days in Rome was spent, inevitably, in the Vatican. 'One of the most interesting rooms we saw,' Maria thought, 'was that containing Christian antiquities, that is gems, glasses, pastes, lamps,

74 Ibid., p. 64.

75 Ibid., pp. 56-8.

76 The Remembrancer, Strode Papers, A.W.C. & M.C. III, pp. 61-7.

77 M.C. Journal 5, op. cit., p. 58.

78 Ibid.

inscriptions, pictures &c found in the tombs or in the chapels of the very earliest Xthans.' Such objects particularly appealed to her keen historical imagination, and strikingly illuminated the survival of forms and images in art, and also their obliteration as a result of social and moral pressures, making their eventual resurrection all the more inspiring - and it is clear even from the journal, which was after all hurriedly compiled by a woman who was far from well with what remained of her energy at the end of the day, that in Rome Maria did feel herself inspired. Nowhere is this heightened awareness more pronounced than in her passages on the Vatican, which trace her reactions to frescoes, paintings and objects from those 'still partaking of the elegance of the Augustan ages', through those reflecting the 'sudden and great decline, partly that of the general decline of art, partly that of the abject state of the Christians of the time' to the 'period of the revival of painting, the altarpieces of the Byzantines, the first efforts of the Italians. The series indeed is complete up to Giotto.' The Vatican was indeed a fundamental source for all periods of Italian art. 'The chapel where Fra Angelico has painted the lives of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, the pictures on the walls of the Capella Sistina especially the beautiful Pietro Perugino bring us on to the time of Michael Angelo and Raffaelle. Over head in that great chapel M.A. has effected what Genius and Science could do in drawing and the expression of whatever is grand and impressive. In the Stanze of Raffaelle all the dramatic part of painting is displayed - the story is told - and there is beauty, grace, expression, and even, in parts, such as the Miracle of Bolsena and the part of the Heliodorus where the Pope is brought in, excellent colour. The

completion of painting as an exquisite art of luxury is seen in the gallery. There is the Transfiguration and the St. Sebastian of Titian, the St. Jerome of Domenichino - thence if you go into the library again and look at the room with the acts of the Popes you see painting gradually degenerating from the Zucchari to Mengs and Pompeo Battoni - Happily the last bits of fresco in the new gallery by some of the Germans in Rome give promise of a new and better era.⁷⁹

In passages like this the journal is much more than a diary; expanded by a developing historical perspective, it becomes the raw material for a work of critical art history. There can be little doubt that a project of some kind was in the Callcotts' minds when they began their European journey, but it was probably first in Munich and above all in Rome that the scope of the undertaking grew from a straightforward listing of the contents of continental churches and galleries, into a more ambitious history of painting. We may be certain that this was to have been a joint effort - the catalogues which would have been their basic source, as well as the practical grasp of technique, would have been Augustus's contribution. But the great work was hardly begun; on returning to London Augustus became immersed again in his profession, and Maria's health was soon to break. Her series of Essays Towards the History of Painting provide us with our only insight into the Callcotts' fullest intentions.

The last days in Rome were a hectic succession of parties and farewells - but on 17 March they made their final departure, heading for Siena through Bolsena, Viterbo and Orvieto, where

79 Ibid., pp. 59-60.

'we hurried on to the Duomo which we came expressly to see the outside with the sculpture of Pisani.' They were not disappointed; 'The bright mosaics and the beautiful Gothic architecture is altogether the most splendid thing imaginable.'⁸⁰ They also admired the frescoes by Fra Angelico and Signorelli in the Cappella Nuova, and those by Ugolino and his assistants - some of whose work they mistook for Cimabue - in the choir.⁸¹ To remind themselves of the cathedral they 'bought the prints of the church 58 plates for 7 scudi'⁸² - presumably Guglielmo della Valle's Stampe del Duomo di Orvieto, with plates by Carlo Cencioni, of 1791.

Roads 'grand but terrific in desolation' brought them out of the Papal states into Tuscany and to Siena, where, on going to the Duomo, they found that 'the exterior beauty of the face far exceeded our expectations,' but that, 'as to the rest of the outside the stripes alone would spoil it - but it is also a mixed and rather mean architecture.' Inside they thought 'the whole is nevertheless very grand and imposing. The pavement designed by Beccafumi and his predecessors is exceeding interesting.' Of the whole scheme Maria preferred the earlier designs, including those in simple black and white graffiti; 'I wish the same care were taken of the Flaxman like designs of the seven ages of man as is bestowed on the more gaudy and mannered compositions of Beccafumi which are boarded over. The custode showed us some of

80 Ibid., p. 65.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

the most celebrated, the Abraham, the Eve etc.'⁸³ A painting by Duccio of 1310, presumably the great Maesta of 1308-11 now for the most part in the Opera del Duomo, claimed particular attention, as did the ten incidents in the life of Pope Pius II in fresco by Pinturicchio in the Piccolomini library, and Donatello's St. John the Baptist in the chapel devoted to that saint, although of the last the Callcotts thought 'the ragged clothing disfigures the bronze'.⁸⁴ In the austere Gothic church of S. Domenico they saw 'a muddling picture begun by Matteo do Giovanni and finished by Luca Signorelli' - the SS. Barbara, Mary Magdalen, Catherine, and the Magi of 1479 - and 'the famous Madonna of Guido di Ghezzo' - presumably a work by Guido da Siena now in the Pinacoteca.⁸⁵ In the 'Belle Arte', by which Maria meant the picture gallery attached, since 1816, to the Institute of Fine Arts and now reconstituted as the Pinacoteca, she proudly noted that 'of the greater part of the collection I made the catalogue';⁸⁶ the fine collection of Sienese primitives, including works by Guido da Siena, Duccio and the Lorenzetti would have appealed to her taste. Similar interests led the Callcotts to the Palazzo Pubblico to see Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Allegories of Good Government and Tyranny of 1338 in the Sala della Pace o Dei Nove, those of Mino da Siena in the Council chamber, and the arabesque decorations in the chapel.⁸⁷ In the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala near the Duomo they examined more frescoes by Domenico di Bartolo

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid., p. 80.

which were 'curious and in many respects very good - they are monuments of manners and costume and have merits in many respects of a better kind.'⁸⁸

The 25 March found the Callcotts back in Florence, and the following day they were hard at work again completing their notes and catalogues; apparently they soon 'got through the currant German school, the French and part of the Italian.'⁸⁹ Calling on an old acquaintance, Lord Burghersh, they were introduced to the Hon. William Fox-Strangways, chargé d'affaires at Naples and a discriminating connoisseur who was in Florence in search of desiderata for his collection of Italian primitives. He clearly impressed them as a fellow spirit and was ready to return the compliment, becoming a constant companion during this final visit to Florence, and an informed guide to dealers and collections. Unfortunately, however, Maria's journal yields no information about his own collecting activities; their forays together seem to have been totally unrewarding, and 'nothing but works of secondary masters, copies and damaged things', a 'heap of rubbish' and 'trash' are typical comments. More useful were sessions looking at the drawings in the Uffizi. These were mounted in albums, and the Callcotts 'looked over 6 vols'. Their choices should not be surprising - attributions to Cimabue, Andrea Tufi, the Gaddi, Giotto, Puccio Capanna, Uccello, Masaccio, Masolino as well as Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael and Titian.⁹⁰

As usual there were excursions beyond the city boundaries.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid., p. 81.

90 Ibid., pp. 87-8.

One to Fiesole was disappointing - beyond a certain point the road was too steep for their coach and they had to submit to the horrors of a 'fezzia, a kind of basket put on a rough sledge by means of 4 pins' - and on arrival they encountered in the convent a group of obstinate friars who refused to show them their pictures, which were under cover, 'saying tomorrow at noon and not before.'⁹¹ They could only resume their bumpy slide down the hill from S. Francesco as far as S. Domenico, which offered consolation in its 'trace of Fra Angelico da Fiesole' of which Maria quotes Vasari's account.⁹²

Maria was by now unwell again, but this did not prevent her from planning a whole day with Fox-Strangways in the Pitti; 'Got into the back rooms,' she noted. 'Joined by Mr. Strangways and by Salter an English painter who is making a copy of Allori's Judith..... Met the Cavalier Montalvi going out, he took us again to the back rooms and showed us a Ruysdael of recent purchase - 3 more Poussins all beautiful we passed through to see the hall in praise of the Medici as patrons of art and science by Giovanni di San Giovanni - then with Mr. Strangways to see pictures thence to Sta. Maria Novella then to see pictures with Nocchi and did see an early Raffaele Madonna and Child - then to Santo Spirito then home - dined with the Williamsons - thence to Id. Burghersh's concert. Miss Dallas, Lady Williamson, Miss Williamson singing.'⁹³ This was their final day in Florence and it can have been little short of a miracle that Maria was

91 Ibid., pp. 89-90.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., p. 92.

well enough the next morning to depart for Pisa.

On arriving in Pisa no time was lost in seeing the Duomo and the Campo Santo, and making one of the most significant acquaintances of their whole tour. On their first day they 'called on Lasinio the engraver and saw his collection.'⁹⁴ Carlo Lasinio was by now the conservator of the Campo Santo; his Pittore e Fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa had appeared in 1812, and he, with his son Giovanni Paolo, had also been concerned with the illustrations and research for two subsequent publications on the building, the one a series which had appeared between 1810 and 1813, the latter a single Descrizione, with text by Giovanni Rosini. His expert guidance in the Campo Santo must have opened their eyes still wider to the beauties of early Italian art, and would have joined that provided by Vogel in Dresden for Giotto's work in the Arena chapel, as the joint inspiration for the Callcotts' own illustrated description of his Paduan frescoes, published in 1835.

The Callcotts also made a point of seeing the thirteenth century church of S. Francesco with its frescoes by Taddeo Gaddi in the vault and by Taddeo di Bartolo in the sacristy. It must have been the latter decoration, of 1397, that Maria thought was by Nicolo Petri of 1392, and of which she noted 'some things excellent in expression and considerable merit in the compositions This Nicolo Petri,' she added, 'is not named by Lanzi - he seems to have been one of the numerous members of the school of Giotto whose works when not named for himself have passed if not for those of the master at least for those of his nearest

94 Ibid., p. 94.

pupils Taddeo or Agnolo Gaddi.'⁹⁵ This and other problems they were soon discussing with Lasinio, who 'sat an hour in the afternoon', and the next day they went to his premises and 'bought 14 pictures and the prints of Nicolo Petri in St. Francis.'⁹⁶ Thence they went to the baptistry to see Nicolo Pisano's pulpit - 'all the feeling of his father', commented Maria, 'to which he has added a knowledge of the figure and a conception of grandeur that he must have acquired from the antique - indeed in his time the famous sarcophagus of Beatrice stood in sight, and his Madonna is a decided copy of the Juno in that.'⁹⁷ After examining the pulpit they went 'again to the Campo Santo with Lasinio - observed the painstaking manner of the painters on the rough plaister appears to have been a complete drawing of the whole subject as if to judge of the effect - then over that comes the thinner and finer plaister of the fresco proper - The end of the cloister where the frightful moderns are is a more recent wall behind which, in making repairs, it was discovered that there was another on which the works of those old masters now lost but mentioned by Vasari were.'⁹⁸ That evening Lasinio dined with the Callcotts, and breakfasted with them the following day before taking them to the drawing school, then about four years old. Finally they returned alone to the Campo Santo with Lasinio's prints and 'spent 4 hours comparing them with the originals - in general they are faithful as to

95 Ibid., p. 93.

96 Ibid., p. 94.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

composition now and then failing in other things as in the Hagar to whom the angel appears, her head in Benozzo is more thrown back - her whole appearance more fervid. The general effect is neglected, there is too much strong shadow in the prints, the draperies are too much cut up and there is a want of breadth. They are liney and harsh.⁹⁹ These damning comments on this most influential and scholarly series of engravings, somewhat ironic when one remembers the considerable inaccuracies to be found in Augustus's copies of the Padua frescoes by Giotto engraved for the Callcotts' own Description of the Chapel of the Annunziata, were kept to themselves, and they parted from Lasinio on the warmest terms.

Their tour was now drawing to a close, and they travelled to Leghorn to arrange shipment home of four large cases of prints, pictures and other souvenirs before continuing to Lucca. The town yielded many fine things, including the 13th century mosaic of the Ascension on the facade of S. Frediano and the Aspertini frescoes in the second chapel of the North aisle, of which Maria drew a diagram, two pictures by Guido Reni in Sta. Maria Forisportam, and Fra Bartolomeo's Virgin and Child with Saints of 1509, 'very fine indeed', in S. Martino.¹⁰⁰

Leaving Lucca they took the direct road for Carrara. The country was 'improving every mile in grandeur', and the valley through which the road ran was surrounded by dramatic wooded hills. At Carrara they spent the night, and the next day, in torrential rain during which Augustus somehow managed to continue

99 Ibid., p. 95.

100 Ibid., p. 97.

sketching, they pressed on to Spezia, entering/Sardinia where 'the people now wear long hats with tassels and little droll straw hats,' and where Maria 'never saw so many and such impudent beggars.'¹⁰¹ At Sarzana they paused to see the cathedral, and then continued their journey around the coast. Milder, drier weather afforded them a delightful drive to Spezia during which they could admire the view of the hinterland with woods of chestnut and walnut and small villages dotted among the slopes, behind which rose higher ranges of hills; Augustus was, we read, constantly sketching during this stage of the journey. There were gastronomic as well as scenic delights; at Portovenere they ate 'some of the finest crawfish I ever tasted (excepting always those of Juan Fernandez)', and gazed meanwhile at the 'magnificent views on one side of the Gulf of Spezia and on the other that of Genoa.'¹⁰² The area also proved fascinating for its churches of 'mixed Gothic and Greek architecture'. They took a boat across the bay to Lerici to sketch, but the weather broke into more torrential rain, and they decided to continue to Borghetto, and then to return by the coast road to Genoa.

At Genoa, a friend of Mr. Fox-Strangways was 'well disposed to help us in seeing pictures'¹⁰³ and took them to the Palazzo Durazzo-Pallavicini to see those by Van Dyck, to Sant' Ambrogio to see Guido Reni's Assumption and Rubens's 1608 altar of the Circumcision and his 1620 St. Ignatius, and to the Palazzo Ducale.¹⁰⁴ He also took them to most of the city's splendid

101 Ibid., p. 100.

102 Ibid., p. 101.

103 Ibid., p. 103.

104 Ibid., p. 103-4.

palazzi, whose fresco decorations, like those by Luca Cambiaso in the Palazzo Imperiale, failed to impress them. 'Of all these Genoese painters,' Maria commented, 'it may be said that their frescoes were purely decorative, gay colour composition and contrasts being apparently all they aimed at - for of expression and feeling there is no indication. Their ridiculously talked of skill in perspective is great, and they have often used it so as to make their pictures appear a continuation of the architecture (But) after all our furniture painters and paper stainers are now as skilful masters and often (show) better taste.'¹⁰⁵

Genoa was the last major Italian city they were to visit; it now remained to work their way around the coast to France through Savona, San Remo, Mentone and Nice. Through Cannes and Toulon they passed on to Marseilles and Avignon where 'the chapel opposite to which is a newly erected Crucifixion bears evidence of Giotto's visit to Avignon'.¹⁰⁶ Thereafter the journal becomes almost exclusively topographical, although study was not quite forgotten. At Nîmes they visited the Maison Carrée, and at Lyons the small gallery. From Maçon and Chalons they crossed the Côte d'Or, continuing their way through mean countryside and over rough roads to Auxerre, whose cathedral was swept so bare that they thought it was a reformed church. They did not enter Paris, but skirted it to St. Denis, 'whose great church rather dissatisfied us',¹⁰⁷ and the final page of Maria's journal follows the couple

105 Ibid., p. 109.

106 Ibid., p. 129.

107 Ibid.

through Beauvais, Montrueil and Calais, where they were held up by storms. We do not know what their homeward crossing was like. There were 'steam boats every day' but the passages were 'long and rough', and they resolved not to risk the trip just then; 'So here we are waiting for the weather, and this moon has still a week to go!!!' 108

With those words, Maria ended her fascinating, and monumental, account of a honeymoon rare indeed in the annals of matrimony. The Callcotts' researches, pursued in close harmony, must have strengthened the bonds of what had seemed to mutual friends an incongruous and unpromising marriage; it had certainly provided them with a wealth of shared connoisseurship which can hardly have been rivalled save by their natural successors, Charles and Elizabeth Eastlake, and must have added greatly to the attractions of the salon which Maria established after her return to Kensington.

108 Ibid., p. 135.

CHAPTER 6

The Courtier Painter 1828 - 1844

When writing his biography of Callcott, C.J. Dafforne received the discouraging advice from a 'well known Academician', that while no artist was more diligent in his profession, none had led a life which offered less of biographical interest. 'I should,' he added, 'sum up his life as that of a man devoted to his profession and to society. For years and years, and during the London season, I should say that one day was as much like another as possible, namely, breakfasting at 8 o'clock, always getting into his painting room by half-past eight, and only leaving it in time to dress and go out to dinner.'¹

The Academician must have been referring chiefly to Callcott's later years, when his presence at major events, artistic, social and even fringe-political, was taken for granted, so that he is, if mentioned at all, more often a name than a peg on which to hang an anecdote. Dafforne himself never recovered from the Academician's warning; his book is a depressing catalogue of lost canvases and admissions of ignorance, and, published in 1876, it came at a time when its assumption of the worth of its subject was already becoming outdated. Ironically, this change in the critical climate was itself partly responsible for the many blanks the author drew in attempting to survey Callcott's work and career. How this

¹ Dafforne, op. cit., p. 18.

change came about, and how it is rooted in Callcott's work and acknowledged interests some years before his death, must be one of the central themes of this final chapter devoted to his life.

As the Academician noted, Callcott's latter years were, for an artist whose own health was increasingly unreliable and whose house was run on the regimen imposed by an invalid wife, remarkably industrious. He continued to work for a wide variety of patrons, and, from 1831, sometimes showed in London the eight paintings allowed by Academy rules. The Redgraves, whose opinion cannot have been untypical of contemporary feeling, considered this explosion of work both puzzling and retrograde. They suspected a purely financial motive, of having to provide for the larger establishment of a married man; one thinks of Lady Holland's ominous remark that Maria 'had not a penny, probably debts'.² Hard work was, however, probably a welcome escape from the hospitalised routine which prevailed at Kensington. Travels around England visiting patrons and sketching the coast and landscape for future paintings had to be curtailed, although here Maria sometimes resisted. 'I have not been able to persuade Mr. Callcott to take a holiday yet,' she wrote to Lady Grey in 1832, 'but I hope to be able to prevail upon him to go to Ockham next week. I am sure a person who works as hard as he does should go from his workshop sometimes, and as Ockham is only 20 miles off he can be home in a few hours.'³ The Callcotts did occasionally

2 Lady Holland to Miss Fox, ?January, 1827, in the Earl of Ilchester, Chronicles of Holland House, 1937, pp. 108-9.

3 M.C. to Lady Grey, 6 September, 1832, Garrowby Papers (coll. Lord Halifax), AI.4.24.2.

manage to go to quiet house parties together, but Maria was less and less able to face them and a visit to Bowood in the autumn of 1829 was something of an event. Almost their only fellow guest was Sydney Smith, who found them 'two very sensible, agreeable people'.⁴ He it was who coined for Augustus the nickname of 'sea-shore Callcott', but no sooner had he invented it than it became inappropriate. The new restrictions on Callcott's life made him more than ever a studio painter, relying, as the Redgraves noted, 'on sketches and on his memory', so that 'his works increased in art or what is called art, and decreased in nature'.⁵ Callcott's sea pieces, the most vital of his paintings, were the first and most serious casualties of the readjustments in his work, some chosen and others inevitable, which were to contribute towards a critical reaction.

It should come as no surprise, given his domestic circumstances and the influences playing upon him, that the development of new areas of subject matter and related techniques are among the main features of Callcott's life during the 1830's. What is however surprising is how little real criticism these changes incurred. Certainly Callcott's historical compositions, Raphael and the Fornarina (No. 107; Pl. 72) and Milton dictating to his Daughters (No. 112; Pl. 74), were often badly received, partly because it was felt that Callcott was poaching on other artists' preserves or, as Maria Callcott put it, had taken 'a

4 Smith to Mr. Fazakerley, October, 1829, in The Letters of Sydney Smith, ed. N.C. Smith, 1953, p. 505.

5 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 343.

canter upon a road, that they had supposed out of his reach because he had trotted along for many years at his ease on a different one'.⁶ But on the whole Callcott's work was as highly praised as ever. Typical is the gentleman from the Morning Chronicle, who told his readers in 1833 that the Academy's 'whole character in "the salt of art" rests on the shoulders of Callcott, Turner, Leslie, Newton, Eastlake and Landseer'.⁷ Not all his colleagues, it is true, would have included Turner, but the other names are those most often credited with upholding traditional standards while creating paintings which were entirely of their age. Certainly Callcott's reviews remained on the whole no less approving until his death, no mean achievement for an artist who, as Maria proudly told a friend, had 'always strenuously declined all intimacies and tea-drinkings with the press, (and) consequently shall never have the vote of a single penny-a-liner'.⁸ It is also, perhaps, surprising in view of a certain commercialism which seems a hallmark of Callcott's later years.

The 1830's were the period of the celebrated pre-Academy private views, for the invention of which Callcott is usually credited, although one suspects that the idea was probably Maria's and the inspiration Turner's separate exhibitions in his Gallery, which Callcott may well have felt reluctant to imitate too closely. From 1829, his latest paintings were displayed in the Gravel Pits house before being sent in to the Academy, thus effectively steal-

6 M.C. to an unknown correspondent, 19 May, 1840, R.A. Callcott Papers, CA/4/41. For the Raphael and the Milton, see No. 107; Pl. 72; and No. 112; Pl. 74).

7 Review quoted by W.T. Whitley, Art in England 1821-1837, 1930, p. 252.

8 M.C. letter, 1840, loc. cit.

ing a march on almost all his fellow artists. These were glittering events, of which Maria was probably stage-manageress, and Callcott, 'courteous and something of a courtier',⁹ the urbane master-of-ceremonies. As the Redgraves further recalled, 'in the weeks before the pictures were sent in to the Academy, the occupants of lines of carriages usually waited their turn to be admitted to see his works before they left the painter's easel'.¹⁰ Reading Maria's later journals one senses the acquisitive gleam in her eye as she lists the visitors on these occasions - once in 1829 a gratifying queue of thirty-seven people trying to get in at once, including the Staffords, the Bedfords, the Dacres, the Sothebys, the Westmacotts, the Palgraves, the Hollands, the Hallams, Chantrey and others no less titled or distinguished.¹¹ The Redgraves themselves had no doubt that this highly commercial approach was accompanied by a decline in quality,¹² but they were almost alone, and the failure of other critics to observe or mention it seems almost to amount to a conspiracy. In seeking the reasons for this - and it is central to Callcott's standing during the latter years of his life and also to his fairly sudden fall from grace after his death - we must turn back to changes in Callcott's style and subject matter, and, more importantly, to their correlation with shifts in the pattern of patronage. Callcott's patrons, as for many of his contemporaries, were now numbered increasingly

9 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 343.

10 Ibid.

11 M.C. Journal, 1829, Robinson Papers, M.C. Ib, ff. 38-9.

12 S. and R. Redgrave, loc. cit.

among the commerical middle classes; Robert Vernon, John Sheepshanks and George Knott enjoyed his friendship and each owned significant examples of his work. In deference to this growing market, much of Callcott's work becomes, as we shall see, both simpler in handling and more familiar and 'popular' in subject - in the Redgraves' words 'suited to the appreciation of his public, and not beyond their comprehension'.¹³

Working for the new middle classes was raised by the Callcotts from pragmatism or economic necessity to a positive virtue. That such a demand existed was the fulfilment of Maria's clarion call in the preface to her Memoir of Poussin; Augustus, too, had always shown a concern with the position of the artist vis à vis the patron, with maintaining his independence while safeguarding his market. In the past, as we have seen in the course of his dispute with Sir George Beaumont and the British Institution, he had felt that these ends could best be served within the Royal Academy, but he seems to have achieved more during the 30's at a personal level, among his own friends and most regular patrons, presiding over his own private views and his Kensington salon and dinner table. And it was the new collectors to whom he devoted most attention. Clearly he felt the future of the arts lay with them, and was anxious to associate himself with them. To do so actually required a radical compromise of his earlier position in the Beaumont affair, for changing his style to meet his market is far from consistent with his attack on collectors who 'were not patrons of Artists but breeders of

13 Ibid.

Artists'. In justification, it can only be suggested that he was thinking not only of himself but of the rising generation, to whom he is recorded as giving so much of his time and attention. As late as 1836 we find him concerned with the problem of fostering patronage, and insisting to Francis Chantrey that the problems faced by Richard Wilson, which he must often have discussed with Farington, were less matters of finance than of his status as an artist. 'For such pictures as those of his which Farington had and Constable has, he used to receive from ten to fifteen guineas, which according to the value of money then, is quite equal to the prices received by almost any of us now. I wont name the exceptions - I can only say that I am not one.' The crux of the matter - which in Callcott's opinion still retained its relevance - lay with the degree of appreciation and respect Wilson managed to gain in his profession. 'From what I have repeatedly heard Farington say, it was not so much the low prices which Wilson got for his pictures, as the general want of employment, which he had to complain of.'¹⁴ Building up rapport with the new patrons and producing work suited to their tastes must have seemed to Callcott, as it did to many of his friends, a just and practical means of reviving the market, both for himself and for young aspirants like his great-nephew, John Callcott Horsley, through whose eyes he would have seen at close hand the problems faced by a new generation of artists. And Maria's own views on the new patronage were forcibly expressed in her retaliation to

14 A.W.C. to Chantrey, letter bound in Allan Cunningham's own copy of his Wilson, Gainsborough and Kneller, V. & A.M. Library. Also partly quoted by A. Bury, Richard Wilson R.A., 1947, p. 28.

the adverse criticism of the Milton, which was acquired by William Marshall. It was, she told a friend, not the criticism itself which was painful, but the concern that 'the generous persons who commission such large works and like the Medici having made their fortunes by the commerce of their country, are willing to encourage the arts, should have their feelings hurt, and the value of their possessions lowered, by a cause so contemptible.'¹⁵

However, just as the Milton was untypical for both subject and size, the criticism against which Maria was reacting was also a minority one. On the whole the very fact that paintings were commissioned or bought by the new collectors seems to have guaranteed their success, and the changes apparent in these canvases were either ignored or subtly acknowledged as improvements; one feels that they were admired less for intrinsic merit than on the strength of their purchasers' names. Thus some of Callcott's most fervent admirers during the last years of his life, the critics of the Art Union and the Art Journal, were also the most enthusiastic advocates of the newly rich collectors, and it is worth briefly following the main strands of their arguments.

Most significantly, the claim that Callcott's later landscapes lacked assertion, were, as an 'eminent figure painter' remarked of the lost English Landscape Composition exhibited in 1842, 'milk and water',¹⁶ was both met and countered. In 1841, for instance, another untraced canvas, Becco on the Coast of Genoa, was described by the Art Union as 'not a picture highly striking

15 M.C. letter, 1840, loc. cit.

16 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 345.

at first; indeed, it is one of those which, in the bustle and glitter of an exhibition room, might almost run the risk of being overlooked, but the oftener it is seen the more highly must it be appreciated, producing, as it does, sensations of the liveliest delight: there is in it no pretension, no straining to produce an impression; all is the quiet unobtrusiveness of nature.'¹⁷ The following year the same critic tactfully wrote of the aforementioned English Landscape Composition, that its elements 'are such as are commonplace and to which none but a master spirit can attach even a limited measure of interest.'¹⁸ In effect the Union is setting its seal of approval on the kind of simple, undemanding art which appealed to many of the new princes of patronage; paintings which succeeded because they could be easily understood were not to be considered any the less masterly for that. Reviews such as these continued for a time to sustain Callcott's reputation; but it is easy to see that they reflect a point of view which could all too easily acquire a pejorative inflection.

Changes in subject matter, rather than the general trend towards simplification and generalisation apparent in Callcott's later paintings, posed more pressing problems for the critics, but here too an answer was usually found. If almost any changes could be presented as for the better, those which could not were regarded as marks of the artist's brilliant variety. As late as 1854, ten years after his death, The Vernon Gallery of British

17 Art Union, III, 1841, p. 63.

18 Ibid., IV, 1842, p. 120.

Art, a compendium of the pictures from Robert Vernon's collection, was still carrying praise to the extreme in discussing Callcott's genre and narrative subjects. Such paintings as The Way Worn Traveller, of 1832, were to be seen as curiosities, the inevitable off-spin from a great mind; after all, 'Raffaelle, the "divine", as he has sometimes been called even Raffaelle descended from the highest throne whereon painter ever sat to decorate the walls of a palace with ornamental designs.'¹⁹ If this is critical justification ad absurdum, it is also an example of the flexible artistic morality of the early Victorians; critics were keenly, almost politically, aware of the stratification of the art market and if they favoured the market, as they so often did at the time, they let artists off lightly. Certainly Callcott's later work, bland, uncluttered, sometimes still faintly Turnerian but without iconographical complications, sometimes animated by a simple element of narrative, was recognised as perfectly attuned to the markets from which most was expected. None put it better than Mr. Manson, auctioning the English Landscape Composition from George Knott's collection (for £997) in 1845: 'With what agreeable and delicious sensations must Mr. Knott have enjoyed the repose of his home in the tranquil contemplation of landscapes like those of Sir A.W. Callcott, when he returned to it from the bustle and anxiety of the commercial pursuits in which he was engaged.'²⁰

19 The Vernon Gallery of British Art, 1854, III, no. 12, repr. in an engraving by A. Heath.

20 Mr. Manson reported in The Art Union, VII, 1845, The Knott sale included Callcott's Cologne (whereabouts unknown); originally painted for Mr. Delafield for £150, this raised £273. The English Landscape is also untraced.

Mr. Manson's patter also indicates how far Callcott's art had moved away from its earlier close affinities with Turner, which, as we have seen, had been a compelling source of interest in previous years.

Callcott's several late forays into narrative should be seen not only as gestures towards a new taste, but also as part of an attempt to form a truly native style. Wilkie, Mulready, Collins and Landseer were among his closest friends, and their work would have exerted its own influence. At the same time Callcott would have been aware of the moralised genre of the Nazarenes as at least a distant ancestor, and continental, particularly German, opinions continued to reach him after his return to England. In 1829, August Kestner, whom the Callcotts had met in Munich, wrote to Maria that 'your nation is particularly on the turn to get perspic(?acious) in pictures, not only because it is, in comparison with other nations, a still uncultivated field, but also in account of the way pictures is developing itself (sic) in our age. History and religion are gone The Romans are dead in every respect.'²¹ Maria, it will be recalled, had shared this view in the preface to her Memoir of Poussin; other passages in a letter about her husband's Milton give a clearer indication of her ideas. She did not entirely share Kestner's rejection of history painting, but she did insist that the events depicted should be appropriate in choice and treatment. 'I could wish,' she began, 'that painters should always remember that they are citizens as well as artists; and that in the talents God has given

21 Kestner to M.C., 25 July, 1836, V. & A.M., Eastlake MSS, 86 PP 14, IV, 4.

them they have received a trust which they ought to use not only for the furtherance of their own objects but for the advancement of whatever is good and great I cannot express the disgust I have always felt, when I have seen the arts debased as they often have been, by rendering them subservient to low and vicious purposes, and I regret that many men of great powers not unnaturally disgusted with the cruel scenes of the Hagiology, should have turned almost exclusively to the heathen gods and goddesses whose lives and loves we have quite enough of in ancient poems and statues and gems, instead of to the history of their own country, thus following the practise of the best times of Greece when the people of Athens felt that it was honourable even to the conqueror at Marathon to be painted at the head of his soldiers by Polygnotus. And surely in the annals of our own country we have heroes and sages that might furnish scope for pictures more agreeable than modern battle pieces, and yet full enough of deep and stirring interest to satisfy every sort of ambition in the painters of our land. We have scenes of "grave and gay, of lively and severe" that would admit of the talents of a Teniers or a Rubens, as well as those of a loftier aim.'

Further on in this highly interesting letter, Maria draws together these strands of patriotism and aesthetic preference, and names the painting which best exemplified the developments she hoped to find in British art: 'suppose the taste of our nation should never be brought to the grand and graver walks of historic painting, Wilkie's Chelsea Pensioners is a picture for the nation, and I swear I have often grudged him employing himself upon Italian or Spanish subjects while there lay before him so much of English and Scottish history to delight the cheerful, and animate the lovers

of their country with true scenes of happiness and virtue.'²²

From all this it is clear that Maria would have been unable to approve wholeheartedly of some areas of her husband's work; she had, however, 'long dreamed of a painting of our great republican',²³ and, as will be seen, must have played a considerable part in the evolution of the Milton, by far the most significant in intention if not in fact of all Callcott's later paintings. Moreover her admiration for Chelsea Pensioners was unequivocally shared by Augustus, who emerges from the letters of the Irish novelist, Maria Edgeworth, as eager for her to see it when still in Wilkie's studio 'preparing for the exhibition'.²⁴

In its historical emphasis, Maria Callcott's letter provides an insight into the reforming, constructive purpose which must lie behind her Essays towards the History of Painting, the first of which appeared in 1836, and, in its ambitions for contemporary painting, enables us to recapture something of the flavour and atmosphere that would have prevailed at Kensington during those gatherings of the cultured world of which visitors have left such warm accounts. Maria was too good a propagandist to miss such opportunities for advancing her favourite ideas.

As with most of the best salons, the husband played the secondary role. The Redgraves recall that at Kensington 'Lady Callcott mostly supported the conversation. She was somewhat imperious in her state-chamber, the painter being more of a silent listener, until some incident of travel, some question of art, raised him up to earnest interest or wise remark.' He was,

22 M.C. letter, 1840, loc. cit.

23 Ibid.

24 Maria Edgeworth to Sophie Ruxton, 9 March, 1822, in M.E.... Letters from England 1813-44, ed. Christina Colvin, 1971, p. 367.

however, more forthcoming on the paintings produced by his friends, and Maria would have had plentiful opportunities to register her own opinions. The Redgraves add that Callcott was 'a kindly-hearted man, and always seemed interested in the progress of the young; being quite willing to communicate to them his art-lore, and to advise with them on the progress of their pictures; and for his sake the young painters made it a rule to take their works on the morning of sending in to the Academy, and to range them before the sick lady who could not leave her chamber, that she might have a sight of at least some of the coming exhibition'.²⁵ Thus what had been merely a private view of Augustus's own exhibits for patrons and friends now grew into a larger view including other artists. The potential of such occasions for sharing and transmitting ideas would have been enormous, and they must have given considerable stimulus to the development of the narrative genre of the early Victorian age.

The importance of the Callcott circle at Kensington seems at first to lie in its liberalism; it was indeed the meeting place of classic and gothic, landscape and genre, artist and critic, celebrity and student, of poet and novelist and writer of belles-lettres, and, through Callcott's relatives the Horsleys, who lived nearby in High Row, of musicians and performers. Mendelssohn, whose music Augustus disliked and called 'jelly',²⁶ was a constant visitor when in London, and his friend, the Sanskrit scholar Dr. Rosen, was among those met by Dr. Waagen when he made

25 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 344.

26 Mendelssohn and his Friends in Kensington, ed. Mrs. R.B. Gotch, 1934, p. 226.

a pilgrimage to the Gravel Pits in 1838, and spent a 'very agreeable day with Mr. Callcott'. Dr. Waagen's account of his visit in Art and Artists goes far to recapture the kind of universality that prevailed at Kensington in the 1830's. In his view it was found in Augustus's paintings, as well as in the conversation and connoisseurship of himself, his family and friends. Callcott's rendering of narrative and figures impressed him as much as his landscapes - Waagen was among the admirers of Raphael and the Fornarina - and he believed Callcott united 'simplicity, frankness and good-natured humour' with 'a love of art in all its branches'.²⁷ Waagen found it particularly appropriate that the Callcotts' other main guest that day should have been Eastlake, who remained a close friend, for here too was 'one of those rare instances of artists who, like Schinkel, have acquired a general knowledge of art in all its branches, and commencing with enthusiastic devotion to their art, have gradually attained a very clear intuitive idea of the essential nature and the fundamental laws of the plastic arts.'²⁸ In 1832 J.D. Passavant, who had also visited Kensington and had been taken by the Callcotts to Apsley House and to Cambridge to see the new Fitzwilliam Museum, had been equally admiring. Callcott, he wrote in his Tour, 'may be considered to hold the same rank in landscape, as Eastlake in historical painting. Beauty of outline, clearness of tone, a correct knowledge of perspective, and a commendable severity of

27 Art and Artists in England, 1838, I, pp. 154-6.

28 Ibid. Waagen's final summary of Callcott, in Treasures of Art in Great Britain, I, 1854, p. 385, admits a difference in quality between the early and late paintings.

design and execution, distinguish this artist before all other English landscape painters.' Passavant left to 'dwell with grateful memory on the name of Callcott whose friendly interest was as beneficial, as their society was instructive to my plans.'²⁹

The Redgraves' long and nostalgic description of the sick-room in which the Callcotts' gatherings took place - 'quaint, picturesque, and irregular', the setting sun giving 'the painters of the party many hints of colour and effect as the light sank away into the gloom'³⁰ - is too familiar to need repetition here. It is however worth noting that their prose takes on something of the colour and texture, and the quality of feeling, of Pre-Raphaelite painting, for among the Callcott circle were many of its acknowledged precursors, and among its hallmarks the insistence on accurate natural and physical detail and the interest in the Quattrocento which were to distinguish the Brotherhood.

There is something fanatical, not to say absurd, in the many stories of the attempts of the Kensington circle to obtain verisimilitude; Creswick 'braving cold and wet, and all other trials incident to painting in the open air',³¹ Webster catching gout through standing hour by hour 'to study the effect of reflection in the ice' and, undaunted, having himself wheeled back to a frozen pond in a Bath chair.³² No such stories are told of Callcott, but he would have seen these antics taking place

29 Tour of a German Artist in England, 1836, II, pp. 265 and 61.

30 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 344.

31 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 354. Creswick lived in Linden Gardens (then Linden Grove), Bayswater.

32 Ibid., p. 301. Webster lived next door to Callcott in the Mall.

all around him, and something of the exacting discipline which produced them must have made itself felt. He would, however, also have believed that the occasional warning was necessary; indeed, his own role among his friends at Kensington and in Maria's salon, as far as it can be assessed at all, seems to have been that of a leveller, moderating the enthusiasms of others, pointing out with infinite patience and tact an acceptable compromise. Such a task is not good for an artist, and it might almost be said that in Callcott's case all those opportunities which would have stimulated another man - living through a period of artistic transition, being on close terms with the very different artists who were contributing towards it, mixing with every shade of opinion - served only to vitiate his own achievement and to muffle his own voice. In contrast to his earlier tendency to over-react over issues such as that of Beaumont's role in the British Institution, Chalon's candidature as Academician or Payne Knight's as Professor of Ancient Literature, Callcott seems later to embody artistic gravitas, to be creating the role of a painter who was also a gentleman and a mandarin. This was probably partly the result of pressure from Maria, but it was a part which Callcott was not sufficiently endowed to play with any individuality, and it is arguable whether it is a valid part for an artist to play at all. The parallel with Eastlake is unavoidable, but it is worth remembering that as Eastlake grew in stature as a connoisseur and pillar of the Establishment, he also ceased to paint.

The most penetrating of the descriptions of Callcott during the later years of his life is that by E.V. Rippingille, who, as he obviously rather resented, did not know him as well as many

others did. Just this resentment, however, gives his account a cutting edge which presents a far clearer picture than the kindly platitudes of the Redgraves. 'Sir Augustus Callcott', Ripplingille begins portentously, 'was a somewhat stately personage, who spoke in a rather measured and sententious way, without any appearance of severity, but as if he were not to be approached without leave. His character was truly what might be called sage and gentlemanly. There was a manner about him which indicated a degree of coldness: at the same time you could not avoid being impressed with an idea assuring you of his good sense, and highly favourable to his good-heartedness. In person Callcott was tall and stout, with an upright and manly bearing, which never failed to make his presence impressive. He had a fine head his face was not expressive, and his manner of address a good deal subdued, with voice soft and low..... Callcott always spoke in a quiet and guarded manner, and, apparently, with a little reserve. I found it was seldom that you could get an off-hand opinion from him; it appeared, on other subjects than that of art, that something still remained behind, and that he had not told you all he had to say on the subject on which you were speaking. If you returned to it and inquired again, it was the same, even when you were impressed with the notion that he desired to give you what information he could.'³³

A further question of Callcott's involvement in his friends' more radical preoccupations has now to be debated, that of the extent of his participation in a revival of English interest in

³³ Ripplingille, op. cit., p. 99.

the 'primitive'. Maria remained as enthusiastic as ever; her one pang of conscience after her visit to the Boisserée collection had entirely vanished, and in 1838 she was able to tell Waagen that 'she was deeply impressed with the noble and pure spirit which, in the productions of Italian art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, appears through the yet coarse veil'.³⁴ She also presented him with a copy of her newly published description of the Arena Chapel, a work which brought out all her talents as a propagandist. Copies were also given to her friends and to connoisseurs and collectors, including Lord Francis Egerton, Thomas Phillips, Smirke, Westmacott, Pickersgill and George Jones, whose appreciative letters of thanks are bound up in Maria's own copy of the book in the V. & A.M. library; from these it is clear that even at the relatively late date of 1835, the Description came as a revelation. The drawings were by Augustus himself, made in situ in the chapel. Many are monstrously inaccurate, a fact which the artist must have appreciated; his own note at the beginning of the volume is partly an apology for this, but also for interesting himself in the frescoes at all. His is not an antiquarian endeavour, and he has no qualms about tidying up the frescoes in his copies; 'rigid Critics of Art will, no doubt, object to such renderings, from the absence of those peculiarities and even defects belonging to the age in which the works were executed; but the features which mark an artist's strength and originality, and which constitute the beauty of his work, are essentially distinct from those which

³⁴ Waagen, loc. cit.

Whether the several 'primitive' works in the 1845 Callcott Sale were strictly Maria's property or Augustus's is unclear. For the sale, see especially Athenaeum, 916, 1845, p.499; the writer strongly criticizes the National Gallery's failure to bid for one work of special importance, a 'time-dishonoured fragment ... of Filippino Lippi', An Angel adoring; this later came to the Gallery as part of the Wynn Ellis Bequest.

arise out of accidents of the time in which he lived.'³⁵ Callcott is, in effect, making it clear that he was concerned at Padua with the spiritual quality of the decoration, which he conveniently believes to be timeless, rather than with its pictorial expression, a piece of sophistry typical of the time and of the man. Certainly one does not sense any reverence for the artist or for the period he lived in, whereas Maria was captivated by the latter while admitting the occasional stumblings of the former.

Callcott's presumed aloofness from the more whole-hearted enthusiasm of Maria was shared by many contemporary artists, who, simply because they were artists rather than critics or scholars, were more acutely aware of the potential influence of a new field of study such as this. Wilkie, Phillips, Hilton, Mulready, Collins, Linnell, were all, by the late 1820's, more or less students of some aspects of early art. Although none of these, with the possible exception of Linnell, attempted to paint on a primitive model, they were treading a dangerous path. All would have declared their interest in roughly the same cautious terms as Augustus, but it should be remembered that these were also the terms used by William Dyce's son to account for his father's first steps towards an openly archaising style; Dyce, 'without the smallest intercourse with the Germans then in Rome and ignorant even of the existence of the new school of Purists, or as he believed they were even then called Pre-Raffaellites, began as they did to regard Art exclusively in its most moral and religious

³⁵ Description of the Chapel of the Annunziata dell' Arena or Giotto's Chapel in Padua, 1835, Preface page. Nine drawings by Callcott were reproduced in wood engravings.

aspect, and as a consequence to perceive the great charms of the works of the devout masters of the fifteenth century. His paintings were little more than imitations of early religious works which Ruskin afterwards considered the false dawn of Pre-Raffaellism, which was in Painting what our revival of Mediaeval Gothic was, a few years ago, in Architecture - a step merely towards breaking up the conventional academic trammels with which the higher branches of the arts have been so long fettered. Dyce always maintained that he was, however feebly, the originator in the English School of Painting of that movement, which, in more recent times, developed itself in a healthier form.³⁶ No one would have been less pleased than Callcott by the paintings inspired by Dyce's second visit to Italy in 1827, especially as we are told by Dyce's son that the journey had been made on the advice of 'his friend Mr. Callcott'.³⁷ In the frantic soul-searching that such works were to produce, Callcott could not escape blame, and this is perhaps a further hidden factor in the decline of his standing later in the century; the taint of archaism was, after all, easy to see in an artist who was both husband to Maria and, in his last year, Surveyor of Paintings to a Queen whose Consort was an avid collector of early art.

If the Callcotts' own travels in Europe in 1827-8 had been intended to furnish material for a general history of art, this was never written or even begun. During the 30's, however, Maria

36 The Life, Correspondence and Writings of William Dyce, R.A., Painter, Musician and Scholar, by his Son, James Stirling Dyce, typescript of unpublished manuscript, Tate Gallery Library, pp. 15-16.

37 Ibid., p. 16.

embarked on a more limited project, her series of Essays Towards the History of Painting, hardly a guideline for herself but perhaps intended to stimulate others. Much of the Essays was dictated by Maria to a niece, but Augustus's contribution must have been significant, for she asserts at the very beginning the positive role to be played by the artist in art historical endeavour;

'I am aware that a certain class of Connoisseurs, Amateurs, or Enthusiasts, have lately put forth, perhaps I should say, received, the strange opinion that a practical artist is of all persons the least fit to judge of art, and that it belongs to them, that is the connoisseurs only, to judge of his works. I believe this notion to have lurked for centuries back, but it required the fostering hand of German enthusiasm to publish it to the world, and to write books upon the absurd notion.'³⁸ It is not the place here to analyse or summarise the Essays, which are readily available in print, but it should be noted that their scope is enormous, and that they are concerned not only with history but with historiography. Eastlake's Materials, which must have been greatly inspired by them, is a far less ambitious undertaking.³⁹

The Essays were the outward signs of the Callcotts' scholarship. Augustus's own private knowledge must not be underestimated, and, during his last years, kept him much in demand on committees. In this final role of artist-politician he seems to anticipate the career of Eastlake, but here his younger friend was to achieve

³⁸ Essays, 1836, MS. version, Whitelegge Papers, MC IIIb. A Continuation of the Essays towards a History of Painting was published in 1838.

³⁹ Eastlake's Materials for a History of Oil-Painting appeared in 1848.

far more. Callcott's health was failing by the late 30's, and while few would have wished to exclude him from their deliberations, he must have been something of a passenger; it is practically impossible to find evidence of his active participation in any of the projects and schemes with which he was nominally concerned. The most significant of these was perhaps that for the Government Schools of Design, if judged by intention rather than by achievement. Under the presidency of the President of the Board of Trade, Paulett Thomson, the committee, consisting of Henry Bellenden Ker, Alderman Sir William Copeland, Lord Mayor of London, and, as practising artists and architects, of Callcott, Eastlake, Chantrey and Cockerell, first met in December, 1836.⁴⁰ A measure of unanimity might be expected from the fact that Callcott, Eastlake and Chantrey were already close friends, that the first two artists were models of diplomacy, and that Callcott, from his travels in 1827, had first hand knowledge of the workings of the state-administered art schools in Prussia and Bavaria. However, as is well known, the committee produced no clear decision save that it was not in business to promote the training of artists; its bias, in so far as it had one, was towards the practicalities of manufacturing. Hence, no doubt, its decision to recruit Dyce, then heading an enquiry for the Scottish Board of Trustees for Manufactures, and its somewhat greater effectiveness when it had done so, for he clarified its unspoken ideas. We may presume that Callcott, who, as we have seen, was a friend of Dyce, played some part in calling him to London, and probably

40 For the theory and development of the School of Design, cf. Q. Bell, The Schools of Design, 1963.

also in sending him off to France and Germany to bring back his own impressions of continental art education. There is however, no record of any such contribution, and Callcott's most positive part in the project seems to have been to share with Eastlake, Chantrey, Cockerell and Papworth the teaching at the School actually established at Somerset House, of which Dyce was Director from 1838 to 1843, and where students paid four shillings a week for tuition. Ironically, the only evidence among Callcott's papers of his involvement in the School or the Committee is a copy of a cri de cour written in 1836 by a Mr. W. Bucknell, 'designer of patterns for printing upon muslins and calicoes' to Mr. C.P. Thomson, M.P., which attacks the kind of teaching offered at Somerset House. It is a fascinating insight into the uncertainties of the Committee as a whole, for, even before its first meeting, Mr. Bucknell demolishes the principle of a school of creative design and insists instead on closer attention to the manufacturing process.⁴¹

In 1841 Callcott was given a seat, with the P.R.A., Sir Martin Archer Shee, and Eastlake, Henry Howard and Etty, on the committee of artists established by Sir Robert Peel, in his capacity as a Trustee, to review proposed purchases for the National Gallery. The appointment must have given the Callcotts, especially Maria, particular pleasure, for here indeed was public recognition of her claim in the Essays that artists could also be connoisseurs. Here again, however, there is no evidence of an active participation, but in this case this must be due to ill-

⁴¹ Bucknell to Thomson, 14 September, 1836, R.A. Callcott Papers, CA/3/1.

health and non-attendance, problems which also blighted Callcott's single year, the last of his life, as the Queen's Surveyor of Pictures. Callcott had by now to be selective in his extra-painterly activities, and in 1843 felt obliged to reject, as did Shee, an offer to be one of the judges in the competition for fresco designs for Westminster Hall - ironically, both because his recollections, still unusual among his contemporaries, of modern German fresco would have added conviction to his opinion, and, in a different sense, because Lord Melbourne had once suggested, to annoy Haydon, that Callcott himself should paint the decorations. 'My God, a landscape painter!' Haydon had shouted,⁴² and could never forgive Callcott afterwards, weaving tales of 'painters in opulence' busy 'twisting ministers around their fingers',⁴³ and 'corrupting' Lord Melbourne after dinner at Lord Holland's.⁴⁴ In fact Callcott's influence was by now totally ephemeral, but Haydon was right in one respect; Callcott had, for several years, been on ever closer terms with the Royal Family, and his appointment as Surveyor in 1843 must have been as much a personal gesture as an official one. Public recognition of that kind had come already, with a knighthood in 1837.

Callcott's association with the Royal Family probably began with another appointment, that of a diminutive and excitable red-head, Miss Marianne Skerrett, as Her Majesty's secretary. Miss Skerrett was an intimate friend of Maria, and, if we are to believe

42 B.R. Haydon, Diary, ed. W.B. Pope, 1960, IV, p. 312.

43 Ibid., 'p. 293.

44 Ibid., p. 246.

J.C. Horsley, obtained her position at the Palace through Maria's advice to her other friend, Lady Lansdowne, then Mistress of the Robes.⁴⁵ Such connections as these, together with Callcott's status, as yet undimmed, as a kind of living old master, gave him advantages at court far beyond those open to his contemporaries. The Surveyorship was generally felt to be deserved, although it was appreciated that Callcott would not be active in his duties. 'This', thought the Art Union, 'is an appointment in every way desirable; neither the years nor the health of the artist warrant the expectation of his producing many more great works, and the post is a comfortable provision for age, a small reward - yet a sure one - for a life of honourable labour.'⁴⁶ When Callcott pleaded ill-health, Prince Albert wrote to assure him that his duties would not be arduous, and that the offer was intended as a mark of respect,⁴⁷ but it is unlikely that the Consort who was himself to collect with discernment and to initiate, with Becker and Ruland, the documentation of the Raphael drawings at Windsor, would have tolerated a totally dormant Surveyor, and there is evidence among Callcott's papers, in the form of lists and inventories of rooms and galleries, that he took his duties as seriously as he could. We know, however, that during this final year of his life he was constantly dogged by ill-health; Maria's death in 1843 dealt a blow from which he was already too

45 J.C. Horsley, op. cit., pp. 127-8.

46 Art Union, V, 1843, p. 315.

47 For this letter, and other rather unilluminating correspondence over Callcott's Surveyorship, see Windsor, Royal Archives, Vic. Add. C.5.13-23.

weak to recover and, on 25 November the following year he died, 'regretted by many',⁴⁸ apparently secure in his supremacy among painters and poised for almost immediate metamorphosis into a fully-fledged old master, a prospect seemingly confirmed by the major memorial exhibition held by his old antagonist, the British Institution, in 1845.

But this transformation never quite came to pass. Some of the reasons for this failure, which was less the result of conscious reaction than of gradual amnesia, will, it is hoped, have emerged from this chapter. Callcott's life had been neither unduly long - just sixty five years - nor particularly eventful; it had, however, spanned a period of unprecedented changes in the visual arts and in the factors which governed them, changes partly aesthetic, partly social and even political. Though, as we have seen, he was increasingly inclined to be aloof, it was always Callcott's belief that the artist should belong to his society, and that wherever necessary he should adapt to it. At the same time he had always maintained that the artist should possess an independent authority, and should not be bound by the whims of self-appointed connoisseurs; this must have been confirmed in later years by Maria's own ideas. The two propositions are not by any means consistent, and the result was all too often an unhealthy willingness to compromise and, more seriously, a tendency to keep something back so that it would not have to be eradicated or contradicted later on. The art that was produced from these unrealistic and naive beliefs became

48 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 344. He was buried at Kensal Green.

increasingly impersonal and ephemeral, the artist's manner in conversation and committee, judged by the evidence, increasingly reticent. Callcott's intention seems to have been to steer a middle way between the various and often conflicting artistic attitudes of his day; in practise this was to mean an attempt to apply the balance and discipline of the classical tradition in which he had been brought up to types of art which, in subject and background, were essentially anti-classical. The process was vitiating and self-destructive, and deprived his work of impact and significance. As we have seen, this extreme reticence and delicacy was for a time regarded as a virtue, but we have also seen that much of the most adulatory comment had little to do with aesthetic judgement, and could not be expected to have any lasting influence. Later in the century, we find almost exactly the same words being used by critics, but with a quite different meaning.

Callcott's death occurred only a year ^{after} ~~before~~ the publication of the first volume of Modern Painters, and four years before the emergence of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The second event, by the blatant expression and combination of ideas with which Callcott and various of his friends had only very cautiously experimented, highlighted the unassertive stillness of much of his later work; the former threw down a direct challenge, sweeping away at a blow much of the special pleading which had been offered in Callcott's favour. 'On the works of Callcott', wrote Ruskin, 'high as his reputation stands, I should look with far less respect. I see not any preference or affection in the artist: there is no tendency in him with which we can sympathise, nor does there appear any sign of inspiration, effort or enjoyment in any one of his

works. He appears to have completed them methodically, to have been content with them when completed, to have thought them good, legitimate, regular pictures; perhaps in some respects better than nature. He painted everything tolerably, and nothing excellently, he has given us no gift, struck for us no light, and though he has produced one or two valuable works, they will, I believe in future have no place among those considered representatives of the English school.⁴⁹

That Ruskin's forecast was accurate is indisputable. How far this can be attributed to a general realisation of Callcott's weaknesses, and how much to the influence of Ruskin's own words, is less easy to determine. Ruskin was only anticipating a change of attitude which would have developed anyway, but in such fundamental terms that his analysis was irresistible; once he had suggested that, instead of a sensibility so refined and delicate that unless the eye was sufficiently trained to appreciate it, it might miss it altogether, there was in fact no sensibility, no real imaginative power over the subject whatsoever, the whole basis of Callcott's reputation was open to question. But Ruskin's impact was to be disproportionate; Colonel Grant's account, to name but one, is almost a direct paraphrase.⁵⁰ It is also somewhat unfair, basing itself only on the artist's more vacuous paintings and ignoring others which have a liveliness and vigour of their own. But, as always, what was good came to be judged on

49 Ruskin, Works, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, 1905, III, pp. 191-2 ('Foregoing Principles', Modern Painters, I).

50 M.H. Grant, Old English Landscape Painters, VI, 1960, pp. 498-501.

the lowest estimate, and suffered the same fate as the more mediocre. This was, of course, Ruskin's intention, and his attack on Callcott was mounted on the broadest possible front; what could be more subtle than his undermining, in reply to a Miss Matilda Y. in The Artist and Amateur's Magazine in 1843, of Callcott's one genuinely committed and consistent idea, his lifelong advocacy of Turner? 'It is fitting to pay respect to Sir Augustus Wall Callcott', Ruskin told his correspondent, adding damningly 'Is it so to take his word against the world?'⁵¹

Ruskin's evaluation would, with qualifications, inevitably have gained a following, but it was probably the foundation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and the appearance of a radical and controversial style which gave it an added impact. In an art world where battle lines were suddenly being drawn, only paintings which excited strong reactions and could draw the controversy towards them were likely to survive. At the same time Callcott's life, as it was generally remembered, smooth, courtly, easy-going, committed at least as much to society as to art, seemed no longer relevant, and was to become ever less compatible with the popular notion of an artist. The editor of the Art Journal, when he wrote in 1860 that Callcott had come from 'circumstances which had called for no especial manifestations of such qualities as are required by those who have to fight arduously the battle of life, and to acquire knowledge under difficulties', adding that he 'rose gradually into reputation,

51 Ruskin, loc. cit., p. 648 (from a letter to The Artist and Amateur's Magazine, December, 1843). Miss 'Y' had written that Callcott, visiting a certain collection, had 'made the most obvious distinction in his preference and admiration of the works of Turner, speaking of them as instances of a beautiful and profoundly truthful representation of nature'.

and pursued the even tenor of his ways',⁵² might have been writing of a man from another age already fading into myth. It is not really surprising, although it is often unjustified, that Callcott's work was also to pass from memory, for seldom had an artist's production seemed more in tune with his public image. Rippingille and Constable are hardly artists between whom one expects to find much in common, but when Rippingille wrote that Callcott's paintings were 'emblems of himself, sage, gentlemanly and sedate',⁵³ he was simply diluting the essence of Constable's remark that they were those of a 'correct, sound, and just bigot'.⁵⁴ Neither felt that Callcott had any message for them; it was Ruskin's achievement to explain for others why this should be so.

52 Footnote to Rippingille, loc. cit.

53 Rippingille, loc. cit.

54 Constable to Leslie, 9 April, 1832, in R.B. Beckett, op. cit., III, p. 66.

P A R T II

CHAPTER 7Work c. 1798 - 1815

The bulk of Callcott's production up to 1815 consisted of landscapes, and inevitably these must occupy most space here. However, to this period also belong a series of important marine compositions, and a small group of portraits, both of which must be considered independantly. Both portraits and landscapes appeared among Callcott's first exhibits at the Academy from 1799, but evidence about these is slender. It was several years before his paintings attracted other than dismissive comments, and it is clear from his Catalogue that his own confidence in his work was no greater than the critics'; of his eight exhibits between 1799 and 1802 (he showed nothing in 1800), four were painted over by him. These included his first exhibit, a Portrait of Miss Roberts, another Portrait of Mr. Dignum (No. 5), a Lago Maggiore with a Thunderstorm and a View of Oxford. Allowing for the disappearance of the pair, Moonlight and Morning, purchased by a 'German Baron' in 1802, and the loss of another portrait, a Mr. Webb, the two earliest works of his maturity known today are the large View of Oxford said to be dated 1799 at Worcester College, Oxford (No. 2), and the Portrait of Dr. Grey at the Royal Society, shown at the Academy in 1802 (No. 3). As Callcott's portraiture stems directly from his training under Hoppner, it will be appropriate to discuss the latter painting, and the several other early portraits, first.

Early Portraits

The Dr. Grey (No. 3; Pl. 1), a half length in profile to left, is plain and forthright and handled with genuine feeling for the paint, especially in areas such as the hair and cravat, which appear brightly lit against a sombre background. The painting owes much to Hoppner, and demonstrates that had Callcott chosen to develop this area of his work, he would have proved highly successful. But, except for the portrait of his wife (No. 78) and its smaller version (No. 79; Pl. 55), all his few surviving portraits are from his earlier years. He did complete, in 1831-2, the portrait of Francis Gold of Bristol which he had begun in 1801 or 1802, and also at some later date painted, with John Jackson, a copy of Lawrence's portrait of Sir James Mackintosh now in the National Portrait Gallery, which was hung in the Journal Room at Holland House (No. 77), but neither work is known to-day.

The Mr. Dignum shown at the Academy in 1801 was painted over by Callcott, but a second version was exhibited in 1803, and it is presumably this latter which is recorded in an unsigned miniature replica now at the Garrick Club and in an engraving by Heath (No. 5; Pl. 2). Once again the portrait is a half length, but this time Callcott has boldly shown his unhandsome sitter full face. Charles Dignum was a tenor singer who appeared at Covent Garden and Drury Lane, and Callcott may have obtained his commission through his brother, of whom he also painted a spirited half length, showing the musician's kindly face bending over a score; this is now in the collection of Mr. Derek Hudson (No. 4). Another family portrait is the small head of his niece, Sophy Callcott, which belongs to Miss Katherine Hudson (No. 7).

By far the best of Callcott's early portraits is that of his friend, William Mulready, unfortunately untraced (No. 6; Pl. 3). The basic scheme is again simple, a head and shoulders turned slightly to left, wearing a dark high-collared coat and white stock, but here Callcott has seized a single moment of friendly discussion; a flash of surprise has passed over Mulready's ingenuous features, and his lips are open, speaking. The personal element in this portrait must come mainly from Callcott's acquaintance with the sitter; it may be presumed to date from c. 1808-9, when their friendship was at its closest, and Mulready is shown as a young man. There is, perhaps, an echo of the work of John Opie; although Callcott complained to Owen and others of Opie's 'grossness and vulgarity', he was nevertheless a friend of his by 1805, and did admit that in 'likeness and character he doubtless succeeds'.¹ These qualities are certainly to be found in Callcott's early portraits, and in sufficient measure to make one regret that he did not paint, and indeed preserve, more of them.

Landscape Paintings and Drawings

Portraiture was not an aspect of his art which Callcott chose to pursue; another which seems largely confined to his early years was watercolour drawing. Apart from the Morning painted for Lord Lansdowne and shown at the Academy in 1803 (probably No. 8; Pl. 4), Callcott's first major commission was

¹ Callcott, Journal, 1805, Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIa, f. 336.

that given by Edward Lascelles for two Welsh drawings and one other,² but it is clear that Callcott was not a natural draughtsman. As late as 1833 he was writing to Charles Barry about his 'inexperience in the use of water color',³ and the uneasy handling and varied prototypes of his known watercolour drawings of an earlier period suggests that he was making them more from duty than for pleasure, or had been stimulated less by the drawings of his friends and mentors than by the fashion which had produced them. It is reasonable to conclude that once watercolour had ceased to be the vogue he described to Farington,⁴ he gladly abandoned it as a regular practise.

All the influences playing upon the young Callcott - Turner, Girtin, the Varleys, Hoppner, and through Hoppner, Gainsborough - would have developed a predilection for watercolour drawing, but it was probably their very multiplicity that has obscured the proof of his response. Callcott never achieved a distinctive style as a draughtsman or watercolourist, and many of his drawings must have been ascribed to other hands, or banished to an anonymity from which, unless a connection with his paintings can be proved, it is now too late to rescue them. Few finished drawings are known from any stage of his career, but the loss of the early ones is particularly regrettable as it would have been in the first years of the nineteenth century that the artist attached most importance to them.

One striking omission stands out from Callcott's training

2 Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 1.

3 Callcott to Barry, 15 October, 1833. Royal Academy, Callcott Papers, CA/I. Letter transcribed in Appendix IV.

4 Farington, Diary, 20 June, 1805.

as a landscapist; even though one might expect Hoppner to have formed the link, there is no evidence of any real contact with Dr. Monro. Possibly Callcott was a few years too young to belong completely to the generation of Girtin and Turner, and to share their upbringing in the topographical tradition both fostered and transformed in the sessions of mutual copying held in the doctor's Adelphi house. At all events this lack of the topographical background had far-reaching consequences in Callcott's art. His evident unease when confronted with the grander scenery of Wales in 1804, his tendency to think in terms of imaginary, picturesque compositions rather than expressive renderings of actual places, his increasing reliance on genre rather than on natural features, all of which places him on a different plane from Turner, may be ascribed in part at least to this apparent gap in his education. The very small early pencil sketches which do survive in an album from the Metzdorf Collection in the University of Rochester Library already show Callcott's mentality as a landscapist. Hardly ever do they show a landscape striking for itself; more often they record open heathy scenes which could form the stage for some incident of genre, or single man-made objects such as broken fences, gates or posts, or the farm-yard and household utensils already familiar from the fancy subjects of Greuze, Morland and Wheatley.

No firm evidence survives today of Callcott's work in the more ideal and lyrical vein prescribed by Girtin's Sketching Club. His one Club drawing recorded by tradition was An Ancient Castle, which formed part of the set of seven versions of the subject formerly in the collection of Dr. Percy, but although the contributions of Girtin, Cotman, Ker Porter and P.S. Murray are

now reunited in the possession of Mr. D.L.T. Oppé, Callcott's has apparently gone to ground. There is, also in Mr. Oppé's collection, a pen and wash drawing of two rustics resting beside a stream in a pastoral setting (No. 127), which may well date from the period of Callcott's membership of the Club, but lacks any clear subject to identify it with a Club meeting. In fact the Club's commitment to historic landscape seems to have impressed Callcott more in retrospect than it did at the time, and the immediate benefits of his membership were probably more social than stylistic.

Through the Club Callcott met F.L.T. Francia, with whom he was to maintain fruitful contact during the coming years; Francia was probably instrumental in inclining Callcott towards marine subjects, and in 1810 selected examples of his landscape drawings for inclusion in his series of soft-ground etchings published as Studies of Landscape. Callcott's contributions, apparently light, feathery drawings in black and white chalks on blue paper, are strongly reminiscent of Gainsborough, and it is clear that Hoppner's drawings by that artist, and his own pastiches of them, were exerting a lasting influence on his work, one which outweighed that of the historic landscape of the Club, and also that of the naturalistic practises of Mulready and Linnell. It is as a pastoral and genre artist emerging from the picturesque tradition, alive to the fascination of sublime and historic landscape but also aware that neither was his most congenial metier, that we find Callcott developing during the years between his membership of the Club and the publication of Francia's Studies.

Girtin was the artist whose impact was most immediately felt in Callcott's drawings, although only in a diluted form.

In 1803 Callcott exhibited at the Academy a pair of drawings, Morning and Evening, both of which were bought by the engraver, Wilson Lowry. The Evening is almost certainly the large, melancholy sheet in the V. & A.M. (No. 128), which looks back to Girtin but fails to capture the subtle gradations and luminosity of his broken washes, being instead rather dry and grainy in handling. The open spaces in the composition, relieved only by the cart (a typical device, anticipating a favourite theme of going to and returning from market) and the woman by the roadside in the foreground, seem empty and without purpose. Whereas the stillness in Girtin's drawings - and indeed in Francia's - has a tangible quality of its own, that in Callcott's Evening is dead and oppressive.

In spite of his evident unease with watercolour, Callcott's Welsh tour of 1804 must have been undertaken in search of subjects for drawings as well as paintings, and he may already have been given the commission by Edward Lascelles which was to produce two Welsh drawings in the Academy the following year. Of the three Lascelles drawings shown in 1805, two have not been found, but one, A Scene between Bala and Dolgelly, looking towards Cader Idris, Merionethshire, is in the V. & A.M. (No. 129). This bleak landscape, with its stone-scattered track and mountain looming behind, suggests that Callcott was not only aware of Girtin's large Welsh drawings like the Near Beddgelert also made for Lascelles, which Callcott would have seen at the Academy in 1799, but also of Turner's early Swiss drawings. It is possible that he now knew Turner sufficiently well to have seen some of the unexhibited drawings based on his first visit to Switzerland. Callcott's view, however, has little real atmosphere, and the same

weakness is more pronounced in another rather less finished large drawing in the V. & A.M., the View in Yorkshire (No. 131), most probably developed from sketches made on his visit to Tabley and Browsholme in 1806.

The only other Welsh drawing so far traced is the attractive View of Conway in the Whitworth Art Gallery (No. 130; Pl. 81), which is again a highly derivative work, although this time from Rowlandson and especially from Farington. Indeed, were the ascription to Callcott not a traditional one, one would be inclined to regard this as by Farington himself, made in 1800 while staying at Benarth with Sir George Beaumont.

Two further drawings must be mentioned here before turning to Callcott's earlier paintings in oil, a watercolour of Eton seen from across the Thames with a group of men moving gravel in barrows in the foreground, and another watercolour of Stafford, seen over fields in which harvesters are at work. The former was with Leggatt in 1960 (No. 142), and the latter (No. 143) is known from a lithograph by T.C. Dibdin (Pl. 82). Both drawings are perhaps unusual in the prominence given to the working figures in the foregrounds; although, as must soon be noticed again, Callcott's landscapes are usually escapist and idealised, these two views come closer to the more practical, functioning pastoral of certain plates in the Liber Studiorum.

Apart from a poor youthful production, a Classical Landscape in the collection of the Strode executors (No. 1), Callcott's earliest mature oil is the View of Oxford, dated 1799 on its frame, at Worcester College (No. 2). Oxford was a convenient subject for Callcott as the coach route to the city lay almost outside his door at the Gravel Pits. The view is from Hinksey

Hill, framed on both sides by banks of trees, which are handled with sensitive, upward-sweeping brush strokes. The tones are well balanced, if rather too brown; though an attractive painting, there is little insight into the atmosphere of the Thames valley.

Callcott produced few oils from his Welsh tour. The earliest, if its ascription is correct, must be the mountain scene in the collection of Mr. David Spink (No. 13; Pl. 5). The handling is akin to that of contemporary oil sketches of more naturalistic function, whereas the several other early oil sketches by Callcott are decorative, studio productions, which have little to do with plein air study; an example like the Cottage in a Lane from the Mellon Collection at Yale (No. 25; Pl. 16) remains, in spite of the homespun figure of the woman with her washing line, a picturesque invention, but with its creamy paint and strong chiaroscuro is most attractive. Callcott's interest in subjects of this kind probably owed much to Mulready's drawings of picturesque cottages made around 1805, and he had perhaps already read J.T. Smith's Remarks on Rural Scenery, of which he owned a copy.

The expeditions made by Linnell and others to Twickenham to sketch in oil and watercolour, and Turner's early oil studies of Thames subjects, were probably jointly responsible for the more direct oil sketching from nature which Callcott seems to have undertaken as a young man. A striking example of this bolder approach to nature is the Richmond Bridge in the Mellon Collection at Yale (No. 26; Pl. 17), which, though entirely conventional in its viewpoint, is freshly handled and effectively catches the atmosphere of high summer. Another oil sketch, more finished but probably roughly contemporary and also of a Thames subject, is that in the Tate Gallery known as Fishing on the Mere (No. 27;

Pl. 18). Here the influence of the early Turner predominates in the softly scumbled paint and rounded tree forms, and it is interesting to compare Callcott's painting with a Turner such as the Tate's Cliveden on Thames, which also formed part of the Vaughan Bequest. The Cliveden was possibly among the 'views on the Thames, crude blotches'⁵ which so disgusted Benjamin West in Turner's Gallery in 1807; Callcott would have registered a different opinion, and Turner's Thames sketches must be counted as the chief inspiration for his own fresher oil studies, as well as clues to their date. Although the Redgraves assert that Callcott 'never painted directly from nature', they do add that he used 'drawings and studies',⁶ and the latter category certainly embraced oil sketches. Several such 'studies from nature' are listed in Callcott's Catalogue, and surviving examples include the landscapes at York (No. 50; Pl. 38) and in the V. & A.M. (No. 28), and the Pool of London in Lord Crawford's collection (No. 49; Pl. 37). It is likely that Callcott sketched in oil more often than surviving evidence suggests. Of the oils which appeared in the Callcott executors' sale in 1845, The Art Union noted that 'the majority were "sketches" - early sketches exhibiting amazing power, and which afforded a contrast disadvantageous to the later style of the accomplished painter'.⁷ Callcott even occasionally exhibited paintings which were little more than oil sketches; the first of his exhibited Welsh oils, the Old Houses at Shrewsbury shown in 1807 and now at Osborne having been bought

5 Ibid., 5 May, 1807.

6 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 345.

7 Art Union, 1 June, 1845.

at the Callcott sale by Prince Albert (No. 19; Pl. 11), and the small Gravel Pit shown in 1803 and recently sold in London (No. 10), fall into this category, although their flickering handling and interest in rough texture and irregular shape links them more closely to the picturesque than to pure naturalism.

It was in 1803 that Callcott first revealed the beginnings of his mature landscape style, a lush, indulgent, escapist pastoral which, expressed in finished canvases, had little to do with direct observation and claimed no topographical setting. The manner is apparent to a lesser degree in the Heath with Peasants returning from Market; Storm coming on in the Distance, exhibited that year and now in a private collection in New York (No. 9), which perhaps owes something to Gainsborough in its subject and to Ruysdael in its diagonally structured composition. But it is in another large exhibit of 1803, the Morning painted for Lord Lansdowne and identifiable with the upright engraved as a Composition by Letitia Byrne in 1809 and recently on the market (No. 8; Pl. 4), that Callcott's landscape style is most fully expressed. In an uneven but still gentle landscape, peasants are seen setting out for market on a balmy summer morning, just as the sun is beginning to gain power and to slant brightly through the arches of a ruined abbey. The composition is more complex than that of the Heath; on either side of a group of trees, set slightly off centre against the morning sky, the eye is led into the picture space, following on the right the course of a winding stream beneath a wooden bridge and into a distant vista, and on the left the upward slope of a road leading from the bridge to the ruin. The trees grouped near the centre are lightly textured, feathery growths, painted

thinly but with vibrant touches of impasto, and Callcott has effectively conveyed the sense of light passing through them and setting them aglow.

This rich pastoral subject prepared the way for the painting which was to make Callcott's name in the Academy in 1805, the Water Mill in a private collection (No. 14); this canvas, compared by some of Callcott's contemporaries to Ruysdael,⁸ is now severely damaged, and can only be reproduced in Charles Turner's mezzotint (Pl. 6). Here Callcott used again the monumental upright format of the Morning, and employed many of the same features, but treated them more decoratively; there is a certain tendency to rely on trivia - ducks, doves, ramshackle timbering - and the purely natural elements have diminished in importance. Nevertheless the canvas is highly worked, the texture of the different surfaces carefully defined, and the cloudy sky riding high above the mill must have been most effective. The tree types, and the device of setting a dead trunk against a living growth, do indeed recall Ruysdael, and the structure of the scene, in which the mill is set low, falling into rhythm with the contours of the ground, seems to echo the dune landscapes of Jan van Goyen or Peter de Molyn.

The Water Mill offered an individual approach to landscape and would not have appealed as a Turnerian pastiche. When Henry Thomson, after seeing the painting in Callcott's house, told Farington that 'Callcott will press hard upon Turner',⁹ he meant

8 Farington, Diary, 4 July, 1809.

9 Ibid., 20 March, 1805.

in rivalry rather than in duplication, for until the exhibition of the two coastal subjects in 1806 (probably Nos. 15-16; Pls. 7-8), Callcott had no reputation as a follower of Turner. The Water Mill, indeed, seems totally different in spirit from Turner's work of the same period. While Turner was moving away from the picturesque, which had conditioned a significant part of his earlier work, either towards the sublime or to a naturalistic version of the pastoral mode, Callcott was using picturesque features to develop an altogether more artificial rustic sensibility, strongly tinged with sentiment and later with genre, and compounded from a blend of the Dutch tradition and the fancy pictures of Gainsborough, Wheatley and Thomson himself. At the same time, Callcott heightened the feeling of his rustic subjects by his use of colour, which, as we shall see very shortly, was either cool and limited, finely modulated throughout the canvas, or heavily and richly contrasted. In both cases his purpose must have been to add new force and sentiment to the picturesque, and perhaps the best insight into his intentions in his early landscapes may be gained from that point in his notes where he remarks that 'Our taste has a kind of sensuality about it as well as a love of the sublime. Both of these qualities of the mind are to have their proper consequence as far as they do not counteract each other, for that is the great error which much care must be taken to avoid.'¹⁰ It is interesting to recall at this point that 'sensual feeling' was exactly what Lawrence complained of in the taste of Richard Payne Knight,¹¹ and that his comment was made in

10 Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. Ie, f. 58.

11 Farington, Diary, 24 August, 1805.

1805, the very year that Knight purchased a lost Morning by Callcott for Downton. But Callcott's work rarely fell into extremes; the 'sensual' or sentimental elements in it were increasingly offset by underlying classical values, and these were expressed most of all through Callcott's methods of colouring.

There can be little doubt that Turner would have looked carefully at paintings like the Water Mill or the Morning, and that their decorative rustic style, allied to a balanced programme of colour, helped to prompt him towards a re-examination of picturesque values. In the light of paintings such as these, Turner's marginalia to Shee's Elements of Art of 1809, with their recognition that the established picturesque features - broken ground, roughness of handling, irregular composition - could if treated on their own amount to no more than 'common pastoral', gain a particular significance.¹² If we wish to find those of Turner's early works which seem to approximate most closely to the vocabulary of Callcott's work before about 1807, we are inevitably brought back to the 'Pastoral' plates of the Liber Studiorum. The 1808 Pembury Mill, for instance, abstracts many of the elements of the Water Mill - the cart, doves, ducks, lap-boarding, tiled roofs - and presents them in close up, on an enlarged scale, as if Turner were defining the grammar of a language already developed by Callcott (Pl. 96). But in order to prove the potential

12 Dr. Gage now believes these annotations to date from after 1818 (see Burlington Magazine, CX, 1968, pp. 677 f., and for the re-dating, 'Turner and Stourhead: the Making of a Classicist?', Art Quarterly, XXXVII, 1974, p. 85, n. 15).

independence of the pastoral genre, Turner is quoting out of the full context. He would have recognised that in Callcott's work the picturesque details were overlaid by sentiment or narrative elements, or dignified by an elegaic, idealising use of colour. It is indeed in their colour that Callcott and Turner have most in common during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Turner's most faithful and complete quotations from the early Callcott are to be found, as Thornbury recognised, in a painting like the Abingdon: Morning (possibly exhibited 1810; Tate Gallery); of this Thornbury wrote simply that 'the style is after Callcott',¹³ confident that his readers would take the point. Today, without recourse to all the relevant paintings, this might raise an eyebrow, but I believe that Callcott arrived at an appreciation of what was then termed 'aerial perspective', of the effect of atmosphere on form and distance, and developed an associated colouristic programme which involved working upwards from the lightest tones rather than downwards from the darkest, independently of Turner's influence. As the Redgraves put it, 'Callcott early became aware that with the limited scale of light and shade, of colour and negation, at the command of the painter, as compared with that of nature, a compromise must absolutely be made, and he adopted the principle of reducing the positive tints of his pictures to negative ones, diffusing light pretty generally throughout the whole, and making the figures the telling points of the composition'.¹⁴ This is no doubt what Sir Richard Colt Hoare had in mind when he spoke of Callcott's 'own original style of colour-

¹³ Thornbury, op. cit., p. 430.

¹⁴ S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., pp. 344-5.

ing'.¹⁵ The method may already be seen in the 1805 Water Mill, and appears in a more developed form in the Calm (No. 16; Pl. 8), which was probably one of the two coastal subjects shown the following year, both of which, with the Water Mill, were for several years in Sir John Leicester's collection; between 1809 and 1827 Sir John also owned what must have been another striking example of Callcott's light-toned manner, the River Scene exhibited in 1808 (No. 20; Pl. 12), which according to the catalogue of the De Tabley Sale, showed the 'effect of vapour of a sultry sun'; and, if my identification of the Cow Boys acquired by him in 1807 is correct, he also possessed for some years the most highly developed example of this aspect of Callcott's work, the large landscape at Coventry (No. 18; Pl. 10). Turner would have been familiar with all these paintings, and certain of his own pastoral subjects should, I think, be seen as attempts to extend the range of a genre already suggested by Callcott. Paintings like the Abingdon or the Petworth Tabley; Calm Morning use the finely modulated colour and light seen in Callcott's paler landscapes, while the 'Pastoral' plates of the Liber explore the potentialities of Callcott's rustic genre. In the latter respect, however, Turner's approach is fundamentally different from Callcott's. Turner's disparagement of 'common pastoral' probably had as much to do with the subjects of such paintings as with their picturesque formal characteristics, and whereas Callcott's pastoral

15 Colt Hoare, 'On the conduct of the Directors of the British Institution in regard to their patronage of British Artists', Annals of the Fine Arts, II, 1818, pp. 1 ff.

landscapes remain ideal presentations of the country for the reassurance of the town, Turner's Liber plates aspire, as Dr. Gage has remarked, to being 'pastoral landscapes that work'.¹⁶ Thus, although the Pembury Mill (Pl. 96) includes many features present in the Water Mill, it adds functional elements markedly absent in the Callcott.

In 1806 Callcott showed, in addition to the two coastal subjects, two landscapes, The Brook and A Rural Scene, Mid-day, neither of which can be found today. More is known or can be deduced about his exhibits of the following year. The Osborne Old Houses at Shrewsbury (No. 19; Pl. 11) has already been referred to, and the two most important landscape exhibits, the Market Day and Cow Boys, bought by Sir John Leicester, are probably both available today, the former being still at Tabley (No. 17; Pl. 9) and the latter plausibly identifiable with the upright canvas now at Coventry (No. 18; Pl. 10). Farington's note that Sir John had bought a 'Landscape, Evening, of which Thomson speaks highly', but of which 'half the sky might be taken away and the picture would be better for it',¹⁷ would imply a composition with a very large area of sky such as appears in the Coventry painting; moreover the effect of sunset would fit Thomson's description of 'evening', and the subject would be appropriate to Callcott's title. Thomson thought Cow Boys 'of a better colour' than Turner's Sun rising through Vapour,¹⁸ and the Coventry painting

16 John Gage, review, 'The Rise of Landscape', Art Quarterly, XXXVII, 1974, p. 89.

17 Farington, Diary, 31 March, 1807, also 7 April.

18 Ibid., 7 April, 1807. Twice that day Farington refers to Callcott's 'upright', further evidence in favour of identifying the Coventry painting with the Cow Boys bought by Leicester.

is indeed the most advanced example of Callcott's diffused lighting and modulated tones; it also introduces a new refinement of the pastoral mode, stripped of almost all picturesque details and contrasts, and acquires an almost Claudian feeling. However, in its low viewpoint, contre-jour placing of the figures and mellow lighting, the canvas approaches closest to Cuyp; aspects of the composition, notably the upward sweep of a hill on the right and the position - although not the pose - of the figures, might suggest that Callcott had in mind the celebrated Herdsmen with Cows, now at Dulwich, which he could have seen in the Bryan Sale in 1798. The Market Day, still at Tabley (No. 17; Pl. 9) presents a strong contrast in subject matter, handling and colour. The painting shows a wide, uneven heath scene, with a shadowy pond beside a rough bank on the right, and, at the centre, a track curving into the distance, framed by an avenue of large trees. Figures on horseback and on foot are dispersed along the track, and in the left foreground appears the chief genre feature of the composition, a group of woodcutters, similar in character to rustic figures painted by Callcott's friend Henry Thomson, resting beside a felled tree. The tree types are strongly reminiscent of Ruysdael and Hobbema, and the composition, constructed from different viewpoints, so that the eye is led in several directions, each of them provided with their own interest and detail, is clearly modelled on the latter master. The painting is remarkable for its mobile, rather mannered brushwork, and it attracted hardly less attention than the Water Mill, not all of it favourable. All who saw it were impressed by the labour and artifice which had gone into it, but equally they recognised that it was purely a composition, which had strayed far from nature. The point was

also made that Callcott had reverted to harder contrasts of colour, and although on close examination there is great variety in all the colours used, the overall impression from a distance is of a dark canvas, somewhat too heavily shadowed. Benjamin West told Farington that 'Callcott seemed to be in danger of falling into manner, & wanted middle tint in his pictures which deficiency caused his large picture to appear by any other than broad day light a mass of dark upon a mass of light, wanting the sweetness and agreeableness of medium tints'; the trees in the Market Day West considered 'like fried parsley'.¹⁹ Even Henry Thomson, who greatly admired the painting, was aware of a certain unhappiness of colour; he told Farington it was 'an extraordinary production, many parts as well painted as anything he had ever seen, - a little tendency to blackness only to be avoided'.²⁰ The high finish of the work, particularly in the trees which are built up of countless small, cursive strokes of the brush, seemed to Constable to add to the sense of artificiality which others noted in its colouring; in March he told Farington that 'He had seen Callcott's large picture "Return from the Market". He said it was a fine picture, but treated in a pedantick manner, every part seeming to wish to shew itself; that it had not the air of nature; that the trees appeared crumbly - as if they might be rubbed in the hand like bread, not loose and waving, but as if the parts if bent would break, the whole not lived like Wilson's pictures, in which the objects appear floating in sunshine.'²¹

19 Ibid., and 5 May, 1807.

20 Ibid., 23 January, 1807.

21 Ibid., 13 March, 1807.

A little later Constable summed up his opinion; 'too much a work of art & labour, not an effusion. His smaller pictures he thought better in that respect.'²² James Northcote also complained of the painting's artificiality, and declared that 'Callcott's Pictures are landscapes made up in a room'.²³

None of Callcott's landscapes shown in 1809 survive, and it may be appropriate to note at this point two paintings which show something of the same return to more traditional picturesque attributes and sombre colouring, the Wooded Landscape with a Cart recently on the London art market (No. 24; Pl. 15) and the Travelling Tinkers at Osborne, the latter a painting exhibited at the Academy in 1811 (No. 39; Pl. 28). The first of these, a further variant of Callcott's market theme, painted on panel, is marked by a flickering handling which enhances its rustic subject, and, like the Market Day, draws heavily on the Dutch tradition; the single massive tree, set darkly against a slant of light coming from the right and falling on the woodcutters resting beneath the branches, is probably based on Ruisdael. The Travelling Tinkers also uses a traditional picturesque vocabulary, and its very subject, gypsies resting by their fire in a rugged hollow of ground, surrounded by slanted trees and broken fence posts, is axiomatic of the picturesque. The chiaroscuro double lighting is again matched by rapid, nervous brushwork, which creates its own highlights and reflections. In this painting Callcott was probably thinking back to the Sketch of a Bank with Gypsies which Turner had shown in his own Gallery

22 Ibid., 1 April, 1806.

23 Ibid., 25 April, 1807.

in 1809.

In 1808 Callcott exhibited the first version of A Mill near Llangollen, from a sketch by Sir R. Colt Hoare, Bart. It was subsequently destroyed, and Callcott painted a repetition, sold from Stourhead in 1883 and now untraced. A companion piece, a Mill near Corwen (No. 31; Pl. 20) does however survive in the house; this was probably also based on one of Sir Richard's Welsh drawings, and shows a broadening of the themes introduced in the 1805 Water Mill. Callcott has again given considerable emphasis to the picturesque elements of the scene - rugged boulders, rough wooden sheds - and introduced similar staffage figures who impart to the scene a feeling of almost classical repose, a mood which is heightened by the even diffusion of light and absence of all contrasts of tone; throughout the canvas the same softly glowing golds and greys prevail. The paint is smooth and thin, gaining little body even in the more solid masses of trees and shrubs surrounding the mill building. The painting is altogether a striking example of what its owner called Callcott's 'own original style of colouring'; when Sir Richard added that Callcott 'had at one time strayed',²⁴ from this, he was probably thinking of heavier and more contrasted canvases such as the Tabley Market Day and the Osborne Travelling Tinkers.

The Mill near Corwen, in contrast to those paintings, seems to attempt a kind of classicized picturesque, and the same characteristics prevail in Callcott's diploma piece, the Morning shown at the Academy in 1811 (No. 34; Pl. 23). Ostade and Teniers

24 Letter to Annals of the Fine Arts, cit. above.

come to mind as the possible sources for this genre landscape of figures gathered outside an inn, and the former artist was one for whom Callcott shared an enthusiasm with Wilkie; Callcott was also at this time very interested in Wilkie's own genre style, and had recently been assisting him with his Ale-House Door. Of the other landscape subjects shown in 1811, only two are certainly known today, the Scene near Capel Cerrig, North Wales at Osborne (No. 37; Pl. 26), a straightforward mountain view which was Callcott's final exhibited Welsh canvas, and the Southampton from Weston Grove, the Seat of William Chamberlayne, Esq., in a private collection (No. 36; Pl. 25). Like the Tabley Market Day and the Itchen Ferry also painted for William Chamberlayne and now in the same private collection (No. 35; Pl. 24), this is unusually forceful in colour, and employs a particularly strong, taut composition, full of detail and interest. The town appears on the horizon, viewed from rising ground to one side of Southampton Water; in the left foreground harvesters are resting from their task; above the misty horizon stretches a grey, cloudy sky, handled with considerable expression. The choice of view suggests that Callcott had in mind Turner's London from Greenwich in the Tate Gallery, which had been shown in 1809, but the painting was based on study on the spot while Callcott was staying with Chamberlayne at Weston in 1810; he was there in the autumn and this is certainly an autumnal landscape. During the same visit he must also have begun his very Claudian Southampton Castle for Lord Lansdowne, now in the Ashmolean (No. 40; Pl. 29), which clearly attempts a pastiche in upright format of Claude's Enchanted Castle, of which Callcott seems to have produced a more direct copy when it belonged to William Wells at Redleaf.

One other landscape shown in 1811 may possibly be identifiable - the Morning listed in Callcott's Catalogue as being perhaps in John Sheepshanks's collection. The landscape with cattle watering from Sheepshanks's bequest in the V. & A.M. (No. 38; Pl. 27), has sometimes been identified with the Sunny Morning shown in 1831, but its creamy impasto belongs to this earlier period, and approximates very closely, especially in the warmly lit, softly modelled trees on the right bank of the river, to the handling of Turner's pastoral subjects of about the same date. Indeed the composition is manifestly based, in reverse, on Turner's Union of the Thames and the Isis in the Tate Gallery, which had been hung in Turner's Gallery in 1808; the wooden bridge, cattle and ducks are all present in Callcott's canvas, similarly arranged parallel to the picture plane.

Of the pure landscapes shown by Callcott at the Academy in 1812 nothing is known today; the second version of the destroyed Mill near Llangollen, a Study from Nature and a Hampton Court Bridge all seem to have disappeared. Two genre landscapes, a pair of uprights painted for Mrs. Heathcote, The Cottager's Relief and Returning from Market, are however known from lithographs by T.C. Dibdin (Nos. 43-4; Pls. 32-3). These show that Callcott was yet again placing himself broadly within the picturesque tradition, and running through the stock motifs of rough, stony ground, broken fences, and ramshackle cottages. Yet the subjects, in the first case highly sentimental and in the second bordering on the absurd, reveal a new and interpretative approach to the picturesque. In The Cottager's Relief, one finds not only the conventional pastoral feature of a man driving cattle, but, at the centre, a cottage woman, attended by her children and

her dog, offering food to a crippled traveller resting at the roadside with his own dog asleep beside him. If the general arrangement of the composition owes something to Gainsborough's Cottage Door at San Marino, which Callcott would have known in the collection of Sir John Leicester, the subject of rustic philanthropy may also look back to the example of a fancy subject by him such as the Charity relieving Distress of 1784 in the Cassel collection. Somewhat more recent sources, closer in feeling to Callcott, could have been two subjects by Francis Wheatley, the Benevolent Cottager and Rustic Benevolence familiar from the engravings by W. Nutter and G. Keating of 1788 and 1797. Wheatley's rustic figure types are close to Callcott's, and Callcott may well have had these paintings in mind when painting the Benevolent Cottagers; although he was by this time friendly with Wilkie, the painting would seem to have remained, like Wheatley's rural figure compositions, firmly within the 18th century cult of sensibility. The companion Returning from Market, however, enters fully into the more robust spirit of 19th century anecdotal painting; the genre elements are broken into several separate tableaux, and take place in a setting whose natural features are reduced to comparative insignificance. Outside her ramshackle cottage, the returning peasant is handed from her horse; before her a youth is on the point of spilling his basket of eggs as he attempts to quell a dog fight - a vain hope as a third dog is springing to join the fray; across the road another woman is adjusting the chain of a well which has apparently jammed; beside her a man is whipping on an obstinate donkey while another attempts to drag it by its bridle. These unrelated incidents of rustic incompetence are so overworked, at least in the Dibdin lithograph, that one might

suppose that Callcott and his patroness had intended to match a sentimental subject with a humorous one, and that Callcott, like Turner, had realised that in its remoteness from the sublime, the picturesque could be merely ridiculous.

Apart from the oil sketches already mentioned, very few of Callcott's unexhibited landscapes painted before 1815 can be found today, and the position is not helped by the fact that his Catalogue only begins to list them in 1810. Only one landscape, River Scene; Evening (No. 47), can be firmly identified with a work listed therein, and Callcott's notes do not make it clear in which year the picture was painted. When it appeared in the sale of Brocklebank's collection in 1922 under the title 'A Relic of Ancient Times', it was said to date from 1823, but it is certainly placed in Callcott's lists before 1816.²⁵ The subject is of a ruin, probably of an abbey, set on the bank of a river; the mood is calm and restful, and to judge from the old photograph picturesque detail has been played down and the whole composition bathed in a mellow, soft light. Indeed the sentimental Brocklebank title, though not the one given by Callcott, may testify to the success of Callcott's elegaic pastoral manner. One other landscape from Callcott's early years is known, the Rural Scene in the collection of Mr. R.J. Posnett (No. 45; Pl. 34). This cannot, on present evidence, be associated with any work listed in the Catalogue. Here also the picturesque details of fence posts set at angles, old barns, large-leafed plants in the foreground, are put to work in the composition, but are not, as sometimes happens elsewhere, allowed to make it appear artificial, and the

25 Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 2.

blend of landscape and mild genre is achieved with rare lack of artifice. The handling is strong yet sensitive, and the sky is particularly luminous and alive. Nothing is known of the painting's early provenance, but it certainly shows Callcott's landscape manner at its very best. It would be pleasant to be able to identify it with a work of c. 1806-7, possibly with the Rural Scene: Mid-day shown that year, for it bridges so effectively the gap between the Market Day and the Cow Boys, the first certainly and the latter probably shown in 1807 and bought by Sir John Leicester, and the two paintings which best exemplify the contrasted styles of Callcott's early landscape phase.

Classical and Historic Landscapes

When in 1817 John Glover showed at the British Institution the Landscape Composition which he had painted three years earlier in the Louvre between a Claude and a Poussin, at least one reviewer placed Callcott alongside Turner as the finer painter of historic landscape,²⁶ and this high estimate of his work must be based on the several compositions he produced between c. 1809 and 1814.

Callcott's interest in such subjects probably began when he was very young, and may indeed be traced back to an obviously youthful Landscape Composition of a boat crossing a river towards a temple in the possession of the Strode executors (No. 1). This is certainly Callcott's earliest known canvas, and shows a very uneasy assimilation of its Claudian and Wilsonian ancestry. As

26 Royal Academy, Anderson Catalogues, XV, 1812, opposite p. 16.

we have seen, Callcott's membership of Girtin's Sketching Club failed to stir him to essay any more finished compositions of this kind, and he seems to have abandoned the classical mode until 1810, when he painted, in collaboration with his friend William Owen, the large Diana and Actaeon at Stourhead (No. 32; Pl. 21).

Callcott's return to a classical theme at this time was probably partly due to a wish not to be outdone by Turner in the range and variety of his work; moreover he was now in the running for election as Academician, and may have felt it appropriate to prove his competence in a more elevated and academic art. The Diana and Actaeon is certainly a magnificent exhibition machine, rich in colour and grand in composition. There is a rugged quality about Callcott's setting for Owen's figures, which places it closer to Gaspard Dughet than to Claude; indeed there seems to be a direct compositional connection with Dughet's upright Storm; Moses and the Angel, now in the National Gallery and formerly in the Beckford and Hart Davis collections (Pl. 97). Although Callcott did not originally envisage Stourhead as the home for the painting, and did not actually visit the house until 1812, he may have known of Dughet's sombre Landscape with Eurydice in Sir Richard Colt Hoare's collection, and perhaps thought of Dughet as a suitable prototype when reworking the canvas for him. Lord Brownlow was apparently first expected to buy the painting, but Callcott supposed that he withdrew his claim as a result of Sir George Beaumont's attacks on his work.²⁷ When Sir Richard came forward instead, Callcott shortened the canvas by a

27 Farington, Diary, 8 April, 1813.

foot and made several alterations to 'render it worthy of Stourhead'.²⁸ The colour is sombre save in the sky, which in its strong blues and whites suggests the influence of Veronese. Otherwise the sharpest notes of colour are concentrated in the draperies of Owen's rhetorically posed figures - yellow for Diana, red for Actaeon, red and blue for Diana's attendants. Although now somewhat damaged, the painting remains an impressive essay in historic landscape, and it can hardly be an accident that the following year, having neglected such subjects since showing the Goddess of Discord in 1806, Turner exhibited three landscapes in the grand manner, one of which, the upright Mercury and Herse, also draws on Veronese and was probably phrased as a direct reply to the Diana and Actaeon. The same year, Callcott himself painted a Mercury and Herse, a 'large upright', for Mr. Carey of Torre Abbey;²⁹ this cannot be found today, but the coincidence of subject leaves little doubt that it was suggested by the Turner. A further connection between the two artists as painters of historic landscape had arisen in 1811, for while Turner showed his Apollo and Python, Callcott contributed an Apollo slaying the Sons of Niobe at the Altar of Latona, a Study; this was later bought by William Horsley, who also owned Callcott's sketch for the Diana and Actaeon and a Boar Hunt, 'its companion';³⁰ none of Mr. Horsley's studies are known today.

28 Callcott to Colt Hoare, 28 March, 1811, Wiltshire County Record Office, 383/47.

29 Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 2.

30 Ibid.

A further Apollo subject, a Classical Landscape with Apollo and Daphne attended by Amorini, was lent by Col. Birchall to the Royal Academy Old Masters Exhibition in 1876. This was presumably contemporary, but seems to be unrecorded in Callcott's Catalogue and cannot be traced.

Also absent from Callcott's Catalogue, and never exhibited during his lifetime, is the very large Landscape with Diana at the Chase in the Bury Art Gallery (No. 33; Pl. 22). The colouring is heavier and more limited than that of the Diana and Actaeon, restricted largely to dark greens, browns and silvery greys, and the composition is more formal and lifeless. Nevertheless it was only within the years 1809-14 that Callcott painted such large-scale classical compositions, and the painting must date from that period. The absence of this painting, and of Col. Birchall's, from Callcott's Catalogue may be the result of deliberate suppression. The Bury painting was found by J.C. Horsley, who inherited his great-uncle's painting materials, under another canvas.³¹ It is difficult to believe that Callcott would have thus obliterated so large and highly finished a work unless it were associated with some personal slight or grievance. The painting may well be a rejected commission, dating from the period when, as he complained to Farington, his patronage was declining owing to Sir George Beaumont's strictures. It may even be an alternative to the Stourhead Diana and Actaeon which Lord Brownlow apparently intended to buy; the figures are quite unlike those generally painted by Callcott himself, and may also be by William Owen.

31 Information supplied to the Wrigley family, Timberhurst, Bury, former owners of the painting.

At all events, the evidence available about the Stourhead and Bury paintings suggests that Callcott had some difficulty gaining acceptance as a painter of historic landscape, and indeed, although he later painted a number of ideal classical landscapes, only one exercise in the higher genre survives from his later years, the Procession to the Temple of Aesculapius at Burnley (No. 111). This is hardly a successful painting, but the early examples known today have a dignity and sonority which places them close to Turner, and, taken as a group, they afford parallels with his work rivalled only by those which emerge from a survey of Callcott's marine and coastal subjects.

Marines, River and Coastal Subjects

In 1809 Thomas Hearne, who did not approve of Callcott's landscapes, admitted that Callcott had 'done some coast scenes, imitating Turner, pretty well',³² and although Callcott and Turner actually enjoyed a reciprocal understanding in several areas of their art, it was as a painter of marine and coastal subjects that Callcott first won his reputation as a follower of Turner.

Hearne's remarks applied particularly to the two coast subjects which Callcott showed at the Academy in 1806, although an exhibit of 1805, Moonrise, with Fishermen drawing their Nets, may have owed something to Turner's 1796 Fishermen at Sea in its choice of a tenebrist effect. Callcott's Moonrise is unknown today, but at Stockport there is a Coast Scene with Fishermen; Moonlight, which is probably roughly contemporary (No. 11).

The lighting of this painting is attractively worked out and the

32 Farington, Diary, 4 July, 1809.

handling is loose and fresh, but a darkly shadowed strip of undergrowth across the foreground and two Wilsonian figures with their dogs do not accord well with the principal subject. Another moonlight subject, of fishing boats in a calm, was recently sold in London (No. 12). This is much smoother in handling, and draws effectively on Dutch prototypes, but shows little individual personality. If, as is likely, these paintings are rather earlier than the two shown in 1806, neither can be said to prepare the way for them.

Of the two 1806 canvases, A Sea-Coast, with Figures bargaining for Fish was painted for Sir John Leicester, who thus acquired it in the same year as he did Turner's Shipwreck, shown in Turner's Gallery the previous year, while the other, A Calm, with Figures: Shrimping, was bought by Sir John's relative, Thomas Lister Parker of Browsholme Hall. In 1808 Parker transferred his Calm to Sir John, who thus owned, for what must have been a fairly brief period, both these crucial early paintings by Callcott; they must have left his collection by 1819, as they are not mentioned in William Carey's Descriptive Catalogue published that year. Although this can only be conjectural, I believe the two 1806 paintings to be those now hung as a pair in the same private collection as the 1805 Water Mill, and bought from the Leicester collection, also before the appearance of Carey's catalogue, by William Chamberlayne of Weston Grove. James Ward told Farington that Sir John was talking of selling several of his paintings by Turner and Callcott's Water Mill in February, 1809;³³

³³ Ibid., 21 February, 1809.

the sale may have been delayed until the autumn of the following year, when Callcott was staying with Chamberlayne and would perhaps have been able to negotiate a package deal between his two patrons, to bring the Water Mill and the coast scenes to Weston at the same time.

The more vigorous and breezy of the two paintings acquired by Chamberlayne (No. 15; Pl. 7) may be convincingly identified as the Sea-Coast commissioned by Sir John Leicester himself, as its subject agrees perfectly with the title; the figures 'bargaining for fish' appear at left foreground, beside a pier. Apart from a general reminiscence of Dutch marine painting, this is based on Turner in many important respects. The diagonal thrusts of shore-line and pier are obviously derived from such works as Turner's Fishermen upon a Lee-Shore at Southampton, shown at the Academy in 1802, and developed in the National Gallery's Calais Pier exhibited the following year. No less Turnerian is the strong but cold colouring - golden brown sands offset by dark greenish-blue waves liberally scumbled with white foam, and a heavy grey sky. The figure types are also formed on Turner's maritime characters, although they are painted with rather more detail, a point which commended the Sea-Coast to observers like Farington's acquaintance Mr. Dashwood, who while denouncing Turner's Boston Fall of the Rhine at Scaffhausen as a 'wild incoherent production', 'spoke with great admiration of Callcott's picture the Sea Shore Scene, and said it was equal to Backhuysen or De Vlaiger - The figures, He said, were made out, not left blots like Turner's'.³⁴ There are, however, other differences

34 Ibid., 11 May, 1806.

from Turner more pronounced to the modern eye. The whole character of the painting bought by Chamberlayne seems more artificial and even picturesque, and this may probably be accounted for by a secondary debt to the coastal subjects of Sir Francis Bourgeois; the Littlehampton Pier shown by Callcott at the Academy in 1812 (No. 42; Pl. 31) depends heavily on Bourgeois's work.

If the other coast scene bought by Chamberlayne (No. 16; Pl. 8) was the Calm, with Figures: Shrimping first purchased by Parker, it was probably that painting which in the Academy did most to attract criticism of Callcott as a 'white painter', for all the forms are veiled in a pallid silvery haze. Although the shrimpers in the immediate foreground are seen fairly clearly, the group of two fishing boats in the middle distance in front of a pier, and the larger ships seen on the horizon, appear only dimly. Although in retrospect this must have come to be considered a highly Turnerian work, it actually goes, like the Coventry Cow Boys, rather further towards atmospheric abstraction than most of Turner's work so far; James Northcote seems to have appreciated this in his protest that 'Callcott had founded Himself on Turner's manner and had leapt out of the frying pan into the fire'.³⁵ Northcote went on to say that Callcott's paintings 'now seemed as if executed with mortar',³⁶ probably referring not only to the pale, chilly colours but also to the dryness and hardness of the paint which is noticeable in the two canvases bought by Chamberlayne. Both 1806 paintings seem to have

35 Ibid., 6 May, 1806.

36 Ibid.

remained the subjects of controversy throughout the exhibition; Benjamin West remarked simply that the Calm was 'only the Ghost of a picture';³⁷ Beaumont increased his attacks on their whiteness, and Farington himself, having first thought them 'very well painted',³⁸ found that by mid-June they were 'not improved' in his estimation.³⁹ But if critics were divided as to their merits, all agreed they were based on Turner, and they were the first of Callcott's paintings to fall so recognisably into that category. Nevertheless the Chamberlayne paintings represent an individual response to Turner's work; the picturesque quality of the Sea-Coast is, for better or worse, Callcott's own contribution, and the hazy effect and modulated colour of the Calm has in 1806 no direct parallel in Turner.

Thomas Lister Parker's purchase of the Calm led directly to his later employment of Callcott to make the replica, still at Browsholme (No. 21), of Turner's Junction of the Thames and the Medway now in the National Gallery, Washington. As already suggested, Callcott probably did at least the preliminary work for this in 1808, during the second of two visits to Browsholme. Parker had bought the Turner the previous year, almost certainly from Turner's Gallery, and it is unlikely that he was thinking of selling it so soon; moreover it seems probable that Turner was himself at Browsholme for several days in 1808 during his longer visit to Sir John Leicester, for in the first 'Tabley' sketchbook (B.M., T.B. CIII) are various drawings made around

37 Ibid., 2 July, 1806.

38 Ibid., 27 April, 1806.

39 Ibid., 15 June, 1806.

Whalley, only five miles from Browsholme but too far from Tabley to be covered conveniently in day excursions. Under the circumstances it would have been tactless of Parker to give Callcott a direct commission for a replica to replace the Turner, and it is more likely that Callcott made several small sketch copies of the painting for his own instruction, and that these later suggested to his host the possibility of ordering a full-scale replica and of realising some money from the original.

Two smaller copies of the Turner exist which are almost certainly by Callcott. The smaller of the two, that in the Ashmolean Museum (No. 23; Pl. 14), is in the nature of an oil sketch and could have been made in front of the original. The thick greenish glaze precludes comparison with either the Washington original or the Browsholme replica on grounds of colour, but the brisk if somewhat heavy handling, with rapid flecks of white in the sea, is consistent with Callcott. Nor need there be serious conjecture about the larger copy in the Tate Gallery (No. 22; Pl. 13), which differs from the Browsholme replica only in size. The handling and colour are identical, particularly in the sky, which in neither case quite captures the dramatic variations of Turner's original. There can be little doubt that this was the initial copy which, at a slightly later date, would have given Parker the confidence to order a full-scale version. When this arrived, Parker must have felt well pleased with it, for apart from a slight weakness in the sky the finished replica is faithful to its prototype; in his Description of his house and its contents, published in 1815, Parker listed it as if it were an original composition, changing its title to 'A Gale of

Wind'.⁴⁰

In 1808 Callcott showed one coast and one river scene, the first the untraced Sea Coast, with the Remains of a Wreck, painted for the Duke of Gloucester, the second the River Scene bought by Thomas Lister Parker, sold by him to Sir John Leicester in 1809 and now known only from the outline etching in John Young's catalogue of the Leicester collection (No. 20; Pl. 12). This shows a simple, uncrowded subject of a river with a waterman in a wherry carrying passengers across, and behind the wherry a barge entering the mouth of a smaller but navigable inlet. In the catalogue of the de Tabley sale in 1827 the painting was said to be of the River Arno, and to show 'the effect of vapour of a sultry sun'.

For his painting of Itchen Ferry for William Chamberlayne, shown at the Academy in 1811 and now in a private collection (No. 35; Pl. 24), Callcott chose a sunset effect stronger than anything in his surviving work. The view is across part of Southampton Water towards the city, with Lord Landsdowne's castle at the centre of the far bank. Callcott has taken the subject at low tide, so that the boats beached on the nearer shore are tilted at various angles, throwing patterns of shadow across the foreground. There are a number of figures on the nearer beach, some waiting to cross in the ferry, others working, like the men at far right who are burning off old tar from the hull of their boat. The setting sun casts a deep coppery reflection

40 The late owner of Browsholme, Colonel Robert Parker, informed me that the replica was listed as 'A Gale of Wind, by William Calcott Esq., R.A. (sic)'.

on the water and lights up the sky with shades of pink and gold, forming a brilliant contrast with the sombre foreground. The tonality of this painting must in part be based on Turner's Sun rising through Vapour, shown at the Academy in 1807, but it is much more than a derivative work, and Callcott is by now manifestly at home with his subject matter. By contrast the 1812 Littlehampton Pier in the Tate Gallery (No. 42; Pl. 31) relies too much on stagy effects. The grey sky and rolling breakers are well painted, but the pier and the figure on horseback carrying a shrimping net seem props of the flimsiest kind, and one can only be puzzled by Dr. Waagen's claim that this was a work of 'extraordinary truth, both in detail and general effect'.⁴¹ Fortunately Callcott recovered himself by 1814, when he painted for a Mrs. Patch of Exeter the untraced Sea-Shore with a Girl Shrimping (No. 46; Pl. 35). Here Callcott turned away from the influence of Bourgeois, to whom the superficiality of the Littlehampton Pier has to be attributed, and returned to the Turnerian stable.

Turner and - if only briefly - Bourgeois were not the only early influences on Callcott's marines and riverscapes. The pinkish gold tones of the Itchen Ferry suggest the additional inspiration of Cuyp, and in 1811 Callcott painted as a lesson for a Mr. Benjamin Oakley a small picture 'composed of parts selected from a Jacob Ruysdael which I had in exchange' (No. 41);⁴² a lithograph of this by T.C. Dibdin (Pl. 30) shows

41 Waagen, Treasures of Art, I, 1854, p. 386.

42 Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit.

a river scene with a small boat, apparently an attractive assimilation of another aspect of the Dutch tradition.

Finally, one can only conjecture to what extent Callcott drew on his own observation for his early coast and river subjects. The Itchen Ferry seems unique in its impression of truth and accuracy, and no composition drawings survive related to any of the paintings discussed in this section, although there are in the collection of Mr. D.L.T. Oppé, several studies of groups of seaside figures, reminiscent in handling of sketches of such subjects by Van de Velde or De Vlieger, and, in the types, of a Liber plate such as the Marine Dabblers (Nos. 134-5). These drawings are unlikely to have been made from actual people, but two small canvases of unidentified coast scenes from this early period, the example formerly in the Orrock collection (No. 29; Pl. 19) and that in the V. & A.M. (No. 30), are sufficiently direct as to suggest that they were based on sketches made on the spot. But whatever the purpose of these attractive oil sketches, it is clear that Callcott's finished and exhibited coast and river subjects produced before 1815 were, like his landscapes, most often compositions, representing an imaginative approach to existing styles and traditions rather than a personal response to the subject based on his own experience. In accepting this we should not undervalue the importance or the effectiveness of paintings like those from William Chamberlayne's collection, or fail to appreciate how large a talent lay dammed up behind the artist's eclectic tastes, to emerge powerfully in the Itchen Ferry, and, in landscape, in Southampton from Weston Grove, after he had been as ~~it~~ were forcibly confronted with his subjects for

a number of weeks. In the following decade that talent was given fuller play, for, evidently at the wish of his patrons, Callcott was to see almost all his prescribed subjects for himself and to base his work on sketches made on the spot. Thus, for a few years at least, new life was breathed into his work, and it was his series of marine compositions which received the greatest measure of this inspiration.

CHAPTER 8

Work 1815 - c. 1827

Marines - taken generally to include coast and port scenes - must inevitably claim first attention in this chapter. To the period 1815-27 belongs the series of canvases, many of them very large, which so much enhanced Callcott's reputation during his lifetime and have to some extent preserved it to the present day, and which revolutionised Callcott's working life. They were mostly exhibited singly - from 1815 to 1824 Callcott showed only one painting a year - and must have had much the same significance for Callcott as the 'six-footers' had for Constable - criteria by which his abilities could be judged and his public image established. Callcott was certainly aiming for a new reputation for care and accuracy; of The Mouth of the Tyne exhibited in 1818 (No. 55; Pl. 40), he was at pains to tell Owen that 'He could not paint such a picture in less than 6 months, whereas Turner wd. paint such as "The View of Dort" in a month.'¹ There is no doubt that the marines occupied an amount of time on the easel and a degree of study, sometimes involving travel abroad, out of all proportion to that he expended on his landscapes. Indeed, Callcott seems to have almost abandoned pure landscape in order to concentrate on them.

Marines

Callcott's abrupt change of subject matter in 1815, following

¹ Farington, Diary, 4 May, 1818.

his two years' absence from the Academy, requires some explanation. While Sir George Beaumont's attacks on his work may have been a contributory factor, it is unlikely that Callcott would have emerged to produce work more directly comparable with Turner's had he been seriously forced off course by them. In fact he may not have intended to abandon landscape as completely as he did until the success of his Passage and Luggage Boats in the Academy of 1815 produced a flow of commissions for similar subjects. At the same time coast and harbour scenes had already proved congenial to him, and were associated with some of the most important of his patrons, Sir John Leicester, Thomas Lister Parker and William Chamberlayne; above all they enabled him to bring his work close to Turner's. Callcott must have studied Turner's marine compositions exhibited during the previous decade both at the Academy and in Turner's Gallery with considerable care, and the series of Thames Estuary subjects to which the Washington Junction of the Thames and the Medway belonged would have had a particular appeal.

Turner would not however have been the only source of Callcott's interest in marine subjects. His master, Hoppner, had painted the robust Gale of Wind in the Tate Gallery; Callcott had remained in touch with his fellow member of Girtin's Sketching Club, F.L.T. Francia, who may well have provided that contact with Bonington which enabled Callcott to recommend the Duke of Bedford to visit his studio in 1826; he may also have known P.J. de Loutherbourg, by whom he owned one painting, Dutch Boats in a Gale of Wind. Callcott was also well aware of the English tradition of marine painting, and his collection included a work by Peter Monamy, A Calm, with Man of War and Fishing Boats

at Anchor; the influence of artists of earlier generations such as Monamy, Charles Brooking and Samuel Scott may be seen in the early River Scene in the Whitworth Art Gallery (No. 144; Pl. 83), a drawing in pencil touched lightly with watercolour of a man of war firing a salute and a tender bringing sailors ashore. Callcott also drew constant inspiration from Dutch marine painting, and his own marines were often compared with those of De Vlieger, Backhuysen, Van der Velde and above all Cuyp, whose influence had probably already contributed to the warm colour of the 1811 Itchen Ferry, and was seen by many critics as the determining factor in the 1815 Passage and Luggage Boats. There seems no doubt that in subject and handling this latter painting depended heavily on the Dutch tradition, and it is probable that Callcott had deliberately set himself to prove that, with Turner, he could rival it and recast it in a manner suited to his own time; there could be no better moment for such self-assertion, for in 1814 the sale of the Baring collection of Dutch paintings to the Prince Regent had made the Dutch tradition as topical and as much admired as at any time in the history of English taste, and it was in 1815 itself that the British Institution held its controversial loan exhibition of Dutch art. Much as Callcott venerated Dutch painting, we have seen that he objected in principle to the Institution holding exhibitions of the work of former artists, agreeing with Turner and Smirke that this could be 'invidious towards the Artists of the present day'.² It would thus have been highly appropriate to produce a painting for the Academy which could show that a young artist of the English school

² Ibid., 26 December, 1812.

was capable of painting to the standard of those currently on exhibition at the Institution. It seems that Callcott's painting was accepted and judged on exactly these terms, for in spite of the strained relationship that had existed in the past, the directors of the Institution let it be known that they would have bought the painting had they not been forestalled by Sir John Swinburne.

The Passage and Luggage Boats has unfortunately not been traced and the subject seems not to be recorded in an engraving. Sir John Swinburne, of Capheaton near Newcastle, may have favoured a Northern subject, perhaps of the Tyne or the Tees, but Callcott would not have had such material at his disposal in 1814, and it seems likely that the painting was drawn most directly from London's river, although Callcott had presumably also been influenced by Cuyp's great Passage Boat, which had been acquired by the Prince Regent with the Baring collection that same year. Something of the character of Passage and Luggage Boats comes down to us from its reviews. One critic, anticipating the comments made about many of Callcott's paintings in the 1830's, wrote that 'However simple a subject may be in nature, when it is truly represented in painting, it becomes most interesting, for such is Mr. Callcott's picture of the Ferry Boat&c, in the present Exhibition - A clever silver-toned picture representing a serene day, with a passage boat just gliding from the shore, containing passengers and luggage, under a fine light and shade treated in a masterly manner'.³ The painting was frequently compared to Cuyp, but another reviewer, noting that it was 'of

3 V. & A.M. Press Cuttings, IV, p. 940.

singular merit, ... interesting, and painted with remarkable spirit and truth' in tones that were 'sober, and subdued, natural, and perfectly harmonious', declared that it 'may rival some of the works of W. Vandervelde, or of Backhuysen'.⁴

From this it would seem that Passage and Luggage Boats provided a fitting prelude to the large Entrance to the Pool of London painted for Lord Lansdowne, shown at the Academy in 1816 and still at Bowood (No. 48; Pl. 36). This must unquestionably rank among the great 'tranquil marines' of the English school, and indeed it attracted from the first comment and criticism of a strongly patriotic flavour; Thomas Uwins wrote to a friend that 'Callcott has fairly out-boated himself; his picture of the entrance to the port of London is quite as fine as anything Cuyp ever painted, or anything that has ever been done in this way, in any age or country'.⁵ In its luminous golds and silvery greys, its glowing sky with fine broken clouds touched with sunlight and its smooth water aglow with reflections, the painting does indeed derive from Cuyp, but no doubt Callcott was attempting to prove himself as an interpreter rather than simply an imitator of his work. The composition, based on the group of barges on the right facing up river and into the picture space, and the two luggage boats on the left, one of them parallel with the picture plane, is linked together by the line of small buoys strung out in a sweeping curve across the water in the foreground; although the painting is highly worked and full of detail, there

4 Ibid., p. 926.

5 Memoirs of Thomas Uwins, 1858, p. 44.

is an overall impression of simplicity and monumentality, largely because Callcott has shown a very wide expanse of sky. Moreover he has chosen a low viewpoint, as it were at water-level, so that the upward thrust of the mast and sail of the largest barge is felt as strongly as possible.

Callcott depended for the details of the painting both on studies and on ship models. In November, 1815, Mulready told Farington that Callcott had 'had beautiful models of Boats made, & proceeds in collecting the materials for His picture so as to make it as perfect as He can';⁶ Callcott seems by the end of his life to have possessed a fine collection of ship models, five of which were bought at his executors' sale by E.W. Cooke.⁷ No direct study for the painting is known today, but a spirited oil sketch of the shore of the Pool at low tide in the collection of Lord Crawford (No. 49; Pl. 37) and a delicately toned water-colour of a group of barges and figures poling a raft on the Thames in the Whitworth Art Gallery (No. 148; Pl. 84), probably represent the kind of on-the-spot or studio studies which Callcott refined for the finished work. The Crawford oil sketch is of special interest in that its blue sky shot with flecks of bright pink cloud already suggests the analogy with Cuyp which Callcott developed in the Bowood painting.

Although it is evident that a painting like The Pool of London could only be based on an elaborate programme of study and observation, the relationship between Callcott's marines and the various surviving

6 Farington, Diary, 8 November, 1815.

7 Cooke bought five models at the 1845 executors' sale; I am grateful to David Cordingly for communicating relevant passages from Cooke's MS. Diary.

drawings of such subjects is not entirely clear. The highly finished watercolour version of The Pool (No. 147) presented by Callcott to Lady Lansdowne after the completion of the painting, seems to have been made as a replica rather than as a study, and the watercolour of the Dead Calm; Boats off Cowes Castle in the Mellon Collection at Yale (No. 152) may be placed in the same category. Two stylistically related drawings, the Fishermen becalmed in the Ashmolean (No. 163; Pl. 86) and the Coast Scene, Fishing Smack lying to in the V. & A.M. (No. 156), cannot satisfactorily be classified simply as studies unless they were for reproduction in lithograph or engraving; both subjects were certainly lithographed by T.C. Dibdin. Callcott's other marine drawings and sketches vary so much in size, medium and handling that it is hardly possible to determine their proper function; at one end of the spectrum one finds the finished precision of the Ashmolean and V. & A.M. sheets, at the other the speed and freshness of the stormy Harbour Scene in the Huntington Library (No. 237; Pl. 92). Callcott's methods of building up a composition, where they can be reconstructed, do not seem to have been consistent; for Lord Howick's Rotterdam (No. 56; Pl. 41), he worked directly from the beautiful large oil sketch in Mrs. Guy Knight's collection (No. 57; Pl. 42), which was itself based on a slight ink over pencil sketch probably made on the spot (No. 154; Pl. 85); the Petworth Heavy Weather coming on (No. 68; Pl. 48) depended on the large pencil composition sketch in the V. & A.M. (No. 238). No doubt Callcott's practice varied according to the degree of topographical content in the painting concerned. In the case of the Howick Rotterdam (No. 56; Pl. 41)

and of the Woburn Antwerp Quay (No. 66; Pl. 46), both patron and artist must have aimed at the greatest possible accuracy, and visits to those ports were paid in 1818 and 1824. During these trips Callcott seems to have made a number of slight pencil sketches of boats and harbours which could provide a stock of motifs for the future, as well as more developed studies which he may already have had in mind as possible compositions for the finished paintings. He also used his continental trips - probably including that to France in 1814 - to draw quayside figures such as sailors, watermen and fishwives. Several such drawings are quite large and are in outline only, as if Callcott proposed to trace them on to his canvas for a finished painting - examples are in the collection of Mr. D.L.T. Oppé (Nos. 169-172) - but others in the same collection are much fresher and more spontaneous, such as the small pen and wash sketch of Figures on a Quayside (No. 167; Pl. 87), drawn on the back of an envelope addressed to the artist. But inevitably the Thames and the Pool of London itself would have provided Callcott with his most constantly accessible and varied source of marine motifs. Although only one Thames drawing survives other than the Whitworth watercolour already mentioned, a small pen and ink sketch in the V. & A.M. of ships just below Greenwich Hospital (No. 149), the Bowood Pool of London was probably compounded from a variety of sketches such as this, made at a number of points along the busiest stretches of the Thames. At the same time the Whitworth watercolour and the Crawford oil sketch were almost certainly made with a wider purpose in mind than simply as studies for the Lansdowne commission; they would have served as works of reference throughout the period of Callcott's preoccupation with marine subjects. It is interesting to note that in spite of the

sense of sheer delight both in the subject and the paint which is so manifest in the Crawford oil, and which places it on a par with the oil sketches of Constable, Callcott himself evidently attached no interest to it once it had served its turn; Dr. William Crotch, who made a copy of it when it appeared at the Callcott executors' sale in 1845, noted 'This sketch was found put away in a lumber room all over dirt'.⁸

Hazlitt, reviewing the 1816 exhibition and drawing a fatal comparison between The Pool of London and Turner's Temple of Jupiter Panellenius, declared that 'Mr. Turner may now take useful lessons from Mr. Callcott, instead of Mr. Callcott from Mr. Turner',⁹ and it is now axiomatic that Turner, who greatly admired Callcott's painting, referred widely to it in his Dordrecht; the Dort packet boat from Rotterdam becalmed shown two years later and now at Yale. The composition clearly owes much to The Pool, notably in the disposition of the large Dutch craft and of the smaller vessels surrounding it, but Turner may also have directed a more oblique reference to Callcott in the particular wording of his title. It had been in 1816 that Callcott had received Lord Grey's commission for a painting of Rotterdam, but he had not only failed to make a start on this in 1817, but had also sent nothing to the Academy; it was not until 1818, very probably during the Academy exhibition, that he went to Rotterdam to gather his material. Thus Turner's title may not only refer indirectly

⁸ Crotch sketchbook of copies after Callcott made in 1845. Nor. MSS, 11088, p. 45.

⁹ W. Hazlitt, review in The Champion, 12 May, 1816, quoted by Butlin and Joll, op. cit., p. 88, under No. 134.

to Cuyp, the artist in emulation of whom he was attempting to outdo Callcott, but also to the impasse over Lord Grey's commission, which would still have been unresolved when the Dort was sent to the Academy.

Callcott's single exhibit in 1818 was another large marine canvas of the same size as The Pool but very different in atmosphere; this was The Mouth of the Tyne, with a View of North and South Shields, painted for Sir Matthew White Ridley of Seaton Burn (No. 55). The painting is unknown to-day but is fortunately recorded in a lithograph by T.C. Dibdin (Pl. 40); the subject is of a large ship making for the open sea in rough weather, leaving behind her the harbours of North and South Shields with their twin lighthouses. It is clear from the lithograph that The Mouth of the Tyne was painted to the same uniformly high finish as The Pool of London had been two years before. Callcott would have had ample opportunity to collect material for the Ridley painting, for he had stayed with another Northumberland patron, Sir John Swinburne, in 1815, again in 1816 when he also visited Lord Grey at Howick, and possibly a third time in 1817. He was certainly at work while with the Swinburnes; in 1817 he painted a large View of the Tyne for Lady Swinburne which is now lost, and a watercolour of a man fishing on the Tyne near Chollerford Mill still in the collection of Mr. R. Browne-Swinburne (No. 153) is probably a survivor of several made for the family during his visits, on any of which he could easily have made a trip to Shields.

Callcott's great-nephew, J.C. Horsley, described The Mouth of the Tyne as 'very fine ... remarkable for its splendid light

and breezy sky'.¹⁰ At the Academy it was widely admired, although not without an edge of criticism which appreciated that Turner, with the Dort, was leaving Callcott behind. It is however true that the real significance of the Dort in Turner's development emerges only with the benefit of hindsight, and in 1818 some critics found it too vivid for their taste. Thus a reviewer in The Champion compared it unfavourably with The Mouth of the Tyne on the grounds that it failed to follow the colours of nature. But the words of another critic seem far more relevant today; 'Mr. CALLCOTT has a powerful genius, and infinite command of his pencil; but he has none of the airiness or transparency of Vandervelde in his sea pieces. His colouring is heavy, dead, and cold - his shadows are hovering and broken - and the waves in his pictures look solid. Mr. TURNER on the other hand, is all air, sunshine, and transparency.'¹¹

If The Mouth of the Tyne was more sombre in colour than The Pool of London, Lord Grey's Rotterdam (No. 56; Pl. 41), which was finished for the Academy in 1819 and is now in the collection of Lord Howick, also employs a richer palette, although the effect is warm rather than heavy. The painting, for which Callcott charged 500 guineas, his highest price so far, was received with great acclaim, and once again placed him for some Academy visitors ahead of Turner, who that year showed the Entrance to the Meuse - and England - Richmond Hill. Henry Crabbe Robinson

¹⁰ Horsley, op. cit., p. 121.

¹¹ 'T', review in The Champion, 24 May, 1818, quoted by Butlin and Joll, op. cit., p. 92, under No. 137; for the more critical review, V. & A.M. Press Cuttings, IV, p. 1156.

noted in his diary that although 'Turner has fewer attractions than he used to have', this was more than compensated for because 'Callcott's Rotterdam is grander than he used to be'; Crabbe Robinson did however add that Callcott 'is aiming at a richer cast of colour, but is less beautiful as he deviates from the delicate greys of Cuyp'.¹² Published reviews were also generous.

The genesis of the painting may be traced to an attractive small sketch in pen and ink over pencil, probably at least begun on the spot, in a private collection (No. 154; Pl. 85); the view, as identified by Professor Bachrach, is of the Leuvehaven with St. Lawrence church on the right. With several minor modifications, Callcott used this sketch as the basis for a freely handled study in oil now in the collection of Mrs. Guy Knight at Lockinge (No. 57; Pl. 42). This sketch is a very lovely painting in its own right,¹³ although Callcott himself would have thought of it as purely functional, and indeed took few pains to hide several pentimenti, of which the most interesting, as it anticipates the finished painting, is the introduction of the lock gates at extreme right, which appear in the Howick canvas, over the sail of a barge. In Lord Grey's painting, Callcott retained the essential structure of the composition, with the jetty and mooring posts in the left foreground, the two main groups of barges at left and right and the more distant group in the

¹² Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabbe Robinson, ed. T. Sadler, I, 1872, p. 329.

¹³ Dr. Crotch, who copied the sketch in the 1845 sale when it was acquired, with the aforementioned sketch of The Pool of London, by J. Loyd (Lord Overstone), thought it was 'better than the picture' (sketchbook, loc. cit., p. 48).

middle of the harbour, and maintained his chosen effect of clear morning light, but took his view from much further down the Leuvehaven so that the tower of St. Lawrence appears in the far distance. He also made the harbour seem far wider, so that the whole effect of the painting is less intimate and more impressive. The entire canvas is very highly finished; every detail of the figures - one of which derives from a drawing in Mr. Oppé's collection (No. 169)-the rigging of the barges, and the architecture of the buildings, is minutely described, in a way which rather tires the eye. Nevertheless, the Howick Rotterdam still strikes one as a remarkable achievement; its rich glowing colour, revealed by recent cleaning, and insistent sense of actuality impress it irresistably upon the memory.

Callcott's single exhibit in 1820 was another 'tranquil marine' of the same size as the Rotterdam, the Dead Calm on the Medway, with small Craft dropping down on the Turn of the Tide: Sheerness in the Distance, painted for Lord Durham and now in the collection of Lord Lambton (No. 59). The composition of this painting is simpler than that of Callcott's previous marines, and the work seems too large for its content. The large three-masted man-of-war seen broadside-on beyond the barges, one of them laden with hay, which occupy the foreground, looks all too much as if studied from a model and lacks the feeling of a living ship. There are many successful passages in the Dead Calm, but it is by no means as impressive a canvas as its immediate predecessors, and suggests that Callcott was finding it difficult to maintain the high finish and grandeur of composition which he had achieved in earlier exhibits. For Lord Liverpool, who had commissioned a marine in 1819, Callcott chose a very different effect for his

Dover, from the Sea; a Squally Day; Wind against the Tide (No. 60); the painting is unknown today but is recorded in an engraving by George Cooke. The subject is of a large vessel making a hard passage past the White Cliffs; Dover Castle is seen clearly in the background, and it is interesting to compare Callcott's view with Turner's, engraved in mezzotint by T. Lupton in 1827 for The Ports of England, and with Turner's watercolour, Dover from the Sea, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which was made in 1822 and could therefore have been based fairly directly on Callcott's painting.

A Dibdin lithograph (Pl. 44) is the only record of Callcott's exhibit of 1822, a painting for Sir Thomas Heathcote, Smugglers alarmed by an unexpected Change from hazy Weather, while landing their Catch (No. 61). In its pronounced narrative element this represented a new development in Callcott's marine work, although the theme itself was a popular one with such artists as De Loutherbourg and Bourgeois. For Callcott, the most important challenge of this subject must have lain in the effect of clearing mist, and in this respect the 1822 painting may be seen as a direct descendant of the 1806 Calm (No. 16), with its ambitious attempt at rendering coastal fog. Of Callcott's painting, one reviewer wrote: 'This gentleman has this season given us a great treat. In these kinds of scenes he stands pre-eminent. The bustle, in the present picture, as connected with the story, is finely kept-up throughout the various groups introduced; the countenances of these lawless fellows plainly indicate that the contest would not be trifling if arrested in their illicit traffic. Every head is a fine study from nature nor are the other parts of the picture to be less admired - the tone of colouring and

skilful management of light and shade, representing the clearing up of the atmosphere, has a beautiful effect. We see the bold and picturesque cliffs in the offing, through the partial mist, as it disperses..... Our only objection in this fine picture is, the retiring tide,..... it has not that representation of motion and transparency which we could wish to have seen. The pencilling is rather hard, and the colouring too cold and heavy.'¹⁴

Notwithstanding the success of the Smugglers, Callcott's exhibits in the two following years were once again 'tranquil marines'. The first of these was the Dutch Market Boats, Rotterdam, painted for the Earl of Essex and now known only from an engraving by J. and G.P. Nicholls (No. 62; Pl. 45). For this commission Callcott must have referred to sketches made while gathering material for Lord Grey's painting, but chose a view much further up the Leuvehaven near St. Lawrence Church. The composition is more compact than that of the earlier Rotterdam; at the same time the engraving suggests that Callcott had not lost his meticulous eye for detail. Rochester, from the River, below the Bridge (No. 63), painted for Sir George Phillips, is also lost, and is known from a watercolour copy by Dr. Crotch, evidently taken from an oil sketch or replica version in the Callcott executors' sale in 1845.¹⁵ This second version (No. 64) was purchased by Elhanen Bicknell, and seems to be last recorded with Agnew in 1863; in one of his characteristic inscriptions, Crotch noted beside his copy 'Alla Cuyp the favourite', and his drawing shows a

14 V. & A.M. Press Cuttings, IV, p. 1066.

15 Crotch sketchbook, loc. cit., p. 41.

glowing sunset sky, pale blue fading to gold and dappled with pink, which fully justifies the comparison. The composition, taken looking up-river with the bridge across the centre and the castle on the left, has a balance and symmetry, and a sense of depth, which looks back to The Pool of London and the Howick Rotterdam. In compositions such as these, Callcott established himself as an undoubted master of the sea-port scene, more descriptive in his details and realistic in his colour than Turner was when treating similar subjects; both Lord Essex's Rotterdam and Sir George Phillip's Rochester would have stood in obvious contrast to Turner's Harbour at Dieppe in the Frick Collection, shown in 1825, which veiled its Northern subject in a Southern light. Callcott did not exhibit anything that year, but in 1826 the contrast between Callcott and Turner as painters of continental ports would have become even more pointed, for each artist showed a port scene in his own characteristic manner; Turner's Cologne, the Arrival of a Packet Boat, Evening, also in the Frick Collection, was if anything more vivid in its colour and impressionistic in its details than its predecessor, while Callcott's The Quay at Antwerp during the Fair Time, painted for the Duke of Bedford and still at Woburn (No. 66; Pl. 46), was restrained in colour and meticulously described in every part.

As we have seen, the Duke's commission was one to which Callcott attached great importance. He clearly intended that the painting for Woburn should mark the peak of his sea-port genre, and the subject is indeed treated in an almost heroic manner. The potential ambiguity in the word 'Fair' given in the title would not have been lost upon him; there is little if

anything of purely contemporary significance in the painting, and it seems to have been designed to bridge the gap between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and to evoke a spirit of nostalgia which relates the 'Fair Time' subject to the 'Olden Time' taste of a few years later. A similar atmosphere pervades a large drawing in pen and brown ink and wash in the V. & A.M. (No. 236), which may be distantly related to the Woburn painting; the fluent, cursive handling of pen and brush is unusual and attractive, but the drawing is a composition study and has nothing to do with sketches made on the spot, and unfortunately none of Callcott's surviving pencil sketches of Dutch shipping and harbours can be assigned with certainty to the visit he is known to have paid to Antwerp.

As in the Howick Rotterdam, the Antwerp Quay is full of minute detail, but while the essential structure of the composition is the same, it is given somewhat greater monumentality. The laden barge approaching the quayside from the right, which corresponds in position to the one seen from the stern on the right of the Howick painting, and has a similar smaller luggage boat alongside, is given greater weight and impact. There are also stronger contrasts of light and shade; dark shadows on the left, broken by occasional flashes of strong light such as that which falls on the white shirt of a waterman poling his boat from the quay, give way to strong sun-light falling on the open water beyond the harbour on the right. The lighting is worked out with considerable care, as are the details of the figures, which offer every conceivable contrast of age, type and occupation. Painted as a centrepiece, for the Woburn gallery of modern British art and also for Callcott's sea-port oeuvre, the Antwerp Quay has the

qualities and failings which would inevitably attend such ambitions. The more one appreciates its painstaking observation, technical expertise and sheer hard work, the more one also sees that it lacks the spark of life and spontaneity - which may have been what Constable meant when he found it 'rather too quakerish, as Turner is too yellow'. Constable did however add that 'every man who distinguishes himself stands upon a precipice',¹⁶ and the Antwerp Quay, strongly and plainly painted with nothing that is facile or affected, could only be the work of a major talent.

Callcott's other exhibit of 1826 was witty in conception and appropriately fresh and spontaneous in handling. Dutch Fishing Boats running foul in the endeavour to board, and missing the Painter Rope (No. 67) was, as already noted, painted in response to Clarkson Stanfield's failure to complete his Throwing the Painter in time for the exhibition that year, and inspired in its turn Turner's Now for the Painter shown the following year, 1827; the Callcott is untraced today, although recorded in an early photograph (Pl. 47). It was commissioned by Jesse Watts Russell, and Callcott was probably instructed to provide a rough weather marine; the topical twist to the title must however have been a last-minute idea of his own. Clarkson Stanfield had yet to become fully established as a marine artist; although his work was selected for inclusion in George Cooke's volume of engravings after 'eminent artists' published in 1820, and he had shown at the Society of British Artists in 1823, his first appearance at the Royal Academy was delayed until 1827, and Callcot probably met

16 Constable to Fisher, 22 April, 1826, in Leslie, op. cit., p. 156.

him through Cooke, a sympathetic engraver of his own work. Dutch Fishing Boats, however, makes no reference to Stanfield's own style, and of all Callcott's marines it is one of those most manifestly based on Turner; the composition is very close, in reverse, to that of the 'Leader Seapiece', published in Charles Turner's mezzotint in the Liber Studiorum. Constable was greatly impressed by this painting, writing to Fisher of 'a picturesque boat driven before the wind on a strong sea; it is simple, grand, and affecting'.¹⁷

Turner's influence is also strongly felt in one of Callcott's three exhibits of 1827, Heavy Weather coming on: Vessels running to Port, painted for Lord Egremont and still at Petworth (No. 68; Pl. 48). In 1825 Callcott had painted an Interior of a Sea Port for the same patron, and the 1827 painting may have been intended to hang as a pair to this. The 1825 Sea Port, which was not exhibited, is still in the private collection of the Earl of Egremont (No. 65), and shows a calm, sunny effect in complete contrast to that of the stormy 1827 painting. Unless Callcott produced the Sea Port in an uncharacteristic hurry, it is unlikely that it was based on his visit to Antwerp in 1825 itself; the subject, a tree-lined harbour with cliffs behind, in any case hardly belongs to the Low Countries. The colouring of the painting is mellow but not rich, rather similar to that of the Pool of London, and the handling careful and finished. The Heavy Weather, on the other hand, is much more thinly painted, so that the colour of the canvas has its own part to play in the tonal scheme and in

17 Ibid.

places the pencil under-drawing is visible. The waves and the dark storm clouds billowing up to obscure a hitherto sunlit sky, are full of life. Today the painting hangs in the gallery at Petworth very near to Turner's 'Egremont' sea piece, Ships bearing up for Anchorage, which had been shown at the Academy in 1802, and for which Callcott could also have referred to a Liber plate (Pl. 98). Callcott's canvas is only slightly smaller, and must have been painted with that distinguished precedent in mind, if not actually to hang beside it; the compositions are in many respects complementary, and, although Callcott's is somewhat simpler, it in no way suffers by the comparison. The most direct source, however, lies in the ~~Elbowmere~~^{'Bridgewater'} sea piece, Dutch Boats in a Gale, which Turner exhibited in 1801; the large fishing vessel is quoted almost verbatim from the ~~Elbowmere~~^{Bridgewater} painting, as is the effect of cloud coming up from the left, while the distant frigate has simply been moved from right to left. There is a large pencil drawing for Callcott's Heavy Weather in the V. & A.M. (No. 238).

Although strictly speaking this should fall outside the scope of this chapter, as it was shown at the Academy in 1830, the Brisk Gale: A Dutch East Indiaman landing Passengers in the V. & A.M. (No. 81; Pl. 57) may be mentioned here. This was bought by John Sheepshanks, and, like many pictures from his collection, is small in size. The thin, fluent brushwork is very similar to that of the Petworth painting, and the two canvases are probably roughly contemporary; Callcott showed one other subject of presumably similar character in 1830, a Squally Weather bought by William Wells of Redleaf, and thereafter seems to have produced no more rough weather marines, so it is likely that these

two were unsold canvases painted before his continental tour of 1827-8. Sheepshanks owned a further smaller Sea Port - Gale rising, apparently not exhibited by Callcott, which is also in the V. & A.M. (No. 74); like the Petworth painting, this is very thinly and freely painted (Pl. 52 in the lithograph by T.C. Dibdin).

In 1827 Callcott exhibited three calms, Bruges from the Ghent Canal, painted for Sir Matthew White Ridley, and now known from a Dibdin lithograph (No. 69; Pl. 49), The Thames below Greenwich painted for Sir John Soane and still at the Soane Museum (No. 71; Pl. 50), and Dead Calm, Boats off Cowes Castle now in the National Maritime Museum (No. 70). The first of these is a quayside scene in the tradition of the Rotterdam and Antwerp Quay, although less monumentally composed. The remaining two paintings are much simpler and more spacious in arrangement. For Sir John Soane, Callcott was to paint one of the most languid of his Italian compositions, The Passage Point in the Soane Museum (No. 80; Pl. 56), and The Thames below Greenwich is scarcely less placid and serene; all the bustle of the river is kept out of the composition, and it could show a peaceful mere in the heart of the countryside. Another version of this painting, apparently not exhibited by Callcott and unrecorded in his Catalogue, shows a very similar arrangement of the boats and an identical view of Greenwich Hospital; this was sold in New York in 1920 (No. 72). The placing of the rowing boats in both Greenwich paintings seems to derive from the arrangement of the two small craft on the left of The Pool of London; neither of these later canvases suggests much direct observation, but rather a reliance upon established formulae rendered acceptable by technical

skill. More care would however have been taken over the Dead Calm, Boats off Cowes Castle, because of the likely nature of its commission.

The Dead Calm is listed in Callcott's Catalogue as having been painted for 'Mr. Bennet' and as being currently in the possession of 'Sir W. Gordon'.¹⁸ Thus the painting was made for the family of Turner's early pupil, Julia Bennet, whose sister was the wife of Callcott's friend and patron Sir John Swinburne, and had descended to herself and her husband, Sir James Willoughby Gordon; the Gordons owned two houses on the Isle of Wight, a villa near Niton and the Jacobean mansion of Northcourt, and perhaps they entertained Callcott while he painted his picture for Lady Gordon's family. Turner had shown his View from the Terrace of a Villa at Niton, painted from sketches by Lady Gordon herself, the previous year, 1826, and was to paint two more small canvases for the Gordons, one a view near their house at Northcourt, most probably during his visit to John Nash at East Cowes Castle in 1827. Callcott's painting shown that year uses a similarly delicate range of pastel shades, so that while not actually based on sketches by Lady Gordon, it may have been conceived with Turner's 1826 picture in mind. This would all be straightforward, were it not for the fact that the Dead Calm was evidently no more than a replica of a painting made by Callcott for Sir Thomas Heathcote and known from a Dibdin lithograph - no doubt the work listed in Callcott's Catalogue as having been painted for Sir Thomas in 1817.¹⁹ This note appears, erroneously, in the

18 Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 7.

19 Ibid., p. 5.

column for exhibited works, while in the unexhibited column for 1827 is recorded 'a repetition on a small half length of the large picture painted for Sir Thomas Heathcote in 1817'.²⁰ There has evidently been some confusion as it was the 1827 painting which was exhibited, and not that of 1817, but the evidence of the lithograph (Pl. 39), set beside the two entries in the Catalogue, leaves no doubt that the painting made for Mr. Bennet was a replica of the Heathcote canvas; as Sir Thomas lived near Romsey and Mr. Bennet's daughter on the Isle of Wight, it is easy to see that a Cowes subject would have appealed to them both. The date of the latter's commission is uncertain, but as three small oil sketches made for Sir J.W. Gordon and including one for the Dead Calm are listed in Callcott's Catalogue apparently under 1816,²¹ it seems likely that the Heathcote and Bennet commissions were given at the same time. The Gordon sketch (No. 52) is lost, but there is a carefully finished watercolour of the same subject, probably made by Callcott as a replica, in the Mellon Collection at the Yale Center (No. 152).

The other two Gordon sketches are unknown; the pair listed at some point between 1827 and 1835 as 'a fresh gale and a calm' and as purchased by Lady Grey, were last recorded in the collection of James Price;²² the 'Rough and smooth sea' listed during the same period as bought by Lord Monteagle are not identifiable today.²³ Several other unexhibited marine paintings cannot be placed at

20 Ibid., p. 6.

21 Ibid., p. 2.

22 Ibid., p. 4.

23 Ibid.

all in Callcott's Catalogue. Of these the Coast Scene at Sudley (No. 73; Pl. 51) may also have formed one of a pair of the kind noted above; though much greyer in colouring, this is very similar in composition and content to Turner's Port Ruysdael, shown in 1827, the same year as his direct reference to Callcott, the Now for the Painter already mentioned. The Sudley painting is now somewhat damaged and cracked, and lacking in the freshness which Turner instilled into his pastiche. A much more successful, and perfectly preserved, canvas is the Dumbarton recently sold from the Swinton Collection (No. 58; Pl. 43). Although not listed in Callcott's Catalogue, this beautiful and glowingly coloured painting may be presumed to derive from his trip to Scotland in 1819. If the rather dry handling and certain foreground details such as the figures and cart derive from the Turner of almost a decade earlier, the Dumbarton yet bears the stamp of an individual artistic personality and talent.

These qualities are apparent throughout Callcott's marine work. Although he came late to marine painting, and had little experience of the sea so that, in the words of a recent historian, he viewed it 'with a landsman's eye',²⁴ the genre had occupied him almost continuously for over a decade and had produced some of his finest works. It had clearly been his intention to rival Turner as an interpreter and not simply an imitator of the Dutch and native marine traditions, and even when their sources are immediately apparent, Callcott's marines avoid the superficiality of mere pastiche. He deserves even more credit for this than one

24 D. Cordingly, Marine Painting in England, 1974, p. 126.

might perhaps normally allow, in that his concentration on marine subjects was probably less the result of personal preference than of the insistence of his patrons; when he sent the Passage and Luggage Boats to the Academy in 1815, he can hardly have been prepared for the warmth of its reception or for the demand it was to stimulate. Callcott's contribution to English marine painting inevitably appears small and limited beside that of professional marine artists, but although the Redgraves wrote of him, and of his friend William Collins, who painted similar coast and beach scenes, that they were 'scarcely to be called marine painters', they clearly considered Callcott a far more significant artist in every respect than Stanfield, Cooke and Fielding. Indeed they describe the paintings Callcott exhibited between 1815 and 1827 as his 'finest works', those which 'undoubtedly raised his reputation to the first rank'. As special 'evidences of his claim to this distinction', they cite The Pool of London and The Mouth of the Tyne, observing, as we know to be the case at least in the first instance, that 'they had an individuality of their own, and showed an appreciation of English atmosphere and English scenery not to be found in the works of his later years'.²⁵

Landscapes

As we have seen, Callcott did not exhibit any landscapes at the Academy during the period under discussion, and the few

25 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 342.

he did produce seem either to have been connected with specific projects for the engraver, or small studies from nature which he might sometimes exhibit outside the Academy and for which, if he were lucky, he might find a purchaser. Landscapes had clearly, for the time being at least, been relegated to a secondary place; at the same time the increase in his topographical work for the engraver indicates that his reputation as a landscapist had in no way declined.

Until 1819, Callcott had never worked specifically for the engraver save in the several drawings he made to be imitated by F.L.T. Francia. Certain of his paintings and drawings had been engraved - the Morning (No. 8) by Letitia Byrne in 1809, the Water Mill (No. 14) by Charles Turner in 1811, the Benevolent Cottagers (No. 43) by John Scott in 1815, a small drawing of Hornsea Church, now lost (No. 235), by George Cooke in 1826 - but the selection of his work known from engravings would so far have been haphazard. In 1819, however, he undertook to produce ten designs for The Provincial Antiquities of Scotland, which was to be published with text by Walter Scott, and for which George Cooke, who was evidently already a friend, was to carry out much of the engraving work; possibly it was Cooke who arranged this project for Callcott, one which, in its topographical and antiquarian bias, was something of a departure from his normal interests as a landscapist. Callcott would, of course, also have known of Turner's contributions to The Provincial Antiquities, and of his visit to Edinburgh the previous autumn.

A certain unease with the task may possibly account for Callcott's evident willingness to rely largely on the advice and work of Farington, who had visited Scotland in 1788 and 1801. On

the first of these occasions Farington had been accompanied by the London bookseller, John Knox, whom he hoped would publish a series of engravings after his drawings of Scottish scenery, together with a text written by Farington himself. In this connection Farington had taken numerous on-the-spot sketches and notes about Scottish history and geography, most of which are today in the Edinburgh Public Library, and had also prepared a number of more finished drawings for the engraver, now largely contained in two albums in the British Museum. Although his project never materialised, he thus possessed a wealth of material which he willingly shared with Callcott, lending him his drawing of Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat, and showing him 'many of my Sketches of Tantallon Castle, and of the Bass Rock - of Linlithgow Palace - of Dumbarton Castle - of Edinburgh &c'.²⁶ Not surprisingly, Farington's influence is clearly apparent in the several drawings which survive from Callcott's Scottish tour. Particularly close to his work is the partly unfinished drawing of Haddington in the V. & A.M. (No. 232), in which Callcott has begun to ink over a careful preparatory drawing in pencil, just as Farington did in many of his drawings of architectural subjects. A Farington-like precision is also to be found in several drawings in the V. & A.M. connected with Callcott's view of Linlithgow (Nos. 219-226); these studies, which include details of parts of the Palace itself and of figures and other accessories which Callcott evidently intended to use in his final design, are a valuable insight into his working method. The finished drawing

26 Farington, Diary, 26 May, 1819.

for Linlithgow, engraved by W.R. Smith, is unknown, and the only drawing so far located which relates fairly closely to a plate in The Provincial Antiquities is that of Edinburgh from the Braid Hills in the British Museum (No. 227; Pl. 89), a fine and careful pen and ink over pencil drawing of a distant view of the city with a shepherd and his dog on the foreground eminence. With some modifications, this was engraved by George Cooke, who also engraved two further views after Callcott, Edinburgh from St. Antony's Chapel, and a marine subject, The Entrance to Leith Harbour. Only five plates actually appeared from Callcott's drawings (Nos. 227-231), the remaining being a view of Edinburgh Castle from the Grass Market, engraved by H. le Keux; the view of Haddington was evidently rejected, as its unfinished state would imply. Whether Callcott produced watercolour versions of his Scottish subjects is unknown; none have survived, although a finished version in pen and ink of the British Museum Edinburgh, apparently made for Scott, was in the collection of Sir J.C. Robinson.

Several landscape studies from nature made during the years when Callcott was concentrating on marine subjects have a relaxed and private quality about them, the feeling of an artist off duty; Callcott seems to have begun drawing from nature with a new freshness and informality during the middle years of his life. A highly detailed and penetrating study in watercolour of part of a rocky cliff, on the Isle of Wight, which belonged to John Sheepshanks and is in the V. & A.M. (No. 150), is symptomatic of a new confidence as a draughtsman, but it is hardly characteristic and for what was probably the more typical style of the same period one must turn to two unassuming pen and wash sheets of villages on the Thames, the Staines in the collection of Mr. D.L.T. Oppé

(No. 233; Pl. 90) and the very similar drawing of an unidentified stretch of river recently sold in London (No. 234; Pl. 91), which are probably survivors of a number of sketches of the river made in the 1820's. This type of drawing in grey washes on grey paper, pulled together with a somewhat vibrato use of the reed pen, is akin to that of a watercolour view of a canal at Dordrecht in the V. & A.M. (No. 164), which could have been based on an excursion during Callcott's visit to Rotterdam in 1818 or on his subsequent visit to the town at the outset of his continental tour in 1827.

Several early oil sketches by Callcott have been noted in the previous chapter, and there is evidence that he continued to produce such landscape studies during his middle years, sometimes working directly from nature; examples are the small study of an open Landscape in the York City Art Gallery (No. 50; Pl. 38) and the Sketch in the V. & A.M. (No. 28). Callcott's Catalogue describes the York painting as 'from nature'; the subject is unknown, although the rolling country and silvery light effect seem to belong to Southern England, possibly to Hampshire. John Allnutt, to whom it once belonged, wrote of it to C.R. Leslie as 'very beautiful',²⁷ explaining how he had sent it to Constable, together with a painting by Constable himself bought some years earlier at the British Institution, with a request that Constable could reduce the height of his own canvas so as to make it the same size as the Callcott, enabling the two paintings to be hung as a pair. As Allnutt further

27 Allnutt to Leslie, 2 February, 1843, in Leslie, op. cit., p. 47.

explained, Constable did not alter his earlier painting, but painted an entirely new one of the same or more nearly the same size as Callcott's; this second version is identifiable with the Landscape: Ploughing Scene in Suffolk in the Mellon Collection, while the original painting bought by Allnutt was that of the same title shown at the Academy in 1814.²⁸ Were it not for the effects of incompetent cleaning, and a certain awkwardness in the figures, the York Callcott would make an effective complement to the Constable, and it is an interesting comment on the taste of the time that in the Allnutt sale in 1863 it fetched three times as much as the Constable.

Apart from the 'small study from nature', already mentioned as having been bought by Sir James Willoughby Gordon, no other such paintings are listed in Callcott's Catalogue, although a work described under the year 1825 may have been at least in part made from nature. This is the 'small study of an effect in Petworth Park but with Italian buildings in the distance'.²⁹ The painting was not made directly for Lord Egremont, although Callcott adds that it was 'given up' to the Earl by its original purchaser, Sir Henry Bunbury, at his request. The fact that it was painted in the same year as the Earl's commissioned work might however suggest that Callcott paid a visit to Petworth that year, possibly to see the Sea Port (No. 65) installed or to make last minute alterations, and sketched in the park at the same

28 For the most recent discussion of the identification of the repainted Ploughing Scene ('A Summerland'), see L. Parris and I. Fleming-Williams in catalogue of the 1976 Constable exhibition at the Tate Gallery, pp. 87-8, under No. 123, the original, exhibited version.

29 Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 4.

time. It is sad that the park scene does not survive to be compared with Turner's views of two or more years later; Callcott's work for the Earl in 1825, and the 1827 Heavy Weather coming on (No. 68; Pl. 48), is of particular interest in the light of Egremont's apparent difficulties in adjusting his eye to the developments in Turner's work at this time. If, as has been suggested, Egremont did not take to some of Turner's Petworth views,³⁰ he may have wanted to own the Callcott as an example of a more finished, wrought and perhaps more quietly coloured style.

Callcott's addition of Italianate buildings to his Petworth scene indicates that, even if it began as a study made on the spot, it developed into an ideal composition, transmuted by a classicising taste which does indeed seem to have lingered on in Callcott's work during his marine phase. The very monumentality of his marine compositions is perhaps an expression of it, and at least once, in 1817, it emerged, possibly on commission, into a fully developed classical landscape composition, that in the V. & A.M. (No. 54). In its formal, linear organisation this painting looks forward to the ideal classical landscapes which Callcott was to paint during the final period of his life, the years following his return from Italy in 1828, which we must now turn to examine.

30 See Butlin and Joll., op. cit., p. 149.

CHAPTER 9

Work c. 1827 - 1844

During the last seventeen years of Callcott's life, his work underwent marked changes in subject matter and handling, and distinctions between landscape and marine subjects broke down before more significant topographical distinctions as his art extended its range to comprehend the different countries of Europe which he saw in 1827-8. This is, however, not to say that his work became to any greater extent based on nature; in fact a regrettable feature of some of Callcott's later work is its tendency to rely on formulae, as he attempted to evoke the general atmosphere and character of the countryside and cities of the Netherlands, Germany and Italy, rather than their particular features.

In this final chapter it will be appropriate to examine the bulk of Callcott's work under fairly general topographical or subject headings, placing the Dutch and German, the Italian and the several English subjects together in groups, and reserving further sections for what are perhaps the most interesting and certainly the most ambitious of Callcott's later works, his historical and literary subjects, and for his several drawings for the engraver and for book illustration. First, however, something must be said of the sketches Callcott made during the continental tour itself, as so much of his subsequent production depends upon it.

Continental Sketches, 1827-8

Callcott's executors' sale in 1845 included numerous continental sketchbooks, some intact, others evidently already dismembered. The dismembered sketches must have run into large numbers, and continental subjects figured largely among the seventy lots of small pencil jottings, cut and randomly mounted on cards, sold on the first day, 8 May. The third day, 10 May, offered thirteen intact sketchbooks, chiefly of Dutch and Italian figures. The majority of Callcott's continental material was, however, retained by his family, to be dispersed at a later sale at Christies on 22 June, 1863. In that sale thirty-one lots were devoted to drawings of subjects in the Low Countries - Bruges, Antwerp, Ghent, Dordrecht, Rotterdam and Amsterdam being the most frequent - while a further twenty-five lots disposed of Germany and Switzerland; by far the largest part of the 1863 sale was devoted to Italian subjects, and here too there were a number of sketchbooks still intact. Almost nothing of this wealth of material survives today, although most of the Dutch figure studies in the collection of Mr. D.L.T. Oppé, the pencil jottings of harbour or canal scenes in the V. & A.M. (Nos. 157-161) and the Beinecke Rare Book Library at Yale (No. 162), the slightly larger sheets of Italian scenes in the British Museum (Nos. 242-244), the pencil drawing of an Italian church in the Metzdorf Album at Rochester (f. 34), and the drawing of an Italian or Swiss valley at Bradford (No. 241), must indicate the variety of subjects and styles which appeared at the Callcott sales. It is however by no means clear whether the sketches of Northern subjects were made during the honeymoon tour or on Callcott's earlier visits to Rotterdam and Antwerp.

Several rather larger or more finished drawings of continental subjects may be mentioned here, although in these cases one cannot be certain whether they were made on Callcott's travels or after his return to London. The water colour of Dordrecht in the V. & A.M. (No. 164) has already been referred to, and is difficult to date with conviction; although the Callcotts visited Dordrecht in 1827, this placid canal view is perhaps earlier and derived from an excursion to the town made during Callcott's several days in Rotterdam in 1818. Also hard to date is a pen and wash view of a busy canal in the Hague in the British Museum (No. 165), although a watercolour of what is no doubt a Rhine subject at Exeter (No. 239) must derive from the honeymoon. The Hague view is well observed, but the latter is more flaccid; the buildings seen across the river lack definition, and the washes are too loosely applied.

Of Callcott's larger continental drawings, one of an Alpine valley in black and white chalks, recently sold in London (No. 240; Pl. 93), was among the works copied by Dr. Crotch in the 1845 sale; Crotch gives its title as Leaving Maule.¹ Although fairly large, this was probably at least begun during Callcott's travels, as may also have been the pen and wash drawing of an Italian tomb, perhaps in the Roman campagna, in the V. & A.M. (No. 250). The pen and wash drawing of Verona in the V. & A.M. (No. 258), was, however, made later in London, in 1835. And the High Tower on the Moselle recorded in a Dibdin lithograph as in the collection of Charles Meigh (No. 260) was probably one of a small group of

1 Crotch sketchbook, loc. cit., p. 72.

finished watercolours produced in London from material in Callcott's sketchbooks.

A striking aspect of Maria Callcott's travel journal is how seldom she mentions her husband's sketching. This could of course mean that his pencil was so constantly in his hand that unless he sat down to make a particularly detailed or elaborate drawing, his work could be taken for granted. At the same time, most of his sketches were probably of the most thumbnail kind, and he may have intended to leave a great deal to memory; the landscape subjects based on his European tour often lack the solidity and detail of his several earlier subjects of continental sea-ports. This absence of thoroughness and scruple, which sets Callcott far apart from the rising generation of landscapists and subject-painters, is also evident in his copies from Giotto, engraved in Maria's Description in 1835. No drawings for the wood engravings survive, but there are several pencil studies of individual figures, evidently taken from unidentified frescoes or paintings, in the Metzdorf album (ff. 15, 21, 22).

Dutch and German Subjects

Callcott's exhibited Dutch subjects based on his continental tour of 1827-8 are very different from the earlier Rotterdam (No. 56) or Antwerp Quay (No. 66), and, perhaps most of all among Callcott's later work, were designed to be evocative rather than descriptive - evocative both of the mood and atmosphere of the country represented and of the artistic tradition associated with it. These paintings frequently lack clear points of topography, and appear curiously timeless; even when they do not include

manifestly seventeenth century figures and shipping, as does the small Coast Scene in the Tate Gallery (No. 95; Pl. 66), they seem to belong to some comfortable age in the past which is as attractive and desirable as it is imprecisely defined. Like Callcott's earlier landscapes, with their picturesque ancestry, they represent an escapist art, approximating to the nostalgic and revivalist art of contemporary Dutch painters, and of rising English artists like William Shayer. Selected examples of Callcott's work were hung during the 1830's and 40's either in collections which included the Dutch seventeenth century masters themselves, or as substitutes for them in the homes of collectors who could not afford the genuine article, or, in the town house of Thomas Baring, whose family had owned one of the noblest of all collections of Dutch old masters, beside their continental counterparts: 'Of all English collectors', wrote Dr. Waagen, 'Mr. Baring is the only one I am acquainted with who has made a selection not only of modern English painters, but also of a few but very choice specimens of the modern Belgian, Dutch and French artists, thus affording scope for the most interesting comparisons.'²

Callcott's first Dutch exhibit after his return home was The Dutch Ferry, painted for Lord Durham and subsequently in the collections of Lord Charles Townshend and Sir Charles Coote, but now unknown; in its sale from the Townshend collection in 1835, it was described as 'Scene on the Meuse, Man on Grey Horse', and its dimensions were given as 101" by 55½",³ indicating that

2 Waagen, Treasures of Art, II, 1854, p. 174.

3 Christie's Sale, 11 April, 1835, lot 47; the painting was described as 'full of nature & ... a glorious effort of the master'.

Callcott was returning at least temporarily to the large scale of his marine exhibits of the previous decade. Two exhibits of 1831, a Canal of Bruges acquired by the Duke of Bedford and a Dutch Coast bought by the Earl of Caledon are also untraced, although it is worth quoting Passavant's description of the latter; 'Some fisherwomen, with several men, are standing on the beach, seemingly bargaining for fish which are lying on the sand; close by lies a fishing boat, and a town is in the background. In this simple subject the masterly talent of the artist is best displayed.'⁴

The critics were generous to Callcott in 1831, and remained so the following year; even if The Morning Post found him 'not quite so great this year as usual, but only unequal to himself, for he surpasses all others in his branch',⁵ Turner was advised to study him as 'a model of purity and truth in landscape',⁶ and, of the Dutch Coast Scene shown that year and bought by Robert Vernon, another critic declared that 'A coast scene by Callcott is always sure to please. He views nature with a kindly and enquiring eye, and is in painting much what Goldsmith was in poetry.'⁷ The subject of this passage, which so aptly describes the appeal Callcott was able to engender in his contemporaries, was the Coast Scene now in the Tate Gallery (No. 88; Pl. 62), an attractive painting of Dutch figures waiting on a quay for the arrival of a boat, somewhat reminiscent of Bonington, whose work

4 Passavant, op. cit., II, p. 265.

5 Whitley, op. cit., p. 235.

6 Ibid.

7 V. & A.M. Press Cuttings, IV, p. 1656.

Callcott knew. The paint is smooth and thin, the colour cool and silvery save for some notes of red and brown in the figures, but the painting lacks Bonington's atmospheric qualities; although clearly in the tradition of Callcott's 1806 coast subjects, it appears a much less substantial work, and has certainly abandoned any attempt at direct competition with Turner. A painting purchased from the Academy in 1834 by a Mr. Ferguson, Dutch Peasants waiting the Return of the Passage-Boat, seems to be the rather similar work now in the Tate Gallery (No. 96),⁸ and a further exhibit of that year, the Dutch Landscape painted for Vernon, must be the painting also in the Tate which reworks yet again the favourite theme of returning from market (No. 94; Pl. 65). Though its figures and distant village could belong as satisfactorily to the seventeenth as to the nineteenth century, this latter could only have been painted in the latter period; the sentiment is somewhat overworked, but derived from only the most ephemeral of incidents - a group of peasants fording a stream, one of whom has apparently left her horse to guide her child across on foot. Details like the water-lilies and the dog, and the smooth, almost polished texture of the paint seem to contribute to the decorative artificiality of the scene. There is a replica version, probably autograph, in the collection of Mrs. Inglis.

Sentimentalised landscape of the kind seen in these paintings appears also in a canvas recently sold in London (No. 86; Pl. 60), which may perhaps be associated with the Cross Road also

⁸ For Mr. Ferguson's purchase, see Callcott's Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 9.

exhibited in 1832, having been painted for the Duke of Norfolk; if not the finished painting, this may possibly be the study. Once again the prototypes are clearly Dutch; the low viewpoint and contre-jour placing of the figures against a warmly glowing sky may be traced back to Cuyp, and the figure types, if not their treatment, also evoke the seventeenth century; the man on horseback could have ridden out of a Wouvermans, even if he has come rather a long way before arriving in Callcott's canvas.

The one remaining exhibited Dutch subject known today is the View of Dort in the V. & A.M. (No. 120), a painting shown in 1842, when Callcott as it were summarised his lifetime's achievements in the Academy, sending also An Italian Evening (No. 119; Pl. 76) and the untraced English Landscape; Cows at the Watering Place. The Dort was bought by John Sheepshanks; as it is now somewhat discoloured, it is reproduced here in the lithograph by T.C. Dibdin (Pl. 77). Callcott has taken a wide, panoramic view of the town, seen from a low viewpoint across meadowland with grazing cows, and has chosen an effect of lemon yellow morning light beginning to illuminate the mist still veiling the town; yet again he has taken Cuyp as his model, as was of course particularly appropriate in this case. Although the paint surface now appears somewhat waxy, the total effect remains very satisfying, especially at a distance, and it was evidently works of this kind that the Redgraves had in mind when they spoke of Callcott's pictures being 'pleasing in our dark rooms'.⁹ Like the Cross Road already mentioned, the Dort is small

9 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 345.

in size, conceived as a cabinet picture to be lived with rather than appreciated at a public level in an exhibition. Nevertheless, although Callcott was by now painting with a domestic purpose in mind, he continued to score a marked success in the exhibition room. Of the Dort, the Art Union commented, 'Surely this is beating Albert Cuyp on his own ground',¹⁰ and other reviews were equally ready to admire and to draw patriotic analogies with the Dutch masters; the following year, for instance, the same journal wrote of a lost Stiff Breeze which Callcott had sent to the Academy, that 'the exquisite painter "runs free" with Backhuysen and Vandervelde and outsails both on their own misty Zuyder Zee'.¹¹

Today it is impossible to echo these claims, and Callcott's several surviving pastiches of the Dutch masters seem somewhat superficial. Callcott probably painted quite a number of these, not all of which are listed in his Catalogue, and it is likely that he produced them quickly and regarded them almost as pot-boilers. A painting like the Dutch River Scene at Sudley (No. 97; Pl. 67), though not without a certain freshness of handling, appears facile and weak in conception; it seems almost impossible to accept the boats and figures as by the same hand as the earlier Rotterdam or Antwerp Quay, or the trees as the legitimate descendants of the vigorous growths in the early landscapes. River scenes like those in the Hamburg Kunsthalle (No. 98), the Castle Museum, Nottingham (No. 99) and that from

10 Art Union, IV, 1842, p. 124.

11 Ibid., VI, 1843, p. 155.

Miss Sheepshanks's collection recorded in a Dibdin lithograph (No. 82; Pl. 58), also seem curiously insubstantial, but it is pleasant to record at least one genuinely attractive if more direct pastiche of the Dutch tradition, the little oil sketch on panel of a Dutch Coast which belonged to Robert Vernon and is now in the Tate Gallery (No. 95; Pl. 66). In a manuscript catalogue of Vernon's collection, this was described as a copy from a 'Van der Velde', presumably Adriaen;¹² certainly the figures and boats are here indubitably of the seventeenth century, and the beach with its dunes and pointed church tower beyond could be that at Scheveningen, but the fact that the very thin paint shows up under-drawing in pencil different from the painted composition would seem to weigh against the painting being a straight copy. Nevertheless the ancestry of this delightful sketch with its rolling breakers, grey sky and carefree strolling figures may certainly be traced to Adriaen's Scheveningen subjects, or to a painting like the National Gallery's Jacob van Ruisdael of The Shore at Egmond-aan-Zee.

Callcott's European tour also gave rise to several subjects of Northern towns, anticipated in drawings like the Hague in the British Museum (No. 165), and water colours like the Dordrecht in the V. & A.M. (No. 164). The first to be exhibited was the Canal of Bruges, shown in 1831, and a Cologne followed in 1834; the view of Cologne which appeared at auction in that city in 1965 (No. 92) I am inclined to regard from a photograph as an oil sketch for this subject rather than the finished exhibit itself,

12 Recorded in The Vernon Gallery of British Art, II, 1854, under No. 33.

as its handling seems similar to that of Mrs. Knight's study for the Howick Rotterdam (No. 57; Pl. 42). A further subject of a Northern continental town was the Basin of Ghent painted, with an Approach to Amalfi which presumably formed a pendant, for a Mr McConnell of Manchester in 1835;¹³ the Ghent subject is most probably that now in the Manchester City Art Gallery (No. 105; Pl. 71) which, in its viewpoint, sunlit haze and crowds of figures bustling alongside the canal may look back to the Harbour of Dieppe in the Frick Collection, which Turner had exhibited at the Academy a decade earlier. Callcott's Ghent, however, lacks the tonal brilliance or compositional dynamism of the Turner, and indeed offers a powerful reminder of how far Callcott had failed to maintain pace with Turner since his return from the continent.

Italian Landscapes and Classical Compositions

A variety of Italian scenes and ideal classical subjects survive from Callcott's later years, some of them paintings of actual places, others classicizing 'compositions', sometimes prefixed by the titles of 'Morning' or 'Evening'. Titles such as these give no indication of subject, and as very few of the paintings seem to have descended directly in the families of their original purchasers, it is impossible to identify all the Italianate canvases known today with Academy exhibits or with works listed in Callcott's Catalogue. One can do no more than discuss

¹³ Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 4. Presumably Henry McConnell, also a patron of Turner.

the known exhibits in chronological order, as some guide to stylistic progression, and treat the remaining paintings of similar subjects together as a group.

Callcott's titles for his Italian subjects are often very general in their phrasing, and even when he was painting an actual place he tended to word his title in terms which allowed him considerable licence; examples are Recollection of the Campagna of Rome (1834), Composition from the Lago di Garda (1835), Italian Composition from Materials in the Neighbourhood of Rome and Italian Composition from Materials at Baiae (1838). These generalised titles are indicative of Callcott's intention in his Italian subjects - to recall and evoke the spirit of Italy and its history and culture; in a sense these paintings are badges of the classical learning of the artist and of their owners, as much as works of art in their own right, and thus they sometimes seem to make little claim to be more than arrangements of antique elements and stagily costumed figures presented in a Mediterranean light. More than the Northern continental subjects, they owe a manifest debt to Turner, although they are quite unlike Turner's later Italian paintings in handling, lacking their opulence and richness of colour. It is, indeed, their formality, their gravitas and their very good taste which strikes them dead to the modern eye. Yet in spite of the lifelessness of some of the late Italian subjects, others are some of the most attractive and well painted of Callcott's later works, and indeed include, in one of the versions of Trent in the Tyrol (No. 108), a canvas which even Ruskin found 'magnificent perhaps the best

he has ever painted'.¹⁴

In 1829 Callcott showed the first Italian composition based on his tour, The Fountain; Morning painted for Lady Swinburne, and the earliest of several paintings to which he attached a quotation to enhance the sentiment of the subject. Although Turner's regular quotations from the Fallacies and other sources could have suggested the idea, this development may be more firmly attributed to Maria Callcott, for in the weeks before the Academy exhibition, and even when the painting was displayed in the Callcotts' own pre-Academy private view at Kensington, she was asking her friends' advice as to a suitable tag for it. 'I look through Horace in vain', she noted one day in her diary, but the next she had an inspiration with which Sir John Swinburne happily concurred; 'Sir J. Swinburne recommends the same bit of Horace I had thought of, namely the beginning of the Ode to the Fountain Digentia.'¹⁵ The painting enjoyed a great succes d'estime at the Academy; Lawrence, guiding a party of notables round the exhibition, singled it out, with Wilkie's contributions which included The Pifferari bought by George IV, for special praise,¹⁶ while Maria, having confided to her diary her views on other exhibitors - Turner's 'Polyphemus a delicious dream. Loretto spoilt by a tree', Wilkie's 'Ld Kelly passable', G.S. Newton 'good but out of drawing', Shee and Leslie 'very good' -

14 Ruskin, Works, 1905 ed., III, p. 324. A footnote records that this was Ruskin's original comment, in the first and second editions of Modern Painters, but that he later replaced this passage with a complaint that 'Callcott's Trent is severely injured by the harsh group of foreground figures'.

15 M.C. Journal, 1829, loc. cit., f. 48.

16 Whitley, op. cit., p. 166.

added complacently that 'the thing that attracted most notice seemed to be the Fountain of our own - Everybody liked that.'¹⁷ On the evidence of subject matter, it is likely that The Fountain was the painting now at Sudley (No. 75; Pl. 53), an upright composition of figures collecting water from a stream flowing from a fountain basin at right foreground, beyond which extends a glowing vista with Italian buildings. The fact that this painting is on paper laid on canvas, and thus possibly begun in Italy and brought back rolled, would also tend to indicate a date very soon after Callcott's return.

One of the largest of all Callcott's Italian subjects, The Passage Point (No. 80; Pl. 56), was shown in 1830; it was painted for Sir John Soane and is still in the Soane Museum. Sir John had given Callcott a 'strange letter' enclosing his commission and his price - £500 - at a dinner party in 1829,¹⁸ and his order for the painting at this date is particularly interesting as it had been the year before, in 1828, that he had paid exactly the same sum for a Turner, presumably the Forum Romanum, for Mr. Soane's Museum in the Tate Gallery, which Turner had exhibited in 1826. Soane did not however take Turner's painting, and it has been suggested that he did not have room for it in the restricted space available in his Museum,¹⁹ but if this were the case he would hardly have ordered a larger canvas from Callcott so soon afterwards. Soane's change of course seems all the more surprising as the Forum Romanum, with its accurate record of the

17 M.C. Journal, 1829, loc. cit., f. 44.

18 Ibid., f. 25.

19 See Butlin and Joll, op. cit., pp. 128-9, under No. 233.

Arch of Titus and other monuments of Ancient Rome, might be expected to have appealed to his antiquarian tastes, while Callcott, in 1828, could hardly be said to have proved himself as a painter of Italian landscape. One can only infer that Turner's painting offended Soane on stylistic grounds, and that he decided to see whether Callcott could produce something more satisfactory. As Soane's Museum was indeed somewhat confined he may have found the colour of the Forum Romanum too powerful and assertive, and, perhaps contrary to his initial plan, he might have decided that a placid lake scene such as Callcott made for him offered greater relief and relaxation. Callcott's painting is open in composition as well as cool and sweet in its tones, and has none of the inward tension of Turner's canvas; the ruined columns and fallen cornices play a subordinate, framing role, and do not arrest the eye in the foreground. The Passage Point probably suggested the effect of a window thrown open on a clear day when the panelling behind which it hangs was unfolded to reveal it. The distant range of Alpine peaks partly hidden by clouds are particularly effective, and though unashamedly a composition, the painting comes close to two powerful canvases of actual subjects, the View of Trent in the Tyrol and the Scene in the Ligurian Mountains.

Callcott exhibited two paintings of Trent, the first made for a Mr. Ducane, perhaps his early friend who had bought so unwisely as a young man,²⁰ and the second for another friend, the dentist Samuel Cartwright. The latter painting is now known

20 For Ducane, and his liking for the drawings of William Payne, see Chapter 1.

in a private collection (No. 108); a finished drawing for it was lithographed by T.C. Dibdin (Pl. 73). Though formally arranged, with the wooden bridge placed exactly parallel to the picture plane, the handling of the mountains looming behind the town is free and sensitive, and Callcott has managed to convey a considerable atmosphere. The painting was well received; The Times commenting that to 'look at Callcott's Trent in the Tyrol after a dose of Turner's Mercury and Argus is as cool and refreshing as iced champagne after mulligatawny.'²¹

Perhaps unexpectedly in view of the character of his earlier landscape subjects, Callcott seems to have responded appreciatively to Italian mountain scenery, both in drawings and finished canvases. Another most effective painting of a mountainous subject was that made for Lord Durham and exhibited in 1832, A Scene suggested by an Effect seen after heavy Rain in the Ligurian Mountains near Sarzana (No. 83). An old and brown photograph, taken when it was with Agnew's at the end of the last century, shows a most impressive work, a monumentally symmetrical composition of a narrow valley framed by high, jagged peaks capped with cloud; the strong inward thrust of the valley might suggest a memory of Turner's 1803 Bonneville now at Yale, although Callcott's treatment seems if anything more rugged and magnificent. To stress the inspirational qualities of the Alpine peaks, Callcott showed his painting with the line 'Why to yon mountains turns the musing eye?' A more overtly religious theme, similarly inspired by a recollected effect of light, appeared in another lost exhibit of 1832, a Finished Sketch

21 Times review, 11 May, 1836, quoted by Butlin and Joll, op. cit., p. 198, under No. 367.

of Italian Girls going on Procession to their first Communion;
painted in consequence of seeing a single Sun-beam fall on the
high Altar at the Moment of the Ceremony.

A further lost exhibit of the same year, The Ruined Tomb, bought by Lord de Dunstanville, was also designed to evoke a powerful vein of sentiment, this time probably by reworking the old theme of Et in Arcadia Ego; the subject was evidently of an Italian tomb of the kind found in the Campagna. Both the Callcotts gave much thought to finding a suitable motto to inscribe on the tomb itself, and also a poetic tag to attach to the frame. Maria was apparently considering the problem at the same time as she was looking for a tag for The Fountain, and the painting was evidently already planned in 1829. William Hallam, an acquaintance from the Callcotts' honeymoon, suggested 'two Latin and two Greek' for the tomb, so Maria wrote to another friend, Lord Dudley, 'about its propriety as the scenery (of The Ruined Tomb) is decidedly Italian. He says the Romans were such coxcombs that they would decidedly have chosen Greek and Pliny the younger or Cicero most certainly on such an occasion, so Greek it is to be.'²² The motto, translated, was 'Tombs are corruptible',²³ and Callcott himself contributed the lines for the painting itself;

What though the monuments of men decay,
 And mingling with the ashes they contain,
 Destroy the fame they should preserve - what though
 In seeming scorn of human worth, Nature

22 M.C. Journal, 1829, loc. cit., f. 38.

23 The motto was preserved by William Hutchins Callcott in a note attached to his copy of Callcott's 'Fragments of Family History', Robinson Papers, A.W.C. I.

Alike, and mindful of the dead, scatters
 Her blooming sweets, and casts her cheerful beams,
 Around the ruins of the tomb - those sweets,
 Those beams, which even through the tomb she sheds
 Are thou who live, are fraught with heavenly light
 And love, pointing man's hopes to brighter realms
 To sun's eternal blazing round that throne,
 Where bending to his God, man triumphs o'er the Grave. 24

Paintings like The Ruined Tomb, the First Communion and Lord Durham's Alpine landscape may, in their literary allusion or their attempt to convey the mystical power of natural effects, have owed something to Turner's treatments of light; at the same time they were almost certainly influenced by Maria Callcott's interest in the moral or even spiritual purpose of art. The Trent in the Tyrol, however, showed that Callcott was capable of painting Italian scenery in a rather more direct and less elevated manner, and he did so again, very effectively, in The Entrance to Pisa from Leghorn in the Tate Gallery (No. 91; Pl. 64), which was shown in the Academy in 1833 and purchased by Robert Vernon, having been first commissioned by a Mr. Morrison - very probably James Morrison, who by now owned Turner's Pope's Villa and Thomson's AEolian Harp.²⁵ The Pisa reworks the basic composition of the Trent - the bridge on the left, parallel with the picture plane, the high square building at the end of the bridge just to right of centre, the diagonal thrust of the quayside at right foreground - but is somewhat less dry and stern in handling, in keeping with the sunnier effect.

24 Ibid. Transcription by William Hutchins Callcott, who adds that 'Mr. H(allam's) letters about the motto are all preserved'. These have not been found.

25 For Mr. Morrison's commission, see Callcott's Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 9.

Callcott's next Italian landscape known today is the Recollection of the Campagna of Rome, which he showed at the Academy in 1834 and sold to Lord Lansdowne, who set it into a panel above a book-press in the library at Bowood, where it remains today (No. 93). This, as its title implies, falls into the category of 'compositions', and in its attempt to generalise fails to capture much sense of place. While, with many of Callcott's idealised Italian compositions, it must have been at least partly inspired by some of Turner's Italian subjects, it lacks their sparkle, and whereas earlier critics had tended to stress the affinities between the two artists, the reviewer in the Spectator could by now write that 'the difference of these, the two first English landscape painters, is made strikingly evident'. Comparing the Recollection even with an English subject by Turner, the St. Michael's Mount in the V. & A.M., which hung close to it in the Academy, the critic went on to note that 'Callcott's colours look opaque and heavy, and Turner's painting insubstantial and visionary'.²⁶

Rather more effective, and altogether simpler in composition, is the Cicero's Tomb, near Mola di Gaeta, which Callcott showed in 1838 and was sold in London in recent years (No. 110); the painting was bought from the Academy by William Marshall of Eaton Square. Here the mood is elegaic and Claudian, with the domed structure set off centre against a glowing sky, and a view towards the distant sea. This painting may have inspired Turner's Cicero

²⁶ The Spectator review, 10 May, 1834, quoted by Butlin and Joll, op. cit., p. 189, under No. 358.

at his Villa, shown the following year and now at Ascott, but the two paintings again illustrate the contrast between the two artists' approaches to Italy - Callcott's either factual or synoptic, enlivened largely by lighting borrowed from Claude; Turner's imaginative, reconstructive, theatrical and historical.

The final exhibited Italian subject so far traced is the Italian Evening in the Harrogate Art Gallery, which was shown in 1842 when it was acquired by Miss Sheepshanks (No. 119; Pl. 76). Once again the composition is Claudian but more formal than in Cicero's Tomb; the fallen stones and ruined tower and columns framing the central vista are painted with great labour, but the painting is somewhat lifeless, a deficiency hardly redeemed by the staffage placed about the foreground, an aged hermit, a shepherd and his flock and two figures attempting to talk with Latin gesticulation. Nevertheless the Italian Evening was much admired, both for its mellow colour and for its composition. The Art Union felt that Callcott 'repudiates the error of painting a crude blue sky and calling it Italian', and found in the picture 'the mingling of ancient and modern history: the crushed and fallen diadem of old Italia is at our feet, in contrast with the alla giornata, the parking tile-covered houses of modern Italy'.²⁷

The earliest unexhibited canvas of an Italian subject is the Landscape with a Bridge, signed and dated 1829, in the Kettering Art Gallery (No. 76; Pl. 54), an informal, freely handled work, with a most attractive effect of morning light

27 Art Union, IV, 1842, p. 122.

brightening the water of a cascade falling from a wooded hill; in the foreground, a drover leads oxen across a mossy stone bridge. Despite the prominence of the bridge, and the presence of a large building on the hill, this painting is not dominated by its architectural elements, and in this respect stands in contrast to most of Callcott's Italian compositions, which usually employ a powerful architectonic structure. In comparison with the Kettering canvas, the Italian Landscape in the V. & A.M., a small painting on millboard which belonged to John Sheepshanks (No. 124), seems less rural and natural, in spite of its rough ground, numerous trees and watering cows. The arched bridge placed in the middle distance, parallel with the picture plane, imparts a formal horizontality to the composition, and this strict formula is seen in another Italian subject known from a lithograph by T.C. Dibdin (No. 125; Pl. 80). Somewhat arid as these compositions appear, the marked stress given by Callcott to bridges or aquaducts has a certain interest, as it suggests a memory, however thinly distilled, of the early ideal landscape subjects set in the Sketching Club, and of plates in the Liber Studiorum. Callcott's formally structured Italian landscapes with their arched bridges or aquaducts certainly represent the neo-classical extreme of his art, in direct contrast to the pastoral or picturesque landscapes with rustic or plank bridges such as The Wooden Bridge in the Tate Gallery (No. 101; Pl. 68). It is even possible that bridges and aquaducts may by now have acquired a specific constructional or engineering interest for Callcott, for his great-niece Mary Elizabeth Horsley had married Isambard Brunel in 1836.

A bridge also forms a feature of another landscape composition

known from a Dibdin lithograph (No. 123), a subject of a stretch of water with a ruined building on the right bank, and a ferry being unloaded at left foreground. Dibdin lists the painting as being in the collection of Charles Birch, whose sale in 1855 included only one work by Callcott, a Spezzia Bay; although the buildings look faintly Italian, the exact setting of the lithographed painting is hard to determine, and it seems rather unlikely that it is the Spezzia. Two other Italian compositions are known, a Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock sold in 1975 in New York (No. 122; Pl. 79), and the View of the Campagna in the Baroda collection (No. 121; Pl. 78). The former is the more strictly Claudian of the two, and seems from a photograph to have shown an attractive effect of morning light, although the composition is again formal and inert. The Baroda painting, by contrast, seems to aspire to a more naturalistic approach in the central areas of the composition, and in its dense trees and clusters of buildings departs from traditional formulae, but it is deprived of much of its realism by the framing groups of buildings and the carefully arranged column, balustrade and fallen stones, and by the curiously stage-like stone terrace which stretches across the foreground. This latter seems to have given Callcott considerable problems, and even from a poor photograph it is possible to see several ill-concealed pentimenti, notably by the central flight of steps, up which is climbing an aged figure leaning on a stick. The figure itself was probably added to divert attention from the alterations to the architectural features, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that they would have been better left out altogether.

The View of the Campagna offers perhaps some clue to the

labour and struggle with which Callcott approached his later Italian subjects. Their weaknesses are not those of superficiality or repetition, as are those of some of the Dutch compositions of the same period, but of excessive artifice and studied arrangement; what is lacking is inspiration. The most successful of Callcott's Italian canvases are those which treat their subjects in a straightforward way, like the Trent and the Pisa. A variety of Italian scenes copied in watercolour by Dr. Crotch - none of them shown in quite sufficient detail to justify their inclusion in the catalogue of Callcott's paintings appended to this thesis - also seem to have represented a fresh and spontaneous approach to Italian scenery; Crotch's drawings record simple compositions, probably oil sketches, often classically balanced but without architectural or figurative props, and clear and luminous blue and pale yellow skies.²⁸ A marked spontaneity is also apparent in Mr. D.L.T. Oppé's pen and wash drawing of an Italian landscape (No. 252; Pl. 94), although a Claudian structure is already present. Whether this, and the drawing recently sold in London which shows a rather similar handling of the pen but is less bold in its washes (No. 253), records an actual place has not yet been determined, but, even though staffage figures have been added to the latter, both sheets have a freshness and a compositional solidity lacking in some of the large finished paintings. It is, at all events, clear that Callcott's treatment of Italy was by no means uniformly pedantic, but this weakness has to be admitted in some of his finished works. To place them within the formal tradition of classical landscape, to evoke the spirit and history

28 Crotch's sketchbook, loc. cit.

of Italy by memory and association, Callcott tended to assert himself too much over his subjects. In a perceptive passage which may form a fitting conclusion to an account of Callcott's Italian paintings, the Redgraves admitted this, if only by implication, but showed that this weakness arose entirely from the gravity of Callcott's purpose. Callcott's Italian compositions, they wrote, 'have an air of classic grandeur, which, if we cannot place him near Turner, at least induces us to regret that such art is fast dying out of our school: dying out before those merely imitative landscapes which are painted out of doors and direct from nature With all the faults of the school (of classic landscape), how much is the loss to be deplored of the talent which produced it! What a refined art! What an attempt to lift us out of the commonplaces of nature!'²⁹

English Landscapes

Callcott seems to have produced very few English subjects after his return from his continental tour, and only three Academy exhibits have specifically English titles, An English Water-Mill shown in 1832, Harvest in the Highlands, painted with Edwin Landseer and shown in 1833, and An English Landscape Composition shown in 1842, although several others could of course have shown English scenery.

The 1832 English Water Mill, purchased by Miss Duckworth, may perhaps be identified with the painting now in the Manchester City Art Gallery (No. 87; Pl. 61), a placid scene of a mill

²⁹ S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 345.

pond with an angler and several ducks, and a plain, flatly painted mill building beyond. The handling of the trees might appear to belong to Callcott's earlier picturesque and pastoral landscape phase, but in comparison with the 1805 Water Mill (No. 14; Pl. 6), this is altogether less wrought; those details which are most exaggerated in the 1805 painting are here simplified or generalised. The composition of the Manchester canvas, with its distant vista above the mill bridge and its placing of the mill on the right, might suggest that Callcott had in mind Constable's Mill at Gillingham in the Mellon Collection, which had been shown at the Academy in 1826, but it is the Constable, oddly enough, which seems closer in picturesque spirit and nervous handling to Callcott's 1805 picture. Callcott may have recognised a connection, and, seeing in Constable's painting no more than a kind of imitation rusticity, have meant to suggest what now seemed to him the more 'natural' treatment of such a subject.

In spite of Callcott's known suspicion and misunderstanding of Constable's motives as a landscapist, there are indications that he looked hard at his work and made some attempt to respond to its challenge, but because he misunderstood Constable's purpose, he was unable to do so very effectively. The small Wooden Bridge, which belonged to Robert Vernon and is now in the Tate Gallery (No. 101; Pl. 68), provides, I think, a particularly clear instance of Callcott's attempt to assimilate elements of Constable's landscape style. If there is a single compositional source, it may well have been the View on the Stour in the Huntington Library, which Constable had shown in 1822; the disposition of river, bridge and tall bank of trees at left would seem to permit a connection, and the deliberately rough handling of the bridge

and cloudy sky owe a more general debt to Constable. Yet the same difference pertains here as has already been noticed between Callcott's earlier pastoral subjects and those of Turner; whereas the boats being poled along the Stour in Constable's painting are monumental in themselves, and give point and actuality to the scene, Callcott's horses and hay-cart provide a motif so hackneyed as hardly to count as a working element in the landscape, and the man in a boat gathering reeds is too insignificant to provide more than a filler for an otherwise redundant area of the composition. Once again, Callcott's pastoral fails to function, and is revealed as little more than the urban dweller's dream. Yet it was this painting, just because of its lack of the specific, which seemed to Leigh Hunt to evoke the essence of England, and suggested to him his poem, England, Pro and Con, written apparently quite without any sense of irony:

A wooden bridge, a hut embower'd, a stream,
That calmly seems to wait the dredger's will;
Horses with patient noses in a team;
A wife, babe-holding, yet laborious still;
A burst of sunshine, cloud-racks, wide and chill -
'Tis a right English, and a pleasant scene
To duteous eyes, and eke the ducks, I ween
.....

This painting was perhaps the Returning from Market shown at the Academy in 1834, and listed in Callcott's Catalogue as having been bought by Lord Dover.³⁰ There is a copy, of poor quality, in the collection of Mr. Michael Kirby.

A presumably English landscape in a different vein was the Shepherds' Boys with their Dogs exhibited at the Academy in

30 Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 9.

1833, having been painted for Lord Lansdowne (No. 89). Now known only from a Dibdin lithograph (Pl. 63), this was a shallow rectangular composition of an open heath scene. The genre figures with their dog - for which there are several careful pencil studies in the collection of Mr. D.L.T. Oppé (Nos. 255-257) and the horse and cart, remind one of the picturesque staffage added to Callcott's earlier landscape paintings. On their own they hardly seem sufficient to bring life to the subject, and the painting must have depended for its impact largely on the effect of misty light veiling the horizon; in this respect the Shepherds' Boys would seem to have looked back to the contre-jour pastorals of Cuyp, and to the 1807 Cow Boys at Coventry (No. 18; Pl. 10), as does also a cattle scene, The Meadow, which belonged to Robert Vernon and is now in the Tate Gallery (No. 100). A similar narrow rectangular format appears in a small painting on millboard from the collection of John Sheepshanks in the V. and A.M. (No. 102), here reproduced in a Dibdin lithograph (Pl. 69). Once again Callcott has taken a wide, open view looking to a distant horizon across almost flat country; the view is framed on one side by an inn, outside which several figures are gathered. The handling is fresh and rather dry, that of an oil sketch rather than a finished painting, and the colours warm if limited. This must be one of the '3 small sketches painted of various subjects at Gravesend - purchased by John Sheepshanks', recorded in Callcott's Catalogue.³¹

As well as the Shepherds' Boys, Callcott showed in 1833

31 Ibid., p. 10.

his large Harvest in the Highlands, the Figures by E. Landseer R.A., the landscape by A.W. Callcott (No. 90), which was bought by his friend Samuel Cartwright. Landseer was by now a close friend of Callcott, and the two artists had a number of mutual patrons as well as friends, including the Duke of Devonshire, for whose Bolton Abbey in the Olden Time Landseer made a study of Callcott's rather handsome head 'in oil, nearly the size of life, ... al prima and exquisitely finished in a sitting of three or four hours',³² for the monk standing at the abbey gate to receive offerings of fish and game. The Harvest, a painting celebrated in its day, has not come to light, and nor has Callcott's final exhibited English scene, An English Landscape; Cows at the Watering Place, shown in 1842, the work which inspired the comment from 'an eminent figure painter' recorded by the Redgraves - 'I should say it was milk and water'. The Redgraves themselves, describing the composition as 'a group of cows standing in a pool of water under some trees' - which rather puts one in mind of the work of T.S. Cooper - accuse it of 'weakness and insipidity'.³³

Three further English landscapes are known or recorded, none of them recognisable in Callcott's Catalogue. At the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle there is a canvas of Windsor Castle (No. 103), pale in tone and smooth and waxy in finish like the V. & A.M. Dort (No. 120), and the Ferens Art Gallery, Hull owns a somewhat more vigorous and unassuming painting of Northfleet, near Greenwich signed and dated 1841 (No. 118). A final, much

32 Horsley, op. cit., p. 238.

33 S. and R. Redgrave, loc. cit.

more ambitious composition, probably of a Thames-side village, is recorded in a Dibdin lithograph (No. 104; Pl. 70). This painting is unusually full of detail and interest, and seems to express a trend, at least in finished works if not in more private canvases such as the Northfleet, back to the luxurious pastoral effects of some of his earlier landscapes.

No really consistent style emerges from the later English subjects known or recorded today, and none save the Newcastle Windsor (No. 103) seems to show the pale, even weak colouring remarked upon by the Redgraves and Dr. Waagen when discussing Callcott's late work. The influence of or competition with Turner, which had been such a feature of much of Callcott's earlier landscape and marine work, and can still be traced in his later Italian compositions, is certainly absent from the English subjects produced after about 1830. Callcott was by now exposed to newer and more varied influences which may have tended to confuse his purpose in landscape painting; to the powerful if, as we have seen, rather misleading impact of certain of Constable's more 'composed' rural subjects, would have been added stimulæ from Linnell, a friend of long standing, from Thomas Creswick, a near-neighbour in Linden Grove, and from F.R. Lee and J.J. Chalon, brother of his friend Alfred Chalon and an artist who had himself responded to Callcott's own work as a young man, from T.S. Cooper and many others. It is with artists such as these that Callcott's later English landscapes seem to belong most happily - partly, no doubt, because the younger men had themselves absorbed elements from Callcott's early work - but Callcott produced too few such paintings, and too few of them seem to have survived, for the connection to be pursued in any detail.

History and Genre Subjects

Those of Callcott's later works which take him closest to a younger generation of painters are the several subject paintings he produced after 1830. The most important of these were without doubt the two large historical canvases Callcott exhibited in 1837 and 1840, Raphael and the Fornarina (No. 107) and Milton dictating to his Daughters (No. 112), and it is these which raise the most interesting questions of stimulus. Callcott's several Shakespearian subjects are more easily explained by his friendships and contacts with artists like G.S. Newton, C.R. Leslie, Thomas Webster, for several years his next-door neighbour in the Mall, and of course Mulready and Wilkie, while other compositions may be related either to earlier pastoral genre, to the historical landscapes of c. 1812-14 or to the Italian costume subjects of the later period already discussed in this chapter.

The 1833 Italian Girls going on Procession to their First Communion was no doubt an elevating costume piece very close to genre painting proper, and in the same year Callcott confirmed such a trend in his work by exhibiting The Benighted Traveller, bought by Robert Vernon (No. 84), and now known from an engraving and from the small oil sketch on paper for the composition in the Tate Gallery (No. 85; Pl. 59). Here Callcott showed himself again dependant on the rustic subjects of Gainsborough and Wheatley; indeed more obviously than the 1812 Cottager's Relief, this subject of a traveller arriving in the dark at the door of a cottage, to be received by a young mother with her baby in her arms, depends on such works as Wheatley's Rustic Benevolence and

Gainsborough's Cassel Charity relieving Distress. The traveller's arm is outspread in a rather simplistic gesture of hopelessness, and, at least in the sketch, the subject lacks vitality; the author of the text attached to the Vernon Gallery of British Art remarked that The Benighted Traveller, although 'a clever little bit of composition and effect', 'adds nothing to the artist's reputation'.³⁴

A similarly negative judgement was to overtake the very large Raphael and the Fornarina (No. 107), shown at the Academy in 1837, although at first, as the Redgraves rather cryptically state, 'in the eyes of many it was a success'.³⁵ This was a crucial work in Callcott's career, and gains further in significance when placed beside the 1840 Milton dictating to his Daughters (No. 112). Although Maria Callcott had no doubt that the latter was her husband's 'most intellectual' picture, 'far surpassing the Fornarina in those qualities that I could wish painting in this country to arrive at',³⁶ the two subjects were surely intended to be complementary; indeed there was a precedent for the connection, for in 1817 Henry Joseph Fradelle had exhibited paintings of both subjects at the British Institution.

The Raphael occupied Callcott for several years. A first version is recorded in his Catalogue as painted for the Duke of Norfolk in 1835; this was on two canvases, presumably one for each figure, divided by a narrow strip of beading (No. 106).³⁷

34 Vernon Gallery of British Art, III, No. 12.

35 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 344.

36 M.C. letter, 1840, loc. cit.

37 Callcott, Catalogue, loc. cit., p. 4.

The exhibited painting, apparently a single canvas, was completed on commission for Sir George Phillips (No. 107). Neither version is known today, although the composition is recorded in engravings (i.e. Pl. 72) and in figure studies in the Metzdorf Album (ff. 2-3).

Callcott's interest in a Raphael subject would have derived from a variety of sources, not all of them pictorial. He would certainly have remembered Turner's Rome from the Vatican. Raffaele accompanied by la Fornarina, preparing his pictures for the decoration of the Loggia, shown at the Academy in 1820 and now in the Tate Gallery, but his painting has none of the programmatic content or didactic personal message of the Turner. Nor, although it is admittedly more nearly in their anecdotal tradition, does it conform very closely to the paintings of the same subject by Ingres, N. Brockendon or Fradelle himself, all of which include some direct reference to Raphael's own portrait of the Fornarina; Fradelle's canvas, typical of the tradition and probably the variant freshest in Callcott's memory, had borne the caption: 'La Fornarina is distinguished by the intimacy with which she lived with Raphael. He is here represented in the act of painting the celebrated picture of her, which is preserved in the Ducal Gallery at Florence'; and Brockendon's version showed her 'observing the progress of her portrait in Raphael's study'. In Callcott's painting, on the other hand, the Fornarina's portrait exists only by implication, and Raphael is presented in his orthodox eighteenth century guise, as a draughtsman, a sketchbook on his knee and several sheets of paper beside him, as he makes his sketches for the portrait. Callcott's main concern is not with a particular episode or phase in Raphael's life, but with romantic love as it bears upon artistic inspiration,

a theme already often expressed in relation to Raphael, for instance by Leigh Hunt, whom I believe to have been a highly influential friend of the Callcotts, when in 1820 he wrote of Raphael's love for the Fornarina and spoke of the master painting 'as it were, in the light of her eyes'.³⁸ The theme of love - which seems to have preoccupied Callcott in the 1830's and appears in two drawings of lovers in the Metzdorf Album (ff. 14, 23) - would have taken his imagination beyond the strict confines of his subject, and it is likely that he also considered subjects of Paolo and Francesca when working out his composition. In Paris in 1814, he may have seen that interesting precursor of the Troubadour Style shown in the Salon that year, Coupin de la Couperie's Fatal Love of Paolo and Francesca, which, no doubt through the engraving of its earlier version in the Annales du Musée of 1812, served as the model for Ingres's paintings of the same subject at Chantilly (Musée Condé) and Angers, and a link with the Paolo and Francesca theme, in spite of its added element of nemesis, is the more likely as in 1837, the same year as Callcott showed his second Raphael, his friend William Dyce exhibited a Paolo and Francesca at the Scottish Academy (now National Gallery of Scotland). Dyce's painting, though much harder in its details and presumably also in finish than the Callcott, shows a faintly similar grouping of the figures, and both Dyce and Callcott were aware of the same Nazarene prototypes; however decorative and sentimental Callcott's painting looks, even

38 Hunt in The Indicator, II, 22 November, 1820 (basing his account of Raphael decorating the Chigi Palace with frescoes of Cupid and Psyche on an apocryphal story in Vasari). Callcott's sketch portrait of Hunt is in the London Library (Addendum, p. 363).

in an engraving, it is difficult to avoid seeing in his two massive seated figures, one in profile and the other facing forwards, an echo of Pforr's design for an Allegory of Friendship, or of Overbeck's Italia and Germania. It was after all in 1836 that the Callcott family put together The Remembrancer, with a glowing account of Overbeck's work.³⁹

Callcott's Raphael, an important example of that historicism in the arts which occurs quite often in English and continental painting of the period, is clearly related to the art historical interests he shared with Maria, and with a number of his friends. In 1832 he had, as we have seen, been visited by J.D. Passavant, whose monumental life of Raphael first appeared in 1839; Thomas Lawrence's collection of drawings was well known to him, and had indeed been exhibited in part in 1836; Leigh Hunt was also a collector; and Raphael would have provided common ground with Samuel Rogers, who in 1832 lent the Callcotts his series of drawings after Michelangelo, supposedly by Vasari, which were copied by Linnell.⁴⁰ These London contacts would have kept fresh the memories of Raphael from their European tour, and the Callcotts may even have planned to build up a Raphael archive of their own, for among their large collection of drawings by Thomas Stothard was a copy in watercolour of the Transfiguration, drawn in the Louvre and annotated with colour notes, and now in the

³⁹ The Remembrancer, Strode Papers, pp. 85-7, 'of Modern German Art'.

⁴⁰ For this loan, see M.C. to Lady Grey, 6 September, 1832, Garrowby Papers (Earl of Halifax), AI.4.24.2.

Ashmolean.⁴¹ Interest in Raphael as a man thus went hand in hand with stricter art-historical preoccupations. Looking at Jean-Baptiste Wicar's collection in Rome in 1828 the Callcotts would probably have seen the drawing of an Unknown Youth also in the Ashmolean, which may already have attracted the legend that it was an early self-portrait by the master; their friend Leigh Hunt wrote a sonnet on an engraving of Raphael as a young man; and they would have known the painting of Raphael with the Fornarina by Sebastiano del Piombo then in the Northwick Collection, if only through the 1828 mezzotint by S.W. Reynolds (Pl. 99). Although the latter work probably provided an additional compositional source, the features of Callcott's Raphael seem to conform to no very clear type; the Fornarina herself, however, is obviously posed after the Sebastiano portrait in the Uffizi, which the Callcotts would have regarded as by Raphael himself.

That Callcott followed a Raphael subject with one of Milton (No. 112; Pl. 74) is hardly fortuitous, for this also was concerned with inspiration in the arts. Together the subjects present an obvious contrast in creative processes, the painter's

41 The Ashmolean houses several of Callcott's drawings by Stothard. Stothard's interest in Raphael as a colourist is in fact in advance of Turner's. The inscription on the copy of the Transfiguration reads: ... the sky deep clear blue warm yellowish white near the Christ. His drapery although white is darker than the immediate background and is somewhat of a half tint of pure gray with firm dark shadows in his face/hands and feet and his dark brown hair opposed by their warmth to the surrounding tints - all the colors preserve themselves to the deepest shadows down in to intense blackness and by this avoid tawdriness/... (cut) it is at once solid, rich and splendid.

external and objective, however emotionally based, blind Milton's subjective, peculiar to himself. But in spite of this difference, Milton's had always been recognised as the most pictorial of poetry, and the two paintings are probably concerned more with an idea of unity in the arts rather than with contrasts between them, just as Romney had linked Art with Science by exhibiting his own Milton and his Daughters with a companion Newton experimenting with the Prism. The Romney precedent was probably clear in Callcott's mind, for the Newton subject had been bought by his old patron William Chamberlayne, probably at the Romney sale in 1810, the year Callcott stayed with him at Cranbury. The notion of union, though entirely orthodox, was also one which was dear to Maria, and it took an obvious practical form in the wide range of professions represented in the Callcott salon at Kensington. The specific affinity between historical painting and epic poetry, which links Callcott's Raphael with his Milton, had also been stressed anew in recent years; Callcott had almost certainly read Leigh Hunt's 1833 essay, 'A New Gallery of Pictures',⁴² which argued just such a connection, and also Sidmouth's Oxford Prize composition, 'On the Affinity between Painting and Writing', which was reprinted in the first issue of Annals of the Fine Arts, and contained an effective phrase describing Raphael as the 'Virgil of Epic Painting'. Thus, if Raphael was a poetic painter, Milton was a painter's

42 'A New Gallery of Pictures', New Monthly Magazine, June, 1833, in C.H. and C.W. Houtchens, Leigh Hunt's Literary Criticism, 1956, pp. 420-45.

poet - 'the painter of the poets the poet for the painters', as Hunt wrote of Spenser.⁴³ Thus also, it may not be an accident that the composition of the Raphael seems to recall that of treatments of an epic subject from Dante, and it is certainly highly appropriate that, circumventing several more obvious English sources, Callcott referred for the Milton to Poussin's great Inspiration of the Epic Poet, now in the Louvre and then in the London house of Thomas Hope.

The link should not of course be pushed too far, but the pose of Callcott's Milton may be compared to that of Poussin's Apollo, and the standing figure of Milton's daughter would seem to be based in reverse on that of Calliope, who stands to inspire the god; if Callcott was indeed exploring the sources of artistic inspiration in both his large historical canvases, the analogy between the Fornarina and Calliope would not have been lost upon him. The Callcott Milton shows little relationship to earlier English treatments of the subject, like Romney's and Fuseli's, both of 1793, or indeed with a French example such as Delacroix's of 1824. James Barry's design engraved in 1807 (Pl. 100) after a drawing now in the British Museum is perhaps the closest in spirit with its monumental figures and comfortable, familiar domestic setting; like Callcott also, Barry includes Milton's organ. But even here the connections are far from close; Callcott's interior, but for its leaded windows, is by no means as quaint or 'period' as Barry's; there are no

43 'A New Gallery', loc. cit.

beams, and the symmetrical arrangement of chimney-breast and alcoves could belong to Callcott's own day. The figures themselves seem ill-at-ease, and rather obviously 'costumed' almost as if acting a charade.

Callcott's main literary source for the Milton was probably Dr. Johnson's Life, itself based on the biography by the poet's nephew, Edward Phillips, although Maria proved a resourceful assistant, sifting through a variety of other material; some of her 'Notes for the Milton Picture' have survived. She records the standard story of Milton dictating from an armchair, with his leg thrown over the arm, and adds the further account of Richardson, of the poet also composing in the night, 'under the impulse as it were of some strange fanatical fury; and that in these peculiar moments of imagination his amenuensis, who was generally his daughter, was summoned by the bell to arrest the verses as they came'. Against this Maria sets Johnson's statement that 'unhappily it happens to be known that his daughters were never taught to write', but she finally defends the historical accuracy of Augustus's painting; 'It is unfortunate for Dr. J. that we have Aubrey's authority that Milton's youngest daughter was his amenuensis'.⁴⁴ In choosing his own treatment of a Milton theme, Callcott had already fended off two different suggestions, the first from a friend and the second from Maria herself. In the long letter about the painting already quoted elsewhere, Maria recalled 'almost with shame, that Mr. Milman suggested to my husband to

44 'Notes for the Milton Picture - by Lady C', in Anecdotes and Journals, Robinson Papers, M.C. Ia, f. 15.

paint Milton according to the apocryphal story, asleep under a tree, while an Italian lady passing by in her carriage fell in love with him! A thing as unfit for an Englishman to paint as part of Milton's life, as it is absurd as a story'⁴⁵ (although it may be recalled that Richard Westall had exhibited just this subject at the Academy in 1830). Maria herself had 'dwelt so long in my own mind upon the grand moral picture of Milton accepting from the council of the common people the task of defending the people of England, although he knew that it must be at the sacrifice of his own eyesight that I had thought it might be the subject of a picture. But, I was soon made to feel how little judgement such a fancy contained. How was the painter to represent Milton's consciousness of his great sacrifice? He might place him at the table before all the great & grave characters composing the council, he might give him the air of stern and immovable resolution but how shew that it was on that particular occasion, & that the devotion implied that particular sacrifice? Would the spectator be able to distinguish this particular act from the acceptance of the commission to write the *Iconoclastes* & so hew down at once the kingly image, which the enemies of the commonwealth had set up? Or that time when his enthusiasm, civil & religious, was so greatly stirred, when he was bidden to write to the crowned heads of Europe in behalf of the

"Slaughtered saints whose bones
Lay scattered on the Alpine mountains cold"

45 M.C. letter, 1840, loc. cit.

'Mr. Milman' is probably Edward Hart Milman (1791-1868), Dean of St. Paul's from 1849 but at this time Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster; also poet, essayist and author of epic historical dramas.

So do we go astray in our notions of what will paint, forgetting the means which the artist has at his disposal.'⁴⁶ Callcott's established and unmistakable subject was evidently designed to avoid such pitfalls, but, perhaps in deference to Maria's idea, he added pathos to the scene by stressing Milton's blindness in the text attached to the painting: 'He is represented as he describes Samson in the "Agonistes" "dark amid the blaze of noon" and at the moment when dictating these lines: "Seasons return, but not to me return" etc.'

The painting was harshly reviewed; critics were puzzled by Callcott's choice of a subject entirely without landscape or natural elements, and did not like the sombre colouring and unpainterly finish. This did not surprise Maria, who admitted to her unknown correspondent that 'critics brought up in the schools most prevalent in England, & which have in my opinion had too much influence on our national taste and practise, may not like the execution or entirely approve of the colouring. But I do not think that dutch dexterity of hand, or flemish brilliancy of hue, would have improved the picture of our great republican.'⁴⁷ Sadly, however, despite the Callcotts' long devotion to the subject, and the significance they evidently attached to it, the surviving photograph of the Milton suggests a static and laboured composition. The Redgraves justly summed up the problem when they described it as 'a large picture, rather than a great one; a picture that would

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

have taxed the strength of a man in the prime of his art It impressed the spectator with an oppressive sense of the labour that had called it forth rather than with the grandeur of the subject yet it satisfied most of the conditions and rules of art, and wanted but the fire of youth and genius to make it a real and impressive work'.⁴⁸

Similar strictures might well be applied to another large historical composition, this time of an antique subject, the Procession to the Temple of Aesculapius painted in 1839 and now at Towneley Hall (No. 111). This painting is perhaps the last instance of direct inspiration from Turner, being almost certainly based on Turner's large Phryne going to the Public Baths as Venus, which had appeared in the Academy the previous year and is now in the Tate Gallery. Both paintings are of processional subjects, employ an upright canvas, and attempt a generalised picture of ancient Athens and the habits of its people. Callcott's composition, however, is dry and hard in texture, dull and restricted in colour, and like some of the Italian landscapes already mentioned, depends too much on a rigid architec-
tonic structure - in this case established by the massive columns of the temple, seen at left and right, rising above the picture space. The painting is full of carefully studied details, but the total impression amounts to something uncomfortably like a scene from an early Hollywood epic with a cast of thousands; and if the general character of the subject seems to anticipate the work of Poynter and Alma Tadema, Callcott has failed to

48 S. and R. Redgrave, op. cit., p. 344.

approach their brilliance of colour and impression of actuality. According to Dafforne the Aesculapius was painted for Callcott's friend Dr. Carpenter, which no doubt explains this otherwise rather curious tribute to the god of healing.⁴⁹

The Columbus recorded in Callcott's Catalogue as having been sold in 1839 to Miss Duckworth and then as having passed to Sir Thomas Coltman seems his only other treatment of a potentially grand and significant theme,⁵⁰ but it is unlikely that Callcott, now a sick man, could have tackled another large canvas at the same time as he was working on the Milton and the Aesculapius, and the painting was probably smaller in size, bringing a historical subject more into line with genre. Certainly his several other late subject pieces are smaller in scale, brighter in colour and more painterly in handling. In this category fall two attractive Shakespearian subjects, the Falstaff and Simple shown at the British Institution in 1835 (No. 116; Pl. 75) and the Slender and Anne Page of about the same date (No. 113), both of which were painted for John Sheepshanks and are now in the V. & A.M. Callcott sold a small preliminary sketch of the Slender and Anne Page to the Earl of Essex, probably the small upright oil study in the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Gallery at Stratford (No. 114) and a related drawing of the figures is in the Metzdorf Album (f. 4). Both paintings from The Merry Wives of Windsor are laid on panel, and have a brightness of colour and - especially in the Falstaff - a sharpness of

49 Callcott, Catalogue, p. 4.

50 Ibid., p. 10.

characterisation unusual for Callcott. A further Shakespearian subject which appeared in the Callcott executors' sale in 1845 and several times subsequently at auction, a Launce and his Dog, is untraced, although there is a drawing in the Metzdorf Album which may possibly be a study for the composition (f. 31). This painting is not mentioned in Callcott's Catalogue, and nor is the Shylock and Jessica recorded in the Wantage collection. On the final page of the Catalogue there is a mention of a painting entitled Wined Well, evidently another genre piece; a puzzling date, 1853, is attached, and it is unclear whether this refers to a work by Callcott;⁵¹ as parts of the Catalogue seem to have been compiled by a later hand, presumably a member of the Horsley family, it is conceivable that a subject painting by Callcott could have become confused with one by John Callcott Horsley, who seems to have been influenced by the late trend towards narrative and history in Callcott's work, and indeed showed a Milton dictating to his Daughters, with the same text as Callcott's, at the Academy in 1859. Callcott also seems to have thought of a painting of a subject from Don Quixote; a drawing of Sancho Panza is in the V. & A.M. (No. 261). Also probably connected with some projected subject or genre picture is the small study of a nobleman, perhaps a Spaniard, in seventeenth century costume, in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace (No. 117). This was not among the group of paintings acquired by Prince Albert at the 1845 sale, and cannot be identified with any item listed in Callcott's Catalogue.

51 Ibid., p. 12.

Subjects for the Engraver

During the later years of his life, Callcott was involved with several schemes for illustration and engraving. The largest of these projects was that for a group of drawings (Nos. 262-273) for Finden's Landscape Illustrations of the Bible, which appeared in 1835-6; Callcott also designed several vignettes for Rogers's Poems, and for an embellished edition of Gray's Elegy.

Callcott's drawings for Rogers's poems and for the Elegy have not survived, but three rather thin watercolours are known for Finden's Bible, the Damascus in the British Museum (No. 263), the Ascalon on the Coast of Israel in the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester (No. 262; Pl. 95) and the Fountain at Jericho (Ribhah) in the Art Gallery, Leicester (No. 264). On this project Callcott worked with Turner, Clarkson Stanfield, David Roberts and others; the Revd. W. Kingsley recalled that 'Turner told me that he and Callcott had a certain number of the Bible sketches to realise between them: they agreed to pick them alternately, drawing lots for first choice: Callcott won the choice and selected at once a sketch of Ararat.'⁵²

Callcott's work for Rogers and for Messrs. Finden seems to have given him great difficulty, and to have brought out the worst in his character. An anonymous note among the Whitley Papers records that 'Rogers said Turner and Stothard entered into his views without difficulty in the illustrations of his

⁵² Notes by Kingsley appended to Ruskin's catalogue of his collection of drawings by Turner (see Ruskin, Works, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, XIII, p. 534, note 50).

Italy and poems - assisted each other, did whatever he wished, while Calcott wrote angry letters to him on his suggestions and alterations'; and in the margin appears what is no doubt an extract from one of them - 'Don't send a copy of your book to Lady Calcott, I shall send it back'.⁵³ Calcott proved no less prickly over the Bible illustrations, which should have been straightforward as they were based on drawings by other artists and travellers, notably Charles Barry. The Findens themselves seem to have been unsatisfactory employers - when Calcott suggested that they should protect his drawings by placing them under glass when they were not being worked on, what Calcott called 'an apparent predisposition to take offence' led them to 'construe my wish into an unnecessary and gratuitous insult'.⁵⁴ At the same time it is apparent from Calcott's letter to Barry, transcribed in Appendix IV,⁵⁵ that the Findens had expected more from him than he had originally undertaken to give, and had then complained of the results, so that his evident resentment must have had at least some justification. Calcott seems to imply, perhaps in contradiction of Kingsley's account to Ruskin, that he had originally intended only to correct the proofs of engravings from drawings by other hands, and not to make drawings himself. What is so interesting about this otherwise rather peripheral storm in a teacup, is Calcott's remark to Barry about being 'offended

53 B.M. Whitley Papers, Add. MSS. 32566, p. 41.

54 Calcott to Messrs. Finden, 8 December, 1833, Royal Academy, Calcott Papers, CA/2.

55 Calcott to Barry, 15 October, 1833, Royal Academy, Calcott Papers, CA/1.

on finding I had been called upon to take what Mr. Turner had relinquished', and being 'offered degrading terms' to do so. From this we may infer that Callcott had already, for some members of the art world, fallen behind Turner in status, and that he was both aware of this and resentful of it. It is also clear that Callcott was unsure how properly to respond; he had obviously allowed his anger with the Findens to make him discourteous to Barry, an uncharacteristic reaction for which he did his best to apologise. This is, perhaps, just one small straw in a wind of critical change and reaction, hinting also at a degree of uncertainty and self-criticism hidden behind Callcott's imposing and bland exterior.

* * * *

In conclusion, it is hardly necessary to labour the contrast between Callcott's production before his European tour and after it; the greater response to external influence, the restless experiment with new subjects and the thinner, sometimes more careless technique of the later work is readily apparent, suggesting an artist who had to some extent lost direction as he attempted to move with the times. Although the impact of Turner on Callcott's earlier work must not be overstated, and had applied only to some of it, there can be no doubt that Callcott's inability to find acceptable models in the more mature Turner left a considerable vacuum in his inspiration; throughout his career he had sought stimulæ from other painters rather than from direct observation, and certainly no other model, save possibly Cuyp, had proved so

fruitful an inspiration as had Turner. But Turner had left Callcott far behind, and the artist who had first acquired reputation as a potential rival of Turner, and consolidated it as a disciple, finally became his direct antithesis.

Thornbury's story of Turner bursting into tears and asking to be left alone when he heard the news of the death of 'my friend Callcott' is touching, and quite probably true; at the same time one would dearly love to possess Turner's considered view of Callcott, just as Callcott, still perhaps confident at heart of the interest of posterity, was careful to leave us his of Turner. But it would be wrong to end on this rather ironic note. Just as the course and pattern of Callcott's career has considerable light to throw on the taste, patronage and art establishment of his own day, so a significant proportion of his work is of sufficient quality and appeal to deserve serious reassessment today. It is high time that Ruskin's judgement was reversed, and Callcott was once again admitted to the ranks of 'those considered representatives of the English School'.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS

The following catalogue is divided into two sections, one for paintings and another for drawings. Works have been included largely on the basis of examination in the original or in photographs, although others still unknown to me have been incorporated where they are recorded in prints, or in descriptions (in old sale catalogues or accounts of collections) sufficiently detailed as to make them recognisable should they come to light in the future. Where prints are unlikely to be an exact guide to the appearance of the originals (as in the case of Francia's soft-ground etchings in his Studies of Landscape), I have decided not to attempt to list the originals. Where known works are readily available in public or private collections in England, it may generally be assumed that I have seen them; I have also seen one painting in a Scottish collection; works in the United States and elsewhere have not been examined; all known works not seen by me are marked by an asterisk after present provenance.

The greater problem in compiling this catalogue has been one of exclusion rather than inclusion. Callcott's reluctance to sign, together with the varied styles in which he worked, makes attribution, where not supported by firm evidence of provenance, a risky undertaking. Moreover his high reputation in the last century may be assumed to have resulted in a fair number of copies or even forgeries - I have seen several paintings with false signatures - while the relative ignorance

of his work in the present century has made him a convenient 'waste-paper basket' for otherwise nameless pastiches of Turner, Wilson, Bonington and even of Dutch marine artists of the seventeenth century. Picking a way through these in the hope of finding authentic works has been frustrating and usually fruitless. The number of autograph works known to me remains small - even for an artist who was not notably prolific - and a relatively high proportion of paintings and some drawings traditionally called 'Callcott' (i.e. in photographs in the Witt Library) has had to be rejected. The list given below can therefore make no claim to being a catalogue raisonné; it is to be hoped, however, that it provides a representative foundation for further identification and study. The arrangement is approximately chronological; where there is no internal evidence of date, and a work was not exhibited, I have suggested approximate dates alongside the titles; these are of course not infallible.

Printed sources most often quoted are referred to in the abbreviations listed below. Plate numbers are given after the titles of works, as are page references to those passages in the main text where works are subjected to critical discussion or their provenances are elucidated.

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- Waagen 1838 G. Waagen, Works of Art and Artists in England, 2 vols., 1838.

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- Young J. Young, A Catalogue of Pictures by British Artists, in the Possession of Sir John Fleming Leicester, Bart., 1821.
- B.I. British Institution.
- R.A. Royal Academy.

1. Classical Landscape c. 1796-99

pp. 203-4

Oil on canvas; 66.7 : 83.8 cm.

PROV. J.C. Horsley; Mrs. R.B. Gotch; Mrs. Nancy Strode.

The executors of Mrs. Nancy Strode.

2. View of Oxford

pp. 178, 185-6

Oil on canvas; 92.5 : 150 cm.

Dated 1799 on the frame. Perhaps an earlier version of the painting shown at the R.A. in 1801 (16) and painted over by Callcott.

Junior Common Room, Worcester College, Oxford.

3. Portrait of Dr. Grey (1797-1806)

Pl. 1 pp. 178-9

Oil on canvas; 76.2 : 63.5 cm.

Signed at l. lower corner A.W. Callcott.

PROV. The sitter; presented to the Royal Society at the request of his nephew, 1830.

LIT. Redgrave, pp. 341-2.

EXH. R.A., 1802 (525); South Kensington, National Portrait Exhibition, 1868 (167).

Royal Society, London.

4. Portrait of Dr. J.W. Callcott (1766-1821)

p. 179

Oil on canvas; 96.5 : 73.6 cm.

PROV. The sitter; W.H. Callcott; N. O'Neill.

EXH. South Kensington, National Portrait Exhibition, 1868 (91).

ENGR. By F.C. Lewis, 1824, as frontispiece to Dr. Callcott's Collection of Glees.

Derek Hudson, Esq.

5. Portrait of Charles Dignum (1765-1827)

Pl. 2 p. 179

? Oil on canvas; size unknown.

EXH. R.A., 1803 (516).

ENGR. By J. Heath.

Whereabouts unknown. There is a replica, in miniature on ivory, at the Garrick Club (C.K. Adams, A Catalogue of the Pictures in the Garrick Club, 1936, p. 105, No. 351).

6. Portrait of William Mulready (1786-1863) c. 1808-9

Pl. 3 p. 180

? Oil on canvas; size unknown.

LIT. Horsley, repr. pl. 5, as in the author's possession.

Whereabouts unknown.

7. Portrait of Sophy Callcott as 'Cynthia' c. 1803

p. 179

Oil on canvas; 40.5 : 30.5 cm.

PROV. W.H. Callcott; N. O'Neill.

Miss Katherine Hudson.

8. Morning

Pl. 4 p. 180

Oil on canvas; 74.9 : 62.3 cm.

PROV. Almost certainly painted for John Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 2nd Marquess of Lansdowne; certainly Robert Vernon; Alexander Colvin; Mrs. K.A.V. Waddilove (Christie's Sale, 19 November, 1976, lot 36).

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1803 (743).

ENGR. In mezzotint by Letitia Byrne, 1809, as Composition.

Private collection.

9. A Heath, with Peasants returning from Market; a Storm coming on in the Distance

p. 188

Oil on canvas; 101.6 : 172.7 cm.

PROV. A.W. Callcott (Christie's Sale, 1845, bt. Strutt); S. Hammond; Christie's Sale, 17 June, 1854, lot 80 as 'Hampstead Heath'; Mrs. Johnson.

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1803 (556); B.I., 1806 (4); Northern Academy of Arts, Newcastle, First Annual Exhibition, 1828 (109), as 'Hampstead Heath'; R.A., 1890 (161), as ibid.

Mr. Prosper Guerry, New York City.*

10. The Gravel Pit

p. 188

Oil on board; 16.5 : 25.4 cm.

PROV. A.W. Callcott; Arthur Kay; Christie's Sale, 18 December, 1970, lot 146; Christie's Sale, 8 April, 1971, lot 168.

EXH. R.A., 1803 (164).

Private collection.

11. Coast Scene

pp. 207-8

Oil on canvas; 70 : 51 cm.

Conceivably related to the Moonrise, with Fishermen drawing their Nets, shown at the R.A., 1805 (42), although weaker than Callcott's work of that year and probably rather earlier.

Borough Library and Art Gallery, Stockport.

12. Fishing Boats becalmed; Moonlight c. 1804-5

p. 208

Oil on canvas; 61 : 89 cm.

PROV. Mrs. I. Fairchild (Sotheby's Sale, 27 June, 1973).

Whereabouts unknown.

13. Mountain Scene; North Wales c. 1804

Pl. 5 p. 186

Oil on canvas; 45.7 : 56.5 cm.

David Spink, Esq.

14. The Water Mill

Pl. 6 pp.25-6,189-90

Oil on canvas; 235 : 154 cm.

PROV. Sir John Leicester; William Chamberlayne;
Mrs. Tankerville Chamberlayne.LIT. Farington, 20 March, 4 April, 1805 and 4 July,
1809; W.T. Whitley, Art in England 1800-1820,
1928, pp. 88 and 115; Hall, pp. 66 and 114.

EXH. R.A., 1805 (22).

ENGR. In mezzotint by Charles Turner, 1812.

Now sadly damaged and stored crated.

Private collection.

15. A Sea-Coast, with Figures bargaining for Fish

Pl. 7 pp.29, 208-11

Oil on canvas; 122 : 183 cm.

PROV. Almost certainly painted for Sir John Leicester;
certainly William Chamberlayne, and probably bt. by
him from Sir John with Nos. 14 and 16; Mrs. Tankerville
Chamberlayne.LIT. If Sir John's painting, Farington, 5 April, 5 May,
11 May, 2 July, 1806; Dafforne, pp. 31-2; Hall, pp.
66 and 113, where confused with the Littlehampton Pier
now in the Tate Gallery (No. 42; Pl. 31).

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1806 (241).

Private collection.

16. A Calm, with Figures; Shrimping

Pl. 8 pp.29, 208-11

Oil on canvas; 122 : 183 cm.

PROV. Almost certainly bt. by Thomas Lister Parker and acquired from him by Sir John Leicester, 1808; certainly William Chamberlayne, who probably bt. it with Nos. 14 and 15 above; Mrs. Tankerville Chamberlayne.

LIT. If the Parker painting, Farington, 5 April, 5 May, 6 May, 2 July, 1806; Dafforne, pp. 31-2, where confused with No. 46 below; Hall, pp. 66 and 114; Brown, pp. 721-2.

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1806 (290).

In my note in The Burlington Magazine in 1975, I stated Parker's Calm to be lost; I now believe it to be the painting later bought by Chamberlayne.

Private collection.

17. Market Day

Pl. 9 pp. 195-6

Oil on canvas; 147.3 : 256 cm.

PROV. Painted for Sir John Leicester (cr. Lord de Tabley, 1826); has since remained in Tabley collection.

LIT. Tabley Catalogue, 1808; Farington, 23 January, 13 March, 7 April, 5 May, 1807; Carey, No. 50; Young, No. 57 repr.; Hall, pp. 67 and 113.

EXH. R.A., 1807 (18); R.A., 1879 (167).

ENGR. Etching by J. Young, in Young, p. 27.

The Victoria University of Manchester, Tabley House.

18. Cow Boys

Pl. 10 pp. 194-5

Oil on canvas; 125 : 102 cm.

PROV. Almost certainly Sir John Leicester; by whom sold to a Mr. Agar; certainly Holbrook Gaskell; Lord Kenilworth; given by Lord Kenilworth's Crackley Trust to the Herbert Museum and Art Gallery, Coventry, 1954.

LIT. If Sir John's painting, Farington, 31 March and 7 April, 1807; Dafforne, p. 23, 'no clue whatever to it', and p. 25, where wrongly identified with the Lansdowne Shepherd's Boys with their Dogs, No. 89 below; Hall, pp. 66, 114.

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1807 (308); B.I., 1808 (260); R.A., 1875 (265) as 'Landscape with Figures, Sunset'; Herbert Museum and Art Gallery, Coventry, The Cloud Watchers. Art and Meteorology 1770-1830, 1975 (25), as ibid.

Herbert Museum and Art Gallery, Coventry.

19. Old Houses at Shrewsbury

Pl. 11 pp. 187-8

Oil on canvas; 76.2 : 63.5 cm.

PROV. A.W. Callcott; Callcott Sale, 1845, bt. Prince Albert for Royal Collection; has since remained at Osborne House.

EXH. R.A., 1807 (167).

Copied by Dr. William Crotch in his Norwich sketchbook (loc. cit., p. 31); Crotch wrongly dates the painting to 1803, adding 'Sir A.W.C. went a second time to visit these old houses - they were all gone!'

Osborne House, Department of the Environment.

20. River Scene

Pl. 12 p. 213

Oil on canvas; 104 : 139.5 cm.

PROV. Thomas Lister Parker, by whom sold to Sir John Leicester (cr. Lord de Tabley, 1826); de Tabley Sale, Christie's, 7 July, 1827, lot 22, as 'River Arno, Ferry Boat', bt. Jackson.

LIT. Young, No. 64 repr.; Dafforne, p. 33, where wrongly associated with the Heathcote Boats on a River (No. 53 below); Hall, pp. 113-4.

EXH. R.A., 1808 (180).

ENGR. Etching by J. Young, in Young, p. 31.

Whereabouts unknown.

21. The Junction of the Thames and the Medway (after J.M.W. Turner)

pp. 32, 35-8, 211-2

Oil on canvas; 105.4 : 139.5 cm.

PROV. Thomas Lister Parker; has since remained at Browsable Hall.

LIT. Thomas Lister Parker, Description of Browsable Hall in the West Riding of the County of York, 1815, as 'A Gale of Wind, by William Calcott Esq., R.A.'; Brown, pp. 721-2; Butlin and Joll, p. 42, under No. 62, p. 281, under Nos. 542-3.

Finished replica, fractionally reduced, of Turner's Junction of the Thames and the Medway in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Butlin and Joll, No. 62, repr. pl. 68), which Parker had bought in 1807, doubtless from the exhibition at Turner's Gallery. Parker entered the original in Christie's Sale, 9 March 1811 (lot 29), when it was bought in. According to the late

Colonel Robert Parker, he had already attempted to sell it in 1808, in which year Callcott almost certainly made at least the two preliminary copies or studies noted below.

The executors of Colonel Robert Parker, D.S.O.

22. The Junction of the Thames and the Medway (after J.M.W. Turner)

Pl. 13 p. 212

Oil on canvas; 70 : 89.5 cm.

PROV. John Meeson Parsons, by whom bequeathed to the National Gallery, 1870; transferred to the Tate Gallery, 1912.

LIT. Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery; ... British School, 1878, p. 168, as Turner; D.S. MacColl, National Gallery, Millbank: Catalogue: Turner Collection, 1920, p. 28; Chamot, p. 261, as 'ascribed to J.M.W.T.'; Brown, pp. 721-2, repr. p. 719, fig. 40 as attributed to Callcott; Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17, as Callcott; Butlin and Joll, p. 281, No. 542, repr. pl. 520, as Callcott.

The more finished of two oil studies almost certainly preparatory to the replica at Browsholme.

Tate Gallery, London.

23. The Junction of the Thames and the Medway (after J.M.W. Turner)

Pl. 14 p. 212

Oil on canvas; 36 : 46 cm.

PROV. The Revd. Thomas Penrose, by whom bequeathed to the Oxford University Galleries, 1851.

LIT. W. Armstrong, Turner, 1902, pp. 53 and 231, as Turner; Catalogue of Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum, 1951, p. 103, No. 438, as Turner; Brown, pp. 721-2, repr. p. 722, fig. 38 as attributed to Callcott; Butlin and Joll, p. 281, No. 543, repr. pl. 521, as Callcott.

More freely handled than the above; now somewhat discoloured.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

24. Wooded Landscape with a Cart c. 1807-9

Pl. 15 p. 197

Oil on panel; 84 : 51 cm.

PROV. Christie's Sale, 22 November, 1974, lot 41.

Whereabouts unknown.

25. Cottage by a Lane c. 1805-7

Pl. 16 p. 186

Oil on board; 32.7 : 25.6 cm.

PROV. Mrs. C.K. Prestige (Sotheby's Sale, 3 April, 1968, lot 71); Agnew; Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon.

Yale Center for British Art, Mellon Collection.*

26. Richmond Bridge c. 1807

Pl. 17 p. 186

Oil on paper laid on board; 19 : 26.7 cm.

Signed at l. lower corner A.W. Callcott.

Yale Center for British Art, Mellon Collection.*

27. Fishing on the Mere c. 1807

Pl. 18 pp. 186-7

Oil on canvas; 33 : 40.7 cm.

PROV. Henry Vaughan, by whom bequeathed to the Tate Gallery, 1900.

LIT. Chamot, p. 36; Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17.

Tate Gallery, London.

28. Landscape Sketch; a Wood under a Stormy Sky c. 1805-1815

Oil on board; 23.3 : 31.8 cm.

PROV. The Revd. C.H. Townshend, by whom bequeathed to South Kensington.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part I, 1893, p. 33, No. 1422/69; Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, 1973, p. 17.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

29. Coast Scene c. 1806-7

Pl. 19 p. 215

Oil on canvas; 15.2 : 20.3 cm.

PROV. James Orrock; Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight; sold by the Gallery, Christie's, 6 June, 1958, lot 102.

LIT. C. Holme (ed.), The Royal Academy from Reynolds to Millais, The Studio, 1914, repr. in colour facing p. viii.

Whereabouts unknown.

30. Coast Scene with Shrimper; Gale rising c. 1806-7
p. 215

Oil on canvas; 25.4 : 37 cm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part I, 1893, p. 33, No. 16; Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, 1973, p. 17.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

31. A Mill near Corwen

Pl. 20 p. 198

Oil on canvas; 65.4 : 79.4 cm.

PROV. Sir Richard Colt Hoare; has since remained at Stourhead.

Companion to The Mill near Llangollen, from a sketch by Sir Colt Hoare, Bart., of which the first version was shown at the R.A., 1808 (83), and a second, painted as a replacement after the first was destroyed, in 1812 (198). The second was sold in the Stourhead Heirlooms Sale, 1883, and cannot be traced. The Corwen may also have been based on a Colt Hoare sketch, although I have not found a prototype in the albums of his drawings preserved in the library at Stourhead.

The National Trust, Stourhead.

32. Landscape with Diana and Actaeon

Pl. 21 pp. 204-5

Oil on canvas; 235 : 154 cm.

PROV. Sir Richard Colt Hoare (apparently bt. after Lord Brownlow had withdrawn a claim on the painting; see Farington, 8 April 1813); has since remained at Stourhead.

LIT. Farington, loc. cit.; K. Woodbridge, Landscape and Antiquity, Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead 1718-1838, 1970, p. 245.

EXH. R.A., 1810 (127).

The figures are by William Owen.

The National Trust, Stourhead.

33. Landscape with Diana at the Chase c. 1809-14

Pl. 22 p. 206

Oil on canvas; 198 : 137 cm.

PROV. J.C. Horsley, by whom discovered under another unused canvas; probably Christie's Sale, 5 June, 1850, lot 46 as from Callcott collection, bt. Thomas Wrought; Thomas Wrigley, Timberhurst, by whose children presented to the Bury Art Gallery, 1901.

Bury Art Gallery and Museum, Lancs.

34. Morning

Pl. 23 pp. 198-9

Oil on canvas; 100 : 133.3 cm.

PROV. Always at R.A., where presented as Diploma Piece, 1811.

EXH. R.A., 1811; B.I., 1845 (129); Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857 (233); R.A., 1872 (21); R.A., 1896 (90); Nottingham University Art Gallery, Diploma Works and other Paintings by Early Members of the Royal Academy, 1959 (2).

Royal Academy, London.

35. Itchen Ferry

Pl. 24 pp. 213-4

Oil on canvas; 48 : 200 cm.

PROV. Painted for William Chamberlayne; Mrs. Tankerville Chamberlayne.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 32.

EXH. R.A., 1811 (112).

Private collection.

36. Southampton from Weston Grove, the Seat of William Chamberlaine, Esq.

Pl. 25 p. 199

Oil on canvas; 47 : 200 cm.

PROV. Painted for William Chamberlayne; Mrs. Tankerville Chamberlayne.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 32, where wrongly identified with an oil sketch of Southampton from a garden terrace then in the possession of W. Grapel.

EXH. R.A., 1811 (141).

Private collection.

37. A Scene near Capel Cerrig, North Wales

Pl. 26 p. 199

Oil on canvas; 90 : 113 cm.

PROV. A.W. Callcott; Callcott Sale, 1845, bt. Prince Albert for Royal Collection; has since remained at Osborne House.

EXH. R.A., 1811 (432).

Osborne House, Department of the Environment.

38. Morning

Pl. 27 p. 200

Oil on canvas; 68.5 : 91 cm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part I, 1893, p. 33, No. 15, as 'Sunny Morning', and said to have been exhibited at R.A., 1813; M.E. Grant, Old English Landscape Painters, VI, 1960, p. 499, repr. pl. 519, where wrongly dated 1813; Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, 1973, p. 16.

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1811 (459).

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 7.

Callcott did not exhibit at the Academy in 1813.
See also No. 82 below.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

39. Travelling Tinkers

Pl. 28 p. 197

Oil on canvas; 63.5 : 76.2 cm.

PROV. A.W. Callcott; Callcott Sale, 1845, bt. Prince Albert for Royal Collection; has since remained at Osborne House.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 23, 'quite unknown to me'.

EXH. R.A., 1811 (519); B.I., 1812 (95).

Osborne House, Department of the Environment.

40. Southampton Castle

Pl. 29 p. 199

Oil on canvas; 77 : 64 cm.

On reverse an unfinished portrait study of a woman in a crimson gown.

PROV. Painted for Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne; the Revd. Thomas Penrose, by whom bequeathed to the Oxford University Galleries, 1851.

John Henry, 2nd Marquess of Lansdowne, rebuilt part of the old castle at Southampton in 1804, adding a 'whimsical tower' to the structure (N. Pevsner, Hampshire, 1967, p. 545). Callcott probably painted this while staying with Chamberlayne in 1810. Another painting or watercolour drawing of the castle, taken from the top of the tower, was in the Callcott Sale in 1845, when it was copied by Dr. Crotch in his Norwich sketchbook (loc. cit., p. 77).

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

41. River Scene (? after Jacob van Ruysdael) 1811

Pl. 30 pp. 214-5

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. Benjamin Oakley, for whom painted as a lesson, apparently in exchange for the Ruysdael; later acquired by Lord Colborne.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 51.

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 22.

No direct prototype by Ruysdael is known to the present writer.

Whereabouts unknown.

42. Littlehampton Pier

Pl. 31 p. 214

Oil on canvas; 104 : 139.5 cm.

PROV. Painted for Sir John Leicester (cr. Lord de Tabley, 1826); de Tabley Sale, Christie's, 7 July, 1827, lot 36, bt. Robert Vernon, by whom presented to the National Gallery, 1847; transferred to Tate Gallery, 1919.

LIT. Carey, No. 32; Young, No. 65 repr.; Waagen 1854, I, p. 386; Vernon Gallery, II, No. 22 repr. in engraving by J. Cousen; Dafforne, p. 40 repr. in same engraving; Chamot, p. 36, No. 345; Hall, pp. 66 and 113, where confused with the 1806 Sea-Coast (No. 15; Pl. 7); Cordingly, p. 101; Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17.

EXH. R.A., 1812 (14).

ENGR. Etching by J. Young, in Young, loc. cit.;
engraving by J. Cousen, in Vernon Gallery, loc. cit.,
and Dafforne, loc. cit.

The Tate Gallery, London.

43. The Cottager's Relief

Pl. 32 pp. 200-201

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. Painted for Mrs. Heathcote; the Revd. Thomas Heathcote Tragett.

LIT. Art Journal, 1856, p. 9, repr. in engraving by J. and G.P. Nicholls; Dafforne, p. 32 repr. in engraving by F. Topham.

EXH. R.A., 1812 (50).

ENGR. Engravings by J. Scott, 1815 (a letter from Scott to Callcott concerning proofs is in Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. IIIc, f. 339), J. and G.P. Nicholls, loc. cit. and F. Topham, loc. cit.; lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 22.

Whereabouts unknown.

44. The Return from Market

Pl. 33 pp. 201-202

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. Painted for Mrs. Heathcote; the Revd. Thomas Heathcote Tragett.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 33.

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, as frontispiece in Dibdin.

The pair to the above.

Whereabouts unknown.

45. Rural Scene; Entrance to a Village ? c. 1807-14

Pl. 34 pp. 202-3

Oil on canvas; 71 : 91.5 cm.

PROV. I.K. Brunel; Henry Wallis; José de Murrieta, Marquis de Santurce; George A. Hearne, New York City, by whom presented to the Metropolitan Museum, 1896; sold by the Museum, Sotheby Parke Bernet Sale, New York, 15 February, 1973, lot 122; Leger Galleries, London, from whom acquired by the present owner.

LIT. G.H. Story, Illustrated Catalogue ... Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1905, p. 22, No. 285; B. Burroughs, Catalogue of Paintings, 1931, p. 42.

EXH. R.A., 1883 (279), as 'The Farm'.

R.J. Posnett, Esq.

46. Sea Coast, with a Girl shrimping 1814

Pl. 35 p. 214

Oil on canvas; 97.8 : 139.6 cm.

PROV. Painted for Mrs. Patch, Exeter; Mrs. Gibbons; the Revd. B. Gibbons; John Gibbons; Christie's Sale, 26 May, 1894, lot 2, bt. Colnaghi; Widener Collection, Philadelphia.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 31, where confused with No. 16 above.

EXH. R.A., 1875 (14); R.A., 1890 (44).

Whereabouts unknown.

47. River Scene with a Ferry Boat 1814/15

p. 202

Oil on canvas; 71 : 100.2 cm.

PROV. Bought by Benjamin Oakley; Christie's Sale, 28 May, 1831, lot 76, as 'English Landscape with a Ruined Abbey on the Bank of a River', bt. Agnew; Ralph Brocklebank; Christie's Sale, 7 July, 1922, lot 50 repr., as 'Relic of Ancient Times', and said to have been painted in 1823.

LIT. R. Radcliffe Carter, Pictures and Engravings at Houghton Hall, Tarporey in the Possession of Ralph Brocklebank, 1904, p. 61, No. 48 repr.

EXH. R.A., 1883 (283); Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, 1886; Grosvenor Gallery, 1888 (324).

Whereabouts unknown.

48. The Entrance to the Pool of London

Pl. 36 pp. 60-61, 221-2

Oil on canvas; 153 : 221 cm.

Signed A.W.C. on a piece of driftwood at lower r.

PROV. Painted for Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne; has since remained at Bowood.

LIT. Farington, 8 November, 1815, 26-7 April, 1816; Passavant, I, p. 313; Waagen 1854, III, p. 165; The Memoirs of Thomas Uwins, 1858, p. 44; Dafforne, pp. 34-5 repr. in engraving by W. Miller; W. Thornbury, The Life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A., 1877 ed., p. 275; Redgrave, p. 342; Cordingly, pp. 11-101, repr. in colour, pl. 2; D. Cordingly, Marine Painting in England 1700-1900, 1974, pp. 125-6, repr. pl. 79; Butlin and Joll, pp. 91-2, under No. 137.

EXH. R.A., 1816 (175); International Exhibition, 1862 (193), as 'Shipping on the Thames'; R.A., 1894 (49), as 'Pool of the Thames'; Fine Rooms, Somerset House, London and the Thames, 1977 (52 repr. in catalogue by Harley Preston).

ENGR. By W. Miller.

For a replica in watercolour, given by Callcott to Lady Lansdowne, see No. 147 below.

The Earl of Shelburne.

49. The Pool of London c. 1814-15

Pl. 37 pp. 222, 224-5

Oil on board; 25.4 : 55.7 cm.

PROV. A.W. Callcott; Callcott Sale, 1845, bt. S.J. Loyd (Lord Overstone) (inscribed on a label attached to the reverse Purchased at the private sale of his effects at his residence after his death/Overstone); Lord Wantage, 2 Carlton Gardens; Lady Wantage, by whom bequeathed to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres; by descent to the present owner.

LIT. Waagen 1854, IV, p. 136; Dafforne, p. 35; A.G. Temple, A Catalogue of Pictures forming the Collection of Lord and Lady Wantage, 1902, p. 32, No. 35.

EXH. Fine Rooms, Somerset House, London and the Thames, 1977 (53 repr. in catalogue by Harley Preston).
Private collection, Scotland.

50. Open Landscape; Sheep grazing c. 1811-14

Pl. 38 p. 245

Oil on canvas; 44.5 : 77.5 cm.

PROV. Bt. by John Allnutt; Albert Levy; Christie's Sale, 6 April, 1876, lot 286, bt. Agnew; John Burton, York, by whom bequeathed to the York City Art Gallery, 1882.

LIT. E. Howarth, York Catalogue, 1907, p. 20, No. 30, as 'Landscape with Figures'; Catalogue of Paintings in the York City Art Gallery, II, English School, 1963, p. 9, No. 201.

EXH. R.A., 1875 (9), as 'Landscape and Figures'.

The study from nature to accompany which Constable repainted his Ploughing Scene in Suffolk ('A Summer-land') now at Yale.

City Art Gallery, York.

51. Unloading a Barge c. 1815

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. William Bryant.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 50.

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 16.

Whereabouts unknown.

52. Fishing Boats becalmed c. 1815-16

p. 239

Oil on ? canvas; 30 : 43 cm.

PROV. Painted for Sir J.W. Gordon; Lady Mary Gordon.

EXH. R.A., 1890 (2).

Preliminary oil study connected with Nos. 53, 70 and 152.

Whereabouts unknown.

53. Boats on a River

Pl. 39 pp.61-2, 238-9

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. Painted for Sir Thomas Heathcote; Sir William Heathcote.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 33, where wrongly associated with the Parker/Leicester River Scene (No. 20 above).

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 12.

Wrongly listed in Callcott's Catalogue in section for exhibited works, 1817; same subject as Dead Calm, Boats off Cowes Castle, shown in 1827 (No. 70 below).

Whereabouts unknown.

54. Classical Landscape

p. 247

Oil on canvas; 146 : 150 cm.

Signed and dated A W Callcott 1817.

PROV. C. Ashbee, by whom bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

LIT. Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, 1973, p. 17

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

55. The Mouth of the Tyne, with a View of North and South Shields

Pl. 40 pp. 62, 226-7

Oil on canvas; 157.5 : 221 cm.

PROV. Painted for Sir Matthew White Ridley; in Ridley family until at least 1893.

LIT. Farington, 25 April, 4 May, 1818; Redgrave, p. 342; Dafforne, pp. 36 and 47; Horsley, pp. 121-2; Butlin and Joll, p. 92, under No. 137.

EXH. R.A., 1818 (95); International Exhibition, 1862 (213); R.A., 1880 (38); R.A., 1893 (12).

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 17.

Horsley records that, as a result of being covered with thick yellow gauze during the Ridley family's absence from their town house where it hung, the painting became 'terribly discoloured with dark patches all over it'; this Callcott was able to correct, to the amazement of his painter friends, by leaving the canvas exposed to sunlight on his lawn for several days at a time.

Whereabouts unknown.

56. Rotterdam

Pl. 41 pp. 61, 63, 223-4, 227-9

Oil on canvas; 157.5 : 221 cm.

PROV. Painted for Charles, 2nd Earl Grey; has since remained at Howick.

LIT. Farington, 3 April, 5 May, 1819; The Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabbe Robinson, ed. T. Sadler, 1872 ed., I, p. 329 (14 June, 1819); Dafforne, p. 19 and p. 47, where confused with the preparatory oil sketch (No. 57 below).

EXH. R.A., 1819 (86); R.A., 1896 (10).

ENGR. Etching by G. Cooke, 1826.

The Lord Howick.

57. Rotterdam c. 1818

Pl. 42 pp. 223, 228

Oil on canvas; 48.2 : 71 cm.

PROV. Callcott Sale, 1845 bt. S.J. Loyd (Lord Overstone); Lord Wantage; by descent to C.L. Loyd, Lockinge, by whom given to his sister, the present owner.

LIT. Waagen 1854, IV, p. 136; Dafforne, p. 47 (see above); A.G. Temple, A Catalogue of Pictures forming the Collection of Lord and Lady Wantage, 1902, p. 23, No. 34 repr.

Copied by Dr. Crotch at the Callcott Sale, in his Norwich sketchbook (loc. cit., p. 48); Crotch noted 'better than the picture'.

Mrs. Guy Knight, Lockinge.

58. A View on the River Clyde; Dumbarton Rock and Castle beyond; Stonemasons at work on the Shore c. 1819-25

Pl. 43 p. 240

Oil on canvas; 59.6 : 90.1 cm.

PROV. With Agnew, 1890; Samuel Cunliffe-Lister, 1st Lord Masham; by descent to the late Dowager Countess of Swinton (Christie's Sale, 21 November, 1975, lot 70 repr.).

Private collection.

59. A Dead Calm on the Medway, with small Craft dropping down on the turn of the Tide; Sheerness in the Distance

pp. 63, 229

Oil on canvas; 157.5 : 221 cm.

PROV. Painted for John Lambton, 1st Earl of Durham; by descent to present owner.

LIT. Farington, 4 May, 1818; Dafforne, p. 34, where wrongly said to be probably the same composition as the Heathcote Boats on a River (No. 53 above, itself confused by Dafforne with the Parker/Leicester River Scene (No. 20)).

EXH. R.A., 1820 (81); North of England Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, Newcastle, Fifth Annual Exhibition, 1843 (145); Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857 (308); R.A., 1881 (46).

The Viscount Lambton.

60. Dover, from the Sea; a squally Day; Wind against the Tide

pp. 65, 229-30

Oil on canvas; 157.5 : 221 cm.

PROV. Painted for Robert, 2nd Earl of Liverpool.

EXH. R.A., 1821 (194); B.I., 1825 (21).

ENGR. By G. Cooke, 1825.

Whereabouts unknown.

61. Smugglers alarmed by an unexpected Change from hazy Weather while landing their Cargo

Pl. 44 pp. 65, 230-31

Oil on canvas; 157.5 : 221 cm.

PROV. Painted for Sir Thomas Heathcote; Sir William Heathcote; Christie's Sale, 11 March, 1882, lot 153, bt. in.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 36; Maria Edgeworth: Letters from England 1813-44, ed. Christina Colvin, 1971, p. 367 (M.E. to Mrs. Ruxton, 9 March, 1822).

EXH. R.A., 1822 (171); R.A., 1875 (233).

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 19. Whereabouts unknown.

62. Dutch Market Boats, Rotterdam

Pl. 45 pp. 65, 231

Oil on canvas; 84 : 111.8 cm.

PROV. Painted for George, 5th Earl of Essex.

LIT. Art Journal, 1856, p. 10 repr. in engraving by J. and G.P. Nicholls; Dafforne, p. 47.

EXH. R.A., 1823 (158); B.I., 1845 (165); Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857 (606); R.A., 1875 (262).

ENGR. By J. and G.P. Nicholls, loc. cit.

Whereabouts unknown.

63. Rochester, from the River, below the Bridge

pp. 66, 231-2

Oil on canvas; 157.5 : 221 cm.

PROV. Painted for Sir George Phillips; T. Ashton.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 37.

EXH. R.A., 1824 (160); B.I., 1845 (161); Leeds, 1868 (1142).

Presumably same composition as the following.

Whereabouts unknown.

64. Rochester

pp. 231-2

Oil on canvas; 57 : 75 cm.

PROV. Callcott Sale, 1845; E. Bicknell; Christie's Sale, 25 April, 1863, lot 56, bt. Agnew.

LIT. Waagen, 1854, II, p. 353.

No doubt the oil study copied by Dr. Crotch in his Norwich sketchbook (loc. cit., p. 41); Crotch noted 'Alla Cùyp ... the finest'.

Whereabouts unknown.

65. Interior of a Sea Port 1825

p. 235

Oil on canvas; 93 : 126.3 cm.

PROV. Painted for George, 3rd Earl of Egremont; by descent to present owner.

~~The Earl of~~ ^{The Lord} Egremont.66. The Quay at Antwerp during the Fair TimePl. 46 pp. 66, 68-9, 224,
232-4

Oil on canvas; 137 : 198 cm.

Signed on the stern of a rowing boat in centre foreground
A.W. CALLCOTT.

PROV. Painted for John, 6th Duke of Bedford; has since remained at Woburn.

LIT. Woburn Guide, 1831; Waagen 1838, III, p. 344; Waagen 1854, III, p. 466; Dafforne, p. 48; G. Scharf, A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Woburn Abbey, part II, 1877, pp. 205-6, No. 335; C.R. Leslie, Memoirs of the Life of John Constable, 1951 ed., p. 156 (Constable to Fisher, 26 April 1826).

EXH. R.A., 1826 (102); B.I., 1845 (135); Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857 (207), as 'The Scheldt, near Antwerp'.

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 5.

The Marquess of Tavistock.

67. Dutch Fishing Boats running foul in the Endeavour to board, and missing the Painter Rope

Pl. 47 pp. 71, 234-5

Oil on canvas; 158.7 : 240.6 cm.

PROV. Painted for Jesse Watts Russell; W. Vokins; Christie's Sale, 14 March, 1896, lot 81, bt. Colnaghi; Christie's Sale, 7 July, 1906, lot 129; Watson Collection, New York City; American Art Association Sale, New York, 10-12 April, 1917.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 48; W. Thornbury, The Life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A., 1877 ed., p. 293; C.R. Leslie, Memoirs of the Life of John Constable, 1951 ed., p. 156 (Constable to Fisher, 26 April, 1826); Butlin and Joll, pp. 130-131, under No. 236.

EXH. R.A., 1826 (165).

Titled in response to Clarkson Stanfield's failure to complete his Throwing the Painter in time for the Academy exhibition; for Turner's 'Now for the Painter', the final joke on the theme shown the following year, see Butlin and Joll, loc. cit.

Whereabouts unknown.

68. Heavy Weather coming on, with Vessels running to Port

Pl. 48 pp. 66, 223, 235-6

Oil on canvas; 115.5 : 169 cm.

PROV. Painted for George, 3rd Earl of Egremont; has since remained at Petworth.

LIT. Waagen, 1854, III, p. 37, as 'Agitated Sea'; Cordingly, pp. 100-101, repr. in colour, pl. 1; D. Cordingly, Marine Painting in England 1700-1900, 1974, p. 125, repr. in colour, pl. 59; Brown, p. 722, repr. fig. 41.

EXH. R.A., 1827 (111); B.I., 1845 (141), as 'Seapiece'.

See No. 238 below for the preliminary pencil drawing.

Petworth Collection, Sussex.

69. Bruges, from the Ghent Canal

Pl. 49 pp. 66, 237

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. Painted for Sir Matthew White Ridley.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 50, as 'River Scene with Round Tower'.

EXH. R.A., 1827 (173).

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 2, as 'River Scene with round Tower'.

Whereabouts unknown.

70. Dead Calm, Boats off Cowes Castle

pp. 61-2, 66, 238-9

Oil on canvas; 89 : 116.8 cm.

PROV. Painted for the Bennet family; Sir J.W. Gordon; Lady Mary Gordon; F.J. Nettlefold.

LIT. C.R. Grundy, A Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings in the Collection of Frederick John Nettlefold, I, 1933, pp. xxvi and 46-7, repr. in colour p. 47, and said to have been at some time in the possession of the Earl of Egremont.

EXH. R.A., 1827 (291).

Same composition as No. 53; Pl. 39. In spite of the supposed Egremont provenance, an identification with the Bennet/Gordon painting seems most plausible.

The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

71. The Thames below Greenwich

Pl. 50 pp. 66, 237-8

Oil on canvas; 54.5 : 85 cm.

PROV. Painted for Sir John Soane; has since remained in the Soane Museum.

LIT. Waagen 1854, II, p. 321; J. Summerson, Sir John Soane's Museum, p. 29.

EXH. R.A., 1827 (306).

The Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

72. The Thames below Greenwich c. 1827

pp. 237-8

Oil on canvas; 46.4 : 57.8 cm.

PROV. American Art Association Sale, New York, 15 April, 1920, repr.

Reduced version of the above.

Whereabouts unknown.

73. Coast Scene c. 1826-7

Pl. 51 p. 240

Oil on canvas; laid on board; 68.2 : 91.4 cm.

PROV. George Holt; Emma Holt, by whom bequeathed, with Sudley and its collections, to the City of Liverpool, 1944.

LIT. M. Bennet and E. Morris, The Emma Holt Bequest, Sudley, 1971, p. 16, No. 193.

EXH. Liverpool Arts Club, 1881 (53), as 'Sea Piece'.

The Emma Holt Bequest, Sudley, Liverpool.

74. A Sea Port, Gale rising 1827-34

Pl. 52 p. 237

Oil on canvas; 40.6 : 30.5 cm.

PROV. H.A.J. Munro of Novar; John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 39; A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part I, 1893, p. 33, No. 13; Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, 1973, p. 17; Cordingly, p. 101.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

75. The Fountain - Morning

Pl. 53 pp. 260-61

Oil on paper; laid on canvas; 91.7 : 71.4 cm.

PROV. Almost certainly painted for Lady Swinburne; certainly Agnew, 1880, from whom bt. George Holt; Emma Holt, by whom bequeathed, with Sudley and its collections, to the City of Liverpool, 1944.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 57; M. Bennet and E. Morris, The Emma Holt Bequest, Sudley, 1971, p. 16, No. 195, as 'Italian Landscape'.

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1829 (10), as 'The Fountain'; certainly Liverpool Arts Club, 1881 (52).

The Emma Holt Bequest, Sudley, Liverpool.

76. Italian Landscape with a Bridge

Pl. 54 pp. 267-8

Oil on canvas; 47 : 38 cm.

Signed and dated at r. lower corner A.W. Callcott 1829.

PROV. Agnew, 1954.

Museum and Art Gallery, Kettering.

77. Portrait of Sir James Mackintosh M.P. (after Thomas Lawrence)

p. 179

Oil on canvas; size unrecorded.

PROV. Lord Holland.

LIT. The Earl of Ilchester, Chronicles of Holland House, 1937, p. 153; K. Garlick, A Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Pastels of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Walpole Society, XXXIX, 1960-62, p. 138.

Painted with John Jackson, R.A., at an unknown date.

Whereabouts unknown.

78. Portrait of Maria Callcott c. 1827-30

p. 179

Oil on canvas; exact size unrecorded.

PROV. Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 23.

Department of the Environment. On loan to South America.*

79. Portrait of Maria Callcott c. 1827-30

Pl. 55 p. 179

Oil on board; 15 : 11 cm.

PROV. J.C. Horsley; Mrs. R.B. Gotch; Mrs. Nancy Strode.

Small version of the above.

The executors of Mrs. Nancy Strode.

80. The Passage Points - an Italian Composition

Pl. 56 pp. 261-2

Oil on canvas; 106.7 : 215.3 cm.

PROV. Painted for Sir John Soane; has since remained in the Soane Museum.

LIT. J. Summerson, Sir John Soane's Museum, 1954, p. 25.

EXH. R.A., 1830 (105).

The round temple is probably based on the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli.

Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

81. A Brisk Gale, a Dutch East Indiaman landing Passengers

Pl. 57 pp. 236-7

Oil on canvas; 67 : 104 cm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. Waagen, 1854, II, p. 306; A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part I, 1893, p. 32, No. 9; Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, 1973, p. 16; Cordingly, p. 101, repr. pl. 2; D. Cordingly, Marine Painting in England 1700-1900, 1974, p. 126, repr. pl. 80.

EXH. R.A., 1830 (172).

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

82. A Sunny Morning

Pl. 58 p. 257

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. John Sheepshanks; Miss Sheepshanks.

EXH. R.A., 1831 (417).

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 26.

The painting from the Sheepshanks Gift in the V. & A.M., which has gone, at least since the 1893 South Kensington Catalogue, under the title of A Sunny Morning, belongs stylistically to an earlier phase in Callcott's work, and is listed above as being very probably the Morning shown at the Academy in 1811 (No. 38; Pl. 27). The present, Dutch composition seems much more in line with Callcott's production in the early 1830's.

Whereabouts unknown.

83. A Scene suggested by an Effect seen after heavy Rain in the Ligurian Mountains near Sarzana; 'Why to yon mountain turns the musing eye...'

p. 263

Oil on canvas; 91.4 : 127 cm.

PROV. Painted for John Lambton, 1st Earl of Durham; Sir John Pender; Christie's Sale, 29 May, 1897, lot 21, as 'Alps near Varese', bt. Agnew.

EXH. R.A., 1832 (86); Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857 (278), as 'Italian Landscape'; R.A., 1875 (210), as ibid.

Whereabouts unknown.

84. The Benighted Traveller. 'The wayworn trav'ller's daylight fails too soon, etc'

pp. 277-8

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. Robert Vernon.

LIT. Vernon Gallery, III, No. 12 repr.; Dafforne, p. 24.

EXH. B.I., 1835 (294).

ENGR. By A. Heath in Vernon Gallery, loc. cit., and Dafforne, loc. cit.

Finished version of the following; not included in Robert Vernon's Gift to the National Gallery, 1847.

Whereabouts unknown.

85. Sketch for 'The Benighted Traveller'

Pl. 59 pp. 277-8

Oil on paper laid on millboard; 15 : 12 cm.

PROV. Robert Vernon, by whom presented to the National Gallery, 1847; transferred to Tate Gallery, 1919.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 24; Chamot, p. 35, No. 344;
Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17.

Tate Gallery, London.

86. A Cross Road

Pl. 60 pp. 254-5

Oil on canvas; 33.6 : 44.4 cm.

PROV. S. Mendel, 1873; James Price; Christie's Sale, 15 June, 1895, lot 16 repr.; Mrs. K.A.V. Waddilove; Christie's Sale, 19 November, 1976, lot 35 repr.

EXH. R.A., 1882 (29).

Possibly related to the painting made for the Duke of Norfolk and exhibited at the R.A., 1832 (141).

Whereabouts unknown.

87. An English Water-Mill

Pl. 61 pp. 271-2

Oil on canvas; 71 : 91 cm.

PROV. Probably Miss Duckworth; W.G. Archer; Christie's Sale, 28 June, 1897, lot 76, as 'Old Water Mill, Angler and Ducks', bt. Batorne; certainly Agnew, 1898.

LIT. J.E. Phythian, Manchester Art Gallery Catalogue, 1910, p. 18, No. 62; Concise Catalogue of British Paintings, I, 1976, p. 31 repr.

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1832 (187).

City Art Gallery, Manchester.

88. A Dutch Coast Scene

Pl. 62 pp. 253-4

Oil on canvas; 68.5 : 91.4 cm.

PROV. Robert Vernon, by whom presented to the National Gallery, 1847; transferred to Tate Gallery, 1919.

LIT. Vernon Gallery, I, repr. in engraving by J.H. Kernot; Dafforne, repr. in same engraving; Chamot, p. 35, No. 341, where dated c. 1834 and said to be on wood; Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17.

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1832 (271).

ENGR. By J.H. Kernot, in Vernon Gallery, loc. cit., and Dafforne, loc. cit.

Tate Gallery, London.

89. Shepherd's Boys with their Dogs

Pl. 63 pp. 273-4

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. Painted for Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne.

LIT. Waagen 1854, II, p. 152; Dafforne, p. 25, where identified with the 1807 Cow Boys (almost certainly No. 18 above), and p. 39 where described as 'Labourers Reposing'.

EXH. R.A., 1833 (23).

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 18, as 'Labourers reposing'.

See Nos. 256-7 below for drawings for the figures.

Whereabouts unknown.

90. Harvest in the Highlands

p. 275

Oil on canvas; 156 : 147.3 cm.

PROV. Samuel Cartwright; John Naylor, 1857; George Knott; Elhanan Bicknell; Christie's Sale, 20 May, 1865, lot 35, as 'English Landscape, Cattle etc', bt. Agnew; Henry Woods; Christie's Sale, 5 May, 1883, lot 143, as 'Landscape with Cattle', bt. Agnew.

LIT. Dafforne, pp. 40-41; A. Graves, Catalogue of the Works of the late Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., p. 16, No. 194.

EXH. R.A., 1833 (70); Manchester Art Treasurers Exhibition, 1857 (242).

ENGR. By J.T. Willmore, 1856.

The cattle were by Landseer.

Whereabouts unknown.

91. Entrance to Pisa from Leghorn

Pl. 64 p. 265

Oil on canvas; 106.7 : 162.5 cm.

PROV. Robert Vernon, by whom presented to the National Gallery, 1847; transferred to Tate Gallery, 1919.

LIT. Waagen 1854, I, p. 385; Vernon Gallery, I, No. 45 repr.; Dafforne, p. 61; Chamot, p. 36, No. 346; Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17.

EXH. R.A., 1833 (185).

ENGR. By J.C. Bentley, in Vernon Gallery, loc.cit. Tate Gallery, London.

92. Cologne

pp. 257-8

Oil on canvas; 100 : 126 cm.

PROV. Lempertz Sale, Cologne, 24 April, 1965.

Possibly an oil sketch related to the Cologne shown at the Academy in 1834 (154).

Whereabouts unknown.

93. Recollections of the Campagna of Rome

p. 266

Oil on canvas; 42.5 : 61 cm.

PROV. Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne; has since remained at Bowood.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 62; E. Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837, II, 1970, p. 179.

EXH. R.A., 1834 (316).

Although probably originally intended as a conventional framed painting, this was set by Lord Lansdowne in a panel above a book-press in the ante-room loggia to the library at Bowood; it remains in the panelling today. Other panels for over-doors in the scheme were contributed by E.T. Parris (Music, Painting and Sculpture) and Thomas Uwins (Neapolitan Peasants).

The Earl of Shelburne.

94. A Dutch Landscape; Returning from Market

Pl. 65 p. 254

Oil on canvas; 109.2 : 144.8 cm.

PROV. Painted for Robert Vernon, by whom presented to the National Gallery, 1847; transferred to Tate Gallery, 1919.

LIT. Vernon Gallery, I, No. 36 repr. as 'Crossing the Stream'; Dafforne, pp. 54-5, repr. as frontispiece; Chamot, p. 35, No. 340, where dated c. 1831; Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17.

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1834 (368), as 'Dutch Landscape'.

ENGR. By J. Cousen in Vernon Gallery, loc. cit., and Dafforne, loc. cit., by W. Finden.

There is a replica, probably but not certainly autograph, in the collection of Mrs. Inglis, Crosby-on-Eden, Carlisle.

Tate Gallery, London.

95. ?The Coast of Scheveningen, after Adriaen van de Velde
c. 1830-35

Pl. 66 pp. 252, 257

Oil on board; 15.3 : 24.2 cm.

PROV. Robert Vernon, by whom presented to the National Gallery, 1847; transferred to Tate Gallery, 1919.

LIT. Vernon Gallery, II, No. 33 repr. as 'Sea Shore in Holland'; Dafforne, p. 52 repr.; Chamot, p. 36, No. 348; Cordingly, pp. 99-100 repr. pl. 3; D. Cordingly, Marine Painting in England 1700-1900, 1974, p. 124; Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17.

ENGR. By J.C. Bentley in Vernon Gallery, loc. cit., and Dafforne, loc. cit.

The painting is described as a copy after a van de Velde in an MS. Catalogue of the Vernon collection, referred to in the text to the Vernon Gallery; the subject is there said to be taken from a point on the north side of the Scheldt, in the vicinity of Flushing. No direct prototype by Adriaen is known to the present writer.

Tate Gallery, London.

96. Peasants waiting the Return of the Passage Boat

p. 254

Oil on canvas; 66 : 94 cm.

PROV. Almost certainly Robert Ferguson; Robert Vernon, by whom presented to the National Gallery, 1847; transferred to Tate Gallery, 1919.

LIT. Vernon Gallery, I, No. 25 repr. as 'Dutch Ferry'; Chamot, p. 36, No. 347; Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17.

EXH. R.A., 1834 (189).

ENGR. By R. Wallis, in Vernon Gallery, loc. cit.

Tate Gallery, London.

97. - Dutch River Scene c. 1830-35

Pl. 67 p. 256

Oil on canvas; 39.4 : 69.5 cm.

PROV. R.K. Hodson, from whom bt. by Agnew; George Holt; Emma Holt; by whom bequeathed, with Sudley and its collections to the City of Liverpool, 1944.

LIT. M. Bennett and E. Morris, The Emma Holt Bequest, Sudley, 1971, p. 16, No. 194, repr. pl. 22.

The Emma Holt Bequest, Sudley, Liverpool.

98. Dutch River Scene c. 1830-35

p. 256

Oil on canvas; 30 : 40 cm.

PROV. G.C. Schwabe.

LIT. J. Theodore Schultz, Die Gemälde der Schwabe-Stiftung in der Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg, 1888; E. v. Boetticher, Malerwerke, Dresden, 1891-98, No. I; Krafft and Schumann, Katalog der Meister Des 19 Jahrhunderts in der Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1969, No. 1860 repr.

Kunsthalle, Hamburg.*

99. Dutch River Scene c. 1830-35

p. 256

Oil on canvas; 40.6 : 42.5 cm.

PROV. Richard Godson Millns, by whom bequeathed to the Castle Museum and Art Gallery, Nottingham, 1904.

The Castle Museum and Art Gallery, Nottingham.

100. The Meadow c. 1830-40

p. 274

Oil on board; 15.2 : 33 cm.

PROV. Robert Vernon, by whom presented to the National Gallery, 1847; transferred to Tate Gallery, 1919.

LIT. Vernon Gallery, II, No. 6 repr.; Dafforne, p. 42 repr.; Chamot, p. 35, No. 342, as 'Landscape with Cattle'; Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17, as ibid., and as perhaps exhibited at R.A., 1834 (368), as 'Dutch Landscape'.

ENGR. By R. Brandard, in Vernon Gallery, loc. cit., and Dafforne, loc. cit.

The Dutch subject shown in 1834 was almost certainly the Dutch Landscape; Returning from Market listed above (No. 94; Pl. 65).

Tate Gallery, London.

101. The Wooden Bridge c. 1835

Pl. 68 pp. 272-3

Oil on canvas; 23 : 29.8 cm.

PROV. Robert Vernon, by whom presented to the National Gallery, 1847; transferred to Tate Gallery, 1949.

LIT. Vernon Gallery, I, No. 3 repr.; Dafforne, p. 38, repr.; Chamot, p. 35, No. 343; Tate Gallery Concise Catalogue, 1975, p. 17.ENGR. By J.C. Bentley, in Vernon Gallery, loc. cit., and Dafforne, loc. cit.In the Vernon Gallery the painting is accompanied by a poem by Leigh Hunt, England, Pro and Con, which was apparently based upon it.There is a feeble replica, certainly not from Callcott's hand, in the collection of Mr. Michael Kirkby, Barnard Castle (ex. coll. Lord Parmoor); it forms a pair with an even weaker copy in oils after pl. 20 in James Duffield Harding's Harding's Elementary Art, 1846.

Tate Gallery, London.

102. An Inn Door near Gravesend c. 1830-35

Pl. 69 p. 274

Oil on board; 11.5 : 29.9 cm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 37, where thought to be more probably a Dutch subject despite Callcott's specific title; A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part I, 1893, p. 33, No. 14; Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, 1973, p. 16.

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 9.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

103. Windsor Castle c. 1830-35

p. 275

Oil on canvas; 63.5 : 84 cm.

Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

104. The Farm-Yard c. 1830-40

Pl. 70 p. 276

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. George Pennell.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 34.

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 14.

Probably a Thames-side subject.

Whereabouts unknown.

105. The Basin of Ghent 1835

Pl. 71 p. 258

Oil on canvas; 72.4 : 103.5 cm.

PROV. Painted for H. McConnel, Manchester; Mrs. James Worthington, by whom bequeathed to the City Art Gallery, Manchester, 1905.

LIT. J.E. Phythian, Manchester Art Gallery Catalogue, 1910, p. 18, No. 63; Concise Catalogue of British Paintings, I, 1976, p. 31 repr.

EXH. Manchester Jubilee Exhibition, 1887(818).

City Art Gallery, Manchester.

106. Raphael and the Fornarina 1835-8

pp. 278-9

Oil on two canvases, placed in one frame and joined vertically at centre by a strip of beading; exact size(s) unknown.

PROV. Painted for Henry, 13th Duke of Norfolk; Christie's Sale, 5 July, 1883, lot 97, bt. 'F'.

EXH. B.I., 1845 (125).

The first version of the subject, with half length figures painted life-size.

Whereabouts unknown.

107. Raphael and the Fornarina

Pl. 72 pp. 278-82

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. Painted for Sir George Phillips.

LIT. Vernon Gallery, III, under No. 12; Art Journal, 1856, p. 11 repr. in engraving by J. and G.P. Nicholls; Dafforne, pp. 25-6; Redgrave, p. 343.

EXH. R.A., 1837 (104); B.I., 1864 (146).

ENGR. By Lumb Stocks for Art Union, 1844; by J. and G.P. Nicholls, loc. cit.

Whereabouts unknown.

108. Trent in the Tyrol

Pl. 73 pp. 262-3

Oil on canvas; 75 : 109 cm.

PROV. Samuel Cartwright; with Agnew, 1966.

LIT. J. Ruskin, Modern Painters, I, in Works, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, III, pp. 324-5; Art Journal, 1856, p. 10, repr. in engraving by J. and G.P. Nicholls; Dafforne, p. 52.

EXH. R.A., 1836 (130); B.I., 1845 (149).

ENGR. By J. and G.P. Nicholls, loc. cit., by James B. Allan and by E. Finden, in Royal Gallery of British Art, 1840.

Another Trent in the Tyrol was exhibited at the Academy in 1831 (307); this was painted for a Mr. Ducane. Versions of the present canvas, bought by Cartwright, appeared in the Callcott Sale in 1845, when they were copied by Dr. Crotch in his Norwich sketchbook (loc. cit., pp. 11 and 13). Both were bought by I.K. Brunel, and one or possibly both of them were lent by the Brunel family to the Manchester Jubilee Exhibition, 1887 (742, 'Trent', and possibly 740 or 741, 'Italian Seaport' and 'River Scene'). The second Brunel version could well have lost its proper identity by 1887 as Crotch noted on his second copy on p. 13 of his sketchbook, 'Trent - the same place as the last but here is a mountain - or was it hid by a fog in the last?' See No. 259 below for the finished watercolour by which, in the Dibdin lithograph, the Cartwright composition is here reproduced.

Private collection.

109. The Enchanted Castle (after Claude) c. 1835-40

Oil on canvas; exact size unknown.

PROV. Edward Rodgett; Christie's Sale, 14 May, 1859, lot 94, bt. Grundy.

Claude's Enchanted Castle at Lockinge, from which this painting evidently derived, would have been known to Callcott in the collection of his friend and patron William Wells of Redleaf.

Whereabouts unknown.

110. Cicero's Tomb, near Mola di Gaeta

pp. 266-7

Oil on canvas; 68.6 : 88.9 cm.

PROV. William Marshall; James Dyson Perrins.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 60.

EXH. R.A., 1838 (9); Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857 (311); Leeds, 1868 (1283); R.A., 1885 (68); Manchester Jubilee Exhibition, 1887 (648).

With B. Cohen, London, 1972.*

111. Procession to the Temple of Aesculapius

pp. 288-9

Oil on canvas; 114.2 : 77.5 cm.

Signed and dated A W Callcott 1839.

PROV. Painted for Dr. Carpenter; Thomas Towneley O'Hagen, 2nd Baron O'Hagen.

LIT. Dafforne, pp. 25-6.

Towneley Hall, Burnley.

112. Milton dictating to his Daughters. He is represented as he describes Samson in the "Agonistes": "dark amid the blaze of noon", and at the moment when dictating these lines: "Seasons return, but not to me returns, etc"

Pl. 74 pp. 282-88

Oil on canvas; exact size unknown.

PROV. Painted for William Marshall; City Art Gallery, Leeds.

LIT. Dafforne, pp. 26-7 and 41; Redgrave, p. 344;

W. Thackeray, Critical Papers in Art, 1911, p. 132

(Michelangelo Titmarsh, 'A Pictorial Rhapsody Concluded');

M. Pointon, Milton and English Art, 1970, p. 253.

EXH. R.A., 1840 (125).

Lost or destroyed during last war: formerly City Art Gallery, Leeds.

113. Slender and Anne Page

pp. 289-90

"Anne - Will't please your worship to come in, Sir?

"Slender - No, I thank you, forsooth, heartily; I am very well.

"Anne - The dinner attends you, Sir.

"Slender - I am not a-hungry, I thank you, forsooth. Go, sirrah, for all you are my man; go wait upon my cousin Shallow."

Merry Wives of Windsor, Act I, Sc. I.

Oil on panel; 50.8 : 71 cm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 23; A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part I, 1893, p. 32, No. 10; Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, 1973, p. 16.

EXH. B.I., 1834 (236).

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

114. Slender and Anne Page

pp. 289-90

Oil on board; 28 : 18.5 cm.

PROV. Almost certainly bought by George, 5th Earl of Essex.

ENGR. By F. Bacon in Finden's Royal Gallery of British Art, 1840.

Small version of the above.

The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Picture Gallery, Stratford-upon-Avon.

115. Shylock and Jessica c. 1835-40

p. 290

Oil on board; 39.4 : 28 cm.

PROV. S.J. Loyd (Lord Overstone); Lord Wantage.

LIT. A.G. Temple, A Catalogue of the Pictures forming the Collection of Lord and Lady Wantage, 1902, p. 23, No. 36.

Whereabouts unknown.

116. Falstaff and Simple

Pl. 75 pp. 289-90

"Simple - About Mistress Anne Page; to know if it were my master's fortune to have her, or no?

"Falstaff - 'Tis, 'tis his fortune.

"Simple - What, Sir?

"Falstaff - To have her, - or no: Go, say, the woman told me so."

Merry Wives of Windsor, Act IV, Sc. 5.

Oil on paper laid on canvas; 44.5 : 37.5 cm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 24; A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, 1893, p. 33, No. 12 where said to have been exhibited at R.A., 1835; Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, p. 16.

EXH. B.I., 1835 (252).

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

117. Head of a Man c. 1835-40

p. 290

Oil on board; 30.5 : 20.2 cm.

Probably a study for a historical costume piece.

The Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace.

118. Northfleet, Near Greenwich

p. 275

Oil on canvas; 51 : 59.5 cm.

Signed and dated at l. lower corner Calcott 1841.

PROV. H.J. Candlin; M.D. Elwell, by whom bequeathed to the Ferens Art Gallery, Hull, 1938.

The Ferens Art Gallery, Kingston-upon-Hull.

119. An Italian Landscape Composition; Evening

Pl. 76

p. 267

Oil on canvas; 89 : 119.4 cm.

PROV. Bought by Miss Sheepshanks; Dr. and Mrs. Crawford-Watson, by whom presented to the Harrogate Art Gallery, 1931, as 'On the Tiber'.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 63.

EXH. R.A., 1842 (10); B.I., 1845 (144).

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 11.

The Library and Art Gallery, Harrogate.

120. Dort

Pl. 77

pp. 255-6

Oil on panel; 31.8 : 76 cm.

Signed and dated at l. lower corner A W Callcott 1841.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part I, 1893, p. 33, No. 11; Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, 1973, p. 16.

EXH. R.A., 1842 (262).

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 3.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

121. Italian Composition

Pl. 78 p. 269

Oil on canvas; 80 : 120 cm.

PROV. H.H. Maharaja Gaekwar, GCS.I.

LIT. E. Rimbault Dibdin, The Art Gallery of Baroda formed ... by M.H. Spielmann F.S.A., 1920, p. 25.

Baroda Collection, India.*

122. Italian Landscape c. 1838-40

Pl. 79 p. 269

Oil on canvas; 94 : 127 cm.

PROV. Sotheby Parke Bernet Sale, New York, 2 April, 1975.

Whereabouts unknown.

123. Italian Landscape with a Bridge c. 1838-40

pp. 268-9

? Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. Charles Birch.

ENGR. In lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 4.

Birch's Sale at Foster's, 15 February, 1855, contained a Spezzia Bay by Callcott (lot 15, 26" by 35", bt. Holmes); this was a different composition.

Whereabouts unknown.

124. Italian Landscape with Cows standing in a River c. 1838-40

p. 268

Oil on panel; 18.5 : 22.2 cm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part I, 1893, p. 32, No. 8; Summary Catalogue of British Paintings, 1973, p. 16.

ENGR. In lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 6.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

125. Italian Landscape with a Bridge c. 1838-40
Pl. 80 p. 268

Oil on canvas; size unknown.

PROV. Dr. Chambers.

ENGR. In lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 23.

Whereabouts unknown.

126. Italian Landscape c. 1838-40

Oil on canvas; 48.2 : 40 cm.

The Royal Collection.

CATALOGUE OF DRAWINGS

127. Landscape with Figures beside a River

p. 183

Grey washes over pencil; 165 : 241 mm.

Inscribed in ink on old mount A. W. Callcott.

Watermark; 1794.

PROV. A.P. Oppé, by whom acquired, 1922. (A very large number of the drawings listed below derive from the same source, and, for the sake of brevity, full details of provenance are omitted except in the few cases where the drawings were acquired by Paul Oppé in a different year).

D.L.T. Oppé, Esq.

128. Evening

p. 184

Water colours with some bistre over pencil; 343 : 628 mm.

PROV. Very probably bought by Wilson Lowry.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 42, No. 319/91; Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 69; I. Williams, Early English Watercolours, 1952, p. 116.

EXH. Almost certainly R.A., 1803 (229).

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

129. A Scene between Bala and Dolgelly, looking towards Cader Idris, Merionethshire

p. 184

Water colours over pencil; 685 : 1055 mm.

PROV. Drawn for Edward, Viscount Lascelles.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 42, No. 207/87, as 'View in North Wales - Valley of the Mawddach River with Cader Idris in the distance', and said to date from 'about 1820'; Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 69; I. Williams, Early English Watercolours, 1952, p. 116.

EXH. R.A., 1805 (449).

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

130. Conway Estuary and Castle c. 1804

Pl. 81 p. 185

Pen and ink and watercolours over pencil, with some scratching out; 164 : 230 mm.

Inscribed in ink on a rock in l. foreground Conway, and in pencil above the tower at extreme r. broken. Also inscribed in another hand on verso, Conway, (before the Railway Bridge)/Sir Augustus Callcott. R.cd., A.W. Callcott and Carnarvon.

PROV. Presented to the Whitworth Institute in memory of Sir Joseph Whitworth, 1897.

EXH. Arts Council, Welsh Landscape in British Art, 1947 (51); R.B.A., Winter Exhibition, 1948 (344); City Art Gallery, Wakefield, English Watercolours and Drawings 1740-1840, 1956 (74).

Certainly a view of Conway. Telford's Suspension Bridge was built in 1826.

Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.

131. View in Yorkshire; River and Cattle c. 1806

p. 185

Watercolours over pencil; 400 : 762 mm.

PROV. J.M. Parsons, by whom bequeathed to South Kensington.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 42, No. 610/70: Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 68.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

132. A Lame Man

Pencil; 100 : 60 mm.

PROV. A.P. Oppé, with the seven following.

133. Carpenter at Work

Pencil; 178 : 118 mm.

134. Figures on a Shore

Pencil, squared; 208 : 274 mm.

135. Figures on a Shore

Pen and black ink over pencil; 112 : 112 mm.

136. Standing Man

Pencil; 77 : 37 mm.

137. Figures in a Cart
Pen and brown ink; 53 : 39 mm.

138. Man seated with a Gun
Pencil; 140 : 110 mm.

139. A Gypsy Woman and her Child
Pencil; 111 : 98 mm.

The above are all small and slight figure studies evidently cut from sketchbooks, and clearly early in date, not later than c. 1807. The sea shore studies are a little more finished than the others, and are no doubt connected with Callcott's early coast subjects (i.e. Nos. 15-16; Pls. 7-8).

D.L.T. Oppé, Esq.

140. Roadside Cottages c. 1805-10
Watercolours and bistre on coarse buff paper; 235 : 339 mm
PROV. William Smith, by whom bequeathed to South Kensington, 1876.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p.42, No.2969/76; Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 69.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

141. Landscape with a Wooden Bridge c. 1805
Pencil; 116 : 183 mm.

PROV. Sir Robert Witt.

LIT. A Handlist of the Drawings in the Witt Collection, 1956, p. 9 (inv. no. 4131).

Courtauld Institute, London, Witt Collection.

142. Eton c. 1805-10

p. 185

Watercolours; 584 : 914 mm.

PROV. With Leggatt, 1960.

Whereabouts unknown.

143. View of Stafford c. 1805-10

Pl. 82

p. 185

Watercolour; size unknown.

PROV. C.T. Maud.

LIT. Dafforne, p. 39.

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 21.

Whereabouts unknown.

144. River Scene with Shipping; firing a Salute c. 1805

Pl. 83 p. 219

Watercolours over pencil with some scratching out;
242 : 376 mm.

PROV. J.E. Taylor, by whom presented to the Whitworth Institute, 1892.

EXH. Tate Gallery, 1923 (63); Empire Art Loan, Australia, Early British Water-Colours, 1948-50 (82); City Art Gallery, Wakefield, English Watercolours and Drawings 1740-1840, 1956 (73).

Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.

145. Roadside Cottages c. 1802-5

Pen and brown ink, bistre wash and watercolours;
260 : 345 mm.

In Whitelegge Papers A.W.C. I. f. 246 verso.

146. Mountainous Landscape with a Tower

Grey washes; 260 : 345 mm.

Loc. cit. above f. 228.

147. The Pool of London

p. 223

Watercolours; size unknown.

PROV. Given by Callcott to Lady Lansdowne on completion of the painting of the same subject (No. 48; Pl. 36).

A replica of the Bowood Pool of London recorded in the Lansdowne Collection but no longer traceable.

148. The Pool of London c. 1815

Pl. 84 p. 222

Watercolours over pencil; 147 : 244 mm.

PROV. J.E. Taylor, by whom presented to the Whitworth Institute, 1892.

Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.

149. Greenwich Hospital c. 1815-25

p. 224

Pen and black ink; 109 : 145 mm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 42, No. 8;
Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 68.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

150. Rocks and Sea, Isle of Wight c. 1816

p. 244

Watercolours and black and white chalks on buff paper;
375 : 490 mm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 42, No. 7;
Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 68.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

151. Coast Scene; Boats and Figures c. 1816

Watercolours over pencil; 155 : 222 mm.

Possibly also an Isle of Wight subject.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

152. Dead Calm, Boats off Cowes Castle c. 1816

pp. 223, 239

Watercolours over pencil; 127 : 335 mm.

PROV. Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon.

Same composition as Nos. 53 and 70.

Yale Center for British Art, Mellon Collection.*

153. Fisherman on the Tyne, near Chollerford Mill

p. 226

Watercolours over pencil; 165 : 330 mm.

PROV. Sir John Swinburne; has since remained at Capheaton.

Perhaps drawn during Callcott's 1816 visit to Capheaton.

R. Browne-Swinburne, Esq.

154. View of the Leuvehaven, Rotterdam

Pl. 85 pp. 223, 228

Pen and brown ink over pencil; 102 : 165 mm.

PROV. Ruskin Gallery, Stratford-upon-Avon.

Preliminary drawing used first for Mrs. Knight's oil sketch (No. 57; Pl. 42) and then for Lord Howick's large painting shown at the Academy in 1819 (No. 56; Pl. 41). Presumably drawn during Callcott's visit to Rotterdam in 1818.

Private collection.

155. Shipping off a Harbour Mouth

Pen and brown ink over pencil; and some grey wash; 102 : 165 mm.

PROV. Ruskin Gallery, Stratford-upon-Avon.

Probably from the same sketchbook as the above, and certainly contemporary.

Private collection.

156. Coast Scene: Fishing Smack lying to c. 1816-20

p. 223

Pen and dark brown ink and wash over black chalk; 383 : 521 mm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 42, No. 6; Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 68.

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 8.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

157. Shipping off a Coast in rough Seas

p. 249

Pencil; 92 : 158 mm.

158. Calm; Vessels at anchor in a Harbour

Pencil; 102 : 180 mm.

159. Passage Boats

Pencil; 51 : 71 mm.

160. Passage Boats in a Harbour

Pencil; 51 : 70 mm.

161. Boats in a Harbour
 Pencil; 50 : 71 mm.
 PROV. 157-60 all from the collection of John Sheepshanks; given to South Kensington, 1857.
 LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 42, No. 4, as 'Studies of Composition'; Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 68, as ibid.
 Five small sketches, possibly made in Holland in 1818, evidently cut from a sketchbook and now on one mount.
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
162. Harbour Scene: 'Emmerich'
 Pencil; 89 : 135 mm.
 Signed with initials A W C at r. lower corner.
 From Callcott's journey up the Rhine in 1827.
 Drawn on folio 31 of the Denham Album, Beinecke Rare Book Library, Yale.*
163. Fishermen becalmed in an Estuary c. 1816-20
 Pl. 86 p. 223
 Pen and brown ink and grey wash; 299 : 424 mm.
 Signed with initials A W C on the stern of the fishing boat.
 PROV. C.T. Maud; General Maud; Sir Bruce Ingram.
 EXH. Messrs. P. & D. Colnaghi, Masters of Maritime Art. A Loan Exhibition from the Collection of Captain Bruce S. Ingram O.B.E., M.C., 1936, No. 20; Ashmolean Museum, English Drawings purchased from the Collection of the late Sir Bruce Ingram, 1963, No. 11.
 ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 20.
 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
164. Dordrecht c. 1818 or 1827
 pp. 245, 250
 Pen and black ink and water colours, heightened with white; 211 : 338 mm.
 PROV. Christie's Sale, 26 June, 1931, lot 81.
 LIT. M. Hardie, Water-Colour Painting in Britain, II, 1967, repr. pl. 139.
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

165. A Canal at The Hague c. 1818 or 1827
p. 250
Pen and brown ink; 175 : 165 mm.
British Museum, London.
166. Dutch Figures in a rowing Boat c. 1818 or 1827
Pen and brown ink over pencil; 146 : 248 mm.
The Art Gallery, Folkestone.*
167. Figures on a Quayside
Pl. 87 p. 224
Pen and brown ink and bistre over pencil; 113 : 182 mm.
PROV. A.P. Oppé, with the fifty-one following.
Drawn on the back of an envelope. Said to show a French scene but more probably Dutch, and roughly contemporary with the following drawings, all of which would seem to derive from Callcott's visits to the Low Countries in 1818 (Rotterdam) and 1824 (Antwerp).
168. Figures on a Quayside
Pen and brown ink and bistre wash; 95 : 141 mm.
169. Dutch Figure with a Glass Jar
p. 224
Pencil; 210 : 153 mm.
Used for one of the figures on the wooden jetty at l. foreground of Lord Howick's Rotterdam (No. 56; Pl. 41).
170. Dutch Figures on a Quayside
Pencil on fine tissue; 113 : 124 mm.
171. Dutchwoman yawning
Pen and black ink over pencil; 252 : 160 mm.
172. Dutchwoman talking
Pen and black ink over pencil; 252 : 159 mm.
Very similar in style to 171.
173. Dutch Figures by a Barge
Pen and brown ink; 100 : 135 mm.
174. Three Dutch Figures on a Quay
Brown ink; 87 : 100 mm.

175. Dutchman at the Helm of a Barge
Pencil; 147 : 127 mm.
176. Dutchman pulling a Barge; Man fishing etc.
Pl. 88
Pen and brown ink; 100 : 201 mm.
177. Dutch Figures in a Barge
Pen and brown ink over pencil; 89 : 108 mm.
178. Dutch Figures in a Barge
Pen and brown ink; 54 : 59 mm.
179. Poling a Barge
Pencil; 186 : 120 mm.
180. Dutch Waterman
Pencil; 57 : 48 mm.
181. Dutch Waterman
Pencil; 80 : 40 mm.
182. Dutchwoman leaning on a Post
Pencil; 176 : 115 mm.
183. Dutchman with a Sack
Pencil; 152 : 95 mm.
184. Dutchwoman with a Child
Pencil; 180 : 80 mm. (irregular).
185. Three Dutchmen towing a Barge
Pencil; 83 : 102 mm.
186. Dutch Figures on a Shore
Pen and brown ink; 40 : 50 mm.
187. Dutchwoman with a Fish Basket
Pen and brown ink and bistre wash; 50 : 50 mm.
188. Dutch Figures on a Beach
Pencil; 61 : 91 mm.
189. Dutch Figures on a Beach
Pencil; 48 : 61 mm.

190. Dutch Figures
Pen and brown ink; 65 : 82 mm.
191. Dutch Figures with Fish Baskets
Pencil; 75 : 75 mm.
192. Dutch Figures on a Shore
Pencil; 47 : 39 mm.
193. Dutchwoman with a Basket
Pencil; 46 : 31 mm.
194. Dutch Figures
Pen and brown ink; 40 : 38 mm.
195. Dutch Figures
Pencil; 62 : 73 mm.
196. Dutch Figures on a Quay
Pencil; 45 : 70 mm.
197. Two Dutchmen seated
Pencil; 56 : 77 mm.
198. Dutchwoman standing and another seated
Pencil; 76 : 70 mm.
199. Dutchwoman seated
Pencil; 72 : 42 mm.
200. Dutchman standing
Pencil; 100 : 49 mm.
201. A Dutchman
Pencil; 80 : 40 mm.
202. A Dutchman
Pencil; 75 : 49 mm.
203. A Dutchman seated
Pencil; 49 : 42 mm.
204. A Dutchman seen from the Back
Pencil; 91 : 46 mm.
205. Dutchwoman stooping
Pencil; 47 : 46 mm.

206. Dutchman on Horseback, and a Woman and Child
Pencil; 112 : 68 mm.
207. A Dutchman
Pen and brown ink over pencil; 140 : 121 mm.
208. A Dutchwoman
Pencil; 76 : 41 mm.
209. Dutch Barge Man
Pen and brown ink over pencil; 130 : 129 mm.
210. Dutch Figures
Pencil; 77 : 55 mm.
211. Two Dutch Figures
Pencil; 60 : 45 mm.
212. Dutchman stooping
Pencil; 45 : 70 mm.
213. Dutchman seen from the Back
Pencil; 100 : 79 mm.
214. A Dutchman
Pen and brown ink; 56 : 45 mm.
215. Dutchman wearing a Hat, seen from the Back
Pencil; 129 : 112 mm.
216. Man seated
Pencil; 74 : 44 mm.
217. Two Figures
Pencil; 28 : 31 mm.
218. Child seated
Pencil; 35 : 25 mm.
D.L.T. Oppé, Esq.
219. Buildings at Linlithgow

pp. 243-4

Pencil; 125 : 210 mm.

Inscribed in pencil Linlithgow.

PROV. Harold Hartley, by whom presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum with the seven following.

With the seven following, a study connected with Callcott's view of Linlithgow engraved by W.R. Smith for Scott's Provincial Antiquities of Scotland, 1821. No doubt made on Callcott's visit to Scotland in 1819.

220. Studies of Linlithgow Church Tower

Pencil; 125 : 210 mm.

Inscribed in pencil at l. lower corner Linlithgow, and, by the tower, This division larger, this higher, $\frac{1}{4}$ higher, leave out this pinnacle and this point as far out as this.

221. A Woman

Pencil; 53 : 41 mm.

With the five following, a figure study made in connection with Callcott's Linlithgow subject. All six drawings are on one mount.

222. A Cart and several Figures

Pencil; 54 : 42 mm.

Inscribed in pencil Linlithgow.

223. A Woman and Child

Pencil; 58 : 58 mm.

Inscribed in pencil Linlithgow.

224. A Woman kneeling

Pencil; 59 : 63 mm.

225. A Man on Horseback and another, standing

Pencil; 51 : 59 mm.

226. Four Women

Pencil; 110 : 100 mm.

Inscribed in pencil Linlithgow.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

227. Edinburgh from the Braid Hills

Pl. 89 p. 244

Pen and brown ink over pencil; 147 : 229 mm.

PROV. Cheney.

Lit. Binyon, p. 178, No. 2.

British Museum, London

The more finished version of this drawing, recorded in the collection of Sir J.C. Robinson, was engraved by G. Cooke for Provincial Antiquities of Scotland, 1821. Now apparently lost, this second version was made for Sir Walter Scott himself, as may also have been the drawings on which the other plates after Callcott were based; Scott did of course own Turner's watercolours made for the same publication. Callcott's other engraved views are lost, but are listed briefly below because, should any ever come to light, they would be readily identifiable on comparison with the corresponding plates.

228. Edinburgh from St. Antony's Chapel

p. 244

ENGR. By G. Cooke.

229. The Entrance to Leith Harbour

ENGR. By G. Cooke.

230. Edinburgh Castle from the Grass Market

ENGR. By H. Le Keux.

231. Linlithgow

ENGR. By W.R. Smith.

232. The Abbey and Nungate Bridge, Haddington, East Lothian

p. 243

Pen and brown ink and some grey wash over pencil;
355 : 648 mm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 42; No. 9; Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 68, where said to have been exhibited at R.A., 1830, although there is no other evidence of this.

Probably an unused design for Provincial Antiquities; Callcott originally expected to produce designs for ten plates, but only five were actually engraved after his work.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

233. The Thames at Staines c. 1820-25

Pl. 90 pp. 244-5

Grey wash touched with brown ink over pencil on grey paper; 134 : 241 mm.

PROV. H. Theobald; Monro; Dr. J. Percy; F. Meatyard, from whom acquired by A.P. Oppé, 1925.

D.L.T. Oppé, Esq.

234. Scene on the Thames c. 1820-25

Pl. 91 pp. 244-5

Grey wash touched with brown ink over pencil on grey paper; 128 : 215 mm.

Close in handling to the above.

With Alpine Gallery, 1977.*

235. Hornsea Church

p. 242

Medium and dimensions unknown.

ENGR. By G. Cooke, 1826; 'Figures and effect by A.W. Callcott'.

Whereabouts unknown.

236. Harbour Scene

p. 233

Pen and brown ink and bistre wash over pencil; 324 : 513 mm.

LIT. I. Williams, Early English Water-Colours, 1952, p. 116, repr. pl. 192.

Markedly loose and decorative in handling.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

237. Stormy Day c. 1820-25

Pl. 92 p. 223

Body colours; 248 : 362 mm.

Signed in wash at l. lower corner A.W. Callcott.

PROV. Gilbert Davis; P. & D. Colnaghi, 1947.

Another uncharacteristically free and bold drawing.

The Huntington Library, San. Marino, Cal.*

238. A Lugger making for the Mouth of a Harbour c. 1826

pp. 223, 236

Pencil; 259 : 403 mm.

PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, 1857.

LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 42, No. 5; Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 68.

Composition study for the Petworth Heavy Weather coming on (No. 68; Pl. 48), tighter in handling than the two above but still fresher than usual.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

239. Continental River Scene 1827

p. 250

Watercolours over black chalk; 285 : 343 mm.

Faintly signed with initials A.W.C. at l. lower corner.

PROV. Dr. J. McGregor, by whom presented to Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.

Royal Albert Museum, Exeter.

240. 'Leaving Maule' 1827/8

Pl. 93 p. 250

Pen and brown ink and grey wash, heightened with white, on buff paper; 280 : 413 mm.

PROV. Callcott Sale, 1845; Mrs. Landon-Maud; Woodside Gallery, Hallbankgate, Cumbria; Christie's Sale, 19 July, 1977, lot 91.

Copied by Dr. Crotch in his Norwich sketchbook (loc. cit., p. 72), and given the present title in his inscription.

Whereabouts unknown.

241. Alpine Landscape 1827/8

p. 249

Pencil and black chalk, heightened with white, on grey paper; 121 : 191 mm.

PROV. J.P. Preston, from whom purchased by Bradford City Art Gallery, 1921.

Bradford City Art Gallery, Cartwright Hall.

242. Italian Landscape with a Village and domed Church, and Mountains beyond 1828

p. 249

Pen and dark brown ink and bistre wash over pencil; 128 : 180 mm.

PROV. Charles Russell, with the two following; acquired with them for the British Museum.

LIT. Binyon, p. 178, No. 1c.

243. ? Italian Landscape with a Bridge 1828
 Bistre wash; 88 : 147 mm.
 LIT. Binyon, p. 177, No. 1b.
244. ? Italian Landscape with a Lake 1828
 Bistre wash; 88 : 180 mm.
 LIT. Binyon, p. 177, No. 1c.
 British Museum, London.
245. Italian Scene 1828
 Pencil; 64 : 75 mm.
 PROV. John Sheepshanks, with whose collection given to South Kensington, with the two following, 1857.
 LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 47. under No. 4, 'Studies of Composition'; Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 68, as ibid.
 This and the two following are slight studies of unidentified Italian scenery. All are on one mount with Nos. 157-61.
246. Italian Scene 1828
 Pencil; 66 : 77 mm.
247. Italian Scene 1828
 Pencil; 64 : 76 mm.
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
248. Lake with Boats; Vezzano 1828
 Pencil; 95 : 200 mm.
 Inscribed in pencil at l. lower corner 749 Vezzano.
 PROV. A.P. Oppé, from 1933, with the following.
249. 'Arcoli' 1828
 Pencil; 53 : 69 mm.
 Inscribed in pencil at r. lower corner with title.
 D.L.T. Oppé, Esq.
250. An Italian Tomb 1828
 Pen and brown ink and bistre wash over pencil;
 100 : 125 mm.
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

251. Italian Landscape with Bridge and Tower 1828
 Pen and black ink and grey washes over black chalk;
 260 : 318 mm.
 PROV. William Smith, by whom bequeathed to South
 Kensington, 1876.
 LIT. A Catalogue of the National Gallery of British
 Art at South Kensington, Part II, 1893, p. 42, No.
 2968/76; Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 69.
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
252. Italian Landscape c. 1828-30
 Pl. 94 p. 270
 Pen and brown ink and bistre wash; 137 : 216 mm.
 PROV. J. Parsons; A.P. Oppé.
 EXH. Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1921 (17).
 D.L.T. Oppé, Esq.
253. Italian Landscape c. 1828-30
 p. 270
 Pen and grey ink and grey washes over pencil; 133 : 214 mm.
 PROV. Christie's Sale, 19 July, 1977, lot 9.
 Whereabouts unknown.
254. Cannes 1828
 Pencil on grey paper; 165 : 254 mm.
 Inscribed in pencil with title.
 PROV. Cheney.
 LIT. Binyon, p. 178, No. 3.
 British Museum, London.
255. Two Youths resting c. 1832
 p. 274
 Pencil; 28 : 46 mm.
 PROV. A.P. Oppé, with the two following.
 With the two following, a study for the figures in the
 Lansdowne Shepherd's Boys with their Dogs (No. 89; Pl.
 63).

256. Seated Youth, seen from the Back c. 1832

Pencil; 125 : 197 mm.

257. Seated Youths with a Dog c. 1832

Pencil; 121 : 195 mm.

D.L.T. Oppé, Esq.

258. Verona

p. 250

Pen and brown ink, heightened with white, on buff-tinted paper; 394 : 528 mm.

Signed and dated in brown ink at r. lower corner
A W Callcott 1835.

LIT. Water Colour Paintings, 1927, p. 69.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

259. Trent in the Tyrol c. 1835-6

Watercolours; size unknown.

PROV. T.C. Dibdin.

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 13.

Whereabouts unknown.

260. High Tower on the Moselle c. 1830-35

p. 250

Watercolours; size unknown.

PROV. Charles Meigh.

LIT. Dafforne, pp. 53-4.

ENGR. Lithograph by T.C. Dibdin, in Dibdin, pl. 25.

Whereabouts unknown.

261. Sancho Panza c. 1837-40

p. 290

Pen and brown ink and bistre wash touched with water-colour; 110 : 135 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

262. Ascalon on the Coast of Israel

Pl. 95

Pen and brown ink and watercolours, with some scratching out; 164 : 230 mm.

Signed and dated in brown ink at l. lower corner
A W Callcott 183 (last digit illegible). Inscribed
 on verso in a later hand A W Callcott.

PROV. Sir Edward Tootal Broadhurst; Lady Tootal
 Broadhurst; acquired by the Whitworth Gallery, 1924,
 under the terms of Sir Edward Tootal Broadhurst's
 bequest.

ENGR. By E. Finden, 1835, Biblical Keepsake, I, p. 95.
 Founded on a drawing by Sir A. Edmonstone.

This and the following eleven subjects were worked up
 by Callcott from drawings made on the spot by travellers
 in the Middle East, and were engraved on steel,
 considerably reduced, by W. Finden for The Biblical
 Keepsake, or Landscape Illustrations of the most
 remarkable Places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures,
 published by John Murray, 1835-6. Callcott had
 originally intended only to correct proofs after
 others' drawings, but later executed drawings himself.

Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.

263. Damascus

Pen and brown ink and water colours; 166 : 240 mm.

ENGR. By E. Finden, 1836, Biblical Keepsake, II, p. 57.

Founded on a drawing by C. Barry.

British Museum, London.

264. The Fountain at Jericho (Ribhah)

Pen and brown ink and water colours; 165 : 229 mm.

PROV. Lewis Loyd; Christie's Sale, 30 April, 1937
 (lot 6).

LIT. Watercolours and Drawings, Leicester Museum
 and Art Gallery, 1963, No. 40, p. 70.

EXH. Manchester, Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857
 (217).

ENGR. By E. Finden, 1835, Biblical Keepsake, I, p. 33.

Founded on a drawing by the Revd. R. Masters.

The Art Gallery, Leicester.

265. View from Mount Carmel

Watercolours; size unknown.

ENGR. By E. Finden, 1835, Biblical Keepsake, I, p. 35.

Founded on a drawing by the Revd. R. Masters.

Whereabouts unknown.

266. Nazareth
 Watercolours; size unknown.
 ENGR. By E. Finden, 1836, Biblical Keepsake, II, p. 95.
 Founded on a drawing by the Revd. R. Masters.
 Whereabouts unknown.
267. Ararat
 Watercolours; size unknown.
 ENGR. By E. Finden, 1835, Biblical Keepsake, I, p. 1.
 Founded on a drawing by James Morier.
 Whereabouts unknown.
268. Fords of the Jordan
 Watercolours; size unknown.
 ENGR. By E. Finden, 1835, Biblical Keepsake, I, p. 15.
 Founded on a drawing by Sir A. Edmonstone and D. Allan.
 Whereabouts unknown.
269. View from Mount Lebanon
 Watercolours; size unknown.
 ENGR. By E. Finden, 1835, Biblical Keepsake, I, p. 45.
 Founded on a drawing by Albert Way.
 Whereabouts unknown.
270. The Ruined Temple of Isis, Ethiopia
 Watercolours; size unknown.
 ENGR. By E. Finden, 1835, Biblical Keepsake, I, p. 83.
 Founded on a drawing by Charles Barry.
 Whereabouts unknown.
271. Pergamus
 Watercolours; size unknown.
 ENGR. By E. Finden, 1835, Biblical Keepsake, I, p. 153.
 Founded on a drawing by Charles Barry.
 Whereabouts unknown.

272. Mount Lebanon and the Ruins of Baalbec
Watercolours; size unknown.
ENGR. By E. Finden, 1835, Biblical Keepsake, I,
p. 63.
Founded on a drawing by Charles Barry.
Whereabouts unknown.
273. Street in Jerusalem, called Via Dolorosa
Watercolours; size unknown.
ENGR. By E. Finden, 1835, Biblical Keepsake, I,
p. 127.
Founded on a drawing by Charles Barry.
Whereabouts unknown.

The Metzdorf Album

A leather-bound album, bearing the book-plate of Robert Stuart Callcott, and a label on the end-paper inscribed Original Sketches by SIR AUGUSTUS WALL CALLCOTT KNT: R.A. Each folio measures 153 : 240 mm. The album contains sixty-one small sketches in various media, deriving from dates throughout Callcott's career. The arrangement is haphazard, but it is logical to maintain the integrity of the album as it stands when describing its contents; an approximate indication of date is given in each case. The majority of the sketches are extremely slight in execution, and too small for effective reproduction.

PROV. R.S. Callcott; Emily Driscoll; Robert F. Metzdorf, by whom bequeathed to the University of Rochester Library, Rochester, New York.

f. 2 (1) Raphael and the Fornarina

p. 279

Pen and brown ink over pencil; 174 : 129 mm.

The opposite folio is inscribed The original sketch for the celebrated picture of the 'Raphael & Fornarina' painted for Sir G. Phillips in 1837.

f. 3 (2) Raphael (Sketch for the above)

Pencil; 125 : 102 mm.

f. 4 (3) Anne Page and Slender c. 1834-5

p. 289

Pen and brown ink over pencil; 44 : 51 mm.

f. 5 (4) Landscape with a Country Road

Pencil; 60 : 120 mm.

In Gainsborough's manner; c. 1800-1803.

f. 6 (5) A Country Inn c. 1804

Pencil; 92 : 144 mm.

f. 7 (6) Open Landscape with a Bridge c. 1804

Pencil; 66 : 167 mm.

f. 8 (7) View over a Town c. 1810

Pen and brown ink over pencil; 48 : 215 mm.

f. 9 (8) Italian Composition with ruined Arch c. 1830

Pen and brown ink and grey and bistre washes over pencil; 152 : 130 mm.

The opposite folio is inscribed Sketch for a picture in the possession of H.M. The Queen "ITALIAN COMPOSITION"

Not directly connected with the painting in the Royal Collection today (No. 126).

- f. 10 (9) Head of a Cow c. 1805
Bistre wash over pencil; 43 : 54 mm.
- (10) Wooden Railings beside a Pond c. 1805
Pencil; 40 : 99 mm.
- (11) A Cow c. 1805
Pen and brown ink and watercolours; 39 : 58 mm.
- f. 11 (12) A Traveller and his Dog on a Country Road c. 1805
Pencil; 86 : 142 mm.
- f. 12 blank
- f. 13 (13) A Man holding an Urn c. 1828-30
Pencil; 183 : 91 mm.
Probably a study for a figure in a classical landscape composition.
- f. 14 (14) Two Figures embracing beneath a Tree 1835-40
Pencil touched with black ink on tracing paper; 60 : 93 mm.
A drawing showing Nazarene influence.
- f. 15 (15) A Man walking with a Stave c. 1828
Pencil; 182 : 112 mm.
Probably adapted from a figure in an unidentified fresco or sculpture.
- f. 16 (16) Figures on a Country Road c. 1805
Pencil and some grey wash; 30 : 41 mm.
- (17) A Loaded Barge
Pen and black ink over pencil; 55 : 88 mm.
Probably from one of Callcott's stays in the Low Countries, 1818 (Rotterdam), 1824 (Antwerp) or on honeymoon in 1827.
- (18) Two Sheep c. 1805-15
Pencil; 43 : 62 mm.
- f. 17 (19) A Wheelbarrow c. 1805
Pencil; 47 : 44 mm.
- (20) A Man's Head in Profile to L. c. 1798-1800
Pencil; 43 : 42 mm.

- (21) A Wheelbarrow c. 1805
Pencil; 27 : 42 mm.
- f. 18 (22) A Man's Head in Profile to R. c. 1798-1800
Pencil and grey wash on grey paper; 59 : 44 mm.
- f. 19 (23) Dutch Boats in Harbour
Pencil; 117 : 210 mm.
From one of Callcott's visits to the Low Countries.
- f. 20 (24) A Nurse with two Girls picking Flowers c. 1830-40
Pencil on tracing paper; 94 : 84 mm.
- f. 21 (25) Christ 1828
Pencil; 171 : 86 mm.
Probably freely adapted from an unidentified fresco.
- f. 22 (26) A Female Martyr 1828
Pencil; 184 : 68 mm.
Evidently adapted from a figure in an unidentified fresco or sculpture.
- f. 23 (27) Two Lovers c. 1830-40
Pencil, arched top; 129 : 88 mm.
Another drawing reflecting Nazarene influence.
- f. 24 (28) Woman holding a Flower c. 1830-40
Pen and brown ink over pencil; 204 : 98 mm.
- f. 25 (29) A Barge
Pencil; 33 : 48 mm.
- (30) Two Fishing Boats
Pen and brown ink over pencil; 36 : 91 mm.
- (31) View of an Estuary
Pencil; 40 : 113 mm.
- (32) An Estuary with a Windmill on the Bank
Pencil; 39 : 113 mm.
Nos. 32-3 are probably Thames subjects, earlier than Callcott's Low Countries visits.
- f. 26 (33) Open Fields on the Outskirts of a City c. 1800-1805
Pencil; 53 : 142 mm.
Perhaps a view at Kensington Gravel Pits looking East.

- f. 27 (34) Landscape Studies, a Town on a Hill and a Pond
c. 1805
Pencil; 56 : 155 mm.
- f. 28 (35) Travellers on a Road beside a Pond c. 1805-12
Pencil; 94 : 76 mm.
- f. 29 (36) A Church Tower
Pen and brown ink; 161 : 128 mm.
Very slight and impossible to date.
- f. 30 (37) Three Cows watering c. 1805-10
Pencil; 93 : 155 mm.
- f. 31 (38) ? Launce and his Dog c. 1835
Pencil; 148 : 114 mm.
- f. 32 (39) Wooden Steps c. 1805
Pencil; 59 : 50 mm.
- (40) A Cow watering c. 1805
Pencil; 73 : 66 mm.
- (41) A Wheelbarrow c. 1805
Pencil; 35 : 68 mm.
- f. 33 (42) Two Children and a Dog c. 1805-10
Pencil; 37 : 56 mm.
- (43) A Barge and another Vessel becalmed c. 1815-25
Pencil and brownish-red watercolour; 74 : 81 mm.
- (44) Fencing Posts c. 1805
Pencil; 33 : 54 mm.
- f. 34 (45) An Italian Church 1828
p. 249
Pencil; 124 : 182 mm.
- f. 35 (46) Old Cottages c. 1804-5
Pencil; 110 : 174 mm.
- f. 36 (47) A Pond beside Trees 1805-10
Pencil; 73 : 110 mm.
- f. 37 (48) Head of a Girl 1830-40
Pencil on oiled paper; 178 : 111 mm.

f. 38 (49) Two Figures, ?Slender and Anne Page c. 1835
Pencil; 180 : 112 mm.

f. 40 (50) Wooden Fencing c. 1805
Pencil; 30 : 58 mm.

(51) Baskets c. 1805
Pencil; 47 : 59 mm.

(52) A Girl wearing a Bonnet c. 1830-40
Pencil; 61 : 90 mm.

f. 41 (53) A Boat drawn up on a Beach c. 1806
Pencil; 60 : 90 mm.

(54) Wooded Landscape with Figures 1805-10
Pencil; 51 : 75 mm.

f. 41 verso

(55) A Pot on a Wooden Bench c. 1805
Pencil; 44 : 65 mm.

(56) Wooden Fencing c. 1805
Pencil; 40 : 61 mm.

(57) A Wheelbarrow c. 1805
Pencil; 44 : 42 mm.

f. 42 blank

f. 43 verso

(58) Houses among Trees c. 1805
Pencil; 89 : 113 mm.

(59) A Kettle on a Stool c. 1805
Pencil; 33 : 48 mm.

(60) A Pot c. 1805
Pencil; 34 : 38 mm.

(61) Bottles and a covered Dish c. 1805
Pencil; 30 : 36 mm.

Sketches in 'The Remembrancer', 1835 (Strode Papers)

Sketches on the following pages; various sizes; each
page 232 : 175 mm.

- p. 41. Dutch Shipping. Pen and brown ink and bistre over pencil.
- p. 42. 'Instruct the Ignorant'. Pen and brown ink and bistre.
- p. 46. A Rocky Coastline (with Maria Callcott). Grey washes over pencil.
- p. 88. Yachts in a Stormy Sea. Pencil.
- p. 132. A Dutch Barge in a Calm. Pencil.
- p. 154. Caricature; a Man looking with a Telescope through the hole in a mill-stone. Pencil.
- p. 155. 'Wild Beast in the New Found World called Sû'. Pencil.
- p. 179. Dutch Shipping. Pencil.
- p. 221. Shipping. Pencil.

ADDENDUM

Portrait of Leigh Hunt c. 1830-35

Pencil and grey wash; 67 : 45 mm.

PROV. ? J.C. Horsley; H.D. O'Neill, by whom presented to the London Library.

The London Library.

APPENDIX I

The Callcott Papers

The following list comprises the archival material connected with Maria and Augustus Callcott which has remained in the possession of their several indirect descendents. This material was hitherto unsorted and largely unknown. I am deeply grateful to the owners, Mr. Maurice Whitelegge, Lady Robinson and the late Mrs. Nancy Strode, who afforded me every facility for using the papers in their keeping, and for arranging them in what I hope will prove a logical and practical sequence. The account given below is designed to explain the arrangement I have adopted, and to provide more information about the material referred to in footnotes to the main text.

The papers have been divided initially according to owner, and then by author; A.W. Callcott's are headed 'A.W.C.' and Maria's 'M.C.'. Within owner and author groups, they have been arranged by content - i.e. in the case of A.W.C., I. Theory and Technique; II, Anecdotes, Journals, Personalia. Folio numbering is cumulative only within owner and author sequences. To preserve the individual entity of certain groups of notes, and to maintain a chronological order where this can be established, papers have been further subdivided alphabetically; this in no way affects the folio numbering. Where material has a clear integrity of its own and has been numbered by the author - as in the case of M.C.'s Journal, 1827-8 - I have retained the original page numbers.

Dates of papers are unknown unless otherwise stated.

Whitelegge Papers. A.W.C. I. Theory and Technique

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| a. ff. 1-6 | Letter on landscape painting dated July 1801, and on colour and composition, presumably a draft. Wholly transcribed in Appendix III. |
| b. ff. 7-26 | Draft (?) letters on the need for rules in art, dated 27 December, 1804, and 3 January, 1805. |
| c. ff. 27-33 | Draft (?) letter to an unknown correspondent on rules and principles. |
| d. ff. 34-53 | Further notes on colour, probably also a draft letter. |
| e. ff. 54-65 | Notes on the history of colour, probably also a draft letter. Parts b-e are partially transcribed in Appendix III. |

- f. ff. 66-95 Further colour notes.
- g. ff. 96-120 Lecture notes (?) on various technical points.
- h. ff. 121-221 Large bound notebook containing notes of technical interest, quotations from Reynolds, and an account of Benjamin West's rainbow theory lecture of 1817.
- i. ff. 222-246 Similar notebook, labelled Elizabeth Hutchins Callcott Nov 31 1801, but clearly appropriated by A.W.C. Many pages blank, but contains further technical notes, one sepia drawing of a castle and one pen and ink drawing of cottages.
- j. ff. 247-283 Copy of On the Apparent direction of the Eyes in a portrait, by Dr. Wollaston, 1824.
- k. ff. 284-333 Notes on invention in art. Also some perspective diagrams.
- l. ff. 334-335 Perspective definitions. With diagrams.

Whitelegge Papers. A.W.C. II. Journals, Anecdotes, Personalia

- a. ff. 336-344 Journal 1805. (In fact only for part of July of that year).
- b. ff. 345-352 Sir A.W.C.'s Dictionary of Anecdotes - C.T.W. only these letters (Many lost). A compilation, many pages stuck together. In fact also contains 'Y'.
- c. ff. 353-388 Small bound notebook with further anecdotes.
- d. f. 389 Addenda; single sheet with uncomplimentary note about Fuseli.

Whitelegge Papers. A.W.C. III. Material concerning the Royal Academy, and other contemporary artists

- a. ff. 390-397 Lists showing space in Academy Great Room given to Beechey, Lawrence, Owen, Jackson, Turner, Phillips, Shee, between 1796 and 1825.

b. f. 398 Account of Turner's Academy exhibits of 1799, apparently a draft of a letter to T. Bennet, an artist from Woodstock.

c. f. 399 Letter from John Scott, dated 17th December, 1815, re. proofs of Benevolent Cottagers.

Whitelegge Papers. A.W.C. IV. Private possessions

a. ff. 400-401 List of Callcott's collection of paintings - by himself and other artists' - in 1827. Divided into "Lot A" and "Lot B."

b. ff. 402-420 Small notebook containing personal notes, and a list of his library, with prices paid for books.

Whitelegge Papers. A.W.C. V. Art Historical Material

a. ff. 421-422 Lists of authors on painters and painting.

b. ff. 423-432 Essay on Venetian Painters.

c. ff. 433-498 Notebook with quotations from the Bible, classical authors etc. on art and artists. Also a list of A.W.C.'s patrons.

Whitelegge Papers. M.C. I. Journal, 1827

pp. 1-86

Volume II of Maria Callcott's Journal of her honeymoon. Journal from August 10th 1827, Dresden to Munich. This completes the sequence with Vols. I, III and IV in the Strode collection (see below). For all of these I have retained Maria's own page numbers. These have also survived for most other M.C. material in the Whitelegge collection, and I have numbered myself only where this is not the case, or where unmarked but related material needed to be grouped together.

Whitelegge Papers. M.C. II. Addenda to Journal

- a. ff. 1-12 Beginning of headings? of our tour in 1827, by Lady Callcott. A synopsis of the Journal, and also what appear to be instructions (perhaps for Eastlake, an executor).
- b. ff. 13-136 A further, condensed version of the main Strode and Whitelegge Journal. Apparently written for a friend, or possibly for publication.

Whitelegge Papers. M.C. III. Essays Towards the History of Painting

- a. ff. 137-168 Rough MS. draft of the Essays with additions and alterations. Not numbered by M.C.
- b. pp. I-X, and pp. 1-120 Bound copy with pages numbered by Maria.

Whitelegge Papers. M.C. IV. Letters

- a. ff. 1-19 and ff. 1-12 Extracts from some letters written to a person at Rome. Apparently replies to queries about the Sybils in fresco. Extracts I and II bound together and numbered by folio by M.C.
- b. ff. 1-32 Another copy of the extracts. Unbound but stitched.

Robinson Papers. A.W.C. I. Family History

- ff. 1-13 Fragments of Family History written by Sir Augustus Wall Callcott, R.A., a few years before his death in 1844. A transcription, probably by William Hutchins Callcott. Folios numbered by him.

Robinson Papers. M.C. I. Diaries and Personalia

- a. ff. 1-22 Bound transcriptions from M.C.'s private diaries and notes. Also Anecdotes and Journals, by Ldy Callcott. Various dates.
- b. ff. 23-54 Diary for 1829.

Strode Papers. A.W.C. I. Diary

a. ff. 1-41

Synopsis of A.W.C.'s diary of his visit to Paris in 1815. Typescript probably made by Mrs. Rosamund Brunel Gotch. Original manuscript lost.

Strode Papers. A.W.C. & M.C. Journal and Catalogue

Large bound notebook containing material by both A.W.C. and M.C. Numbered independently by the authors, as follows:

a. pp. 1-12

Sir A. Callcott's Catalogue. A list - not entirely complete - of paintings and their purchasers, divided into exhibited and un-exhibited works. Entries made up to 1844. Transcribed in Appendix II.

b. pp. 1-32

Journal, 1816, by M.C.

Strode Papers. Various contributors. The Remembrancer

pp. 1-265

Morocco bound album containing mixed memorabilia, essays, poems, and sketches by A.W.C., M.C., J.C. Horsley, Mulready, Webster etc. Compiled by a family committee for presentation to M.C. during her illness in 1833. Sketches by A.W.C. on pp. 41, 42, 46, 88, 132, 179, 154, 155, 221.

Strode Papers. M.C. I. Journals, 1827-28

With Volume II (Whitelegge Papers M.C. I, pp. 1-86), those in the Strode collection comprise the complete sequence of M.C.'s Journal of her honeymoon trip to Germany and Italy in 1827-28. As in the Whitelegge Volume, her own pagination has been retained.

a. pp. 1-144

Journal I, to Dresden including first visit to Munich, May 12th, 1827 to August 10, in 2 divisions of paper.

(The Whitelegge Volume follows on from this, and leads to the end of August)

b. pp. 1-60

Journal 3 Munich to Gribon, Sep. 1827.

c. pp. 1-140

Journal 5. The volume number is incorrect; this covers the period spent in Italy from November, 1827, to the return to Calais for the ferry, and follows directly from the end of Journal 3. The most plausible explanation for the disparity is that the first volume - "in 2 divisions of paper" - in fact originally comprised both volumes I and II. Journal 3 thus becomes Volume IV, and Journal 5 remains correctly numbered.

APPENDIX II

Callcott's MS. Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings

(Strode Papers, A.W.C., M.C., a. pp. 1-12)

Where works are listed in my own catalogue, their numbers are given in brackets in the left margin, with a query wherever identification is not absolutely certain.

	1799			
	540	<u>Portrait of Miss Roberts</u> $\frac{3}{4}$ size	Painted over.	
	1800			
	1801			
	16	<u>View of Oxford</u> about 2 feet by 14 in	Painted over.	
	104	<u>Portrait of Mr. Webb</u> $\frac{3}{4}$ size	In the possession of his son.	
	372	<u>Do. of Mr. Dignum</u> $\frac{3}{4}$ size	Painted over.	
	1802			
	121	<u>Lago Maggiore, with a Thunderstorm</u> 2 feet by 18 inches	Painted over.	
(3)	525	<u>Portrait of Dr. Grey</u> $\frac{3}{4}$ size	Given at the request of his nephew to the Royal Society in 1830.	
	591	<u>Moonlight</u> about 4 feet by <u>Morning</u> 18 inches	Bought by a German Baron.	
(10)	1803			
	164	<u>The Gravel Pit</u> about 18 inches by 8	In my own possession.	
	205	<u>Morning</u> bought by Lowry <u>Evening</u> the engraver	Drawings.	
(?128)	229	<u>Portrait of Mr. Dignum</u> $\frac{3}{4}$ size	In the possession of his family.	
(5)	306	<u>A Heath, with peasants returning from Market: a Storm coming on in the distance</u> a picture $\frac{3}{4}$ size	In my own possession.	
(?9)				
(?8)	743	<u>Morning</u> a picture $\frac{3}{4}$ size	Painted for the late Lord Lansdowne and bought by - Vernon at the Dowager's Sale at Camden. Afterwards at Christies.	

- 1804
- (14) 1805
- 22 The Water-mill
whole length with a foot
off the top
- 42 Moon-rise, with fishermen
drawing their nets
12 in by about 8
- 119 The Angler
about 14 in by 10
- 170 Morning
about a Kit-cat size
- (?129) 435 A distant shower
- 446 A scene between Bala and
Dolgelly, looking towards
Cader Idris, Merionethshire
- 490 A Water-fall in the vicinity
of Tany Owlch, Merionethshire
- 1806
- 70 The Brook
 $\frac{3}{4}$ size
- 105 A rural scene; Mid-day
 $\frac{3}{4}$ size
- (?15) 241 A sea-coast, with figures;
bargaining for fish
about 6 feet by 4
- (?16) 290 A calm, with figures;
Shrimping
large
- Bought by the late Lord
de Tabley, and after-
wards purchased by
Chamberlaine of South-
ampton.
Given to Col.
Annesley.
- Given to my friend
H. Thomson.
Purchased by Richard
Payne Knight Esq.
- 3 Drawings made for
the late Lord
Lascelles.
- Painted for the late
Duke of Argyle.
Painted for the late
Lord William Russell
and bought by Edward
Millar Mundy Esqr of
Shipley.
Painted for the late
Lord de Tabley.
- Purchased by Lister
Parker Esqr.

(List of Works painted by me and not exhibited at the
Royal Academy)

1810

A Fresh Gale $3\frac{3}{4}$ size purchased by Ed. Millar Mundy Esqr.
of Shipley Derbyshire.

The Sketch for the Diana and Actaeon Purchased by Wm.
A Sketch of a Boar. Hunt its companion Horsley Esqr. 2 ft.
high by 16 inches

1811

A picture copied from a German print at the decree of
W. Chamberlaine of Southampton. A view of Lausanne.

- (41) A small picture painted as a lesson for Benj. Oakley Esqr.
at Clapham Commn. it was composed of parts selected from
a Jacob Ruisdael which I had in exchange. It was pur-
chased by the late Sir Francis Freeling as a Dutch
picture and bought at his sale by Lord Colborn.
About 16 inches by 12.

1811 cont.

Two small pictures of a sea piece and a view in Windsor Park, painted for the Revd. R.H. Lancaster. about 16 by 12.

A picture of cow boys with Kenilworth Castle in the distance. An upright about 4 by 3.

1812

A mountainous scene painted at the Revd. R.H. Lancaster's as a lesson and given to him.

Two small pictures of a rural scene and a sea coast painted for the late Sir Thos Heathcote about 16 by 12.

1813-4

A large upright landscape with the story of Mercury and Herse painted for - Cary Esqr. of Tor Abbey - about 7 by 3 feet 6.

(46) A large half length of a sea shore with a girl shrimping painted for Mrs. Patch of Exeter who cut off several inches of the sky to make it fit a frame. It is now in the possession of Mr Gibbon of Birmingham.

A composition painted for Mr Thomson of Islington and bought at Christies by Sir George Philips Bart - a $\frac{3}{4}$ canvas lengthened.

A composition with a bridge sent to the Birmingham or Manchester exhibition and there sold.

The banks of a river with a wooden bridge and two shepherd boys trying to catch their dog to throw him into the water. Painted for Thos. Wright Esqr. of Nottingham.

(47) A river scene evening with a ferry boat and ruins on the further bank about a small $\frac{1}{2}$ length. It was sold at Christies some few years ago and seemed to have been cut. It was bought from me by Benjn. Oakley Esqr. of Clapham Common.

A small picture bought by Sr. Willoughby Gordon about 14 inches by 10 of a man on a white pony talking to the workmen in a ship builders yard.

(52) A small river scene painted for Sir Willoughby Gordon.

A small study from nature Do. - purchased by Do.

A small picture painted from nature and sold from the Exhibition of the British Gallery but I do not know by whom. It is now in the possession of - Allnutt Esqr. about 2 feet by 14 inches.

1817

A View on the River Tyne painted for the late Lady Swinburne.

(EXHIBITED)

- 1807
- (17) 18 Market Day Painted for Lord de
whole length Tabley.
- 76 A coast scene In my own possession.
- (19) 167 Old Houses at Shrewsbury In my own possession.
(In a later hand Now
the Queen's).
- (?18) 308 Cow Boys Sold to Lord de Tabley
bought afterwards by
Mr. Agar.
- 427 Evening A drawing.
- 1808
- 83 A mill near LLangollen, from Destroyed and another
a sketch by Sir Richard Hoare painted.
- 105 Sea coast, with the remains of Painted for the Duke
a wreck Gloucester.
- (20) 180 about 24 by 20
River Scene Sold to Lister Parker
who transferred it to
Ld. de Tabley.
- 1809
- 6 The Watering Place Destroyed.
- 107 Llangollen Bridge Painted for Ed. Miller
Mundy of Shipley.
- 193 Windsor from Eton Painted for Mr Oakley.
- 1810
- (32) 127 A Landscape, in which is Sold to Sir R.C. Hoare.
introduced the story of Diana
and Actaeon, the figures by
Owen.
a whole length with a foot cut
off the top
- 182 Portrait of young lady In my own possession.
- 1811
- (34) My diploma picture
- (35) 112 Itchen Ferry
- (36) 141 Southampton from Weston Grove Painted for Wm
the seat of W. Chamberlaine, Chamberlayne
Esq.
- 198 Apollo slaying the sons of In the possession of
Niobe at the Altar of Latona, Wm. Horsley Esqr.
a Study
- 223 Study from nature Horsley Westbourne
a Kit cat Green.
- 277 Cattle at the watering place A Drawing.
- 367 Morning Do.
- (37) 432 A scene near Capel Cerrig, N. In my own possession.
Wales
- 450 "Retire, soft singer, by night, In my own possession.
blue eyed Oina-Morul, retire!
Ton Thormod shall not mourn on
rock"

- 1811 cont.
 (38) 459 Morning Mr Sheepshanks Query.
 (39) 519 Travelling Tinkers In my own possession.

(UNEXHIBITED)
 1818-24 blank

- 1825
 (65) A sea port (the interior of) small $\frac{1}{2}$ length painted for the late Earl of Egremont.
 A small study about 20 by 14 of an effect in Petworth Park but with Italian buildings in the distance sold to Sr Henry Bunbury but afterwards given up to the Earl of Egremont at my request.
- 1827
 A repetition on a small half length of the large picture painted for Sr. Thos Heathcote in 1817.
 A small picture painted from a sketch of Lady Callcott's at Venice purchased by Benjn Hawes Esqr.
 Two small pictures of a fresh gale and a calm about 20 by 14 painted for Lady Grey of Hertford Street.
 A small portrait whole length of my early friend Francis Gold begun in 1799 and finished about 1831 as a present to Dr Henry Thomson of Piccadilly.
 A small picture about 18 by 10 of Dutch peasants waiting at the ferry point for the return of the boat painted for the late General Phipps.
 Two small pictures 24 by 20 of a rough and a smooth sea purchased by Lord Monteagle.
- (?114) A small study of the Slender and Anne Page purchased by the late Earl of Essex about 10 inches by 6.
- (113) The picture of the above subject painted for John Sheepshanks Esqr. about 30 inches by 20.
- (74) A small sea storm purchased by - Munro Esqr. and afterwards bought by John Sheepshanks Esqr.
 A small long picture of cattle purchased by the late Earl of Essex to place on a door.
 A sketch of a Venetian subject given to the Earl of Essex to place on a door.
- 1835
 (105) Two pictures one of the basin at Ghent the other of the approach to Amalfio - painted for Mr. Connel of Manchester.
- (106) First picture of the Raphael and Fornarina on two separate canvases about Kit Cat sizes placed in one frame with a narrow strip of beading down the centre to hide the joining $\frac{1}{2}$ figures life size. Painted for the late Duke of Norfolk.
 A picture of figures and horses on a beach waiting the coming in of the fishing boats. Painted for the late Lord Farnborough.

1839

The landing place at Murano, painted for the late Lord Farnborough as companion to the above. Both pictures are now in the possession of Col. Long at Bromley Hill. They are somewhat larger than Kit Cats.

- (111) The Temple of Aesculapius with a procession painted for Dr. Carpenter my friend.

(EXHIBITED)

1812

- | | | | |
|------|-----|--|--|
| (42) | 14 | <u>Little Hampton Pier</u> | Ld. de Tabley. |
| | | $\frac{1}{2}$ length | |
| (43) | 50 | <u>The cottager's relief</u> | for Mrs. Heathcote. |
| | | $\frac{3}{4}$ | |
| (44) | 64 | <u>The return from Market</u> | Do. |
| | 159 | <u>Study from nature</u> | In my own possession. |
| | 148 | <u>A mill near Llangollen, from a sketch by Sir R. Hoare</u> | Painted for Sir R.C. Hoare and now at Stourhead. |
| | 329 | <u>Hampton Court Bridge</u> | In my own possession. |

1813-4 blank

1815

- | | | | |
|--|----|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | 66 | <u>Passage and Luggage Boats</u> | Bought by Sir John Swinburne. |
|--|----|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|

1816

- | | | | |
|------|-----|---|----------------------------|
| (48) | 175 | <u>The Entrance to the Pool of London</u> | Painted for Lord Lansdowne |
|------|-----|---|----------------------------|

1817

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|--|
| (53) | | (a picture painted for Sir Thos. Heathcote) | |
|------|--|---|--|

1818

- | | | | |
|------|----|--|----------------------------------|
| (55) | 95 | <u>The Mouth of the Tyne, with a view of North and South Shields</u> | Painted for the late Lord Durham |
|------|----|--|----------------------------------|

1819

- | | | | |
|------|----|------------------|------------------------|
| (56) | 86 | <u>Rotterdam</u> | Painted for Earl Grey. |
|------|----|------------------|------------------------|

1820

- | | | | |
|------|----|--|-----------------------------------|
| (59) | 81 | <u>A dead calm on the Medway, with small craft dropping down on the turn of the tide</u> | Painted for the late Lord Durham. |
|------|----|--|-----------------------------------|

1821

- | | | | |
|------|-----|--|-----------------------------|
| (60) | 194 | <u>Dover, from the sea; a squally day; wind against the tide</u> | Painted for Lord Liverpool. |
|------|-----|--|-----------------------------|

1822

- | | | | |
|------|-----|---|----------------------------------|
| (61) | 171 | <u>Smugglers alarmed by an unexpected change from hazy weather, while landing their cargo</u> | Painted for Sir Thos. Heathcote. |
|------|-----|---|----------------------------------|

- (62) 1823 158 Dutch Market boats, Rotterdam Painted for the late Earl of Essex.
- (63) 1824 160 Rochester, from the river, below the bridge Painted for Sir George Phillips.
- 1825 blank
- (66) 1826 102 The Quay at Antwerp during the Fair Time Painted for the late Duke of Bedford.
- (67) 165 Dutch fishing boats running foul in the endeavour to board, and missing the painter rope Painted for Jesse Watts Russell Esqr.
- (68) 1827 111 Heavy weather coming on, with vessels running to port Painted for the late Earl of Egremont.
- (69) 173 Bruges, from the Ghent Canal Painted for Sir M. Ridley.
- (70) 291 Dead calm, boats off Cowes Castle Painted for Mr. Bennet now Sir W. Gordon.
- (71) 306 The Thames below Greenwich Painted for the late Sir John Soane.
- 1828 blank
- (?75) 1829 10 The Fountain; Morning Painted for Lady Swinburne.
- 66 A Dutch ferry Painted for the late Ld. Durham afterwards bought by Lord C Townshend & at present in Sir Charles Coot's collection.
- 1830
- 72 Morning, an Italian composition Painted for the late Duke of Sutherland.
- 85 A scene in the neighbourhood of Arnhiem Given to the late Sir F. Chantry.
- (80) 105 The passage-point - An Italian composition Painted for Sir John Soane.
- (81) 172 A brisk gale - A Dutch East Indiaman landing passengers Query Sheepshanks picture.
- 327 Squally weather Mr. Wells.
- 1831
- 11 Dutch Coast Lord Calledon.
- 61 Evening, an Italian landscape Wm Delafield Esqr.
- 97 Morning, an Italian landscape Lord Grey.

- 1831 cont.
- (82) 122 Italian landscape Lady Grey.
 135 Canal of Bruges Duke of Bedford.
 136 A mill-dam Lord Essex.
 307 View of Trent, in the Tyrol Painted for Mr. Ducane.
 417 A sunny-morning Query Sheepshanks.
- 1832
- (83) 8 Sunset at Camuglia, a small seaport ten miles south-east of Genoa J. Haldiman Esqr.
 61 The ruined tomb Lord de Dunstanville not Mr. Hippisley.
 86 A scene suggested by an effect seen after heavy rain in the Ligurian mountains near ? Sarzana Painted for Ld. Durham.
 100 The benighted traveller Bought by Mr. Vernon.
 141 A cross road Painted for the late Duke of Norfolk.
 (?87) 187 An English water-mill Bought by Miss Duckworth
 (?88) 271 A Dutch coast scene Mr. Vernon.
 332 A finished sketch of Italian Girls going in procession to their first communion; painted in consequence of seeing a single sunbeam fall on the high altar at the moment of the ceremony. In my own possession.
- 1833
- (89) 23 Shepherds' boys with their dogs Painted for Ld. Lansdowne.
 (90) 70 Harvest in the Highlands the figures by E Landseer R.A. the landscape by A.W. Callcott. Bought by Sam Cartwright Esqr.
 (91) 185 Entrance to Pisa from Leghorn Painted for Mr. Morrison but bought by Mr. Vernon.
 221 The Port of Savona in the gulph of Genoa Painted for Burton Philips Esqr.
 285 Morning, on the lower Rhine Mr. Wells.
 359 Morning, an Italian landscape
- 1834
- 106 The Port of Leghorn Painted for Lord de Dunstanville.
 121 Returning from Market Lord Dover.
 154 Cologne Painted for W. Delafield Esqr and bought by the late Mr. Knott.

- 1834 cont.
- | | | | |
|-------|-----|--|-------------------------|
| (96) | 189 | <u>Dutch Peasants waiting the return of the passage-boat</u> | Robert Fergusson Esqr. |
| (93) | 316 | <u>Recollection of the Campagna of Rome</u> | Sold to Lord Lansdowne. |
| (?94) | 368 | <u>A Dutch landscape</u> | Painted for Mr. Vernon. |

- 1835
- | | | | |
|--|-----|---|----------------------------------|
| | 13 | <u>Genoese coast, near Recco</u> | Painted for George Philips. |
| | 66 | <u>Mid-day, resting from the harrow</u> | Painted for the Duke of Norfolk. |
| | 101 | <u>Approach to Verona, from the Tyrol</u> | Painted for Mr. Marshall. |
| | 118 | <u>Composition from the Lago di Garda</u> | Bought by Mr. Wells. |

(UNEXHIBITED)

- 1839
- Columbus sold to Miss Duckworth and now in the possession of Sir Thos Coltman.
- Ruins of an Acqueduct.
- (102) 3 small Sketches painted of various subjects at Gravesend purchased by John Sheepshanks Esqr.
- (Also listed here but evidently earlier in date:-
 Portrait of my mother - my brother - his daughter Caroline
 Uncle Wall & of my Brother in law Thos Buckley
 A portrait of my uncle's Stallion Tyny.
 An old Tree with a dog drinking at a brook.
 A small mountain scene.
 A study from nature made at Embly from the common looking towards the Southampton Water)

(EXHIBITED)

- 1836
- | | | | |
|-------|-----|---|----------------------|
| | 48 | <u>Dutch peasants returning from market</u> | Query if Mr. Wells. |
| | 110 | <u>Murano, the old part of Venice</u> | Sam Cartwright Esqr. |
| (108) | 130 | <u>Trent in the Tyrol</u> | |
- 1837
- | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (107) | 104 | <u>Raphael and the Fornarina</u> | Painted for Sir G. Philips. |
| | 179 | <u>Recco, on the Coast of Genoa</u> | The late Duke of Sutherland. |
- 1838
- | | | | |
|-------|----|---|-------------------------|
| (110) | 9 | <u>Cicero's Tomb, near Mola di Gaeta</u> | Bought by Mr. Marshall. |
| | 15 | <u>Italian composition, from Materials in the neighbourhood of Rome</u> | Painted for Thomson |

- 1838 cont.
- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------------------|
| 67 | <u>Italian composition, from materials at Baiae</u> | Painted for William Duckworth Esqr. |
| 176 | <u>Scene on the Rhine</u> | Painted for Ld. Francis Egerton. |
| 424 | <u>Dutch boats leaving port in squally weather</u> | Late Duke of Norfolk. |
- 1839 blank
- 1840
- | | | | |
|-------|-----|--|-------------------------|
| (112) | 125 | <u>Milton dictating to his daughters</u> | Painted for W. Marshall |
|-------|-----|--|-------------------------|
- 1841 blank
- 1842
- | | | | |
|-------|--|---|---------------------------------|
| (119) | | <u>An Italian Evening</u>
half length | Miss Sheepshanks. |
| | | <u>An English Landscape, cows at the watering place</u>
an upright picture between 5 feet in length and four feet wide | Painted for the late Mr. Knott. |
| (120) | | <u>A small long picture of Dort with a number of cows</u>
about 20 inches by 9 or 10 | Mr. Sheepshanks. |

(UNEXHIBITED)

Wined Well

Iffley Mill bought by Mr. Wells?

There is a beautiful small mountain scene at Grosvenor House.

APPENDIX III

Extracts from Callcott's Papers

The extracts given below come from those of his papers which are concerned with the theory and practise of art, and thus have some light to throw on his work. The letter on landscape written in 1801 is transcribed complete; I have been more selective with subsequent letters and notes. The spelling is as in the original.

LETTER ON LANDSCAPE PAINTING, 1801

(Whitelegge Papers, A.W.C. Ia, ff. 1-6)

July 1801

Among those who have made landscape their particular study, different opinions have been entertained which of the two was the most requisite quality, Beauty of individual parts, or General Effect. Some maintain everything should be sacrificed to the first, and others assert the first ought to be wholly disregarded for the latter, but general effect, or beauty of individual parts, will neither be sufficient of themselves, a perfect landscape requires the union of both these qualities, and although the greatest attention is always to be applied to the appearance of the whole, the beauty of individual parts should not be neglected - if however one only could be chosen, that of general effect would be found most valuable, as the objects of landscape are not in themselves like those of History, sufficiently interesting to compensate for the absence of the ornamental parts of the art.

What relates to general effect is the subject of the following observations, the Beauty of individual parts I must leave reserved for a future speculation.

General effect is dependent on an Harmonious Assemblage of Objects - Light and Shade - and an Harmonious Combination of Colour -

The first of these, an Harmonious Assemblage of Objects is again dependent on three things, the Number - Unity of Character and a Proportionate Size in the principal areas, to the size of the picture, and between each other, according to their character, situation, and Relief.

A composition to be full and complete, must have a sufficient number of Principal Objects, if these are extended beyond a certain point, the picture becomes crowded and confused, and if the point is not attained, it is no picture but a study. What this number should be, as it depends greatly on the nature of the composition, cannot be exactly determined. Those however who have arrived at the greatest excellence in landscape composition, seem generally to have thought, three as many as the eye could view without distractions - in the last Exb Turners were all on this plan.

View of London. St Pauls - Trees on left - and Iron Foundry.

Pembroke Castle. Castle - Vessels - and Figures.

In the Salvator at Otleys it was the same but less perceptible, the Art was in this completely hid, the picture however displayed three points to which the eye was more particularly attracted, the clump of Chestnut Trees - the Broken Stump to the Right - and the Figures. In the large Gaspar Poussin it was more evident -

the Buildings and the Rocks in the centre - the mass of Trees to the left - and the Wood to the right. Many other examples could be produced, but these are sufficient to show such a principle exists.

Unity of character in the objects is indispensably necessary to the perfection of a landscape, without which it is ridiculous and disgusting - the broken bridge in Celadon and Amelia, and indeed in all the distant objects of the right side of the picture, are of a different class to the left - it is the same with the tree on the left in the other print after Wilson - Smith of Chichester commonly called the English Claud is the most gross offender in this, in a composition of his, an English cottage, broken banks and trees of a suitable character, are the objects which form the principal. On the left rises a rocky country, crowned with buildings and ruins, in the style of Gaspar Poussin, to the right an extensive English distance, with aqueducts and gothic spires - the figures are shepherds, sherherdesses, and shooting sportsmen - a Lion and a Dung Cart would complete it.

Zuchareilly is a master frequently guilty of this absurdity, as well as being faulty in the artistic proportions of his objects.

A Proportionable size in the Principal objects to the size of the picture, and between each other, according to their character, situation and reliefs, is that which contributes more than any other thing to the Effect of the whole.

In the first division on the number of Principal objects

necessary for a Composition, three was said to have been approved. Now although each of these ought to be so principal as to strike the eye, yet one of them should always be more conspicuous for one character, situation, size, or relief, but care must be taken not to make it too conspicuous, for in landscape as well as in History, the principal object may be too Principal.

In Turners View of London, the three objects were - St Pauls - the Trees on the left - and the Iron Foundry. St Pauls in addition to its being the principal object in character and situation was rendered more so by opposition to the greatest light, to prevent therefore its being too conspicuous it was necessary to keep it small in proportion to the size of the picture and the other objects which was accordingly done, for the Trees on the left and the Iron Foundry were at least three times its size.

In Powis Castle the principal was the same.

In Pembroke Castle it was reversed, there it became the largest, the secondary were more strongly relieved therefore.

When the principal is from Relief

The secondary should Balance by size,

When the Principal is by size,

The secondary should Balance by Relief.

The exact proportion they should have to each other, so as to produce this Harmony, depends so much on circumstance, that it is vain to seek for a Rule. The Eye however will, by being habituated to the contemplation of works possessed of this excellence, become in time sufficiently correct, as to discover the least discordance.

The Ceyx and Alcyone of Wilson has the three objects but the two secondary, the Tree and the Rock are not proportionate to the

size of the picture. Something is wanting therefore to the effect of the whole, which a correct eye discovers immediately. You will perhaps imagine because Wilson is quoted for the defects no other would have afforded such strong examples, it was only on account of these works being in your possession. He is a master whose abilities were greater and defects fewer than any man. The observations on light and shade, and Colour, I will put before you as soon as possible.

* * * * *

LETTER 2

(Whitelegge Papers A.W.C. Ib, ff. 7-15)

Dec^r 27. 1804

My Dear Friend,

On sending you the very partial and imperfect sketch I made four years ago on the subject of Landscape Painting, I recollect you professed yourself no advocate for the utility of Rules, urging in defense of your position, their general want of efficacy in the practice of the Fine Arts. After much attentive consideration, I must acknowledge myself led to a different conclusion; and as we cannot always avoid attaching some little degree of Tenaciousness to the particular sentiments we adopt, I am induced upon this occasion (altho I cannot hope to afford any new matter on the subject) to state some few of the arguments which have compelled my assent to an opinion, opposite to that which you support.

By a Rule, I understand an enumeration of those properties, on which an effect is dependant, and that it is distinguished from

a Principle only by being expressed. A Principle or Rule differs this much from an observation, I mean an observation taken in the common sense of the term, that it is a general conclusion, drawn from the agreement of several particulars.

Now as all productions of Art are effects, and must therefore necessarily be dependent on some cause, it consequently follows, that without the knowledge of that cause, they will be incapable of being repeated. For altho in many operations the hand may by long experience acquire such facility of execution, as apparently to supersede the necessity of reflection as a guide, yet in the process of obtaining this dexterity, it requires to be directed by a knowledge, gained from the consideration of those means, by which the end may be obtained

In the higher departments of Art however, in those Arts where the object is an appeal to the imagination, or the Passions, much has been written to expose the conceived fallacy of system, to discourage the prospects of the diligent and flatter the proud Idleness of imagined natural superiority. Had those authors whose talents now serve but to promote negligence, and produce false notions of genius, and its Ideal influence, employed their powerful words to exalt the dignity and value of labor, to drive and lash the mind to active exertion, the perusal of their works might have afforded a very useful amusement to the student In truth, the Fine Arts, and the simplest of the mechanic, are alike subject to the direction of Rules The Painter who addresses your imagination, or the Poet who affects your feelings, is guided as much by the Laws of Association on the mind, as the common mechanic is in the construction of a Time

Piece, by the laws of motion on body.....

The mistaken notion, that certain productions are the effects of inspired feelings, and not subject to principles of human comprehension, has originated in the imperfection of language, which, although fully adequate to explain all the principles of the manual arts, is either not sufficiently expressive to give a "local habitation and a name" to many of the feelings, on which the execution of the fine Arts depend, or not enough under the controul of those persons, who by their experience alone, are capable of pointing them out.

The substance of these two last observations, I am indebted to Sr. J. Reynolds, a person well calculated by the large general powers of his mind, and extensive experience in his profession, to deliver a weighty evidence on this subject.....

* * * * *

LETTER 3

(Whitelegge Papers A.W.C. Ib, ff. 16-26)

Jan. 13. 1805.

My Dear Friend -

Various ideas are entertained with respect to the nature and end of the Fine Arts - Some men are so deadened by Education to all sense of the nicer feelings that they treat everything of the kind as frivolous while those even who cultivate and cherish them seldom profess or conceive a higher motive than to pass away their time pleasantly or acquire a fashionable and, so far, esteemed accomplishment but if the happiness of man is in proportion to the improvement of his intellect and the refinement of his sensibility the Arts of Poetry, Painting and Musick have

a finer demand to our esteem (but nevertheless) if a strict review of the arguments were to be taken it would perhaps be found that sufficient allowance had not been made to painting as the only intelligible means of instruction with respect to visible objects

* * * * *

LETTER 4

(Whitelegge Papers A.W.C. 1c, ff. 27-33)

Undated

Sir,

I am happy to understand that I have not been unsuccessful in my endeavours to persuade you of the existence and utility of principles in the practise of the Art of Painting

The Lectures of Reynolds with the poem of Du Fresnoy with the notes are the only works I have ever seen which merit the title of anything like a theory (In) the discourses of the President of the Royal Academy there are few materials which he does not in their turn speak of and that with the enlarged broad philosophical view of one who always had an eye to the whole while entring into an explanation of the minutest particulars Of no other works however can we say this much. If we except the metaphysical Rhapsodies of Mengs, and such as have followed his example, we shall have few remaining but general declamations on the merits of the different Painters

We may consider the subject of Painting either as it relates to the Feelings or to mere Taste..... to the first belongs everything which concerns the subject and its conduct, to the second everything which relates to the visible materials independant

of the sentiments they are to convey Beauty is an object of the first, expression of the latter description. In consideration of the power which nature has of affecting us by association, we shall discover that inanimate objects derive it sometimes from connection because the convulsions of nature which add motion have a great share in the influence they have on the mind The highest power of painting is derived from this power of action in animate beings; for us all the various evolutions of the mind are accompanied with some particular actions of the body. These actions become the types of all our different feelings, thus enabling the painter by material objects to represent immaterial ones Besides these sources of pleasure from association there is another subordinate one connected with pictures, the pleasure we derive from Truth of Imitation.....

It has always appeared to me a matter of some astonishment that Beauty should have been the subject of so much controversy but as the habits of different individuals lead them to different, nay sometimes opposite conclusions in the choice of particular objects as Beautiful, we must acknowledge that there can be no positive standard of Beauty in nature. As Artists however are not to be confined to the taste of a particular individual or set of people, but are to appeal to the world at large, it follows they must have recourse to an aggregate of the different tastes not only of different nations and ages but of those nations and ages in particular which have carried the purer pleasures of sense to the highest degree of refinement. If nature does not then furnish us with a direction we are not you perceive without a beacon to steer by. The same observation will apply to the mind with regard to the objects of feelings,

the uncultivated feelings of the Boor, like his taste, will be gross and limited to the mere perceptions of the more palpable connections between the expressions of the Body and the mind while all the delicate sensations derived from the views of inanimate nature which a mind poetically cultivated enjoys, he will of course be a totall stranger to.....

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NOTES ON COLOUR (watermark 1802; probably also a draft letter)

(Whitelegge Papers A.W.C. Id, f. 34-53)

We may consider the picture in point of colouring either with respect to the local imitations or the artificial conduct of the colours of which it is composed - under the first head is comprehended everything which tends to give truth of colour, under the second everything that assists in the production of Beauty.

The perfection of a painters Eye is to reverse the common order of observing nature, it is to acquire from habit the power to perceive variety in what is generally considered as unity and unity in what to others appears variety.....

There is another circumstance in nature which affects colour and which is peculiarly the object of those who study landscape, and that is the intervention of airs. I know not what the consequence of distance considered abstractedly of this consideration might have upon objects. The rarefied atmosphere of some Northern countries seems to give depth to distance.... the effect of air's power is to weaken its colour (acting towards) .. the privation of colour. In the management of this point consists the first beauty of Claude. The practical method is to consider

it as grey.

Some have an idea that the texture of objects is a subject of imitation. I doubt whether these persons have any very distinct notions of what they mean by texture - you hear of the texture of trees, of water, of flesh... and the representation of this thing called texture is dependent on modes of execution not reflecting that..... many of these persons mistake a particular mode of obtaining the character for texture.... Some painters may be said however to endeavour to pursue the same mode which nature does in the production of Brilliancy, and so far they may be said to copy the texture of nature. I mean the high finishes of the Dutch and Flemish schools. But in nature the infinite variety of parts are as great and each part so clear and sharp that the labour of these gentlemen is generally misapplied. In the favourite subjects of Gerard Dou, for instance the Turkey carpet, his laboured representations of the threads is incapable of giving true freshness and truth as compare with the less minute but more characteristic, and I will venture to say, more accurate representations from the pencil of Rembrandt.....

General colour may be considered in two points of view, either as to the division of it into hot and cold or Positive and Broken.... It has been considered as a Rule that the predominant colour, that is in point of quantity as well as quality, should be composed of the warm colours. This theory however I fear is founded upon conclusions drawn from a narrow view of the thing - if we consider the principle upon which a disproportion becomes necessary between the two objects that are to be comprehended by the Eye at one and the same moment it

will not follow as a consequence that the hot in particular should be predominant over the cold colour in the contemplation of nature by parts we feel no desire to prefer warm to cold objects unless some peculiarity in nature destroys this proportion of opposition. I allow we should never certainly prefer a sky of Raw Blue with cold grey and white clouds to a warm effect of evening where the yellow (is) insensibly melted into silvery blue as in Cuyp where silvery grey clouds break the monotony of warm colour, but neither should we think of preferring a sunset where the gradation of the warmth was effected by too insensible degree of cool colour to the cool effect of a cloudy day with the introduction of a small degree of warmth in parts as we frequently see so admirably effected in the pictures of Teniers

A picture then should consist of a predominance either of one or the other of these classes - that is the objects which compose the whole picture should either predominate considerably in point of number with respect to warmth or cold. To determine the exact point of proportion is not easy.... (The) reduction of variety to unity and the extension of unity to variety again operates with respect to the arrangement of positive and broken colours.... No two masses are permitted to approach in any way the quantity of each other so for the purpose of counteracting too great a degree of predominance in quantity the broken colours are used in the subordinate masses abating by degrees their claim in point of strength and carrying forward an infinite chain of subordination It might be imagined that this was a subject for no rules, yet we here again perceive the insatiable desire of the eye for variety. No two positive

colours agree with each other so well as the opposition of a positive and a broken one...

A kind of association was formerly made between colours and Expression and passions and feelings..... This is now done away with as trifling and absurd. Things which have no real connection cannot long meet with estimation unless their origin is connected with some classical event or favourite circumstance.

To constitute a complete Treatise on Colouring I should enter into the antipathy and kindness of colours to each other but as I merely profess to make remarks on this part of the art I may be permitted to acknowledge the ignorance of this part of the subject common to all my contemporaries.

* * * * *

HISTORICAL NOTES ON COLOUR (probably also a letter) (Whitelegge Papers A.W.C. Ie, ff. 54-65)

It has been said that the studied and harmonious arrangement of colour which the Venetians had, if introduced into the Italian School, would counteract the grandeur and dignity, yet the beauty of form in Architecture which is equally sensual with that of colour is not only tolerated but considered as in perfect unity with the other parts of Raphael's designs ... you will understand that I do not by any means intend to place the beauty of Form in general on the level with the beauty of Colour. I am aware that the mind and form are intimately connected, therefore that an infinite distance of course exists between them.

(Of Poussin) it is only astonishing that a person who

could so well feel the unity of actions should have so little (feeling) for effect.... The prejudices which he had imbibed from so close and long study of the ancient Greek remains had prejudiced him to that degree that he thought them infallible and he mistook their defects for beauties, endeavouring to make his pictures the followers? of those discovered in Herculaneum when he had probably only the monument of some inferior place and some inferior artist. Why he should ever imagine his figures would approach nearer to practical character by colouring them like brick dust or that the general effect of his picture would derive advantage by being spotted all over with reds and blues of "equal" power I cannot tell. I can only say in opposition to such a practise that both taste and reason seem to revolt at it.

If however any difference of opinion exists with respect to the application of the Venetian painters in the higher walks of painting no one doubts its necessity in the lower branches. It there becomes an essential thing and a picture of this description without it is passed by with disgust unless it be for some peculiar excellence in some of the other points.

Colouring has however been considered a mechanical branch of the art and hence it has been decreed beneath the notice of the poetical painter. It is extraordinary as this is the case that so few perfect colourists have lived out of the number of ingenious men who have endeavoured to excell in it. De Piles with his usual sense endeavours to account for it by asserting that colour has no known rules, notwithstanding the Venetian school shewd abundance of works of different masters evidently the effect of one system and that Rubens had covered Flanders

with his works and pupils all of whom using colours in the same style. The fact is in colour as in every other pursuit, few men have the steadiness and perseverance to pursue this object to the utmost, they content themselves with obtaining something near the mark.....

After the downfall of the Venetians, however, and the time of Rubens and his school, one would almost feel inclined to conclude with De Piles that the art of colouring beside the art of stained glass had been lost. (But) did it not follow that as long as the specimens remain in the first the art is attainable by the industrious and inquiring..... The deficiency that took both Italy and Flanders after this time and all the North of Europe and England alike lately displayed was more owing to the influence of ill example in the leading painters than the want of means to inform themselves of the Right Way. The frivolity ... of the French school was owing to the Idleness and Conceit of her leading men, Vouet and Coypel who ambitious of originality yet too ignorant and idle to draw it from its only genuine source, nature, flew to the more easy way of producing it, by manner, and whenever manner gets the start of nature, as in this case it did, the consequence is the artist is ruined. It is their misfortune that habit leads painters to view nature as they paint her. The most inveterate mannerist in existence believes he is imitating at the time he is in downright contradiction to it.

In England the case was different. A kind of ignorance of every requisite seemed to pervade every branch of the art after the time of Sir J. Reynolds. To him it was reserved to unite the Theorist with the Painter..... such is the prevalence of every

mind to imitation that those who have since his time made use of his knowledge have seldom been able to divest his general principles from his particular manner. They do not reflect that his style as all good styles must be was formed by engrafting his own peculiar taste derived from the contemplation of nature upon a union of excellences drawn from the various works of his great predecessors, Titian, Rembrandt, Correggio ... with a consciousness that much of a painter's knowledge must be derived from pictures. Yet with a wide and grasping mind he became the protege of no particular master but culled the honey from weeds as well as flowers never minding from wherever it was to be got. (Says colour has generally been better in portraiture than in landscape, and continues ...) The draughtsmen indeed seem to have made some progress, yet if they feel the beauty arises from particular contrasts, still they make them without a just attention to nature in their combination. The colours opposed are seldom natural colours of the objects or if approaching it are forced and affected. Indeed it is by the mere circumstance of contrast and the accommodation of light? colour to an artificial disproportion of light and shade (that) they obtain their effects. The necessity of massing... and diffusing colours they know little or I may say nothing about.

It would be supposed by a person ignorant of the art that excellence in this branch as any other was dependent wholly on the imitation of nature and that by the mere assistance of nature everything necessary might be obtained, but our means of imitation in respect of colour falls so short of the brilliancy of nature that we have need of all the artifice possible to raise the strength and vivacity of our colours. It seldom happens that

a person who sets out a novis (sic) in the practise of the best masters ever arrives at any degree of eminence. His works are generally dry, heavy, and if harmonious the harmony is the effect of monotony. He seldom knows much of the Beauty to be derived from general arrangement and if he has some conception of the power of contrast, he is generally ignorant of the effect of execution to produce rightness in the local colour

In colour as in all the other parts of the art, mere knowledge is not alone sufficient to succeed. Much practise is indispensable. That lightness of hand which is requisite to obtain purity and give freshness and precision, that power of making the oppositions perfect, of arranging the masses and uniting them with broken and half tints is only to be attained by frequent and repeated tryals. The perfect execution of a picture depends so much on the feelings that unless some general Principles are as it were worn into a habit by indefatigable practise, the constant necessity of referring to them is a matter of interruption and constraint.

End

APPENDIX IV

Callcott to Charles Barry, 15 October, 1833.

Royal Academy Callcott Papers, CA/1.

My dear Sir,

I beg to thank you for your kind letter & to say how sorry I shd be if I thought I had given you reason to think I was in the least offended or even dissatisfied with your anxiety on the subject of the rendering your sketches when I had last the pleasure of seeing you here. If there was any little pertinacity exhibited by me on that occasion it must have arisen not from any feeling of indifference to your wishes but as I had been for some time acquainted with the real circumstances which had induced Mr Murray & Messrs. Finden to apply to me - I was daily in expectation as their chief object had been obtained of some such result as that which has now taken place & was therefore little disposed to give myself the trouble to meet their suggestions otherwise than they deserved - This I trust will be an apology for my want of apparent attention to you - with respect to the Pergamus you will see that I have endeavoured to comply with your wishes as far as relates to the foreground objects & only regret that I had not a better understanding or recollection of what you said when looking over the sketches as to the effect with which you were desirous of seeing it treated. I think it hardly right to trouble you with unpleasant matter which in truth only concerns myself, but having done me the kindness voluntarily to express your sense of the late transaction be-

tween the Messrs. Finden & me I will venture to observe this much in relation to it - Had Mr. Murray or the Messrs. Finden come to me & openly asked me to release them from their engagement I shd have done so instantly - & though I might have felt equally offended on finding I had been called on to take what Mr. Turner had relinquished, I shd have been spared the additional insult of being offered degrading terms to do that, which I had all along shewn the greatest aversion to undertake - which I had repeatedly stated from my inexperience in the use of watercolour there was little prospect of my accomplishing satisfactorily except through the correction of the proofs, & which I only consented to do at last in compliance with the most urgent solicitations of Mr. Murray & solely with the friendly feeling of doing him a service. By asking me to release them from their engagement they further have avoided the necessity of justifying their proceedings by complaining of the quality of the drawings & the unworthy and degrading obligation they were under in doing so, of suppressing the fact above stated of their having been fully apprised by me from the print that the only way in which I felt confident of rendering any effectual assistance to the work was through the correction of the proofs. Mr. Finden's letters are full of appeals to his character - his candour - his truth & other virtues - I will not make any such appeals for myself for I feel proud in the consciousness that it is quite unnecessary for me to do so. Allow me once again to thank you for the kind impulse which induced you to write to me as you did

Yours most truly,

A W Callcott

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