FORMING A NATIONAL COLLECTION:
SCULPTURE IN THE CHANTREY BEQUEST, 1875 – 1917

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ABSTRACT

The Chantrey Bequest, set out in the Will of sculptor Sir Francis Chantrey, was of primary importance to the foundation and development of a national collection of British art at the Tate Gallery. It constituted the gallery's main purchasing fund from its opening in 1897 until 1946, facilitating the selection and acquisition of works which expanded the collection of British paintings, and formed, in large part, the first collection of British sculpture displayed in a public London gallery. Scholarly discussion of the Bequest and its influence upon the Tate collection has revolved solely around paintings, and the sculpture collection has been almost entirely overlooked. This thesis constitutes the first study of sculpture in the Chantrey Bequest and at the Tate Gallery between 1898 and 1917. Chantrey's investment controlled entry into Tate's national canon through conditions which stipulated that works could have been made by "artists of any nation" but had to have been executed entirely "within the Shores of Great Britain." Criticism of the Bequest dominated the British art press from the 1870s until the 1920s and provoked two public inquiries in 1904 and 1911. Critics questioned the power of the Royal Academy (RA), as Administrators of the Bequest, to judge what was representative of British art, accusing them of nepotism and institutional bias against modernist and non-Academic art, and the work of foreign-born artists. Central to these debates was the view that the RA were acting in contravention of Chantrey's intentions. Through an exploration of Chantrey's intentions for his Bequest and its administration by the RA, I uncover the underlying personal, institutional, and nationalistic agendas which formed a national collection of sculpture at the Tate Gallery, and highlight notable exclusions from its canon. I respond to, and complicate, critical accusations that the RA acted in contravention of Chantrey's wishes.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

INTRODUCTION

> "It is my desire and intention that after the death or second marriage of my said wife […] the clear income of my aforesaid residuary pure personal estate shall be devoted to the encouragement of 'British Fine Art in Painting and Sculpture only'"
>
> "[…]And it is my Wish and intention that the works of Art so purchased as aforesaid shall be collected for the purpose of forming and establishing a Public National Collection of British Fine Art in Painting and Sculpture executed within the Shores of Great Britain."
>
> - Francis Chantrey. Last Will And Testament. 13TH December 1841. [1]

Following a successful career as a sculptor of busts, free-standing statues, a limited number of ideal works, and memorials, Sir Francis Chantrey left his substantial fortune to the nation in the form of a bequest devoted to British Fine Art. The fund became active in 1875 with a capital sum of £105,600, the income from which financed the purchase of 570 works of art between 1875 and 2018.[2] Chantrey's Bequest was of primary importance to the foundation and development of the collection of the Tate

[1] Francis Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, Sculptor Member of the Royal Academy of Arts in London and Doctor in Civil Law in the University of Oxford of Lower Belgrave Place, Middlesex, 15 December 1841, National Archives Kew, PROB 11/1954/403.

[2] The spending power of this capital sum in 1875 is the equivalent of £6.9 million in 2017. "Currency Converter," The National Archives, accessed 20th March 2018, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter; A large number of the paintings acquired through the Chantrey Bequest and a small number of the sculptures are on display at Tate Britain, whilst other sculptural works are on loan to national and international galleries and museums, a heritage property, and a metropolitan hospital; Account Book Of The Trustees of the Chantrey Bequest – 1877/1978, Royal Academy of Arts Archives, RAA/REG/2/11/31.

Gallery, then officially named The National Gallery of British Art.[3] It constituted the main purchasing fund for the Tate from its opening in 1897 until 1946, facilitating the selection and acquisition of works which swelled the collection of British paintings, and formed, in large part, the first collection of British sculpture displayed in a public London gallery.[4] Chantrey's philanthropic investment was crucial to the development of this national collection, but it came with conditions. Outlined in his Will, these conditions controlled entry into Tate's national canon. Chantrey stipulated that purchased works could have been made by "Artists of Any Nation" but had to be "entirely executed within the "Shores of Great Britain."

No sooner had the Bequest become active than it became a target for campaigning journalists who accused its administering institution, the Royal Academy of Arts (RA), of maladministration.[5] Critics questioned the RA's power to judge what was representative of British Art and accused the institution of nepotism and restrictive institutional bias against modernist art and non-Academic art, and the work of foreign-born artists.[6] The vast majority of this criticism was concerned with paintings. Critics sought to displace the academic tradition exemplified by the RA by using the Bequest as a means to undermine its authority. The resulting acrimonious criticism dominated the British art press from the 1870s until the 1920s and provoked two public inquiries

[3] Despite bearing the official title of 'The National Gallery of British Art,' the gallery was colloquially known as 'the Tate' prior to its opening in 1897. For ease of reference I will be referring to the gallery as 'the Tate Gallery' rather than 'the National Gallery of British Art' except when the official title is particularly relevant. For a longer discussion of these different names, see Chapter Four.

[4] In 1946, Parliament allocated the gallery a purchase grant. Frances Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1998), 23.

[5] The most notable of these are two articles by D.S. MacColl, "The Maladministration Of The Chantrey Trust," *Saturday Review* (25th April 1903): 516 - 17; "Parliament And The Chantrey Bequest," *Saturday Review* (6th June 1903): 706 - 707; reprinted together with further discussion in D.S. MacColl, *The Administration Of The Chantrey Bequest*, (London: Grant and Richards, 1904). MacColl followed these with three further articles: "The House of Lords and the Chantrey Bequest," *Saturday Review 97* (18th June 1904): 776 – 778; "The Lords and the Chantrey Bequest," *Saturday Review 97* (25th June 1904): 807 – 808; "The Purchase of Pictures for the Nation," *Saturday Review 101* (7th April 1906): 421 – 423.

[6] This will be investigated in depth in Chapters Two and Three.

into the Bequest in 1904 and 1911.[7] Central to these debates was the view that the RA were acting in contravention of Chantrey's intentions, exemplified by *The Speaker*'s hyperbolic comment that "if ghosts rose from their tombs, the marks of Chantrey's fingers would be found on the throats of the Academicians."[8] In a short space of time, the Bequest became synonymous with scandal, controversy, and bad taste. The true nature of Chantrey's intentions, and how the RA had administered his Bequest, became obscured by a fog of accusation and misrepresentation of Chantrey's wishes by critics who divorced him from his context and presented him as a mouthpiece for their own ends.

As a result of the prominence of Bequest paintings in campaigning journalism of the 19th and 20th centuries, the vast majority of criticism c.1880s – 1920s conflated the sculptures and paintings acquired into one group, a group of paintings. This is undoubtedly also due to the number of sculptures acquired in comparison to paintings - between 1875 and 2018 409 paintings were purchased but only 87 sculptures.[9] Paintings acquired through the Bequest have been subject to scholarly discussion due to their prominence in critical debate, but the sculpture collection has been almost entirely overlooked.[10] Sculpture is nowhere to be found in the vast majority of accounts of the Chantrey Bequest and the early Tate, despite Chantrey's work as a sculptor and the importance of Tate's early sculpture collection.

This thesis constitutes the first study of sculpture in the Chantrey Bequest and at the Tate Gallery, 1898 - 1917. Through an exploration of Chantrey's intentions for his Bequest and its administration by the RA, I uncover the underlying personal, institutional, and nationalistic agendas which formed a national collection of sculpture at the Tate Gallery. Throughout, I respond to, and complicate, critical accusations that the RA acted in contravention of Chantrey's wishes. My investigation as a whole presents a way of looking at and examining private gifts and bequests to cultural

[7] Crewe Inquiry (1904), *Chantrey Trust: Report, Proceedings and Minutes Of Evidence*, Select Committee Of The House Of Lords, UK Parliamentary Papers, 357 v 493; Curzon Inquiry (1911 – 1916), *National Gallery*, Committee Of Trustees, UK Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 7878, Cd. 7879.

[8] Anon, *The Speaker*, Volume 5, (London: Mather & Crowther, 1892), 498.

[9] Tate Collections Database, Tate, accessed 27th April 2018, http://www.tate.org.uk/search

[10] As I will detail in my historiography later in this Introduction.

institutions, and a methodological approach to questioning the composition of 'British' art collections.

My introduction is divided into three parts – an examination of the historiography, a discussion of my methodology, and an outline of the structure of the study.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

THE CHANTREY BEQUEST IN FOCUS

The Chantrey Bequest has been the subject of three small exhibitions – the first at the RA in 1949, followed by exhibitions at the Graves Art Gallery in Sheffield in 1958, and at Sheffield Art Gallery and Tate Britain in 1989. The catalogues for these exhibitions each provide a small biography of Chantrey, a compact history of the Bequest, and a list of the works exhibited.[11] Sculpture had a subdued presence. The 1958 exhibition featured the most sculpture from the Bequest (to 1917): Edward Onslow Ford's *Folly* (1886), Stephen M. Wiens' *Girl and Lizard* (1907), and Gilbert Bayes' *Sigurd* (1910). Theo Cowdell has written a brief essay for a general audience on the Bequest which provided an overview of it and the criticism surrounding it.[12]

Elizabeth Billington's 2004 thesis 'The Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904' is the only in-depth study of the Chantrey Bequest. It constitutes an administrative history of the Bequest up to and including the 1904 Inquiry. Her investigation is concerned with the controversy surrounding the administration of the Bequest. The main aim of her study is exploring how the Bequest became "a source of compromise and acrimony" and identifying "when and how viable alternative

[11] Anon, Royal Academy of Arts. Exhibition of the Chantrey Collection, (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1949); Richard Seddon, A Selection from The Chantrey Bequest. An Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture, (Sheffield: The Graves Art Gallery, 1958); Judith Collins and Robin Hamlyn, eds., *Within these Shores. A Selection of Works from The Chantrey Bequest 1883 -1985, The Tate Gallery In Association With Sheffield Art Galleries,* (Millbank: Tate Gallery Publications, 1989).

[12] Theo Cowdell, "The Chantrey Bequest," in *Sir Francis Chantrey: Sculptor to an Age, 1781-1841,* ed. Clyde Binfield, (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1981), 83 – 97.

courses of action could have made a material difference."[13] She considers the RA's organisational problems with managing the Bequest, the intra-institutional politics surrounding the transfer of works to South Kensington and later to the Tate Gallery, the agreement between the RA, the Treasury, and the National Gallery which made the works the property of the Nation, and the motivations of the leading critics whose accusations led to the 1904 Inquiry. She stresses the positive achievements of the Chantrey administration, including the temporary loans of works to regional galleries. Refreshingly, she gives equal consideration to the sculptures and paintings purchased, but solely in numerical terms.

Billington's study is a valuable resource for primary material relating to administrative proceedings, gathered from the RA's archives, the archives of the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), The National Gallery archives, and the MacColl collection at the University of Glasgow. One need look no further than Billington's thesis for a detailed account of the administrative procedures behind the loan of works to the South Kensington Museum (SKM), now named The Victoria and Albert Museum, and the transferral of works to the Tate. Her third and fourth chapters provide a record of both arrangements through a meticulously researched paper trail of official correspondence, Board Meeting minutes, Treasury minutes, and Government reports. In a similar vein, her fifth chapter provides a record of the critical outcry which resulted in the 1904 Inquiry through newspaper accounts.

Billington's concluding argument is that Chantrey's Will was "badly drafted," and that this was the root of the problems experienced by Bequest administrators. Whilst it is underpinned by a wealth of primary research, her argument is weakened by a tendency towards conjecture about how individuals and institutions "could and should" have acted, and by a lack of consideration given to Chantrey's biography or any object analysis of purchased artworks. Billington resolved from the beginning of her study that "what was actually in Chantrey's mind is, ultimately, impenetrable."[14] The resulting investigation's skewed perspective is the product of attempting to read

[13] Elisabeth Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," (PhD diss. University of Sussex, 2004), 22.

[14] Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," 10.

the Will, and examine the administration of the Bequest, without considering its testator.

FRANCIS CHANTREY

The first article about Chantrey was published in 1821 when he was forty years old. Throughout the remainder of his life, and in the seventy years following his death in 1841, biographical material in the form of articles, books, and poems poured forth into the public sphere. Chantrey's public image, underpinned by his biography, was used as a touchstone for understanding, managing, and contesting his Bequest in the 19th and 20th centuries. It was consequently important for this study to engage with and interrogate Chantrey's biography and his public personas to fully comprehend his Bequest.[15] I will now survey writing related to Chantrey in two sections: biographies produced within the timeframe of this study, 1781 to 1917, and Chantrey scholarship thereafter.

Journalists frequently mentioned Chantrey and his work during his lifetime in newspapers and periodicals, whilst Chantrey's close friend Ebenezer Rhodes and his studio manager Allan Cunningham penned in-depth characterisations of his work and character. Cunningham crafted an enduring public image for Chantrey in keeping with his own conception of a British school of sculpture through three publications: an 1821 article on Chantrey in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*; an 1826 article on Antonio Canova and the British school in *The Quarterly Review*; and an 1830 compendium of biographies of sculptors included in his *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*.[16] Cunningham was instrumental in framing Chantrey as "the national sculptor of England," claiming that "England may be justly proud of Chantrey; his

[15] The following description of Chantrey's contemporary and posthumous biographies serves as a short introduction to this material. Chapter One discusses some of these biographical characterisations of Chantrey, and their biases and contradictions, in depth.

[16] Allan Cunningham, "Francis Chantrey," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, No 27, Vol 7 (April 1820): 3-10; Allan Cunningham, "Review Art VI – Memoirs of Antonio Canova, with a Critical Analysis of his Works, and an Historical View of Modern Sculpture. By S Memes, AM, Member of the Astronomical Society of London &c 1825," *Quarterly Review*, vol 34 (June and Sept 1826): 110- 136; Allan Cunningham, *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, (London: John Murray, 1830-33).

works reflect back her image as in a mirror."[17] Rhodes, meanwhile, wrote the first lengthy biography of Chantrey, which was published in the third part of *Peak Scenery; or the Derbyshire Tourist* (1824). Rhodes' thirteen page long "Memoir of Chantrey, the Sculptor" traces his rise to fame from "narrow circumstances," as the only child of a rural tenant farmer of Norton intended for "agricultural pursuits," to his status as a famed genius whose sculptural output hands "down to posterity the national character of his countrymen."[18] He follows Cunningham in emphasising Chantrey's "strong natural good sense," and claims that he possesses notions and conceptions of a non-Classical, English style of art which were not swayed by his trips to Paris and Rome. Instead, Rhodes claims that antiquity inspired Chantrey with "the conception of something truly great and English, such as Phidias would have imagined and executed had he been of London and not of Athens."[19]

Chantrey's posthumous reputation in print was lively through to the beginning of the twentieth century. Following the sculptor's death, five large biographies of Chantrey were published: George Jones' *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.: Recollections of His Life, Practice and Opinions* (1849); John Holland's *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey, Sculptor, in Hallamshire and Elsewhere* (1851); A.J. Raymond's *Life and Works of Sir Francis Chantrey* (1904); and Harold Armitage's two biographies *Chantrey Land* (1910) and *Sir Francis Chantrey: Donkey Boy and Sculptor* (1915). A book of collected poetry, *Winged Words on Chantrey's Woodcocks*, edited by J.P. Muirhead, was published in 1857.[20] He also featured prominently in artists'

[17] Cunningham, *The Quarterly Review:* 1826, 110 – 136.

[18] Ebenezer Rhodes, *Peak Scenery; or The Derbyshire Tourist*, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824), 288. For more on Rhodes, see Charlotte Fell-Smith "Rhodes, Ebenezer (1762–1839,)" Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 6th April 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23450; For an exploration of Chantrey's depictions of his countrywomen see Rebecca Senior, "The Death of Allegory? Problems of the Funerary Monument, 1762-1840," PhD diss., University of York, 2017.

[19] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 287.

[20] George Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.: Recollections of his Life, Practice and Opinions*, (London: Edward Moxon, 1849); John Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey, Sculptor, in Hallamshire and Elsewhere*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1851); A.J. Raymond, *Life and Works of Sir Francis Chantrey*, (London: A & F Denny, 1904); Harold Armitage, *Chantrey Land*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston, and Co, 1910); Harold Armitage, *Francis Chantrey: Donkey Boy*

biographies, accounts of the RA, and in writings on the Derbyshire countryside.

The characterisation of Chantrey produced by Cunningham and Rhodes' contemporary writing, and expanded by Jones and Holland's posthumous biographies, established a popular narrative which was accepted wholesale by subsequent biographers Raymond and Armitage.[21] Both Raymond and Armitage repeat popular romanticised narratives of Chantrey, such as a story of how he modelled pastry pigs for the top of a pie as a child, without ever questioning the validity or persuasive purpose of these narratives. Chapter One of this thesis explores selected aspects of Cunningham, Holland, Jones, and Rhodes's characterisations of Chantrey which became lasting, established narratives, and influenced the administration of his Bequest.

Chantrey's relationship with classicism is the thread which subtly or overtly runs through the majority of scholarship. The tension between his characterisation as "the national sculptor," inherently linked to his reported disavowal of classicism, and his apparent fondness for classical works, most notably the Parthenon Frieze, has provoked fruitful discussion. The influence of the repeated conception of Chantrey as a native genius upon early scholarship is particularly evident in Margaret Whinney's comprehensive survey *Sculpture In Britain: 1530 – 1830* (1964), which reiterates the popular description of Chantrey as a "peculiarly English phenomenon," opposed to neoclassicism.[22] Alex Potts began to unravel the claim for Chantrey as "the national sculptor," devoid of classical influence in 1981, in his essay "Chantrey as The National Sculptor of Early 19th - Century England."[23] Potts' interrogation of Chantrey's characterisation instigated a sea change in Chantrey studies. Since his intervention, scholars have taken a more critical approach to Chantrey's mythology; with the notable exception of S. Dunkerley's romantic biography *Francis Chantrey, Sculptor:*

And Sculptor, (London: Mills & Boon, 1915); J.P. Muirhead, ed, *Winged Words on Chantrey's Woodcocks*, (London: John Murray, 1857).

[21] Raymond, *Life And Works Of Francis Chantrey*; Armitage, *Chantrey Land*; Armitage, *Francis Chantrey: Donkey Boy And Sculptor*.

[22] Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture In Britain: 1530 – 1830*, (London: Harmondsworth, 1964). It is worth noting that Whinney compiled the exhaustive typescript catalogue of Chantrey's sculptures held at the V&A Museum.

[23] Alex Potts, "Chantrey As The National Sculptor Of Early 19th-Century England," *Oxford Art Journal 4* (1981): 17-27.

from Norton to Knighthood (1995) which reiterates the simplified rags to riches narrative prominent in earlier biographies.[24] E.D. Mackerness has explored Chantrey's connection to Sheffield in his article "The Sheffield Chantrey."[25] M.G. Sullivan's 2012 essay "Cunningham, Chantrey, and The British School of Sculpture" forms a thorough, critical investigation of Cunningham's conception and construction of a national school of sculpture which shaped the view of Chantrey as the national sculptor.[26]

Chantrey's relationship with nations other than Britain has been examined in a number of studies. Yarrington's 2000 essay "Anglo-Italian Attitudes: Chantrey and Canova" explored Chantrey's relationship with Italy.[27] Rhodes and Cunningham made great claims for Chantrey only drawing from "island influences" following his return from his Italian trip of 1819, and here Yarrington interrogates Chantrey's affectionate relationship with Italy and Antonio Canova, inextricably linked to classicism. Ilene D Lieberman's 1989 essay "Sir Francis Chantrey's Monument to George Washington: Sculpture and Patronage in Post-Revolutionary America" tracked Chantrey's working processes, discussed his approach to an American commission, and highlighted his influence on American sculpture.[28]

Chantrey's studio practice, and his approach to, and style of, sculpting have also formed a key area of study. Malcolm Baker, Lieberman, Potts, and Yarrington's collaborative effort to collate, organise, and analyse Chantrey's ledgers, published in 1991/1992 as "An Edition of the Ledger of Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A. at the Royal

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[24] S. Dunkerley, *Francis Chantrey, Sculptor: from Norton to Knighthood,* (Sheffield: Hallamshire, 1995).

[25] E.D. Mackerness, "The Sheffield Chantrey," in *Sir Francis Chantrey: Sculptor to an Age, 1781-1841*, ed. Clyde Binfield, (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1981), 22 – 39.

[26] M.G. Sullivan, "Cunningham, Chantrey & The British School of Sculpture," in *The 'British' School of Sculpture, c.1762 -1835,* ed. Sarah Burnage and Jason Edwards, 210 – 232, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012).

[27] Alison Yarrington, "Anglo-Italian Attitudes: Chantrey and Canova," in Alison Yarrington and Cinzia Sicca, *The Lustrous Trade. Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy*, (London and New York: University of Leicester Press, 2000,) 132 – 156.

[28] Ilene D Lieberman, "Sir Francis Chantrey's Monument to George Washington: Sculpture and Patronage in Post-Revolutionary America," *The Art Bulletin*, 01 June 1989, Vol.71(2): 254-268.

Academy 1809-1841" is an invaluable aid to examining his working practices.[29] It forms both a detailed insight into the financial workings of his career, and a comprehensive catalogue of his surviving works. It forms a solid foundation to my investigation and backgrounds my estimation of his professional standpoint and canny financial management, as expressed through his Bequest.[30]

Nicholas Penny's *Church Monuments In Romantic England* (1977) provides a reliable point of reference for Chantrey's ecclesiastical work, while Liebermann's doctoral thesis "The Church Monuments Of Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A." and her article "Sir Francis Chantrey's Early Monuments To Children, and Neoclassical Sensibilities" form close studies of his ecclesiastical work.[31] Tying together Chantrey's sculptural process and his stylistic allegiances, James Stevens Curl has examined Chantrey's "kneeling bishops" as a collective group and argues that as a series of variations on a sculptural theme they demonstrate a shift in taste from severe Neo-classicism to Early Romanticism.[32] Yarrington has discussed Chantrey's variations on pedestals in her article "The Poetics of Sculpture: Pedestal, Verse, and Inscription."[33] Potts penned two essays focusing on Chantrey's work as a portrait bust sculptor, one to introduce the exhibition held in London and Sheffield, *Sir Francis Chantrey 1781 – 1841, Sculptor of the Great* (1981), and another, "The Public And

[29] Timothy Stevens' biographical entry for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has also provided a helpful reference point for facts, figures, and primary source material. Timothy Stevens, "Chantrey, Sir Francis Leggatt (1781–1841,)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified 23 September 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5113; Malcolm Baker, Ilene D. Lieberman, Alex Potts, and Alison Yarrington, "An Edition of the Ledger of Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A. at the Royal Academy 1809-1841," *The Walpole Society* 56 (1991 - 2): 1 - 343.

[30] My discussion of the relationship between Chantrey's professional and financial practices and his Bequest is woven into my analysis of the structure of the Bequest, and appears in Chapters One, Two, and Four.

[31] Nicholas Penny, *Church Monuments In Romantic England,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Ilene Liebermann, "The Church Monuments of Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.," PhD diss., Princeton University (1983); Ilene Liebermann, "Sir Francis Chantrey's Early Monuments To Children and Neoclassical Sensibilities," *Church Monuments* vol 5 (1990): 70 – 80.

[32] James Stevens Curl, "Kneeling Bishops: Variations On A Sculptural Theme By Francis Chantrey," *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol.97 (2017): 261-297.

[33] Alison Yarrington, "The Poetics Of Sculpture: Pedestal, Verse, and Inscription," in A. Gerstein, *Display And Displacement: Sculpture And The Pedestal From Renaissance To Post-Modern,* (Courtauld Institute of Art Research Forum: London, 2007): 73 – 97.

Private Image In Chantrey's Portrait Busts," which investigates Chantrey's approach to the portrayal of personality.[34] In an essay intended for a general audience, Derek Sellers introduced the history of sculpting tools and processes and Chantrey's bust-making process.[35]

In addition, Chantrey's collection of plaster casts has been the subject of a number of studies. Following his death in 1842, his widow, Lady Mary Anne Chantrey, presented the casts of her late husband's monumental figures and busts, and his casts from the antique to Oxford's University Galleries. Penny's 1991 article "Chantrey, Westmacott and Casts after the Antique" described the circumstances of the casts' arrival, their display, eventual banishment from the main galleries into the basement, and the circumstances in which the statues were dismembered.[36] Sullivan's essay "Chantrey and the Original Models" (2010) forms a serious consideration of the role of plaster in Chantrey's career and in the formation of his reputation, and explores the notion of the plasters as 'the originals.'[37] The culmination of a three-year project to research and reexhibit Chantrey's plaster busts, Sullivan's 2014 book *Sir Francis Chantrey and The Ashmolean Museum* provides an in-depth general introduction to the collection, its creator, and its troubled history at the Ashmolean for a non-specialist audience.[38]

Sullivan has recently led Chantrey scholarship in an interdisciplinary direction, drawing attention to a lesser-known aspect of Chantrey's career: his involvement in

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[34] The two essays are very similar. Alex Potts, *Sir Francis Chantrey, 1781–1841, Sculptor Of The Great* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1981); Alex Potts, "The Public And Private Image In Chantrey's Portrait Busts in *Sir Francis Chantrey: Sculptor to an Age, 1781-1841,* ed. Clyde Binfield, (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1981), 51 - 83.

[35] Derek Sellars, "Chantrey: The Sculptor At Work," in *Sir Francis Chantrey: Sculptor to an Age, 1781-1841,* ed. Clyde Binfield, (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1981), 39 - 51.

[36] Nicholas Penny, "Chantrey, Westmacott and Casts after the Antique," *Journal Of The History Of Collections* 3, No. 2 (1991): 255-264. This essay also appears in Nicholas Penny, *Catalogue of European Sculpture In The Ashmolean Museum, 1540 To The Present Day*, (Wotton-Under-Edge: Clarendon Press, 1992).

[37] M.G. Sullivan, "Chantrey and the Original Models," in *Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present,* ed. Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand, (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 289-307.

[38] M.G Sullivan, *Sir Francis Chantrey and The Ashmolean Museum,* (Oxford: The Ashmolean Museum, 2014).

the geological milieu of the early nineteenth century. His 2017 article "A Sculptural Gift and the History of the Earth. Sir Francis Chantrey, William Buckland, and the Geological Milieu" discusses the friendship between Chantrey and Buckland, Chantrey's contributions to the Geological Society, his mineralogical collections, his portraits of geologists, and the ways his practice and professional identity were influenced by his role in the geological milieu.[39]

Chantrey's Bequest is usually mentioned by early biographers and Chantrey scholars as an afterword to the narrative of Chantrey's life and career. Scholars have been primarily concerned with Chantrey's life rather than his afterlife: his posthumous reputation or the effects of the philanthropic bequests included in his Will.

This thesis forms the first study of Chantrey's posthumous public persona as a national figure, and the influence of this persona on the administration of his Bequest. To identify aspects of his enduring public persona which influenced the RA, their critics, and the House of Lords (during the 1904 and 1911 Inquiries), I examine a variety of print media including biographical accounts, letters, newspaper accounts, and books. I consider overlooked, but surprisingly significant aspects of his life, including his pastime of walking, gastronomic proclivities, and relationship with humour, satire, and national stereotype. This study develops the ongoing debate about Chantrey's relationship to classicism and its connection to his reputation as a national sculptor, whilst indicating other factors which influenced this reputation and illuminating new areas for future research.

My investigation clarifies Chantrey's intentions for his Bequest, intentions which were fiercely debated in the press and the 1904 and 1911 Inquiries. These have often been misunderstood in 19th-20th century debate and addressed with vagueness in subsequent scholarship. Close reading of Chantrey's Bequest with the supporting context of his relationship with the RA, his collection and exhibition of plaster casts, and his acts of benefaction and philanthropy reveals the strategic design of his Bequest and its precise aims. This study demonstrates that the Bequest is a rich resource for reinterpreting and understanding Chantrey's social, political, and patriotic standpoints, and the formation of the canon of British sculpture at the Tate Gallery.

[39] M.G. Sullivan, "A Sculptural Gift and the History of the Earth. Sir Francis Chantrey, William Buckland, and the Geological Milieu," *Journal Of The History Of Collections*, Vol. 29 (2017): 67 – 91.

Frances Spalding's *The Tate: A History* (1998) forms the most comprehensive history of Tate Britain, chronicling the development of Tate over its first century, from 1897 to 1997, and the factors which shaped its character including benefaction, criticism, shifts in administrative power, acts of theft or vandalism, and changing cultural and political issues.[40] It acknowledges the constantly shifting nature of the institution, whilst remaining rooted through a reliable, coherent chronological format supported by a timeline of exhibitions. The book is focused on the individuals whose energy and effort supported the gallery's foundation, the formation of its collections, the broadening of its remit, and its day-to-day life. Her study is an invaluable source of information regarding figures who are commonly acknowledged, such as Directors and Benefactors, but she also sheds light on figures who are usually forgotten, such as the technical assistants who crafted frames, and the individuals who ran Tate's Publication Department.

For the most part, histories of Tate, and as part of that, histories of the Bequest, are bound up with a narrative of struggle and compromise. Alison Smith's article "A 'State' Gallery? The Management of British Art During The Early Years of Tate" (2000) discusses the long and short term effects of the contested cultural authority inherent in the early management of the Tate, and extrapolates on difficulties of classifying art, particularly in terms of modernism.[41] Amy Woodson-Boulton's article "The Art of Compromise: The Founding of The National Gallery of British Art" (2003) explores how the British press played a key role in defining the Tate Gallery by facilitating a public debate; and posits that from the beginning the gallery was founded as both the National Gallery of British Art and a museum of modern art.[42]

Other studies of the Tate Gallery's foundation and early years touch on themes of national identity and public health. Brandon Taylor's "From Penitentiary to

[40] Spalding, *The Tate: A History*.

[41] Alison Smith, "A 'State' Gallery? The Management Of British Art During The Early Years of Tate," in *Governing Cultures: Art Institutions in Victorian London*, ed. Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd, (London: Ashgate, 2000), 187 - 199.

[42] Amy Woodson-Boulton, "The Art of Compromise: The Founding of The National Gallery of British Art," *Museum And Society* (Nov 2003): 147-169.

'Temple of Art': Early Metaphors Of Improvement at the Millbank Tate" explores how contemporary accounts associated the gallery with ideas of order, cleanliness, posture, and the eradication of crime.[43] Heather Birchall's "An Annexe to Trafalgar Square: The Tate Collection 1897 – 1914" examines the assemblage and growth of the Tate collection with a focus on paintings.[44] Through analysis of the paintings collection, she demonstrates that the early collection was representative of a contemporary construction of national identity. It had a strong bias towards Old Masters and the Pre-Raphaelites, and the artists with the most works in the collection were J.M.W Turner, G.F. Watts, John Constable, John Everett Millais, Thomas Gainsborough, Alfred Stevens, and George Romney. She also discusses gaps in the collection with attention to women artists. Birchall does not apply the same analysis to sculptures, which receive only a cursory mention.[45]

Christopher Marshall's 2011 discussion of the display of sculpture at the Tate Gallery, "'The Finest Sculpture Gallery In The World!': The Rise And Fall And Rise Again – of the Duveen Sculpture Galleries at Tate Britain" denies that there was any history of sculptural display at Tate prior to the building of the Duveen Galleries in 1937. Marshall states that "given the Tate's foundation brief to act as the national institution for exhibiting contemporary British art, it would have been reasonable to expect its opening sequence of galleries to incorporate a substantial space for displaying contemporary sculpture," but claims that no such space existed until the Duveen Sculpture Galleries were built.[46] He attributes the absence of such a space to an "issue of patronage," claiming that "Sir Henry Tate's munificence had only been able to stretch in architectural terms as far as building the facade and first two tiers of

[43] Brandon Taylor, "From Penitentiary to 'Temple of Art': Early Metaphors Of Improvement at the Millbank Tate," in *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology Across England and North America*, ed. Marcia Pointon, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 9 – 33.

[44] Heather Birchall, "An Annexe to Trafalgar Square: The Tate Collection 1897 – 1914," *Visual Culture In Britain* (2005): 21 – 29.

[45] This inattention to sculpture may be a result of a factual error. Birchall states that no sculptures were shown until 1906, whereas in fact some sculpture was displayed at Tate from its opening in 1897, and sculptures from the Bequest were transferred when the Sculpture Gallery opened in 1898.

[46] Christopher R. Marshall, "'The Finest Sculpture Gallery In The World!': The Rise And Fall And Rise Again – of the Duveen Sculpture Galleries at Tate Britain," in *Sculpture And The Museum*, ed. Christopher R. Marshall, (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 178.

the galleries at Millbank."[47] However, this is factually incorrect. The Duveens were pre-dated by a Sculpture Gallery funded by Tate and designed by architect Sidney Smith which opened in 1899 as part of an extension to the gallery.[48] Marshall claims that the Duveen Sculpture Galleries were the first sculpture galleries at Tate, a statement echoed by Tate Britain's website, which advertises that the Duveens were "the first public galleries in England designed specifically for the display of sculpture."[49]

My investigation contests this erasure and sheds light onto the exhibition of sculpture at the Tate Gallery prior to the building of the Duveen Sculpture Galleries through a case study of the curation of the Sculpture Hall. Further to this, I explore the merging of Bequest sculptures with sculptures acquired through gifting and commission, the collection's thematic links to the construction of national identity at the gallery, and the curation of sculpture before 1917.

THE CHANTREY BEQUEST IN BROADER HISTORIES

For wider studies of British Art and its institutions from 1875 onwards, the Bequest has served as a starting point for discourse on contested cultural authority, new modes of art practice, and shifting priorities of art criticism; and has provided a basis from which to trace the displacement of the academic tradition within state-managed institutions.

Sociologists, especially in the field of museology, have found the Bequest a productive case study in exploring the interactions between the state, cultural institutions, and their publics. Gordon Fyfe's 1995 essay "The Chantrey Episode: Art Classification, Museums and the State c.1870 – 1920" formed the first investigation into the Bequest and the Tate, and responded to both critical outcry and the 1904 Inquiry to discuss the English reception of modernism and the fate of Victorian

[47] Marshall, "'The Finest Sculpture Gallery In The World!'", 179.

[48] Anon, "New Rooms At The Tate Gallery," *The Graphic*, 2nd December 1899, 763.

[49] Tate, "The Duveen Galleries," accessed 6th August 2018, https://www.tate.org.uk/visit/tate-britain/duveen-galleries

painting.[50] Fyfe published a longer investigation into the gallery, the state, and modernity in 2000: *Art, Power and Modernity: English Art Institutions, 1750-1950,* which devotes one chapter to the Chantrey Bequest.[51] Fyfe's investigation focused heavily on modernism, questioning whether traditional, aristocratic taste, as championed by the RA, limited the institutional collections from undergoing productive growth in new thinking, thereby limiting public understanding by continuing to buy or accept gifts which were publicly unsuccessful, old fashioned, or conservative in taste.

Taylor's 1998 study *Art For The Nation: Exhibitions And The London Public 1747 – 2001* argues that the exhaustion of nineteenth-century ideals of public improvement through art exhibitions can be traced to changes in the make-up of British society between about 1890 and 1919.[52] He contextualises the foundation and early years of the Tate within the wider cultural and political atmosphere of Britain: imperial fervour, the rapid historicising of Britain through the growth of national monuments, periodicals such as *Country Life*, and the elevation of English in the education system. His study has provided enlightening context for my investigation into the early Tate, and I am indebted to it for illustrating the gallery's place in a wider scheme of nationalistic projects.

Andrea Geddes Poole's 2004 study *Stewards Of The Nation's Art* focuses on the management of the Tate Gallery, the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, and the Wallace Collection between 1890 and 1939.[53] Her discussion of the Tate Gallery centres on struggles for control over the cultural character of Tate Britain. Poole also discusses the compromise and collaboration between state authority and private wealth in the form of philanthropic individualism.

My engagement with this broader scholarship on British Art institutions is in the form of a discussion of Chantrey's Bequest as an act of private philanthropy, and

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[50] Gordon Fyfe, "The Chantrey Episode: Art Classification, Museums and the State c.1870 – 1920," in *Art In Museums*, ed. Susan Pearce, (London: Athlone, 1995), 5 – 42.

[51] Gordon Fyfe, *Art, Power And Modernity: English Art Institutions 1750 – 1950,* (Leicester University Press: London, 2000).

[52] Brandon Taylor, *Art For The Nation: Exhibitions And The London Public 1747 – 2001,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

[53] Andrea Geddes Poole, *Stewards Of The Nation's Art: Contested Cultural Authority, 1890 – 1939,* (London and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

the influence of this gift on the national character of the Tate Gallery's collections. The politics of gifting is at the core of the Bequest, and consequently my study considers the national character of Chantrey's Bequest and its strategic design by comparing it with other significant period gifts to the Tate Gallery and the SKM.

In approaching collecting and philanthropy, my thinking has been contextualised by wider studies, including Diane Sachko Macleod's *Art And The Victorian Middle Class* (1996), Frank Prochaska's *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy In Modern Britain* (1988), and David Roberts' *The Social Conscience Of The Early Victorians* (2002).[54] My investigation runs parallel to studies of artists and collectors who were benefactors of national art or national galleries, such as Susanna Avery – Quash and Julie Sheldon's study *Art For The Nation: The Eastlakes and the Victorian Art World,* 2011.[55] I am obliged to the 2009 special issue of the *Journal of the History of Collections*, "The Art Collector - Between Philanthropy and Self-Glorification" for shaping my thoughts about the motivations of benefaction. The special issue explores the motivations of benefactors behind art collections, including studies focused on Richard Wallace, Isabella Stewart Gardner, Gustave Moreau, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Henry Clay Frick, Dora Gordine, and Helene Kröller-Müller.[56] The essays engage with themes of self-definition through collecting, collecting as a means to climb socially, the role of private collectors in supporting modern art movements, collecting as an expression of patriotism, and the ensuring of a legacy through donations and bequests. Dongho Chun engaged with similar themes in his article "Public Display, Private Glory: Sir John Fleming Leicester's Gallery of British Art in Early Nineteenth-Century England" which discusses Leicester's private agenda, his

[54] Diane Sachko Macleod, *Art And The Victorian Middle Class*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy In Modern Britain,* (London: Faber, 1988); David Roberts, *The Social Conscience Of The Early Victorians*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

[55] Susanna Avery – Quash and Julie Sheldon, *Art For The Nation: The Eastlakes and the Victorian Art World,* (London: National Gallery Company, 2011).

[56] Eva Rovers, ed, Special Issue: The Art Collector - Between Philanthropy And Self-Glorification, *Journal Of The History Of Collections*, Vol 21 Issue 2 (November 2009).

collecting of contemporary British art as a reflection of his national patriotism.[57] Kathryn Moore Heleniak's "Victorian collections and British nationalism: Vernon, Sheepshanks and the National Gallery of British Art," has explored John Sheepshanks and Robert Vernon's gifts, examining the nationalistic commentary that accompanied their gifts, and why the collections were dispersed to two different sites in London rather than forming a National Gallery of British Art.[58] Her discussion provided the foundation for my discussion of Vernon and Sheepshanks in Chapter Four, wherein I compare Chantrey's gift and his intentions to those of Tate, Turner, and Watts.[59]

My investigation also highlights the importance of the Chantrey Bequest to the history of British sculpture. The Bequest's presence in broad histories of sculpture in the long 19th century has, for the most part, been understated. A notable exception is Benedict Read's *Victorian Sculpture* (1982). This mentions the Bequest in passing as a purchase fund three times and discusses Leighton's dedication to encouraging and championing sculpture at length, including his crucial role in the Bequest process.[60] Read noted Leighton's role in encouraging sculptors such as Henry Fehr, stating "it was Leighton, too, who encouraged Fehr to have his *Rescue of Andromeda* cast in bronze after the plaster had been shown at the Academy of 1893. The bronze was bought for the nation via the Chantrey Bequest in 1894." Read also discussed Leighton's role an administrator of the Bequest due to his Presidency at the RA, commenting that he tried to "overcome one of the principal stumbling blocks against

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[57] Dongho Chun, "Public Display, Private Glory: Sir John Fleming Leicester's Gallery of British Art in Early Nineteenth-Century England," *Journal Of The History Of Collections*, Volume 13, Issue 2, (January 2001): 175–189.

[58] Kathryn Moore Heleniak, "Victorian collections and British nationalism: Vernon, Sheepshanks and the National Gallery of British Art," *Journal Of The History Of Collections*, Volume 12, Issue 1, (January 2000): 91–107.

[59] Scholarship on the benefaction of Vernon, Watts, Turner and Tate includes: Robin Hamyln, *Robert Vernon's Gift: British Art For The Nation 1847*, (London: Tate Gallery, 1993); Robin Hamlyn, *Henry Tate's Gift, A Centenary Celebration* (London: Tate Gallery, 1987); Colin Trodd and Stephanie Brown, eds)., *Representations of G.F. Watts: Art Making in Victorian Culture*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004); Sam Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner: The Making Of A Modern Artist*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

[60] Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1982), 294, 315 – 317, 349.

the application of the Chantrey Bequests to encouraging sculpture." [61] Read's discussion of Leighton and the Bequest forms the springboard from which I launched my investigation of the RA's networks of friendship and support in Chapter Two. The Bequest is mentioned once in Susan Beattie's *The New Sculpture* (1983) in which she notes that Ford's "*Folly* was acquired by the Trustees of the Chantrey Bequest in 1886."[62] It receives no mentions in H.W. Janson's *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (1985).[63] *Sculpture Victorious: Art in an Age of Invention 1837 – 1901* (2014), edited by Martina Droth, Jason Edwards, and Michael Hatt, produced to accompany the exhibition of the same name at Tate Britain and Yale Centre for British Art, identifies four works purchased through the Bequest, and Sullivan's catalogue entry for John Gibson's *Hylas Surprised by the Naiades* (1827 – 36) (Cat. 53) provides background to Chantrey's patriotism in the form of his relationship with Gibson. Sullivan also discusses the transferral of the Bequest sculpture collection to Tate.[64]

My investigation emphasises the importance of the fund in facilitating the acquisition of sculpture for Tate whilst registering notable exclusions from the Tate's national canon, highlights the activities of sculptors in the social and professional networks of the London art world, and presents new research on sculptors Henry Hugh Armstead, William Calder-Marshall, and Hamo Thornycroft.[65]

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[61] Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 294.

[62] Susan Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1983), 155.

[63] H.W. Janson, *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

[64] Martina Droth, Jason Edwards, and Michael Hatt, eds., *Sculpture Victorious: Art in an Age of Invention 1837 – 1901*, (New Haven: Yale Centre for British Art, 2014), 367, cat. 53, 77 – 79, 150.

[65] Scholarship specifically focusing on Armstead is limited to Walter Armstrong, "Armstead, Henry Hugh (1828–1905)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified 23rd September 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30447; Jason Edwards, "The Relief of Lucknow : Henry Hugh Armstead's Outram Shield (c. 1858–62)," *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, vol 22 (2016): unpaginated; Scholarship specifically focusing on Calder-Marshall is limited to Martin Greenwood, "Marshall, William Calder (1813–1894), Sculptor," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified 23rd September 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18159; Scholarship specifically focusing on Thornycroft is much larger: Elfrida Manning, *Marble & Bronze. The Art and Life of Hamo Thornycroft*, (London: Trefoil Books: 1982); Adam White, *Hamo Thornycroft: The Sculptor At Work*, (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute & Leeds Art Gallery, 1983); Adam White, *Hamo Thornycroft & The Martyr General*, (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 1991); T. Friedman,

METHODOLOGY

QUERYING THE BRITISHNESS OF BRITISH ART

Central to Chantrey's Bequest was the stipulation that works must have been entirely executed within the 'Shores of Great Britain.' This study queries the Britishness of the resulting 'British' national collection through a dissection of the sculptural group along regional, national, international, and imperial lines. I keep the Britishness of British art as a live research question throughout. Approaching the Bequest necessarily involves coming up against stumbling blocks such as how individual national identities were defined, which can hinge on a large number of factors from parental lineage to domicile; how to approach dual nationality or individuals born in imperial colonies; and how to negotiate the slew of different umbrella terms – U.K., Britain, Great Britain, The British Isles. As a consequence of these complexities, my approach considers Britishness as both a wide fluid category, capable of including the local, regional, transnational, and global; and as a narrow and restrictive category, institutionally mediated. In considering representative omissions from the collection, I actively include and promote sculptors from nations and regions that can be

ed., *The Alliance Of Sculpture And Architecture: Hamo Thornycroft, John Belcher, And The Institute Of Chartered Accountants Building*, (London: RIBA, 1993); T. Friedman, "'Demi-Gods In Corduroy': Hamo Thornycroft's Statue Of The Mower," *Sculpture Journal*, 3 (1999): 74–86; David J. Getsy, "The Difficult Labour Of Hamo Thornycroft's Mower, 1884," *Sculpture Journal*, Vol. 7 (Spring 2002): 44-57; Michael Hatt, "Near And Far: Homoeroticism, Labour, And Hamo Thornycroft's Mower," *Art History* Vol 26 (February 2003): 26-55; Andrea Garrihy, "Falling Heads, Raised Arms And Missing Persons: Thornycroft Studio Practice," *Sculpture Journal* vol 15 (Jun 2006): 105-113; David Getsy, "The Problem of Realism In Hamo Thornycroft's 1885 Royal Academy Lecture," *The Volume Of The Walpole Society* (2007): 211 – 225; Melanie Unwin, "'J'y Suis, J'y Reste:' The Parliamentary Statue of Oliver Cromwell by Hamo Thornycroft," *Parliamentary History* vol 28 (October 2009): 413-425; Katie Faulkner, "Grace Made Manifest: Hamo Thornycroft's Artemis and the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union," *Sculpture Journal* Vol.23 (2014): 317-330; Jane Thomas, "The Mower, The Sower, and The Mayor: Thomas Hardy and Hamo Thornycroft, Encounters and Affinities," *Word & Image* vol 34 (January 2018): 7-15; David J. Getsy, *Body Doubles. Sculpture in Britain, 1877-1905*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

encapsulated under a broad definition of British art. In adopting this approach, my work has been supported by the wealth of studies interrogating British art, including David Peters Corbett's *The Modernity of English Art*: *1914 – 1930* (1997), the edited volumes *English Accents: Interactions With British Art, c. 1776-1855* (2004), *The Geographies of Englishness: Landscape And The National Past, 1880-1940* (1997), and *Transculturation in British Art, 1770 – 1930* (2012); and British Art Studies' 2015 conversation piece "There's No Such Thing as British Art."[66]

TIMEFRAMES AND TIMELINES

As a Bequest still active in 2018, albeit with considerably reduced purchase power, the Chantrey Bequest resists easy periodisation. It is not a self-contained series of events, but an ongoing process which has fluctuated over time, with each new purchase adding to and altering the character of the resulting collection. Further complicating its timeline, a gap of thirty-four years passed between the writing of the Will in 1841 and the Bequest becoming active in 1875. Further expanding the timeframe of this study, my approach considers the design of the Bequest and its interpretation by the RA and Parliament within the context of Chantrey's life (1781 – 1841) and posthumous biographies (1849 – 1915). The timeframe of this study thus stretches from 1781 to 1917.

I selected 1917 as the end point for my investigation since Chantrey's Bequest expresses his Wish to create a "Public National Collection of British Fine Art in Painting and Sculpture," and 1917 marks the last year in which the Tate Gallery was considered such a space, designated solely for the exhibition of British art. In 1917, on the back of the Curzon Report (submitted 1915, published 1917) the Tate gallery's

[66] David Peters Corbett, *The Modernity of English Art*: *1914 – 1930,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); David Peters Corbett, Ysanne Holt, and Fiona Russell, eds., *The Geographies of Englishness: Landscape And The National Past, 1880-1940,* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997); Christiana Payne and William Vaughan, eds., *English Accents: Interactions With British Art, c. 1776-1855,* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2004); Julie F. Codell, *Transculturation in British Art, 1770 - 1930,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012); Richard Johns, "There's No Such Thing as British Art," *British Art Studies*, last modified 6th November 2015, https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-01/conversation

brief was widened from 'British historic and contemporary art' to 'British historic and contemporary art *and* international modern and contemporary art.'[67] This was officially recognised by a Treasury Minute of 1917.[68] Additionally, 1917 is probably the last year in which all sculptures purchased through the Bequest process would have been on display at the Tate since another effect of the Curzon Report was that the Tate were allowed to withdraw works from permanent exhibition which were regarded as "unworthy of display."[69] My timeframe of 1875 – 1917 encapsulates thirty-one sculptures (see Appendix for a chronologically-ordered spreadsheet of purchases with object details). Fittingly, 1917 also marks a century after the famous 1817 exhibition of Chantrey's *Sleeping Children* (1816) alongside Canova's *Hebe* (1808 - 1914) and *Terpsicore* (1816); the exhibition widely credited with making the sculptor's British reputation.[70]

Examining the display of the Bequest sculptures at Tate is complicated by the cumulative nature of the Bequest process, since the storage and display of the collection runs parallel to the acquisition of the collection and the two need to be mapped on top of one another. The Bequest sculptures were a group which grew in number in a staggered and irregular fashion: three sculptures might be acquired in one year, for example in 1908, and at other times periods of three years might elapse with no sculpture acquisitions, for example 1899 – 1903.[71] Examining the exhibition of sculptures bought through the Chantrey process requires that I consider periodic *phases* as distinct individual groups.[72] Each "phase" represents a year in which one or several sculpture purchases were made and added to the existing group. Without

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[67] "History of Tate Britain," Tate, accessed 11th November 2017, http://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/history-tate/history-tate-britain

[68] Fyfe, "The Chantrey Episode: Art Classification, Museums and the State c. 1870 – 1920," 17.

[69] Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 51.

[70] Yarrington, "Anglo-Italian Attitudes: Chantrey and Canova," 149; Rosie Dias, "Two Schools of Sculpture" in Mark Hallett, Sarah Victoria Turner, Jessica Feather, Baillie Card, Tom Scutt, and Maisoon Rehani, eds., *The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018.* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018), https://chronicle250.com/1817

[71] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[72] My choice of the word phase is very deliberate here. The Oxford English Dictionary defines phase as "A distinct period or stage in a series of events or a process of change or development;" "Phase," *The Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed 12th May 2018, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/142264

photographic and textual records of the arrangement of all thirty-one sculptures within the Tate Gallery in 1917, it is not possible to consider the display of the group of thirty-one sculptures as a whole. It is only possible to consider the collection, at least visually, at particular points in time since there are only two visual records of the curation of the sculpture gallery before 1917. Consequently, my analysis of the sculpture gallery in Chapter Four is limited to c.1904 – 1907, the period documented by photographs by Cassell and Company.

Recognising the fluid nature of the Bequest process, this investigation purposely refuses Georgian, Victorian, Edwardian, and Modernist divisions. As Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has observed, "Efforts at periodization flatten out the diversity of artistic phenomena that appear in any particular time by giving them a unified label."[73] One of the main aims of this study is to free sculptures bought through the Bequest from unhelpful unified labels by considering them apart from the paintings and drawings with which they are frequently conflated, and by which they are marginalised, and by dissecting the large group instead along regional, national, international, and imperial lines. To artificially impose period divisions upon the fluid Bequest process would work against this aim.

FRIENDSHIPS AND NETWORKS

Scholarly discussion of the Bequest has primarily focused on the tension, collaboration, and administration between the institutions involved: The RA, the National Gallery, the SKM, the Tate Gallery, and Parliament. Whilst this study does at times broadly discuss institutions in terms of their politics, identities, and remits, I have attempted to break down institutions into the individuals who comprised them wherever possible. In doing so, this study attempts to lessen the pervasive narrative of the Tate Gallery and the RA as two opposing parties who were perpetually in

[73] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Periodization And Its Discontents," *Journal Of Art Historiography* 2 (June 2010), 1 – 6. The formative works on the problems of periodisation are Ernst Gombrich's series of essays: Ernst Gombrich, *In Search Of Cultural History*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Ernst Gombrich, "Norm And Form: The Stylistic Categories Of Art History And Their Origins In Renaissance Ideals," in *Norm And Form: Studies In The Art of the Renaissance*, Ernst Gombrich, (London and New York: Phaidon, 1971), 81-98; Ernst Gombrich, "Mannerism: The Historiographic Background," in *Norm And Form: Studies In The Art Of The Renaissance*, 99 – 106.

opposition to one another, established in the Fyfe's studies.

One of my primary methods of approaching the Bequest and the wealth of legal, financial, and administrative material which accompanies it, is to humanise the narrative by considering the individual and the personal. To this end this study pays particular attention to the friendships, rivalries, and personal politics of individuals involved in the process, and the personal and professional networks which connected them.[74] Recognising the humanity of individuals also entails recognising that people's politics, friendships, and priorities change and evolve over time, and that humans are often illogical. To this end, I endeavour to generalise as little as possible, and to rely on primary sources to corroborate anecdotal evidence. I focus primarily on Royal Academicians because they performed the decision-making part of the process where their personal politics and biases would have had more impact.

My approach to the RA in this study is in keeping with the methodology adopted by the studies in *Living With The Royal Academy, 1768 – 1848* (2013).[75] The essays argue against the established dichotomy of artists' loyalty to and rebellion against the RA and seek to complicate one narrative of the RA as an "ossifying institution" which had a restrictive effect on its members. It considers the Academy as a living organism whose role was as a reference point "towards, around, and against" which artists operated their relationships towards each other and their artistic practice, and "a prism through which national, religious, political, and social identities could be articulated."[76] Its contributors examine artists' networked relationships with the institution from a balanced position which thinks critically and sensitively, recognising both the possibilities and limitations which it presented for artists and its

[74] In considering the friendships between individuals during the Bequest process, 1875 and 1917, I have been aided by Barbara Caine, ed., *Friendship: A History*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), Rebecca G. Adams, ed., *Placing Friendship In Context*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Jacques Derrida, *Politics Of Friendship*, (London: Verso, 1997). In thinking about networks, I have been aided by Bruno LaTour, *Reassembling The Social: An Introduction To Actor-Network-Theory*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and Bruno LaTour, "On Actor-Network Theory. A Few Clarifications Plus More Than A Few Complications," *Soziale Welt*, vol 47 (1996): 369 – 381.

[75] Sarah Monks, John Barrell, and Mark Hallett, eds., *Living With The Royal Academy, 1768 – 1848*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

[76] Sarah Monks, "Life Study: Living With The Royal Academy, 1768 – 1848," in *Living With The Royal Academy, 1768 – 1848*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 11.

significant role in the British cultural landscape. Holger Hoock's study of the forging of the RA as a uniquely national institution, *The Kings' Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture 1760-1840* (2003) has informed my understanding of the RA's principles and practices of cultural patriotism, its national politics, its strong allegiance to the British monarchy, and its role in creating an English and British school of art.[77] My study of the RA's administration of the Bequest process, and the network of Academicians therein, begins in 1875. It responds to, and develops upon, Hoock's analysis of the RA's national politics which ends in 1840.

With a few notable exceptions, discussions of artistic networks in this period have been dominated by groups of painters, particularly the Pre-Raphaelites, the Impressionists, the New English Art Club, and the Camden Town Group, whilst sculptors are absent from the narrative.[78] My approach to the Bequest sheds light upon the role of sculptors within multidisciplinary artistic networks both professional and social; and ties in with the wide-ranging re-evaluation of emotion taking place in the humanities, one which recognises the importance of social networks to understanding cultural production. Friendship and sociability, often overlooked as anecdotal additions to scholarly studies, entertaining but irrelevant, here make a serious contribution to the understanding of Chantrey and his Bequest.

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[77] Holger Hoock, *The King's Artists : The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture 1760-1840*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003). Other notable RA scholarship includes David H. Solkin, *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780-1836*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001); Charles Saumarez Smith, *The Company Of Artists: The Origins Of The Royal Academy Of Arts In London*, (London: Modern Art Press, 2012); Sidney C Hutchison, *The History Of The Royal Academy 1768 – 1968*, (London: Robert Royce, 1986); James Fenton, *A School of Genius: A History Of The Royal Academy Of Arts*, (London: Royal Academy, 2006); Charles Landry, *Culture & Commerce: The Royal Academy And Mayfair*, (Bournes Green: Commedia, 2013); and Mark Hallett, Sarah Victoria Turner, Jessica Feather, Baillie Card, Tom Scutt, and Maisoon Rehani, eds., *The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018*. (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018), https://www.chronicle250.com

[78] Notable exceptions to sculptors' exclusion from network narratives include: Jason Edwards, *Alfred Gilbert's Aestheticism: Gilbert Amongst Whistler, Wilde, Leighton, Pater and Burne-Jones*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), Benedict Read, Joanna Barnes, and John Christian, *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature And Imagination In British Sculpture, 1848-1914*, (Leeds: Henry Moore Foundation, 1991), and the Mapping the Practice & Profession of Sculpture project.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

My investigation and argument have been steered by primary material, sourced from the archives of Tate Britain, the RA, the Henry Moore Institute, the National Archives, and Gale Centgage Learning's online-access digital archive of the British Library's 18th - and 19th - century newspapers. I have approached Chantrey's Will, held at the National Archives, as both an active legal document and a historical source.

The archives of Tate Britain have provided a wealth of information regarding the early Tate Gallery from press cuttings on microfiche to photographs of the early galleries. The two large Chantrey Bequest files presented insights into the views of the Keepers regarding gaps in the sculpture collection and into the early curation, as well as transcripts of the 1904 Inquiry and records of correspondence between Tate, the RA, and the National Gallery. I have sourced information about specific works and their sculptors from Artists' Catalogue Files, which include forms filled out by the sculptors themselves detailing their family, education, exhibition history and information regarding their works in the Tate collection. For photographic evidence of the Bequest sculptures, I have referred to Artists' Catalogue Files and folders of photographs held in the Curatorial Department at Tate Britain. I am especially grateful to Caroline Corbeau-Parsons for directing my attention to these, and for providing me with Cassell and Co's postcards of the Sculpture Hall.

The RA's holdings of the yearly Annual Reports of the RA Council between 1874 and 1918 supplied insights into the inner life of the RA, detailing which academicians served on the Council of the RA and on the Recommendation and Selection Committees for Sculpture. They also detail which Academicians proposed new candidates for membership of the Academy. The Annual Reports from 1888 and 1889 include transcripts of the Plaster Court Cases which were invaluable for my investigation into the RA's management of the Bequest with regards to sculpture. The Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger provided information regarding the prices paid for individual sculptures and information regarding which Academicians suggested purchases and voted for or against them. I also consulted the RA's typescript of Calder-Marshall's letters from France and Italy, which paint a vibrant picture of his views, especially regarding his national identity and politics.

To consider the friendships, rivalries, and institutional politics which

governed the acquisition process, I studied The Hamo Thornycroft Papers, held in the Henry Moore Institute's Archive of Sculptors' Papers. This treasure trove of Thornycroft's journals, appointment diaries, and letters received from Academicians and critics illustrated his network of friends and social connections, provided insight into his positive and negative views on other sculptors' work, and the processes behind his two works purchased by the Bequest. Crucially, I found Thornycroft's private notes on the Bequest and his calculations regarding the RA's Bequest spending scrawled on the inside covers and back pages of his appointment diaries.

Through archival research, I have unearthed new material, and revisited old, regularly consulted sources, to offer new information and fresh interpretations.

PHILANTHROPY AND GIFTING

Gift theory has focused and shaped my thoughts and approach to the Bequest throughout, especially when examining the administrative arrangements put in place by the Will, the status of the Bequest at the Tate gallery, and Chantrey's position as one of a pantheon of private benefactors. My methodology owes much to the work of theorists Marcel Mauss, Chris Gregory, Annette Weiner, and Lewis Hyde.

Mauss' *Essay Sur Le Don* (1925), published in English as *The Gift* in 1954, remains the foundational text for the discussion of gift exchange, and has been my touchstone throughout.[79] Mauss describes the three related obligations attendant on gift giving: the obligation to give gifts, the obligation to receive them, and the obligation to reciprocate the gift. On the basis of empirical examples from a wide range of societies, he demonstrates that gift-giving is steeped in morality whilst also emphasising the competitive, strategic, and self-interested aspect of gift-giving. *The Gift*'s scope is broad and interdisciplinary as a consequence of his acknowledgment that gift exchanges are a total social phenomenon, whose transactions are many things simultaneously, including economic, moral, religious, mythological et cetera.[80] Scholars since Mauss have all used *The Gift* as their point of departure, but have been concerned with specific topics in anthropology, law, ethics, medicine, and economics, from organ donation to potlatch.

[79] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1954).

[80] Mauss, *The Gift*, 102.

In considering the time-frames of the Bequest, the gap of thirty-four years between Chantrey's death and the Bequest becoming active, the yearly transferral of money, and the staggered purchase of works, I have been aided by Gregory's writing on the importance of a time lag to gift exchanges. Gregory posits that gifts are given to others with the aim of establishing a relationship by placing them in debt, but for this relationship to persist there must be a time lag between the gift and the counter-gift. Gregory argued that to ensure reciprocity, one partner must always be in debt.[81]

Whilst it is rooted in anthropological studies of Oceanic societies and cannot be applied directly to gift exchanges of the sort practiced in Britain by Chantrey and others; Weiner's discussion of "inalienable possessions" has nonetheless been influential in shaping my thoughts around gifts which carry ineradicable associations. Weiner's concept of an 'inalienable possession' is one which develops a cumulative identity from a series of owners, often with a fictive link to gods, sacred ancestors, and origin myths – the inalienable possession is one which is protected collectively by a community.[82] By this definition, it's hard to see how it could be even remotely applied to the Chantrey Bequest. However, Weiner's concept of "keeping-while-giving" has relevance to gifts by private individuals to museums and galleries. Weiner notes that the "keeping-while-giving" of an inalienable possession happens when an object is given, not sold, yet retains a tie to its owner. These gifts cannot be re-sold by the recipient because the value and the significance of the gift cannot be disengaged from its relationship to the giver or wider group whose inalienable possession it is.

Hyde's writing is unique in that it directly addresses art and art-making. His work is heavily preoccupied with discussing gifts in the sense of talents, which is a far reach from the transactional giving of money and artworks which comprise the Chantrey Bequest. However, another idea of Hyde's has proven useful when unpicking how the annual payments of the Bequest ensured the longevity of the process: "the spirit of a gift is kept alive by its constant donation."[83] Hyde states that "works of art simultaneously exist in two economies, a market economy and a gift

[81] Chris A. Gregory, *Gifts And Commodities,* second edition, (Chicago: HAU Books, 2015), 54.

[82] Annette Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While Giving*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 33.

[83] Lewis Hyde, *Imagination And The Erotic Life Of Property*, (New York: Random House, 1983), xiii.

economy."[84] Hyde is here playing with the word 'gift' to discuss an artist's innate 'gift,' but it is nonetheless a statement which gave me a way of conceptualising the Chantrey works' simultaneous existence as unsellable works and artworks carrying capital. I have endeavoured to keep their duality in mind throughout my investigation.

My investigation of the Chantrey Bequest draws on gift theory and scholarship around acts of benefaction by private individuals. I combine these with an interrogation of Chantrey's biography, and the way in which his public persona was used to interpret and debate his Bequest, to clarify his intentions and the design of his Bequest. My methodology has wide application to other gifts of bequests, artworks, and money to galleries and museums.

OUTLINE

This thesis explores the selection of sculptures through the Chantrey Bequest to gain a more accurate and nuanced understanding of Chantrey's intentions, and to uncover the socio-political agenda which formed the Tate sculpture collection. It is divided into four chapters - Chapter One focuses on Francis Chantrey whilst Chapters Two, Three, and Four explore the terms of his Bequest which relate to The RA's administrative power, the geographical remit of the Bequest, and the resulting collection.

The first chapter forms a foundation of reference for two key aspects of the investigation by explaining the design of the Bequest and its aims with reference to Chantrey's biography and by identifying the aspects of his posthumous public persona which influenced the administration and understanding of his Bequest. To this end, I discuss six aspects of his life and public persona – Samuel Smiles' presentation of Chantrey as a national figure, the popular description of Chantrey as "a John Bull," Chantrey's relationship with the RA, his domestic and international tourism, and his activities as a collector and a benefactor.

The second chapter focuses on the RA, the administering institution of the Bequest. It responds to, and complicates, critical accusations that the Bequest process was subject to the RA's internal politics of nepotism based on institutional membership, conservative taste, and exclusionary politics towards newer and more

[84] Hyde, *Imagination And The Erotic Life Of Property*, xi.

experimental art. Throughout, I clarify how the Bequest process operated before and after administrative changes were put in place by the 1904 Inquiry and discuss the formal and informal networks, and personal prejudices, which underpinned the process. In addition, I uncover why the RA bought so few sculptural works in comparison to paintings.

Following on from this, the third chapter investigates Chantrey's stipulation that works "may be executed by Artists of any Nation provided such artists shall have actually resided in Great Britain during the executing and completing such Works." Through a series of case studies of sculptors from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, India, and Australia, I seek to identify the requirements for inclusion set by Chantrey's Bequest and the RA themselves, and the unspoken geo-political agenda which influenced their choices.

The final chapter explores the integration of the Bequest sculptures and the inseparable public persona of Chantrey into an institutional context at the Tate Gallery from 1897. I consider Chantrey's integration into a canon of benefactors through comparison of his Bequest with the bequests and gifts of Sheepshanks, Vernon, Tate, Turner, and Watts. This reveals that despite having similar aims and receiving similar public recognition of his generosity in response, Chantrey's Bequest differs from these other gifts in its construction and its intent. The comparison also explains the strategic design which ensured the Bequest's remarkable longevity. In addition, I examine the merging of the Bequest sculptures with other sculptures acquired through transfers, gifts, and commissions to consider whether the ideology implicit in the selection process was upheld or diluted by their accession into the Tate collection. Through an in-depth analysis of photographs of the Sculpture Gallery c.1904 - 1907, I explore the ways in which Tate curators brought cohesion to the collection and opened dialogues between the Bequest sculptures and the wider inter-disciplinary collection.

CHAPTER ONE - SIR FRANCIS CHANTREY

Whilst Chantrey currently occupies a subdued position in the public consciousness, during the timeframe of this study he was a well-known national figure whose eulogised public persona was inseparable from his Bequest. The subject of both praise and satire, Chantrey and his Bequest were alluded to in a number of plays and novels, including Mary Boykin Chesnut's novel *The Captain And The Colonel* (1874), Arnold Bennett's play *The Great Adventure* (1913), and John Galsworthy's play *A Family Man* (1922).[85] Alongside these fictitious narratives, five biographies of Chantrey were in public circulation, as we have seen: Jones' *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.: Recollections of His Life, Practice and Opinions* (1849); Holland's *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey, Sculptor, in Hallamshire and Elsewhere* (1851); Raymond's *Life and Works of Sir Francis Chantrey* (1904); and Armitage's *Chantrey Land* (1910) and *Sir Francis Chantrey: Donkey Boy and Sculptor* (1915).

Throughout the administration of his Bequest, Chantrey's character, values, and lived experience were frequently brought into discussions to aid the process of implementing his Will. Debates relating to his wishes were at their height during four events – two attempts made by the RA in 1888 and 1889 to contest the terms of his Will in relation to plaster casts, and the two parliamentary inquiries made into the Bequest's administration in 1904 and 1911.[86] Speakers cited a variety of aspects of Chantrey's biography, including his patriotic values, his straightforward good sense, his John Bullishness, his loyalty to the Royal Academy, his dislike of artists working in Italy, and his personal collection of plaster casts. This chapter is concerned with understanding Chantrey as a public figure and as the creator of his Bequest. I examine

[85] Chantrey is also mentioned in Arnold Bennett, *The Great Adventure*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1913); R. Austin Freeman, *Flighty Phyllis*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1928); E.F. Benson, *Trouble For Lucia*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1939); Maria Edgeworth, *Helen, A Tale*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1834); Mary Boykin Chesnut, *Two Novels*, ed. Elisabeth Muhlenfeld, (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2002); John Galsworthy, *A Family Man*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922).

[86] Anon, "Appendix No.13. Judgement of the Court of Appeal in the Chantrey Will Case," in Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1889*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1890), 78.

aspects of his public persona which became points of reference for those discussing and debating the Bequest post-1875; and aspects of his life which contextualise the objectives of his Bequest and its distinctively national character.

A NATIONAL CHARACTER

Undoubtedly the most widely-read biography of Chantrey was included in Smiles' *Self-Help, with Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (1859).[87] 20,000 copies were sold in the first year and 258,000 had been sold by 1905. It was widely translated into a number of languages, including Dutch, German, Danish, Swedish, Spanish, Turkish, and Arabic, achieving marked popularity in Japan, and Italy where by 1889 it had sold 75,000 copies.[88] Sandwiched between biographies of Academicians John Flaxman and David Wilkie, Smiles' short case-study of Chantrey presented him as a national worthy and exemplar of inherent English personality traits.[89]

Smiles, a writer of social 'biographies' such as *A History of Ireland and the Irish People under the Government of England* (1843-1844) and *Industrial Biography: Iron Workers and Tool Makers* (1863), first presented *Self-Help* as a lecture to a self-improvement society in Leeds in 1845.[90] As H.C.G. Matthew has succinctly summarised, *Self-Help* "emphasised the importance of the application of good character to the problems of daily life as the key to individual and social improvement and illustrated his message with biographical examples."[91] Smiles claims that the men and women who form the case studies of *Self-Help* are "valuable examples of the

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[87] Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help, With Illustrations of Character and Conduct*, (London: John Murray, 1859).

[88] H. C. G. Matthew, "Smiles, Samuel (1812–1904,)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 9th February 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36125

[89] Smiles, *Self-Help*, xvi.

[90] H. C. G. Matthew, "Smiles, Samuel (1812–1904,)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); accessed 9th February 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36125.

[91] Matthew, "Smiles, Samuel (1812–1904;)" For more on Smiles see: Thomas Travers, *Samuel Smiles and the Victorian Work Ethic*, (London: Garland, 1987), J.F.C. Harrison, "The Victorian Gospel of Success," *Victorian Studies 1* (1957-8): 155-164; Asa Briggs, *Victorian People: Some Reassessment of People, Institutions, Ideas and Events 1851-1867*, (London: Odhams Press, 1954).

power of self-help, of patient purpose, resolute working, and steadfast integrity, issuing in the formation of truly noble and manly character."[92] Notably the 'character' Smiles refers to throughout is the English national character. Whilst he refers to British military forces or products, such as 'British wool,' there is no mention of a single 'British character trait.'[93] In Chapter One, "Self-Help – National and Individual," Smiles sets out his argument that "the spirit of self-help as exhibited in the energetic action of individuals, has in all times been a marked feature in the English character," and heavily implies that English military and colonial success is a result of "the sum of individual industry."[94] He argues that the collective identity of the nation is an "aggregate" of its individuals, and within this context, *Self-Help* reads as a pantheon of English national worthies exemplifying aspirational character traits.

Chantrey's closeness to the English national traits defined by Smiles is indicated from the outset; his first mention on the contents page states "Francis Chantrey: his industry and energy."[95] In Chapter Six "Workers in Art," Smiles dedicates three pages to outlining the standard story of Chantrey's career from humble beginning as a "poor man's child" to finally achieving success and leaving his fortune to the nation.[96] Smiles describes how Chantrey was born at Jordanthorpe, near Norton, Derbyshire in 1781 to Sarah Chantrey and Francis Chantrey, a tenant farmer who died when Chantrey was a child. Chantrey worked as a milk-boy as a child, driving a donkey with milk-cans across its back to neighbouring villages and towns. "Such was the humble beginning of his industrial career" notes Smiles, stating that "it was by his own strength that he rose from that position, and achieved the highest eminence as an artist."[97] Smiles describes how Chantrey first worked for a grocer in Sheffield, and then became an apprentice to a carver and gilder who was also a dealer in prints and plaster models. He attributes Chantrey's artistic education to his own "industry and energy," claiming that "all his spare hours were devoted to drawing, modelling, and

[92] Although men feature predominantly, a couple of women are discussed, usually in the roles of wives and mothers. Smiles, *Self-Help,* 6.

[93] Smiles, *Self-Help,* 5.

[94] Smiles, *Self-Help,* 5.

[95] Smiles, *Self-Help,* xvi.

[96] Smiles, *Self-Help,* 181.

[97] Smiles, *Self-Help,* 181.

self-improvement, and he often carried his labours far into the night."[98] Alongside characterising Chantrey as displaying integral English traits, Smiles indicates that Chantrey exhibited regional traits from his upbringing and working in Sheffield. He describes the sculptor's prudence and shrewdness with his finances in a positive light, and states that these traits were shared by "the men amongst whom he was born."[99] Smiles description of Chantrey's personality reflects the clear influence of previous biographies of the sculptor, particularly that of Jones. Like Jones' Chantrey, Smiles' sculptor retains traces of his working-class rural upbringing - a "rough but hearty" demeanour, "characteristic good sense," and a love of simplicity.[100]

Smiles recounts how Chantrey broke his indentures at the age of twenty-one and left Sheffield for London "determined to devote himself to the career of an artist."[101] In London, motivated by his "characteristic good sense" Chantrey sought employment as an assistant carver, studying painting and modelling in his spare time. Smiles describes how Chantrey studied at the RA and "used a room over a stable as a studio, and there he modelled his first original work for exhibition," a gigantic head of Satan. He quotes Chantrey as remarking: "I worked at it in a garret with a paper cap on my head; and as I could then afford only one candle, I stuck that one in my cap that it might move along with me and give me light whichever way I turned."[102] According to Smiles, it was Chantrey's hard work on the head of Satan which earned him the acclaim which kickstarted his career. He notes that "Flaxman saw and admired this head at the Academy Exhibition, and recommended Chantrey for the execution of the busts of four admirals, required for the Naval Asylum at Greenwich. This commission led to others, and painting was given up."[103] Smiles selectively describes works of sculpture by Chantrey which attest to his local and national patriotism: the busts of admirals for Greenwich, his statue of George III, his Sleeping Children for Lichfield, and finally his statue of James Watt in Handsworth Church, which Smiles describes as the "very consummation of art."[104] It seems significant that within Smiles' overall

[98] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 181.

[99] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 181.

[100] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 181; Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 11, 86.

[101] Smiles, Self-Help, 181.

[102] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 181.

[103] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 181.

[104] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 181.

narrative of national progress, his account of Chantrey's life begins in a rural farming community, and ends with a statue of Watt, a prominent figure in the Industrial Revolution. In Smiles' narrative, Chantrey can be read as an exemplar of the profit to be found in moving from countryside to city, in keeping with national industrial progress.

Smiles also credits Chantrey's success to his financial good sense and shrewdness, noting that "the pocket-book which accompanied him on his Italian tour" contained "mingled notes on art, records of daily expenses, and the current prices of marble."[105] This financial shrewdness was however, not miserliness – Smiles concludes his narrative of Chantrey by remarking that "his generosity to brother artists in need was splendid, but quiet and unostentatious. He left the principal part of his fortune to the Royal Academy for the promotion of British art."[106] Smiles attributes Chantrey's success in rising from a low position to his "patience, industry, and steady perseverance" in applying the Genius given to him by "Nature;" and emphasises that Chantrey spent many years of labouring for low wages, and thus "fairly earned his good fortune."[107] Smiles attributes Chantrey's willingness to work hard to his nationality, remarking that "one of the most strongly-marked features of the English people is their spirit of industry," which has resulted in the "vigorous growth of the nation."[108]

A RIGHT GOOD JOHN BULL

Chantrey's reputation as a national figure who exemplified particularly English traits was heightened by similarities observed between Chantrey and the popular satirical figure John Bull, the personification of England and the free-born Englishman. The allusion between Chantrey and Bull was made in the sculptor's lifetime by Scottish novelist and playwright Sir Walter Scott, who commented, in 1825, that "Chantrey himself is a right good John Bull, bland, and honest, and open, without any of the

[105] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 181.

[106] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 181.

[107] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 181.

[108] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 27.

nonsensical affection so common among artists."[109] *The London Quarterly Review* also likened the sculptor to Bull, stating in 1843 that "if he was not a genuine cordial John Bull, we fear we shall never see one."[110] Royal Academician Charles Robert Leslie described the sculptor's appearance in his memoirs, as "handsome" "with a bluff John Bull look."[111] Chantrey's appearance can be seen in an 1818 portrait by Thomas Phillips, presented to the National Portrait Gallery by his widow in 1859 (Fig 1). Contemporaneous descriptions of Chantrey as a John Bull were repeated as a factual description in Armitage's biography.[112]

John Bull first made his appearance in 1712 in *The History of John Bull* attributed to John Arbuthnot, and later grew to fame as representative of England in satirical prints.[113] He appeared in a variety of different guises in early satirical prints, sometimes with the appearance of an actual bull. As Miles Taylor has noted however, "by the time of the Reform Act of 1832 the rotund, usually rural, shabby farmer or even squire was beginning to become the dominant depiction of John Bull."[114] Bull's political views were changeable depending on the author of the print, sometimes anti-government, sometimes conservative, but his character was consistently bullish in his robust plain speech, respect for common sense, prejudice against foreigners, disregard for dress, his anti-intellectualism, and fondness for food, particularly red meat and plum pudding.[115] Despite this political malleability, distinctive physical characteristics distinguish and identify him – he has a "rural" appearance: a plump, short build, a rounded and ruddy face, and is often depicted wearing the garb of a country farmer, and consuming the distinctive national foods of roast beef and plum-pudding.[116] An early example of Bull's appearance can be seen in West's *A Locked Jaw for John Bull*

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[109] Walter Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, *Volume IX*, (London: Constable, 1932-37), 115.

[110] Anon, "Life of Sir David Wilkie," *The Quarterly Review,* May – September 1843, (London: John Murray, 1843), 451.

[111] Charles Robert Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections*, (London: Tom Moore, 1860), 49.

[112] Armitage, *Francis Chantrey: Donkey Boy & Sculptor*, 122, 126.

[113] Miles Taylor, "Bull, John (supp. fl. 1712–,)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed 4th February 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68195

[114] Taylor, "Bull, John (supp. fl. 1712–)."

[115] Taylor, "Bull, John (supp. fl. 1712–);" Ben Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), 148.

[116] Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, 155.

(1795) (Fig 2), whilst Bull's enduring characteristics can be seen in prints contemporary with descriptions of Chantrey as a 'John Bull,' such as *Peace & Plenty or good news for John Bull!!!* (1814) (Fig 3). [117]

The identification of Chantrey with John Bull undeniably had much to do with his enjoyment of jokes, especially at the expense of others. Chantrey's jocular temperament looms large in writings upon the sculptor. Jones states that he was "always alive to a joke or a contrivance for amusement, and quotes from one of Thomson's letters, in which he says that Chantrey had a "dexterity to encounter and defeat humbug."[118] Chantrey's evident enjoyment in poking fun at his friends is nowhere more evident than in stories of his friendship with Turner. On one particularly cold Varnishing Day at the RA, the sculptor reportedly stopped in front of one of Turner's paintings in which orange chrome was prominent, and affected to warm his hands before it, remarking "Turner, this is the only comfortable place in the room. Is it true, as I have heard, that you have a commission to paint a picture for the Sun Fire [Insurance] Office?"[119] Other stories of Chantrey joking with the painter involve him drawing a "schoolboy cross" with a wet finger on one of Turner's newly varnished painting and accidentally removing layers of varnish in the process, throwing Turner a hefty bill for a group dinner party to "raise a laugh," and the oft repeated anecdote of Chantrey imitating the footsteps and voice of the Earl of Egremont to trick Turner into opening the locked room in which he was working at Petworth.[120] Chantrey's humour was not reserved purely for Turner however, writing to Jones "Make yourself easy, and fatten until you are as beastly as a Hampshire pig. Leave the intellectual part to me. I am training down until I become all mind and bone."[121]

Chantrey's comment to Jones about "training down until I become all mind and bone" reflects his ease in directing his biting humour towards his own weight and physical appearance, particularly his baldness and fatness, physical traits which made comparisons to Bull fitting. Chantrey's ruddy complexion and rounded face

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[117] For an in-depth discussion of James Gillray and regency caricature, see Richard T Godfrey and Mark Hallett, *James Gillray: The Art of Caricature*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2001).

[118] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 212, Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 138.

[119] Walter Thornbury, *The Life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A.*, (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862), 257.

[120] Thornbury, *The Life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A*, 234; Anthony Bailey, *Standing in the Sun: A Life of J.M.W. Turner*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2013), 115.

[121] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 240.

(accentuated by his baldness) was often mocked by friends, a joke which the sculptor was seemingly happy to participate in good humouredly. Jones recounts a story wherein Chantrey's close friend the Academician painter Henry Thomson, wrote him a letter and "headed his address by sticking a large red wafer on the paper, and drawing thereon, eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, which, however ridiculous, from the just arrangement of the features and the proportions, gave a lively caricature of the rubicund face of the sculptor."[122] Jones recounts how Chantrey was delighted by the joke and often copied Thomson's joke as a way to sign off his own letters, sticking "a wafer with the features delineated by his own hand" to the paper.[123] Chantrey's rounded face and ruddy complexion are particularly evident in a portrait by John Raphael Smith (1818), in the collections of the National Portrait Gallery (Fig 4).

Chantrey's red and rounded face, and bulging figure, brought him closer to the appearance of John Bull, whilst his rural Derbyshire background helped to characterise him as rough-mannered and ill-educated despite his cosmopolitan networking and membership of, and contribution to, learned societies. A contemporary characterisation of the sculptor published in 1840 in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* provides a typical description of the sculptor's education and manner, describing "his manners still as unassuming, his Derbyshire heart and tongue still as unsophisticated as when his ambition reached no higher than that of a country farmer."[124] In merely observing his appearance, the piece contends, a person may understand his character, which we are led to assume is that of a working-class rural man: "His appearance corresponds with his character. His full, round figure, his cheerful ruddy complexion, fine eye and forehead (he is bald…which heightens the effect), all speak of the happy-tempered, easy-minded, benevolent man."[125] Three years later, the magazine published an obituary of Chantrey, characterising the sculptor far more harshly as "an unthinking man with no time for reading" with a blunt, rude, and abrasive manner.[126] Jones supports the characterisation of Chantrey's

[122] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 141.

[123] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 141.

[124] Anon, "Hints for Biographers. Sir Francis Chantrey," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country,* January – June 1840, (London: James Fraser, 1840), 297.

[125] Anon, "Hints for Biographers. Sir Francis Chantrey," 297.

[126] Anon, "Sir Francis Chantrey and Allan Cunningham," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, January - June 1843, (London: G.W. Nickisson, 1843), 666.

manner as rough, frank, and unceremonious, suggesting that it was not merely the invention of critical journalists.[127] Leslie characterised Chantrey along similar, though kinder lines, stating that he had a "strong native sense" which compensated for an "entire want of book learning," a claim undermined by Chantrey's extensive library.[128] In both instances, the emphasis on Chantrey's social background suggests that these stories of his lack of interest in education and his similarity to the brusque ill-educated John Bull is complex, simultaneously reflective of middle and upper-class prejudicial attitudes to the rural working-class, as well as a desire to interpret Chantrey in positively British, John Bullish terms.

Chantrey's characterisation as a John Bullish figure spread to what might be best referred to as 'culinary nationalism,' specifically his consumption of roast beef and venison.[129] It is evident that he enjoyed hosting and attending breakfasts, lunches, and dinners with friends, societies, and potential clients, mentions of which peppered contemporary newspaper columns and his posthumous biography. However, when Chantrey remarked "Thank god for a good dinner!" in a letter to a friend, republished by Holland, he might equally have been referring to the crucial role dinners played in attaining commissions as to his love of steaming plates of roast meat.[130] The idea that Chantrey had a tendency towards gluttony was evidently encouraged by his short stature and overweight body shape, and the widespread speculation that he had died from a digestive complaint, based on Jones' statement that the sculptor suffered acute stomach pain hours before his death.[131] The most gluttonous account of Chantrey was published by the eternally critical *Fraser's Magazine* five years after the sculptor's

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[127] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 11.

[128] Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections*, 49; Anon, *A Catalogue of the Elegant Library of Sir Francis Chantrey R.A., Deceased. Which will be Sold by Auction by Messrs Christie & Manson. At their Great Room, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, On Tuesday, May 10th, 1842, And Two Following Days; at One o' Clock, precisely. May be viewed Saturday and Monday preceding and Catalogues had*, Christies Archives, January - May 1842, fol. My thanks to Greg Sullivan for pointing this out to me.

[129] A phrase coined by Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, 3.

[130] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey, Sculptor*, 80.

[131] A contemporary account of the sculptor in The Gentleman's Magazine describes him as "about five feet seven inches high, of a stout make" though "latterly inclined to corpulence," Sylvanus Urban, "Obituary. Sir Francis Chantrey, RA," *The Gentleman's Magazine, January – June 1843*, (London: William Pickering; J. Bowyer Nichols & Son, 1843), 103; Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 212.

death, in which he was described as a "thick, short-necked" man, "standing five-feet five with the aid of a pair of thick-soled boots, with an appetite for delicacies quite remarkable," specifically roast venison and beef.[132] The article describes in grotesque terms Chantrey's "voracious appetite," his inability to resist a "warm third plate," and speculates as to the existence of his neck, implying that he was so fat as to render it invisible.[133] His appetite for roasted red meat fitted into a tradition of national culinary identity wherein the English roasted or boiled their meats, whilst the French, their commonplace opponents, fried, braised or stewed theirs.[134] Ben Rogers argues that English traditions of plain country cooking, especially meals of roast meats, pies, plum pudding, and fortified wine, ale and porter developed in part by defining itself against French cuisine's refined and dainty style, emphasising Chantrey's masculinity as well as his nationality.[135]

Chantrey's association with traditional English cooking can be traced back to the early myths of the "Norton butter, pork-pie and clay-moulding fictions" of Chantrey's childhood, as Holland referred to them, which proliferated in his biography.[136] These fanciful tales of Chantrey's first sculpting experiences, which claimed that he had modelled pigs out of pastry for the top of his Mother's pork pie as a child, were told at a public meeting in Sheffield in 1850, and printed in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1850.[137] Holland's sceptical attitude to these stories was not shared by James Croston and Armitage, whose biographical accounts of Chantrey were published in 1889 and 1915 respectively. Croston confidently claimed that Chantrey had moulded "an Old Dame's pie-crust" as a child, whilst Armitage repeated tales of Chantrey modelling pastry pigs for the top of his mother's pie, as well as figures in newly-churned butter.[138]

Chantrey had an artistic precursor for the hearty consumption of beef in the form of William Hogarth, a founder of the patriotic and anti-French Sublime Society

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[132] Anon, "Dining Out" *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country,* January – June 1846, (London: James Fraser, 1846), 447.

[133] Anon, "Dining Out," 448.

[134] Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, 19.

[135] Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, 41.

[136] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 106.

[137] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 30.

[138] Armitage, *Sir Francis Chantrey*, 20; Croston, *Chantrey's Peak Scenery*, 10.

of Beefsteaks, set up in 1736, in which beef was consumed and the patriotic song *The Roast Beef of Old England* was sung.[139] Henry Fielding's patriotic culinary national anthem was first performed in 1734 but remained a favourite well into the nineteenth century and was, Rogers claims, often sung on patriotic feasts, festivals and in the theatre.[140] It contains the lines "When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food / it ennobled our hearts, and enriched our blood / our soldiers were brave / our courtiers were good."[141] Beef eating, at the point of Chantrey's characterisation would certainly have been recognised for its association to beef as a national symbol of England and of English values.

Chantrey's public persona as a patriotic Englishman, formed during his lifetime and reinforced by Smiles' widely-read testimonial had a clear influence on how his Bequest was interpreted. During a discussion at the 1904 Inquiry around the potential purchase of foreign artists, one speaker commented "he was essentially a John Bull, and it was British Art he meant."[142] At another point in the Inquiry, Chantrey's national patriotism was invoked as evidence against the purchase of French art. Academician William Blake Richmond commented that: "There is a set of critics, who shall be nameless, endeavouring at all expense to promote a French influence in this country, as against an English influence. If the ghost of Francis Chantrey were here at this moment he would stand up and if he could speak he would inveigh against that unpatriotic element in English criticism."[143]

A BROTHER ACADEMICIAN

In speaking against these nameless art critics who championed French art, Richmond was advocating for the continued management of Chantrey's Bequest by the RA. Chantrey had entrusted the RA with the administration of his Bequest in perpetuity,

[139] Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, 80.

[140] Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, 78.

[141] Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, 78.

[142] Chantrey's true intentions concerning the eligibility of foreign artists will be discussed in Chapter Three. Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904,* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1904), 69.

[143] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904,* 40.

specifically naming the institution in his Will. His loyalty to the RA and his fondness for his "brother artists" was often commented upon after his death and particularly during the 1904 and 1911 Inquiries, when the RA's power over the Bequest's management was in question.[144]

Chantrey was elected as an Associate Member of the RA in 1816 and a full Academician in 1818.[145] *The Observer* noted that "the RA never had a stronger stickler for its principles, its conducts, and its laws."[146] According to Jones, after becoming a member Chantrey's "exertion in council, and in the general assemblies, was zealous and uninterrupted until the end of his mortal career."[147] *The Quarterly Review* noted that he entrusted his Bequest to the RA "after thirty years' close observation of the body, and no stricter observer ever lived."[148] Membership of the RA furthered Chantrey's career, raised his standing in society, and enabled his social networking. Exploration of Chantrey's relationship with the RA explains why he entrusted his Bequest to their care.

The RA was founded in 1769 by a group of thirty-six artists and architects, with a view to establishing a society "for promoting the Arts of Design" with a School of Design and an annual exhibition. Of the thirty-six founding members, four were Italian, one was French, one was Swiss, and one was American; two were women, Mary Moser and Angelica Kauffmann.[149] The Academy constituted forty elected Academicians (RAs) and a second tier of Associate Academicians (ARAs), with five officers elected from within the body of Academicians: President (PRA), Keeper, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian. The Academy's foundational document was signed by the reigning monarch George III, ensuring that the institution was, in the words of Jones, "honoured, sanctioned, and protected" by the Crown.[150] The RA was, crucially, a private institution financially supported by its own exhibitions and by the monarchy, and free from public or governmental influence. As Hoock has neatly

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[144] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 69.

[145] Stevens, "Chantrey, Sir Francis Leggatt (1781–1841)."

[146] Collins and Hamlyn, eds., *Within these Shores*, 20.

[147] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 99.

[148] Quoted in Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*,182.

[149] Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 22.

[150] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 101.

summarised, the RA "claimed legitimacy as a result of their cultural patriotism."[151] Jones states that Chantrey was a strong advocate for the RA's permanency and its importance "for the promotion of fine art, as a means to improve the moral character of society by the instruction and amusement it might afford."[152]

In his 1849 biography, Jones, himself an Academician, provides a history of Chantrey's involvement with the RA and his changing opinions of the institution. Jones records that Chantrey first exhibited at the RA in 1808, with a head of Satan, as we have seen, but that "Chantrey's attendance, when he was a student in the Royal Academy, was not frequent enough, or sufficiently uninterrupted, to attach him to the institution."[153] Initially, Jones states, Chantrey felt indifferent to the RA, coming "into the Royal Academy without soliciting or solicitude, neither devoted to, nor objecting to the institution" but "as he became acquainted with its merits and its members, his opinions awakened his affection towards the institution and the individuals composing it, and each succeeding year seems to have augmented his respect for the principles of the establishment, as well as his regard for the members."[154] In 1811, Chantrey's sculptural work began to attract critical acclaim when he publicly displayed six plaster busts at the RA exhibition, which included a portrait of political radical Horne Tooke. This delicately modelled bust reportedly caused a sensation and garnered the praise of established Academy sculptor Joseph Nollekens. Nollekens was so captivated by the bust of Tooke that he had his own bust moved in order to accord it a better position in the exhibition.[155] Chantrey later stated that the bust brought him £12,000 worth of commissions, bringing the Norton-born sculptor into a better position in London society.[156] Membership of the RA undoubtedly also greased the wheels of royal patronage; Chantrey received commissions for portrait busts of four successive monarchs during their lifetimes: George III, George IV, William IV, and Queen Victoria, and was knighted by William IV in 1835.[157]

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[151] Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 4.

[152] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 179.

[153] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 96.

[154] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 96.

[155] Stevens, "Chantrey, Sir Francis Leggatt (1781–1841)."

[156] Stevens, "Chantrey, Sir Francis Leggatt (1781–1841;)" Sullivan, *Sir Francis Chantrey and The Ashmolean Museum*,11.

[157] Stevens, "Chantrey, Sir Francis Leggatt (1781–1841)."

Membership of the RA was also a social affair. As Jones recounted, Chantrey's "means and liberality enabled him to establish hospitable association" with Academicians, commenting that "Sundays he generally passed at home, members of the Royal Academy and other intimate friends dined with him."[158] Perhaps his most famous Academician friendship was with Turner, who he met through the institution. Jones states that "In the years 1828 and 1837, Chantrey and Turner were on the same council of the Royal Academy; they understood and appreciated each other thoroughly."[159] Chantrey's wide network of Academician friends included Jones, Leslie, John Jackson, William Beechey, and John Constable. Initially, it seems unlikely that Chantrey would have been close friends with Constable, given the intense animosity between Constable and Turner. In 1826 the sculptor wrote to Constable in a letter marked 'Private' (with a double underlining!) "I wish particularly to know by return of post if you entertain the opinion or that you ever said 'Turner's pictures are only fit to be spit upon.'"[160] Despite this difference in opinion over Turner's work, Chantrey appears to have been fond of Constable, subjecting him to the same brusque boyish humour he inflicted upon Turner: Constable wrote in a letter to a friend that "Chantrey loves painting and is always upstairs. He works now and then on my pictures, and yesterday he joined our group, and after exhausting his jokes on my landscape, he took up a dirty palette, threw it at me and was off."[161]

Whilst the RA formed a central and important role in Chantrey's life and career, it is important to note that this Academy brotherhood was only one of many networks which Chantrey, a consummate social networker, participated in. Jones recounts that at Chantrey's dinner parties, guests might encounter "men distinguished by science and literature," and on Sunday evenings Chantrey's collection of fossils and minerals was examined under microscopes by interested visitors. As Sullivan has shown, Chantrey's interest in fossils and minerology forged many friendships and incentivised many sculptural commissions.[162] Chantrey also had a keen interest in

[158] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 98.

[159] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 124.

[160] James Hamilton, *A Strange Business: Making Art and Money in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (London: Atlantic Books Ltd, 2014), 45.

[161] C.R. Leslie, *The Life and Letters of John Constable R.A.*, (London: Chapman & Hall, 1896), 274.

[162] Sullivan, "A Sculptural Gift and the History of the Earth. Sir Francis Chantrey, William Buckland, and the Geological Milieu," 81.

sportsmanship in hunting and fishing, a dedication that stretched to ownership of a fishery on the River Lea and membership of the exclusive Houghton Fishing Club, which he joined in 1824.[163] Membership of the club fostered social connections and commissions, and granted fishing rights to a stretch of the river Test in Hampshire, widely recognised as the birthplace of modern fly-fishing.[164] Chantrey's friends Jones, Turner, and the chemist and physicist William Hyde Wollaston were among the close-knit club's members.[165] Angling and hunting trips, such as Chantrey, Turner and Jones' frequent group trips to fish at Petworth, the seat of the Earl of Egremont, facilitated social gatherings and connections with potential clients, and further signalled their manly, English, and aristocratic shooting, hunting, and fishing credentials.[166]

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TOURISM

Aside from travelling for fishing and socialising Chantrey often travelled to meet with clients, such as his trips to Hafod in Wales in 1811 and Edinburgh in Scotland in 1812 to negotiate commissions.[167] He also travelled for pleasure, taking tourist trips to France in 1814 and 1815, Italy in 1819, and a series of walking tours around his native Derbyshire between 1818 and 1823. Jones' biography described Chantrey's experiences in Italy, published eight years after the sculptor's death.[168] He framed the trip as a venture combining "business and pleasure," and dedicated fifty-three pages of his biography to painstakingly describing Chantrey's visit in great detail.[169] Chantrey's walking tours of Derbyshire with his friend Ebenezer Rhodes, were

[163] New River Company and Francis Chantrey, "Correspondence With The Company About The Fishery At Ware," Thames Water Predecessors, London Metropolitan Archives, London, ACC/2558/MW/C/15/368; Melvyn C. Usselman, *Pure Intelligence: The Life of William Hyde Wollaston,* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2015), 332.

[164] Usselman, *Pure Intelligence*, 332

[165] Herbert Maxwell, *Chronicles of the Houghton Fishing Club 1822-1908,* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), 34.

[166] Thornbury, *The Life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A.*, 1.

[167] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[168] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 78.

[169] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 78.

publicised through *Peak Scenery; Or, The Derbyshire Tourist* (1818 – 1823). Published in four parts, the project culminated in a collected quarto edition released in 1824. Rhodes, a Yorkshire-born cutler with ambitions to become a writer and topographer, had been a close friend of the sculptor since his time in Sheffield.[170] Written by Rhodes and illustrated by Chantrey, *Peak Scenery* was a picturesque walking tour of Derbyshire modelled after the work of William Gilpin.[171] An exploration of these published narratives of Chantrey's internal and international tourist trips illustrates his publicised national viewpoints and demonstrates his regional Derbyshire fame, an enduring part of his public reputation.

The first part of *Peak Scenery*, whose twelve sections describe the walk from Abbey Dale to Tideswell, was published in May 1818, and according to Holland, was favourably received by the public.[172] In his introduction, Rhodes expressed his thanks to Chantrey, stating that "remote as this interesting part of the kingdom is from his present residence, he has repeatedly visited it, uninfluenced by considerations of expense, for the purpose of making a series of drawings for this production, which have been gratuitously presented to the writer, as a token of his friendship, and a mark of his attachment to his native county."[173] Holland's later biography also attests to Chantrey's attachment to Derbyshire, opening with a quotation from Sir Henry Russell declaring that, for the sculptor, this was one of pride in his place of origin, his humble beginnings, and his subsequent self-improvement. Russell noted that he "found Chantrey fond of talking of the humbleness of his own origin: the feeling that he took from it was one of pride, and not of shame: he felt what he was and was proud of accompanying it with what he had been."[174] *Peak Scenery* can be considered the first work of many which drew on Chantrey's vocal regional patriotism for Derbyshire and celebrated his fidelity to his county of birth and his appreciation of the beauty of its natural landscape. Two subsequent publications inspired by *Peak Scenery* are Mary Sterndale's *Vignettes of Derbyshire* (1824) and Croston's *Chantrey's Peak Scenery;*

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[170] Charlotte Fell-Smith rev. Elizabeth Baigent, "Rhodes, Ebenezer (1762–1839,)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 14 August 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23450.

[171] Rhodes notes that Gilpin largely overlooked Derbyshire and states in his Introduction that he aims to rectify this. Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 106; Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 17.

[172] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 104.

[173] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, xiv.

[174] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey, Sculptor*, 1.

or, Views of Derbyshire (1886).[175] *Chantrey's Peak Scenery* was published over forty years after the sculptor's death and reiterated information from previous sources. It was illustrated with Chantrey's drawings for Rhodes' *Peak Scenery* engraved by W.B. and G. Cooke and its biographical information, penned by Croston, perpetuated the usual narrative of the sculptor's life and work, and his ascendance from milk boy sculpting an "Old Dame's Christmas pie crust" to his position as "the English Phidias."[176] Its author, Croston, author of a number of preceding topographical books on walks through Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, had been eleven in the year of the sculptor's death and had no familial link to Chantrey.

Sterndale's *Vignettes of Derbyshire* persuasively presents Chantrey as being uniquely influenced by Derbyshire and the natural world. Sterndale, one of Chantrey's Sheffield acquaintances, dedicated *Vignettes of Derbyshire* to Chantrey: "To him whose talents have added distinction to Derbyshire, and destined Norton to be immortalized with the name of Chantry [sic], even as Urbino became with that of Raphaelle, these shadows of his native county are most respectfully inscribed."[177] Sterndale dedicates a chapter to discussing Norton, and highlights its location as Chantrey's birthplace, using language relating to plant growth: "there the germs of genius were first unfolded;" subtly conveying to readers that the sculptor's later attention to "the proportions of nature" was instilled by his rural birthplace.[178] She gently states that "all that works together in the gifted mind," including these proportions of nature, "first met his eye and ear" in Norton before he underwent any formal artistic training. She directly implies that the key attributes of Chantrey's artistic vision were absorbed in childhood from the sights and sounds of his local vicinity.[179] This presentation of Chantrey is markedly similar to Cunningham's article on Chantrey in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* of April 1820. As Sullivan has argued, Cunningham, Chantrey's studio manager, presents the sculptor in keeping with his own principles as "a *naturmensch*, clearly linked to the *English* soil of his native Norton" and "schooled not by masters but by nature." Sterndale used similar

[175] Mary Sterndale, *Vignettes of Derbyshire,* (London: G and W.B. Whittaker, 1824); James Croston, *Chantrey's Peak Scenery,* (Derby: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1886).

[176] Croston, *Chantrey's Peak Scenery*, 10, 9.

[177] Sterndale, *Vignettes of Derbyshire*, iv.

[178] Sterndale, *Vignettes of Derbyshire*, 97.

[179] Sterndale, *Vignettes of Derbyshire*, 97.

language to Cunningham, who as Sullivan explains, stresses Chantrey's connection to physical landscape by use of natural symbol: "Chantrey's genius 'grows' and as it achieves strength 'no force on earth can hold it back.'" Rhodes evidently also drew on Cunningham's writing and his argument that Chantrey, a "pure emanation of English genius" was not seeking to emulate Greek gods but to "personify the strength and the beauty of the 'mighty island.'" [180] Chantrey's presence looms largest in the fourth and final volume of *Peak Scenery,* when Rhodes' walks reach Norton, Chantrey's birthplace. Rhodes dedicates Section II of Volume IV to recounting a *Memoir of Chantrey the Sculptor*, the first memoir of the sculptor to be published. He concludes by clearly and strongly stating that Chantrey was "leaving to others the gods of the heathen and the cold mystical allegory that has too long degraded his profession."[181] Instead, Rhodes presents Chantrey's "purpose" as to "hand down to posterity the national character of his countrymen" through his sculptural creations, a message undoubtedly approved by Chantrey prior to publication.[182]

Chantrey took an active role in the production of *Peak Scenery*, setting up headquarters with Rhodes at pubs nestled in the peak countryside, and from these lodgings the pair set out to walk, sketch, and write in each other's company for weeks on end.[183] Holland recounts that Chantrey wrote to Rhodes in early January 1820, inquiring as to the third part of *Peak Scenery*, which was "*loudly* [sic] called for" and suggesting a meeting in the Peak, since "an excursion in winter may supply the shop with a new article."[184] Holland additionally published excerpts from Chantrey's letters to Rhodes which further reflect the sculptor's commitment to the project, and his awareness of its positive effect on his public popularity – Rhodes was besieged by requests for "autographs" (signatures) of the artist, which he cut from letters he had received from Chantrey.[185] Newspaper advertisements for the newly-published volumes of *Peak Scenery* placed emphasis on Chantrey's role in the publication, devoting the majority of the notice to describing how his engravings were "executed

[180] Allan Cunningham, "Francis Chantrey, Sculptor," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, April 1820, no 37, vol 7 (London and Edinburgh 1820), 9.

[181] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 289.

[182] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 289.

[183] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 108.

[184] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 113.

[185] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 108.

in a style of great beauty."[186] The advert highlights *Peak Scenery* as evidence of Chantrey's regional patriotism, repeating the line that "the engravings which accompany this work were presented to the author" by Chantrey "as a token of friendship, and a mark of attachment to his native country."[187]

Regional domestic tourist guides were described by John Byng in his 1782 tour of the West Country as "the very rage of our times," and Rhodes' volume played into an enduring popular trend for tourist guides to England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. These guides offered recommendations of sightseeing and local history mediated by personal narratives, and were accompanied by maps of the walking routes, identical in style to the maps which form frontispieces to each part of *Peak Scenery*.[188] Rhodes followed these late-eighteenth-century conventions faithfully and *Peak Scenery* shows no indication of the synoptic and impersonal handbooks of Murray, Black, and Baedeker which were to become prevalent by the mid-nineteenth century.[189] Rhodes and Chantrey's rambles predated the inception of railway in Derbyshire, and were conducted on foot and by carriage. Their domestic tourism refused other branches of Industrialisation in favour of the rural and traditional which in turn created an illusion of untouched nature. Chantrey's familiarity with the literary genre of the picturesque walking tour is evident from the contents of his personal library, which included copies of James Boswell's *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* (1785), Edward Wedlake Brayley's topographical writings on Derbyshire, a volume of antiquaries Daniel and Samuel Lysons' *Magna Britannia, Being A Concise Topographical Account of the Several Counties of Great Britain,* focusing on Derbyshire (1817), and Gilpin's *Observations on the Western parts of England* (1798).[190] Chantrey devoted time and effort to present himself to a public readership

[186] Anon, "Books Published This Day," *The Times*, (London, England), 20 Dec 1819, 4.

[187] Anon, "Books Published This Day," 4.

[188] Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England. Taste, Travel And The Rise Of Tourism,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 12.

[189] Ousby, *The Englishman's England*, 12. For more on English guide books, see John Vaughan, *The English Guide Book c.1780 – 1870: An Illustrated History*, (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1974).

[190] Anon, *A Catalogue of the Elegant Library of Sir Francis Chantrey R.A., Deceased. Which will be Sold by Auction by Messrs Christie & Manson. At their Great Room, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, On Tuesday, May 10th, 1842, And Two Following Days; at One o' Clock, precisely. May be viewed Saturday and Monday preceding and Catalogues had*.

as part of an English literary and artistic tradition of picturesque internal tourism of English localities.

Chantrey's twenty-nine illustrations, etched by the Cookes, can be neatly sorted into three popular categories for the conventional domestic tourist guidebook: country houses; ancient monuments, ruins and historic houses; and the most prominent of these, the natural landscape.[191] Rhodes provides a list of Chantrey's plates in the Quarto edition, indicating that "copies of the plates may be had separately" at the cost of 12 pounds 12 shillings a set or 14 shillings for individual plates.[192] In keeping with this literary tradition, Chantrey's *'View From Near Reynards Hall, Dove Dale, Derbyshire'* (Fig 5), '*Middleton Dale*'(Fig 6), and '*Northern Entrance into Dovedale'* (Fig 7), can be firmly located within the visual traditions of the Picturesque.[193] The arrangement of rock faces and bushes in *Northern Entrance into Dovedale* utilises the common tripartite structure and repoussoir subject, and together with the river or stream winds its way through the composition to create a focal point in the middle distance.[194] Chantrey's overlaid rock faces to the sides of the composition echo Gilpin's description of Picturesque landscape forms as "something like the scenes of a playhouse, retiring behind each other."[195] A number of Chantrey's landscapes are united by the river Dove, which winds in a serpentine form and neatly divides the compositional space of *'View from near Reynards Hall, Dove Dale, Derbyshire*.' Further referencing the larger visual tradition, the majority of his landscapes feature small figures. These are subdued by the grandeur of the natural landscape which towers over them, and in keeping with the tradition, all are lower-class rural figures from agricultural labourers and anglers to walkers.[196] Chantrey's proficiency at sketching from nature and architecture both at home and abroad was remarked upon by Rhodes, Jones, and Holland, who dedicated a chapter of his biography to

[191] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 372; Ousby, *The Englishman's England. Taste*, 4.

[192] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 372.

[193] It is worth nothing that 'Reynards Hall' is not a building, but a local nickname for a particular cavern, E. Ward, *The Matlock, Buxton and Castleton Guide*, (Birmingham, W.Ward, 1826), 26.

[194] Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque. Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain , 1760 – 1800*, (California: Stanford University Press, 1989), 29.

[195]Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 29.

[196] John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730 – 1840*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 24.

Chantrey's pencil sketches.[197]

Rhodes implies that Chantrey chose the subjects of his drawings on their Derbyshire rambles from happenstance observations. This implication was later supported by Holland, who recounted an event in which Chantrey and Rhodes were sitting at an inn in Hathersage, and, looking out of a window, the sculptor remarked to his friend "I should like to make a sketch of the bit of scenery before us; but I want a figure in it – just go and sit upright on yon stone."[198] The insinuation that the illustrations reflect Chantrey's aesthetic taste and his summative impression of Derbyshire carried weight in terms of his self-presentation as part of a polite culture of learned societies.[199] A consummate networker with a wide range of scientific and historical interests, Chantrey's professional membership of learned London societies ranged from the Geological Society of London (from 1814) to The RA and The Royal Society (both from 1816), both of which shared their Strand-frontage rooms with the Society of Antiquaries of London.[200] As Rosemary Sweet has summarised, in the late-eighteenth-century "an interest in antiquities was the mark of a gentleman and a patriot; and the Society of Antiquaries could boast a fashionable, genteel, and rapidly growing membership," undoubtedly one from which Chantrey could gain social connections and commissions as well as further knowledge.[201] He was proposed as a potential Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries by politician Sir Robert Harry Inglis in February 1819, and formally elected and admitted to the society as a member in April that year.[202] The minutes for the meeting on 25th February 1819 record that the committee considered Chantrey as "a gentleman conversant in the history and antiquities of this kingdom" and thus "likely to prove a useful and valuable

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[197] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 27; Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 287.

[198] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 108.

[199] Rosemary Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* (Winter 2001): 197; For a wider study of antiquaries see Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2004).

[200] Hamilton, *A Strange Business*, 35. For more on the impact of Chantrey's networking on his business commissions, see Potts, "Chantrey As The National Sculptor Of Early 19th - Century England:" 17-27.

[201] Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England": 182.

[202] Chantrey's election is listed in the Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1819, held at the Society of Antiquaries of London Archives, London. It is uncatalogued and has no record number.

member."[203] It is probable that the proposal of Chantrey as a potential member of the Society was encouraged by his contribution to Volume I of *Peak Scenery*. Published in May 1818, Volume I is steeped in a literary tradition of antiquarian observations as an adjunct to topographical writings, and more significantly, features engravings of Chantrey's drawings of Beauchief Abbey and Anglo-Saxon stone crosses at Eyam and Bakewell.[204] It is clear why Chantrey's illustrations would have been seen as significant evidence of his antiquarian credentials, given the sense in early-nineteenth-century antiquarian circles that Anglo-Saxon monuments had suffered scholarly neglect.[205] Furthermore, the Society of Antiquaries was becoming receptive to viewing illustrations as reliable visual records in their own right, divorced from texts, and to considering monuments themselves as integral to the understanding of the history of the country.[206] As Colin Kidd has shown, the cultural construction of English national identities, and thus national patriotism, were dependent on a sense of national past and national heritage, for which antiquarian study provided the empirical basis.[207] He identifies the study of ancient Britons, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons as particularly influential to the creation of national identities, both local and national.[208] Chantrey's attention to Derbyshire's historic monuments and sites indicated a desire for their preservation and a recognition of their aesthetic and cultural value.

Three of Chantrey's drawings for *Peak Scenery* depict fragments of crosses: two Anglo-Saxon standing stone crosses dating from 7th – 9th centuries, the *'Cross in Eyam Church-yard'* (Fig 8) and *'Cross in Bakewell Church-yard'* (Fig 9), and the later 14th – 15th century *'Cross at Wheston'* (Fig 10).[209] Rhodes' accompanying discussion

[203] Despite this expectation, Chantrey submitted no communications or material to the society, and his involvement was probably limited to attendance of society meetings and social gatherings; Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1819.

[204] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 375.

[205] Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England": 194.

[206] Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England":194.

[207] Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). See also: Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz, eds., *Producing the Past. Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice, 1700-1850,* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

[208] Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism*, 40.

[209] For a comprehensive overview of crosses in the area, see Neville T Sharpe, *Crosses of the Peak District,* Ashbourne: Landmark Publishing, 2002.

of the crosses assumes a conversational rather than an academic tone, remarking that "the traveller fond of antiquarian research will be fond of the rare relique [sic]" at Eyam Churchyard, and describing it in broad non-specific terms as "curiously ornamented and embossed," with "rude sculpture" of "Danish or Saxon origin".[210] Despite describing the sculptural quality of the Eyam and Bakewell crosses as inferior to Roman work, Rhodes attributes value to them, and laments the supposed harmful neglect of the crosses by Derbyshire inhabitants, and the poor antiquarian attention given to them.[211] Rhodes specifically criticises William Bray for his "rudely executed etchings" of the Bakewell Cross included in his *Sketch of a Tour into Derbyshire* (1783) which he claims show no regard for its "origin and history."[212] Rhodes' implication is clear – Chantrey's drawings express superior skill at drawing and his educated antiquarian eye. His drawings of the two Anglo-Saxon cross shafts pay close attention to the details of the vine-scroll carving and to the effects of weathering and damage to the stones themselves. In his framing of both scenes Chantrey presents a narrative of the history of stone carving in England through the placement of tombstones to the left of each cross; and demonstrates his familiarity with the history of his chosen profession within England, specifically Derbyshire. Another clear comparison posed by Chantrey's drawing is between the carving of the crosses' vine scrolls' stems, leaves, and berries, and the plants growing around the base of each stone. He simultaneously demonstrates his close attention to the natural forms of different species of plants and aligns himself with a sculptural tradition heavily influenced by natural forms. Chantrey's decision to collaborate with Rhodes on *Peak Scenery* and to focus in part on English antiquities, can be read as a direct response to the predominant English cultural interest in classical antiquities: their collection, study, and emulation by contemporary sculptors.[213]

This is not to suggest that Chantrey dismissed or disliked classical antiquities: his visit to Paris in 1815 was reportedly motivated by a desire to view classical

[210] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 44.

[211] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 44.

[212] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 133.

[213] For a comprehensive study, see: Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste And The Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500 – 1900,* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1981), Alison Yarrington and Cinzia Sicca, eds., *Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy, c.1700 – c.1860,* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000).

sculptures at the Louvre. He travelled to Paris with his wife Mary Anne Chantrey, and his friends Mr Stothard, and Mr Alexander. Jones recounts that Chantrey had discerning taste: "if works were not of first-rate quality he gave them little attention."[214] In Holland's later biography he notes that Chantrey's later trip to Italy greatly "extended Chantrey's knowledge and appreciation of Italian art, beyond the acquaintance he had previously formed with it in the treasures of the Louvre and other spoils of Napoleon at Paris."[215] Chantrey departed for Italy on the 16th of August 1819 with his lifelong Derbyshire-born friend John Read, the Yorkshire-born painter and Royal Academician John Jackson, and a "Mr. Bramsen" to act as guide and interpreter.[216] Notably, Chantrey's international tourism ran parallel to his national tourism. He toured Italy between August and December 1819, during the production of *Peak Scenery*.[217]

The most in-depth account of Chantrey's experiences in Italy is provided by Jones' biography.[218] However, his lengthy account is rife with inconsistencies and contradictions, and cannot be relied upon for truth or accuracy. He laments that Chantrey did not "commit to paper his opinions, so that few can be known except by the recollections of his friends," and yet relates the sculptor's opinions on a whole range of Italian paintings and sculptures for over thirty pages. Jones claimed to have garnered this information from conversations he had held with Chantrey and from Chantrey's lost pocket books and sketch books, none of which he quotes directly whereas he elsewhere quotes at length from Chantrey's notes and letters.[219] Nonetheless, Jones' biography became the touchstone for information on Chantrey's experiences in Italy. Jones presents an idealised image of Chantrey as a British sculptor who rejects corrupting foreign influence, stating that his "journey through Italy seems to have been in furtherance of his desire to learn what to avoid rather than what to adopt."[220]

Jones' Chantrey begins his trip with a business venture – he acquires blocks of

[214] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 16.

[215] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 104.

[216] Yarrington, "Anglo-Italian Attitudes. Chantrey and Canova," 142.

[217] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 78.

[218] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 78.

[219] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 25.

[220] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 36.

fine marble at the quarries at Carrara, where his reputation has travelled ahead of him and Italian workmen treat him with respect.[221] From Carrara, Jones relates, Chantrey travelled north to Venice, finally arriving in Rome in mid-October where he engaged apartments at a hotel and spent many weeks travelling around Rome and Florence, viewing art and visiting fellow sculptors.[222] Jones' narrative of Chantrey's trip to Rome does not follow established narrative tropes – the sculptor visits to do business, to socialise and observe, and not to study or work. A typical biographical travel narrative such as Vertue's eighteenth-century account of Chantrey's predecessor Peter Scheemakers assiduously copying antique statues in Rome, implies that the aim of travel was to work with a particular celebrated foreign master or to learn from copying antique statues or continental models.[223] Although cautious not to incite debate or cause offence, Jones' Chantrey is often disparaging of antique sculptures, critical of old masters, and he visits contemporary foreign masters Bertel Thorvaldsen and Canova because he is "fond of society" rather than wishing to pursue training or to gain inspiration.[224]

Jones characterised Chantrey's attitude to Italy and its art and architecture as interested but not wholly respectful, his approach cautious to accord with popular taste in admiring renowned works, but inconsiderate of historical and classical background. He describes Chantrey as subjecting all art he viewed in Italy to a straightforwardly sensible evaluation in terms of merit and his preference for grace and simplicity.[225] He recounts that Chantrey admired the Italian landscape and sketched many views throughout his travels, including a view of the buildings of Piazza Di Spagna.[226] However, Jones sets Chantrey apart from other travellers and grand tourists by stating that "he was not prepared to go the length of travellers in Italy with respect to the ruins and antiquities of Rome; he selected and intensely admired a few."[227] Chantrey's strong sense of quality did, however, stretch to admiring the more famous examples

[221] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 25.

[222] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 25.

[223] Malcolm Baker, "Sculptors' Lives And Sculptors' Travels," in *Figured in Marble. The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, Malcolm Baker, (London: V&A Publications, 2000), 24.

[224] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 29.

[225] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 24.

[226] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 28.

[227] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 25.

of ancient art to be found on the continent. Jones explained that though Chantrey detested portrait busts he viewed, "the well-known and often described specimens of ancient sculpture found in him a ready admirer."[228] Such well-known specimens included the *Laocoön* and the *Apollo Beldevere* which Chantrey reportedly admired in the Vatican.[229] Jones notes that Chantrey "went to St Peter's and the Vatican, with the intention of taking merely a cursory view, for which he thought an hour or two might be sufficient; but his interest was excited and he remained there till late in the day."[230] Jones undermines this statement with an anecdote about how Chantrey was found sound asleep in the Vatican in front of a "celebrated statue," which "never could have happened before the marbles in the British Museum."[231] The marbles in question are The Parthenon marbles, which Jones willingly credits with inspiring Chantrey, commenting "Chantrey never sought any style on which to build his own, or, if he had any example it was in the treatment of the Marbles of the Parthenon, for his statues and portraiture evidently partake of that character of art."[232] Removed from Athens between 1801 and 1805 by Lord Elgin, the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire and acquired by the British Museum, the marbles were put on public display in 1816.[233] Upon their arrival in London, the Parthenon sculptures, credited to Phidias, sparked a renewal of interest in ancient Greek culture and became a focal point of reference for sculptors working in Britain.[234] Both Rhodes and Jones highlighted Chantrey's admiration for the British-owned Parthenon marbles, and credited them with sharing and influencing his aesthetic style.[235] In *Peak Scenery*, Rhodes positions the Parthenon marbles as the catalyst for the young Chantrey to choose a career as a sculptor over that of a painter. "During this period of doubt and indecision," Rhodes recounts, Chantrey "visited the Elgin marbles, these perfect resemblances of nature

[228] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 31.

[229] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 25.

[230] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 26.

[231] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 78.

[232] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 78.

[233] Ian Jenkins, *The Parthenon Frieze*, (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 12.

[234] Matthew Craske, "Reviving the School of Phidias: the Invention of a National School of Sculpture (1780-1830,)" *Visual Culture in Britain*, (Winter 2006): 25.

[235] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 278; Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 78.

and simplicity" which "confirmed in him his own notions of excellence."[236] As Stevens has observed, the influence of the Parthenon marbles on Chantrey's early style is evident in his monuments to *Major-General Bowes* (1812) and *Colonel Cadogan* (1814) for St Paul's Cathedral. Both feature reliefs of overlapping soldiers in a line, which reference the overlapping horses of the Parthenon frieze.[237]

In Jones' narrative of Chantrey's trips to Paris and Rome, he is too full of good common sense to be excited into "superlative estimation" for anything he viewed abroad. Jones' Chantrey appreciates but never emulates; he resists developing an association with a foreign artistic tradition and returns to Britain with his approach unchanged.[238] Together Jones' account and *Peak Scenery* present Chantrey as the exemplar of a national artist. Whilst not entirely indifferent to continental classicism and neoclassicism, he works in Britain, studies from existing British metropolitan collections such as the British Museum's Parthenon marbles, and is inspired by the British natural world, its flora and fauna, its ruins, and its ancient sculptures. *Peak Scenery* advertised Chantrey's regional patriotism whilst Jones' posthumous account of his foreign travels attested to his knowledge of, and admiration for, old master paintings and "famous examples" of classical sculptures. During his lifetime, Chantrey demonstrated this knowledge and admiration through activities as a collector.

CHANTREY THE COLLECTOR

During his trips abroad, Chantrey cherry-picked statues he wished to commission in plaster for his own London sculpture gallery. His casts from the antique were initially displayed at the sculptor's house in Eccleston Street, Pimlico in a decorated, plastered, and heated display space open to any visitor, allowing him to publicise his admiration of antique Greek sculpture to a public audience.[239] In 1830, Chantrey purchased another property in Belgrave Place, Pimlico and relocated the sculpture gallery to a grander space on the first floor with an ornate ante-room designed by John Soane.[240]

[236] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 278.

[237] Stevens, "Chantrey, Sir Francis Leggatt (1781–1841)."

[238] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 32.

[239] Sullivan, *Sir Francis Chantrey and The Ashmolean Museum*, 31.

[240] Sullivan, Sir Francis Chantrey and The Ashmolean Museum, 31.

In the same sculpture gallery, Chantrey displayed his own plaster models for busts, tablets, free-standing figures, and monuments, placed carefully alongside this collection of antique casts.[241] Chantrey's cast gallery served as a vehicle for self-promotion, an educational resource for students, and a stopping point on an itinerary of metropolitan collections. His personal collection attested to his advocacy for British artists drawing on English collections for inspiration. Chantrey's cast collection provides crucial context to understanding the geographical remit of his Bequest, and its aim of forming a British national collection.

Jones recorded that "The Laocoön was the chief ornament of his statue gallery," which also included an "Apollo," a "Diana," and a "Gladiator," but that the "Elgin marbles had his highest esteem."[242] It is clear from a watercolour of the ante-room by Charles James Richardson that the *Laocoön* was placed in a direct line of sight from a visitor's approach, neatly framed in the doorway from the ante-room (Fig 11).[243] Two full-length statues are depicted standing to the right of the doorway. One of these can be identified as a cast of the *Townley Caryatid* from its stiffly outstretched right arm and calyx of the Lotus on its head. Excavated in Rome in the 16th century, the statue was donated to the British Museum in 1805 by collector Charles Townley, where Chantrey undoubtedly viewed it.[244] The sculptor owned plaster copies of a number of famous ancient sculptures which he had viewed at the Louvre on his trip to Paris in 1815, including the Hellenistic *Venus de Milo*, the plaster of which he had shipped to Britain in 1822.[245] Chantrey's ownership of the *Venus* cast was noted by William Etty in a letter of 1823.[246] The "Gladiator" which Jones refers to is probably the Hellenistic *Borghese Gladiator*, which the sculptor could have viewed on display at the Louvre in 1815.[247] Rhodes details three further casts from the Louvre: an

[241] Sullivan, *Sir Francis Chantrey and The Ashmolean Museum*, 31

[242] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 76.

[243] Sullivan, *Sir Francis Chantrey and The Ashmolean Museum*, 33.

[244] B. F. Cook, *The Townley Marbles*, (London: The British Museum Press, 1985), 38.

[245] Sir Francis Chantrey, Letter to Thomas Lawrence, 8th March 1822, Sir Thomas Lawrence Letters and Papers 1777-1831, Royal Academy of Arts Archives, London, LAW/4/6.

[246] William Etty, Letter to Sir Thomas Lawrence, 14th November 1823, Sir Thomas Lawrence Letters and Papers 1777-1831, Royal Academy of Arts Archives, London, LAW/4/169.

[247] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 16.

"Antinous," a "Germanicus," and a "Venus de Medici."[248] It can be inferred from Jones' biography that Chantrey probably purchased further plaster casts in Italy, as he details that Chantrey spent a long afternoon in the Vatican during his visit to Rome, where he admired both the *Laocoön* and the *Apollo Belvedere*, casts of which he later displayed in his sculpture gallery.[249] Following his death, the sculptor's body was laid out in its winding sheet in the part of the sculpture gallery designed by Soane for mourners to pay their respects.[250] Holland recounts the words of a journalist, who stated that "above were wax lights burning clearly, and all around a collection of the finest casts from the antique. The Laocoon was at his head, the Venus and the Apollo on his right and left, and around the room the Ilissus and the Theseus and other of the glories of Greece, with one or two of Canova's own casts."[251]

The gallery acted as tool for winning clients, an exhibition space to showcase his cast collection, and, in the words of Sullivan, as a "contemporary national Pantheon" formed of the corpus of worthies sculpted by Chantrey.[252] Chantrey consciously aligned himself with popular cosmopolitan taste and physically aligned his works with a classical artistic tradition through his London sculpture gallery. As no record remains of the precise arrangement of the gallery, it is unclear if this was an alignment of comparison or of implied continuation, a classical Greek inheritance. A contemporary journal by a Devon traveller, Henry Woolcombe demonstrates that by the 1820s, Chantrey's sculpture gallery had become part of an itinerary that included the British Museum and the National Picture Gallery.[253] According to Rhodes, the sculptor's galleries acted as a resource for young artists who were permitted to use the casts "for practice and improvement."[254]

Whilst not opposed to young sculptors travelling abroad, Chantrey's reportedly believed that artists should visit Italy once their careers were established, and their style was fixed, so they might study the works of others "in order to decorate or

[248] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 285.

[249] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 25.

[250] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 329.

[251] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 329.

[252] Sullivan, *Sir Francis Chantrey and The Ashmolean Museum*, 31.

[253] Sullivan, *Sir Francis Chantrey and The Ashmolean Museum*, 31.

[254] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 285.

strengthen their own style without injuring its originality."[255] Jones recorded that Chantrey disagreed with the RA practice of allowing students to remain in Rome for three years, and believed that a better plan would be to give them a sum of money to travel under "certain restrictions" which Jones didn't detail.[256] One popular and oft-repeated anecdote about Chantrey's views on artists studying in Rome is that of his visit to Gibson's studio in the Via Fontanella, Rome. Gibson's biography recounts that Chantrey "asked me how long I had been in Rome. I said, 'Three years,' and that I hoped to remain another three years. He then observed "One three years is enough to spoil you, or any other artist."[257] Chantrey's reported disapproval of British artists living and working in Rome evidently became part of his posthumous reputation. In 1904, in the midst of the Crewe Inquiry into the administration of the Chantrey Bequest, it was ventured that the limitation of Chantrey's Will which prevents the purchase of works produced outside of the British Isles was directly due to a strong desire to prevent British artists living and working in Rome.[258]

Instead of living and working abroad, Chantrey reportedly believed that students should make use of collections in Britain, and desired that greater effort be put into advancing British Art schools. Jones lists "the British Museum, with the Townley Marbles and Elgin Marbles," the National Gallery, a collection at Windsor [presumably the Royal Collection!], and the private collection of the Earl of Ellesmere as institutions which Chantrey believed were good examples of valuable British collections.[259] The collection of the first Earl of Ellesmere, Francis Leveson Gower, held at Worsley Hall in Salford, contained old master paintings, including Titian's *Diana And Acteon* (1556 – 1559), and contemporary British art, such as Edwin Landseer's *Return From Hawking* (1803 – 7).[260] Chantrey's formation of his own plaster cast collection can be viewed in part as an attempt to construct another British

[255] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 191.

[256] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 191.

[257] Thomas Matthews, *The Biography of John Gibson, R.A., Sculptor, Rome*, (London: William Heineman, 1911), 53.

[258] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904, (*London: Wyman and Sons, 1904), 253.

[259] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 192.

[260] "Earls of Ellesmere," University of Salford Archives, accessed 14th August 2017, http://www.salford.ac.uk/library/archives-and-special-collections/worsley/Ellesmere-Earls

educational resource, given his willingness to admit public visitors and students, and his personal choice of casts from French and Italian collections.

Chantrey's reported advocacy of British collections of foreign art but his renouncing of the convention of artists living and working abroad seems to imply that the sculptor believed that the experience of living and working in a foreign country would influence the character of an inexperienced artist's work in a way which viewing foreign art on British soil would not. In forming a publicly-accessible collection, Chantrey created a space which effectively echoed the purpose of an artist's visit abroad by facilitating assiduous study of both casts from the antique and from a contemporary master, himself, all within the safe confines of the borders of the British Isles, and London specifically.

CHANTREY THE BENEFACTOR

Following Chantrey's death in 1842, Mary Anne Chantrey fulfilled her husband's wish that his plaster cast collection be given to Oxford's University Galleries.[261] This was one of several formal and informal gifts for which Chantrey had made provision. In his Will, Chantrey left instructions for the education of local boys of Norton, a stipend for the Vicar of the parish of Norton, and the Chantrey Bequest.[262] The objectives of Chantrey's Bequest become clearer when considered in relation to his intention to gift his cast collection, the views he shared with Turner, and the value he placed on pre-existing collections in Britain as a resource for students of art.

Chantrey's gift of his plaster cast collection was not explicitly laid out in his Will; he did not specifically direct that the casts be preserved in their entirety, instead instructing his executors to "destroy such drawings, models, and casts as they may in their controlled judgement consider not worthy of being preserved."[263] The collection comprised plaster casts of nearly 170 busts, statues, and bas-reliefs produced by Chantrey's studio, together with his personal collection of around sixty casts from the

[261] Sullivan, "Chantrey and the Original Models," 289.

[262] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[263] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 358.

antique.[264] Acting under a 'verbal injunction' from Chantrey to preserve his models and in her role as executrix, Mary Anne Chantrey approached the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford offering the collection.[265] Under the conditions of the gift, these were placed together in a saloon of the new University Galleries, now The Ashmolean Museum (built 1842), which was to be named 'The Chantrey Gallery.'[266] In an overlap of his textual and visual legacy, Chantrey's friend and biographer Jones designed the proposed plan for the arrangement of Chantrey's casts in the gallery space.[267] Holland noted that "it is gratifying to be able to add that the assemblage of objects which formed for so many years the attraction of the sculptor's rooms during his life-time, has been preserved for the perpetual instruction of future ages."[268] A small percentage of this gift survives today in the collections of The Ashmolean.[269] The gifting of his cast collection to the University Galleries ensured that Chantrey's casts from the antique and of his own monumental works and portrait busts could continue to be used as a teaching resource on British soil after his death.[270]

Chantrey's other gifts, the annuity for the Vicar of Norton, the annuity for the education of local boys, and The Chantrey Bequest are included in his Will. The clause of Chantrey's Will which delineates The Chantrey Bequest runs from line 173 to 271. It directs that effective upon his death, Chantrey bequeaths the income from his personal estate, around £100,500 for life, to Lady Chantrey. Following her death or remarriage, the remainder was to be transferred to "the Royal Academy of Arts" to serve Chantrey's direction for his money to support "the encouragement of British fine art." The terms of the bequest charged the RA with the yearly purchase of works of painting and sculpture, anticipating that in time they would form a "Public National Collection of British Fine Art."[271] It begins:

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[264] Donna Kurtz, *The Reception of Classical Art in Britain: An Oxford Story of Plaster Casts from the Antique*, (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2000), 43.

[265] Sullivan, *Sir Francis Chantrey And The Ashmolean Museum*, 33.

[266] Sullivan, "Chantrey and the Original Models," 289, 303.

[267] Sullivan, "Chantrey and the Original Models," 289, 303; Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A, 35*.

[268] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 358.

[269] Sullivan, "Chantrey and the Original Models," 289.

[270] Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, 285.

[271] I will not quote the entire clause for reasons of clarity.

> And it is my desire and intention that after the death or second marriage of my said wife which ever shall first happen subject to the said annuities or such of them as shall for the time being be payable the clear income of my aforesaid residuary pure personal estate shall be devoted to the encouragement of 'British Fine Art in Painting and Sculpture only.'[272]

Chantrey explicitly named the RA as the administering institution, stating that "The trustees or trustee for the time being of this my Will do and shall pay over the same yearly and every year one or more payment or payments as they or he shall think proper to the President and Treasurer for the time being of the Association of Eminent Artists now known as constituting The Royal Academy of Arts in London." Regarding the eligibility for purchase of works of art, the Will states:

> purchase of Works of Fine Art of the highest merit in Painting and Sculpture that can be obtained either already executed or which may hereafter be executed by Artists of any Nation Provided such Artists shall have actually resided in Great Britain during the executing and completing such Works it being my express direction that no work of Art whether executed by a deceased or living Artist shall be purchased unless the same shall have been entirely executed within the Shores of Great Britain And my Will further is that in making such purchases preference shall on all occasions be given to works of the highest merit that can be obtained and that the prices to be paid for the same shall be liberal and shall be wholly in the discretion of the President and Council of the Royal Academy [...] And my Will further is that such President and Council in making their decision shall have regard solely to the intrinsic merit of the Work in question and not permit any feeling of sympathy for an Artist or his Family by reason of his or their circumstances or otherwise to influence them.[273]

During the 1904 Inquiry, Academician George Dunlop Leslie persuasively argued that Chantrey intended, by these restrictions regarding the purchase of art, to actively

[272] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[273] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

support the British art market. He stated that Chantrey "made no secret of his Will; he talked freely of it at his dinner table, and my father told me repeatedly, before Lady Chantrey died, the object of the Will and what he intended. I heard the same from Sir Edwin Landseer who knew him well."[274] Chantrey was reportedly disgusted to see pictures of "very distinguished artists" such as Constable, Turner, and William Hilton return unsold and believing "the buyers of pictures did not know their duty," "he meant to do something to remedy it."[275] According to Leslie, Chantrey "framed his Will with a view to what he called the encouragement of British Art, to encourage British artists to paint fine pictures - not to assist them in charity but to encourage them. If there was a sale for their pictures they would paint them. The demand provides the supply."[276] Whilst it seems clear from Leslie's account that Chantrey was concerned with actively supporting the art market in Britain, MacColl, art critic and Keeper of the Tate from 1906 to 1911, was eager to claim that Chantrey's aim was for a representative historical collection: "Chantrey would have wanted a collection representing British Art from Hogarth downwards - one good example of each man. I think that was his mind at the time."[277]

It is possible to hazard an informed guess as to Chantrey's intentions for the fund by considering the other, smaller bequests which he left in his Will.[278] On the proviso that his tomb in Norton Churchyard be looked after and "preserved from destruction," he left an annuity of "two hundred pounds free from legacy duty" to the Vicar of Norton, and fifty pounds of this annuity to the Schoolmaster of Norton, who he instructs to "personally instruct ten boys of the said parish of Norton chosen and

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[274] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 69.

[275] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 69.

[276] Notably, this approach of incentivising but not financially aiding individuals is the same approach adopted by Samuel Smiles in *Self-Help*. Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 69.

[277] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 76; H. B. Grimsditch, "MacColl, Dugald Sutherland (1859–1948,)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); accessed 9 November 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34687

[278] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

selected by said Vicar or Clergyman in reading writing arithmetic [sic] and other branches of general education free from any expense to the parents of such poor boys."[279] This was not Chantrey's first involvement with charitable efforts to benefit a community. He and Turner were both heavily involved in founding and establishing The Artists' General Benevolent Institution in 1814, which was dedicated to providing for the wives and children of ill, dead, or struggling artists.[280] This commitment to supporting the work of the Church of England and, in part, Norton as a community, together with Chantrey's founding role in The Artist's Benevolent Institution, suggests that his intentions for the Bequest fund may have been to subsidise and support the British art industry by supporting artists whose works were already on the open market. His clause stipulating that the Council should not be influenced by considerations of sympathy for the circumstances of the artist and his family, and should only purchase "works of the highest merit that can be obtained," suggests that he did not intend his Bequest to support to individual British artists but to support the British art industry and market as a whole.[281] This interpretation of the Bequest's intention moves away from the interpretative model of viewing the Bequest as a means to an end – that end being a static 'complete' collection, and instead frames it as a process of regular financial contribution to the art market and accumulative acquisition of artworks.

Chantrey's Will addressed the collective purpose and housing of the purchased works of art as follows:

> And it is my Wish and intention that the works of Art so purchased as aforesaid shall be collected for the purpose of forming and establishing a Public National Collection of British Fine Art in Painting and Sculture [sic] executed within the Shores of Great Britain in the confident expectation that whenever the Collection shall become or be of sufficient importance the Government or the Country will provide a suitable and proper building or accommodation for their preservation

[279] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[280] Sylvanus Urban, "Obituary – Sir Thomas Phillips, Esq. R.A.," *The Gentleman's Magazine,*(London: William Pickering; J. Bowyer Nichols & Son, 1845,) 368; The Artists' General Benevolent Institution's current incarnation can be viewed at http://www.agbi.co.uk/

[281] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

> and exhibition as the property of the Nation free of all charges whatever on my Estate. And it is my Wish that my trustee or trustees for the time being and the President and Council of the Royal Academy or of such other Society or Association as aforesaid shall use their best endeavours to carry my object into proper effect.[282]

Sam Smiles provides insight into Chantrey's aim to establish a collection of British Fine Art through his discussion of Turner's Bequest. Smiles observes that Turner named Chantrey as one of the executors of his Will, and that it seems likely that the two discussed their Bequests.[283] As Smiles has succinctly summarised, "the salient distinction between Chantrey and Turner's Bequests is, of course, that Chantrey set aside funds for the purchase of art works by others, whereas Turner left his own pictures to the nation. Nevertheless, Chantrey's Will echoes Turner's in its focus on the British School. This shared emphasis may be understood as a response to the growth and development of publicly-accessible collections in the early decades of the nineteenth century."[284]

Smiles provides a comprehensive overview of publicly-accessible London collections of art at the time of Turner's death (1851, ten years after Chantrey), which I will summarise here: private collections of old masters such as the Marquis of Stafford's gallery and Earl Grosvenor's picture gallery at Grosvenor House (opened every June and July from 1805); collections bought by Parliament for the nation such as Townley's collection of classical antiquities acquired for the British Museum in 1805; Lord Elgin's Parthenon marbles acquired for the British Museum in 1815; and Julius John Angerstein's paintings with which the National Gallery was established in 1824.[285] Other publicly-accessible collections were opened independently of government sponsorship, such as the Dulwich Picture Gallery in 1817, whilst acts of benefaction were also common: Viscount Fitzwilliam founded the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge in 1816 with a collection of engravings, medieval manuscripts, and 144 paintings by old masters, whilst Sir George Beaumont gave his collection of

[282] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[283] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner,* 36.

[284] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner,* 36.

[285] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner,* 36.

paintings to the National Gallery in 1826.[286]

Smiles emphasises how the majority of these publicly-accessible collections were characterised by their "predominantly orthodox taste, orientated primarily to works of classical antiquity and the old masters," and that British art was poorly represented in permanent collections.[287] According to Jones, Chantrey criticised the aristocracy's praise of foreign artists and preference for foreign art, claiming that it discouraged rising talent in Britain, and stating that patrons should instead "encourage the English to be true to themselves" through the purchase of English art.[288] Smiles cites a number of strong examples of individuals who helped to keep English art in public view during Chantrey's lifetime, including Walter Fawkes' holdings of Turner paintings and Soane's 1822 use of private act of Parliament in 1822 to transform his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields into a study collection, which contained works by fifty-three British painters and sculptors.[289] The third Earl of Egremont, well known to Chantrey, is another such individual, evidenced by his extensive collection of British sculpture at Petworth House on the South Downs.[290]

Chantrey's insistence that the works of fine art bought through his Bequest should have been made within Great Britain and subsequently form a public national collection can be read as a geographical widening of his belief that financial encouragement should be given to rising English artists in order to promote and encourage the national growth of the arts.

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[286] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner,* 36.

[287] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner,* 36.

[288] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 192.

[289] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner,* 37.

[290] For more on the Earl of Egremont's sculpture collection at Petworth see: John Kenworthy-Browne, "A Ducal Patron of Sculptors: The Gallery at Chatsworth," *Apollo* 96 (October 1972): 321-331; Kenworthy-Browne, "Lord Egremont And His Sculptors: The Collection At Petworth House, Sussex," *Country Life* (June 1973):1640-1642;
Kenworthy-Browne, "The Third Earl of Egremont and Neo-Classical Sculpture," *Apollo,* vol 105, no 183 (May 1977): 367-73; C. Powell, "The North Gallery At Petworth: A Historical Re-Appraisal," *Apollo,* 138 (1993): 29 – 36.

IN CONCLUSION

A gap of thirty-four years elapsed between Chantrey's death in December 1841 and the death of Mary Anne Chantrey in January 1875, upon which his Bequest became active. In the intervening years, Jones, Holland, and Smiles published their biographies of Chantrey, committing to paper a selection of well-publicised aspects of his character and opinions, including those discussed in this chapter. By 1875 many of Chantrey's close friends and acquaintances were also deceased, leaving few members of the RA who had experienced any personal connection with him. Consequently, understanding of his intentions to support the British art market and form a national collection through his Bequest necessarily depended upon written accounts of his life and opinions. The aspects of Chantrey's life and character which endured, including his national character, his John Bullishness, loyalty to the RA, and opinions on the growth of English art and national collections, affected the way in which his Bequest was administered. This would have a significant impact on which artists were deemed worthy of selection and ultimately, on the composition of the resulting national collection.

CHAPTER TWO – INSIDE THE ROYAL ACADEMY

To be purchased by the Chantrey Bequest, was, as one critic noted "a magic pronouncement, for to be bought for the nation means more than an incidental honour; it means that all future work that artist does will be anxiously looked for, given due regard when it appears, and that there will be meted towards even its shortcomings generous judgement."[291] In addition to this, purchase by the Bequest crucially ensured placement in a national collection in a formative period for public art galleries: the Bequest works were given temporary display at the SKM from 1878, and were transferred to the Tate Gallery from 1897 where they became part of the permanent collection.[292] Inclusion in the Bequest guaranteed that a sculptor's work would be part of an enduring national canon held in the capital, and due to its open accessibility it could be predicted that these works (and works held in other regional or global public collections) would be the works from which a sculptor's work would be judged over time, both critically and commercially. London was dotted with monumental works by the same sculptors, but placement in a gallery context directly identified a sculptor as the creator of a work and invited viewing of a work as first and foremost a work of art.[293] Exclusion from the collection, meanwhile, risked erasure from the public

[291] Anon, *The Windsor Magazine*¸ Vol 27 (London: Ward, Lock, and Bowden, 1908), 699.

[292] The paintings bought were transferred to the Tate Gallery in 1897 and the sculptural works bought by the Bequest were transferred to the Tate the following year.

[293] The Public Sculpture of Britain series constitutes a thorough survey of public sculpture across Britain: Richard Cocke, *Public Sculpture of Norfolk and Suffolk*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004); Edward Morris, Emma Roberts, Reg Phillips, and Timothy Stevens, *Public Sculpture of Cheshire and Merseyside (excluding Liverpool)*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012); Phillip Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculpture of Historic Westminster: Volume 1*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012); Fran Lloyd, Helen Potkin, and Davina Thackara, *Public Sculpture of Outer South and West London*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011); Douglas Merritt, Francis Greenacre, and Katherine Eustace, *Public Sculpture of Bristol*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011); George T. Noszlopy and Fiona Waterhouse, *Public Sculpture of Herefordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010); Terry Cavanagh, *Public Sculpture of South London*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007); George T. Noszlopy and Fiona Waterhouse, *Public Sculpture of Staffordshire and the Black Country*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005); Terry

perception of British sculpture.

The power of selecting artworks for purchase was in the hands of the RA.[294] Chantrey instructed that the responsibility of managing his Bequest would only be withdrawn "in the event of the title 'Royal' being withdrawn by the Crown or of the Royal Academy being dissolved."[295] However, it is evident Chantrey intended for his Bequest to be managed by the RA in perpetuity; his Will instructs that in this event the Bequest's administration should be handed to "any other Society or Association" formed by "the Last Members of The Royal Academy of Arts in London."[296] It seems evident from this insistence that Chantrey designed his Bequest with its future management by the RA as a central, integral part, and intended that the process be subject to the RA's institutional character and principles which he respected and admired. The early administration of the Bequest was an Academy affair, and by nature of this institutional tie, a London affair. However, the institution's scope was not a metropolitan one, but a national one - the RA confidently claimed to hold "without rivalry, by its dignified traditions and by the high character of its members and its Exhibitions, the supreme place among the artistic institutions of the Kingdom."[297] Sculptor Academician Hamo Thornycroft habitually referred to the Academy as "the RA Club" and it has been helpful to examine the Chantrey Bequest administration through the lens of a club, with the inward-focus, site-specificity, and

Wyke, *Public Sculpture of Greater Manchester*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003); George T. Noszlopy, *Public Sculpture of Warwickshire, Coventry and Solihull***,** (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003); Phillip Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculpture of the City of London*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003); Ray McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002); Terry Cavanagh, *Public Sculpture of Leicestershire and Rutland*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000); Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach, and Catherine Morris, *Public Sculpture of North-East England*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000); Terry Cavanagh, *Public Sculpture of Liverpool*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997).

[294] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[295] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[296] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[297] This letter, presumably from the Secretary of the RA, was objecting to the absence of artists on the Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery, Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1917*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1918), 73.

preferential treatment of its own members which this implies.[298]

The RA's control of the Bequest and its inward-focus attracted hostile criticism from the press, notably from writers for *The Saturday Review*, *The Athenaeum*, *The Times, The Daily Chronicle, The Spectator,* and *The Pall Mall Gazette.*[299] This critical pressure led to the 1904 Parliamentary Inquiry into the RA's management of the Bequest. Examples of the accusations levelled at the RA can be found in the writings of anti-academic critics Roger Fry and MacColl. In his 1903 article, "The Maladministration of the Chantrey Trust," MacColl claimed that the RA had perverted the intention of Chantrey's Bequest, knowingly ignored the wording of his Will, and "grotesquely maladministered" its funds for their own benefit.[300] He argued that the RA were giving undue preference to the works of living artists who had exhibited at the Academy, stating "the trust is being employed purely to reward exhibitors in current Academy exhibitions, and to penalise those who do not exhibit; not to get together the best obtainable works of art executed in this country."[301]

MacColl claimed that the Bequest administration was a "family affair" which neglected outsiders, diverting a national trust to the endowment of its own exhibitions and using for "their own profit funds designed for a splendid national purpose."[302] Fry criticised the RA along similar lines in *The Athenaeum* in 1904, stating that the RA "has become merely one among many societies contending for public favour and patronage, favoured, it is true by its title of Royal and the gift from the nation of its buildings, but not endeavouring in return for this assistance to set a higher standard of artistic endeavour."[303] Instead of this, he claimed, the RA was "descending as low as its less favoured rivals in the bid for cheap and lucrative popularity," purchasing artworks of a purely popular character and failing to represent the finest artistic feeling of the period. Fry also made direct accusations of personal corruption on the parts of individual Academicians, remarking "one cannot but wonder at the singular notions of their responsibilities which the members of the Royal Academy have formulated.

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[298] Thornycroft Journal for 1887, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH J1.

[299] MacColl, *The Administration Of The Chantrey Bequest*, xi.

[300] MacColl, "The Maladministration of The Chantrey Trust."

[301] MacColl, "The Maladministration of The Chantrey Trust."

[302] MacColl, "The Maladministration of The Chantrey Trust."

[303] Roger Fry, "The Chantrey Bequest," *The Athenaeum,* 2 July 1904, unpaginated.

No one of them would, we imagine, as a private gentleman, have allowed personal interests to influence his administration of a trust in this extraordinary manner."[304]

Critics accused the RA of wilfully misinterpreting Chantrey's intentions, nepotism based on institutional membership, conservative and populist taste, and exclusionary politics towards newer and more experimental art. This chapter explores and complicates these accusations in relation to sculptural works through a detailed examination of the purchase process. In addition, I question why the RA bought so few sculptural works in comparison to paintings. To uncover the reasons behind this imbalance, I analyse the Plaster Court Cases of 1888 and 1889, and the construction of Chantrey's Bequest in relation to sculpture.

THE PURCHASE PROCESS EXPLAINED

Until the House of Lords implemented changes in the purchase process following the 1904 Inquiry, introducing Committees for Recommendation and Selection, the process behind the purchase of sculptural work was a relatively simple one.[305] The decision-making lay with the members of the Council of the RA, comprised of ten members and the President who acted as an ex-officio member and with whom rested the casting vote on purchases. Between 1875 and 1917, the President's position was filled by Francis Grant (1866 – 1878), Frederic Leighton (1878 – 1896), John Everett Millais (February to August 1896), and Edward Poynter (1896 – 1918).[306] Academicians came onto the council in rotation for a period of two years in order of seniority, whilst every new elected academician came onto the Council as soon as he had deposited his diploma.[307] Occasionally a member's time would be extended if another member withdrew from the Council. For example: Thornycroft was elected to take over Alma-Tadema's seat in 1911 following his resignation due to ill-health.[308]

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[304] Roger Fry, "Fine Art Gossip," *The Athenaeum,* 23rd May 1903, 665.

[305] The Committees for Recommendation and Selection will be discussed later in this chapter.

[306] "Full list of Academicians," The Royal Academy of Arts, accessed 19th October 2016, https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/page/full-list-of-academicians

[307] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 7.

[308] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1911*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1912), 37.

The Council was an interdisciplinary one, composed of painters, sculptors, and architects. There was not a fixed number of sculptors, and the rotation system often meant that only one sculptor sat on the Council, as in the case of George Frampton in 1903 and 1904.[309] Frederick Eaton, Secretary of the RA from 1873 to 1913, stated in the 1904 Inquiry that measurements had been put into place at the RA around 1890 to ensure that "a sculptor comes onto the Council out of turn by election if there is none" to avoid a complete absence of sculptor Council members.[310]

Eaton gave an in-depth description of the purchase process was given at the 1904 Inquiry. It can be seen from his account that the process was designed to bring as little disappointment or agitation to Academicians whose works were nominated as possible, and to ensure that purchases were the result of a high level of consensus from the Council. At an initial Council meeting, members would hand in the names of works which they intended to propose for purchase, along with the name of a seconder, the name of the artist, and a price. Normally, the artist determined this price. For works bought from the RA Exhibition, the Council met the price initially attached to the work when first submitted to the Exhibition, if affordable. Eaton implied that in the case of works not purchased from the RA Exhibition, the proposer of the work negotiated a possible price with the creator or owner of the work prior to proposing it.[311] A list of the proposed works was put up in the Office, and the Council members had a week to view the list, before a meeting was held to select works.[312] Unfortunately for this study, these preliminary lists were later destroyed to save any discomfort on the part of artists whose works were not purchased.[313]

Chantrey's Will was "always read before a purchase," presumably to ensure

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[309] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 35.

[310] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 191.

[311] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 11.

[312] An example of the standard letter notifying council members of the list is held at the Henry Moore Institute Archives: Letter from the Secretary to Hamo Thornycroft 20 May 1889, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, TH C213B.

[313] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 7.

that purchases accorded as closely as possible with his wishes, and because the terms of the Bequest were complicated enough as to not be easily memorable.[314] This reading would also have enabled the Council to recall the exact wording of the Will with a view to reinterpreting the text and pushing the boundaries of what was permissible in terms of purchases. The Council's selection of artworks followed a double vote process in which the Council first held a preliminary vote, cast with slips of paper, to determine the order in which artworks would be considered, and then voted upon these artworks in that order. A vote was taken for each, and if an artwork received a majority vote from the Council, it was purchased and the votes for and against recorded in a ledger.[315] The purchase of a work of art couldn't be made unless at least six members of the Council voted in its favour. It is probable that a number of sculptures were excluded from consideration by the first vote, due to being voted too far down the list to be considered in the second. It is also possible, though less likely, that some sculptures were voted upon and not purchased, since no record was kept of works that did not receive enough votes through either stage of the double vote process. Council members were not permitted to vote by proxy, and absence from the meeting meant absence from the voting process.[316]

In his 1904 evidence, Eaton stated that when a member left the Council, he was "off the Council altogether, and has nothing more to do with it until he comes on again."[317] However, William Goscombe John's 1896 letter to his friend John Ballinger, Chief Librarian of Cardiff demonstrates that Academicians outside the Council continued to influence its Bequest decisions. He initially expressed worry about the purchase of his *Boy At Play* (1896) (Fig 12), stating "Ford is on the council this time, his taste does not run in my direction much I think, had Gilbert been on the council this year I should have been safe," but then reflected optimistically that

[314] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 6.

[315] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 6.

[316] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[317] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 8.

"Gilbert is a strong influence outside the council."[318] John's fears were unfounded, since Ford seconded the proposal of *Boy at Play*.[319]

One considerable difficulty in mapping and understanding the administration of the Bequest inside the RA was neatly summarised in the 1904 Inquiry: "shifting Councils are a guarantee that different tastes are represented and are protected."[320] The sheer number of Academicians involved between 1875 and 1917, including both painters and sculptors, makes tracing the personalities, tastes, and prejudices behind every single sculpture purchase nigh on impossible.[321] The resulting group of thirty-one sculptures bought between 1875 and 1917 do not conform to a single aesthetic taste, which is unsurprising given the number of individuals involved in its administration, although there are clear patterns as we shall see. However, some understanding of the main figures active and pivotal in the process can be gained from numerical analysis of their frequency on the Council of the RA and the Committee for Selection, and some years can be identified in which a single sculptor's taste might have swayed the whole Council.

UNCONTROLLED PERSONAL PREDILECTIONS?

In *The Athenaeum*, Fry claimed that "it is not difficult to see that by such a mode of procedure, in which no predetermined policy, no common line of action weighed with the individual voter, the decisions would represent the average of the prejudices and uncontrolled personal predilections of the members of the Council."[322] With this in mind, it seems pertinent to question whether one member's personal predilections or

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[318] I very grateful to Melanie Polledri for bringing this to my attention. John Hedley Thomas, *Correspondence to John Ballinger, as Chief Librarian of Cardiff: A Descriptive Handlist*, last modified December 1997,
http://www.academia.edu/3178255/Ballinger_correspondence

[319] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[320] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 50.

[321] It should be noted that although this study focuses on the influence of sculptor Academicians, the interdisciplinary nature of the Academy meant that painter and architect academicians were central to the process.

[322] Fry, "The Chantrey Bequest," 248.

prejudices were allowed to run free, or were controlled by the views and votes of the rest of the Council. Whilst each member of the Council had an equal vote on proposed paintings and sculptures, Thomas Brock stated in 1904 that "the other members of the Council naturally look to the sculptor to give the lead" when a piece of sculpture was proposed for purchase, although they might not always agree with his views.[323] Frampton's evidence supported Brock's viewpoint. He stated that in his experience, in the case of a proposed sculpture, the opinion of a sculptor Council member had a "special weight" and was respected by non-sculptor members.[324] Like Brock, Frampton was also at pains to impress upon the Inquirers that both painters and sculptors were able to judge quality in any material: "a work of art is a work of art and I think a man who has any judgement, if he is an artist, can distinguish that work of art in any material."[325] When questioned if the sculpture proposals were usually made by the sculptor members and the painting proposals by the painter members, Frampton replied "Yes, so far as I know. I have proposed all works in sculpture that have been bought during my terms of office, and I have also proposed and seconded paintings which have been bought."[326]

The sculptures purchased by the Chantrey Bequest on Frampton's suggestion were Armstead's *Remorse* (1903) (Fig 13), William Robert Colton's *Springtide of Life* (1903) (Fig 14), and Henry Alfred Pegram's *Sibylla Fatidica* (1904) (Fig 15).[327] Both *Remorse* and *Sibylla Fatidica* were seconded by Alma-Tadema whose interest in sculpture, its creative process, and traditional materials (marble and bronze) is evident from its strong presence in his paintings, in works such as *A Sculpture Gallery in Rome at the Time of Agrippa* (1867) (Fig 16) and *The Sculpture Gallery* (1874) (Fig 17).[328]

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[323] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 55.

[324] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 35.

[325]Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 35.

[326] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 35.

[327] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[328] For more on Alma-Tadema, see Elizabeth Prettejohn and Peter Trippi, eds., *Lawrence Alma-Tadema: At Home In Antiquity,* (Munich and London: Prestel, 2016) and Elizabeth Prettejohn and Edwin Becker, *Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema*, (New York: Rizzoli, 1997).

Frampton's interest in and fondness for empowered, spiritually-malevolent femme-fatale figures drawn from myth and literature is evident from their recurrence in his own works, such as *My Thoughts Are My Children* (1894), *Mysteriarch* (1896), *Lamia* (1899), and *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* (1909) (Fig 18). Both *Remorse* (Fig 13) and *Sibylla Fatidica* (Fig 15) present a powerful, dominant female subject: Armstead drew on Shakespearean texts to present Lady Macbeth in her moment of hand-scouring guilt, whilst Pegram sourced his prophetess from classical mythology. As Robert Upstone has explained "the familiar characterisation of woman as threatening siren can be traced throughout British and continental Symbolism," and whilst neither work can be read as directly symbolist, both sculptors were playing into the popularity of such themes.[329]

The two sculptures are markedly different in terms of scale: *Remorse* stands at just over 1 metre tall to *Sibylla*'s 1.6 metres, but they share some similar stylistic elements, such as the thick braids and long tendrils of Lady Macbeth's hair (Fig 19), and the hair of the prone woman lying across the lap of the sibyl (Fig 20). Both works demonstrate skill at rendering classical drapery. Armstead has reduced this effect by adding medievalising ornamental discs to his figure (Fig 21), but he has chosen to depict her in a classical outfit rather than the medieval costumes worn contemporaneously in stage productions, such as the one depicted by John Singer Sargent four years earlier (Fig 22). The bases of both statues are decorated with a series of small sculptural plaques (Fig 23, Fig 24): Pegram has given his work a more occult-flavour by featuring astrological symbols; whereas Armstead presented additional narrative elements in the form of crowns and crossed swords. As Upstone noted, Pegram invented an eclectic imaginary connection between the sibylline predictions and the traditional paraphernalia of occult spiritualism.[330] Crystal balls were a topic of popular interest at the time of the sculpture, popularised in books such as Northcote Thomas' *Crystal Gazing. Its History and Practice with a Discussion of the Evidence for Telepathic Scrying* (1905).[331] The inclusion of the 'crystal' ball

[329] Robert Upstone, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones & Watts: Symbolism in Britain 1860-1910*, (London: Tate Gallery,1997), 262.

[330] Upstone, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones & Watts*, 262.

[331] Northcote W. Thomas, *Crystal Gazing. Its History and Practice With A Discussion Of The Evidence For Telepathic Scrying*, (London: Alexander Moring Ltd, 1905).

allowed Pegram to tie his sculpture to current events in an era of widespread spiritualism, but also enabled him to play with the effects of light which would be refracted through the ball when displayed. Pegram's use of rock crystal also tied into the current fashion for the material.[332] The base of Armstead's sculpture also introduces the idea of the occult through themes of witchcraft in the form of three grotesque heads (Fig 25) undoubtedly representing the play's Weird Sisters. The placement of these heads below that of Lady Macbeth, encourages a comparison between the faces, one which bears fruit. The mask-like faces together encourage an association between Lady Macbeth and threatening, female spiritual power.

Both Armstead and Pegram's women are depicted as unfeminine, perhaps almost androgynous, via the inclusion of features traditionally read as masculine. The facial expressions of both women are animated, with open mouths and hard, fixed gazes below heavy brows. Whereas Lady Macbeth's face is smooth yet grotesquely contorted (Fig 13), similar to a Greek theatre mask, the lines and soft skin of the sibyl's aged face are delicately carved and studied and the folds of drapery beneath serve to suggest the lined skin of an old woman's throat (Fig 26). Pegram's sibyl, her body concealed with heavy drapery, is presented as a sexless figure in comparison to the sensuous body of the young woman lying across her (Fig 15). This deliberate juxtaposition between a chastely swathed old woman and the naked body of the young woman suggests that Pegram was familiar with stories of virginal sibyls from the writings of Ovid, such as the Sybil of Cumae who traded her virginity for extended life.[333] Armstead's *Lady Macbeth* contains elements of androgyny through her 'grotesque' face, unbalanced body, and the muscularity of her upper arms. Her body, even when we consider that she is posed walking downstairs, appears twisted as if she suffers from a degree of spinal curvature (Fig 27). Whilst muscular arms, a contorted face, and a spinal disfigurement do not necessarily read as masculine, when compared with female figures from Armstead's other works, such as his *Hero and Leander* (1875) (Fig 28), it is clear that he was presenting a very different kind of woman in *Remorse.* Gone are the small, delicate facial features and soft, sensual balanced, bodies of his other female figures, replaced by a hard, taut form. Shakespeare presented Lady Macbeth as an unfeminine figure who suppresses her instincts toward compassion,

[332] See Droth et al, *Sculpture Victorious*, 382.

[333] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. A.D. Melville, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 110.

motherhood, and fragility, in favour of the conventionally-masculine traits of ambition, ruthlessness, and the single-minded pursuit of power; and undoubtedly Armstead, with his close adherence to the details of literary texts responded to this characterisation.[334]

The bare breast of Armstead's Lady Macbeth (Fig 13) can be read as a reference to the character's rejection of motherhood, wherein she states that she could bash the brain of the babe that she breastfed.[335] Pegram's post-menopausal sibyl is also concerned with concepts of the reproductive woman, and the key is in the name. Whilst Upstone has claimed that the title "simply means 'the Sibyl who foresees the future,'" the Fatidica of the title references the Greek goddess Fatidica, also called Fauna or Fatua, who was associated with fertility and spring and renowned for her prophetic powers which she used solely on behalf of women.[336] The figure would have been familiar to some Academicians, since Leighton depicted the goddess in his 1894 painting *Fatidica*. Considering Pegram's figure as a sibyl of Fatidica, the slumped naked woman can be interpreted as representing the despair of infertility; her nakedness representing the youthful potentially-fertile body rather than the "dangers of the voluptuous temptress" as Upstone suggests.[337] The figure also undoubtedly derives in part from Gilbert's *The Enchanted Chair* 1886 (destroyed), and from Michelangelo's *Pieta* (1498-9) and figures of sibyls for the Sistine Chapel ceiling (1508 – 1512).[338]

Through their androgynous bodies, and associations with the supernatural and the rejection of motherhood, *Remorse* and *Sibylla Fatidica* form a point of contrast to the plethora of sexually-available, fertile nudes and mothers bought by the Council, from the budding prepubescence of Ford's *Folly* (1886) (Fig 29), to the direct

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[334] D.W. Harding, "Women's Fantasy of Manhood: A Shakespearian Theme," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, volume 20 (1969): 245; Armstead's careful translation of literary texts into sculpture can be seen in his Arthurian panels for the Houses of Parliament, see Amy Harris, "Henry Hugh Armstead's Arthurian Reliefs for the Houses of Parliament," BA dissertation, University of York, 2012, and Jason Edwards in *Sculpture Victorious*, 160 - 161 .

[335] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 1606, (London: Penguin Classics, 2015), 60.

[336] Upstone, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones & Watts*, 262; Charles Russell Coalter and Patricia Turner, *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Deities*, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 104.

[337] Upstone, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones & Watts*, 262.

[338] Upstone, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones & Watts*, 262.

motherhood of Thornycroft's *The Kiss* (1916) (Fig 30). Lady Macbeth and the Sibyl's bodies are not the predominantly smooth, ideal forms of Bates' *Pandora* (1891) (Fig 31) or Pomeroy's *Nymph of Loch Awe* (1897) (Fig 32). Though the surface of Armstead's work is smooth, its bodily forms are angular and distorted, and the surface of Pegram's nude is granular and rough to the touch. In the purchase of the two, Frampton's taste, perhaps his "personal predilections" for the femme fatale figures, are clear to observe. In his years as the only sculptor on the Council, and with the support of Alma-Tadema, he was able to successfully allocate £2250 towards two works which were in keeping with his own taste, with only four votes against from the Council. Years in which there was a minority of sculptors on the Council do not however explain the numerical imbalance between the acquisition of paintings and sculpture.

A BEQUEST FOR THE BENEFIT OF PAINTERS? THE PLASTER COURT CASES OF 1888 & 1889.

> "Now is it possible for any man who will bring his mind candidly to this matter, to suppose that Sir Francis Chantrey desired to give the main benefit of his Will to painting, and none at all to sculpture? It is absolutely absurd! He was the main sculptor of his day."
> – Lord Justice Cotton, Judgement in The Chantrey Will Case, High Court of Appeal, 4th June 1889.[339]

In 1887, twelve years into the Bequest process, the number of paintings purchased under the terms of the Bequest dwarfed the number of sculptures at thirty-two to twelve, and the Council evidently felt discomfort at the acquisition of so few sculptural works.[340] Thornycroft, coming onto the Council and first assuming Bequest

[339] Such a theatrical claim presented without supporting evidence would have constituted inappropriate professional conduct on the part of Judge Cotton, but it does reflect the enduring and powerful nature of Chantrey's posthumous reputation. *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1888,* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1889), 78.

[340] The Council of the RA in 1887 was comprised of Sir Frederick Leighton, P.R.A, Alfred Waterhouse, Henry Tanworth Wells, James Clarke Hook, James Sant, William Calder Marshall, William Quiller

responsibilities in 1889 spent time analysing the list of past purchases in relation to sculpture's relative neglect. He annotated the list of past purchases with the number of sculptural works purchased each year, and with in-depth calculations comparing the yearly average amounts of money spent on sculpture and painting respectively.[341] He estimated that between 1877 and 1888, the Council had spent, on average, £1800 a year on paintings and £500 on sculpture.[342] This numerical imbalance was due in part to the phrasing of Chantrey's Bequest in relation to sculpture which prevented the RA Council from giving commissions to sculptors on the basis of plaster models and stipulated that said works be "entirely finished" in marble or bronze, entailing a large financial risk for the majority of sculptors.[343] The RA made two attempts to contest the terms of Chantrey's Will in relation to plaster casts. The Council, headed by Leighton as PRA, first brought the case to the Royal Courts of Justice in 1888, and then, following the failure of the first attempt, the case was taken to the Courts of Appeal in 1889.[344] These two examinations of the wording of the Bequest in relation to sculpture demonstrate the considerable difficulty sculptors had in courting the Bequest and reveal a surprising and telling bias towards painters in its construction.

During the 1888 Appeal, Justice Cotton, sympathetic to this strained situation in which the Academy found themselves in relation to sculpture, reflected that the

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Orchardson, Richard Norman Shaw, William Frederick Yeames, Henry Stacy Marks, and Lawrence Alma-Tadema. Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1887*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1888), 28.

[341] Hamo Thornycroft, Henry Moore Institute Archive, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH225(a) and TH 225(b).

[342] Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH225(a) and TH 225(b).

[343] Chantrey's Bequest stated that works must be "entirely executed" and that "no Commissions or Orders for the execution of Works to be afterwards as aforesaid shall at any time be given by such President or Council to any Artist or Artists whom soever [sic]"

[344] Judgement in The Chantrey Will Case, High Court of Justice, 7th May 1888 and Judgement in The Chantrey Will Case, The Court of Appeal, 4th June 1889. I have relied on transcriptions of the judgements printed in Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1888*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1889) and
Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1889*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1890); *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1889*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1890), 78.

construction of the Will as understood at the time of the appeal "will practically effectually defeat the object which must have been the most desired object that Sir Francis Chantrey had."[345] The initial 1888 legal case formed an attempt to rectify the imbalance between the paintings and sculpture purchased, and to uphold Chantrey's posthumous insistence that the works purchased be of "the highest merit that [could] be obtained."[346] The Council believed that both were achievable with the reconsideration of two clauses in the Will. The first clause forbade commissions or orders, declaring that "no Commissions or Orders for the execution of Works to be afterwards purchased as aforesaid shall at any time be given by such President and Council to any Artist or Artists whom soever [sic]." The second stipulated that works must be complete, "entirely executed," i.e. entirely finished works.[347]

Chantrey's reluctance to allow the Fund administrators to commission a plaster be put into a "finished" material is perhaps a surprising standpoint for a sculptor who struggled financially in his early career. His marriage to his cousin Mary Anne Wale in 1809 entirely bankrolled his early career: it brought with it £10,000, enough for the sculptor to pay off debts, purchase land and a house, build two further houses, a studio, and offices, and to buy blocks of marble. Cotton and his colleague Lord Justice Fry concluded that Chantrey's intentions had become blurred and constricted by his legal advisor. However, both were puzzled as to why an experienced sculptor such as Chantrey had not considered the difficulty of financing casting or carving; factors which I shall go on to explain. His personal experiences of the sculpture market from 1800-1840 had been markedly different to those of his sculptor peers, which probably influenced the particular phrasing of his Will. Amongst his peers it was common practice to make a plaster model of a work, and to court a commission before executing it in bronze or marble, whereas Chantrey worked almost exclusively on commission, and rarely made any speculative exhibition works of the likes later bought by his Bequest.[348] Emotional factors may have also influenced the phrasing of the Will, such as Chantrey's professional rivalry with his sculptor peers, and his close friendships

[345] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1889,* 78.

[346] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[347] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[348] Yarrington et al, "An Edition of the Ledger of Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A. at the Royal Academy 1809-1841."

with painters in the Academy. He made few ideal works, and the phrasing of his Bequest in relation to sculpture may well reflect his larger prejudice against them. The RA Council, in their role as administrators of the Bequest Fund, were constricted due to its inflexibility in the face of a shift in the workings of the sculpture market in Britain that Chantrey had not anticipated. Between 1841, when the last version of Chantrey's Will was finalised, and 1875, when his Bequest became active, the market had experienced significant change.

Evidence given by Leslie at the 1904 Inquiry suggested that the problems besetting the RA in the purchase of sculptures were due to Chantrey's Bequest being constructed with the purchase of paintings in mind. Leslie believed that he could speak with authority as to Chantrey's intentions, from his knowledge of personal anecdotes and from historical research: his father had been an intimate friend of Chantrey, and he had recently been occupied writing a history of the RA and had studied the period in which Chantrey had lived.[349]As we have seen, Leslie claimed that Chantrey was deeply upset by the low levels of patronage that left many of his brother Academicians with unsold paintings on their hands, and resolved to do something to help through his Bequest, an account supported by Landseer. Leslie described how Chantrey "gave frequent dinner parties," and the sculptor, making no secret of his Will, talked freely of it over the dinner table. Leslie argued that Chantrey's decision to create his Bequest was inspired by seeing paintings return unsold, and that he viewed his Bequest as a "remedy."[350] Leslie made no mention of the purchase of sculpture throughout his evidence; he plainly states that Chantrey "wished to stimulate the artist to paint fine pictures. He made no secret of that fact, and his Will is framed very much with that in view."[351] Leslie mentioned his father C.R. Leslie, as well as Turner, Hilton, and Constable as painters who suffered from a lack of patronage. Leslie, Hilton, and Turner were all close friends of Chantrey, who appears to have enjoyed the society and friendship of painters over sculptors. It is difficult to find a sculptor who Chantrey was close to in biographical accounts, with the exception of his studio manager

[349] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 69.

[350] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 69.

[351] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 70.

Cunningham, and perhaps Canova, for whom he evidently had much respect.[352] With this in mind, it is possible to reach the uncomfortable conclusion that Chantrey structured his Bequest around the aim of supporting painters, and that the inclusion of sculpture may have been a secondary priority, whatever the Judge might have presumed. This may account for the Will's lack of consideration when it comes to the working processes of sculptors.

The RA Council described the aim of the legal case as: "to decide whether a clause in the Will of Sir Francis Chantrey, prohibiting the giving of Commissions to Artists, is to be taken as applying to the case of Commissions given to Sculptors to reproduce plaster casts or wax models in bronze or marble."[353] 'The Chantrey Will Case' was heard at the Royal Courts of Justice on 7th May 1888 before Mr Justice North.[354] During the case, the problems inherent in applying these clauses to the purchase of sculptures were presented in an affidavit penned by Leighton:

> I believe it to be the universal practice of sculptors to execute their works first in clay or wax, and when finished in the case of clay to have them moulded and cast in plaster. It is in the plaster state that selections are frequently made in France for the State purchases – these being conditional upon the works being properly executed in bronze or marble. It is the usual practice of private purchasers to make their purchases in the same way. The execution in such a material as bronze or marble involves heavy expenditure such as few artists are willing to incur without the certainty of a purchaser being found. The Council of the Royal Academy in consequence of the doubts above mentioned have refrained from selecting works of sculpture for purchase until the sculptors, at great expense to themselves, have submitted them for exhibition in bronze or marble, and only so far as sculptors have been willing to take upon themselves the risk of expenditure (often not justified by sales) have any works been obtained from which selections

[352] See: Yarrington, "Anglo-Italian Attitudes. Chantrey and Canova."

[353] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1886*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1887), 20.

[354] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1888*, 56.

> could be made. This severe limitation of the area of choice injuriously affects the selection of the Council and is a great discouragement of the art of sculpture.[355]

The nationalistic implications of Leighton's affidavit are clear – that in underestimating the importance of plaster works, and upholding the restrictions of Chantrey's Bequest, the British State would be neglecting the sculptural arts and bowing to French superiority.

The financial cost inherent in casting a plaster model in readiness for possible purchase had been negatively affecting the purchase of sculptural works since the Bequest became active in 1875, evidenced by a case study of the purchase of Brock's *A Moment of Peril* (1880) (Fig 33) Brock's large statue of a mounted native American turning in his saddle to attack a rearing python was initially exhibited in plaster at the Royal Academy in 1880.[356] The piece received a positive response from Edmund Gosse, who had begun to comment for the *Saturday Review* the previous year. He remarked that "there is a wild air of horror and suspense about the face of the Indian that gives great value to this spirited composition, which should without delay be executed in bronze."[357] The following year, Brock exhibited the piece in bronze in the Central Hall of the 1881 RA Exhibition. It was promptly selected and purchased by the RA council on the proposal of Armstead.[358]

Whilst giving evidence in the 1904 Parliamentary Inquiry into the Chantrey Bequest, Brock stated that he could not have afforded to cast *A Moment of Peril* in bronze without the financial assistance of "certain Academicians," by which he meant Leighton.[359] Leighton's financial assistance was likely a reciprocal action in response to assistance which Brock provided with his *Athlete Wrestling with a Python* (1877) (Fig 34), purchased by the Chantrey Bequest that year. Leighton modelled and

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[355] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1889,* 58.

[356] Anon, Artist's Catalogue File: 'Brock, Sir Thomas. 1847 – 1922,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A22328.

[357] Edmund Gosse, *The Saturday Review,* 12th June 1880, 757.

[358] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[359] Frederick Brock, *Thomas Brock: Forgotten Sculptor of the Victoria Memorial,* ed. John Sankey, (Indiana: Authorhouse, 2012), 150; Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 56.

completed the sculpture in Brock's studios at 10 Boscobel Place, London and after 1874, at Osnaburgh Street, London.[360] As John Sankey has explained, the fact that Leighton had received "technical assistance" from Brock became public knowledge during the Belt v Laws Trial in 1882, wherein Leighton stated "It is usual in our studios that we receive some help. I received the help of Mr Brock in bringing out *The Python*."[361] Leighton's willingness to give credit to Brock for the modelling of the snake suggests a hierarchy of modelling in which animal forms are inferior to the human form. Whilst Leighton referred to the whole work as *The Python*, a side by side comparison of the snakes of *Athlete* and *A Moment of Peril* clearly show Brock's hand in Leighton's sculpture – their gaping fanged mouths are identical. It is entirely possible however that Leighton meant the whole sculpture, given the tendency of sculptors to refer to their works by shortened nicknames.

For sculptors without the advantage of similar social connections or possessing personal financial means, courting purchase by the Bequest brought with it a high level of financial risk, one which Goscombe John was prepared to undertake. Writing to Ballinger, he stated "I am having my 'Boy' statue put into bronze for this time as a bid for the 'Chantry.' I hope they bite."[362] Without any ongoing commissions alongside his work for the RA exhibition, John exclaimed that "by the time the exhibition comes we shall be right down to the bone & stoney broke."[363] According to David Getsy, Thornycroft also attempted to court the Chantrey Bequest by having his *Lot's Wife* (1878) first exhibited in its final material form, entailing great risk and high expenditure, but with no luck – the statue remained unsold.[364] It is impossible to identify specific plaster works which would have been considered for purchase had Chantrey's legal stipulations not been in place, but undoubtedly many sculptors couldn't afford to speculatively cast their plaster models in hope of selection.

In his affidavit, Leighton argued that the Council should be able to arrange to enter into a "binding engagement" with a sculptor prior to the execution of their plaster or wax work in a durable material, after which the sculptor would be paid from the

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[360] John Sankey, "Thomas Brock And The Critics – An Examination Of Brock's Place In The New Sculpture Movement,"(PhD Diss., University of Leeds, 2002), 77.

[361] Sankey, "Thomas Brock And The Critics," 78.

[362] Thomas, *Correspondence to John Ballinger, as Chief Librarian of Cardiff: A Descriptive Handlist.*

[363] Thomas, *Correspondence to John Ballinger, as Chief Librarian of Cardiff: A Descriptive Handlist.*

[364] Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 51.

Bequest fund. By viewing a sculptor's finished design in plaster or wax, Leighton argued, a viewer could see the "entire creative design" of the sculptor.[365] This claim seems incongruous considering the importance the New Sculptors placed on different materials and the sculptural surface for its ability to convey subtle emotions, and sensory experiences.[366] So particular was Thornycroft's use of different patinas on cast bronzes that one fellow sculptor wrote to him asking to know how he achieved the "delicious grey green tone" on *Teucer* (1881) (Fig 35).[367] It seems likely then that Leighton, with the difficulties inherent in purchasing sculpture through the Bequest fund in mind, was keen to create a persuasive and simple argument which would result in a successful case.

Justice North's understanding of sculpture was evidently lacking as he observed that the result of the proposed arrangement would be the conditional purchase of a piece of sculpture on the basis of a design in wax or plaster whilst "the work actually intended to be placed in the National School of Art existed merely as an amorphous mass of inanimate rock or ore."[368] Unconvinced by Leighton's claims that the transformation of these amorphous masses was merely mechanical, he predicted that the Council might receive a sculpture of insufficient quality in comparison to its plaster or wax model. Furthermore, the arrangement would possibly contravene another aspect of the Will – the restriction that works must have been entirely executed and finished within the shores of Great Britain.[369] At the point of purchase, Justice Cotton argued, the purchasers had to be certain that the whole work had been made within British shores. A commission or order arrangement would essentially sidestep this restriction since the Council would verify the British-made status of the model and then release the Chantrey Bequests, potentially leaving the marble or bronze to be

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[365] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1888,* 60.

[366] Robert Upstone, "The New Sculpture," in Robert Upstone and Simon Edsor, *Alfred Gilbert, Frederic Leighton and The New Sculpture*, (London: The Fine Art Society, 2015), 18.

[367] Letter from unsigned person to Hamo Thornycroft, undated, Henry Moore Institute Archives, HT 320.

[368] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1888*, 59.

[369] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1888*, 59.

made outside the "Shores." If the Council later attempted to verify the British-made status of the finished marble or bronze and found it to have been made elsewhere, they would be nevertheless forced to accept the work, having parted with the funds at the earlier stage.[370] The Council had previously experienced problems with sculptors habitually using bronze foundries outside of Great Britain, rendering their works unpurchaseable under the terms of the Will. Two years before the Council decided to pursue the plaster case, they had voted to purchase Harry Bates' Aeneid Triptych (exhibited at the RA in 1885), only to rescind their decision when it was discovered that the three panels had been modelled and cast in Paris.[371]

The conclusion of the legal case was to prove unhelpful to the Academy. Justice North concluded that "according to the true construction of the Will of Sir Francis Chantrey the President and Council of the Royal Academy are not justified in making such purchases," i.e. "entering into any preliminary contract or engagement with an artist of any kind, as to an incomplete work," "out of the moneys payable to them under the trusts of that Will."[372] The Council of the RA attempted to appeal the verdict the following year in 1889, in a legal case that further revealed the mismatch between constraints of the Will and the overall aim of the acquisition process.

The Council were again met with disappointment following the judgement of the Court of Appeal in 1889, as Justice Cotton and Lord Justice Fry resolved that they could only construe the intentions of Chantrey as put down in the Will, and it was impossible to construe the Will in favour of the Academy's desires without "torturing" it. Both men were just as constricted by the rules of their profession as the RA were by the wording of Chantrey's Will. Sympathetically, Lord Justice Fry reflected that "I regret the conclusion to which we are forced to arrive, because I cannot help seeing that the other conclusion would be the more advantageous to the interests of art."[373] A number of Academicians, including Thornycroft, Briton Riviere, Frampton,

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[370] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1888*, 59.

[371] Ernest Radford, "Bates, Harry," in Sidney Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1901), 141.

[372] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1888*, 62.

[373] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1889*, 90.

Armstead, and Alma-Tadema, later gave evidence at the 1904 Parliamentary Inquiry to the effect that they regretted the legal ruling regarding the purchase and commissioning of works from plaster.[374]

INFLUENTIAL CONNECTIONS: NETWORKS OF FRIENDSHIP & A SELECTION COMMITTEE FOR SCULPTURE

An informal backdoor arrangement resulted from the legal ruling of the plaster case to attempt to address the problematic financial risk inherent in courting the Chantrey Bequest. The Council, heavily directed by Leighton, appear to have informally told chosen sculptors that should their plasters be exhibited in marble or bronze, they would certainly be bought by the fund. Notably, these encouragements and assurances were limited to sculptors who were involved with the Academy as students, Associate members, or Academicians. In part, this can be explained by the need for subtlety when conveying informal assurances since quiet agreements could be made within the Academy which could not be made outside it for fear of openly contravening the legal ruling. Bonds of brotherhood and fond feeling within the Academy doubtlessly encouraged the backdoor arrangement; contravening the literal wording of Chantrey's Will but staying faithful to his desire to directly support his fellow artists due to his "love for his brethren."[375]

Whilst serving as President, Leighton did much to encourage young and upcoming sculptors, and appears to have steered the direction of the Bequest process to this end during his tenure. Bates' *Pandora* (1891) (Fig 31) was one such sculpture earmarked by Leighton for purchase, and it seems unlikely that Bates would have risked putting *Pandora* into marble before exhibiting it without this assurance.[376] A year prior to its exhibition at the Royal Academy, Leighton wrote to Thornycroft, remarking "I feel little doubt that if Bates does finish his [work] satisfacto[rily] it will be purchased on [my] proposal next year; half the Council will be the same and all the

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[374] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 21, 22, 23, 32, 47.

[375] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 69.

[376] Joseph Sharples, "Harry Bates's 'Mors Janua Vitae,'" *The Burlington Magazine* (2007): 836.

members liked I know the [work]."[377] *Pandora* was duly purchased in 1890 for £1000 with all votes in favour.[378] As well as lending Brock financial assistance and proposal and influencing the Council towards the purchase of Bates' *Pandora*, Leighton encouraged Fehr to cast *Rescue of Andromeda* in bronze following its exhibition of the plaster (modelled whilst Fehr was an assistant in Brock's studio) in 1893. "Encouraged" might best be read as 'assured Fehr that his work would be purchased:' the Council purchased the bronze *Rescue of Andromeda* (Fig 36) in 1894 for the sum of £1,200.[379] Thornycroft recounted a telling story of Leighton's genuine dedication to sculpture in his private diary for 1888. At the RA Banquet he approached Leighton to thank him for focusing interest on sculpture in his speech and "in a most charming and friendly manner [he] took my hand and held it against his heart saying that he thought when he was gone that sculptors would be able to say that he had striven to do something for their art." Thornycroft reflected that though the room was full of people, Leighton's gesture was not the least out of place since he had done it with such "sweetness and earnestness," and remarked "I was much touched and could have hugged him for it was true."[380] As Read has described, "Leighton was the fairy godfather of the New Sculpture."[381]

Poynter continued the informal backdoor process of encouraging RA sculptors instigated by Leighton when he was president. Judith McKay states that Harold Parker was encouraged by Poynter to make *Ariadne* (exhibited in plaster 1904) in marble (1908), and that "Poynter, as President of the Royal Academy, was in a position to more or less guarantee the acceptance of the sculpture at the Summer Exhibition, which was necessary as Parker could hardly otherwise take the risk of devoting to it

[377] Letter from Frederic Leighton to William Hamo Thornycroft, undated, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH C.388; Sharples, "Harry Bates's 'Mors Janua Vitae'": 837.

[378] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12; For more on *Pandora* see: David J. Getsy, "Privileging the Object of Sculpture: Actuality and Harry Bates' Pandora of 1890," *Art History*, volume 28 (2005): 74 – 95; Droth et al, *Sculpture Victorious*; Peter Bates, *The Talented Harry Bates (Sculptor) 1850 – 1899*, unpublished manuscript, 2013.

[379] Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 294.

[380] Hamo Thornycroft Journal for 1888, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH J2.

[381] Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 297.

such a long period of work."[382] Sculpture then, had at least two powerful advocates in the Bequest process, and it would receive some formally appointed advocates in 1904.

Following the 1904 Parliamentary Inquiry, the RA Council was required to annually appoint two sub-committees from within its own ranks, a Selection Committee for Paintings and a Selection Committee for Sculpture.[383] Beginning in 1905, these committees, usually comprising three members, operated quite separately to the Council since they were intended to select and recommend artworks, but had no voting privileges. It is not recorded how these academician committee members were selected, although the frequency of certain names demonstrates that academicians didn't come in on rotation. Academy records state that they were "appointed by the Council," although given the close-knit nature of the Academy, it seems probable that a great degree of volunteering oneself was key to these appointments.[384] A host of familiar names peoples the records of these Sculpture Selection Committees, including Bertram Mackennal, Frampton, Alfred Drury, Charles Leonard Hartwell, Francis Derwent Wood, and Pegram. However, the roster of the Selection Committees between 1905 and 1917 is dominated by Thornycroft (nine years), Goscombe John (six years), and Brock (seven years). At least one of these three sculptors sat on the Selection Committee every year for the first twenty years. Thornycroft and Brock served on the Selection Committee solidly for the first five years, between 1905 and 1909 inclusive.[385] It seems probable that a small degree of Brock and Thornycroft's authority in Chantrey matters was the result of their works being early purchases; Brock's *Moment of Peril* became the second sculpture purchased in 1881, and Thornycroft's the fourth in 1882. The purchase of *Teucer* in 1881 unquestionably bolstered the points in favour of Thornycroft's election to full associateship in 1888.[386] An active and involved member of the RA, Thornycroft sat on the Council of the RA for twelve non-consecutive years, first sitting on the council in 1890, and serving his

[382] Anon, Artist's Catalogue File: 'Parker, Harold,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A26973.

[383] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1905*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1906), 20.

[384] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1905*, 20.

[385] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1909*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1910), 23.

[386] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

last year in 1922, three years before his death at age seventy-five.[387] For a number of years, he also fulfilled the internal role of auditor, investigating and evaluating all aspects of the Academy's expenditure in a group of other auditor-RAs, from money spent on replenishing the wine cellar to the Chantrey Bequest Fund.[388] Serving on the Selection Committee allowed Thornycroft to extend his involvement with the Bequest process: he served on the Selection Committee without simultaneously serving on the Council for five years, making his total time spent involved with the administration of the Chantrey Bequest seventeen years. In an early effort by the Tate Gallery to assemble and record the biographies of British artists, Thornycroft was asked to fill out a biographical form detailing his Date of Birth, Place of Birth, Family History, Education, Important Life Events, Chief Works.[389] On the form, he explicitly traced his familial artistic lineage to Francis Chantrey , writing under 'Family History,' "Son of Thomas and Mary Thornycroft, both of whom were sculptors. Mary Thornycroft was the daughter of John Francis, sculptor, who was a pupil of Chantrey."[390] Perhaps it was this self-styled artistic lineage that affirmed Thornycroft's right to dominate the Bequest process alongside Brock and Goscombe John.

The relationship between Brock and Thornycroft appears to have been an equal balance of strong personalities. After being beaten by Thornycroft to election as an Academician in June 1888, Brock wrote: "Naturally I should have preferred being the lucky man. Nevertheless I can honestly say that the members of the Academy could not have chosen a better man than yourself."[391] The two shared an affectionate friendship, exchanging advice on business practice (from dealing with clients' expectations to accessing a reducing machine), lending each other equipment and

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[387] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1888,*11; Thornycroft sat on the Council in 1890, 1897, 1898, 1905, 1906, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1919, 1920, & 1922. Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1925*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1926), 19.

[388] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1908*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1909), 30.

[389] Anon, Artist's Catalogue File: 'Thornycroft, William Hamo. 1850 – 1925,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A24704, 60a/08/1C.

[390] Anon, Artist's Catalogue File, 'Thornycroft, William Hamo. 1850 – 1925.'

[391] Letter from Thomas Brock to Hamo Thornycroft 21st January 1881, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH C93.

workmen, and collaborating on matters at the RA such as the proposed reforms of the Academy schools.[392] Both sculptors were also active and enthusiastic members of The Artist's Rifles.[393] Thornycroft described Brock as "the moving spirit" of the group of "the sculptor ARAs," a group which also included Ford, Alfred Gilbert, and Charles Birch, who convened to discuss these reforms to the RA schools in March 1888.[394] Thornycroft's private appointment diaries and journals from the 1880s speak of affectionate and close relationships between the sculptor RAs which transcended generational gaps and stylistic differences. His records show that the ARA sculptors met separately to the sculptor RAs, such as the meeting to discuss school reforms. These meetings were presumably also opportunities to socialise. A standard description of such a meeting by Thornycroft recounts that "we discussed, smoked, drank claret and whiskey from 8 til 12."[395] He also recorded some "sculptor's meetings" of mixed sculptor RAs and ARAs, including a meeting to discuss bronze founding at Ford's house in which Ford, Armstead, Brock, Birch, Roscoe Mullins, and George Lawson were also present.[396] On another occasion, a group of sculptor ARAs and RAs met again at Ford's studio with "Armstead in the chair" to listen to a talk on the lost wax process.[397] Thornycroft's briefly-worded appointment books show that in the 1880s he dined frequently with Ford, and often called into the studios of Armstead, Brock, Mullins, Pegram, and Frederick Pomeroy. It is evident that some of the Academician sculptors were bonded together by both professional concerns and friendship: after an RA Club dinner in 1887, Thornycroft wrote, "there were six sculptors present and all excellent friends. There is now I fancy some hope for the art."[398]

These feelings of friendship and admiration evidently extended to Thornycroft and Brock's actions on both the Council and Selection Committee. Mackennal wrote to Thornycroft following his election to ARA in 1909, commenting "I am so pleased

[392] Letters from Thomas Brock to Hamo Thornycroft from 1881 to 1910, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH C93, C97, C107, C110, C112, C115, C116, C116A.

[393] Sankey, "Thomas Brock And The Critics,"118.

[394] Thornycroft, Journal for 1888, TH J2.

[395] Thornycroft, Journal for 1887, TH J1.

[396] Thornycroft, Journal for 1888, TH J2.

[397] Thornycroft, Journal for 1888, TH J2.

[398] Thornycroft, Journal for 1887, TH J1.

at it all and hope it may inspire me to do something good to justify it all," reflecting "I know I must owe so much to your efforts and to Mr Brock."[399] Mackennal evidently credited his election as an ARA to the purchase of his *Diana Wounded* (1907) by the Chantrey Bequest the previous year. Neither Brock nor Thornycroft sat on the Council in Mackennal's election year, but both acted on the Sculpture Selection Committee in the year that *Diana Wounded* was purchased.[400] Further to this, Thornycroft's status as a heavyweight in both the day to day affairs of the Academy and in the Bequest's administration through the Council and Selection Committees is further reflected by letters of thanks he received from sculptors following the Council's decision to purchase their works through the Bequest fund. Following the purchase of Pegram's *Ignis Fatuus* in 1889 (Fig 37), the sculptor wrote: "I have written to Sir Frederick Leighton to convey to the Council my thanks for the honour they have confirmed on me by their purchase of my little plaque: but I cannot help writing a special letter of thanks to you, feeling as I do of what weight your decision must be in such a matter."[401] Pegram followed this by dismissing any implication of a bias on the part of Thornycroft towards his pupil's work, commenting that the selection of his plaque was an even greater honour due to "the justice and the impartiality which you have always shown."[402] Pegram had experienced Thornycroft's impartiality first-hand the previous year, when confidently expecting the Academy's gold medal for sculpture following his tutor's ballot vote (and presumably his wider influence), Pegram asked Thornycroft if he should purchase a dress suit for the award ceremony. Thornycroft commented gently that he had "better not go to that extreme," whereupon Pegram promptly fainted and Thornycroft just caught him before he collapsed on the studio floor. "Poor fellow," Thornycroft reflected in his personal diary, "it was very pathetic."[403]

Feelings of sympathy and friendship weighed heavily in the Bequest process,

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[399] Letter from Bertram Mackennal to Hamo Thornycroft 29th January 1909, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH C401.

[400] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1908*, 22.

[401] Letter from Henry Alfred Pegram to Hamo Thornycroft Saturday 11th May 1889, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH C466.

[402] Letter from Henry Alfred Pegram to Hamo Thornycroft, Saturday 11th May 1889.

[403] Thornycroft, Journal for 1888, TH J2.

alongside a sense of honour to the Academy. Membership of, or close association with, the RA evidenced the high quality of a sculptor's work. Thornycroft's reflection that "there is some hope for the art," suggests that he viewed RA-approved sculptors as the future of sculpture, and thus deserving of the kind of direct monetary support that Chantrey had intended through his Bequest.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION

However, even amongst a brotherhood of artists, there were differences of opinion and taste, particularly concerning newer and more experimental styles of sculpture. Whilst it is impossible to discern which artists were suggested for purchase and later excluded due to the RA's purchase process, and compiling a list of all possible excluded sculptors would be impossible, an inkling of notable exclusions can be gained from a list of desired sculptors assembled by the Tate Board in 1918.[404] The Board listed sculptors whose absences they believed constituted a notable gap in the sculpture collection: James Havard Thomas, Jacob Epstein, Eric Gill, John Macallan Swan, and Gilbert.[405]

In the case of Gilbert, the Tate and the RA Council were in agreement. The RA Council had long desired to purchase a Gilbert with the Chantrey Bequest but had apparently struggled to locate a work for purchase. The RA's failure to purchase any work by Gilbert through the Bequest process was a prominent topic of discussion in the 1904 Inquiry.[406] The RA's failure to purchase work by Gilbert was almost certainly due to the sculptor living and working abroad in Belgium and Italy from 1901 – 1926, which disqualified his work from the process; but seems likely that they were further dissuaded by his loss of Royal favour, and the RA's respect, following his work on

[404] Anon, "Chantrey Bequest. Purchases and Disputes mostly 1918 including copy 1897 letter from Treasury to Lord D'Albernon," Tate Britain Archive, London, TG 4/4/23/1.

[405] Of the five, only Gill would remain unpurchased by the Bequest, though Macallan Swan's sculptural work is absent. He is instead represented by his painting *The Prodigal Son* (1888), purchased through the Bequest fund in 1889.

[406] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 102.

the Clarence Tomb (commissioned 1892). [407] Brock claimed that it was difficult to acquire a Gilbert because of the clause barring the Council from commissioning a work from Gilbert directly, and that if a small bronze came onto the market, it was only a few days before another party purchased it. Spielmann provided another reason for the lack of Gilbert's work in his 1904 evidence – many of his bronzes had been modelled and cast in Rome and Bruges, effectively barring them for purchase.[408] His absence was finally rectified in 1925 when the small model for *Eros* was cast in bronze and acquired in the same year.[409]

The Board's other desired sculptors, however, revealed prejudices active within the RA against newer and more experimental forms of sculpture. As Getsy explained in his study of "The *Lycidas* Scandal of 1905," the Academy's snubbing of Havard Thomas was central to MacColl's sustained attack on the RA, which culminated in his instigation of the official 1904 Inquiry into the Bequest's administration.[410] The "scandal" demonstrated the ability of influential sculptor RAs to halt the progress of an up and coming sculptor and harm his reputation in the London art world. Thornycroft was instrumental in rejecting *Lycidas* for the 1905 Summer Exhibition, to the dismay and disagreement of MacColl, and Academicians George Clausen, Singer Sargent, and William Blake Richmond, the latter of whom was to whistle blow on the Academy's self-serving infringement of their "public duty."[411] Getsy argued that whilst Armstead was also on the Committee that rejected *Lycidas*, "there can be little doubt that it was he [Thornycroft], rather than the aging Armstead (born in 1828) who single-handedly instigated the rejection."[412] This suggestion that Armstead was somehow too old, and by implication, weak and passive, to reject *Lycidas* is unconvincing. Had Armstead been too weak to carry out his role, he would undoubtedly have resigned in the habitual manner of other elderly or unwell Academicians elected to Council, and have we not all known elderly people who have

[407] Edwards, *Alfred Gilbert's Aestheticism: Gilbert Among Whistler, Wilde, Leighton and Burne-Jones,* 211, 169.

[408] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 176.

[409] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[410] Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 156.

[411] Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 156.

[412] Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 157.

had more fire and argumentative power than the young? What is certain is that in Havard Thomas, Armstead and Thornycroft saw a style of sculpture which did not accord with their own sentiments of what the art ought to be. As Getsy noted, Havard "Thomas' theories of sculpture were a direct, considered and learned attack on the animated neoclassicism upon which Thornycroft's reputation was based."[413] Havard Thomas' earlier works had garnered the favour of sculptor RAs Gilbert, Bates, and Ford but Bates and Ford were dead by 1905, and Gilbert abroad and in disgrace.[414] In the absence of sculptor RAs in favour, Havard Thomas was left subject to the taste and tactics of the present sculptor RAs, namely the two friends Thornycroft and Armstead. Havard Thomas would not be included in Chantrey Bequest in his lifetime; his works were not bought by the Bequest until 1922, and even then it was a portrait of *Cardinal Manning* (1886) and not an ideal work of the type which so offended Armstead and Thornycroft.

Epstein was also not well received by the core members of the RA involved in the Bequest process, and the RA council would not vote to purchase one of his works until 1922. The sculptor RAs appear to have been as divided over Epstein's sculptural style as they had been over Havard Thomas,' but some Academicians' unwillingness to recommend or purchase Epstein's work was undoubtedly also tied up with his status as a Jewish immigrant with Polish heritage. This is perhaps unsurprising considering that the consideration of Epstein for the national collection of British sculpture was set against a backdrop of widespread societal fear and anger around the immigration and integration of foreigners into British society, emotions which were raw in 1917, after nearly three years of World War 1.

For Thornycroft, arguably the most influential member of the RA Council and the Selection Committee, it seems that Epstein's work represented too great a change in artistic style to accept. In her 1982 biography of her father, Elfrida Manning described how Thornycroft was "distressed by current trends in art," and that in the case of Epstein, "he could not reconcile himself to what seemed an insult to the beauty of nature and the holy function of art."[415] "Fury" and "rage" are the words which Manning used to describe Thornycroft's feelings about Epstein. She described how

[413] Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 158.

[414] Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 158.

[415] Manning, *Marble & Bronze*, 181, 194.

Thornycroft had "nearly torn in a half" letter recounting that his friend Gosse had "gone over to the other side" by positively reviewing Epstein's *Rima*.[416] Manning noted that Thornycroft was "able to admire the lively modelling of Epstein's busts," but evidently this admiration, if indeed it was not manufactured by Manning to temper her account of her Father's hatred for him, did little to prevent him acting on his negative views. His exertion of his influence within the RA is reflected by his later 1925 correspondence objecting to Epstein's election as an RA with the President Frank Dicksee, who agreed that "something should be done to stop this shameful man."[417] Goscombe John shared this view of Epstein, commenting to Agatha Thornycroft in 1937, at which point Epstein's place in the world of British sculpture was firmly established, "we seem to live in a different world, certainly in another world of sculpture (vide [see] Epstein's latest outrage)."[418] Pomeroy also later wrote to Thornycroft criticising Epstein, describing Epstein's work as "unwholesome stuff," and commenting that the acclaim surrounding his work "looks like bluff engineered by dealers."[419]

In 1916, Thornycroft's work was purchased by the Bequest for the second time in the form of *The Kiss* (1916) (Fig 30), a scene of nurturing motherly love in which the nude figure of a mother leans to embrace her small seated daughter, who affectionately kisses her cheek. The addition of *The Kiss* to the Tate's collection meant that his craftsmanship was showcased in the two main sculptural materials, marble and bronze, broadening the range of his work available to critics, members of the public, and scholars. Hamo's ex-assistant George Hardie observed that "one is the more pleased because it is a marble now by which you are represented and also that it represents a distinct phase of your individual art. Distinct, apart and notable as The Teucer."[420] This distinct phase of Thornycroft's art might be considered his reaction

[416] Manning, *Marble & Bronze*, 194.

[417] Letter from Frank Dicksee to Hamo Thornycroft 29th November 1925, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH 199ii.

[418] Letter from William Goscombe John to Agatha Thornycroft, 26th October 1937, Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH 293.

[419] Letter from Frederick William Pomeroy to Hamo Thornycroft, 19th February 1920, Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH 486.

[420] Letter from George Hardie to William Hamo Thornycroft, 28th April 1916, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH C300.

to newer forms and styles of sculpture as *The Kiss* was without a doubt Thornycroft's response to the sculptural works of Gill and Epstein whose work had provoked in him such anger and distaste.

Thornycroft's choice of theme, composition, and sculptural method, and his decision to depict both figures naked directly referenced works emerging from the budding modernist sculpture movement. As Anne Wagner has explained, both Epstein and Gill were heavily invested in a "material and maternal modernism," and the theme of motherhood, encompassing conception, pregnancy, and the nursing of a child at the breast were central to this investment.[421] Gill's *Mother and Child* (1910) (Fig 38) is a typical example of this theme. Thornycroft cannot have failed to miss the furore surrounding Epstein's carving of *Maternity* for the British Medical Association Building (1908), described by *The Evening Standard* as "extremely offensive in the form chosen for [its] nudity. Anatomical and physiological details are of no value in such decorations."[422] Epstein's commitment to "aggressive virility," as described by Wagner, with his figures' swollen stomachs, and pronounced breasts, caused revulsion and "moral panic" among many viewers and critics, just as it had within the Academy.[423] In Epstein's second statue of *Maternity* (1910) (Fig 39), he depicted a woman gazing at her pregnant belly, whilst the rest of her body is distended, in Wagner's words with "hydrant-like breasts, a solid shaft of braid above great globed buttocks."[424] Griselda Pollock has argued that Epstein's depiction of motherhood was not sympathetic towards it, for as she observes "the interiority of the woman dreaming while touching her rounded form is contradicted by the intense carving of her protuberant breasts that draws the viewer back to an erotic vision rather than empathy with the woman's inwardness and meditation."[425] Epstein left large areas of rough carved stone which was not "finished" in the traditional sense, which give the impression that the pregnant figure is birthed from the rock. By showcasing his chisel

[421] Anne Wagner, *Mother Stone. The Vitality of Modern British Sculpture,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 59.

[422] Wagner, *Mother Stone,* 45.

[423] Wagner, *Mother Stone,* 43.

[424] Wagner, *Mother Stone,* 62.

[425] Griselda Pollock, "What is it that Feminist interventions do? Feminism And Difference In Retrospect and Prospect," in Alexandra M. Kokoli et al, *Feminism Reframed: Reflections on Art and Difference,* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 283.

marks and leaving areas of raw, uncarved stone, Epstein indicated his own role as carver, creator, and Father figure, and the inherent ability of stone to birth new art imbued with life and potential.

Thornycroft's response, *The Kiss,* tempers the subjects claimed by modernist sculpture to the neoclassical and sentimental traditions honoured and favoured by the majority of Royal Academicians. Whilst he privately referred to his piece as "my group of Mother and Child," it is significant that he did not publicly present his work as "Mother and Child," and the child in question is not feeding but kissing its mother's cheek, distancing it from Gill and Epstein's shared composition.[426] Thornycroft took Gill and Epstein's subject but modified it to a Victorian sentimentality all the more emotionally affecting by its creation and exhibition during wartime. Thornycroft's approach was evidently effective. Frank Brangwyn, a fellow academician, wrote to Thornycroft, saying "I wish I could find words to express to you how much this work moved me in every way. I am sure it is one of the finest things that has been done in England for many years."[427]

Thornycroft showcased carving as a sculptural process and his own skill at carving marble through his treatment of *The Kiss*' surface. He also advanced themes of surface and subject interrelation begun in his early career with the roughened unpolished surface of his *Lot's Wife* (1878).[428] In doing so, he was responding to two burgeoning modernist aesthetic creeds: direct carving, the process of working out a sculptural idea in stone rather than working from a model, and "truth to materials," the idea that the material should influence the conception of a work of art, and that its nature should not be hidden.[429] It is worth nothing that these creeds were not new: 19th- century New Sculptors had shared these concerns with materiality, and nine years previously the Bequest had purchased Mackennal's *The Earth and the Elements* (1907) (Fig 40) in which nude female figures rise out of a roughly hewn marble trunk. Like Epstein, Thornycroft emphasised the role of the sculptor as creator (echoed in the Mother), the transformative process of sculpting, and the properties of marble. *The*

[426] Manning, *Marble & Bronze*, 169.

[427] Manning, *Marble & Bronze*, 171.

[428] Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 85.

[429] Grace Brockington, "Jacob Epstein: Sculptor in Revolt," The Courtauld Institute of Art, accessed 21st November 2016, http://www.artandarchitecture.org.uk/insight/brockington_epstein.html

Kiss is a work concerned with touch – the touch of the chisel to the marble, and the inherent tactility of Thornycroft's chiselling, emphasised by the touch of the two figures.

Thornycroft made the physical process of sculpting and transforming a block of marble to an artwork the main focus of *The Kiss*. He retained an impression of the original block of marble from which *The Kiss* is carved through the width of the base and verticality of the pedestal-form, which hint towards two sides of a larger rectangular vertical block (Fig 30). Comparing *The Kiss* and Epstein's *Motherhood* (1910), a similarity can be seen in the use of an upright pedestal-like form of sheer stone. In *The Kiss* this is a pedestal, and in *Motherhood* the belly and skirt of the figure. Viewing *Motherhood* as a woman leaning over a dolmen or large stone, it is possible to forget that the sheer block-form of the stone represents her skirt. If Thornycroft did view *Motherhood*, his use of a pedestal form could be read as a deliberate reference to, and reinvention of Epstein's work, in which he transformed the pregnant swelling into an inanimate, sexless form. The base extends comfortably beyond the female figure's hips, giving the impression that the block was carved inwards towards this point. Rather than giving the composition a smaller base or positioning the figure as rising seamlessly out of it, Thornycroft has made the base a present and noticeable part of the sculptural composition. Another reminder of *The Kiss*' original state as a large amorphous mass of marble can be seen in Thornycroft's retention, or possibly affectation, of the textures of quarried and hewn marble on the sides of the base (Fig 41). This advertisement of the stone's supposed natural form speaks to the tenet of truth to materials. Along this side of the base, Thornycroft effects a right to left comparison of the different surfaces of worked, finished, and what a viewer is led to believe is raw hewn marble with its long, thin pick marks and natural faults. Significantly, Thornycroft carved his signed name between the raw and worked marble, on the finished piece of drapery, indicating his transformative abilities.

The right side of the base and the bottom of the pedestal is dominated by bands of thick, rough marks, in an effect reminiscent of the crests of waves, which would have been made using a point chisel (Fig 42). Thornycroft evidently used a stroke known as the sculptor's stroke, in which the point chisel is held at a shallow angle, around forty-five degrees, and the chisel is not lifted between each stroke, which

creates the series of controlled parallel lines seen on *The Kiss*' pedestal.[430] Given the widespread, and historical, use of the sculptor's stroke to rough out the form of a sculpture from a quarried block, this mark can be read as Thornycroft indicating the next step in his process.

Towards the top of the pedestal-form, and around its other three sides, the incised marks change to thinner, more delicate parallel lines, their evenness indicating the lighter use of a claw chisel or scraper (Fig 43). The claw chisel can be considered an intermediary tool, and the next stage in Thornycroft's real or affected process.[431] These marks, the closest to the soft and naturalistically carved body of the child, act as a comparison to this skilled naturalistic carving, to emphasise the manual skill of the sculptor. Thornycroft was probably inspired to affect this comparison through observation of the works of Michelangelo and Auguste Rodin. He evidently recognised the appeal of 'uncarved' rock to a public audience, remarking of Rodin's work: "the unfinished pieces & bits of the block were purposefully left rough & gave the contrast & enhanced the perfect surface of the finished part & impressed the ignorant public saying "how wonderful," "his carving is so wonderful!"[432]

The chisel marks also served the purpose of reminding viewers of the marble material of the figures, and stopping the sculptural bodies from skirting too close to imitating the immoral sensuousness of a real body, a danger which Thornycroft implicitly warned against repeatedly in his 1885 lecture to Royal Academy students; and which undoubtedly fuelled his hatred of Thomas' *Lycidas.*[433] As Getsy has explained, "the New Sculptors sought ways to activate the sculptural body, making it appear lifelike and vital while nevertheless distancing it from the mere display of

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[430] W. Wootton, B. Russell, and P. Rockwell, "Stoneworking Tools and Toolmarks," The Art of Making Antiquity: Stoneworking in the Roman World, accessed 4 August 2016, http://www.artofmaking.ac.uk/content/essays/2-stoneworking-tools-and-toolmarks-w-wootton-b-russell-p-rockwell/; Jack C. Rich, *The Materials And Methods Of Sculpture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947).

[431] "Tool: Tooth Chisel" *The Art of Making Antiquity: Stoneworking in the Roman World,* accessed 4 August 2016, http://www.artofmaking.ac.uk/explore/tools/9/Tooth-Chisel

[432] The ignorance that Thornycroft is referring to here is ignorance of the fact that Rodin did not carve his own sculptures. Hamo Thornycroft, Sketchbook, Entry for 7th January 1920, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, Tii-S3; Getsy, "The Problem of Realism in Hamo Thornycroft's 1885 Royal Academy Lecture:" 223.

[433] Getsy, "The Problem of Realism in Hamo Thornycroft's 1885 Royal Academy Lecture:" 212.

flesh."[434] *The Kiss* can be read as a belated sculptural manifesto of Thornycroft's advice given in this lecture, as he grapples with the problems of representational sculpture, arguing for students to pursue "closer study of nature" whilst avoiding imitation, and bearing in mind also the admirable idealism of classical sculpture's "form, harmony, balance and grace."[435] The face of the Mother is modelled in a classical vein, in keeping with Thornycroft's reverential attitude to classical works. The mother's head is modelled naturalistically, but shares stylistic conventions with respected classical sculptures, such as the *Venus de Milo* (Fig 44, Fig 45). The mother's face shape follows the shape of the Venus' face, though her cheeks are softer and more naturalised, whilst her low hairline and hair styled in a centre parting echoes and modernises the Venus' hair. The mother's shadowed brow line, long straight nose, and semi-pursed lips can all be seen as a softening of the Venus' facial features, whilst her pupil-less eyes direct a viewer's mind to the antique. It seems very likely that this was a deliberate homage, considering that Thornycroft was especially fond of the *Venus de Milo*. He visited The Louvre to see it on trips to Paris and carried a small print of the sculpture on his person on a day to day, year on year basis, pasted inside the back cover of his appointment diaries with the caption 'Our Lady of Melos.'[436]

Thornycroft's blending of naturalism and classicism in the bodies and faces of *The Kiss* can also be viewed as a direct response to the virile sensuality of Epstein's figures which reject naturalism. The bodies of both mother and child are naturalistically carved, especially in the regions of the woman's lower back and stomach, and the fleshly surface is polished and smoothed (Fig 30). The mother's stomach echoes the flat stomach of its fellow classical beauties in the Tate Gallery. Her breasts are shaded by her outstretched arms, and there is only the smallest suggestion of a nipple, unlike the pronounced nipples of Gill's nursing figures or the "hydrant" breasts of Epstein's figures (Fig 39). Thornycroft's tactics were evidently effective as the work met with immense success and received an ovation from fifty

[434] Getsy, "The Problem of Realism in Hamo Thornycroft's 1885 Royal Academy Lecture:" 211.

[435] Getsy, "The Problem of Realism in Hamo Thornycroft's 1885 Royal Academy Lecture:" 214.

[436] Hamo Thornycroft, Journal for 1889, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH J3.; Hamo Thornycroft, Appointment Diary For 1892, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH D11; Hamo Thornycroft, Appointment Diary For 1893, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, Hamo Thornycroft Papers, TH D12.

academicians at the 1916 Members Varnishing Day.[437] In Thornycroft's words, *The Kiss* was "the loveliest one my chisel ever cut" and its creation and success was "the high-water mark" of his career.[438]

Whilst Thornycroft's "fury" at Epstein was seemingly a reaction to the style and content of his works, a fury he directed into *The Kiss*, some sculptors' opposition to Epstein's inclusion into the national collection of British Sculpture was undoubtedly racially-motivated. In his study of William Reid Dick, Denis Wardleworth sought the root of Frampton's strong objections to Epstein and determined that they were motivated by "strong feelings about the war, patriotism and duty."[439] Frampton's son, Meredith, also an artist, was serving in the army, which Wardleworth observes was an obvious source of anxiety. In Wardleworth's words, "In 1915, when it became clear that the war was going to last some time, Frampton, at the age of 55, joined a kind of private defensive army, the 'Corps of Citizens.'"[440] The Corps wore grey uniforms, drilled in the Botanic Gardens at Kew, and their membership was limited to "British citizens whose fathers are also British subjects."[441] In a letter to *The Times* in 1917, he abrasively outlined his racially-motivated objections to non-British sculptors receiving commissions:

> Sir,
>
> For the enlightenment of those who do not know or realise what extraordinary talent there is among the present fighting generation belonging to the great modern school of English sculpture, which almost owes its being and certainly its splendid vitality to two great English masters – Alfred Stevens and Alfred Gilbert – it should be pointed out that it would be to the advantage of British art that all national memorials wait till the return of our young sculptors, so that they may have the opportunity of increasing the wealth of our national art. There is a grave danger that whilst these brave men are doing their duty in the fighting line, aliens – though naturalised – may be given a

[437] Manning, *Marble & Bronze*, 169.

[438] Manning, *Marble & Bronz*e, 169, 171.

[439] Denis Wardleworth, *William Reid Dick, Sculptor*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 38.

[440] Wardleworth, *William Reid Dick*, 38.

[441] Anon, *The Times*, 1 January 1915, 3.

> preference and allowed to suck the juice from the grape which should be the birthright of our own flesh and blood), leaving but a dry husk to the men of our race, whose development we have watched with such pride and pleasure.[442]

Frampton's views, as plainly stated in his letter, hinged on a sort of nationalist protectionism which we have repeatedly encountered in a milder form, where sculptural commissions, jobs, and accolades were at risk of being seized by foreigners, who, it is possible to infer with little imagination, he believed retained their patriotism for their countries of birth. When Frampton described the grave danger of "aliens – though naturalised," he was doubtless referring to Jewish immigrants. The British Government applied the term "alien" to the group in 1905 when it introduced immigration controls and registration for the first time, primarily to combat Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe. The fear and active racism that inspired the "Aliens Act" of 1905 endured and spread to inspire the far stricter "Aliens Restriction Act" of 1914.[443] Epstein had officially become a naturalised British citizen in 1911: he was listed in *The London Gazette* as one of a "LIST of ALIENS to whom certificates of Naturalization or of Readmission to British Nationality have been granted by the Secretary of State, and whose Oaths of Allegiance have been registered in the Home Office during the month of January, 1911."[444] Frampton's objections to Jewish artists, and outward hostility to them, is evidenced by his attempt in 1911 to throw metalworker Carl Krall, in Frampton's words "a horrible alien," out of the Art Worker's Guild.[445]

The Chantrey Bequest was a space imbued with patriotic connotations, from its namesake's John Bullish disapproval of British artists working in Rome to its physical location in the Tate, officially titled The National Gallery of British Art. Crucially, it provided financial encouragement, recognition of skill and talent by the RA: a respected British institution, and guaranteed placement in a public national

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[442] George Frampton, Letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 28th July 1917, 9.

[443] Helena Wray, "The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma," *Journal of Law & Society* (2006): 302.

[444] Anon, "The Naturalisation Act 1870," *The London Gazette*, 3 February 1911, 874.

[445] See Nancy Ireson, "George Frampton, The Art Worker's Guild and 'The Enemy Alien in our Midst,'" *The Burlington Magazine* (Nov 2009): 763-767.

collection. To Frampton, and other RAs sympathetic to his racist and exclusionary views, the Bequest must have seemed like a crucial battlefield for combating the invasion of foreign sculptors into the British canon.

SECURE FROM INVASION BY THE NEW WOMEN

An article published in *The Studio* in 1896 highlights women sculptors as another group who were denied inclusion into the Bequest progress, and consequently into the canon of British sculpture at the Tate. The writer 'E.B.S.' who interviewed Frampton for *The Studio* in 1896 reassured his readers that "No matter how poetic the idea, how ethereal the finished bas-relief or statue […] the art of the sculptor in its noblest form demands strenuous labour so that you may regard it as being tolerably secure from invasion by the new women."[446] By "the new woman," E.B.S. was referencing a feminist figure of the fin-de-siècle, who appeared in textual, visual, and social forms in the 1880s and 1890s, and who had a strong influence on the growth of modern feminism in the 20th century.[447] Ruth Bordin has characterised the "New Women" as exhibiting an independent spirit, accustomed to acting on their own, and exercising "control over their own lives be it personal, social, or economic."[448] It is entirely plausible that the Council's disinclination to purchase female sculptors was tied into wider societal prejudice against women deviating from established gender norms.

It would be easy to attribute the complete absence of women sculptors from the Bequest process to a lack of female sculptors active in a male-dominated profession or to women experiencing restricted access to formal training because of their gender, thus producing works which fell short of the Academy's high standards. However, Spielmann's *British Sculpture And Sculptors Of To-Day* (1901) discusses and lauds women sculptors at length, including Countess Gleichen, Mary Grant, Elinor Hall, Lucy Gwendolen Williams, Florence Steele, Mabel White, and Edith Maryon.[449]

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[446] Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, 196.

[447] Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism At The Fin De Siècle,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 9.

[448] Ruth Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution Of A New Woman*, (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 2.

[449] M.H. Spielmann, *British Sculptors And Sculptors Of To-Day*, (London: Cassell and Co, 1901), 159 – 164.

Other notable women sculptors in the period included Mary Thornycroft, Ellen Rope, Amelia Robertson Hill, and Mary Watts.[450] Beattie's study of the New Sculpture provides a number of plausible candidates who she considers to be the equal of the male Academician new sculptors in terms of skill, subject matter, and training. A number of these women had similar training to some of the Bequest sculptors. Training at South Kensington under Edouard Lantéri in the 1890s were a significant number of female sculptors including Steele, Margaret Giles, Ruby Levick, Esther Moore, and Williams.[451] These women were not removed from the London-based art world of the Bequest sculptors, but active participants: Levick worked as an assistant to Bayes and collaborated with Pegram, whilst Moore was judged by the Royal Society of British Sculptors to be worthy of inclusion in the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition.[452] Steele, Giles, Levick, Moore, and Williams all exhibited within London and throughout the UK, and both Levick and Moore regularly exhibited at the RA within the 1875-1917 time bracket of my study.[453] A strong example of Levick's suitability can be seen in her 1897 work *Wrestlers* or *Boys Wrestling* (Fig 46), which received positive praise from *The Studio*, who stated: "The sculpture is up to its high level again. Ruby Levick has a really fine group of two wrestlers, not merely vigorous in conception handled with something like mastery."[454] Levick's strenuous wrestlers bears no small similarity to Kellock Brown's *Ju-Jitsu* (1923) (Fig 47), later purchased under the Bequest in 1924.

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[450] Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, 196.

[451] Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, 194.

[452] "Miss Ruby Levick," Mapping the Practice & Profession of Sculpture, accessed 18th October 2016, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2_1203032618; "Miss Esther Mary Moore," Mapping the Practice & Profession of Sculpture, accessed 18th October 2016, ttp://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2_1209145997

[453] Within the 1875 – 1917 bracket, Levick exhibited at the Royal Academy seventeen times, and Moore exhibited fifteen times. "Miss Ruby Levick," "Miss Esther Mary Moore," "Florence Harriet Steele," Mapping the Practice & Profession of Sculpture, accessed 18th October 2016, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib5_1208213037; "Margaret May Giles," Mapping the Practice & Profession of Sculpture, accessed 18th October 2016, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2_1203122173; "Lucy Gwendolen Williams," Mapping the Practice & Profession of Sculpture, accessed 18th October 2016, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib1_1203424401

[454] Anon, "The National Competition," *The Studio* 11 (1897): 260.

Despite the time-honoured presence of female sculptors in the British art world, from Anne Seymour Damer to Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, a sculptural work by a woman would not be purchased until 1929, and in this case, it is unclear whether the gender of its creator was known to the RA Council since the work was attributed to a 'Julian Phelps Allan,' the professional male pseudonym of Eva Dorothy Allan.[455] Thornycroft's wife Agatha, née Cox, provides a strong example of a New Woman present in the RA's social circles. She was a passionate cyclist, and interested in widening women's social mobility through dress reform.[456] Her husband shared her views, participating in the suffragette 'Mud March' in 1908.[457] Thornycroft was a strong proponent of women's equal rights within the RA, and proposed at the General Assembly in 1889 that women should be admitted to the Upper Life School, and able to model from "the living model partially draped."[458] He strongly believed that male and female students would work perfectly well together, and that women should not be barred from the teaching given to male students. His proposition was warmly supported by Armstead, Leighton, Joseph Edgar Boehm, and Riviere, but was met with horror and shock from the majority of Academicians including Millais, and the discussion was permanently adjourned.[459] Whilst we might safely assume then, that Thornycroft, Leighton, Boehm, Riviere, and Armstead would have supported the purchase of works by female sculptors, there would clearly have been considerable opposition to the advancement of female sculptors from powerful and influential Academicians such as Millais. Another barrier to the purchase of these women's works

[455] "Allan Marjorie," Tate, accessed 7th August 2018, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/allan-marjorie-n04479

[456] Cycling was central to idea of women's liberation and the New Woman, see: Sue Macy, *Wheels of Change: How Women Rode the Bicycle to Freedom*, (Washington, U.S.A: National Geographic Publishers, 2011). Thornycroft describes Agatha's character and love of cycling in his diaries at the Henry Moore Institute Archive, Leeds, and made a sculptural relief depicting Agatha on her bicycle, exhibited at the RA in 1897. For Agatha and Hamo's work with dress reform see: Faulkner, "Grace Made Manifest: Hamo Thornycroft's Artemis And The Healthy And Artistic Dress Union:" 317-330, and Robyne Calvert, "The Thornycroft Dress," Artistic Dress, last modified 23rd November 2014, https://artisticdress.wordpress.com/2013/11/24/the-thornycroft-dress

[457] For more on Agatha Thornycroft's positive political influence on Thornycroft, see: Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 74.

[458] Manning, *Marble and Bronze*, 111.

[459] Manning, Marble and Bronze, 111.

may have been their lack of Associate or full membership of the RA, which as we have seen was highly influential in the purchase process. Although women were permitted to enter the RA as students from 1861, and there was no specific rule forbidding women from becoming members, it would take until 1936 for a woman to be fully elected as an Academician in the form of Dame Laura Knight, and even then following numerous rejections from the institution.[460]

With the notable exception of Beattie's study, female sculptors are absent from overall, wide-reaching narratives of British Sculpture before 1917, and the generation of scholars following Beattie's study, namely Edwards, Getsy, Droth, and Hatt, did not take up the task. This absence can be in part attributed to a presumed paucity of paper records, but also to their absence from large publicly-accessible canons. In short, the complete absence of female sculptors from collections erases women from the history of sculpture in Britain.

IN CONCLUSION

The Bequest process was subject to the inward-focus, exclusionary attitudes, and institutional authority which the RA had been accused of by Fry, MacColl, and speakers at the 1904 Inquiry. The friendships, rivalries, and exclusionary politics within the RA biased the Bequest in favour of a group of London-based sculptors, largely excluding sculptors without a connection to the RA. The prejudicial attitudes of Frampton, and presumably others who shared his views, delayed the purchase of an Epstein on racial grounds. Thornycroft, who disliked Epstein's work on the basis of its style, recognised that a more classical, conservative, and sentimental take on modernist techniques and subjects would find favour with its Academy audience. Meanwhile, female sculptors were completely excluded from purchase by the Bequest fund. They had no outspoken advocates from inside the Academy's walls, and nowhere could I find critics questioning their absence and calling for their inclusion.

The RA were however constrained by the wording of the Bequest in relation to sculpture. Encouraged by social and professional networks, individual figures such

[460] Amy Bluett, "Mary Moser and Angelica Kauffman: The RA's Founding Women," Royal Academy, 2nd March 2015, accessed 18th October 2016, https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/article/mary-moser-and-angelica-kauffman

as Leighton, Poynter, Alma-Tadema, and Thornycroft did much to ensure that sculptures were purchased. Whilst their approach contravened the literal wording of Chantrey's Will, it stayed faithful to his desire to directly support the British art market. It is highly probable that if the RA Council had not instigated a backdoor arrangement, far fewer sculptures would have been purchased. The resulting group of sculptures were the product of fluctuating factors within the Academy such as individual tastes, prejudices, and sculptural styles, but also of wider social trends: fears around immigration, intensified patriotism during wartime, and ingrained misogyny. These social considerations co-existed with a patriotic geo-political agenda particular to the RA and reflected by Chantrey in the wording of his Bequest.

CHAPTER THREE – WITHIN THE SHORES OF GREAT BRITAIN

The London-location of the RA and the London-domicile of its members placed the metropole at the heart of the Bequest process; whilst its inward-focus meant it had been common practice from the beginning of the Bequest process to select works from the RA's exhibitions.[461] By the 1904 Inquiry, all sixteen sculptures purchased had been selected from the RA's Summer Exhibitions. Some members of the Inquiry Committee argued that this London-centricity limited the variety of works purchased, which limited the overall national character of the collection. The Committee contended that in refusing to look beyond London, the RA potentially breached Chantrey's direction to acquire "works of fine art of the highest merit that…can be obtained."[462] Frampton, himself an Academician, commented that "at present time there is danger of works of real merit getting overlooked as members of Council cannot possibly travel over [the] country in search of suitable works for the Chantrey Collection."[463]

There was however, no consensus either by the Inquiry Committee or the RA regarding where the Academicians might in principle travel to find suitable works. Chantrey's Will dictates that the geographical remit of his Bequest encapsulates works of fine art "entirely executed within the Shores of Great Britain."[464] Whilst 'Great Britain' is generally understood to encapsulate Scotland, England, and Wales, it is important to note that at no point did the RA or the Inquiry Committee seek a formal legal Declaration as to the meaning of "the Shores of Great Britain;" although the Inquiry revealed a great deal of confusion as to what it did or did not encapsulate

[461] The majority of Academicians acting on the Council, and thus selecting works, lived and worked in the capital.

[462] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[463] Chantrey had not provided funds for travel in his Will, nor were Academicians willing fund their own travel or lose time whilst looking for works. A restriction enforced by the Academy also prevented this, as I will go on to explain. Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904,* 556.

[464] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

geographically.[465] From the use of the word 'shores,' I have understood Chantrey to intend for the Bequest to include England, Scotland, and Wales but not Ireland or smaller islands surrounding the main island composed of England, Scotland, and Wales. However, the Inquirers and Academicians could not reach an agreement about what Chantrey had meant by the phrase 'Shores of Great Britain.' Whilst Lord Killain stated outright that "the clause about the pictures being painted within the shores of Great Britain excludes pictures painted within the shores of Ireland," the Earl of Lytton conjectured that if the Recommending Committee were to travel to Scotland "why not to Ireland?"[466] Frampton, an Academician who had served numerous times on the RA Council, and thus aided the administration of the Bequest, also appeared unaware of any restrictions on acquiring works created in Ireland. He remarked that it would be impossible in terms of RA members losing their money and sculpting time "to go to the other end of Scotland or to Ireland to see works."[467]

Academicians were further restricted by a self-imposed rule put in place by the Academy. This dictated that Council members could not vote on works they had not viewed in person.[468] Poynter, PRA in 1904, claimed that this restriction was the reason that the Council hadn't purchased works from Scottish exhibitions, stating "any Scotch member would tell us what pictures were in the Scottish exhibitions, the difficulty is in getting the ten men to go to Scotland to look at them."[469] Due almost certainly to this reason, council members do not seem to have recommended works found outside London. The Purchase Ledger records that at a number of meetings to vote upon suggested works some council members "did not vote," presumably due to having not viewed the London-situated sculpture in time.[470] I have found no written or visual

[465] The imprecision of the phrase "Shores of Great Britain" evidently caused a great deal of confusion to the administrators and inquirers of the Bequest, and any vagueness around the definition of "Shores of Great Britain" within this study is a deliberate choice with this in mind.

[466] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 145, 54.

[467] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 34.

[468] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 25.

[469] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 25.

[470] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

evidence that the Council used photography to remedy this issue, and although this presumably would have been possible given the popularity amongst sculptors for photographing their works in the studio, photographs could only have provided a partial view of any work. Evidently, the ideal situation of fair representation across Great Britain could not be matched to the practical reality of the Bequest administration, as constructed by the RA themselves.

However, some Inquirers and Academicians did not consider the RA's London focus to be detrimental. Alma-Tadema gave evidence to the effect that he believed "all the best artists in the country were delighted to send their work to the Academy," effectively negating the Committee from the responsibility of travelling to regional exhibitions.[471] Inquirer Lord Windsor was in agreement, conjecturing that "If not to Scotland, why not to Ireland? Why not to Wales? Why not to every exhibition in the country? I see no end to it. Surely, we may suggest that the metropolis of the country is more or less the market place."[472] Frampton proposed a corrective to the process which required no travelling. He suggested that "it would be a good thing if various art bodies throughout the kingdom would assist the Council by bringing works of art to their notice," effectively outsourcing labour to the regions.[473] This idea would never be acted upon, and the RA did not consider work produced in the English regions, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland. Every single sculpture purchased between 1875 and 1917 was purchased within London. The attitude of the RA never became proactive in looking outside of London for sculptural works, meaning that for a sculptor working outside London to be included, he would have to take the time, money, and initiative to send his already expensively carved or cast works to London for the small chance of consideration.

Chantrey's Bequest is clearer in reference to the nationality of artists purchased, stating that works "may be executed by Artists of any Nation provided such artists shall have actually resided in Great Britain during the executing and completing

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[471] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 170.

[472] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 55.

[473] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 556.

such Works [sic]."[474] Between 1875 and 1917, the Council of the RA selected works by sculptors born in England, Scotland, Wales, France, and Australia - not the range of nationalities that might be expected to result from the category 'Artists of Any Nation.'

This chapter identifies the requirements for inclusion set by the RA and the unspoken geo-political agenda that influenced their choices, and in doing so, disassembles the notion of the Bequest sculptures being a homogenously British group. In order to examine the RA's attitude towards sculptors from different national backgrounds, I divide the group into the smaller national sub-groups which are represented: Scottish, Welsh, French, and Australian. The presence of these groups throws into relief the absence of others – Scottish and Welsh sculptors are present, but no Irish sculptors; Australian sculptors are included, but not sculptors from other parts of the British Empire, such as India. The RA's exclusions are just as telling as their inclusions. In order to use this interpretative framework, it is necessary to categorise individuals into broad national groupings, which erase regional differences. Such an approach risks making the same kind of misleading and homogenising generalisations it aims to unpick, but at a smaller scale. Therefore, to categorise sculptors into national groupings, I rely on a sculptor's self-presentation in terms of his national identity, secondarily, in the convention of interpretative gallery captions, on place of birth.

ARTISTS OF ANY NATION? NATURALISED CITIZENS, ROYALLY – APPROVED DENIZENS, AND MERE VISITORS

Whilst Chantrey's Bequest instructs that works "may be executed by Artists of any Nation provided such artists shall have actually resided in Great Britain during the executing and completing such Works [sic]," it does not specify a minimum duration of residence, which prompted MacColl to call for the inclusion of artists who had briefly worked in Britain, such as Edgar Degas and Claude Monet.[475] However, discussions around this clause in 1904 revealed that the majority of Academicians and established art critics were in agreement as to the implicit meaning of Chantrey's instructions regarding residency - artists deemed to be a "mere visitor" or a

[474] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[475] MacColl, *The Administration Of The Chantrey Bequest*, 11.

"temporary passer-by" were not to be included.[476] Examination of this clause and the consensus around its interpretation indicates the requirements which foreign artists had to fulfil in order to be considered for purchase. These were a demonstrable contribution to British Art and a demonstrable allegiance to Britain through a period of domicile, preferably strengthened by becoming a naturalised or denizated citizen. As Fyfe has observed, the debates around classification and eligibility for inclusion into a British canon stirred up by inquiries into the Chantrey Bequest occurred during the years in which citizenship was defined legislatively.[477]

During the 1904 Inquiry, Spielmann responded to MacColl's call for the inclusion of visiting artists, commenting "I should certainly differ from the view presented by D.S.MacColl that they should include mere passing artists, even those who have exercised some slight influence, such as Delacroix, Degas, Bastien-Lepage, Fantin La Tour, and even Monet," but commented that "Dalou I would certainly include, because he not only worked here but was a great influence upon British Art."[478] "Foreigners who have been naturalised," he goes on to state, "like Herkomer, Legros, or Lantéri, or who have taken out letters of denization as Sir Alma-Tadema did are essentially men who come in under the Will and are intended to be included, men who lived amongst us, like Whistler, Shannon, Sargent, and Mark Fisher."[479]

Spielmann lists German-born painter Hubert Von Herkomer, French-born Alphonse Legros, and French-born Lantéri, all of whom became naturalised British citizens, and Dutch-born painter Laurence Alma-Tadema who was the last person to

[476] Mr Charles John Holmes, Editor of The Burlington Magazine referred to Dalou as a "temporary passer-by" in his evidence in 1904 whilst The Chairman referred to some foreign artists as "mere visitors": Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 125.

[477] Fyfe, *Art, Power And Modernity*, 150.

[478] For an in-depth exploration of the influence of Dalou and other French émigré artists on the development of British art, see: Caroline Corbeau-Parsons, *Impressionists In London: French Artists In Exile 1870 – 1904*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2017); Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 173.

[479] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 173.

acquire British nationality through denization in 1873.[480] Denization was a process akin to naturalisation, though whilst naturalisation is granted through an Act of Parliament, denization was granted by the Crown. Alma-Tadema petitioned Queen Victoria to grant him letters of denization, citing as the main reason that he desired denizen status was to join the RA: "in the prosecution of his said profession your petitioner is desirous of becoming a member of the Royal Academy in England, and that no foreigners are admitted members of the Academy."[481] Edward Burne-Jones signed a testimonial supporting Alma-Tadema's application, and the Queen granted it, making him a denizated citizen.[482] Spielmann also lists James Abbott McNeill Whistler, James Jebusa Shannon, Singer Sargent, and Mark Fisher, American-born painters who lived in Britain for differing periods of time and were active in the British art world and on the British art market.

Poet John Bowyer Nichols, giving evidence in 1904, suggested that Chantrey's choice to open his Bequest to 'Artists of any Nation' was with consideration of artists born outside Britain who had grown up in the country. He stated "As regards foreigners, there were two brothers, Chalons, who were referred to in the evidence; I think it was Sir Edward Poynter who said he thought that the Chalons were especially in Sir Francis Chantrey's mind when he referred to foreigners. They were brothers who came over to England in 1789. The elder one, John James, was born in 1778, so that he was 11 years old when he came over to England; and the younger brother, John Alfred, was born in 1780, so that he was 9 years old when he came to England. One entered the Academy schools in 1796, and the younger in 1797, and they got their education there. It seems, therefore, absurd to describe them as foreigners at all."[483] The Chalons, painters originally from Switzerland, both settled in England, living there for the duration of their lives, becoming Royal Academicians and receiving royal

[480] HM Government Digital Service, "Denization," *Gov.uk,* last modified 27th July 2017, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/632306/denization.pdf

[481] Emily Stidson, "A 19th-Century Artist In Residence," *The National Archives,* last modified 20th May 2015, https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/blog/19th-century-artist-residence/

[482] Stidson, "A 19th-Century Artist In Residence."

[483] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904,* 102.

patronage.[484] Nichols stated that he regarded the pair as "practically Englishmen."[485] Two such sculptors were purchased through the Bequest: American-born William Reynolds-Stephens and French-born William Robert Colton. Both were born to British parents outside Britain, and during childhood emigrated back to Britain, growing up and residing there throughout their careers. Upon close examination, Chantrey's direction that 'Artists of Any Nation' could be purchased through his Bequest is far narrower than the exact wording would imply, and narrower than MacColl would have preferred. However, the inclusiveness of even this narrow interpretation of 'Artists of Any Nation' is evident when compared to an equivalent geographical restriction by Turner. Turner had intended to establish a charity to support "Poor and Decayed Male Artists" as outlined in his Will, although this never came to fruition due to his failure to register his intention at the Courts of Chancery. Turner restricted the charity to male artists "born in England and of English parents only and lawful issue."[486] By comparison, the wording of Chantrey's Bequest speaks of his recognition of the cosmopolitan nature of the British art world.

The evidence of Nichols and Spielmann suggests that a major requirement for foreign artists' to be eligible for purchase was to demonstrate a commitment to Britain through residency. British domicile, so central to the Bequest process, was directly borrowed from the RA's own rules regarding foreign artists. Foreign artists had to be "resident in Great Britain" to be eligible for membership but being native to the British Isles was not a requirement.[487] Gibson notably recalled that, opposing the election of Rome-resident Richard James Wyatt to the RA "Sir F. Chantrey said on the occasion, in defence of his exclusion of Mr. Wyatt, that the existing law of the Academy, which prescribed that the candidate should be resident in England, must be adhered to strictly."[488] It seems highly probable that Chantrey phrased the terms of his Bequest

[484] Raymond Lister, "Chalon, Alfred Edward (1780–1860)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, last modified 23rd September 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5036; Ernest Radford, "Chalon, John James (1778–1854)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, last modified 23rd September 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5037

[485] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904,* 102.

[486] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner*, 36.

[487] Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 110.

[488] Matthews, *The Biography of John Gibson, R.A.*, 135.

in convention with the RA's principles, and with their future administration of the Bequest in mind. It is likely that he relied on the RA to implement the Bequest in accordance with their own practice of cultural patriotism, and their membership requirements for foreign artists.

Demonstrable loyalty to the British monarchy was also a requirement of RA membership, and one with a subtle presence in the wording of Chantrey's Bequest. His Bequest states that the administration of his fund would transfer from the RA "in the event of the title 'Royal' being withdrawn by the Crown."[489] As Hoock has persuasively argued, in the early days of the RA it was crucial for the institution to retain "royal confidence" in its political patriotism and loyalty in the wake of the American and French revolutions. A loss of Royal trust entailed the loss of "the social cachet" and the "stamp of Royal approval vital to its success."[490] The RA's strong ties with the monarchy throughout the period covered in my study were demonstrated by Royal patronage of the institution, royal visits to the Summer Exhibition, the inauguration of Presidents and officials by the monarch, the signing of Diplomas by the monarch, and royal attendance at the Annual Academy dinner.[491] Hoock argues that "any artist, as any other citizen – or perhaps more than others, given artists' creative and hence propagandistic potential, was subjected to the litmus test of total loyalty to the current regime."[492] Those bought by the RA through the Bequest were aligned with its institutional politics by the mark of approval which purchase connotated, and thus they were subject to a similar test of patriotic allegiance.

SCOTLAND: WILLIAM CALDER – MARSHALL

Of all the national sub-groups discussed during the 1904 Inquiry, Scottish artists received the most attention and attracted the most fervent debate. The claim that Scottish paintings were being actively excluded from the Bequest process formed one of the biggest disputes of the whole Inquiry. Lord Windsor claimed that the "complete

[489] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[490] Hoock, *The King's* Artists, 193.

[491] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1878,* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1879), 9.

[492] Hoock, *The King's* Artists, 130.

lack" of Scottish paintings narrowed the intentions of the Bequest, a viewpoint supported by numerous members of the Select Committee.[493] But claims for the complete absence of Scottish artists were promptly disproved by the Earl of Carlisle, since by 1904, Scottish painting was represented by the works of Colin Hunter, John Robertson Reid, W.Q. Orchardson, David Murray, John Pettie, William Small, Robert Walker Macbeth, Robert Bucan Nisbet, and John MacWhirter.[494] A claim of underrepresentation might have been more persuasive: Scottish-born painters made up eight percent of the eighty-nine artworks purchased.[495] Discussion revolved solely around "pictures" during these representation debates, and Scottish sculpture was not mentioned once. Such a significant oversight is surprising considering that the number of Scottish paintings dwarfed that of Scottish sculpture, which at that time was represented by one work, William Calder-Marshall's *Prodigal Son* (1881) (Fig 48).[496] Despite compelling evidence from the President of the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA) Sir James Guthrie, the Inquiry Committee made no objection to the RA's London focus, and calmly subordinated Scotland to England. Rather than placing pressure on the RA to move outwards from London to consider works in Scotland, they placed the onus on Scottish artists to court the RA council by sending their works to London. Speakers also placed blame on Scottish artists, claiming that their own resentful attitudes had led them to exclude themselves from the Bequest. Examining the debate over Scottish inclusion/exclusion casts light onto existing prejudices within the English establishment against Scottish art and reveals the characteristics that a Scottish artist had to display to be deemed worthy of inclusion.

The central issue was that of residency, whether a Scottish artist lived and worked in London or set up their home and studio in Scotland, and the connotations of national loyalty implicit in this choice. Throughout the Inquiry, the Select Committee displayed a prejudicial attitude towards any Scottish desire to prioritise exhibiting in Scotland over exhibiting in England. The Committee placed the blame on Scottish artists' temperament for their lack of inclusion in the Bequest process,

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[493] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904,* 54.

[494] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[495] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[496] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

claiming that the main reason for the lack of Scottish representation was the "aloofness" of eminent Scottish artists. "These artists," they claimed, "do not care about exhibiting side to side" with English artists and thus don't send their "pictures" to London.[497] Spielmann supported this prejudicial verdict by going so far as to suggest that Scottish painters' decisions not to send works was in order to avoid the low quality works of the Scottish school being fairly judged, and shown to be inferior by the superior English organisation of the RA. He stated that the Scottish "have got it into their heads that the Academy has not only rejected their pictures on the merits of those particular pictures but rejected them because it is opposed to the modern school of Scotch painting, so they certainly do not send to the Royal Academy."[498] Spielmann further stated that "there is undoubtedly in Scotland a considerable feeling of pique against the Academy," suggesting by his choice of the word 'pique' that Scottish artists had taken against the Academy since this artistic judgement was hurtful to their national pride.[499]

Frampton's evidence undermined this rhetoric by vouching for the high quality of Scottish artworks. Asked by Lord Newton "Is it not the fact that nearly everything of importance is exhibited in London?" Frampton qualified "Yes, I should say not all, because I have seen some very fine works of art in Scotland." This recognition earned Frampton a derisive, jokey response from Newton, who remarked "Perhaps you are a Scotchman?"[500] A Londoner from birth, Frampton replied "No, I am not."[501] Evidently Frampton's views did little to alter the Committee's viewpoint or the views of his own institution, the RA. Asked whether it was the custom for the RA Council to make themselves "acquainted with the best of the Royal Scottish Academy pictures," RA

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[497] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 186.

[498] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 176.

[499] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 176.

[500] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 35.

[501] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 35.

President Poynter replied that "I do not think that has been the case."[502] Guthrie, President of the RSA, recognised that to be included in the Bequest Scottish artists had to be "members of the Academy first, and Scotchmen afterwards." [503] The Earl Carlisle asked Guthrie "do you think a Scottish painter who exhibits in the [Royal] Academy ceases to be nationally representative?," to which Guthrie replied "By no means. Some most distinguished men, for whom we in Scotland have the highest regard, have been members of the Academy, but they certainly do not fall under the category of those for whom I have been speaking [Scottish artists working in Scotland]. I should think some of them are, under the circumstances of such a bequest as this, members of the Academy first and Scotchmen afterwards. They are certainly not Scotchmen working in Scotland whom I am here primarily to represent. They are people who have taken the other view, who go into the world without, prove themselves to be of considerable stature and are rewarded accordingly."[504] Consequently, the Scottish painters purchased by the RA tended to live and work in London and were often associate or full members of the Royal Academy at the point of purchase.[505]

The queries surrounding Scottish representation raised during the 1904 Inquiry did not result in a significant or immediate increase in the acquisition of the works of Scottish-born sculptors. It would take forty-nine years for the RA to purchase the work of a Scottish sculptor living in Scotland, Kellock Brown's *Ju-Jitsu* (1923), purchased in 1924.[506] Whilst the presence of works made by Scottish-born sculptors in the collection is meagre, Scottish sculpture had a presence from early on in the Bequest process. Marshall's *The Prodigal Son* was the third work to be purchased in 1881.[507]

Marshall's *Prodigal Son* sits in a pose of repentance, with hands grasped

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[502] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 22.

[503] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 54.

[504] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 54.

[505] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[506] Kellock Brown briefly lived in London between 1888 and 1889 but lived permanently in Glasgow from 1891 to 1934. "William Kellock Brown," Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951, accessed 7 June 2016, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib6_1204205845.

[507] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

tightly together and his face turned skyward (Fig 48). The degrading nature of the figure's position as a swineherd is conveyed through his scarcity of clothing: he wears only a loincloth, the long front panel of which twines between his legs and rests on the ground beneath him. The stone of the base upon which the figure rests is differentiated from that of the body, and identifiable as earthen ground. Next to the crumpled fabric lie a pile of curved carob seed pods, which were widely understood in the 19th century to be the "husks" which the prodigal son longs to eat. They were commonly fed to livestock in Israel, Syria, and Palestine in times of famine.[508] From close observation of the head of the sculpture, it seems highly probable that Marshall used the Italian model Angelo Colarossi Senior for the *Prodigal Son.*[509] The similarities are evident through comparison between the head (Fig 49) and Julia Margaret Cameron's 1867 photograph *Iago, Study from an Italian* (Fig 50), identified by Colin Ford as Colarossi Snr.[510] Both heads share the same jawline, the slim, sloping brow line, straight arrowhead-shaped nose, cupid's bow lips, and high, defined cheekbones. Viewers are encouraged to consider the character's physical suffering, his hunger and state of starvation, by the corporeality of the sculptural body. Whilst the feet of the figure are unlined and smooth, and their toes joined by a webbing of uncarved marble (Fig 51), the skin of the torso is sensitively and delicately treated. Small bodily details such as the folds of skin from the back of the figure's bent neck (Fig 52) and the cephalic vein of the forearm (Fig 53) are carefully carved. This attentive treatment of the marble surface is particularly evident in areas which reflect the son's state of malnourishment: the indentations of the chest which denote the presence of the ribcage underneath (Fig 54), and the shadowing delineating bones.

Marshall was born in Edinburgh in 1813 and educated at Edinburgh University and the Trustees' Academy School of Art. At twenty-one he moved to London where he worked in the studios of Edward Hodges Baily and Chantrey, who encouraged him to enter the RA Schools.[511] He would continue to have a lasting and fruitful relationship with the RA until the end of his life. In *The Inner Life of the Royal*

[508] Samuel Bullfinch Emmons, *A Bible Dictionary: Containing a Definition Of The Most Important Words And Phrases In The Holy Scriptures*, (Boston: Abel Tomkins, 1841), 88.

[509] My thanks to Caroline Corbeau-Parsons for making this observation and pointing it out to me.

[510] Colin Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron: 19th Century Photographer of Genius*, (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2003).

[511] Greenwood, "Marshall, William Calder (1813–1894)."

Academy (1914), G.D. Leslie described Marshall as "rather quiet, and very Scottish and shrewd," and listed him among "distinguished Scottish" members whom the RA should feel proud to have on its roll.[512] Elsewhere in print, however, Marshall's Scottish identity suffered the same national erasure in print which befell his Irish and Welsh counterparts. In his 1884 work *Artists at Home*, Frederic George Stephens described Marshall as "the doyen of the English sculptors."[513] Towards the end of his life, if not before, Marshall incorporated his Scottishness into his public identity. He wore his Scottish identity on his sleeve, or perhaps it might be more accurate to say on his head. A set of publicity photographs of the sculptor in his studio in 1889 show him wearing a traditional Scottish tam o' shanter (Fig 55).[514] On the face of things, Marshall was a demonstrably Scottish sculptor represented alongside a host of English sculptors.

It seems probable that the purchase of Calder-Marshall's *Prodigal Son* in 1881 was prompted by his long dedication and commitment to the Academy. At the point of purchase the sculptor was sixty-eight and had been exhibiting at the Academy for forty-five years. Additionally, as an active living sculptor who had been trained and guided by Chantrey, Calder-Marshall must have seemed like a fitting choice.[515] He was an active participant in the RA's affairs, such as helping to organise the funeral of PRA Sir Francis Grant in 1878.[516] In 1874 and 1875, Calder-Marshall managed the arrangement and colour scheme of the Gibson Gallery which was populated by plaster works bequeathed by Gibson to the RA in 1866 (along with some £32,000 of his fortune).[517] The small Gibson Gallery acted as a relocated piece of Italy, decorated "with Pompeiian red, with a black stencil decoration at the top and bottom," which

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[512] G.D. Leslie, *The Inner Life Of The Royal Academy*, (London: John Murray, 1914), 171.

[513] Frederic George Stephens, *Artists at Home,* (London: Appleton, 1884), 4.

[514] Calder Marshall was professionally active between 1834 and 1891 and lived in London permanently between 1839 and his death in 1891. "William Calder Marshall RA," Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951, accessed 6 June 2016, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2_1202171433.

[515] Martin Greenwood, "Gibson, John (1790–1866)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 13th December 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10625

[516] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1875*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1878), 5.

[517] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1875*, 5; Greenwood, "Gibson, John (1790–1866)."

framed plasters made on Roman soil.[518] Gibson acted as both friend and teacher to the younger sculptor during Marshall's years as a resident of Rome, between 1836 and 1838. Marshall wrote of Gibson's kindness in helping him to model and measure his works, and the two regularly drank coffee in the company of other sculptors at Caffé Greco.[519]

Marshall's extensive letters provide remarkable insights into his political views and social values at the beginning of his career; the principles he would take with him when he settled in London in 1839 to access commissions and diligently court the RA. Marshall travelled to Rome via France in September 1836, where he lived and worked for nineteen months, finally departing Italy to travel home to Scotland in April 1838. Marshall was constantly critical of the Catholic church: "priests spring up here like mushrooms;" and the public services: "things are conducted in such a queer way in this country that no reliance can be placed on anything."[520] Broadly derisive of Rome's people, customs, dominant religion, and infrastructure, Marshall's affectionate praise was restricted to the charms of Italian women and the surviving traces of Ancient Rome; indeed, he exalted: "Tis a perfect world of ruins and how magnificent."[521] He was contemptuous of the neglect he perceived Rome had suffered at the hands of the Italians, and fixated on the ancient ruins: "How dreadful now is her fall. In the very court-yards of the meanest alehouse or winehouse there are to be found fragments of statues and broken pillars. All, all is ruin. The Tarpeian rock has dwindled into a shadow of what it was."[522] Marshall was not unusual in holding these views. Studies of British and American writers and artists in Rome in the same period have evidenced a similar desire to engage with the ruins of Ancient Rome and with the concept of Ancient Rome and the Roman Empire as a cultural, artistic heir to Greece, whilst distancing themselves from the modern socio-

[518] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1875*, 5.

[519] Greenwood, "Gibson, John (1790–1866);" Letter from William Calder-Marshall to his father, 27th October 1836, Royal Academy of Arts Archive, MAR/3/4.

[520] Letter from William Calder-Marshall to his Father, MAR/3/4.

[521] Letter from William Calder-Marshall to his Father, 29th November 1836, Royal Academy of Arts Archive, MAR/3/5.

[522] Letter from William Calder-Marshall to his Father, MAR/3/5.

political entity of Rome as a city.[523]

Throughout his letters home Marshall consistently associated himself with "the English" as a group, and used the term 'English' where we might expect him to use 'British.' On 29th November 1836, shortly after settling in Rome, Marshall wrote to his father that he was "beginning to feel quite at home" because he had got to know a number of other English families resident in the city.[524] In his descriptions of the difference in customs and the treatment of non-Italians, his focus is on the English; for example: "when the Host passes all the people kneel, even in the street The English [sic] must either take off their hats or bow down, otherwise they run a great chance of assassination."[525]

However, it is clear that Marshall was not necessarily using English as a bracket term which encapsulated England, Scotland, and Wales, as he differentiates between 'Scotchmen' and 'Englishmen' on a number of occasions.[526] In one epistle, Marshall describes his group of friends, the so-called "Roman Chumming Society," which consists of "four Scotchmen, three Englishmen, two Irishmen, one German, one Dutchman, and one Italian – fourteen in all."[527] Frustratingly, Marshall does not make it clear if he considers himself one of the Scotchmen or the Englishmen, but he evidently does differentiate between the two groups at least intermittently.

Marshall references 'Britain' only twice in the wealth of letters, and, in both cases, it carries associations of inferiority and a lack of refinement. In the first instance in July 1837, he extols the beauty of Italian women in a list of physical attributes which he contrasts negatively with British women. He describes "the full black Italian eye,

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[523] See: Kate Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer: A Cultural Biography*, (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010); Alison Chapman and Jane Stabler, *Unfolding The South: Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers and Artists in Italy*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Melissa L. Gustin, "Eating the Lotos: New Critical Approaches To Neoclassical Sculpture," (PhD diss. University of York, 2018).

[524] Letter from William Calder-Marshall to his Father, MAR/3/5.

[525] Letter from William Calder-Marshall to his Father, MAR/3/5.

[526] In a letter to his Father on 27th October 1836, Marshall describes how a "Scotchman" called Allan has helped him to find lodgings and a studio, and later lists "four Scotchmen, three Englishmen" in Letter from William Calder-Marshall to John, 22nd September to 4th October 1837, Royal Academy of Arts Archive, MAR/3/13.

[527] Letter from William Calder-Marshall to his Mother, 10th November 1837, Royal Academy of Arts Archive, MAR/3/15; Letter from William Calder-Marshall to John, MAR/3/13.

flashing its all-consuming fire from under its long silken eyelash; and then the cherub lips – the dwelling place of smiles; the neck unrivalled among Europa's daughters; and then the walk – the majesty of the walk – let Britain's damsels try to equal it; the ankle – but no, I'll go no further. Who can describe an angel's charms?"[528] When compared to Marshall's earlier letter on the subject, written in November 1836, it is clear that as his views of Italian women's beauty changed, so did his choice of language to describe women of his own nation. He stated in 1836: "I have been sadly disappointed with the appearance of the Italian women in general; they get very soon old and then they are fiends. I expected to find them all angels but have been disappointed. Although I would say, as a nation, they are ugly, still there are some splendid exceptions. I don't think you need to be at all afraid of my taking an Italian wife as I admire the English much more than I ever did before."[529] When Marshall's objectification of Italian female bodies judged the Italian women to have superior physical beauty, he used the word British rather than English.

Marshall's second use of the word 'Britain' is in relation to Ancient, Pre-Roman Britain. He describes his walk in the Campagna of Rome in March 1838 to his brother Tom and laments its degeneration from a place "so rich and fertile, covered with splendid villas and gorgeous palaces" to "almost a barren waste" populated by goatskin-wearing shepherds who are "perfect Robinson Crusoes, only being a great deal more uncivilised." Marshall comments that:

> It is most curious in reading of the early days of Rome to find her waging bloody wars with the Veians, Albanians, Sabines, etc. none of whose territories were distant above 12 or 13 miles from Rome, which are now little more than villages and which could not have been much more then, but from these paltry acquisitions of territory, see her extending her sawy [a probably mistype – sway seems more likely] to the uttermost corners of the then known world; see her from her skin-clad shepherds storming neighbouring huts, landing her steel proof warriors on the British shore – enlightening and civilising the world – then in utter darkness and barbarism – which, but for them might have

[528] Letter from William Calder-Marshall to Agnes, 6th July 1837, Royal Academy of Arts Archive, MAR/3/10.

[529] Letter from William Calder-Marshall to his Father, MAR/3/5.

> continued for centuries longer, first giving her a desire for freedom by imposing on her the chains of slavery, thus putting her on the way to that proud eminence which she now holds among nations, whilst her conquerors are so fallen that their very existence depends upon the very visits of travellers to see the remains of their former splendour.[530]

In Marshall's narrative, Britain, and implicitly its population the Ancient Britons, are uncivilised, unenlightened, and uncultured until the arrival of the Romans. In the nineteenth century, he claims that Rome are the fallen conquerors, returned to uncivilised rural poverty whilst his own nation is in the position of the Ancient Romans – the civilised visitors propping up the Roman economy. Combining this narrative with his wider references to the English, to English ballroom dances, the English church, the superior English weather, it becomes clear that he views 'English' as the eminent and deservedly dominant, civilising culture. With this in mind, Marshall's wider references to "The English" can be read as referring to a section of society which he viewed himself and his family as part of, rather than to a group of people originating from England. A look at the professional and social lives of his family members attests to their involvement with, and commitment to, the English establishment. His Father, William Marshall, held the appointment of Goldsmith to the King and acted as a Deputy Lieutenant of Edinburgh, a crown appointment.[531] An affluent upper-middle-class family, the Calder-Marshalls followed the established patterns of the English gentry in their choice of their sons' professions. This familiar pattern can be summarised thus: the eldest son would often inherit the estate and enter politics, the second son would join the army, the third son would go into law, and the fourth son would join the church.[532] Marshall's brothers loosely followed this pattern and entered "honourable" professions associated with the governing elite: John Dalrymple Marshall inherited and managed the family jewellery business in Edinburgh, David Marshall became an accountant and co-founded the Society of

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[530] Letter from William Calder-Marshall to Tom Calder-Marshall, 7th - 13th March 1838, Royal Academy of Arts Archive, MAR/3/18.

[531] T.A. Lee, *Seekers of Truth: The Scottish Founders of Modern Public Accountancy*, (London: Elseiver, 2006), 246.

[532] For quantitative evidence of these patterns, see: Patrick Wallis and Cliff Webb, "The Education and Training of Gentry Sons in Early Modern England," *Social History*, 36 (2011), 36–53.

Accountants in Edinburgh, Thomas Marshall was sent to be educated at a seminary, and Walker Marshall qualified in English Law at the Middle Temple in London and practiced as a Barrister in the English law courts.[533]

In keeping with his views on English culture and the context of his family, Marshall courted both Scottish and English exhibitions, but placed greater emphasis on working with the RA in London despite the RSA sharing his hometown of Edinburgh. It is evident that Marshall's institutional loyalty was to the RA as he was elected an associate of the RSA in 1840 but resigned in 1844, the same year that he became an Associate of the RA. He later accepted an honorary membership of the RSA in 1861.[534] He exhibited at the annual RSA 32 times between 1836 and his retirement in 1891 at the age of seventy-eight, a number dwarfed by the 120 ideal and narrative works he exhibited at the RA in the same period.[535] The purchase of *The Prodigal Son* by the Chantrey Bequest was arguably a side-effect of his choice to pursue a London-based English career over a Scottish-centric one, such as that of his Edinburgh contemporary John Steell who is not represented in the collection.[536]

Whilst the geographical remit of the Bequest encapsulated Scotland, and there could be little doubt that the "Shores of Great Britain" included Scotland, Scottish artists who resided in Scotland, who exhibited there, and whose institutional allegiance prioritised the RSA over the RA, were excluded from the Bequest process. However, those who took "the other view," and who were prepared to be an Academician first, and Scottish second, such as Marshall, were considered suitable candidates for the Bequest process.

IRELAND: JOHN LAWLOR

Despite Britain's long history of imposing constitutional and military control over Ireland, and their interconnected history of artistic patronage and exhibition, there is a

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[533] Lee, *Seekers of Truth*, 247; Letter from William Calder-Marshall to John, MAR/3/13.

[534] Greenwood, "Marshall, William Calder (1813–1894)."

[535] "William Calder Marshall RA," Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951.

[536] R. E. Graves, "Steell, Sir John Robert (1804–1891)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 22nd March 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26352

notable absence of Irish-born sculptors in the Bequest process. Britain and Ireland's historical reciprocity favoured Irish sculptors setting up studios in London and receiving English patronage, whilst Irish popularity for sculptors working in Britain provided generations of sculptors resident in Britain with commissions from Flaxman, Chantrey, and Baily to Westmacott, Theed, Thornycroft, and Boehm.[537] There was a strong presence of Irish work in British national monumental projects – Irish-born and trained sculptors Patrick MacDowell, John Edward Carew, and John Henry Foley received commissions to work on the new Houses of Parliament (1840-70), and MacDowell, Foley, and John Lawlor created figures for the Albert Memorial (1861-1872).[538] Irish born sculptors resident in Ireland had their bronze works cast in London, Birmingham, and Surrey well into the 1880s.[539] As Paula Murphy has shown, Irish sculptors were well represented in the British sculpture displays at early universal exhibitions, such as the Great Exhibition (1851).[540] Given this time honoured and significant contribution of Irish sculptors to the practice of sculpture in Britain, and their inclusion in temporary canons of British sculpture through exhibition, it seems startling that they are absent from the Bequest process and the resulting collection. The absence of Irish sculptors purchased by the RA may owe more to the wider political tensions between Ireland and the British Government and crown in the purchasing period than to the Council's aesthetic tastes.

Whilst the Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853 took pains to present Irish and British sculpture in separate categories, Irish sculpture was frequently subsumed into the category of 'British sculpture' by British exhibition organisers and critics.[541] A typical example is *The Art Journal*'s claim in 1862 that "There are no sculptors in the world so truly great as those of Great Britain," and then proceeded to list Foley and MacDowell as great British sculptors.[542] The willingness of critics from British-authored publications to claim ownership of Irish sculptors for the British canon was clearly not met with contentment by Irish critics: *The Irish Times* in 1861 pithily

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[537] Paula Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture: Native Genius Reaffirmed*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010), 97.

[538] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture,* 85.

[539] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture,* 40.

[540] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture,* 147.

[541] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture*,144.

[542] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture*,105.

remarked that "The catalogue of artists apparently belonging to The English Schools presents many Irish names," going on to remark that "Foley is the brightest ornament of the so-called English school of sculpture."[543] It was the view of *The Art Journal*'s Irish editor Samuel Carter Hall, expressed after his retirement in 1880 that he was immensely proud of the extent to which he had been able to assist the development of British sculpture, which "necessarily at the time included Irish."[544] Carter Hall's view seems to have been that due to the 1801 Act of Union, it was a necessary evil that Irish sculptural work be subsumed into the wider category of British sculpture.

If the Council were permitted to purchase works made in Ireland, they hadn't the excuse of ignorance. Regular reports of Irish sculptural work were easily accessible in the pages of *Illustrated London News*, *The Athenaeum*, and *The Art Journal*.[545] The critical reputation of Irish sculpture as a whole was high at the beginning of the Bequest process; *The Illustrated London News* commented in 1874 that "this art of sculpture, if not that of painting, has been proved to be one for which Irishmen have decided native genius."[546] Whilst Irish commissions to English sculptors were less numerous in the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of Academicians would have visited Ireland on business and had ample opportunity to view Irish exhibitions, for example, Thornycroft executed a statue of William Conyngham Fourth Baron Plunkett (1901) for Kildare Place, Dublin.[547]

The absence of Irish works possibly reflects a misplaced effort by the Council to keep the Bequest purchases faithful to Chantrey's intentions as gleaned from his biographies. From biographical accounts, it appears that Chantrey's recorded prejudice against Ireland was fostered early in his career before his move to London and specialisation in sculpture, on a visit to Dublin in 1802.[548] It is clear that he was employed in some kind of work in Dublin, but Ireland did not provide the opportunities for career advancement he hoped for. Instead, in Dublin Chantrey suffered so severely from a fever that recovery was doubtful, due to which, Jones records, he lost his hair

[543] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture*, 147.

[544] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture*, 5.

[545] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture*, 5.

[546] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture*, vii.

[547] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture*, 100.

[548] Holland, *Memorials of Sir Francis Chantrey*, 50.

and remained bald for the rest of his life.[549] His attitude to Irish sculptural workers can be seen through his interactions with his Derry-born studio assistant, James Heffernan. Heffernan trained under an architect in Cork, and then moved to London at the age of twenty-two where he worked for John Charles Felix Rossi and later Chantrey (from 1810) whilst training at the RA schools, and for a brief period travelled to Rome.[550] Upon his return, Heffernan worked in Chantrey's studio until his employer's death in 1841, following which, he returned to Ireland, where he lived in reduced circumstances and died from dysentery four years later.[551] Contemporary accounts suggest that Heffernan showed considerable promise and talent at sculpture. He won a number of prizes and medals whilst studying at the RA, and exhibited works at the RA, British Institution and Society of British Artists between 1816 and 1837 to positive acclaim.[552] In 1825, a newspaper review of the Academy exhibition described Heffernan as a "young and rising artist of considerable genius" who was "standing fair for the highest rank of his profession."[553] One art journal feared that Heffernan was "wasting the summer of his life, like so many other talented men in this town, to increase the already overgrown reputation of another."[554] Walter Strickland claimed that Chantrey had worked against Heffernan's desire to become recognised for his own sculptural work, claiming "Chantrey allured him again to his studio, representing to him the difficulties he would have to contend with, and promising that his services would be remembered by him in his will—a promise neither meant nor fulfilled."[555] Heffernan performed a crucial role in Chantrey's business, transforming his clay models to marble. *The Builder* described Heffernan as a "consummate master in transferring a look from dull, dead clay to semi-transparent Carrara marble; he saw

[549] Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A.*, 6.

[550] Hamilton, *A Strange Business*, 38.

[551] Walter G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists II*, (Dublin: Maunsel and Company, 1913), accessed 1st July 2016, http://www.libraryireland.com/irishartists/james-heffernan.php

[552] Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists II.*

[553] M.G. Sullivan, "Heffernan, James," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851*, ed. Ingrid Roscoe, Emma Hardy, M.G. Sullivan, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), accessed 1 July 2016, http://217.204.55.158/henrymoore/sculptor/browserecord.php?-action=browse&-recid=1275

[554] Sullivan, "Heffernan, James."

[555] Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists II.*

and caught and translated Chantrey into another material."[556] After Chantrey's death *The Gentleman's Magazine* recorded that he had carved "almost every one of Chantrey's busts literally from the first to the last."[557] With a large part of his reputation dependent upon Heffernan's skill at translating clay to marble, it is easy to understand why Chantrey was so intent on keeping Heffernan in his studio and restricting him from pursuing an independent career. However, as a counterpoint to this reported prejudice, Chantrey executed a number of Irish commissions, including a statue of Irish politician Henry Grattan, MP for Dublin and supporter of Catholic emancipation and freedom for Ireland, for Dublin in 1827. Chantrey displayed his plaster model of Grattan in his sculpture gallery, and it was later gifted to the Oxford University Galleries after his death.[558]

In selecting a suitable example of an Irish sculptor who could have been included in the Bequest process, I have endeavoured to find an artist who fits as many of the RA's unspoken requirements as possible: Academician status, a history of exhibiting at the RA, public and critical acclaim, on the receiving end of royal patronage and working on royal commissions, London domicile, and social connections in artistic circles. One such critically-admired sculptor was John Lawlor, born and trained in Dublin, and active in England from 1845.[559] Lawlor had a strong artistic reputation in England, evidenced by his significant representation in the Fine Arts Courts of The Crystal Palace from 1854 to 1936. Jan Piggott has listed Lawlor alongside "other sculptors significantly represented" in the 'British Sculpture' collection of the Crystal Palace, including Gibson, "John Bacon, E. H. Baily, John Bell, John Hancock, T.E. Jones, J.G. Lough, Laurence Macdonald, William Calder-Marshall, E.G. Papworth Jnr, J. Richardson, the Westmacotts Father and Son, and Richard James Wyatt."[560] Lawlor was represented by *The Emigrant* (1853), *Two Boys*

[556] Sullivan, "Heffernan, James."

[557] Hamilton, *A Strange Business,* 38.

[558] Baker, Lieberman, Potts, and Yarrington, "An Edition of the Ledger of Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A. at the Royal Academy 1809-1841:" 178.

[559] Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists II.*

[560] J.R. Piggott, *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydenham*, (London: Hurst and Company, 2004), 119.

Wrestling (date unrecorded), and *A Bathing Nymph* (1851).[561] His artistic reputation in Britain in this period is reflected by Henry Weekes' comment that his statue *The Bather* (1851) (Fig 56) was "not surpassed by any in the exhibition for the modelling of female flesh," and by the popularity of this statue with the Prince Consort who purchased it for the Royal Collection.[562] An example of Lawlor's later work, a bust of John Jones (1882) (Fig 57) can be found in the collections of the V&A, acquired through a bequest in 1882.

Strickland records that Lawlor ceased to exhibit at the RA in 1879 "on account of some misunderstanding or variance with the Academy," a variance which Emma Hardy describes as becoming "involved in a dispute with the committee."[563] Following this, he seems to have removed himself from the active social life he enjoyed in London: Strickland records that Lawlor was "well known and popular in artistic and literary society in London; his tall, handsome figure, his fund of witty anecdotes, his genial manner and his fine baritone voice making him a welcome guest and a favourite with all who knew him."[564] It seems likely, however, that this retirement from his active and social London public life, and from regularly exhibiting at the RA had little to do with art and a great deal to do with his political beliefs and activism. By the 1860s, he was an unspoken sympathiser, and later an active collaborator with the *Bráithreachas Phoblacht na hÉireann*, the Irish Republican Brotherhood.[565] The IRB, a secret oath-bound revolutionary organisation, operating out of Ireland, sought an end to the exploitative and suppressive actions of the British government in Ireland, with the overarching goal of establishing an "independent democratic republic in Ireland."[566] The political activism and revolutionary activities of the IRB, and their

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[561] Anna Brownwell Jameson, *A Handbook To The Courts of Modern Sculpture*, (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1854), 301.

[562] Emma Hardy, "Lawlor, John," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851*, ed. Ingrid Roscoe, Emma Hardy, M.G. Sullivan, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), accessed 21 June 2016, http://217.204.55.158/henrymoore/sculptor/browserecord.php?-action=browse&-recid=1615

[563] Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists II*; Hardy, "Lawlor, John."

[564] Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists II*.

[565] Niamh O'Sullivan, *Aloysius O'Kelly. Art, Nation and Empire,* (Dublin: Field Day Publications, 2010), 7.

[566] John O'Leary, *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism*, (London: Downey & Co, Ltd, 1896), 83.

Irish-run counterpart in the United States, the *Bráithreachas na bhFíníní* or Fenian Brotherhood, directly led to the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922.[567]

As Niamh O'Sullivan's in-depth research has revealed, "Lawlor was living a compartmentalised life – the public life of an artist who thrived on visibility and recognition (and the patronage of the powerful), and the secret life of an Irish republican exile."[568] His London home became a safe house for the Fenian Movement, and his nephew James O'Kelly, reputedly a "fenian of the extreme sort," used Lawlor's London address to send and receive messages prior to his arrival in England.[569] Lawlor provided his four Irish-born nephews with an introduction to London and professional training in sculpture in his own studio, successively employing each as an apprentice. Lawlor's tuition provided the O'Kellys with the gateway to a London artistic reputation, but also with a profession to fund and conceal their seditious political activities. Two of Lawlor's apprentice nephews, Michael Lawlor and James O'Kelly married sculpture and activism, stashing guns purchased in England for insurrection in Ireland in religious statues, presumably made in Lawlor's studio, and transporting them across the Irish Sea.[570] Lawlor left England and travelled to America in 1886, staying there until 1889.[571] Between 1886 and 1889, it would have been impossible for the Bequest committees to buy his work under the terms of the Bequest. However, he never returned to live in Ireland, and with the exception of those four American years, lived and worked in London throughout his career and until his death in London in 1901, making a trip to his studio or to his works shown at non-RA exhibitions entirely feasible for the RA committee.[572]

The lack of Irish sculptors purchased may be due to a declining number of Irish sculptors exhibiting in Britain due to the rising influence and prominence of the Royal

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[567] Both organisations were collectively and colloquially known as "fenians" and I will refer to both by this name throughout, since Lawlor and his family did so. Niall Whelehan, *The Dynamiters: Irish Nationalism and Political Violence in the Wider World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Owen McGee, *The IRB: The Irish Republican Brotherhood from The Land League to Sinn Féin*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005.

[568] O'Sullivan, *Aloysius O'Kelly. Art, Nation and Empire*, 7.

[569] O'Sullivan, *Aloysius O'Kelly. Art, Nation and Empire*, 8.

[570] O'Sullivan, *Aloysius O'Kelly. Art, Nation and Empire*, 8.

[571] Hardy, "Lawlor, John."

[572] Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists II*.

Hibernian Academy (founded in 1825) which encouraged Irish artists to exhibit in Dublin over London, thus presenting a conflict of loyalty.[573] However, the absence of Irish sculptors purchased by the RA owes more to the wider political tensions between Ireland and the British Government and crown in the purchasing period than to aesthetic tastes of the Council or a decrease in Irish sculptors exhibiting in London. Between 1881 and 1885, Irish republican forces led a dynamite campaign targeting the British infrastructure, government, military, and police across Britain, frequently detonating bombs in London.[574] In 1882, Lord Frederick Cavendish, the Chief Secretary for Ireland and Thomas Henry Burke, his Under Secretary, were assassinated by the Irish National Invincibles in Dublin. In 1916, whilst Britain was heavily engaged in World War 1, Irish republicans launched the Easter Rising, a military uprising that sought to declare Irish Independence from British rule, which left 485 people dead and over 2,600 people injured.[575] For an institution whose character, principles, and financial affairs were tied up with notions of cultural patriotism and loyalty to the British monarchy, the purchase of Irish sculptors may have seemed incendiary.

WALES: WILLIAM GOSCOMBE JOHN

The matter of Welsh artworks escaping the RA Council's purview was briefly raised alongside consideration of Scotland and Ireland and just as quickly dismissed, although Wales is only represented in the resulting collection by a single work, *A Boy At Play* by Cardiff-born sculptor Goscombe John, purchased in 1896 (Fig 12). As previously mentioned, academician Marcus Stone commented that if the Council were to give special attention to travelling "to Scotland, why not to Ireland, why not to Wales?"[576] The brief exchange which followed this remark points towards a major difference between Wales, Scotland, and Ireland: its absence of a prominent city

[573] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture*, 100.

[574] M.J. Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism 1882 – 1916*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 100.

[575] Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism 1882 – 1916*, 27.

[576] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 54.

exhibition culture or an Academy of its own. The Inquirer, Lord Windsor directed Stone's response back towards Glasgow and Edinburgh, commenting "I am afraid I cannot mention anywhere in Wales where it is likely that special works are likely to be found," a view Stone agreed with.[577] The lack of a prominent exhibition culture in urban Cardiff or Swansea likely supported and justified the RA's decision to avoid actively searching for artworks in the country. In a letter to Thornycroft in 1896, John wrote "there has never been a show of sculpture in Wales of any importance."[578] This lack of exhibition or Academy culture in Wales likely worked in John's favour by presenting no visible division of loyalty between Wales and London, whilst Wales' relatively peaceable political relationship with England allowed him to balance his Welsh identity with his status as a London-based academician without having to put one before the other.

At the point of *A Boy At Play*'s purchase in 1896, Goscombe John had lived in London for six years, and for the four preceding years had lived in St John's Wood in the midst of a community of Academicians.[579] He first resided in Alma Square and then in Woronzow Road where his studio backed onto the house of Frampton, whilst Herbert Ward lived next door. Academicians Albert Toft, Bayes, Reynolds-Stephens, William Reid-Dick, Gilbert, Frank Dicksee, and George Clausen all lived within close proximity to John.[580] Akin to the majority of the sculptors involved in the Bequest process John had a demonstrable commitment to the RA: he had trained at the RA schools from 1884 until 1889, had achieved acclaim in the form of the RA's 1889 Gold Medal and Travelling Scholarship for his group *Parting* (1889), and had exhibited works at the RA exhibitions prior to the purchase of *A Boy At Play*.[581]

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[577] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904,* 55.

[578] Letter from William Goscombe John to Hamo Thornycroft 3rd March 1896, Henry Moore Institute Archives, Leeds, TH C287.

[579] R.L. Charles, "John, Sir William Goscombe (1860–1952)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 13 September 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34197, for more on The St John's Wood Clique see Bevis Hillier, "The St John's Wood Clique," *Apollo* (May 1964): 490 – 495.

[580] Fiona Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales*, (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1979), 12.

[581] Charles, "John, Sir William Goscombe (1860–1952)."

John suffered from some degree of national erasure in print, similar to his Scottish and Irish counterparts. In October 1894 Gosse described him as "without rival, the most distinguished English sculptor outside the Royal Academy."[582] This was however, an isolated incident. Pearson claims that by 1900, John was considered "the leading Welsh sculptor," due to his use of Celtic decorative design and his commissions for Wales, which evidenced his active contribution to "the Celtic Revival."[583] In 1909, his dedication to both the RA and Wales was recognised formally: he was elected as an Academician and also knighted for his "services to Wales and Welsh art."[584]

John had maintained a strong bond with Wales, specifically with his hometown of Cardiff, whilst living in London and travelling the globe.[585] His Welsh friends and patrons had offered him a great deal of financial and moral support in his early career. Ballinger, the Librarian and Secretary of the School of Art in Cardiff set up a travel fund for John through the Free Libraries Committee in 1888, and his frequent patron John Crichton-Stuart, the Third Marquess of Bute, owner of Cardiff Castle and Castell Coch made a generous donation.[586] The Mayor of Cardiff provided letters of introduction when John travelled to Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and Italy in 1889.[587] Whilst living in London, John received and executed a plethora of Welsh commissions, including the high altarpiece for St John's Parish Church, Cardiff (1891), and life-size statue of St John the Baptist for the Third Marquess of Bute (1893).[588]

John's Welsh national identity was evidently central to his public artistic identity. He was a member of the London-based Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, a learned society which sought "to promote the practice and

[582] Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales*, 12.

[583] Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales*, 12.

[584] Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales*, 14.

[585] For a thorough study of Goscombe John's networking and geographical reach, see: Melanie Polledri, "Geographies, Networks, and Ambition: The Works of William Goscombe John," (PhD diss. University of York, 2018).

[586] Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales*, 11.

[587] Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales*, 11.

[588] Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales*, 11.

development of the language, literature, arts, and sciences of Wales."[589] In keeping with this, he exhibited a number of works at the RA which reflect his interest in early Welsh culture and mythology. In 1898, he exhibited the *Hirlas Horn* made for Lord Tredegar for the Gorsedd of Bards. The design features the figure of a bard, singing, and playing harp next to sacred stones guarded by dragons.[590] John also made the Medal of the National Eisteddfod Association, which he exhibited at the RA in 1899.[591]

Ultimately, John's ease-of-inclusion into the Bequest process whilst also retaining and cultivating his Welsh identity was enabled by urban South Wales' long assimilation into England, the lack of any major political tension or nationalist movements in opposition to the English establishment, the lack of a Welsh Academy meaning that John had no conflicts of institutional loyalty, and the non-Welsh subject matter of *Boy At Play*. His institutional loyalty to the RA, his long period of living in London, and his metropolitan social connections fostered a demonstrably strong commitment to the capital and the crown.

FRANCE: ÉDOUARD LANTÉRI

For sculptors born outside Britain to be considered for purchase by the RA, it was desirable that they exhibit a demonstrably strong commitment to the British nation. This commitment was evidenced by possessing metropolitan social and professional connections, having made a significant contribution to British art, preferably through a London institution, and British domicile, preferably formalised by becoming a naturalised or denizated citizen. The only sculptor purchased by the Bequest who had been born outside Britain to non-British parents was French-born sculptor, Lantéri, whose finely-modelled bust *The Sacristan* (1917) was purchased in that year (Fig 58).[592] According to Leslie, Chantrey had included the clause "Artists of any Nation" with French artists in mind. Leslie gave evidence in the 1904 Inquiry to the effect that

[589] Anon, *The Transactions of The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, (London: The Society, 1901), viii.

[590] Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales*, 13.

[591] Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales*, 34.

[592] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

"there were several foreigners…who settled in England after the French Revolution – and he [Chantrey] did not wish to exclude them, so he put in a clause 'painted in England,' but he was essentially a John Bull, and it was British Art he meant."[593] This interpretation of the Bequest's wording suggests that Chantrey was accounting for artists who wished to align themselves with Britain's governmental system and to a monarchical nation and to settle in Britain long term.

Lantéri appears to fit this category. Born in Burgundy in 1848 to a French father and an Italian mother, he trained at Petit École de Dessin and later at L'École de Beaux-Arts under Aimé Millet and Pierre-Jules Cavalier.[594] By 1870, the pressing need to earn a living led him to work as a cabinet-maker's assistant, mending furniture damaged in the bombardment of Paris during the Franco-Prussian war. In Paris, he met Dalou, a sculptor who later emigrated to England in 1871 having identified himself with the communards of the Paris commune. Dalou was to ease Lantéri's emigration to London through his friendship with London-based émigrés Legros from France and Boehm from Austria.[595] Lantéri arrived in London in his early twenties, and commenced work as a studio assistant to Boehm.[596] Through Boehm's network of émigré artists, Lantéri secured employment as Dalou's successor as instructor in modelling at the National Art Training School, South Kensington from 1880.[597] By the time his *Sacristan* was purchased in 1917, he had been living in Britain for forty-five years, and was legally a naturalised British citizen. He completed his successful application for British citizenship on the 21st December 1901 at the age of fifty-two, and it appears that, at this point, he adopted an anglicised version of his forename, Édouard: Edward.[598] His Certificate of Naturalisation records that he signed the

[593] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 69.

[594] Mark Stocker, "Lantéri, Edward (1848–1917)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 13 September 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62455.

[595] Stocker, "Lantéri, Edward (1848–1917)."

[596] Stocker, "Lantéri, Edward (1848–1917)."

[597] Mark Stocker, *Royalist and Realist: The Life and Work of Sir Joseph Edgar Boehm*, (Garland: New York & London, 1988), 332.

[598] Anon, "Certificate of Naturalisation to an Alien," *Duplicate Certificates of Naturalisation, Declarations of British Nationality, and Declarations of Alienage*, The National Archives, London, Class HO 334 Piece 32.

standard Oath of Allegiance vowing "I Edward Lantéri do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King Edward, His Heirs and Successors, according to law."[599]

It seems likely that the purchase of *Sacristan,* seven months before Lantéri's death in December 1917, was encouraged by his long dedication to the institutional teaching of sculpture in Britain, and to the development of British sculpture as a whole.[600] Despite initial criticism from Gosse, Lantéri's work at the National Art Training School proved to be highly successful and influential. He remained at the school for thirty-seven years and was made its first Professor of Sculpture and Modelling in 1901. His success in the post was reflected by a significant increase in students, whose numbers rose from twelve in 1874 to 105 in 1899.[601] In response to requests to publish his notes used for demonstration classes, Lantéri compiled the three-volume text *Modelling: A Guide for Teachers and Students* (1902), which was published with a forward from Ford.[602] Spielmann claimed that "a very large proportion of the most successful British sculptors of to-day who are not more than middle-aged owe to Professor Lantéri much of the success they have achieved."[603] A number of his students were purchased through the Bequest process including Toft, Derwent Wood, and Charles Wheeler.[604] Whilst Lantéri's own artistic work is represented in the Bequest process by one bust, his influence upon the development of British sculpture can be read throughout.

Despite the fact that Lantéri's formative influence upon the development of sculpture in Britain was recognised by critics and the sculptural community alike, the Council were slow to purchase his work. The RA had seventy opportunities to purchase his works from their own exhibitions between 1885 and 1917, and yet it took the Council over thirty years to include him in the Bequest process.[605] *The Sacristan*

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[599] Anon, "Certificate of Naturalisation to an Alien," Class HO 334 Piece 32.

[600] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[601] Stocker, "Lantéri, Edward (1848–1917)."

[602] Edward Lantéri, *Modelling: A Guide for Teachers and Students,* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1902).

[603] Spielmann, *British Sculpture And Sculptors Of To-Day*, 13.

[604] Anon, "Professor Edouard Lanteri," Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951, accessed 13 September 2017, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2_1203709084.

[605] Stocker, "Lantéri, Edward (1848–1917)."

received three negative votes to nine positive votes.[606] It was highly unusual for a sculpture to receive more than one negative vote. Considering his commitment to teaching and his centrality to the development of sculpture, it is perhaps surprising that the RA felt such reluctance to purchase his works. It seems likely that the presence of two other works by Lantéri in the Tate Gallery collections might have motivated the RA Council to consider the sculptor's works. *Paysan* (1901) had been presented to the gallery by "pupils of Professor Lantéri" in 1902, and The Alfred Stevens Memorial Committee had presented Lantéri's *Bust of Alfred Stevens* (1911) in 1911.[607] Lantéri's acceptability for inclusion was indicated by Spielmann in 1904, who stated that he would "certainly include" Lantéri in the Bequest process since Lantéri and Dalou had "probably done more than any two men to found the present British School of Sculpture."[608] He followed this statement by commenting that Lantéri's naturalisation made him a man who would "come in under the terms of the Will."[609]

Although French artists were explicitly permitted under the terms of the Will, the case of Lantéri demonstrates that, for a French sculptor to be considered for purchase, he had to demonstrate his assimilation into British society in a number of ways. These included formally cementing his loyalty to Britain and to the crown via citizenship, making a significant contribution to the British art establishment, and gaining the support of British-born social connections, such as ex-students.

AUSTRALIA: BERTRAM MACKENNAL, HAROLD PARKER, AND CHARLES WEB GILBERT

Australian works outnumber the collected group of singular Scottish, Welsh and French works purchased at four to three. This numerical imbalance surprisingly suggests that Australian sculptors were more acceptable candidates for inclusion than

[606] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[607] There is some disagreement about the date of the gifting of *Paysan* – the Tate database and website state 1908 whereas the Object Record in the Tate Archive records the gift as 1902; Anon, Artist's Catalogue File: 'Lanteri, Edouard. 1848 – 1916,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A23661.

[608] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 173.

[609] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 173.

Scottish, Welsh, Irish, and French artists. Three Australian sculptors had works purchased between 1907 and 1917; during which time Australia was an established part of the British Empire. Examination of the purchase of works by Mackennal, Parker, and Web Gilbert suggests that the acceptability of Australian artists was a direct result of their pre-existing social and professional connections to the RA, their cosmopolitan training, and the implicit loyal patriotism of Australians, citizens of the British Empire, towards the British establishment.

Three of the four Australian works were purchased in two consecutive years. The first, Mackennal's *The Earth and The Elements* (1907) (Fig 40) was purchased that year, closely followed a year later by the purchases of Harold Parker's *Ariadne* (1908) (Fig 59), and Mackennal's *Diana Wounded* (1907) (Fig 60). Depicting the elements as four female nudes emerging from a pillar of marble, Mackennal's *The Earth and the Elements* demonstrated his considerable skill at marble carving, and showcased the influence of Rodin, whose work he had studied in Paris in the mid-1880s.[610] Mackennal's allegorical nudes possess the neoclassical synthesis of the ideal and the natural so common among the sculptor academicians. However, his treatment of the marble surface bears no similarity to any sculptural work bought between 1875 and 1907. Whilst the elements of *The Earth and The Elements* are represented by female forms, Mackennal chose to represent the earth of the title as a lump of rock, advertising the materials of the sculpture. The smoothness of the female figures' skin is emphasised by the lumpy marble core from which they emerge, and the overall shape of the sculpture is reminiscent of a naturally-formed boulder. Mackennal affected the shape of natural, lumpy stone, and further differentiated it from the smooth female forms with short, light, parallel lines of chiselling, an approach which, like the base of Thornycroft's *The Kiss*, was almost certainly inspired by Rodin.[611]

Born in 1863 in Melbourne, the son of Scottish-born sculptor John Simpson Mackennal, Mackennal studied first at Melbourne Art School before travelling to London and Paris.[612] That Mackennal was willing to travel halfway around the world to pursue influential connections is telling of the relative status of Australian art and

[610] Deborah Edwards, *Bertram Mackennal*, (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2007), 121.

[611] Catherine Lampert, *Rodin: Sculpture & Drawings*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1986), 170.

[612] Anon, Artist's Catalogue File: 'Mackennal, Bertram,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A23786.

artistic training in the period. He would have been a familiar name to Academicians before he exhibited *The Earth and The Elements* in 1907. He had enrolled in the RA schools on the advice of Thornycroft in 1883, a year after arriving in London from Australia, and had exhibited works in the Summer exhibition, most notably the life-sized plaster *Circe* in 1894.[613] Mackennal had one strong supporter on the Recommending Committee for Sculpture in 1907 in the form of his friend, Thornycroft.[614] Whilst there is no documentation regarding whether *The Earth and The Elements* was recommended, it seems probable that it made a sufficient impression on Thornycroft for him to do so, considering its similarity to his later work *The Kiss*, purchased in 1917 (Fig 30). It is significant to note, however, that despite his connections, Mackennal received his mark of approval from the RA in the form of the Bequest purchase after he had completed works for the English establishment. Between 1898 and 1904, he received commissions to produce public sculptures of Queen Victoria for Blackburn in England, Lahore in Pakistan, and for Ballarat in Australia.[615] With the purchase of *The Earth and The Elements* in 1907, Mackennal set a precedent for Australian sculptors to be admitted to the Bequest process. One year later, his second work *Diana Wounded* (1907) was purchased by the RA through the Bequest, and Mackennal was elected as an ARA in 1908, becoming the first Australian artist to join the institution.[616] He was elected as a full member of the RA in 1909, undoubtedly encouraged by the Bequest purchases. Deborah Edwards has argued he was "feted as a cultural hero" in Australia particularly following the purchase of his two works and his election as an ARA, and that "he became in short a de facto ambassador" for Australia.[617] In his dealings with the RA, Mackennal also became a de facto ambassador for other Australian sculptors.

Parker's *Ariadne* (1908) (Fig 59), also purchased in 1908 through the Bequest

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[613] Edwards, *Bertram Mackennal*, 121.

[614] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1906*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1907), 21.

[615] Edwards, *Bertram Mackennal*, 135.

[616] Noel S. Hutchinson, "Mackennal, Sir Edgar Bertram (1863–1931)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, accessed 27th January 2017, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mackennal-sir-edgar-bertram-7387/text12843

[617] Deborah Edwards, *Stampede of the Lower Gods: Classical Mythology in Australian Art 1890s – 1930s*, (Sydney: Trustees of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1989), 6.

process, shares a similar Rodinesque technique to *The Earth and The Elements* in its treatment of marble body and marble surface. Again, a smooth and polished female body is offset by roughly carved marble which emulates naturally-formed rock. Hearkening to a growing trend towards virtuoso direct carving, Parker advertised the fact that he had carved the marble without any help from assistants.[618] Whilst Mackennal was the first Australian sculptor to be purchased, three years previously Parker had been encouraged by John Tweed and Poynter, the PRA, to make the plaster version of *Ariadne* (exhibited in 1904) in marble.[619] According to the sculptor's niece, Parker "took about a year to obtain a suitable block of marble, and then was about 14 months cutting it."[620] When Parker exhibited the marble *Ariadne* in 1908, it was promptly purchased through the Bequest, suggesting that it had been earmarked in 1904. Unlike Mackennal, Parker had not completed commissions for the English establishment, but he had established strong social and professional connections to the RA before the purchase of *Ariadne* in 1908. He was born in England and moved to Australia with his parents at age three, returning to England twenty years later.[621] Between 1897 and 1902, he studied at a London institution, the City and Guilds South London Technical Art School and had acted as an assistant to Colton between 1904 and 1905.[622] Graeme Sturgeon records that Parker also acted as an assistant to Brock and Thornycroft.[623] In 1906 Parker joined The Royal Society of British Sculptors on the nomination of Pegram, and was nominated unsuccessfully for ARA in 1907 by Goscombe John, Pomeroy, and Frampton, a testament to his strong institutional connections. Like Mackennal, Parker had also cultivated cosmopolitan connections by regularly exhibiting at the Paris Salon, where he received a Sculpture Prize medal in 1908.[624] Whilst Parker identified himself as Australian, and promoted himself as such, it cannot have harmed his prospects with the RA that he was born in England, or that

[618] A posed studio photograph of Parker mid-way through chiselling Ariadne can be found in Judith McKay, *Harold Parker: Sculptor*, (Queensland: Queensland Art Gallery, 1993), back cover.

[619] Artist's Catalogue File: 'Parker, Harold,' A26973.

[620] Artist's Catalogue File: 'Parker, Harold,' A26973.

[621] Artist's Catalogue File: 'Parker, Harold,' A26973.

[622] McKay, *Harold Parker: Sculptor*, 11, 13.

[623] Graeme Sturgeon, *The Development Of Australian Sculpture 1788 – 1975*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 70.

[624] Sturgeon, *The Development Of Australian Sculpture 1788 – 1975*, 71.

at the date of purchase he had resided in London for twelve years.[625]

The last Australian work to be purchased was Web Gilbert's *The Critic* (1916) (Fig 61), acquired in 1917. The documentation surrounding the exhibition and critical reception of the sculpture is sparse.[626] Furthermore, a paucity of scholarship on Web Gilbert, and specifically his time spent in London between 1914 and 1917, makes it difficult to identify the national or institutional credentials which made him a plausible candidate in the eyes of the RA. Born in 1869 in Talbot, Victoria, Web Gilbert had a substantial career as a chef and pastry cook before embarking on a career as a sculptor. Sturgeon's account of his first forays into sculpture echo the fanciful stories of Chantrey sculpting pastry pigs as a child. He describes how Web Gilbert "gained his first experience in 3D work, modelling flowers for wedding cakes and carving wooden moulds for the production of icing sugar decorations."[627] Largely self-taught in sculpture, Web Gilbert travelled to England in 1914, at age forty-seven. Stranded in England when war broke out, he was too old to quality for either military service or enrolment at any London art school. Sturgeon recorded that Web Gilbert was encouraged by "eminent sculptors Drury and Bayes," and due to their support, he began to exhibit at the RA from 1915.[628] Web Gilbert stated on a form filled out for the Tate Gallery that his works had been accepted by the RA for exhibition "each year since arrival in this country."[629]

He exhibited *The Critic,* a marble bust with an arresting facial expression, at the RA in 1917 and it was duly purchased. Drury voted in favour of *The Critic*'s purchase in 1917, but the bust was purchased on the lowest margin of positive to negative votes in the history of the process – with seven for and five against. As previously mentioned, it was unusual for a nominated sculpture to receive more than

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[625] Graeme Sturgeon, "Parker, Harold (1873 – 1962)," *Australian Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 4th April 2017, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/parker-harold-7955/text13849

[626] Whilst Sturgeon lists Web Gilbert's year of birth as 1867, a form filled out by Gilbert for the Tate Gallery states that his year of birth was 1869 : Anon, Artist's Catalogue File: 'Gilbert, Charles Webb 1867 - 1925,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A3055.

[627] Sturgeon, *The Development Of Australian Sculpture 1788 – 1975,* 81.

[628] Graeme Sturgeon, "Gilbert, Charles Marsh Web (Nash) (1867–1925)," *Australian Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 4th April 2017, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gilbert-charles-marsh-web-nash-6377/text10893

[629] Artist's Catalogue File 'Gilbert, Charles Webb,' A23055.

one negative vote. The only sculpture to receive more than one negative vote between 1875 and 1917 was Lanteri's *Sacristan*, with three negative votes, also purchased in 1917.[630] Web Gilbert's inclusion into the Bequest process can be attributed to a visible bid for institutional loyalty, the support of established academicians, and the precedents set by Mackennal and Parker for the inclusion of Australian sculptors. However, its selection may have more to do with its subject. In 1957, a letter from Sidney Hutchinson, RA Librarian informed Tate keepers that the bust was a portrait of Stanley Anderson, an engraver, etcher, and watercolour painter who was a member of the RA.[631] In his letter, Hutchinson related Anderson's own words regarding the bust wherein he described that "the marble head by dear old Web Gilbert is a portrait of myself at a time when my head was crowned with dark flowing locks. The head he clay-modelled during 1916 at his studio in Netherton Grove, Chelsea."[632]

The numerical evidence supports an argument that Australian sculptors were more acceptable candidates for inclusion in the Bequest process than French or Irish sculptors. Additionally, Australian works outnumber both Welsh and Scottish works. It seems probable that the acceptability of Mackennal and Parker, and consequently Web Gilbert, was as a direct result of their pre-existing social and professional connections to the RA, their cosmopolitan training, and their demonstrably loyal patriotism towards the British establishment. It is notable that Mackennal and Parker's style of direct carving was rooted in the precedents of Rodin and Michelangelo, far more acceptable to the RA than the precedents of Epstein and Gill. It is significant to note too, that none of the Australian sculptors have aboriginal Australian heritage, and both Mackennal and Parker were the children of British-born parents who had emigrated to Australia.

INDIA: FANINDRANATH BOSE

Just as the inclusion of Scottish and Welsh sculptors throws into relief the absence of Irish sculptors, the inclusion of Australian sculptors working in Britain throws into

[630] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[631] Anderson was recently the subject of an exhibition at the RA, *An Abiding Standard: The Prints of Stanley Anderson RA* (2015) which included a bronze cast of Web Gilbert's *The Critic* on loan from the Anderson family.

[632] Artist's Catalogue File: 'Gilbert, Charles Webb,' A23055.

relief the absence of Indian sculptors. Looking at the resulting group of thirty-one sculptures from a 21st - century standpoint that focuses on its component parts, it is evident that whilst Britain's colonial and imperial constituent parts are arguably represented by Wales, Scotland, and Australia, there are no sculptors present from nations under British rule which were not predominantly white, such as India or British protectorates within Africa. The collection pre-1917 is inclusive along lines of intra-white diversity of nationality; but emphatically ethnic sculptors of colour do not gain admittance. The geographic boundaries of Chantrey's Bequest and the relative scarcity of non-white sculptors working in Britain can be cited as factors which would impede the purchase of suitable works to fill this void. However, this is not to say that the RA Council were devoid of options.

One such candidate was Indian-born sculptor Fanindranath Bose. Described in 1920 by writer Nihal Singh in *The Graphic* as "a rising star" of sculpture, Bose experienced marked success in Britain during the Bequest period.[633] Given the lack of widespread scholarly knowledge of Bose, it seems pertinent to include a biographical overview here. The son of a minor official in East Bengal, Bose initially trained in India at the Calcutta Art School, followed by a brief period at the private Jubilee Art Academy.[634] He experienced considerable difficulty in accessing European training. Unable to gain admittance at either an Italian academy or the Royal College of Art in London, he finally enrolled at the Board of Manufacturer's School of Art in Edinburgh. Aided by The Stuart Prize and a travelling scholarship offered by Edinburgh University and the Bengal Government, he spent a year in Paris where he reportedly "impressed Rodin with his work."[635] On his return, Bose settled in Edinburgh and set up a studio, debuting at the RSA in 1913. He made his debut at the RA the following year.[636]

His work would have been known to those active within the RA, and those

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[633] Anon, "Harold Parker," Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951, accessed 4 April 2017, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2_1205192445; Nihal Singh, "A Bengali Sculptor Trained in Europe. The Art of Fanindranath Bose," *The Graphic*, 1 May 1920, 686.

[634] Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 117.

[635] Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India*, 117.

[636] Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India*, 117.

acting on the Council and the Recommending Committee for Sculpture. He exhibited a number of works at the RA within the timeframe of this study: his debut - *Boy in Pain* (1914) (Fig 62), and *The Hunter* (1916).[637] Mitter states that *The End of the Day* (date unrecorded) was also exhibited at the RA, but does not provide a date of creation or exhibition.[638]

Goscombe John bought both *The Hunter* and *Boy in Pain* from Bose after their exhibition at the RA, and later donated them to the National Museum of Wales, *Amgueddfa Genedlaethol Caerdydd* (founded 1905), in gifts of 1925 and 1928.[639] It is surprising that Goscombe John did not champion Bose for purchase through the Chantrey Bequest, especially since he was both an influential figure among the Academy sculptors, and statistically one of the most active participants on the Selection Committee within the remit of this study. Whilst he did not serve on the RA Council in any of the years in which Bose exhibited, as I have demonstrated in the preceding chapter this would not have prevented John from influencing those with voting power. Bose's work may have been nominated for consideration, but since lists of nominees were not retained, as we have seen, there is no way of knowing. With this in mind, John's purchase of Bose's work could reflect his determination to ensure that the sculptor's work entered a national collection following a failure to champion Bose for purchase by Bequest process.

In addition to an evident racial barrier, it is worth noting that a lack of London credentials paired with his dedication to Scotland, and in particular to the RSA, would have damaged Bose's prospects with the RA. Unlike the RA, the RSA were prepared to admit and include Bose. On the 18th March 1925, Bose would be elected as an Associate member of the RSA, an election undoubtedly encouraged by his recent

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637 "Fanindranath Bose," *Making Britain: Discover How South Asians Shaped the Nation 1870 – 1950* Database, The Open University, accessed 6th January 2017, http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/fanindranath-bose

638 Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India,* 118.

639 Anon, "Fanindra Nath Bose ARSA," Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951, accessed 6 January 2017, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib6_1203417853; "Boy in Pain," National Museum Wales, accessed 6th January 2017, https://museum.wales/art/online/?action=show_item&item=126; "The Hunter," National Museum Wales, accessed 6th January 2017, https://museum.wales/art/online/?action=show_item&item=127

execution of work for St John's Church in Perth, Scotland.[640] He was elected at thirty-one votes to eight, and his telling response to his election indicates a reason he may have seemed an unappealing candidate for purchase back in 1914 or 1916.[641] Mitter states that "in his reply to the toast of the Associates, Bose reportedly said that at a moment of strained relations between Britain and India, this honour would reassure Indians that Scots did not wish to thwart their 'legitimate' aspirations."[642] These "strained relations," notably the increased call for Indian self-government and the reduction of British authority, provide a third factor in the RA's reluctance to include Indian artists in the Bequest process. The period in which Bose exhibited at the RA, saw the growth of Indian independence movements in direct opposition to British control and to the British crown. The year that he exhibited *The Hunter*, 1916, saw the signing of the Lucknow Pact uniting the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League in an agreed push for self-government in India and Dominion status within the Empire; and the founding of the Home Rule Leagues in India in 1916 under the leadership of Annie Besant; the same year as the violent East Rising in Ireland.[643]

The Indian absence from the collection thus parallels the Irish absence. Whilst Australia, a comparatively peaceful part of the British Empire was easily incorporated, the Bequest process excluded nations entangled in revolutionary struggles for independence from the British crown and the British government. Tellingly, the RA Council had purchased two sculptures of Indian animal subjects during the process, Robert Stark's *Indian Rhinoceros* (1887, acquired 1892) (Fig 63) and Charles Leonard Hartwell's *A Foul in the Giant's Race* (1908, acquired the same year) (Fig 64) which depicts two Indians riding elephants.[644] Evidently, when it came to the Bequest process, the RA were desirous that Indians remain passive subjects or Orientalised, animalised objects, not active contributors.

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[640] Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India,* 118.

[641] Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India,* 118.

[642]Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India,* 118.

[643] Sekhara Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey To Partition: A History of Modern India*, (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Private Ltd, 2004), 290, 284, 477; see also: Chandra Bipan, *India's Struggle For Independence,* (London: Penguin Global, 1989).

[644] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

IN CONCLUSION

Whilst the accusations of London parochialism levelled at the RA during the 1904 Inquiry were valid, the findings of the Inquiry did not incite marked change in the RA's metropolitan focus, and no-one at the Inquiry mentioned the British colonies. Of the thirty-one sculptures purchased through the Bequest before 1917, not a single one was purchased outside London. This chapter has been concerned with discussing the national identities of individual sculptors as indicated by their places of birth, but I have neglected to discuss the national origins of the raw materials for sculpture. It would be easy to assume, given Chantrey's characterisation as a John Bull and Cunningham's rhetoric of aligning Chantrey with native soil that his Bequest might advocate for the use of British materials. However, the materials of the resulting collection belie this. Whilst it is not possible to identify the exact origin of all the materials used in sculptures bought through the process, it would be safe to assume that the majority of the marble originated from Italy.[645] Rather than being concerned with the financial patriotism of investment in nationally-produced goods, Chantrey's insistence that works be entirely made in Britain was motivated by a desire to incentivise the personal patriotism of individuals. The process was not concerned with restricting the free movement of raw materials for sculpture, but with restricting the export of British artists. As Nichols stated in his 1904 evidence, Chantrey aimed "to prevent Englishmen leaving England," and to use his Bequest "to bribe them to remain."[646] He argued that Chantrey specifically aimed to bribe artists to remain at the RA. According to Nichols, Chantrey felt that Academicians who settled and worked abroad, such as Gibson, did so at the detriment of the Academy. He stated, "There were many other Academicians who were wanted in England by the Academy to teach, but they would not return to their duties."[647]

The Academy is at the centre of Chantrey's Bequest in its aims, its political

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[645] Parker and Thornycroft both stated in personal reminiscences that they had been at pains to require blocks of Carrara marble. See: Judith McKay, *Harold Parker: Sculptor*, (Queensland: Queensland Art Gallery, 1993); Manning, *Marble & Bronz*e, 171.

[646] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 102.

[647] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 102.

agenda, and the literal wording of the Will. Chantrey, a committed devotee of the RA's principles, shaped the wording of his Bequest around the RA's own caveats of inclusion and exclusion. In doing so, he ensured that the institutional agenda he prized would endure after the deaths of his generation of Academicians, and be adhered to by future generations of Academicians, or at least those administering to his Bequest. Through an examination of how the Bequest process addressed smaller national groups, it becomes evident that the bare bones of the RA's politico-cultural agenda from its inception, as outlined in Hoock's study, persisted into the late - 19th century and early 20th century. In administering Chantrey's Bequest, the unacknowledged agenda of the RA was not simply one of London parochialism but one motivated by emotions of patriotic loyalty to the crown and the nation, principles of the RA from its inception in 1768. To be considered an eligible candidate for purchase under the Bequest process, a sculptor had to present, however passively, demonstrable patriotic loyalty to the British establishment and monarchy. Sculptors such as Bose and Lawlor, whose national identities clashed with the politics of government and crown were denied inclusion. To be included in the resulting national collection, a sculptor needed to prioritise presenting a London-centred metropolitan identity over any allegiance to their regional or non-English national identities.

CHAPTER FOUR – A PUBLIC NATIONAL COLLECTION OF BRITISH FINE ART

When Chantrey's Bequest became active in 1875, he entered a pantheon of British-born worthies who had given gifts of British art to the nation, and/or the money to fund its purchase or exhibition. After laying out instructions as to the purchasing of works, Chantrey's Bequest expresses his "Wish and intention that the works of Art so purchased as aforesaid shall be collected for the purpose of forming and establishing a Public National Collection of British Fine Art in Painting and Sculture [sic] executed within the Shores of Great Britain."[648] In this professed aim, Chantrey's Bequest rubbed shoulders with other important gifts of money and British art given to the nation by artists and collectors.

Much to the confusion of some critics and Inquirers, Chantrey did not gift the works of art bought through his Bequest to a specific institution or allocate funds for the building of one, but instead his Will expressed the "confident expectation that whenever the Collection shall become or be considered of sufficient importance the Government or the Country will provide a suitable and proper building or accommodation for their preservation and exhibition as the property of the Nation."[649] As a result of direct intervention by Poynter and the unrelated benefaction of sugar magnate Henry Tate, works of painting and sculpture acquired through the Bequest were temporarily displayed at The SKM between 1879 and 1899, and permanently accessioned into the collection of the Tate Gallery from 1897 onwards. Here they co-existed with artworks acquired through the gifts and bequests of Vernon (1847), Turner (1856), Sheepshanks (1857), Tate (1897 and 1900), and Watts (1897 and 1902).[650]

This chapter explores the integration of the Bequest sculptures and the

[648] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[649] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[650] I have focused specifically on gifts of British Art related to the Tate Gallery or the South Kensington Museum. Both Tate and Watts gave additional artworks in 1900 and 1902 respectively, but since these were additions to their original gifts, and for the sake of clarity, I will be referring to the first and second gifts as one gift from each donor, e.g. "Tate's gift."

inseparable public persona of Chantrey into an institutional context at the Tate Gallery, opened in 1897 as The National Gallery of British Art. I consider Chantrey's integration into a canon of benefactors at the Tate Gallery, where he arguably had greater prominence as a benefactor than as a sculptor. Comparison between Chantrey's Bequest and the bequests and gifts of Vernon, Turner, Sheepshanks, Tate, and Watts reveals that despite having similar aims and receiving similar public recognition of his generosity in response, Chantrey's gift differs from others in its construction and its intent. Examination of this construction explains the remarkable longevity of Chantrey's bequest, which is still facilitating the purchase of artworks in 2018.

Secondarily, I examine the merging of the Bequest sculptures with other sculptures present in Tate's foundational collections, sculptures later presented as gifts, and architectural sculptures commissioned for the gallery. In doing so, I consider whether this merging remedied notable exclusions from the Bequest process; indirectly counteracting the RA's biases against newer and more experimental sculpture, non-Academy sculptors, and women sculptors. An in-depth analysis of photographs of the Sculpture Gallery c.1904 – 1906 reveals the ways in which exhibition at the Tate gave context and cohesion to a collection assembled in a piecemeal fashion whilst facilitating education about the process of sculpture and the intermediality of the discipline.

A COLLECTION WITHOUT A HOME

Whilst the first purchases were made with the Chantrey Bequest in 1877, the artworks bought through the process would not be given a permanent home until 1897. Chantrey's Bequest expressed the "confident expectation that whenever the Collection shall become or be considered of sufficient importance the Government or the Country will provide a suitable and proper building or accommodation for their preservation and exhibition as the property of the Nation."[651] He expressly forbade the Trustees or the RA from using his money to provide a building: "I expressly direct that no part of my residuary pure personal estate or of the annual income thereof shall be appropriated in acquiring any depository or receptacle whatever for the aforesaid Works of Art."[652]

[651]Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[652] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

The Annual Reports of the President and Council of the RA reveal that finding accommodation for the works was an active concern of the Academy from the beginning of the process. In 1876, the Council and Trustees of the Will wrote to the First Commissioner of Works "asking whether the Government would be prepared to make any such provision in connection with the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square; and further requesting the First Commissioner to receive a deputation from the Trustees and the Academy, who would explain the subject in more detail."[653] The First Commissioner's reply informed the Trustees and the RA that they were of opinion that there was "spare room in the National Gallery for any Works of either Painting or Sculpture which may be purchased during the next few years."[654] However, after examining the terms of the Bequest, both the Council and the Trustees came to the conclusion that "the Academy would not be justified in giving up possession of the Works without a distinct assurance that a separate Gallery [room] would be provided for them."[655] The growing collection remained homeless.

Help came in the form of Poynter, an Academician painter who at the time was serving as Director of Art at SKM (1875 – 1881). In 1878 Poynter suggested the temporary display of the Bequest works at the SKM in his capacity as Director. On the 10th July he wrote an internal memorandum which proposed writing to the RA "…stating that we are in a position to exhibit [the Chantrey works] publicly in the Galleries of the South Kensington Museum, and asking whether the President and Council will consent to hand them over to us for exhibition."[656] For twenty years, the SKM fulfilled the role of a "a place of temporary deposit and security" as mentioned in Chantrey's Will.[657] As Billington has explained, a procedure was implemented to safeguard against the danger that the Government might come to view the display of Chantrey works at SKM as a permanent arrangement; the SKM were required to make an application for the works, as recorded in a RA Council Minute of 1879: "The Works

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[653] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1876,* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1878), 23.

[654] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1877,* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1878), 23.

[655] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1877*, 23.

[656] Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," 104.

[657] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

purchased this year under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest were ordered to be sent to the South Kensington Museum if application for them be made by the Museum authorities."[658] The arrangement was never considered to be a permanent solution to the terms of Chantrey's Bequest.

Ultimately, when it came to providing a suitable building, the country took the form of one man, sugar magnate and established philanthropist Tate.[659] In 1889, he offered the Trustees of the National Gallery his personal art collection, which included paintings by Frank Holl, Millais, and Landseer, and sculptures by Brock, Ford, and Leighton.[660] It was offered with the condition that his collection be kept together in rooms dedicated to or built for that purpose. When the Director and Trustees of the National Gallery deigned this impractical, Tate offered to build a separate gallery of modern British Art if the government would supply the land. Following a period of heated negotiation, the site of the former Millbank Penitentiary was settled on, and Tate agreed to pay £80,000 to cover the construction, an amount which ballooned to £105,000.[661]

The gallery was opened in July 1897, with the official title The National Gallery of British Art. It contained 266 works sourced from four dissimilar collections: 85 paintings bought through the Chantrey process were transferred from the SKM, 18 paintings were presented by their creator Watts, 96 paintings were transferred from The National Gallery including 38 works from the Vernon Collection, and 65 paintings and 2 sculptures were presented by Tate's gift.[662] This 1897 foundational collection contained two sculptures, two bronzes gifted by Tate: Leighton's *The Sluggard* (1885) (Fig 65) and Ford's *The Singer* (1889) (Fig 66). The paintings and sculptures were grouped separately by collection in the seven picture galleries.[663] The sculptural works bought by the Chantrey Bequest, by that date thirteen works, were

[658] Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," 107.

[659] For a thorough account of the National Gallery Trustees' initial refusal of Tate's gift, their discussions with the Treasury, and their attempts to leverage Tate's gift into an expanded gallery paid for by the Treasury, the controversy around the site, and press reactions see: Spalding, *The Tate: A History*.

[660] For a complete list of works presented in the gift, see Hamlyn, *Henry Tate's Gift*.

[661] Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 20.

[662] Smith, "A 'State' Gallery? The Management Of British Art During The Early Years of Tate," 191.

[663] Smith, "A 'State' Gallery? The Management Of British Art During The Early Years of Tate," 191.

transferred to the Tate the following year. A further nine galleries, including a large sculpture gallery were opened in 1899 as part of an extension, again financed by Tate and designed by architect Sidney Smith.[664]

Founded as a department of the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, the Tate did not have its own board until 1917, when the Treasury conceded the need for a separate Tate Board.[665] Since the National Gallery was considered the parent institution of the Tate, the Tate's early keepers were answerable to the Board of the National Gallery and its Director: Poynter (1894 – 1904), and Sir Charles Holroyd (previously Keeper of Tate), (1906 – 1916).[666] Poynter again became a crucial facilitator in the displaying of Bequest works, serving as an intermediary between the NG and the RA in his roles as Director of the National Gallery (1894 – 1904) and President of the RA (1896 – 1918) respectively, following his time at the SKM.[667]

In summary, a timeline of the exhibition of Bequest sculptures can be roughly broken down into three stages. First, the sculptures were stored at the RA's Burlington House between 1875 – 1879, before being publicly displayed at the SKM between 1879 – 1899. A number of the sculptures were loaned to regional and international exhibitions during this time. The RA approved the loan of Leighton's *Athlete Wrestling With a Python* to the Paris International Exhibition in 1878, Brock's *A Moment of Peril* in 1882 for the Worcestershire Exhibition of Fine Art, and Thornycroft's *Teucer* in 1887 for the Manchester Jubilee Exhibition.[668] In 1898, the collection of sculptures was permanently accessioned into the collections of the Tate Gallery.[669] Sculptures subsequently purchased after this date were immediately transferred to the Tate, in its remit as The National Gallery of British Art. [670]

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[664] Anon, "Extension Of The Tate Gallery," *Morning Leader*, 28th November 1899.

[665] Fyfe, *Art, Power And Modernity*, 146.

[666] Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 23.

[667] Smith, "A 'State' Gallery? The Management Of British Art During The Early Years of Tate," 193.

[668] Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," Appendix IX, 5

[669] Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," 106.

[670] Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," 106.

"What is a National Gallery of Art?" asked Lionel Cust, director of the National Portrait Gallery in an 1898 essay, "is it a 'National Gallery' containing works of art or is it a gallery containing 'National Art'? Most people would reply that it only means a gallery belonging to a nation, such as we are familiar with in Trafalgar Square." He went on to remark "in both Paris and Berlin, as well as in Munich, Dresden, and elsewhere, a distinct effort is being made to maintain and encourage a school of native artists by the collection and exhibition of their works in some building belonging to the nation."[671] The Tate Gallery, in its Governmentally-designated remit of displaying historical and contemporary British Art, was intended to remedy the absence of such an institution in Britain. It was, in Taylor's words, "a symbol of English culture, an imperial emblem, a national treasure and a philanthropic gift."[672] As Taylor has observed, the Tate belonged to a wider network of projects in the late nineteenth century "which can be said to have created, as well as catered to, the prevailing mood of "pride in the nation": the founding of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty (1895); the publication of *Country Life* (from 1897) which promoted nostalgia for the pre-Industrial past; the launching of *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1884 – 1928); and *The Dictionary of National Biography* (from 1885).[673] The early Tate was steeped in rhetoric of national pride and national identity, a rhetoric that was broadly reflected and expressed by the thematic content of their painting collections. The group of sculptures acquired through the Bequest, whilst not remarkably national in subject matter, were nonetheless consistent with the national theme.

In her analysis of paintings in the Tate collection up until 1914, Birchall observed that "there was a strong bias towards British Old Masters and the Pre-Raphaelites" and that the artists with the most paintings in the collection, besides

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[671] Lionel Cust and Edward H. Fitchew, *Catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art*, (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1898), 5.

[672] Taylor, *Art For The Nation*, 107.

[673] It is worth noting that Chantrey was included in the first edition of *The Dictionary of National Biography - Volume 10: Chamber to Clarkson*, published in 1887. A thorough and detailed biography of Chantrey was spread over four pages.

Leslie Stephen ed., *Dictionary of National Biography. Volume 10: Chamber - Clarkson,* (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1887), 44; Taylor, *Art For The Nation*, 131.

Turner, were "Watts, Constable, Millais, Stevens, Charles Robert Leslie, Thomas Gainsborough, and George Romney."[674] Birchall notes that "there was undoubtedly a level of patriotic pride in the collection, with moments from British history, Shakespearean dramas, and rolling English landscapes taking pride of place on the gallery walls."[675] The thirty-one sculptures purchased through the Bequest were not so explicitly national in subject, with a number of notable exceptions including Pomeroy's *The Nymph of Loch Awe* (1897), based on Scottish legend, Armstead's Shakespearean figure of Lady Macbeth, *Remorse* (1903), Web Gilbert's portrait of academician Stanley Anderson, *The Critic* (1916); and Stark's *Indian Rhinoceros* (1887) and Hartwell's *A Foul in the Giant's Race* (1908) which both point towards the British imperial project in India, as we have seen. However, one sculpture bought through the Bequest, William Reynolds-Stephens' *A Royal Game* (1911) is explicitly and proudly national in both theme and political message (Fig 67).

Purchased in 1911 for the sum of £1700, Reynolds-Stephen's sculpture represents the political, religious and naval struggles between Queen Elizabeth I and Philip II of Spain as a game of chess.[676] The sculpture is large and sumptuously wrought, incorporating a number of materials and techniques including: bronze, wood, stone, mother of pearl, enamelling, and coloured glass, and areas of contrasting colour achieved through patinas.[677] Elizabeth and Philip sit atop a cenotaphic pedestal with the chessboard between them, mid-game. The chess pieces are in the form of ships; Elizabeth's six remaining pieces represent the fleet commanded by Sir Francis Drake whereas Philip's eight represent the Armada, the Spanish invasion fleet which unsuccessfully attempted to assault England in 1588.[678] As Edwards and Droth note, this was "the key event of the undeclared Anglo-Spanish War between 1585 and 1604, and a cornerstone of British historical mythology ever since."[679] In its implicit reference to British seafaring heroes, the sculpture had a thematic connection to a

[674] Birchall, "An Annex to Trafalgar Square: the Tate Collection 1897-1914:" 24.

[675] Birchall, "An Annex to Trafalgar Square: the Tate Collection 1897-1914:" 24.

[676] Martina Droth and Jason Edwards, "William Reynolds-Stephens. A Royal Game," in *Sculpture Victorious: Art In An Age of Invention, 1837 – 1901*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 409.

[677] Droth and Edwards, "William Reynolds-Stephens. A Royal Game," 409.

[678] Droth and Edwards, "William Reynolds-Stephens. A Royal Game," 409.

[679] Droth and Edwards, "William Reynolds-Stephens. A Royal Game," 409.

painting in the Tate collection, Millais' *The Boyhood of Raleigh* (1870).[680]

Edwards and Droth have persuasively argued that *A Royal Game* is a political allegory for the United Kingdom, in terms of its social hierarchy and the geographic reach of its empire. *A Royal Game* is laden with national symbols, from the Tudor roses of Elizabeth's dress to her pendant depicting St George and the Dragon; whilst the pedestal is emblazoned with Elizabeth and Philip's respective coats of arms. Reynolds-Stephens himself stated he had intended *A Royal Game* to serve "as a suggestion for a new form of National monument."[681] As Edwards and Droth note, "it probably wasn't a coincidence that just a few months after the debut of his National Monument, the artist published a lengthy statement titled 'A Plea for the Nationalisation Of Our Sculpture.'"[682] He wrote that British Sculpture should be formed by "the embodiment of British thought," arguing that by drawing on national subject matter and craftsmanship the discipline of sculpture could attain greatness and "remain relevant to its times," a far more narrowly nationalistic method than Chantrey's Bequest.[683] Edwards and Droth observe that "the Armada theme might have reassured viewers about ongoing British naval, economic, and imperial supremacy in a period during which the United States was gaining ground as a military and economic superpower, whilst Germany was achieving similar advances on the industrial front, and crucially, within the navy."[684] In his four-part series about the Tate Gallery in *The Magazine of Art*, Spielmann commented that "its function is to show to the Englishman and to the foreigner, and to prove to posterity, the greatest excellence to which our art has attained."[685] *A Royal Game* presented visitors from within and outside Britain with an image of the nation's sovereign governance, clear social hierarchy, military power, and imperial dominion. With its encouraged parallels to the current politics at the time of its creation in 1911, Reynolds-Stephens implies

[680] "Millais, The Boyhood of Raleigh," Tate, accessed 8th August 2018, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/millais-the-boyhood-of-raleigh-n01691

[681] Droth and Edwards, "William Reynolds-Stephens. A Royal Game," 409.

[682] Droth and Edwards, "William Reynolds-Stephens. A Royal Game," 409.

[683] W. Reynolds-Stephens, "A Plea For The Nationalisation Of Our Sculpture," *Nineteenth Century And After 69* (January 1911): 160 – 168.

[684] Droth and Edwards, "William Reynolds-Stephens. A Royal Game," 411.

[685] M.H. Spielmann, "The National Gallery Of British Art And Mr Tate's Collection," *The Magazine of Art Vol 16* (London: Cassell and Co Limited, 1893), 246.

that these national components have remained unchanged since Tudor times and that resilient for over three hundred years already, they will remain persistently unchangeable.

However, the Tate Gallery's national character arguably owed more to the acts of private philanthropy which had founded and shaped it than to the thematic content of its collections.

THE MUNIFICENCE OF PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS: EXPECTATIONS, CONDITIONS, AND OBLIGATIONS

In *A Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery* (1898) journalist Edward Tyas Cook described the Tate Gallery as "characteristically national in this respect among others, that it owes little to the State and much to the munificence of private citizens."[686] These private citizens included Chantrey, Turner, Vernon, Watts, and Mary Watts. However, from prior to its opening, the gallery was inextricably linked in the popular imagination to its most significant benefactor, Tate. Despite its official title, the gallery began to be informally known by the simplified epithet 'the Tate Gallery' long before it opened in July 1897. Earlier in 1897, the weekly magazine *Truth* had invited reader suggestions for the name of the new gallery, since as Taylor has conjectured, with both an official title and numerous nomenclatures in circulation "the matter needed clarifying – or satirising."[687] Suggestions flooded in, including many based around Tate himself: 'The Tatonian Institute,' the 'Tate-And-Up-To-Date Gallery,' and 'The Cubicle' (a reference to Tate's popularising of the sugar cube).[688] In their next edition, *Truth* reflected that "it is quite clear that the public intend to call the new building at Millbank the Tate Gallery, so that it is useless to expect that any of the suggestions made by the competitors to this competition to be adopted."[689] The popular name passed into semi-official status when it was used by guidebooks such as *The Sunday Times Short Guide To The Tate Gallery Of Contemporary Art* (1897) and Cook's *A*

[686] Edward Tyas Cook, *A Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery,* (London: Macmillan,1898), 3.

[687] Taylor, *Art For The Nation,* 121.

[688] Anon, "Suggested Popular Name For The New Gallery Built At Millbank By Mr Henry Tate," *Truth,* 16th September 1897.

[689] Anon, *Truth,* 30th September 1897.

Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery.[690] Cook committed the informal name to record: "officially the Gallery is known as 'The National Gallery of British Art.' In popular parlance it is likely to be called "The Tate Gallery."[691] As *The Daily News* remarked a week after its opening, "The National Gallery of Modern British Art is much too big a mouthful for the ordinary Londoner. The omnibus which he might wish to drop him at its door would have started before he could finish the sentence."[692] The reporter noted that 'the Tate Gallery' "has brevity on its side, and a large measure of truth. Still that title is not quite applicable to a Gallery of which the Tate Collection only forms a seventh."[693] Whilst the adoption of 'The Tate' as the informal name for the gallery brought it into association with other British art galleries bearing the surname of their benefactor, such as The Soane Museum, The Tate differed in that Tate's personal art collection was small and diluted by other gifts and acquisitions as time went by whereas The Soane predominantly contained, and still contains, the personal collection of its benefactor. Whilst its title suggested a predominantly personal collection, the Tate gallery's contents attested to its numerous benefactors, two of whom, Turner and Watts, are notably present as artists as well as benefactors.

As I have already briefly indicated, Chantrey arguably had greater prominence at the Tate Gallery as a benefactor than as a sculptor, and the only sculptural work by Chantrey in the collection between 1899 and 1917 was not a strong or typical example of his oeuvre: *Reclining Nymph* (presented by a Miss Tye in 1904), a small rough study.[694] The gallery also owned "Three Ivory Modelling Tools used by Sir Francis Chantrey" which are listed in the 1907 catalogue.[695] However, it is unclear whether this evidence of Chantrey's process and his work were displayed within the gallery space; they are not mentioned in the guidebook's descriptions of the contents of each room. Chantrey was also represented by a painted self-portrait (1810) bought through

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[690] Anon, *The Sunday Times Short Guide To The Tate Gallery Of Contemporary Art,* (London: The Sunday Times Office, 1897); Cook, *A Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery*, 1.

[691] Cook, *A Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery*, 3.

[692] Anon, *The Daily News*, 19th August 1897.

[693] *Daily News*, 19th August 1897.

[694] "Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, A Reclining Nymph," Tate, accessed 16th August 2017, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/chantrey-a-reclining-nymph-n01950

[695] 'Authority,' *The National Gallery British Art With Description, Historical Notes, and Lives Of Deceased Artists,* (London: Cassell & Co, 1907), 54.

the Bequest process in 1894 (Fig 68).[696] This self-portrait depicts him as a painter; he is not dressed in the work clothing of a sculptor or holding tools indicative of his profession. His name was also attached to the 'Chantrey Collection' galleries, wherein paintings purchased through his Bequest were displayed.[697] Watts and Turner held the statuses of both benefactor and artist through the gifting of a significant number of their own works, which were then displayed in galleries bearing their names.[698] Chantrey's presence at the Tate Gallery had more in common with Tate, who was represented in the naming of the 'Tate Collection' room, and in a portrait by Brock (1898) (Fig 69).[699]

The gifts of Vernon, Sheepshanks, Tate, Turner, and Watts fall into two loose categories: gifts of collector-donors (Vernon, Sheepshanks, and Tate) and gifts of artist-donors (Turner and Watts).[700] None of the gifts were given anonymously, and the gifts of Vernon, Tate, Sheepshanks, and Watts were all given during their lifetimes. However, whether given by a living donor or gifted posthumously, the five gifts were received, as Mauss has posited, "with a burden attached."[701] To borrow from his theory of gift economy, the selfless philanthropy of these gifts was a "polite fiction" which concealed a degree of self-interest and the expectation of commensurate reciprocation.[702] The expected returns on the gifts varies according to the desires of each donor, but all six share a core concern with public reputation: its enhancement and preservation. This enhancement might take the form of an improvement in social

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[696] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[697] 'Authority,' *The National Gallery British Art With Description, Historical Notes, and Lives Of Deceased Artists,* (London: Cassell & Co, 1908), vii.

[698] Cook, *A Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery*, 22.

[699] "Sir Hubert Von Herkomer, Henry Tate," Tate, accessed 16th August 2017, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/von-herkomer-sir-henry-tate-n03517; "Sir Henry Tate, Sir Thomas Brock," Tate, accessed 16th August 2017, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/brock-sir-henry-tate-n01765

[700] Though Mary Watts, acting on Watts' express wishes donated works from his private collection to the gallery following his death in 1904, such as Walter Crane's *The Renaissance of Venus* c.1877, his gifts of 1897 and 1902 were primarily gifts of his own paintings and sculpture. By nature of his profession, Chantrey can also be considered an artist-donor, although he did not gift any of his own works in his Will.

[701] Mauss, *The Gift*, 53.

[702] Mauss, *The Gift*, 4.

status through public recognition of their philanthropic generosity and the patriotism of gifting art or money for the benefit of the nation. The placement of a gift of artworks in a gallery space, and their formal accession into a museum collection, ensured the enduring public legacy of a donor's name (often in the form of a named gallery room); and the preservation, conservation, and display of an artist's works. However, although Chantrey's Bequest shares similar expected returns and expresses similar aims to those of the five gifts, comparison reveals significant differences in its construction and in the longevity of its reciprocal transactions. Chantrey's bequest is far more controlling and complex than its surface narrative would suggest, and arguably its particular manner of operating makes it more controlling and complex than the five other gifts I'm comparing it to.

Chantrey's professed aim of "forming and establishing a Public National Collection of British Fine Art" likens his gift to those of collector-donors Vernon, Sheepshanks, and Tate. All three of their gifts worked towards establishing collections of British art for public benefit, with the reciprocal payment of being credited, honoured and remembered as a benefactor. Whilst Vernon, Sheepshanks, and Tate benefitted from an improvement in social status during their lifetimes due to their public generosity, Chantrey's benefaction beneficially affected his posthumous reputation. To contextualise Chantrey's Bequest within the gifts of other donor-benefactors, I will briefly discuss each in turn.

Sheepshanks, the descendent of a family of Leeds cloth merchants and manufacturers, had inherited his wealth.[703] The family business had flourished during the Napoleonic War by supplying white and scarlet material for the clothing of troops.[704] Sheepshanks' gift of approximately five hundred modern British oil paintings, watercolours, and drawings to the SKM in 1857 set out similar aims to Chantrey's Bequest.[705] He stated that the gift was given "with a view to the establishment of a collection of pictures and other works of art, fully representing British art and worthy of national support; to be placed in well-lighted and otherwise

[703] Dianne Sachko Macleod, "Homosociality And Middle-Class Identity In Early Victorian Patronage Of The Arts," in *Gender, Civic Culture, and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity In Britain, 1800 – 1940,* ed. Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 71.

[704] Macleod, "Homosociality And Middle-Class Identity In Early Victorian Patronage Of The Arts," 71.

[705] Poole, *Stewards Of The Nation's Art,* 49.

suitable gallery, and called 'the National Gallery of British Art.'"[706] The gift included paintings by Turner, William Mulready, Landseer, David Wilkie, and C. R. Leslie, but no sculptural works.[707] Sheepshanks did not ask for named-credit for his gift, stating "it is not my desire that my collection of paintings and drawings should be kept apart or bear my name as such."[708] Nevertheless, the artworks donated by Sheepshanks were displayed together in a gallery built for the purpose, named 'The Sheepshanks Gallery.'[709] Included in Sheepshanks' gift were two portraits of the donor by Mulready: a preparatory study (1832) and *Interior With A Portrait Of John Sheepshanks* (c.1832) which were put on public display.[710]

Vernon's gift provides an example of a transparently self-interested gift transaction wherein a gift of art was given by a living collector in an act of performative patronage, for which the assumed reciprocal gift was an improvement in social standing and public reputation as a benefactor and a patriot. The gift consisted of 157 British paintings and sculptures, presented to the Trustees of the National Gallery in 1847. Of these, 38 works were transferred to the Tate in 1897, including paintings by Leslie, Romney, Martin Archer Shee, and sculptures by Baily and Gibson.[711] Two portraits of Vernon were displayed at the gallery: a painted portrait by Henry William Pickersgill (1846), given by Vernon himself, and a portrait bust by William Behnes (1849), presented by Queen Victoria and subscribers.[712] Vernon, like Chantrey, was characterised in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* of 1909 as a self-made, patriotic man with humble origins and innate, unschooled good judgement regarding art.[713] His patriotism was vouched for by his connection to a

[706] Richard Redgrave, *On The Gift Of The Sheepshanks Collection: With A View To The Formation Of A National Gallery Of British Art,* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857), 2.

[707] For a complete list of works gifted by Sheepshanks see: Anon, *Inventory Of The Pictures, Drawings, Etchings &c. In The British Fine Art Collections Deposited In The New Gallery At Cromwell Gardens, South Kensington: Being For The Most Part The Gift Of John Sheepshanks Esq*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1857).

[708] Redgrave, *On The Gift Of The Sheepshanks Collection,* 2.

[709] Redgrave, *On The Gift Of The Sheepshanks Collection,* 24.

[710] Anon, *Inventory Of The Pictures, Drawings, Etchings &c. In The British Fine Art Collections Deposited In The New Gallery At Cromwell Gardens.*

[711] Cook, *A Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery*, 22.

[712] Cook, *A Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery*, 23.

[713] Stephen ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, 44.

moment of high national fervour, since he amassed his large fortune supplying horses to British armies during the Napoleonic Wars.[714] However, as Robin Hamyln's careful deconstruction of Vernon's public image has shown, these characterisations of Vernon express an overly simplistic and "rather stock image of a nineteenth-century philanthropist."[715] Hamyln's research undermines this two-dimensional characterisation by demonstrating that Vernon's purchasing of British art and subsequent gifting of his collection constituted a determined strategy of self-aggrandisement. Prior to its gifting, and installation in 'The Vernon Gallery' at the National Gallery, his collection was installed at his house in Pall Mall. Upon visiting, the *Art Union* remarked "All honour to so veritable a patron – so true a patriot!" Vernon's national patriotism was evidenced by his collection of British Art.[716] His self-interest did not go unnoticed in the period: Academician painter J.C. Horsley characterised Vernon as one "whose apparent interest in art was really used simply as a means of lifting him out of obscurity and into some sort of *locus standi* in the world."[717] Hamlyn also notes that Vernon's desire to improve his reputation is evident from his refusal of Sheepshanks' offer to present their separate collections as one joint gift, and Vernon's dissatisfaction at how Queen Victoria and her government had recognised his gift. *The Builder* of 1848 reported that Vernon had refused a knighthood, considering it "the lowest honour the Queen can bestow" and felt that "the offer of it did not shew [sic] a proper appreciation of the gift."[718]

Despite accusations that Tate's gift was "the self-aggrandising bribe of a sugar-boiler," his generosity was less transparently self-interested than Vernon's.[719] There are varying interpretations of the motivations behind Tate's generosity. Poole argues that Tate's gift was not an act of self-aggrandisement since he was an "established philanthropist" who had previously concentrated his benefaction on education, donating money to build libraries in Brixton, Oxford and Liverpool and founding the educational Tate Institute at his sugar refinery in Silvertown.[720] She supports this

[714] Hamyln, "Robert Vernon 1774 – 1849: Patron," 9.

[715] Hamyln, "Robert Vernon 1774 – 1849: Patron," 9.

[716] Hamyln, "Robert Vernon 1774 – 1849: Patron," 18.

[717] J.C. Horsley, *Recollections Of A Royal Academician*, (London: John Murray, 1903), 60.

[718] Hamyln, "Robert Vernon 1774 – 1849: Patron," 10.

[719] Poole, *Stewards Of The Nation's Art,* 51.

[720] Poole, *Stewards Of The Nation's Art,* 52.

argument by claiming that Tate's "shy and undemonstrative" personality, often feigning illness to avoid public speaking, suggests he was not motivated by motives of self-promotion and instead inspired by genuine appreciation of British Art.[721] Taylor meanwhile argues that Tate's religious beliefs were the source of his considerable benefaction, stating that his "various donations had more in common with those of religiously inspired philanthropists such as Samuel Morley, Joseph Rowntree, and George Cadbury who came to regard philanthropy as a continual obligation than an occasion for a single grand gesture."[722]

However, an established philanthropist, Tate evidently recognised the positive effect his public generosity had on his enduring public reputation, regardless of a religiously-motivated sense of duty or his quiet persona. Spielmann icily described the gallery as "the splendid shrine which Mr Tate has erected to the glory of British Art and to the honour of his own name."[723] Tate however, evidently did not wish for the gallery to bear his name. He expressed his views on the matter in a letter to *The Daily News*, in which he professed that "I do not wish it to bear my name, and I most certainly do object to it being called 'the New Tate Gallery.' I have recommended the Government to call it 'the National Gallery of British Art,' and I hope it will be known by that name for all time."[724] Whilst Spielmann's view that Tate was purely motivated by a selfish desire for lasting fame and veneration is undermined by his statement to *The Daily* News, his name has endured in the public eye partially as result of his gift.[725]

As might be expected given Turner and Chantrey's close friendship, Turner's Will and the Bequests therein bear some marked similarities to Chantrey's own. Turner drew up his first Will on 30th September 1829, which he replaced with a second Will on 10th June 1831. To this he added a succession of codicils in 1831, 1832, 1846 (later revoked), 1848, and 1849. Upon Turner's death in 1851, his Will was heavily contested by his cousins, who had not been named as beneficiaries, and the Will was tangled up in the Court of Chancery for five years. His revised Will instructs his executors to sell his assets to provide an endowment fund for a charity, to be called

[721] Poole, *Stewards Of The Nation's Art,* 52.

[722] Taylor, *Art For The Nation*, 104.

[723] M.H. Spielmann, "The National British Gallery," *Magazine Of Art* (September 1897), 280.

[724] Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 21.

[725] Spalding, *The Tate: A History*, 21.

"Turner's Gift." This endowment fund was intended to cover the building of alms-houses for "decayed artists" born in England, of English parentage and lawful issue, as previously mentioned. Turner also instructed that the complex should contain a gallery to display his own works. However, Turner's aggrieved cousins posited that Turner had not followed the proper legal process to register his intentions, which was found to be correct, and thus "Turner's Gift" never came into being.[726] Similar to Chantrey, Turner strengthened his connection with the RA in his Will. He bequeathed a lump sum of money to establish a Professorship for Landscape Painting or a gold Turner Medal, to be awarded biennially for landscape. In the 1849 codicil he left a legacy of £1,000 for the RA pension fund and for the provision of his tomb monument in St Paul's Cathedral so he could be buried alongside other academicians.[727] Decisions taken by the Court of Chancery led to Turner's original bequest being inflated to £20,000 with which the RA instituted a competition for the Turner Medal, established a Landscape scholarship, provided for impecunious artists who were not members of the RA, and contributed to the RA schools, but the Professorship for Landscape was never established.[728]

Turner's bequest of paintings and their arrival at the Tate Gallery was somewhat more complex, and does not follow the same narrative as the gifts of Watts, or of the collector-donors. Turner had intended his paintings to be exhibited together at the gallery envisioned as part of his charity, instructing in his Codicil of August 1832 that the object was "to keep and preserve my Pictures as a collection of my works."[729] He sought to place two of his works in an established institution – in his Will of 1832 he bequeathed *Dido Building Carthage; or the Rise of the Carthaginian Empire* (1815) and *Sun Rising Through Vapour; Fishermen Cleaning And Selling Fish* (1807) to the National Gallery with the stipulation that both pictures be hung in perpetuity between Claude's *Seaport and Mill* (1648) and *The Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca* (1648).[730] The transferral of the majority of Turner's works to the Tate was as a result of NG administration, and not Turner's explicit wishes.[731]

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[726] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner*, 34.

[727] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner*, 35.

[728] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner*, 35.

[729] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner*, 43.

[730] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner*, 42.

[731] Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner*, 125.

Watts' gifts to the Tate Gallery constitute a similarly considered and strategic act of benefaction motivated by a desire to further consolidate his public reputation as an artist, and to ensure his legacy. As Smith has surmised in her study of Watts' gift to the gallery, he "deliberately contributed to the crafting of his persona of a disinterested public servant," an appearance which obscured his "complicity in the patronal and institutional politics which facilitated the seemingly smooth transition of his ideas from the realm of personal formulation to that of public declamation."[732] Watts' first gift to the Tate in 1897 constituted eighteen symbolic paintings, followed by a second gift in 1899 of three additional paintings, and in 1900 the presentation of his bronze bust *Clytie* (c.1868 – 78).[733] These donations by the artist inspired further gifts from other individuals and organisations – in 1902 the Cosmopolitan Club presented *Story From Boccaccio* (c.1844 – 1847), in 1905 Mary Watts presented *Echo* (c.1846), and in 1910 Mrs Isabella Seymour gifted *Life's Illusions* (1849) and Mrs Eustace Smith donated Watts' portrait of her husband (c.1870 – 80).[734] As a living donor, Watts enjoyed considerable control over how his paintings were presented. He wrote to Tate specifically requesting that his paintings be hung in a separate gallery, the walls of which should be painted "a splendid colour say the deepest and warmest red that can be got!"[735] This colour stood in marked contrast to the green and porphyry walls of the other galleries and set it apart from its neighbouring collections, but linked it with the Sculpture Gallery, which as we will see, had red walls. Watts wrote to Poynter, a close acquaintance, requesting that he be allowed to liaise with the Director over the hanging of his works since he was averse to paintings hung above eye-level or in cross lights.[736]

As Smith has shown, Watts' gift of works to the Tate was one in a series of similar gifts. By the time he approached the Tate's Board with his proposed donations he had already developed an "institutional status" by having made a "concerted effort

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[732] Alison Smith, "Watts and the National Gallery of British Art," in *Representations of G.F. Watts: Art Making in Victorian Culture*, ed. Colin Trodd and Stephanie Brown, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 153.

[733] Smith, "Watts and the National Gallery of British Art," 160.

[734] Smith, "Watts and the National Gallery of British Art," 160.

[735] Smith, "Watts and the National Gallery of British Art," 159.

[736] Smith, "Watts and the National Gallery of British Art," 160.

to disseminate his art beyond the national collection."[737] He gifted *Time, Death, and Judgement* to the RA in 1886, *Love and Death* to the Whitworth Institute in Manchester in 1887, and *Fata Morgana* to the Municipal Gallery of Leicester in 1889.[738] Akin to Chantrey's pantheon of his portrait busts of national worthies, Watts formed a collection of his own portrait works, a *Hall of Fame* consisting of a series of painted portraits which he incrementally donated to the National Portrait Gallery from 1883.[739] He also established a publicly-accessible personal gallery of his works, first at his London home in Melbury Road, and later in the village of Compton in Surrey.[740] Watts died on 1st July 1904, and his Will directed that the majority of his paintings were to be left to provincial galleries in Great Britain and Ireland.[741] However, after Mary Watts appealed to the High Court, the terms of the Will were revised and the Watts Gallery was permitted to retain the works and become a Charitable Trust in 1905.[742]

Despite these similarities of aims and returns, Chantrey's gift differs from the five other gifts in its construction and its intent. Unlike the gifts of Vernon, Sheepshanks, Tate, Turner, and Watts, Chantrey's bequest was not a one-off transferal of a collection or a lump sum of money but an ongoing process wherein his Trustees annually transferred a portion of the income from his residuary personal estate to the RA. The administration of his residuary personal estate, expressed plainly, was as follows. At the time of Mary Anne Chantrey's death, and before Legacy Duty and executors' fees, the total value of the estate was £106,693-16s-3d.[743] During his lifetime, Chantrey had heavily invested capital in the burgeoning transport industry which produced a regular income. His Will lists "Railway, Canal, and Road Bonds

[737] Smith, "Watts and the National Gallery of British Art," 160.

[738] For a complete list of Watts' donations see R.E.D. Sketchley, *Watts,* (Methuen: London, 1904), 183 – 6 and E.H. Short, *British Artists: Watts,* (Philip Allan and Co: London, 1924), 143 – 152.

[739] For a full discussion of this see Lara Perry, "Nationalizing Watts: The *Hall of Fame* and the National Portrait Gallery," in *Representations of G.F. Watts: Art Making in Victorian Culture*, ed. Colin Trodd and Stephanie Brown, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 121 – 135.

[740] Smith, "Watts and the National Gallery of British Art," 161.

[741] "Last Will and Testament of George Frederick Watts 19th July 1866," Watts Gallery Archive, Surrey, GFW/4/32.

[742] "Photocopy of 1905 Gallery Agreement 24th May 1905," Watts Gallery Archive, Surrey, WGR/1/3/4.

[743] Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," 15.

and Canal, Navigation, and Railway shares" with the expectation that the capital should continue to be invested and to produce a profitable income in perpetuity.[744] A sense of the size of this income can be gained from the Trustees' Accounts, which record that the capital sum of £105, 600 generated some £3,012 per annum until 1884, and around £2,800 per annum from 1892 until 1901.[745] Chantrey's Will appointed Trustees to manage the fund: its investment, income, and distribution.[746] The Trustees annually fulfilled their duties by distributing funds to cover their own expenses, annuities to the PRA and the RA Secretary, and bequests to the vicar/clergyman of the Church of Norton, the schoolmaster of Norton, and the Chantrey Bequest.[747]

This arrangement of payments to individuals effectively binds beneficiaries into becoming employees. The controlling construction of Chantrey's Bequest can be understood when considered in conjunction with his smaller bequest to the Vicar or Clergyman of the parish Church of Norton. With the intention of ensuring that his tomb in Norton churchyard was "preserved from destruction," Chantrey instructed that on the proviso that said tomb was intact on the 1st December each year, the Vicar or Clergyman would receive "two hundred pounds free from legacy duty."[748] This was no small sum – £200 in 1840 would have the same spending worth as 2017's £12,083.00.[749] This annuity, paid to the holder of a specific role in exchange for performing a duty, is the same as the £50 yearly annuity paid to the Secretary of the RA "for his absolute use and benefit on the condition that such Secretary shall attend the Meetings of my Trustees" and keep records of their meetings.[750] Both of these annuities constituted a legally binding payment for services that post-dated Chantrey's death. By comparison, Chantrey directed that the RA President would be paid a yearly annuity of "three hundred pounds." Again, this was no token sum. In 1890, when the

[744] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[745] Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," 16.

[746] Despite confusion in contemporary press accounts, the Trustees had no coercive power over the expenditure of the money they paid over to the RA. Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," 16.

[747] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

[748] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[749] "Currency Converter," http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/

[750] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12; in 1880, when the Bequest process was in full sway, this £50 annuity had the spending worth as 2017's £3, 309.00.

Bequest process was well underway, £300 had the spending worth of 2017's £24,614.00.[751] Chantrey specified that this annuity was for the PRA's "own absolute use and benefit."[752] Such a significant sum of money clearly implied a moral obligation and an expectation of the PRA's heavy organisational involvement with his Bequest; but it is clearly phrased as a gift to be freely spent at the President's discretion. The large monetary gift implies the expectation of a commensurate obligation, and additionally ensured that the PRA's involvement with the Bequest attracted watchful attention from outside parties, thus further ensuring his active involvement in the process.[753]

The money received by the RA also carried the weight of biography. Sheepshanks, Vernon, and Tate's three gifts spoke of wealth spent and a private collection enjoyed and treasured prior to its gifting to the nation and transferral to a public gallery. The enduring narrative of Chantrey's life, perpetuated and widely publicised by Smiles, was a journey from poverty to fame and prosperity through "honest and persistent industry."[754] Smiles stated that Chantrey "succeeded, but he had worked hard, and thoroughly earned his fortune," and that he was "prudent and shrewd" with his finances.[755] This popular narrative dictated that Chantrey's wealth, now in the hands of the RA, had been hard-earned, carefully managed, and sensibly invested in burgeoning industry. The Bequest money was further burdened by this emotional weight.

In summary, the considerable purchasing power of Chantrey's wealth enabled him to systematically exercise control over individuals and institutions from beyond the grave. The emotional burden of duty and gratitude engendered by gifts of money inspired continued consideration of Chantrey's wishes and intentions.[756]

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[751] "Currency Converter," http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/

[752] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[753] The PRA's receipt of an annuity attracted publicly-voiced attention from D.S.MacColl and critic W.J. Loftie among others, Billington, "Chantrey Bequest: An Administrative History to 1904," 72.

[754] Smiles, *Self-Help,* 181.

[755] Smiles, *Self-Help,* 181.

[756] As we have seen, there was considerable discussion in 1904 about what Chantrey had wanted and intended.

By contributing financially to the British art market year on year but imbuing his money with conditions, Chantrey's gift intended to ensure that his values, which largely accorded with the principles of the RA in his lifetime, were preserved into the future. The Bequest and the annuities outlined in Chantrey's Will aimed to encourage the RA to perpetuate the values and principles which they upheld in his time as member, whilst implementing geographical restrictions which furthered his views on national art. The Bequest enabled the RA to control public understanding of British Art through their purchases as his Will anticipates and expressly commands that the collection will be displayed to the future public.

The gifts of Vernon, Sheepshanks, Tate, Watts, and Turner were all traditional gift transactions of assumed reciprocation. Once the reciprocal gifts, which might constitute public recognition of the donor's beneficence, the naming of rooms/galleries, and the housing of gifted collections etc, were enacted the gift transaction and the obligation of the beneficiaries were by and large ended. Their returns on the donor's gifts continued to be fulfilled, but passively. Whilst Chantrey's Bequest has often been discussed within the same breath as these other gifts of British Art, the financial construction of his Will ensured continued attention and persistent obligation on the part of the beneficiaries. The Trustees' management and continual investment of capital prolonged the longevity of the fund – the annual payments to the RA did not end and thus their obligation to carry out Chantrey's directions never ceased.

A MIXED BAG? MERGING THE BEQUEST SCULPTURES WITH GIFTS, TRANSFERS, AND COMMISSIONS

Presented with a foundational collection which was a mixed bag of gifts and transfers, obliged to accept and display Chantrey Bequest works selected by the RA, and without its own purchase grant until 1946, the Tate quickly gained the status of a depository for gifts of money and artworks.[757] The damaging effect this had on the gallery did not go unnoticed by the press and public. "Perhaps the good old rule that 'you should

[757] Fyfe, *Art, Power And Modernity*, 136, 156.

never look a gift horse in the mouth' cannot so rigorously be applied to gifts of pictures to the Nation as to other things" *Punch* pointedly remarked in 1890.[758]As Smith notes, by 1900 it was widely acknowledged that "demotion rather than promotion" had become the National Gallery's "presiding principle of transfer."[759] To supplement the influx of Chantrey purchases and transfers from the National Gallery, Tate were at the mercy of private individuals and groups. However, one of the significant effects of the merging of the Bequest collection and sculptures acquired through the gifts and bequests of private individuals was that it went a small way to counteracting the exclusionary politics of the RA, particularly with regard to Irish sculptors.

Fyfe refers to the process of gifts entering the collection as "colonisation by modern and foreign art" overseen by the Tate Keepers.[760] These were Charles Holroyd, Keeper from 1897 – 1906, and MacColl, Keeper from 1906 – 1911, whose duties were later taken over by Charles Aitken, Director from 1911 – 1930.[761] In 1900, the Tate Gallery received two large white marble statues through the Bequest of collector Henry Vaughan transferred from the National Gallery.[762] These two companion sculptures were English sculptor Henry Weekes' statue of sculptor John Flaxman (date unrecorded) and Irish sculptor Foley's statue of painter Sir Joshua Reynolds (date unrecorded). These were joined in 1906 by Brock's statue of painter Thomas Gainsborough (1906) commissioned under Vaughan's Will. These sculptures were displayed in the niches of the Entrance Hall from 1900 (Fig 70) and would have been among the first artworks to greet visitors to the Tate. In his *A Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery*, Cook describes a tour of the galleries, which begins "we may now make a brief tour of the Gallery. On entering through the turnstile, we find ourselves in the Sculpture Hall, with a fountain in the middle." [763]

These sculptures, together with John Gibson's *Hylas Surprised by The Naiads* (c.1827 – 1837) (Fig 71), also acquired through Vaughan's Bequest, broadened the time-frame of the sculptural canon at Tate. With the exception of Calder Marshall, the

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[758] Anon, *Punch*, 22nd March 1890.

[759]Smith, "Watts and the National Gallery of British Art," 196.

[760] Fyfe, *Art, Power And Modernity,* 136, 144.

[761] Smith, "A 'State' Gallery? The Management Of British Art During The Early Years of Tate," 193.

[762] Luke Herrmann, "Vaughan, Henry (1809–1899)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 14 June 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28131.

[763] Cook, *A Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery,* 10.

Bequest collection contained sculptors who were at the height of their careers during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The addition of Gibson, Weekes, Foley, and Flaxman (in portrait form) brought contemporary sculptors into dialogue with the eighteenth-and mid-nineteenth-century forebears of the sculptural discipline. Crucially given the erasure of Irish sculptors from the Chantrey process, Foley stands as one of these key forebears at the very beginning of the gallery tour.

However, the work of an Irish sculptor would have also greeted visitors to the gallery before they had walked through the Main Entrance in the form of the sculptural decoration of the façade. Whilst, as we have seen, the RA had avoided purchasing the work of John Lawlor, an Irish sculptor with hidden Fenian sympathies, the Tate's exterior façade was decorated with work by his nephew Michael Lawlor. He executed statues of Britannia flanked by a lion and a unicorn which stand proudly atop the pediment, and relief sculptures for the six spandrels which frame the doorways. These include the relief statues of 'Painting' and 'Sculpture' which sit over the entrance (Fig 72).[764] As Sullivan has observed, whilst 'painting' is depicted with her palette, the figure of 'sculpture' seems to be holding a miniaturised figure of Leighton's *Sluggard*.[765] Murphy recounts that Lawlor trained in Dublin with Joseph Kirk and at the Royal Dublin Society before travelling to London, where he studied with his uncle and served an apprenticeship with Thornycroft.[766] *The Pall Mall Gazette* commented in 1897 that "though there will be more than a feast of painting within the Gallery, we think visitors should spare some consideration for the fine examples of modern sculpture which ornament the exterior of the edifice."[767] The author framed Lawlor's architectural sculptures as of equal quality and importance to viewers as the artworks on display within the gallery, stating "the exterior sculpture altogether is in keeping with the design to provide a housing worthy of the treasures stored in the Gallery."[768]

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[764] Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture,* 181; Anon, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16th August 1897.

[765] M.G. Sullivan, "Flattening the National Collections: Nineteenth-Century Sculpture in the National and Tate Galleries," paper presented at National Gallery Of Wales, Cardiff, June 2016.

[766] Niamh O'Sullivan's research has demonstrated how Lawlor was actively involved in fenianism in London, acting as his first cousin James' "trusted lieutenant;" Murphy, *Nineteenth-century Irish Sculpture*, 181.

[767] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16th August 1897.

[768] *Pall Mall Gazette,* 16th August 1897.

As previously shown, the Tate was limited in the aesthetic scope of its sculpture collection by the bias of many of the RAs on the Council and Recommending Committees, especially with regards to new, avant-garde sculptors such as Havard Thomas and Epstein. Fortunately for the Tate Gallery, a number of gifts from private individuals compensated for the conservative taste dominating the Bequest process at the RA. Havard Thomas' *Lycidas* (Fig 73) which had so offended Thornycroft and Armstead was presented by Sir Michael and Lady Sadler in 1911, and The Contemporary Art Society presented Epstein's *Euphemia Lamb* (1908) in 1917.[769] Thomas was already represented in the sculpture collection by his white marble bust of Mrs Flora Wertheimer (1907), presented in 1908 by Asher Wertheimer, a British-born art dealer of German Jewish heritage.[770] Wertheimer's gift goes a small way to tempering the anti-Semitic bias demonstrated by Frampton, and by association other members of the RA council, which had limited the reach of the Bequest process. Wertheimer can be considered an important benefactor to the gallery, since he also presented nine portraits of his family painted by Sargent in 1916.[771] Sargent and Thomas' portraits at Tate incidentally preserved Wertheimer's public reputation and stand as testaments to his central role in the British art world.

Other gifts and commissions raised the profile of several non-minority sculptors. Through the Chantrey process, Brock was represented by one sculpture, *A Moment of Peril*, but he became arguably the best represented sculptor at the Tate Gallery by dint of gifts and commissions with five works in total entering the collection in its first decade. His bronze bust of Henry Tate (1898) (Fig 69) was presented by subscribers in 1898, and his marble statue *Eve* (1900) was gifted by Tate in 1900 (Fig 74). These were followed by his marble statue of Gainsborough (1906), commissioned under Vaughan's will and presented in 1906, and his bronze memorial statue of Millais, commissioned in 1899 and installed outside the gallery in 1905 (Fig

[769] Anon, 'Tate Collections: Acquisitions: Thomas, James Havard,' Tate Britain Archive, London, TG 4/2/1021.

[770] 'Tate Collections: Acquisitions: Thomas, James Havard,' TG 4/2/1021.

[771] Sargent's portrait of Wertheimer himself was gifted after his death in 1922 in accordance with his wishes. For contemporary reaction to Wertheimer's gift and a consideration of his role as a benefactor, see Charles Aitken, "Mr. Asher Wertheimer's Benefaction," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol 29, 161 (August 1916), 216.

75).[772] These five works represent the breadth of Brock's oeuvre in marble and bronze, including public statuary, portraits, and ideal works.

Despite gradually receiving gifts and commissions of sculpture which went some small way to counteracting the exclusionary politics of the RA, the Tate keepers faced the task of curating a disparate collection of sculptures of varying sizes, media, and subject matter.

THE SCULPTURE GALLERY: c.1904 – 1907

Cassell & Co's two postcards of 'The National Gallery of British Art – The Sculpture Gallery' provide an insight into the early curation of sculpture at the Tate (Fig 76, Fig 77). Whilst these are undated, it is possible to roughly date the photographs by the room and sculptures featured. They cannot date from earlier than 1899, since they depict the Sculpture Hall, opened in 1899 as part of Smith's extension.[773] Further to this the postcards cannot be any later than 1936 since the galleries depicted were demolished in that year to make room for the new Duveen galleries. They also cannot date from earlier than 1904, when the latest sculpture in the photographs, *Sibylla Fatidica* was purchased.[774] Following this, the next sculptural purchases were made in 1907, and included Mackennal's large marble *Earth And The Elements*.[775] Given the absence of any sculptures purchased after 1904, it seems likely that the postcard photographs were taken between 1904 and 1907. Analysis of the Cassell and Co's photographic postcards reveals how early Tate curators approached the display of this varied group of sculptures, and in doing so moved away from a traditional arrangement which divided sculpture into 'old and new schools,' highlighted the connectedness of the disciplines of sculpture and painting, and facilitated education about the process of sculpture.

(Fig 76), depicting works by Fehr, Brock, and Pegram is the northern part of The Sculpture Gallery. In 1907, this was flanked on the left side by a room containing

[772] Sankey, "Thomas Brock And The Critics,"179; Anon, *The Daily Graphic*, 9th August 1899.

[773] Anon, "Extension of the British Art Gallery," Press Cutting From Unrecorded Newspaper, Tate Britain Archive, London, TG/PC/TateVol/1/183.

[774] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[775] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

Chantrey Bequest paintings, and on the right side by a room containing paintings from the Tate and Vernon gifts (Fig 78).[776] (Fig 77), depicting bronzes by Thornycroft and Leighton, is the southern part of the Sculpture Gallery. In 1907 this was flanked on the left side by a room containing the Watts gift (visible in the photograph), and on the right side by a room containing Turner's paintings (Fig 78).[777] The photographs only provide a partial view of the Sculpture Galleries, but this partial view is significant as the view which the Tate chose to disseminate as postcards. The framing obscures some sculptures behind columns and other sculptures, and one sculpture is rendered unidentifiable by the fronds of a potted fern. It is likely that additional sculptures and framed works were displayed alongside those pictured.

A fuller understanding of the space can be gleaned from two gallery photographs taken in the early 1930s (Fig 79 & Fig 80) and from press reports describing the sculpture gallery on its opening in 1899. The sculpture gallery measured 71ft by 32ft, was divided into two rooms by a row of Doric columns and lit by "elliptical ribbed roofs."[778] The scale of the space is conveyed in Cassell and Co's postcards by the inclusion of two guards standing next to the doorways. The background to the sculptures was initially in the form of a "tapestry on the walls" which carried "out an intention similar to that of the flooring in order to afford a proper harmony with the bronzes and sculpture;" but this had been removed by the time the photographs had been taken.[779] Instead Watts' *A Story From Boccaccio* and Stevens' cartoon for his *Isaiah Spandrel* for St Pauls' Cathedral (presented 1897) dominated the wall space, thus linking the Tate sculptural pantheon to its rival at St Paul's. *The Graphic* remarked that the Sculpture Hall was "admirably designed both in lighting and in background for the display of the marbles and bronzes which they are intended to contain." [780] Smith stated that "Mr Tate instructed me to spare no trouble in producing a design which should have the best lighted galleries obtainable, and in order to attain this end I visited many of the picture galleries on the continent and in

[776] 'Authority,' *The National Gallery British Art With Description, Historical Notes, and Lives Of Deceased Artists,* 5.

[777] 'Authority,' *The National Gallery British Art With Description, Historical Notes, and Lives Of Deceased Artists,* 5.

[778] "New Rooms At The Tate Gallery," 763.

[779] "New Rooms At The Tate Gallery," 763.

[780] "New Rooms At The Tate Gallery," 763.

the provinces"[781] However, to identify the visual precedents for the design of the Sculpture Gallery, one need only look as far as the South London suburb of Sydenham, to the display of sculptures within the Crystal Palace.

The Crystal Palace displays existed at the same time as the building and opening of the Sculpture Hall: following its purchase by the Crystal Palace Company, the Palace was reopened in 1854 and stayed open until a devastating fire destroyed it in 1936.[782] It does not seem unreasonable to argue that in the Sculpture Courts at Sydenham, Smith saw a model which was successful and well-received. In the 1880s, the Palace had been successfully attracting large numbers of visitors from a range of different social backgrounds for over thirty years. In April 1878 *The Times* recorded that on bank holidays the Palace would receive upwards of 60,000 visitors per day, at a time when numbers at the British Museum rarely exceeded 12,000.[783] Further to this, as Nichols has explained, "the Sydenham court architects sought to provide visually stimulating environments, specifically (as the official *Guide* put it) to 'prevent the monotony that attaches to a mere museum arrangement.'"[784] It seems probable that in searching for precedents for the display of sculpture which moved away from the oft-criticised dark interiors of the British Museum, Smith looked to the Crystal Palace.[785]

The design of the Sculpture Hall, specifically the row of columns which frame the sculptures (Fig 77) echoes the *agora* design of the Greek Court at The Crystal Palace (Fig 81). As Scharf stated in the official guide, this design "resembles a Greek agora, or a place of public assembly, the *forum* or market-place of the Romans."[786] The entablature which sits above the row of columns was extended around the solid walls of the Sculpture Hall, providing a suggestion of a continued colonnade and enclosed space similar to the agora design of the Greek Court. The doorways strengthen this sense of a continued colonnade, since they are formed of two pilasters

[781] Taylor, *Art For The Nation*, 181.

[782] Kate Nichols, "Art and Community: Sculpture under glass at the Crystal Palace," in *Sculpture And The Vitrine*, ed. John C. Welchman, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 23.

[783] Nichols, "Art and Community: Sculpture under glass at the Crystal Palace," 25.

[784] Nichols, "Art and Community: Sculpture under glass at the Crystal Palace," 30.

[785] For more information on press comparisons between the British Museum and The Crystal Palace see: Nichols, "Art and Community: Sculpture under glass at the Crystal Palace," 25.

[786] George Scharf, *The Greek Court Erected in the Crystal Palace by Owen Jones*, (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1854), 4.

and a lintel. It is evident from this similarity, and from the description in early press accounts of the Sculpture Hall's extension as "two large central sculpture rooms," that the space was specifically designed for the display of sculptures.[787] It was not a repurposed picture gallery as the oft-repeated and misleading Tate claim that " the Duveen Galleries were the first public galleries in England designed specifically for the display of sculpture" suggests.[788] The similarity of the design to the Sculpture Courts at Sydenham served to link the Tate Gallery to its most prominent rival in the display of sculpture in London.

A description from *The Standard* provides evidence of the gallery's colour scheme: "the sculpture rooms are divided in the centre by massive stone columns of the Doric Order, the whole feeling being Pompeian and the colouring being the most effective for the displaying of statuary."[789] It seems highly probable that *The Standard* writer's point of reference for Pompeian architecture and colouring was the Pompeian Court of the Crystal Palace (Fig 82) which, unlike the British Museum, featured whole rooms in reconstructed/imagined ancient styles.[790] As the periodical *All The Year Round* commented light heartedly in 1884, "Everyone knows what a Pompeian house is like. You may see one at the Crystal Palace."[791] Translating the colour scheme of the Pompeian Court to the black and white photographs of the Sculpture Hall is an exercise in imagination, but it is possible to hazard a supported guess as to the colour scheme. From the photographs of the Sculpture Hall, it's clear that the cornice, the walls below the architrave, and the capital of the columns were painted. The echinus and astragal of the capitals are painted, whilst the abacus and necking were left unpainted. It is feasible that other architectural elements were painted in lighter colours, but it is not possible to tell from the photograph. The Sculpture Hall does not feature the distinctive half-painted columns of the Pompeian Court. It seems likely that the walls of the Sculpture Hall, and thus the dominant colour of the space, was an earthy dark red since it was heavily used for walls at the Pompeian Court. In the official guidebook to the Pompeian Court, George Sharf remarks that "Red is the

[787] Anon, "Extension Of The Tate Gallery," 28th November 1899.

[788] "Duveen Galleries," Tate.

[789] Anon, *The Standard*, 25th November 1899.

[790] Kate Nichols, *Greece And Rome At The Crystal Palace: Classical Sculpture And Modern Britain 1854 – 1936*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 93.

[791] Nichols, *Greece And Rome At The Crystal Palace*, 119.

prevailing colour at Pompeii" and that its frequent use was "a Pompeian peculiarity."[792] If the use of dark red paint was a marked Pompeian feature, it seems likely that it was this colour combined with classical architectural details which provoked the writer of *The Standard* to describe the overall feeling as Pompeiian. Further to this, there was a strong tradition of displaying white marbles or plasters against red backgrounds, from display of Gibson and Hiram Powers' sculptures against dark red drapery at the Great Exhibition to the Gibson Gallery at the RA, painted "Pompeiian red, with a black stencil decoration at the top and bottom."[793] The dark colour of the walls below the architrave and the white or light coloured paint above conforms to the style of the other galleries (Fig 83) but also to the Pompeian Court, in which Scharf observed that the "prevailing principle" was that "the strongest and darkest colours are confined to the bottom of the room."[794] Red, black, yellow, green, and blue comprised the colour scheme of the Court – but it seems likely that the paint used on the architrave and capitals of the columns was black considering its frequent use on dado rails in the Court.[795] The paint would have to have been black a dark red or blue for it to have appeared dark in the black and white photograph.

The display of potted ferns alongside the sculptures at the Tate can be read as a toned-down version of the display of Greek and Modern sculpture surrounded by large plants at the Crystal Palace (Fig 84).[796]

The gallery depicted in Cassell and Co's postcards was among the first arrangements of the Tate Gallery's sculpture collections as a group within a gallery designed specifically for their display. Prior to the opening of the sculpture galleries in 1899, the collected group of sculptures were displayed in the rotunda, then referred to as 'the Sculpture Hall' (Fig 70) and in the adjoining corridors.[797] This was a limited space with fewer opportunities to display sculpture in relation to each other and with,

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[792] George Scharf, *The Pompeian Court*, (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854), 59.

[793] Anon, *Annual Report From The Council of The Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians For The Year 1875*, 5; Lynne Ambrosini and Rebecca Reynolds, *Hiram Powers: Genius in Marble*, (Cincinnati: Taft Museum of Art, 2007), 35.

[794] Scharf, *The Pompeian Court*, 31.

[795] Scharf, *The Pompeian Court*, 45 51, 52, 60.

[796] For more information on the modern courts, see: Jameson, *A Handbook To The Courts Of Modern Sculpture*.

[797] Cook, *A Popular Handbook To The Tate Gallery*, 7.

one might safely assume, limited light levels. This is supported by *The Daily News*' comment on the opening of the Sculpture Hall that "Mr Brock's *Moment Of Peril*, a Chantrey purchase, will probably be among the first things to be brought into this central hall from its too confined position in the corridor of the adjoining building."[798] The partial view of the Sculpture Gallery provided by the photographs demonstrates how early curators made use of this newfound space to highlight visual similarities between a sculpture collection created in a piecemeal fashion. In doing so, they created a sense of coherent unity between the sculpture collection.

The northern part of the Sculpture Gallery (Fig 76) contained eight sculptures and Stevens' cartoon for his *Isaiah Spandrel*.[799] Clockwise from bottom left stands Brock's *A Moment of Peril*, Bates' *Pandora* and *Hounds In Leash,* Fehr's *Rescue of Andromeda*, Colton's *The Springtide of Life*, Lantéri's *Paysan*, Pegram's *Sibylla Fatidica,* and obscured beyond identification by the fronds of a potted plant, a small bronze bust. This small bronze bust would have facilitated a symmetrical arrangement in combination with Lantéri's *Paysan.*

Pegram's *Sibylla Fatidica* (Fig 15) and Fehr's *The Rescue of Andromeda* (Fig 36), placed at a diagonal to each other, from corner to centre, share a number of visual similarities. Both feature figures who loom over a nude female figure lying down. In both cases, the looming figure holds out an arm bearing a circular object: in Fehr's case, the head of Medusa, in Pegram's, a crystal ball. Brock's *A Moment Of Peril* (Fig 33), placed at the other corner of the room, on a diagonal to *Sibylla Fatidica* shares the motif of a human figure with one arm raised placed above a larger form. Stevens' *Isaiah Spandrel*, hung opposite *Sibylla Fatidica,* also features a figure with a raised arm standing over another, this time an angel looming over Isaiah. There is a further parallel between Isaiah's stone chair and the stone chair of the Sibyl. Similar to *The Rescue of Andromeda*, which depicts Perseus fighting the sea monster, Brock's *Moment of Peril* depicts the male figure mounted on a horse and engaged in a fight with a rearing snake. Brock's depiction of an athletic male figure exerting power over beasts through the use of restraints comfortably co-exists with Bates' male figure who holds tightly to the leashes of his dogs (Fig 85). The early curators forged a sense of

[798] Anon, *The Daily News*, 22nd November 1899.

[799] 'Authority,' *The National Gallery British Art With Description, Historical Notes, and Lives Of Deceased Artists*, 250.

unity between artworks by putting sculptures which shared visual similarities into dialogue with one another.

The northern part of the Sculpture Gallery also groups together sculptures featuring non-traditional sculptural materials, Pegram's *Sibylla Fatidica* and Bates' *Pandora*, which both feature marble figures holding objects made from non-traditional sculptural materials, crystal and ivory. *Pandora* was exhibited inside a glass box, which provides a material tie to the crystal ball held by Pegram's *Sibyl*, placed opposite. The trio of *Pandora*, *Sibyl*, and the *Isaiah* spandrel, itself a design for a mosaic, are united by their arts and crafts aesthetics. The trio embraces intermediality and speak not of one material and one maker but of many different craft skills: ivory carving, metalwork, crystal carving, tile-making, and mosaic making.

The southern part of the Sculpture Gallery (Fig 77) contained five sculptures, and two paintings by Watts: the large canvas *A Story From Boccaccio* (c. 1844 – 1847) and *Echo* (c. 1844 - 1846). Clockwise from bottom left are Thornycroft's *Teucer,* Watts' *A Story From Boccaccio*, Leighton's *Sluggard,* Watts' *Echo*, Leighton's *Athlete Wrestling With A Python,* Brock's *Eve*, and John's *Boy At Play.*

The southern section of the Sculpture Gallery is dominated by bronze figures of male bodies in motion: athletic, idle, and playful. Leighton's *The Sluggard* (Fig 65) stands opposite his *Athlete* (Fig 34), inviting a comparison between his depiction of a male body under strain and at rest. Prior to the building of the Sculpture Gallery, Leighton's *Athlete* was displayed alongside Gibson's *Hylas Surprised by The Naiads* (Fig 71). As Sullivan has explained in his discussion of the exhibition history of *Hylas*, the National Gallery's curatorial model of displaying "'old and new' schools of sculpture" next to one another was taken to Tate when Gibson's group moved there in 1897 and "helped to cement the (rather simplistic) impression that new sculpture had eclipsed the old."[800] Provided with a new space specifically for the display of sculptures, the early curators moved away from the curation of 'old and new' and instead juxtaposed the 'new and new,' grouping the *Athlete* with three other bronzes which Gosse had described as crucial examples of the New Sculpture movement:

[800] M.G. Sullivan, "Catalogue Entry 53: John Gibson (1790 – 1866) *Hylas Surprised by the Naiades*," in *Sculpture Victorious: Art In An Age Of Invention, 1837 – 1901,* ed. Martina Droth, Jason Edwards, Michael Hatt, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press), 181 – 183.

Teucer, *The Sluggard,* and *Boy At Play*.[801] The southern part of the Sculpture Gallery recognised the established renown of the New Sculpture movement. The arrangement facilitated comparison of their works and appreciation of the range of movement possible through use of bronze.

Brock's *Eve* (Fig 74) stands in stark contrast to the dark bronzes as both the only white marble sculpture in the room, and the only sculptural depiction of a female body. *Eve*'s white body is echoed by the fleeing female figure in Watts' *A Story from Boccaccio,* whose naked starkly white body is the only naked figure in the composition (Fig 86). *Eve*'s position in the room places the sculpture parallel to the fleeing naked figure of Watts' painting, which further strengthens the similarity. However, a more marked parallel can be found in Watts' *Echo* (Fig 87), which shares an almost identical pose and body shape to Brock's *Eve* (Fig 74). The snakes which decorate the base of *Eve* provide a visual connection to Leighton's *Athlete Wrestling With A Python,* placed next to it, and to Brock's *A Moment Of Peril* in the northern part of the Sculpture Gallery.

The 1924 Handbook lists Watts' *Dray Horses* (c.1863 – 1875) as being on display in the Sculpture Gallery.[802] It seems likely that it had been on display in the Sculpture Galleries since their inception, considering that it entered the collection in 1897 and is listed in the 1907 Handbook.[803] By studying the outline of the space in the Gallery Plan provided in the 1907 Handbook, and considering the placement of *Echo* it seems likely that Watts' *Dray Horses*, was placed on one side of a doorway, either that of Gallery XVI or Gallery VII, which are not visible in the photographs.[804] Placement on the left side of the Gallery would have allowed a comparison between painted horses and Brock's sculpted horse, in a similar fashion to the parallel between Watts' *Echo* and Brock's *Eve.*

Gilbert's bronze bust of Watts (1888 – 1889) (Fig 88), presented by Mary

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[801] Edmund Gosse, "The New Sculpture, 1879–1894," *Art Journal* 56 (1894): 133–42, 199–203, 277–82, 306–11.

[802] Anon, *The National Gallery Millbank. Catalogue British School. Twenty-Third Edition,* (London: Harrison and Sons, Ltd, 1924), 2.

[803] 'Authority,' *The National Gallery British Art With Description, Historical Notes, and Lives Of Deceased Artists,* 299.

[804] 'Authority,' *The National Gallery British Art With Description, Historical Notes, and Lives Of Deceased Artists,* 5.

Watts in 1904, is visible through the open doorway of Gallery VII (Fig 77). The bust unites the worlds of sculpture and painting and serves as a transitional object that eases the movement from the sculpture gallery to a room which predominantly features Watts' paintings. His bronze *Clytie,* given by the artist in 1900, is visible in the photograph, standing at the back of Gallery VII, and acts as a reminder of Watts' status as a sculptor. The bust of Watts is perhaps more significant as an example of the work of Gilbert. As we have seen, the RA's failure to purchase a work by Gilbert was a topic of contention, and an ideal work would not be acquired through the Bequest until the purchase of *Eros* in 1925.[805] Mary Watts' gift rectified the absence of Gilbert's work in the collection, although it is not a typical example of Gilbert's oeuvre.

Gilbert was considered a significant absence due to his importance to the development of British sculpture, similar to the consideration given to Dalou and Stevens.[806] Gilbert was characterised by Gosse in 1895 as a central figure in directing the New Sculpture movement, and described by Spielmann in glowing terms as "the salvation of the English school" who had positively influenced "most of the young sculptors of the country."[807] The bust's placement brings it into conversation with the work of the New Sculptors on display in the southern part of the Sculpture Gallery, particularly with Leighton's *Athlete* and *Sluggard* which flank the doorway. The positioning of Gilbert's bust, gazing through the doorway and into a room of New Sculptors, can be read as reflecting his influential role upon their sculptural output. This interpretation is heightened by the apparent naturalism and attention to bodily details demonstrated in the portrait bust, which supports Gosse's affirmation that Gilbert led younger sculptors in the direction of realism.[808] The positioning of Gilbert's bust in the doorway, and the grouping of younger New Sculptors within the gallery attested to multiple cross-generational and intra-generational links of stylistic influence.

In summary, Cassell and Co's postcards presented a partial view of the Sculpture Galleries which expressed the variety of work on display, and also

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[805] Chantrey Bequest Purchase Ledger, RAA/PC/12.

[806] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 102.

[807] Edwards, *Alfred Gilbert's Aestheticism: Gilbert Among Whistler, Wilde, Leighton and Burne-Jones*, 7; Spielmann, *British Sculpture And Sculptors Of To-Day*, 76.

[808] Gosse, "The New Sculpture, 1879–1894:" 274, 282, 308.

demonstrated the cleanliness and safety of the space, attended by guards. The curation of the Sculpture Gallery facilitated education about the discipline of sculpture by grouping together works which had influenced each other, for example: *Athlete, Teucer, Sluggard,* and *Boy At Play,* and works by the same sculptor, *Pandora,* and *Hounds In Leash, Sluggard* and *Athlete.* The arrangement also highlighted the connectedness of the disciplines of sculpture and wall and easel painting, with Stevens' *Isaiah* cartoon standing as the centre-point between the two, and with Watts' room flanking the gallery. The grouping of sculptures in the Southern part of the gallery stressed the intermediality of sculpture with its heavy emphasis on the discipline's intersection with skills and materials associated with the arts and crafts movement, thus also recalling the sculptures' previous display in the South Kensington context. The arrangement presented sculptors as painters, designers, and craftsmen. Whilst Chantrey's Bequest stipulated that the RA could only purchase "entirely finished" works, and sculptures bought through his bequest are distanced from the act of making, the gifts of Stevens' cartoon and Bates' plaster served to illustrate a sculptor's creative process to a small degree.[809] The overall curation 1904 - 1907 moved away from an arrangement that divided sculpture into 'old and new' schools, instead pointing to connections across multiple generations.

IN CONCLUSION

The sculptures acquired through the Bequest process lost their collective 'Chantrey Bequest' identity upon entering the Tate Gallery's collections. Unlike paintings acquired through the process, which were displayed within a titled room, the sculptures were merged with other sculptures gifted by individual donors. In doing so, the restrictive ideology implicit in the acquisition process, especially with regards to minority groups, was partially diluted. Close analysis of the curation of the Sculpture Gallery c.1904 – 1907 demonstrated that the early Keepers of the Tate made a concentrated effort to make a coherent collection from a group of sculptures assembled in a piecemeal fashion. Their curation of the Sculpture Gallery facilitated education about the discipline and processes of sculpture, highlighted the connectedness of the disciplines of sculpture and painting, stressed the intermediality of sculpture with its

[809] Chantrey, Will of Sir, Doctor Francis Chantrey, PROB 11/1954/403.

heavy emphasis on the sculpture's intersection with skills and materials associated with the arts and crafts movement. In addition, the arrangement presented sculptors as painters, designers, and craftsmen. The overall curation moved away from an arrangement which divided sculpture into 'old and new' schools, but was respectful of established critical viewpoints, such as Gosse's publications on the New Sculpture. Comparing Chantrey's Bequest to the gifts of Vernon, Sheepshanks, Tate, Watts, and Turner demonstrated how the financial construction of his Will ensured continued attention and persistent obligation on the part of the beneficiaries and guaranteed that his name and influence was preserved. However, the construction of his Bequest could not control the shifting of his public reputation over time, or its dilution as a side-effect of the Bequest collection being housed within a gallery primarily known for its connection with Henry Tate.

CONCLUSION

"The Trustees did not carry out the intentions of Sir Francis Chantrey either in the letter or the spirit."[810] - *The Spectator*, 25th June 1904.

This allegation, presented as fact by *The Spectator*, is a typical example of the critical accusation that the RA had acted in complete and knowing contravention of Chantrey's wishes. Persuasive and pervasive, this and its associated allegations were reinforced with frequent repetition until they took on the appearance of validity. The collection was stigmatized by association, and this negative association has endured. In 1949, when the collection formed through the Bequest was last displayed together, the works attracted comprehensively hostile responses from critics. *The News Chronicle* described the Chantrey collection as "a skeleton which the Academy has long kept in the Tate Gallery's cupboard."[811]

Whilst the sculptures purchased through the Bequest may not have satisfied the prevailing taste of twentieth-century avant-garde critics, my exploration of the Bequest process has revealed that the RA consistently carried out Chantrey's intention to support the British art market and to form a public national collection. They did however, act in contravention of the wording of the Bequest in relation to sculpture, compensating for its inherent bias towards paintings by implementing a backdoor process to commission works informally. Even so, the inherent bias of the Bequest resulted in fewer sculptures being purchased than paintings. MacColl's claims that Chantrey wanted a historical collection "representing British Art from Hogarth downwards" and that the RA were misinterpreting the Bequest in not purchasing works by visiting foreign artists such as Degas and Monet, are more reflective of the struggle of early professional curators to make acts of private benefaction to serve their ideals of what galleries should contain than proof of the RA's

[810] Anon, *The Spectator*, 25th June 1904, 19.

[811] Anon, *News Chronicle*, 8 January 1949.

maladministration.[812] Although Chantrey's Bequest constitutes a financial fund, and consequently appears less subject to his personal taste and personal politics than a gift of artworks from a private collector such as Tate, his Bequest is both an expression of his personal politics and a vehicle for their continued implementation. The particular financial construction of his Will has ensured its longevity, up to the present day, and persistent obligation on the part of the beneficiaries.

Chantrey's personal politics can be gleaned from studying his close relationship with the RA, his views on artists studying and working abroad, his personal collection of plaster casts, and his acts of benefaction to Oxford and the village of Norton. The design of his Bequest attests to his patriotic national politics, his advocacy for British artists studying and working in Britain, his desire to give particular support to British painters, and his belief in the importance of the Royal Academy. He designed his Bequest with its administration by the RA at its centre, and with the intention that his Bequest would be implemented with reference to their principles, conducts, and laws, of which he was reportedly a strict observer. The influence of the RA's laws regarding the eligibility of foreign-born artists, their belief that association or membership of the RA constituted merit, and their loyalty to the British monarchy can be read throughout the history of the Bequest process before 1917.

The geo-politico-cultural agenda of the Bequest process, and the personal politics and tastes of those administering it, favoured London-based sculptors with social and professional connections to the RA and demonstrable loyalty to the nation and the British crown, whose sculptural styles were not markedly experimental or modernist. Foreign-born sculptors had to meet the Academy's conditions for membership to be considered eligible for purchase: possession of social and professional connections within the British art world, a demonstrable contribution to British art, and an evidenced allegiance to Britain through period of domicile, preferably strengthened by citizenship or denization. Identifying the implicit requirements for inclusion has highlighted notable exclusions from the process, such as Irish sculptors, Indian sculptors, and women sculptors. Whilst the merging of Bequest sculptures with other works acquired through commission, donation,

[812] Anon, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords of the Chantrey Trust with the Proceedings of the Committee. Session 1904*, 76.

benefaction, and later acquisition, has countered the agenda of the RA in relation to modernist sculpture, other absences have not remedied. The lasting effect of these exclusions from the formation of the Bequest collection can be seen today in their absence from the canon of British sculpture at the Tate Gallery.

Considered together, the sculptures acquired through Chantrey's Bequest before 1917 illustrate the web of connections which were the lifeblood of the London sculpture world; social and professional networks of institutional membership, cross-generational sculptural training, friendly and hostile exchanges of ideas and methods, and acts of financial and emotional support motivated by admiration and friendship, as well as withholding motivated by anxiety and prejudice. The curation of the sculptural group at the Tate's Sculpture Hall, meanwhile, sought both to trace and idealise this network, providing coherence, questioning traditional narratives, and celebrating the breadth and variety of sculpture by highlighting its connectedness with painting and artworks usually deemed "craft." In examining the exhibition of sculpture at Tate prior to the building of the Duveen galleries, I have placed the Tate Gallery back into a network of metropolitan, regional, and international sculptural displays prior to 1917. There is great scope for studies of the Tate Gallery's role in wider networks of sculpture exhibition, and studies which explore the important connections of friendship and sociability between sculptors within London, across Britain, and internationally.

It is my hope that this study will encourage the redisplay of Bequest sculptures confined to storage; and reassessment of the Chantrey Bequest with an eye to its creator, its inherent politics, and the artworks which compose it, and those which were excluded from it, rather than the associated controversy. My findings provoke questions as to whether the same underlying agenda can be seen in the paintings purchased through Chantrey's Bequest, and in the acquisition of sculptural works after 1917, as well as other supposedly National Collections.

Wherever cultural institutions receive the liberal benefaction of private individuals, they are obligated to accept the responsibility of the giver's legacy, restrictions, and anticipation of reciprocation. My investigation of Chantrey's Bequest, and its methodology, is widely applicable to studies of historical and contemporary gifts of money and/or collections to museums, galleries, libraries, archives, and other institutions within the shores of Great Britain and beyond.

APPENDIX:

SPREADSHEET OF SCULPTURES PURCHASED THROUGH THE CHANTREY BEQUEST

TITLE OF WORK.	ARTIST.	RA STATUS.	DATES OF ARTIST.	NATIONALITY / PLACE OF BIRTH.	DATE OF WORK	OF CREATION OR EXHIBITION ?	DATE OF PURCHASE.	SOURCE OF PURCHASE.	DIMENSIONS.	MATERIALS.	REF NO.
An Athlete Wrestling with a Python	Leighton, Frederic.	PRA	1830 - 1896	British, Scarborough: Yorkshire.	1877	n/a	1877	No information.	1746 x 948 x 1099 mm.	Bronze.	N01754
A Moment of Peril	Brock, Thomas.	RA	1847 - 1922	British, Worcester: Worcestershire.	1880	n/a	1881	No information.	1905 x 2464 x 1270 mm.	Bronze.	N01747
The Prodigal Son	Calder Marshall, William.	RA	1813 - 1894	British, Edinburgh: Scotland.	1881	n/a	1881	No information.	1245 x 660 x 711 mm.	Stone.	N01748
Teucer	Thornycroft , Hamo.	RA	1850 - 1925	British, Westminster: London.	1881	Creation.	1882	Purchased from the artist.	2407 x 1511 x 600 mm.	Bronze.	N01751
Folly	Ford, Edward Onslow.	RA	1852 - 1901	British, Islington: London.	1886	Exhibition.	1886	Purchased from the artist.	887 x 415 x 330 mm.	Bronze.	N01758
Ignis Fatuus	Pegram, Henry Alfred.	RA	1862 - 1937	British, Camden Town: London.	1889	Exhibition.	1889	Purchased from the artist.	720 x 720 x 140 mm.	Bronze.	N01756
Pandora	Bates, Harry.	ARA	1850 - 1899	British, Stevenage: Hertfordshire.	1891	Exhibition.	1891	Purchased from the artist.	1060 x 540 x 785 mm.	Marble, ivory and bronze on marble base.	N01750
Indian Rhinoceros	Stark, Robert.		1853 - 1931	British, Torquay: Devon.	1887	Creation.	1892	Purchased from the artist.	432 x 781 x 276 mm.	Bronze.	N01760
The Rescue of Andromeda	Fehr, Henry C.		1867 - 1940	British, Forest Hill: London.	1893	Exh plaster, cast in bronze for Bequest.	1894	Purchased from the artist.	2741 x 2591 x 2184 mm.	Bronze.	N01749

A Boy at Play	John, William Goscombe	RA	1860 - 1952	British, Cardiff: Wales.	1895	Exh plaster in 1895.	1896	Purchased from the artist.	1415 x 850 x 1110 mm.	Bronze.	N01755
Griselda	Drury, Alfred.	RA	1856 - 1944	British, Islington: London.	1896	Creation.	1896	Purchased from the artist.	533 x 483 x 254 mm.	Bronze.	N01757
The Nymph of Loch Awe	Pomeroy, Frederick William.	RA	1856 - 1924	British, Lambeth: London.	1897	Creation.	1897	Purchased from the artist.	267 x 641 x 229 mm.	Marble on Mexican onyx base.	N01759
The Girdle	Colton, William Robert.	RA	1867 - 1921	French, Paris: France.	1898	Exhibition.	1899	After Exhibition at RA, 1898.	1289 x 940 x 737 mm.	Bronze.	N01766
Remorse	Armstead, Henry Hugh.	RA	1828 - 1905	British, Bloomsbury: London.	1903	n/a	1903	No information.	1029 x 889 x 489 mm.	Marble.	N01929
The Springtide of Life	Colton, William Robert.	RA	1867 - 1921	French, Paris: France.	1903	Creation.	1903	Purchased from the artist.	1359 x 635 x 610 mm.	Marble.	N01928
Sibylla Fatidica	Pegram, Henry Alfred.	RA	1862 - 1937	British, Camden Town: London.	1904	Creation.	1904	Purchased from the artist.	1625 x 1225 x 1110 mm.	Marble and crystal ball.	N01945
The Earth and the Elements	Mackennal, Bertram.	RA	1863 - 1931	Australian, Melbourne: Australia.	1907	Exhibition.	1907	Purchased from the artist.	635 x 318 x 318 mm.	Stone.	N02140
Girl and Lizard	Wiens, Stephen M.	-	1893 - 1945	British, Forest Hill: Kent. German parents.	1906	Creation.	1907	Purchased from the artist.	140 x 502 x 241 mm.	Bronze on wooden base.	N02141
Ariadne	Parker, Harold.	RA	1873 - 1962	Australian/British: Aylesbury: Buckinghamshire.	1908	Exhibition.	1908	Purchased from the artist.	1041 x 1422 x 406 mm.	Marble	N02265
A Foul in the Giants' Race	Hartwell, Charles Leonard.	RA	1873 - 1951	British, Blackheath: London.	1908	Creation.	1908	Purchased from the artist.	260 x 216 x 286 mm.	Bronze on oak base.	N02267
Diana Wounded	Mackennal, Bertram.	RA	1863 - 1931	Australian, Melbourne: Australia.	1907	n/a	1908	Purchased from the artist.	1473 x 819 x 622 mm.	Marble.	N02266

Sigurd	Bayes, Gilbert.		1872 - 1953	British, St John's Wood: London.	1910	Exhibition.	1910	Purchased from the artist.	886 x 483 x 286 mm.	Bronze and enamel on marble base.	N02739
Dolce Far Niente	Leslie, Alexander J.		1873 - 1930	British, Camberwell: London.	1911	n/a	1911	Purchased from the artist.	349 x 171 x 209 mm.	Bronze with green marble base.	N02789
A Royal Game	Reynolds-Stephens, William.		1862 - 1943	American, Detroit: Michigan.	1906-11.	Plaster exh 1906, later 1911.	1911	Purchased from the artist.	2407 x 2330 x 978 mm.	Bronze with "various metals and inlays"	N02788
Shepherd Boy	Brown, Mortimer.		1874 - 1966	British, Fenton: Staffordshire.	1911	Creation.	1912	Purchased from the artist.	1580 x 530 x 536 mm.	Bronze.	N02896
Dawn	Hartwell, Charles Leonard.	RA	1873 - 1951	British, Blackheath: London.	1913-14	n/a	1914	Purchased from the artist.	1930 x 1191 x 940 mm.	Marble	N02975
Henry James	Wood, Francis Derwent.	RA	1871 - 1926	British, Keswick: Cumbria.	1913	Creation.	1914	Purchased from the artist.	413 x 298 x 241 mm.	Marble	N02976
The Bather	Toft, Albert.	-	1883 - 1949	British, Handsworth: Staffordshire.	1915	Creation.	1915	Purchased from the artist.	1930 x 685 x 650 mm.	Marble	N03030
The Kiss	Thornycroft, Hamo.	RA	1850 - 1925	British, Westminster: London.	1916	Exhibition.	1916	Purchased from the artist.	1778 x 567 x 864 mm.	Marble.	N03153
The Critic	Gilbert, Charles Web.		1867 - 1925	Australian, Cockatoo: Victoria, Australia.	1916	Creation.	1917	Purchased from the artist.	406 x 254 x 248 mm.	Marble.	N03220
The Sacristan	Lanteri, Edouard.		1848 - 1917	French, Auxerre: France. Took British citizenship.	1917	n/a	1917	No information.	394 x 222 x 267 mm.	Stone.	N03219

ABBREVIATIONS

Royal Academy of Arts – RA.

President of the Royal Academy of Arts – PRA.

Associate Member of the Royal Academy of Arts – ARA.

Royal Scottish Academy – RSA.

South Kensington Museum – SKM.

ILLUSTRATIONS

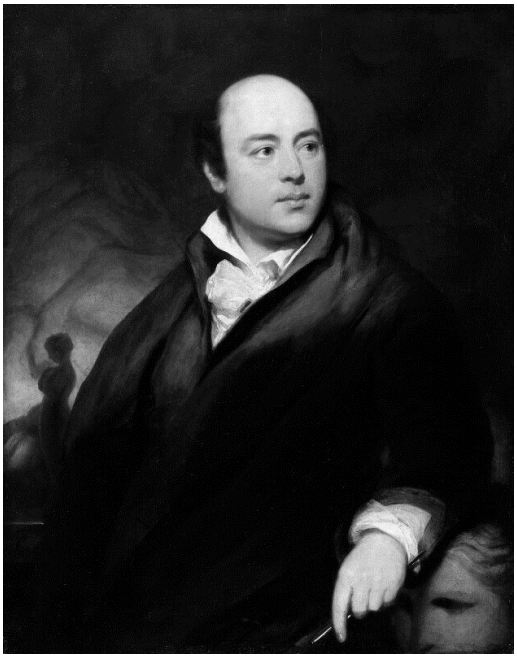

Fig 1. Thomas Phillips, *Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey*, 1818, oil on panel, 36 in. x 30 3/8 in. National Portrait Gallery, London, Museum No. NPG 86.

Fig 2. Anonymous, *A Lock'd Jaw for John Bull*, 1795, etching on paper, 35.4cm x 24.9 cm. British Museum, London, Museum No.1868,0808.6479.

Fig 3. George Cruikshank after George Humphrey, *Peace and Plenty or Good News for John Bull*, 1814, etching on paper, 27.3cm x 37.5 cm. British Museum, London, Museum No. 1859,0316.81.

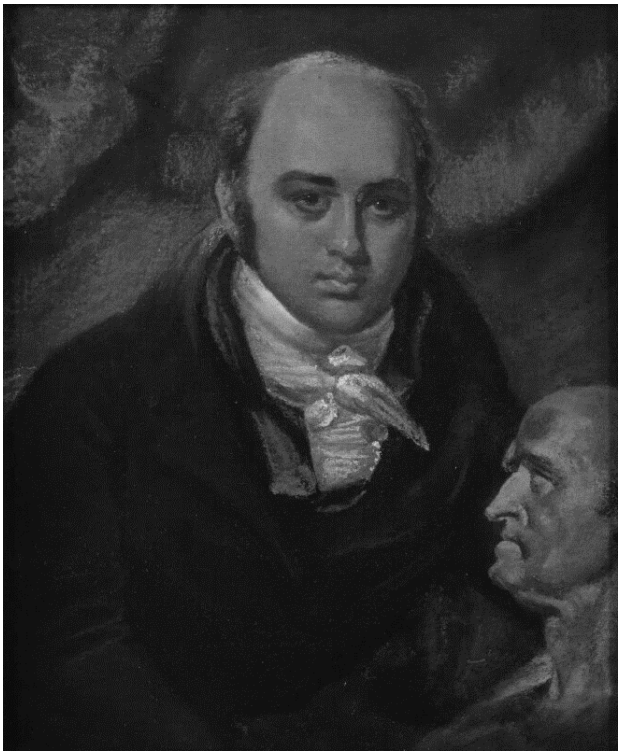

Fig 4. John Raphael Smith, *Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey*, 1818, pastel, 9 ½ in x 7 7/8 in. National Portrait Gallery, London, Museum No. NPG 5380.

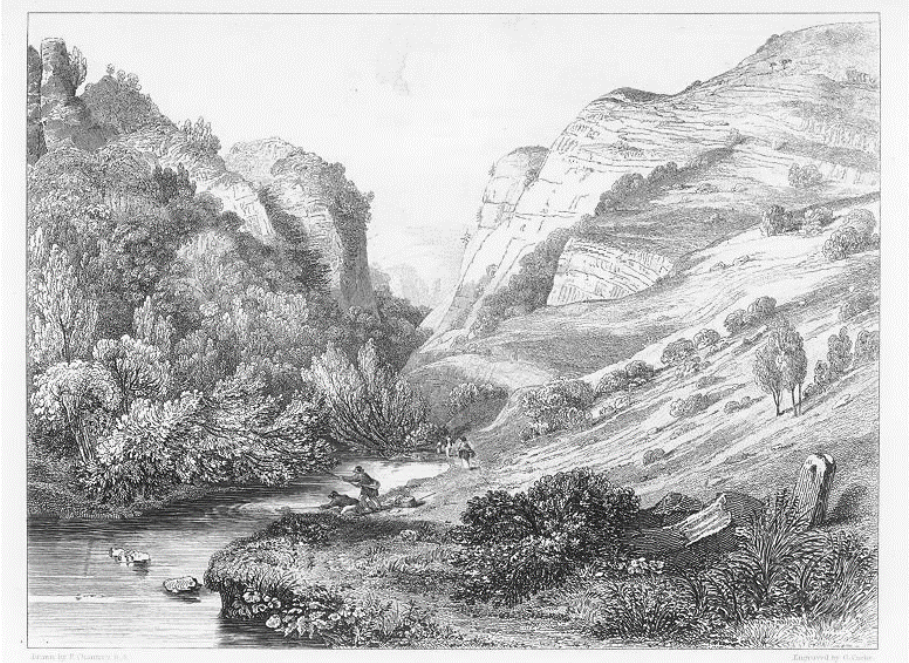

Fig 5. Francis Chantrey, etched by George Cooke, *View from near Reynards Hall, Dove Dale, Derbyshire*, 1820, copper plate etching, 23 x 18.5 cm. In James Croston, *Chantrey's Peak Scenery; or, Views of Derbyshire,* (Derby, Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1886).

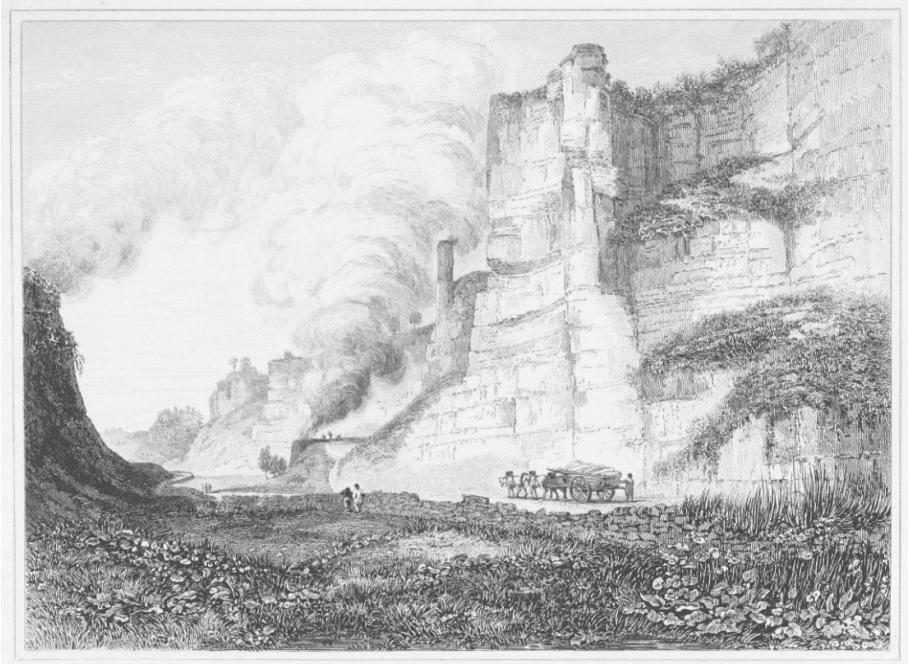

Fig 6. Francis Chantrey, etched by George Cooke, *Middleton Dale,* 1820, copper plate etching, 23 x 18.5 cm. In James Croston, *Chantrey's Peak Scenery; or, Views of Derbyshire,* (Derby, Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1886).

Fig 7. Francis Chantrey, etched by George Cooke, *Northern Entrance into Dovedale*, copper plate etching, 23 x 18.5cm. In James Croston, *Chantrey's Peak Scenery; or, Views of Derbyshire,* (Derby, Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1886).

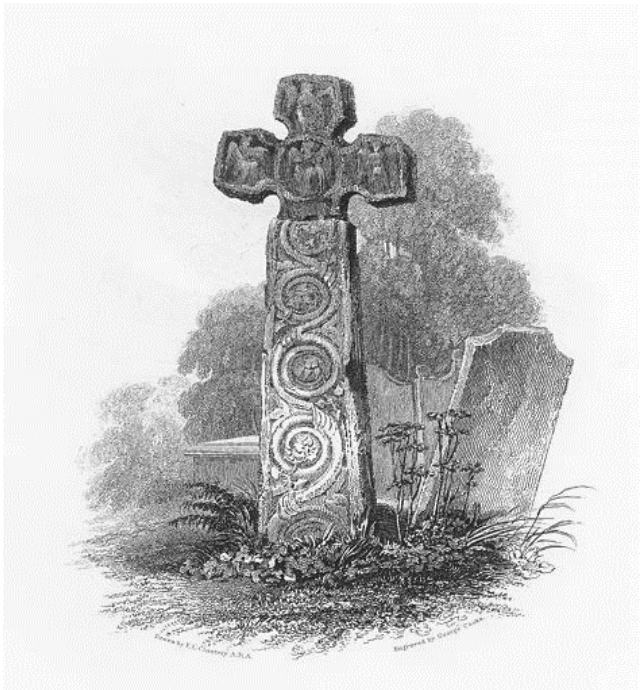

Fig 8. Francis Chantrey, etched by George Cooke, *Cross in Eyam Churchyard*, 1820, copper plate etching, 23 x 18.5 cm. In James Croston, *Chantrey's Peak Scenery; or, Views of Derbyshire,* (Derby, Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1886).

Fig 9. Francis Chantrey, etched by George Cooke, *Cross in Bakewell Churchyard*, copper plate etching, 23 x 18.5 cm. In James Croston, *Chantrey's Peak Scenery; or, Views of Derbyshire*, (Derby, Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1886).

Fig 10. Francis Chantrey, etched by George Cooke, *Wheston Cross*, copper plate etching, dimensions unrecorded. In James Croston, *Chantrey's Peak Scenery; or, Views of Derbyshire*, (Derby, Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1886).

Fig 11. Charles James Richardson, *Soane Office, London: No 30 Belgrave Square, Perspective of the Ante-Room to the Sculpture Gallery Designed for the Sculptor, Sir Francis Chantrey,* 1829, watercolour on paper, dimensions unrecorded. Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Museum No. P242.

Fig 12. William Goscombe John, *Boy At Play*, 1895, bronze, 1415 x 850 x 1110 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01755.

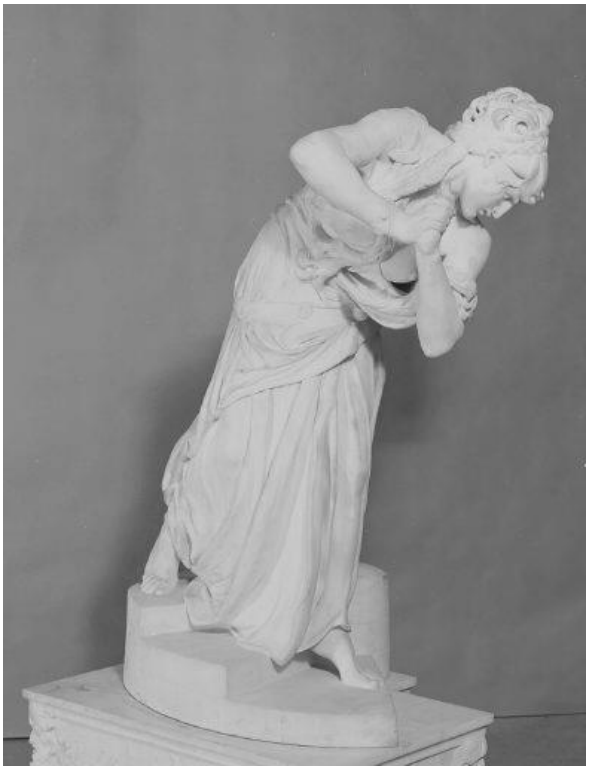

Fig 13. Henry Hugh Armstead, *Remorse*, 1903, marble, 1029 x 889 x 489 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01929.

Fig 14. William Robert Colton, *Springtide of Life*, 1903, marble, 1359 x 635 x 610 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01928.

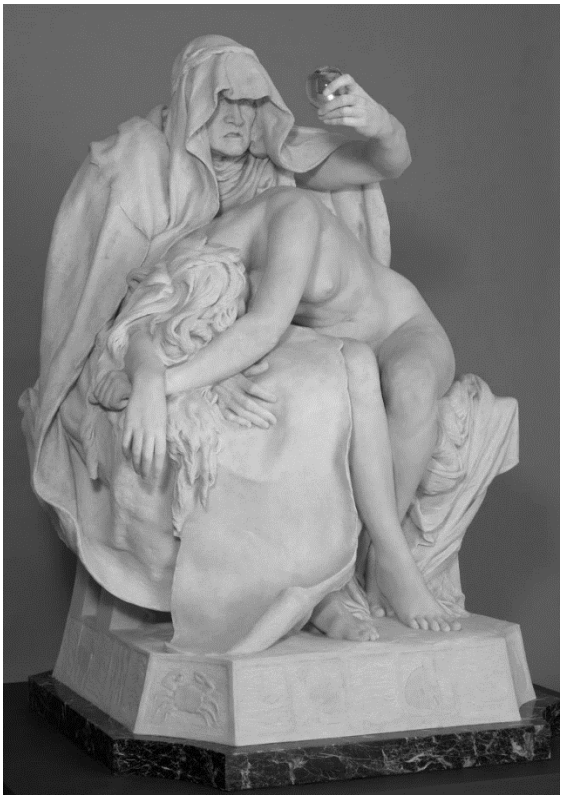

Fig 15. Henry Alfred Pegram, *Sibylla Fatidica*, 1904, marble with crystal ball, 1625 x 1225 x 1110 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01945.

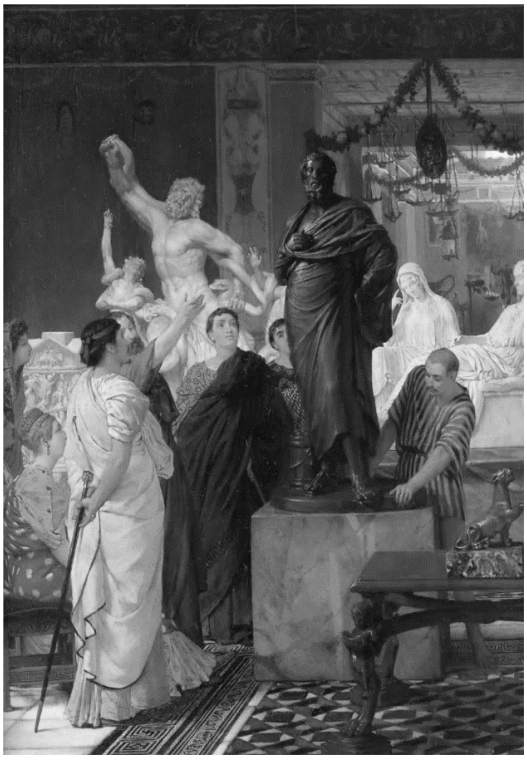

Fig 16. Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *A Sculpture Gallery in Rome at the Time of Agrippa*, 1867, oil on canvas, 62.2 x 49cm. Montreal Museum of Arts, Quebec, Canada.

Fig 17. Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *The Sculpture Gallery*, 1874, oil on canvas, 173.5 x 223.4 cm. Hood Museum of Art, New Hampshire, USA, Museum No. P.961.125.

Fig 18. George Frampton, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, 1909, plaster, dimensions unrecorded. In Charles Holme, ed, *The Studio: An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*, (London: The Studio, 1909).

Fig 19. Henry Hugh Armstead, *Remorse*, 1903, marble, 1029 x 889 x 489 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

Fig 20. Henry Alfred Pegram, *Sibylla Fatidica*, 1904, marble with crystal ball, 1625 x 1225 x 1110 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

Fig 21. Henry Hugh Armstead, *Remorse,* 1903, marble,1029 x 889 x 489 mm. Tate Britain, London. In Anonymous, Artist's Catalogue File, 'Armstead, Henry Hugh. 1828-1905,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A22006.

Fig 22. John Singer Sargent, *Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth,* 1889, oil on canvas, 2500 x 1434 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N02053.

Fig 23. Henry Hugh Armstead, *Remorse,* 1903, marble,1029 x 889 x 489 mm. Tate Britain, London. In Anonymous, Artist's Catalogue File, 'Armstead, Henry Hugh. 1828-1905,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A22006.

Fig 24. Henry Alfred Pegram, *Sibylla Fatidica,* 1904, marble with crystal ball, 1625 x 1225 x 1110 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

Fig 25. Henry Hugh Armstead, *Remorse*, 1903, marble, 1029 x 889 x 489 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

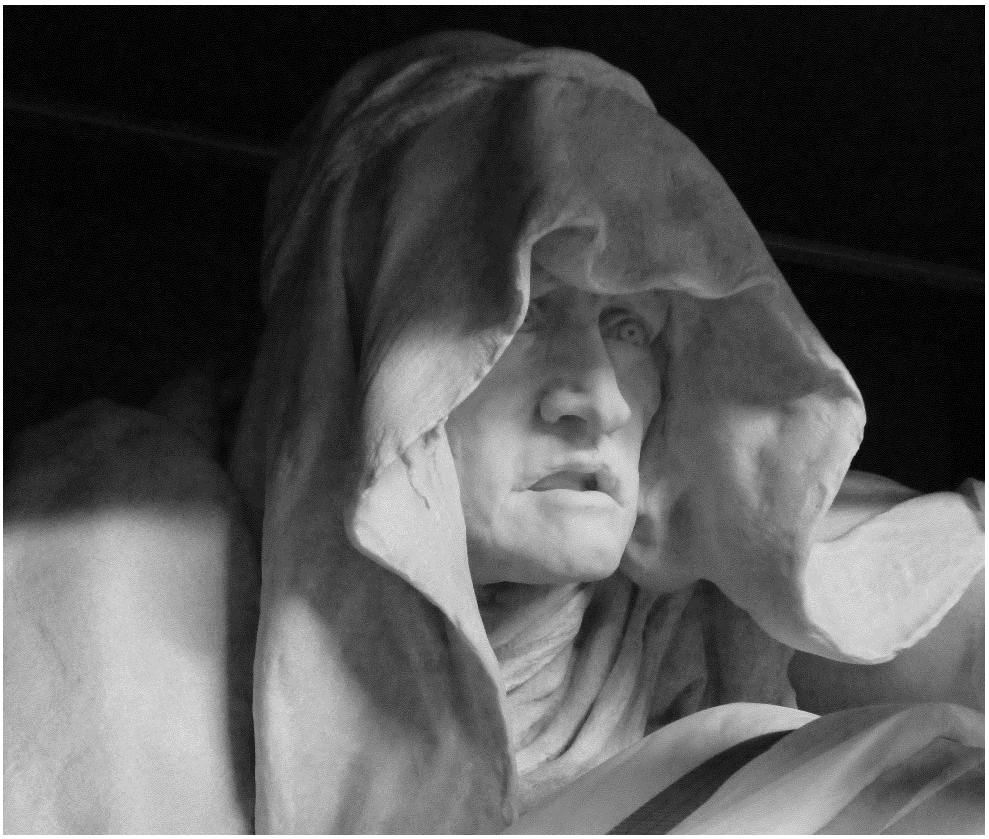

Fig 26. Henry Alfred Pegram, *Sibylla Fatidica*, 1904, marble with crystal ball, 1625 x 1225 x 1110 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

Fig 27. Henry Hugh Armstead, *Remorse*, 1903, marble, 1029 x 889 x 489 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

Fig 28. Henry Hugh Armstead, *Hero and Leander*, 1875, marble, 1257 x 1829 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N02054.

Fig 29. Edward Onslow Ford, *Folly*, 1886, bronze, 887 x 415 x 330 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01758.

Fig 30. Hamo Thornycroft, *The Kiss*, 1916, marble, 1778 x 567 x 864 mm. Tate Britain, London. In Anonymous, Artist's Catalogue File: 'Thornycroft, William Hamo. 1850 – 1925,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A24704.

Fig 31. Harry Bates, *Pandora*, 1891, marble, ivory and bronze on marble base, 1060 x 540 x 785 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01750.

Fig 32. Frederick William Pomeroy, *The Nymph of Loch Awe*, 1897, marble on Mexican onyx base, 267 x 641 x 229 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01759.

Fig 33. Thomas Brock, *A Moment of Peril,* 1880, bronze, 1905 x 2464 x 1270 mm. Tate Britain, London. In Anonymous, Artist's Catalogue File, 'Brock, Sir Thomas. 1847 – 1922,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A22328.

Fig 34. Frederic Leighton, *An Athlete Wrestling with a Python,* 1877, bronze, 1746 x 948 x 1099 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01754.

Fig 35. Hamo Thornycroft, *Teucer*, 1881, bronze, 2407 x 1511 x 600 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01751.

Fig 36. Charles Fehr, *The Rescue of Andromeda*, 1893, bronze, 2741 x 2591 x 2184 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01749.

Fig 37. Henry Alfred Pegram, *Ignis Fatuus*, 1889, bronze, 720 x 720 x 140 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

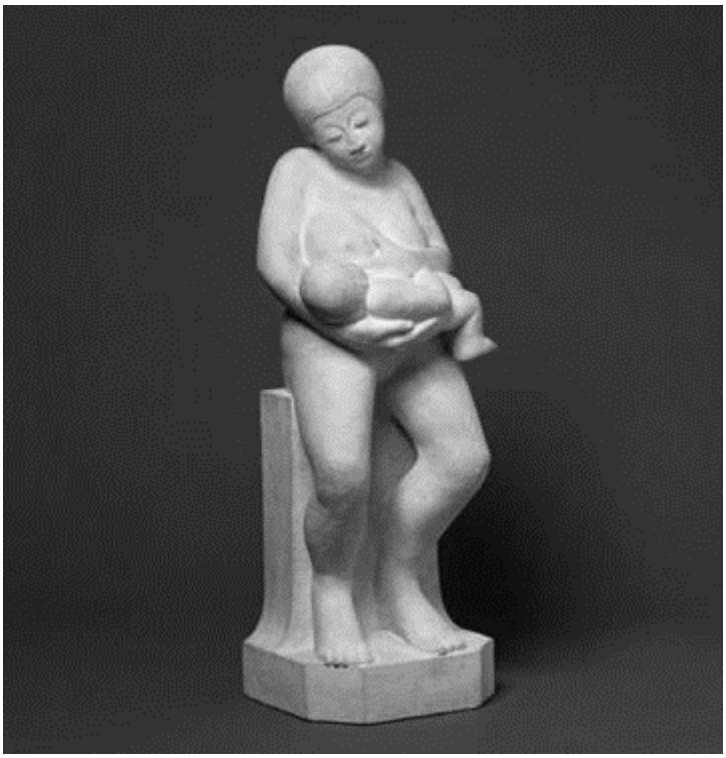

Fig 38. Eric Gill, *Mother and Child*, 1910, portland Stone, 62.0cm h. National Museum, Cardiff, Museum No. NMW A 312.

Fig 39. Walter Benington, *Jacob Epstein Working on Maternity*, 1910, photograph, dimensions Unrecorded. Courtauld Institute of Art, London, Conway Collections, C87/148.

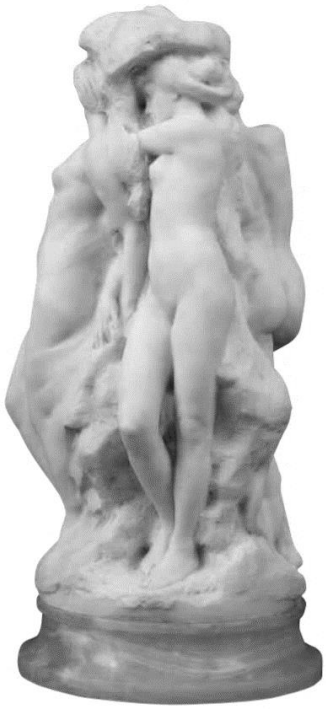

Fig 40. Bertram Mackennal, *The Earth and the Elements,* 1907, marble, 635 x 318 x 318 mm. Tate Britain, London, on permanent loan to Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. In Art Gallery of New South Wales. "The Bertram Mackennal Exhibition, The Fifth Balnaves Foundation Sculpture Project. 2007," Art Gallery of New South Wales Media Archives.

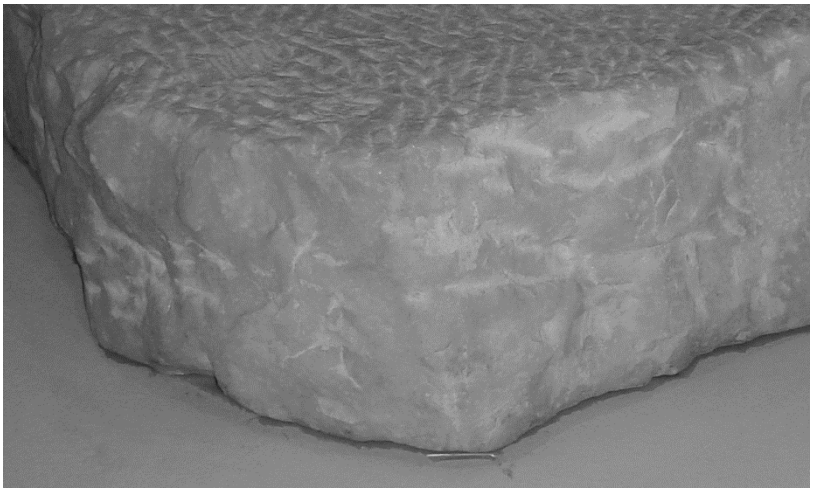

Fig 41. Hamo Thornycroft, *The Kiss*, 1916, marble, 1778 x 567 x 864 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

Fig 42. Hamo Thornycroft, *The Kiss*, 1916, marble, 1778 x 567 x 864 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

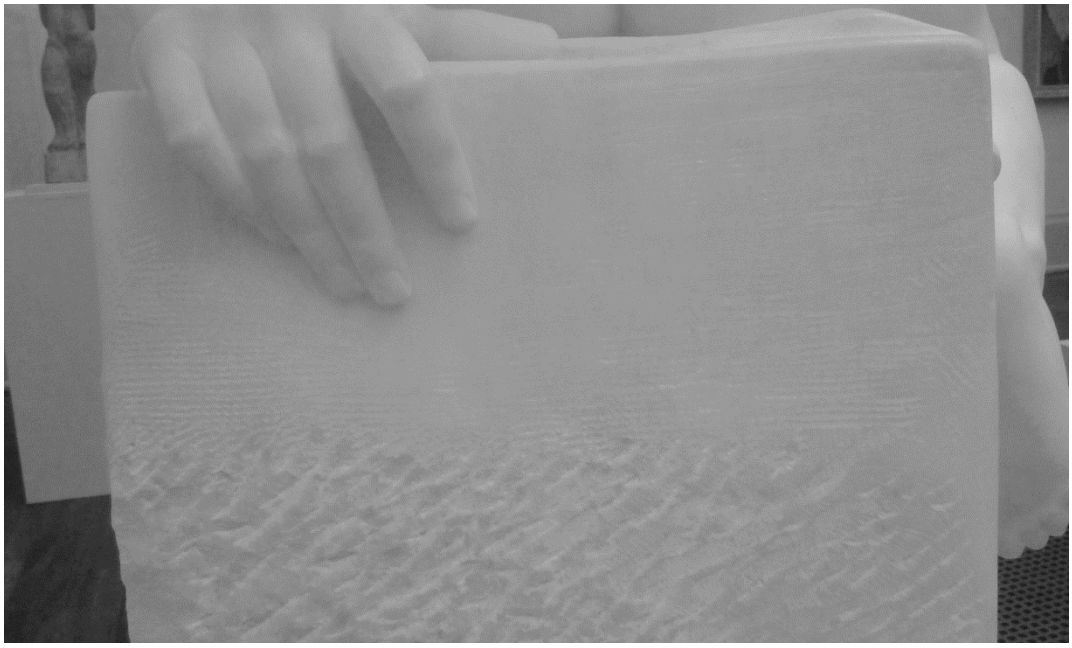

Fig 43. Hamo Thornycroft, *The Kiss*, 1916, marble, 1778 x 567 x 864 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

Fig 44. Hamo Thornycroft, *The Kiss,* 1916, marble, 1778 x 567 x 864 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

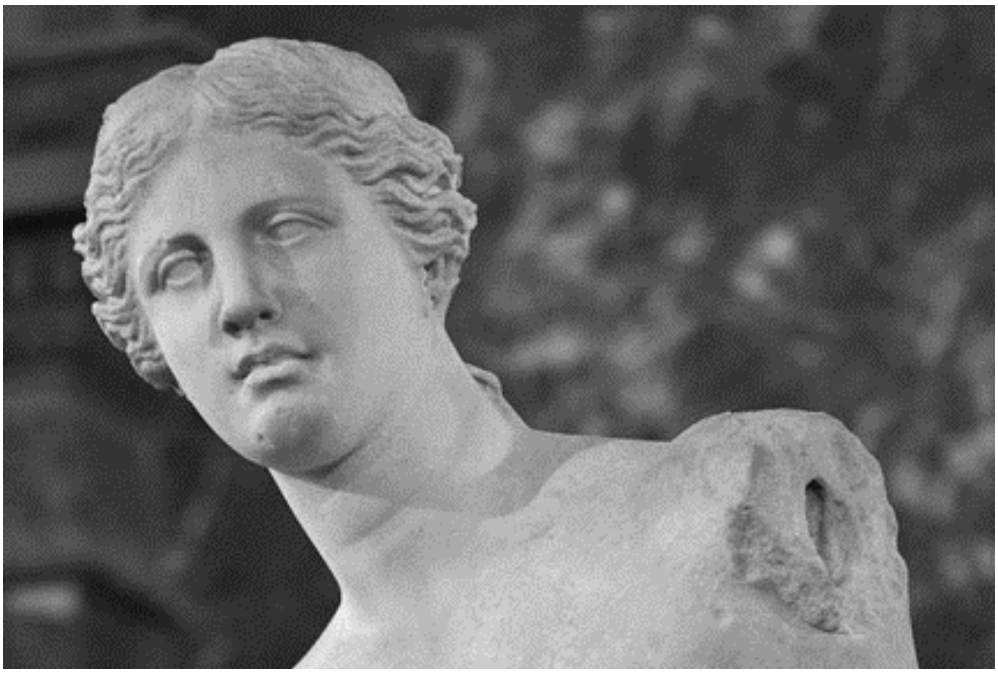

Fig 45. Unknown, *Aphrodite, known as The Venus de Milo*, c. 100 BC, marble, 2.02 m h. Louvre Museum, Paris, France.

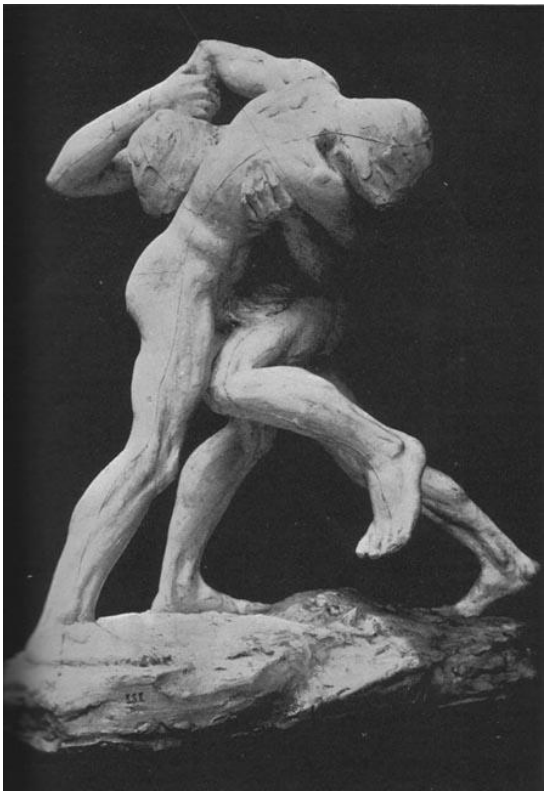

Fig 46. Ruby Levick, *Wrestlers*, 1897, plaster, dimensions unknown. Location unknown. In Charles Holme, ed. *The Studio: An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* (London: The Studio (1897).

Fig 47. William Kellock Brown, *Ju-Jitsu*, 1923, bronze, 356 x 635 x 305 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N03960.

Fig 48. William Calder Marshall, *The Prodigal Son*, 1881, marble, 1245 x 660 x 711 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

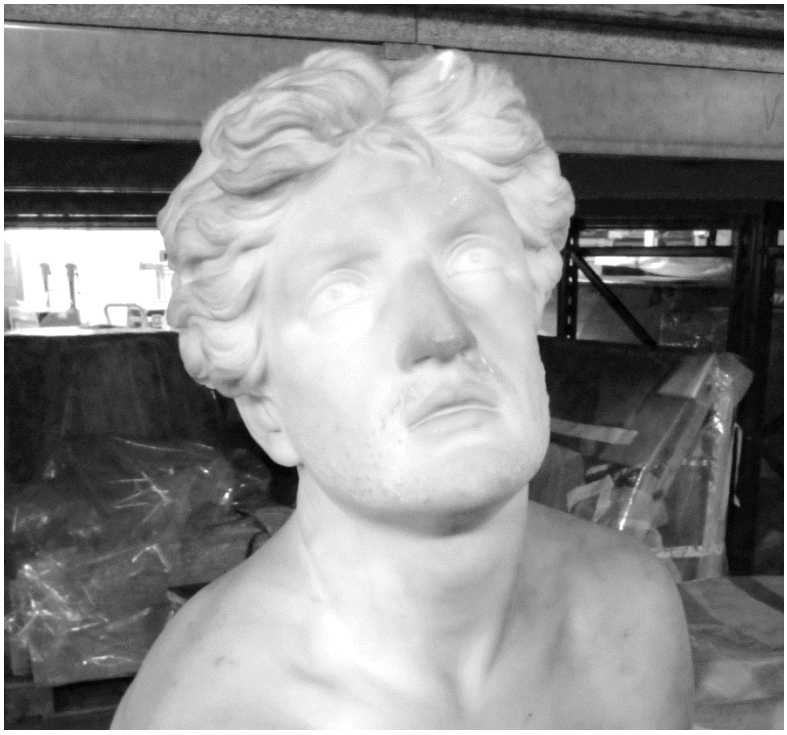

Fig 49. William Calder Marshall, *The Prodigal Son*, 1881, marble, 1245 x 660 x 711 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

Fig 50. Julia Margaret Cameron, *Iago – Study From An Italian*, 1867, albumen print, dimensions unrecorded. National Media Museum, Bradford, Museum No. 1984 – 5017/69.

Fig 51. William Calder Marshall, *The Prodigal Son*, 1881, marble, 1245 x 660 x 711 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

Fig 52. William Calder Marshall, *The Prodigal Son*, 1881, marble, 1245 x 660 x 711 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

Fig 53. William Calder Marshall, *The Prodigal Son*, 1881, marble, 1245 x 660 x 711 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

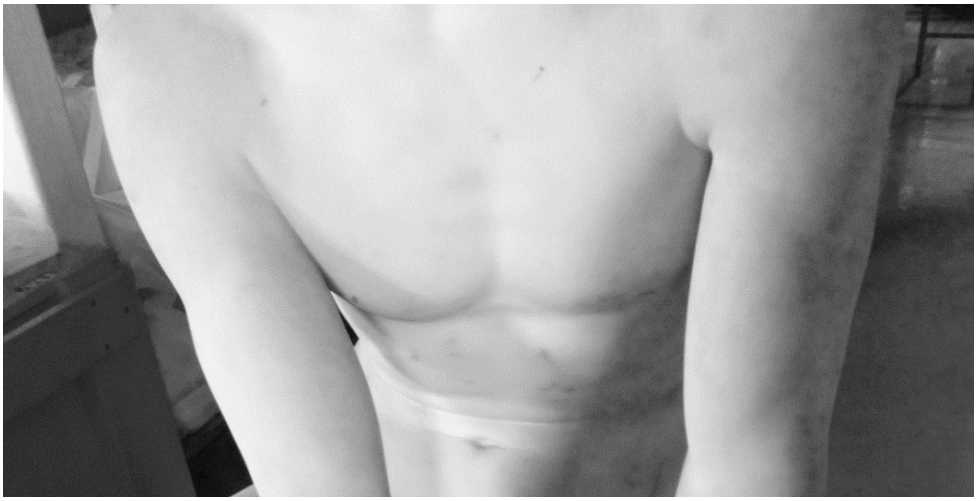

Fig 54. William Calder Marshall, *The Prodigal Son*, 1881, marble, 1245 x 660 x 711 mm. Tate Britain, London. Photograph by author.

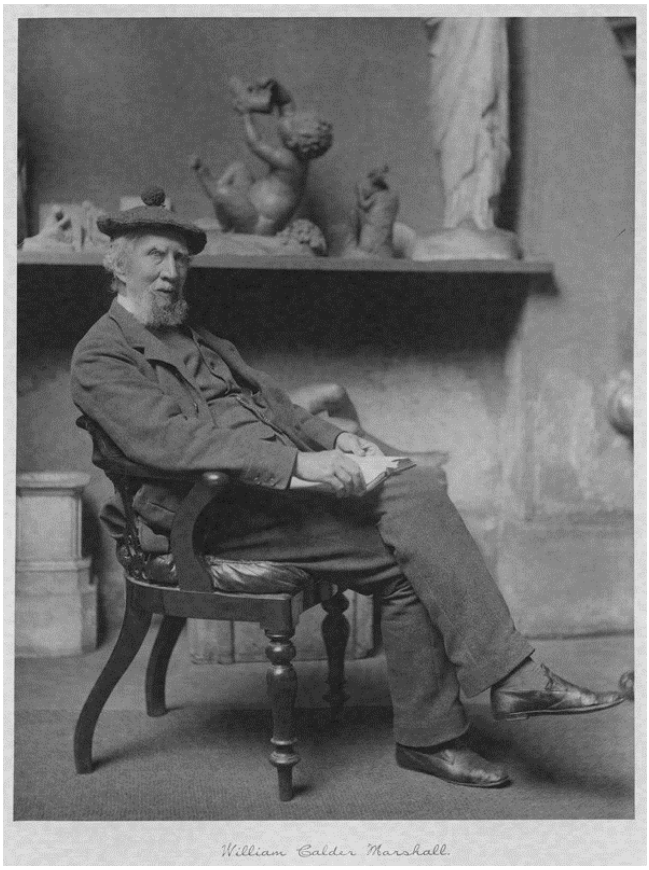

Fig 55. Ralph Winwood Robinson, *William Calder Marshall*, 1889, platinum print, 198 mm x 153 mm. The National Portrait Gallery, London, Museum No. NPG x 7378.

Fig 56. Anonymous, *Stereoscopic Photograph of John Lawlor's The Bather*, c.1850s, stereoscopic photograph, 8.7 x 17.3 cm. The Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Museum No. E158 – 1993.

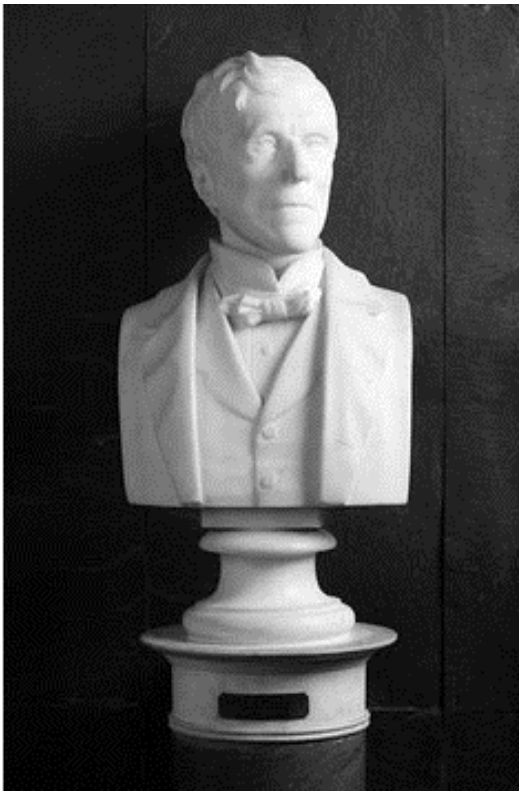

Fig 57. John Lawlor, *John Jones*, 1882, marble, dimensions unrecorded. The Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Museum No. A.79&A-1970.

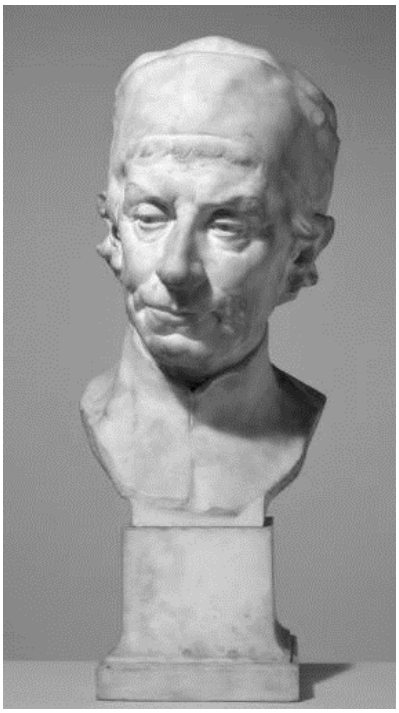

Fig 58. Edouard Lantéri, *The Sacristan*, 1917, marble, 394 x 222 x 267 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N03219.

Fig 59. Harold Parker, *Ariadne*, 1908, marble, 1041 x 1422 x 406 mm. Tate Britain, London. In Anonymous, Artist's Catalogue File: 'Parker, Harold,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A26973.

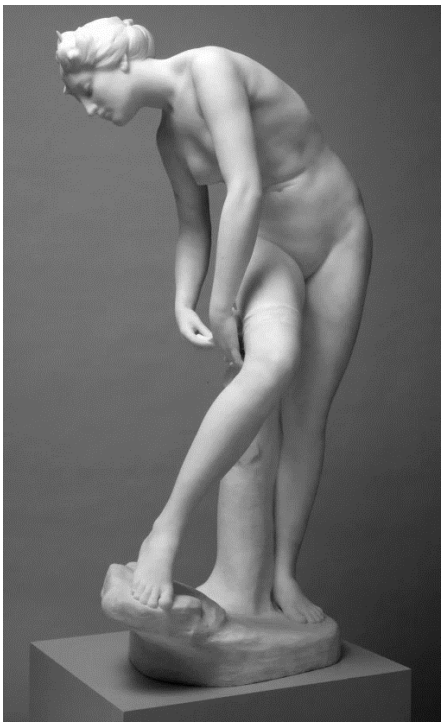

Fig 60. Bertram Mackennal, *Diana Wounded*, 1907, marble, 1473 x 819 x 622 mm. Tate Britain, London, on permanent loan to Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, Museum No. N02266.

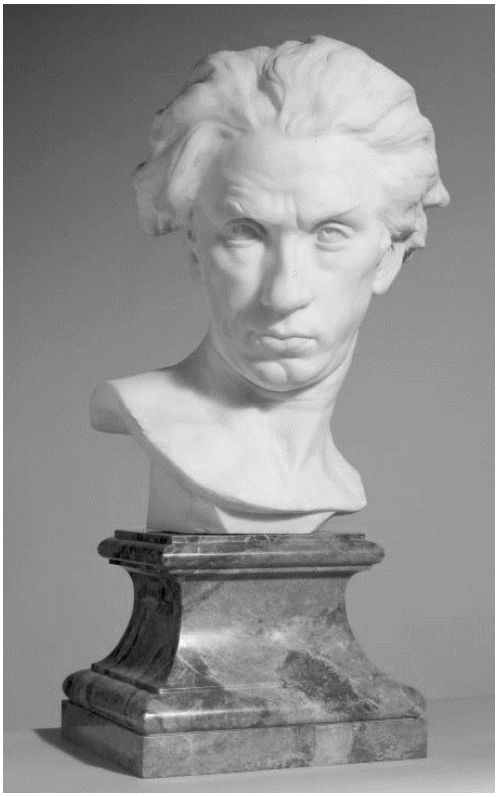

Fig 61. Charles Web Gilbert, *The Critic*, 1895, marble, 406 x 254 x 248 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N03220.

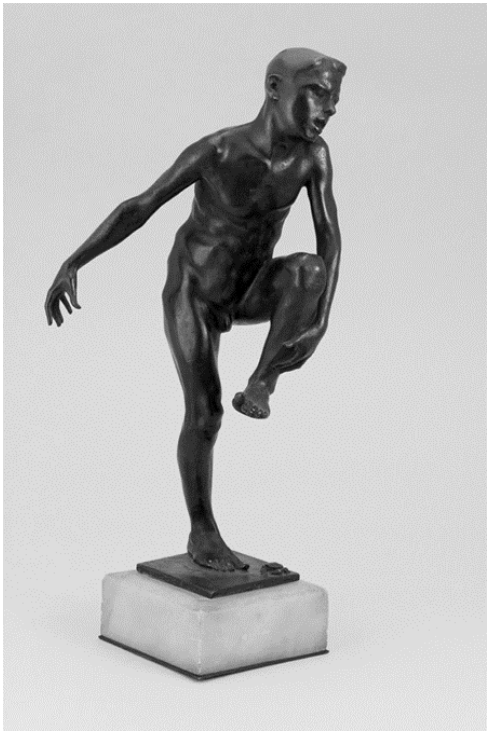

Fig 62. Fanindranath Bose, *Boy in Pain*, 1913, bronze, 295mm h. National Museum, Cardiff, Museum No. NMW A 287.

Fig 63. Robert Stark, *Indian Rhinoceros,* 1887, bronze, 432 x 781 x 276 mm. Tate Britain, London. In Anonymous, Artist's Catalogue File: 'Robert Stark (1853-1931), Tate Britain Archive, A24600.

Fig 64. Charles Leonard Hartwell, *A Foul in the Giant's Race,* 1908, bronze on an oak base, 260 x 216 x 286 mm. Tate Britain, London. Tate Gallery. In Anonymous, Artist's Catalogue File: 'Hartwell, Charles Leonard. 1873-1951,' Tate Britain Archive, London, A23211.

Fig 65. Frederic Leighton, *The Sluggard*, 1885, bronze, 1911 x 902 x 597 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01752.

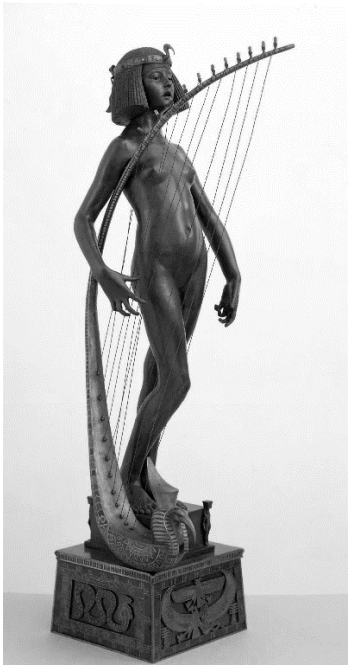

Fig 66. Edward Onslow Ford, *The Singer*, c.1889, bronze, coloured resin paste, and semi-precious stones, 902 x 216 x 432 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01753.

Fig 67. William Reynolds-Stephens, *A Royal Game*, 1906 – 1911, bronze, wood, and stone, 2407 x 2330 x 978 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N02788.

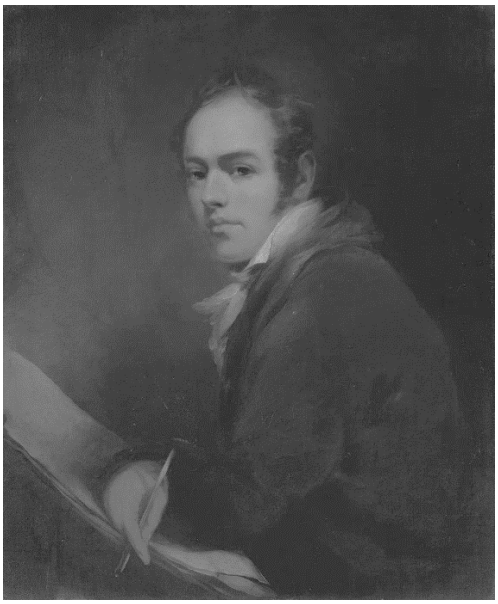

Fig 68. Francis Chantrey, *Self-Portrait*, c.1810, oil paint on canvas, 787 x 641 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01591.

Fig 69. Thomas Brock, *Sir Henry Tate*, 1898, bronze on stone base, 533 x 584 x 356 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01765.

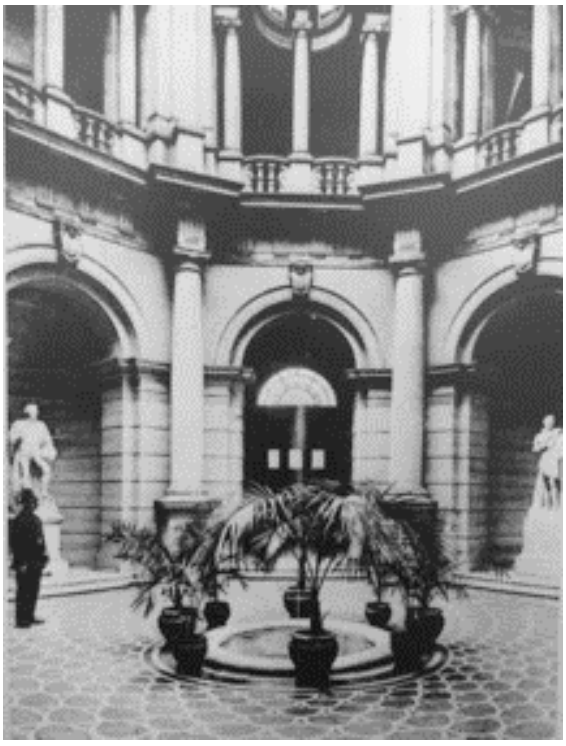

Fig 70. Anonymous, *National Gallery Of British Art, The Central Hall*, photograph, dimensions unrecorded. In Anonymous, 'Tate Building and Fabric: Gallery 2a (1),' Tate Britain Archive, London, Photographic Collection List No 8.

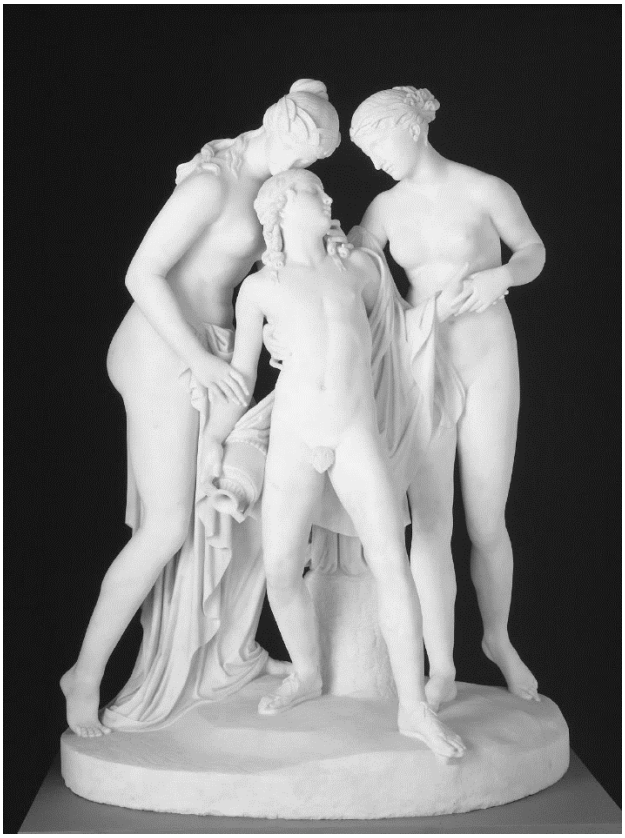

Fig 71. John Gibson, *Hylas Surprised by The Naiads*, c.1827 – 1837, marble, 1600 x 1194 x 718 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01746.

Fig 72. Michael Lawlor, *Painting and Sculpture*, materials and dimensions unrecorded. Tate Britain, London. Photograph courtesy of M.G. Sullivan.

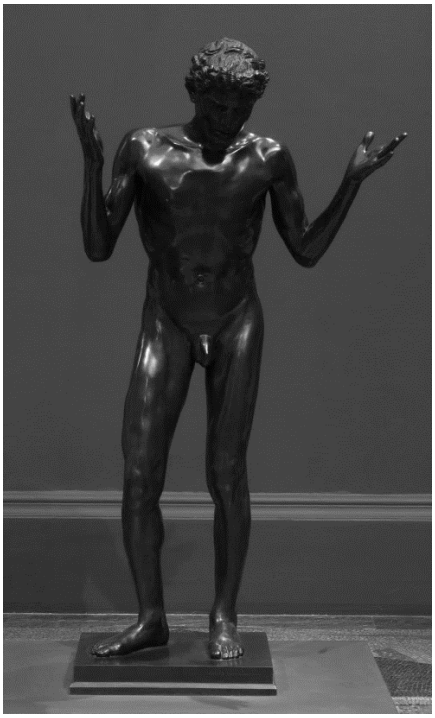

Fig 73. James Havard Thomas, *Lycidas*, c.1902 – 1908, bronze, 1613 x 832 x 521 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N02763.

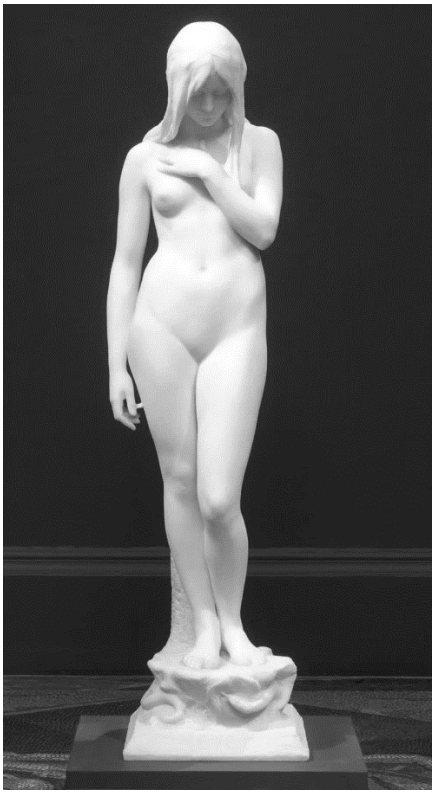

Fig 74. Thomas Brock, *Eve*, 1900, marble, 1750 x 490 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01784.

Fig 75. Thomas Brock, *Sir John Everett Millais*, 1904, bronze, dimensions unrecorded. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. T07664.

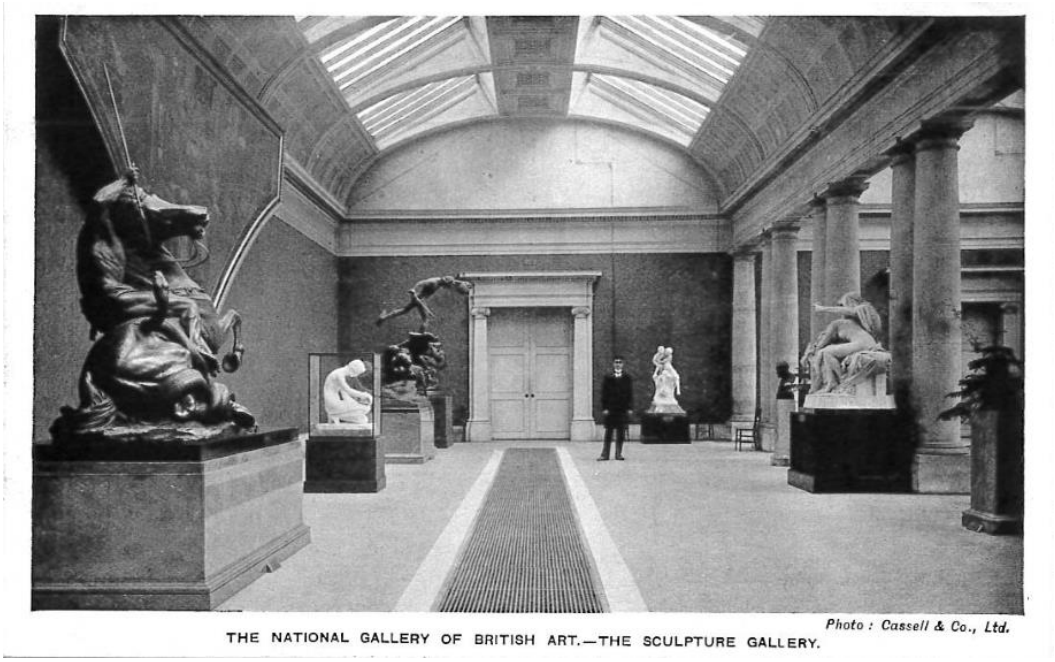

Fig 76. Anonymous, *The National Gallery of British Art – The Sculpture Gallery*, c.1904 – 1907, postcards issued by Cassell & Co Ltd. Photograph courtesy of Caroline Corbeau-Parsons.

Fig 77. Anonymous, *The National Gallery of British Art – The Sculpture Gallery*, c.1904 – 1907, postcards issued by Cassell & Co Ltd. Photograph courtesy of Caroline Corbeau-Parsons.

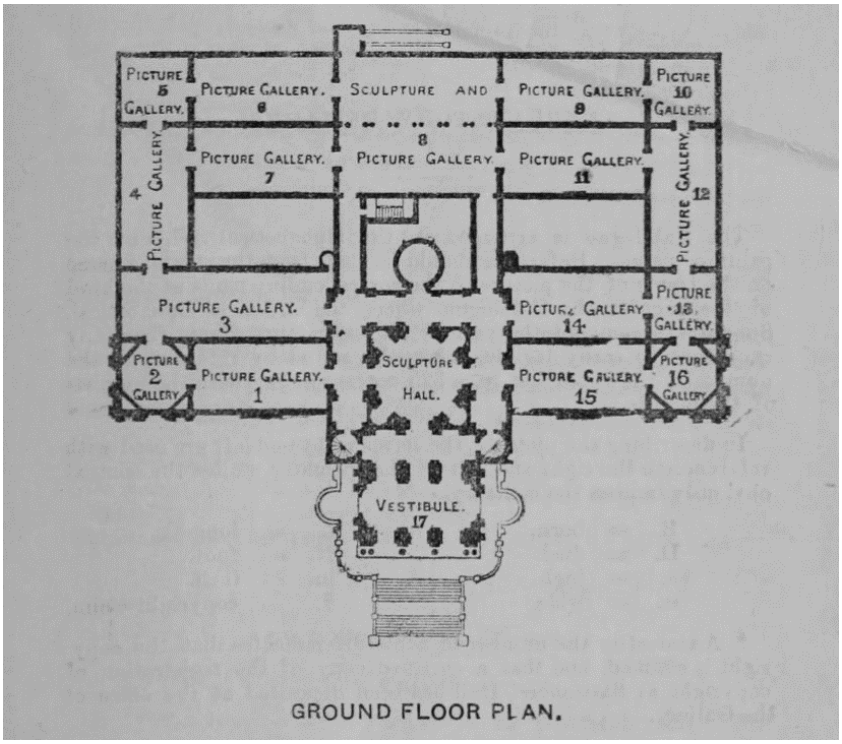

Fig 78. Anonymous, Floorplan of the Tate Gallery. c.1907. In 'Authority,' *The National Gallery British Art With Description, Historical Notes, and Lives Of Deceased Artists,* (London: Cassell & Co, 1907).

Fig 79. George Davison Reid, *The Sculpture Gallery*, c.1930, photograph, dimensions unrecorded. Anonymous, 'Tate Public Records: Buildings,' Tate Britain Archive, London, TG 14.

Fig 80. George Davison Reid, *The Sculpture Gallery*, c.1930, photograph, dimensions unrecorded. Anonymous, 'Tate Public Records: Buildings,' Tate Britain Archive, London, TG 14.

Fig 81. Phillip Henry Delamotte, *The Greek Court, Crystal Palace*, c.19th century, albumen print, 230 mm x 278 mm. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Museum No. 39309.

Fig 82. Phillip Henry Delamotte, *The Pompeian Court, Crystal Palace*, c.19th century, albumen print, 230 mm x 278 mm. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Museum No. 39311.

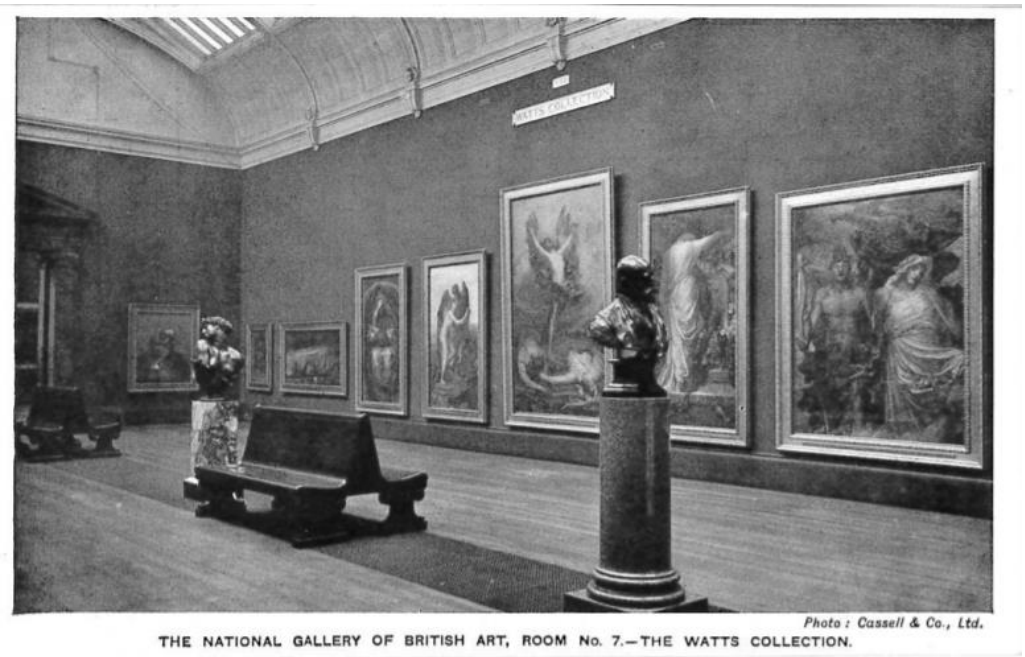

Fig 83. Anonymous, *The National Gallery of British Art – Room No.7 – The Watts Collection*, c.1904 – 1907, postcards issued by Cassell & Co Ltd. Photograph courtesy of Caroline Corbeau-Parsons.

Fig 84. Phillip Henry Delamotte, *Crystal Palace, Sydenham*, c.late 19th century, albumen print, 230 mm x 279 mm. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Museum No. 39287.

Fig 85. Harry Bates, *Hounds In Leash*, c.1888 – 1889, plaster, 1160 x 2200 x 1080 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01767.

Fig 86. George Frederic Watts, *A Story From Boccaccio*, c.1844 – 1847, oil paint on canvas, 3658 x 8915mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01913.

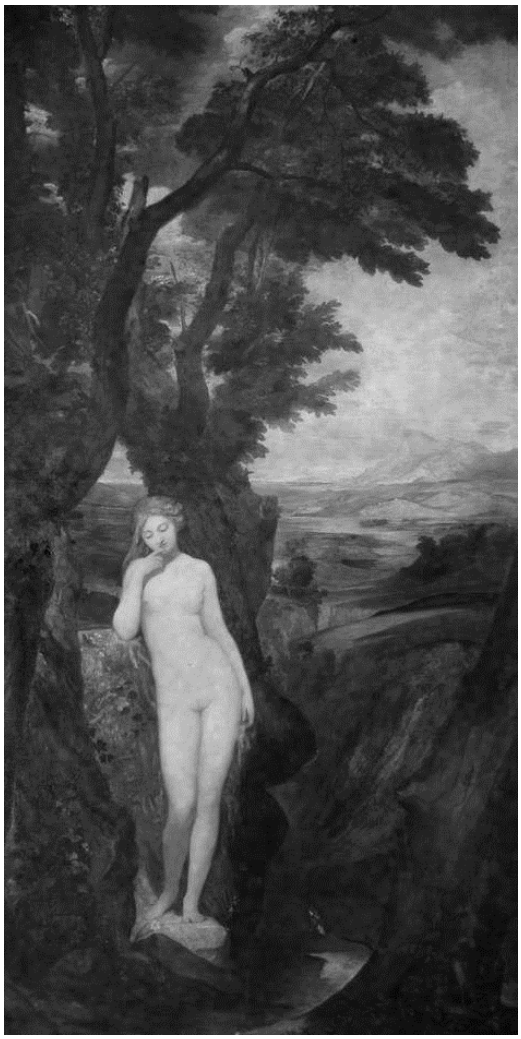

Fig 87. George Frederic Watts, *Echo,* c.1844 – 1846, oil paint on canvas, 3886 x 1981 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01983.

Fig 88. Alfred Gilbert, *George Frederic Watts,* c. 1888 – 9, bronze, 584 x 584 x 368 mm. Tate Britain, London, Museum No. N01949.

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