

'A NEW THEATRE OF PROSPECTS':
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH PORTRAIT PAINTERS
AND ARTISTIC MOBILITY

TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

SAMANTHA HOWARD

PhD

THE UNIVERSITY OF YORK

HISTORY OF ART

SEPTEMBER 2010

ABSTRACT

The eighteenth century saw the emergence of Britain as a pre-eminent imperial, mercantile and maritime power. At home, the 1707 Act of Union between England and Scotland, and the advances in communications stimulated new opportunities for artists working inside and outside of London. Overseas, the aftermath of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) in particular, saw the spectacular growth of Britain's world-wide interests through imperial expansion. Britain's triumph over France resulted in impressive territorial gains which opened up a wealth of commercial possibilities and generated new markets for artistic goods and a demand for British artists. My approach is focused on the following major hubs of artistic activity in the period: the provinces and London, Edinburgh and America. Through a series of case studies, the different modes of artistic mobility demonstrated by British portrait painters are recovered to explore how they negotiated the locations' distinct characters (metropolitan, provincial and colonial) in relation to their respective markets for artistic goods, their cultivation of patron networks, artistic connections and their artistic identity. This thesis, by engaging with the artistic mobility of eighteenth-century British portrait painters, seeks to challenge the standard narratives of the visual arts in this period, which have tended to concentrate on London in isolation. In doing so it raises the question whether our conceptions of the British art produced in the period may be better understood in terms of a broader circulation of artists and goods across and between interconnecting art worlds, and visual cultures.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	2
Acknowledgments	4
Introduction	6
Chapter One - To, From and Around the Provinces	18
To and From London	19
Outside The Metropolis	27
Moving Between the Provinces and the Metropolis	38
Continental – Provincial Connections	49
Adaptive Media and Mobility	66
Chapter Two - To and From Edinburgh: Three Scottish Painters	83
An Artistic Hub	84
European artists in Edinburgh	85
Scottish Painters	90
Travel and Training	98
Metropolitan Practice	116
Chapter Three - America: Artistic Mobility in the British Atlantic World	137
New Horizons	138
Urban Visual Cultures	151
British Portrait Painters’ American Trajectories	159
The Itinerant British Portrait Painter in the Americas	183
Chapter Four – To and From India: 1785-1795	206
List of Abbreviations	234
Bibliography	235
Illustrations, Maps and Tables	Vol. II

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the Arts and Humanities Research Council for the award and additional travel grant that made research for this thesis possible.

I have also been very fortunate to receive the support and encouragement of numerous individuals throughout the course of this project. My chief debt of gratitude is to my supervisor, Professor Mark Hallett, whose critical perspective and stimulating encouragement during my researches into the world of artistic mobility over the last six years have been invaluable. It is thanks to his patient guidance and belief in me that I have been able to reach this point. I would also like to thank Dr Jim Watt for his constructive observations and comments on all things imperial for the early drafts of this study. And to my friends, I owe a great deal for their camaraderie and convivial hospitality during the very mobile course of my research: Sarah and Tim in York, Clare in Edinburgh, Laura, Helen and Clarky in Norwich, Jonny in London, and Audrey and Greg in New Hampshire, USA. Finally, my special thanks go to my parents for their support and reassurance when I most needed it.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to demonstrate the significance of artistic mobility for eighteenth-century British portraiture, and to recover the extent to which such mobility shaped the careers and practices of almost all ambitious portraitists working within Britain and its overseas territories in this period. The fact that the British art world has long been structured around different sorts of artistic mobility has recently been highlighted by the 2012 Tate Britain exhibition, *Migrations: Journeys into British Art*.¹ The exhibition, which was made up of works from the Tate's own collections, explored the impact of migrant artists on the development of the visual arts in Britain since the sixteenth century, and underlined the fact that artistic mobility, like other forms of migration, is often driven by the search for better economic prospects and by the need to escape from political or religious persecution.²

The opening display of works by early modern foreign-born practitioners is particularly pertinent to the focus of this thesis and serves to introduce us to London's emergence as international artistic hub in the seventeenth century, as highlighted by Karen Hearn in the exhibition catalogue: 'One of the most striking aspects of early modern British art, and especially in the fields of painting and sculpture, is how much of it was produced by incomers.'³ Portrait painters such as Willem Wissing, Anthony van Dyck and Godfrey Kneller were amongst the many artists from all over Europe who dominated the London art world throughout the Stuart period.⁴ The exhibition confirmed that their extended presence in the English capital was significant for the introduction of innovative and sophisticated portrait modes which became highly influential for indigenous artists. Meanwhile, the

¹ Lizzie Carey-Thomas et al, (eds.) *Migrations* Exhibition Catalogue, (Tate Publishing, London 2012)

² Penny Curtis, 'Foreword' pp.8-9 and Nigel Goose 'Migration to Early Modern Britain' pp.10-15, in Ibid.

³ Karen Hearn, 'Portraiture' p.16, in Ibid.

⁴ Portraits exhibited: Willem Wissing, *Portrait of Henrietta and Maria Hyde* (c.1683-5); Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I* (1636) and *Henrietta Maria* (1636); Godfrey Kneller, *Portrait of John Banckes* (1676)

exhibition's display of paintings by the Italian landscape artist, Francesco Zuccarelli (*A Landscape with the Story of Cadmus Killing the Dragon*, exhibited 1765), by the American-born history painter and portraitist Benjamin West, (*Pylades and Orestes brought as victims before Iphigenia*, 1766) and by the Swiss-born portraitist: Angelica Kauffman (*Portrait of a Lady*, c.1775), highlights London's continuing role as a professional locus for foreign-born artists well into the eighteenth century.

Tate Britain's exhibition, in its focus on artistic mobility, intersected with several of the core concerns of this thesis. Yet, in concentrating on the migration of foreign artists *into* Britain, it presents a rather one-way perspective on the question of artist mobility – one which pays almost no attention to the movement of British-born artists within the nation itself and across the globe. Moreover, it tends to focus only upon London; other national artistic centres in the British Isles, such as Edinburgh, are barely represented; the same is true for provincial centres of the visual arts. As this thesis will demonstrate, however, eighteenth-century artistic mobility was of a far more expansive, reciprocal, and international character, and saw scores of artists – both British and foreign-born - not only leaving the nation's shores in search of distant international markets, but also criss-crossing Britain itself. This was particularly true for portrait painters, who became the new 'merchant adventurers' of an increasingly internationalised art world.⁵ Portraitists responded quickly to the widened demand for their goods generated by an expanding national economy and a wider imperial realm, and pursued ever more nomadic careers as they did so.

⁵ The Merchant Adventurers were trading associations established in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in port towns such as London, Bristol and York. As individuals and as a corporate organisation, the Merchant Adventurers were noted for their enterprising spirit. They were widely travelled and not only set up national but also international trade networks (like their later counterparts - the chartered trading companies). See W. E. Lingelbach, "The Internal Organisation of the Merchant Adventurers of England" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Royal Historical Society New Series, Vol. 16 (1902), pp. 19-67.

This thesis, by engaging with the artistic mobility of eighteenth-century British portrait painters and exploring the movement of foreign-born artists across British networks of artistic practice, seeks to raise questions about whether our conceptions of the British art produced in the period may be better understood in terms of a broader circulation of artists and goods across and between interconnecting visual cultures. My approach will focus not only upon imperial networks of artistic mobility but will also focus on those that operated within Britain itself. These will be explored through four case-studies, each of which will offer the opportunity of pursuing a detailed analysis of a distinctive circuit of artistic opportunity and practice in the period. The first, explored in my opening chapter, will be that formed by the traffic of portraitists across the English provinces. For those portraitists who struggled in metropolitan artistic practice but who were reluctant to join the anonymous ranks of studio assistants, copyists and drapery artists working in London, provincial artistic practice offered a variety of alternative locations from which to operate and between which portraitists could travel. These locations ranged from the country estates of the aristocracy and the seasonal spa resorts such as Bath and Tunbridge Wells, to prosperous commercial and manufacturing centres such as Bristol, Liverpool and Manchester. An alternative case-study, investigated in my second chapter, will be that provided by the traffic of portraitists between London and Edinburgh. Stimulated by the events of the Restoration and the 1707 Act of Union, these two cities shared close political and cultural connections and had a well-established history of artistic exchange with each other. These shared associations enabled enterprising, mobile artists to cultivate a broad metropolitan client base across both capitals, and to exploit a range of regional, continental, patronal and professional artistic networks in doing so. My third and most substantial chapter will offer a detailed analysis of artistic mobility to and across the Americas. The American colonies were a promising prospect for the more adventurous practitioners who had had enough of the gruelling and often mundane commercial realities

operating in Britain, and who sought alternatives to European marketplaces for artistic practice. In contrast to the notoriously crowded art market in London, there were more opportunities to cultivate wide ranging patronal networks within the American mercantile and urban settlements where the risks of erratic or inadequate patronage might be offset by the benefits of a lack of competition.⁶ The final artistic circuit explored in this thesis is that between Britain and India. India provided an expanding colonial consumer market whose significance for the British Empire gathered apace following the recognition of American Independence, and which emerged as a crucial channel of artistic mobility towards the end of the century. An investigation of a particularly active period of artistic emigration to, and movement within, India - one that spanned the decade 1785 to 1795 – will provide the focus of my fourth and concluding chapter.

Though this thesis will explore forms of artistic mobility and practice taking place outside the English capital, and in doing so hopes to de-centre the traditional narratives of eighteenth-century British art, it will necessarily recognise the continuing dominance of London as a hub of artistic patronage, consumption and training throughout the period. Thanks to its status as the traditional centre of the trade in paintings in Britain, and its growing role as a locus of artistic training and pictorial display, London had by far the greatest concentration of portraitists within the British nation and empire throughout this period.⁷ It was a continual port of call and point of reference for both native and foreign-born artists, and formed part of, or enjoyed an important relationship with, all the circuits of artistic mobility I shall be

⁶ Louise Lippincott has highlighted this phenomenon in her study of the eighteenth-century portrait painter, dealer and printseller, Arthur Pond, see Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, New Haven 1983) p.2

⁷ For the London art-world in the period, see Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768* (Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University, New Haven Press, 1988); Carol Gibson-Wood, "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century", *The Art Bulletin* Vol.84, No.3 (Sep., 2002) pp493-494; Louise Lippincott, 'The Composition of the market', Lippincott(1983) Ch. IV, pp.55-74; Matthew Hargraves, *Candidates for Fame: the Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760-1791* (Yale University Press, New Haven; London 2006)

exploring. Here, I shall seek not so much to deny London's centrality to the workings of British art-world as to integrate it into a broader network of artistic environments supporting the practice of portraiture and sustaining the movement of scores of very different kinds of practitioner. Similarly, those continental circuits of artistic mobility that have already been heavily studied by historians of eighteenth-century British art – in particular, those that saw British artists travelling to and from Italy – are confirmed in this thesis as exceptionally important to the training and self-presentation of ambitious portraitists, and will be seen to have helped shape the alternative circuits that I shall be analysing. Time in cities such as Rome, shall emerge as an important factor in the careers of a number of the portraitists I deal with here, providing them with artistic skills and cultural credentials that helped them negotiate patrons and markets across Britain and the globe, from Edinburgh to Boston.⁸

By exploring the four distinctive circuits of mobility outlined above, I hope to be breaking new ground. For, though eighteenth-century Britain, as Iain Pears notes, was more adept at 'exporting its artists rather than its paintings', the mobility of eighteenth-century British portraitists has not been focused upon as a subject matter in recent histories of the visual arts.⁹ This is certainly the case in such seminal recent studies of eighteenth-century British painting and portraiture as David H. Solkin's *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (1992) and Marcia Pointon's *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century* (1993). These studies have argued that the artistic practice of British painters in the period was defined on the one hand

⁸ Ilaria Bignamini and Clare Hornsby's, *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven; London 2010) traces the ways in which Rome became ever more closely linked to the London market for artistic goods; see also Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, *Grand Tour: the lure of Italy in the eighteenth century* Exhibition Catalogue, (Tate Gallery London, 1996) and Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2003) which explore the effect of Italian painting, sculpture and architecture on the development of eighteenth-century British visual culture.

⁹ Pears, (1988) p. 57

by a complex system of capitalist enterprise and entrepreneurship, and on the other by the tensions between aesthetic and philosophical debates concerned with the commercial production and reception of art.¹⁰ Yet in each instance, the focus of scholarly attention is primarily on London and the presence of both British and foreign artists in the capital is largely taken for granted; there is little concentration on the implications and consequences of artistic mobility for the development of British art in the period. Elsewhere, the subject of artistic mobility has been approached in more specialised ways, as in the case of Mildred Archer's survey of British artists who worked in India, *India and British Portraiture, 1770-1825* (1979), and in art-historical studies of imperial travel such as *The Painted Voyage: Art, Travel and Exploration 1564-1875* (1995) by Michael Jacobs, which have discussed the travelling artists and draughtsmen who made visual records of peoples, landscapes, flora and fauna during the diplomatic and exploratory voyages in the period.¹¹ However, in the historiography of eighteenth-century British art, the mobility of portraitists and the relation of this mobility to their artistic practice has often been of only passing interest, and has tended to be discussed only in relation to the artistic development of individual practitioners.¹²

However, within the last decade or so there has emerged a body of art-historical scholarship that has begun exploring the phenomenon of mobility as part of a new focus on the impact of

¹⁰ David H. Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven; London, 1992) pp.1-26 and Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven; London 1993) pp.36-52

¹¹ Mildred Archer, *India and British Portraiture, 1770-1825* (Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1979); Michael Jacobs, *The Painted Voyage: Art, Travel and Exploration 1564-1875* (British Museum Press, London, 1995) These also include studies which have tended to focus upon the travels of nineteenth-century European (and American) artists, such as Lynne Thornton, *The Orientalists: Painter-Travellers* (Paris, 1994) and Kristian Davies, *The Orientalists: Western Artists in Arabia, the Sahara, Persia & India* (Laynfaro, New York, 2005)

¹² For example, Alastair Smart, *Allan Ramsay: Painter, Essayist and Man of the Enlightenment* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1992) and Elizabeth E. Barker and Alex Kidson et al, *Joseph Wright of Derby in Liverpool* (Walker Art Gallery, National Museums Liverpool; Yale Center for British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2007)

imperial expansion on British art.¹³ Exemplary of such work is Kay Dian Kriz's analysis of the production and circulation of visual cultures in the British West Indies during the long eighteenth century, in her book, *Slavery, Sugar and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies 1700-1840*, (2008).¹⁴ Other studies that have usefully explored the impact of Empire on the development of British art of the period include *Art and the British Empire* (Eds. Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham, 2007); *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (Hermione De Almeida and George H. Gilpin, 2006), and *Edge of Empire* (Maya Jasanoff 2006), all of which provide stimulating discussions on the impact of imperial commerce and consumption on British artistic practice in the period.¹⁵ In addition, a series of writings on Anglo-American artistic exchanges have offered an alternative critical lens through which the relationship between Britain and America may be examined. These include Tim Barringer's article, 'A White Atlantic? The Idea of American Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain' (2009) in which he questions the idea of 'American' art in relation to its European (and British) origins, and a collection of essays based on the 2009 conference, 'Anglo-American: Artistic Exchange between Britain and the USA', in which David Peters Corbett, and Sarah Monks have suggested the possibilities of a 'trans-national art history', one in which core issues such as the transmission of visual

¹³ This includes authors from fields of post-colonialism, post-modernism and sociology, such as Homi K. Bhabha who, in his analysis, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, London 1994) follows on from Edward W. Said's seminal studies: *Orientalism* (Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (Chatto & Windus, London 1993); Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Poetics of Displacement* (Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1996) and John Urry, *Mobilities* (Polity Press, Cambridge; Massachusetts, 2007) respectively.

¹⁴ Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies 1700-1840* (The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008) pp.3-4

¹⁵ Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham (Eds), *Art and the British Empire*. (Manchester, University Press, Manchester, 2007); Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2006); Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East 1750-1850* (Harper Perennial, London 2006)

cultures and migration, between and from America and Britain, may be more productively explored.¹⁶

Likewise, historians, in studies such as David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick's edited collection of essays entitled *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, (2002), have reinforced and contextualised the findings of art historians in regard to the importance of the connections between the histories of Britain, Colonial America and the British Caribbean in the period.¹⁷ Indeed, thematic discussions of eighteenth century Britain, such as *The Global Eighteenth Century* (2003) edited by Felicity Nussbaum, have increasingly focused on the idea of 'Empire' in order to re-evaluate the character and diversity of the British nation, and of the cultural and political encounters taking place within it.¹⁸ Whilst the social and economic impact of British imperial operations within and without the British Isles are explored by Kathleen Wilson in her study, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (2003), in which she draws our attention to how global commerce forged the many links that connected men and women living on both sides of the Atlantic and across the Indian and Pacific oceans.¹⁹ This scholarship has offered new insights into, and awareness of some of the complexities surrounding the concepts of 'Empire' and the global eighteenth century, and have further encouraged an exploration of these complexities in relation to the history of British visual culture.

¹⁶ Tim Barringer, 'A White Atlantic? The Idea of American Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain.', *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century: Transatlanticism: Identities and exchanges* 19, no.9 (2009), pp1-26; David Peters Corbett, and Sarah Monks, *Anglo-American: Artistic Exchange between Britain and the USA. Art History*, 34 (4) (2011) pp. 630-651.

¹⁷ David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Eds.) *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2002)

¹⁸ Felicity Nussbaum (Ed.), *The Global Eighteenth Century* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore; London, 2003)

¹⁹ Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*, Routledge, London 2003) p.15

Meanwhile, art historians have turned their attention to artistic mobility within and across the British Isles, beginning with Trevor Fawcett's ground-breaking study of *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons and Institutions outside London, 1800-1830* (1974), which demonstrated that provincial centres were a distinct yet integral part of the British art world and played an important role in the development of British art in the early nineteenth century.²⁰ Such studies as Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin's *Ireland's Painters 1660-1940* (2002), have revealed the many Irish artists who worked abroad as well as within Ireland itself, and tracked the local careers of the major foreign artists who came to Ireland and worked there for extended periods in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²¹ Meanwhile, Peter Lord's exploration of Welsh visual cultures, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Imaging the Nation*, has highlighted the artistic development and mobility of native artists since the sixteenth century.²²

As in the case of the imperial turn, recent years have seen historians complementing the work of such art-historians, and highlighting the significance of the distribution of ideas and objects within and across the British Isles in the period. These writers have included Peter Borsay, whose seminal analysis of eighteenth-century English provincial cultures, *The English Urban Renaissance* (1989) highlights the important role the provinces played in the development and dissemination of elite and polite cultures, and Maxine Berg, whose *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-century Britain* (2005) explores how the demand for luxury and British-made consumer goods shaped the provincial social and economic landscape.²³ And for Anglo-Scottish artistic relationships after the Act of Union, there are now historical

²⁰ Trevor Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons and Institutions outside London, 1800-1830*. (Oxford Studies in the History of Art and Architecture, Oxford University Press, 1974)

²¹ Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin's *Ireland's Painters 1660-1940* (Yale University Press for the Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, New Haven; London, 2002).; Previous ed. published as: *The Painters of Ireland, c.1600-1920* (Barrie and Jenkins, London 1978)

²² Peter Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales : Imaging the Nation* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff , 2000)

²³ Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005)

studies such as Christopher A. Whatley's *Scottish Society 1701-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation* (2000) and Alexander Broadie's *The Scottish Enlightenment: the Historical Age of The Historical Nation* (2007), which re-evaluate the Union's supposed negative impact on Scotland's economic, intellectual, and cultural developments and argue instead that the Union provided protection and opportunities for the kinds of cultural activity and cross-fertilisation that I explore in this thesis.²⁴

This thesis is shaped by such studies, and offers itself as both a complement and a response to the debates they have engendered on the movement of people and goods – both artistic and non-artistic - across the commercial circuits and trading routes of eighteenth-century Britain. At the same time, it seeks to counter the tendency for scholars to focus on either an imperial *or* a provincial-national context for eighteenth-century artistic production, but not both. By combining a study of these two spheres, I hope to challenge this kind of bifurcation and to posit that the phenomenon of artistic mobility should be understood in relation to an expansive national and international artistic network, incorporating the metropolitan hub of London itself, provincial environments such as Norwich, York and Liverpool, European centres such as Rome, and far-flung towns, cities, shops and houses in the Americas and India.

Finally, 'A New Theatre Of Prospects': Eighteenth-Century British Portrait Painters and Artistic Mobility' is also a work that has been researched and written in parallel with a recent book of essays edited by Stephen Greenblatt and entitled *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (2010). In this work, Greenblatt argues that a more encompassing study of the phenomenon

²⁴ Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1701-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, towards Industrialisation* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2000); Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: the Historical Age of The Historical Nation* (Birlinn Ltd, Edinburgh, 2007)

of mobility is vital for the formulation of new ways of understanding ‘cultural persistence and change’ in all periods.²⁵ The five key principles listed in his “mobility studies manifesto” have provided an especially stimulating framework for the critical approaches taken by this thesis. Greenblatt’s first principle is that ‘mobility must be taken in a highly literal sense’.²⁶ Understanding the physical conditions and methods of travel and movement, he argues, underpins any broader conceptualisation of the movement ‘between the centre and periphery’ and between ‘exteriority and interiority’.²⁷ Taking my cue from this suggestion, I have sought in this thesis to describe and analyse the material constraints and physical circumstances of artistic mobility in some detail. Greenblatt goes on to note that mobility studies should ‘shed light on hidden as well as conspicuous movements of peoples, objects, images, texts, and ideas’.²⁸ In this thesis, I shall explore inconspicuous as well as conspicuous expressions of artistic mobility, including long-forgotten advertisements from newspapers in Manchester, London and Calcutta, mezzotints dispatched to the American colonies, and pots of paint and rolls of paper quietly carried from place to place by travelling portraitists. The third of Greenblatt’s principles is that mobility studies should identify and examine ‘the “contact zones” in which cultural goods are exchanged, and the ‘specialized groups of “mobilizers”’, such as agents and other intermediaries, who facilitate contact.’²⁹ We will be investigating a range of such environments and encountering a variety of such figures in the following pages. Mobility studies should also, Greenblatt goes on to declare, ‘account in new ways for the tension between individual agency and structural constraint’.³⁰ This thesis shall continually return to the ways in which outside forces, whether political, social or economic, channelled and shaped individual artistic mobility. These included the impact of such events as the War

²⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, “Cultural Mobility: An Introduction” in *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, Stephen Greenblatt et al (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010) p.2

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.250

²⁷ *Ibid.*,

²⁸ *Ibid.*,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.251

³⁰ *Ibid.*,

of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) and the American War of Independence (1775-1783), the latter of which, as will be seen in the fourth chapter of this thesis, provided the impetus for portraitists to look towards the East Indies for new opportunities. Lastly, Greenblatt argues that mobility studies should ‘analyse the sensation of rootedness’ – that is to say, the ways in which individuals and communities often perceive themselves as being embedded within specific locations and traditions.³¹ We know, of course, that a few of the major artists of the period – most famously, William Hogarth – proclaimed exactly this kind of rootedness, and practised in a single urban location for the entirety of their careers.³² However, this lack of mobility was highly atypical, particularly in the case of the community of British and foreign-born portraitists that make up the primary focus of this study. As I will seek to demonstrate, the careers of a great majority of such portraitists were defined not by their wish or ability to stay in one place, but by their need or willingness to travel in search of new markets and patrons for their works.

³¹ Ibid.,p.252

³² ‘Everything requisite to compleat the consummate artist or sculptor may <be had> with the utmost ease without going out of London...’ quoted in William Hogarth (1761) British Museum, Additional MS.27,993, p.VI, lines 170-3, reproduced in Michael Kitson, ‘Hogarth’s ‘Apology for Artists’ ” *Walpole Society* Vol. 41 (1966-1968) (University Press Glasgow, 1968) p.85

CHAPTER ONE

TO, FROM AND AROUND THE PROVINCES

To and From London

In the summer of 1782, Richard Dixon, the proprietor of the Manchester coaching inn, The Swan, took out a lengthy and detailed newspaper advertisement regarding an art exhibition that was to be held at his premises:

At the desire of several Ladies and Gentlemen, The Exhibition of Elegant and Capital Pictures, the Subjects mostly historical; At Mr Dixon's Large Room, Swan Inn, Market Street Lane, Manchester, will continue open until the 24th instant, when it will finally close. Amongst which are the following viz;

1. The Death of General Wolfe, in which the portraits of Wolfe, General Monckton, Mr. Adair, Captain Smith, Colonel Barre, Lieutenant Brown, General Williamson and Captain Delbridge [are shown]
2. Battle of The Hague, in which Sir George Rooke obtained a compleat victory over the French Fleet.
3. The inside of an Iron Forge.
4. Antonius and Citippa
5. Erasistratus, the Physician discovers the love of Antiochus for Stratonice.
6. Belisarius
7. Hagar and Samuel in the Desert.
8. Faith
9. Hope
10. Charity
11. Sappho writing the Odes on Love, dictated by Cupid.
12. Paris and Helen directing Cupid to inflame each other's heart with love.
13. Portrait of a French Gentleman.
14. Portrait of a Flemish Lady.

All the greatest Study and pains have been exerted to tender this Exhibition agreeable, it is hoped that the Ladies and Gentlemen of Manchester will patronize an Attempt, which is perfectly Nouvelle in any Place except London. The pictures to be sold at the close of the exhibition, and the price marked on each picture. Admittance 1 shilling each person. Hours of exhibiting from Ten 'till One, and from Three 'till Six.³³

The advertisement, which features pictures from a mixture of genres including history painting and portraiture (many of the listed works appear to have been detailed copies of paintings by such well-known artists as Sir Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin West, Joseph Wright

³³ *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle, Or Weekly Advertiser*, dated 17 August 1782; Dixon is also listed as a coach and harness maker, and coach proprietor in *Bailey's British Directory; or Merchant & Traders useful companion for the year 1784* (London, 1784), Vol.3 and in *Scholes' Manchester and Salford Directory* (John Scholes, Manchester 1797)

of Derby and Angelica Kauffmann) - highlights the extent to which provincial cities such as Manchester had become vibrant centres of visual culture by the later decades of the eighteenth century.³⁴

Manchester, a prosperous industrial and manufacturing centre, was one of several key locations in the eighteenth-century provincial art world that provided portraitists working in Britain with an alternative form of artistic endeavour to that of metropolitan practice. As John Brewer has noted, there was an alternative art world to that which is normally studied by historians of eighteenth-century art, and one in which the provinces played a crucial part.³⁵ Trevor Fawcett's valuable survey of English provincial art in the early nineteenth century has also shown that 'far from being limited to London and the solitary outpost of Norwich', there were burgeoning provincial art centres countrywide which drew upon the metropolitan model, yet were also often self-consciously distinct in identity.³⁶

This recognition of a wider cultural arena has been underlined by more recent scholarship, including that which has emerged from a series of British Academy sponsored symposia on the development of early modern provincial urban cultures.³⁷ This has demonstrated that while the English capital was indisputably a global hub, even the smallest town functioned in some manner, albeit on a smaller, more rudimentary scale, 'as an urban gateway' through

³⁴ At least ten of the pictures had been originally painted by Reynolds, West, Wright of Derby and Kauffmann as follows: Benjamin West - *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770); *Battle of the Hague* (1778); *Erasistratus, the Physician discovers the love of Antiochus for Stratonice* (1776); *Hagar and Ishmael* (1776); Joseph Wright of Derby - *An Iron Forge* (1772) - one of a series of five 'night pieces' Wright produced between 1771 and 1773; Sir Joshua Reynolds - *Faith, Hope and Charity* were made for his 1777 commission for the new glass window of the chapel, New College Oxford; Angelica Kauffman - *Paris and Helen directing Cupid to inflame each other's heart with love* (1780) and *Sappho writing the Odes on Love, dictated by Cupid* (c.1774)

³⁵ Brewer (1997) pp.299-303

³⁶ Trevor Fawcett, *The Rise Of English Provincial Art: artists, patrons, and institutions outside London, 1800-1830* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974)

³⁷ Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (Eds.), *Proceedings of the British Academy 107, Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840* (British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2001) and Peter Borsay and Lindsay Proudfoot (Eds.), *Proceedings of the British Academy 108, Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence* (British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2002).

which international, metropolitan and regional goods and tastes were distributed.³⁸ Peter Borsay's study of the English 'urban renaissance' has also shown how commercial expansion and improvements in communications and mobility fuelled the development of the provinces as dynamic locations in the evolution of fashionable urban culture and high-status leisure.³⁹ Since the mid-seventeenth century, a large network of carriers and a substantial stage-coach system had connected the capital to the provinces; such links were also vital for the provincial distribution of London newspapers.⁴⁰ By 1750, most of the main roads between the capital and provincial centres, and a number of key inter-provincial routes, had been turnpiked, which resulted in speedier and more reliable travel.⁴¹ For example, in the mid-century the journey from London to Bath by stagecoach took three days, (or two days special service in summer), but by the last quarter of century the journey time had been reduced to less than twenty hours.⁴² And when travel to the Continent became restricted with the advent of the Seven Years War, other West Country towns such as Exmouth, Teignmouth, and Sidmouth flourished as spa resorts.⁴³

³⁸ Peter Borsay, "London 1660-1800: A distinctive culture?", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 107, *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840* (Eds.) Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2001) pp.167-184; Peter Borsay and Lindsay Proudfoot, "The English and Irish Urban experience, 1500-1800: change, convergence and divergence" and Alan Dyer, "Small Towns in England, 1600-1800", Borsay and Proudfoot (2002)p.18 and pp.53-68 respectively.

³⁹ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989; 2002 Edition)

⁴⁰ Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (Associated University Press, London and Toronto, 1987) pp.33-48. Recent research has demonstrated that contrary to the traditional picture of road transport in the period (slow, arduous and expensive, with all significant haulage of freight being made by river or coastal transport) there were regular stage-coach, waggon and packhorse services to and from London, and a substantial proportion of goods were transported by road rather than water, see Dorian Gerhold, *Carriers and Coachmasters: Trade and Travel before the Turnpikes* (Phillimore, Chichester 2005)

⁴¹ Borsay (2002)p.22

⁴² Thomas Boddely, *The tradesman's and traveller's pocket companion: or, the Bath and Bristol guide: calculated for the use of gentlemen and ladies who visit Bath; The Inhabitants of Bath and Bristol; and All Persons who have Occasion to Travel*. 2nd Edition (Bath, 1753). Also technical advances such as the manufacture of lighter and steel sprung vehicles meant that passengers could now travel by stage-coaches (also known as 'flying machines') at greater speeds and shorter journey times. Steel springs had been used earlier on post-chaises, and were first used on stage-coaches between Maidenhead and London in 1752. However, not all machines were equipped with springs, and prior to 1764, all steel sprung vehicles could only carry four passengers inside, in addition to outside passengers, see Gerhold (2005) pp.158-59.

⁴³ Assembly rooms, holiday villas and bathing machines (introduced in 1759 and 1762 in Exmouth and Teignmouth respectively) were amongst their main attractions. Michael Pidgley and Samuel Smiles, *The*

With the improvement of transport networks, increasing numbers of people were travelling more often and further afield for business and leisure. Thus in Bath, announcements of the new arrivals in town were a daily feature in the press and highlighted the fact that its visitors were a mix of aristocrats, the gentry and members of the middling classes (see *fig.1*). The significant reduction in winter journey times between provincial locations and the capital was undoubtedly an important factor in the development of the provincial winter social season. For portraitists provincial capitals not only provided the opportunity to cultivate new client bases, but also to seek new business at the nearby rural retreats of the gentry and the aristocratic élites, whose annual seasonal migrations between the city and country provided lucrative rotating patronal networks; many major landowners had their principal residences in or near to a town.⁴⁴

The sort of provincial cultural renaissance Borsay describes was also closely linked to the growing interest in the visual arts and the development of distinctive artistic centres in provincial towns and cities; such places acquired (or claimed) a certain status as the ‘foci of polite society, consumption, communications and the arts’ during the period.⁴⁵ Therefore, as Roy Porter has highlighted, we should not view the metropolis and provinces as stark opposites, but rather as complementary to each other.⁴⁶ The cultural identities of towns and cities such as Norwich, York and Bath, were developed along the ‘polite’ lines of the model

Perfection of England: Artist Visitors to Devon c.1750-1870 Exhibition Catalogue (University of Plymouth 1995)p.10

⁴⁴ Borsay (2002) p.203; Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Penguin Ltd., London 1990 Edition)p.60 Examples include: the Dukes of Somerset at Petworth, which was located near the county town of Chichester in West Sussex and Earl Bathurst at Cirencester in Gloucestershire, together with those especially prominent members of the aristocratic élite who had traditionally established numerous country estates in addition to their properties in London, figures such as the Dukes of Devonshire, whose country properties included Hardwick Hall, Chatsworth and Bolton Abbey.

⁴⁵ Porter (1990)p.40

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*,p.41

provided by London itself, with the creation of pleasure gardens, and the building of assembly rooms, theatres and concert halls.⁴⁷ The provinces also had annual social seasons like London, with subscription assemblies and balls. Thus, Norwich and York not only had prestigious summer seasons with their annual horse races,⁴⁸ but also had winter seasons that centred upon assemblies and balls; the spa resort of Bath also had two social seasons, attracting fashionable London society during the summer and winter months.⁴⁹

These provincial urban centres were an integral part of a cosmopolitan network of interconnecting art worlds in the eighteenth century. The fact that native artists *and* foreign practitioners demonstrate parallel models of artistic mobility which included movement to and from the capital and between provincial locations enables us to re-frame London-centric perspectives on portrait-practice in the period. Although provincial towns were, in certain aspects, microcosms of London, they also had distinctive urban characters which shaped the nature of British portrait painters' practice in the period. The provinces provided important training grounds for such artists to develop their artistic personae, and to hone the artistic techniques and social skills they needed to cultivate élite circles of patronage; but they also provided environments which could become short and long-term bases for portrait painters.

The importance of provincial practice for several successful eighteenth-century British artists highlighted in two West Country exhibitions in 2011: *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Acquisition of Genius* held at Plymouth and *Georgian Faces: Portrait of a County* held at Dorchester.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid.,p.40

⁴⁸ Adverts in the local press, for example, *The York Courant*, dated 13 June and 15 August 1739, show that other Yorkshire towns such as Barnsley, Doncaster and Thirsk also held annual race meetings during the summer months highlighting that these locations also had albeit on a smaller scale, defined social seasons well-established by the mid-century.

⁴⁹ Borsay (2002)pp.140-42

⁵⁰ Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery (21 November 2009 - 20 February 2010) and Dorset County Museum (15 January 2011– 30 April 2011) respectively.

The exhibitions served to illustrate two types of artistic mobility, and to open up the workings of provincial art-worlds in the period. Reynolds' individual trajectory can be seen to exemplify a well-known model of artistic mobility – that of a painter who moves from his native town (in his case, Plymouth) to London in order to train and to establish his practice and professional reputation. In Reynolds' case, however, provincial practice not only provided an important formative experience in his early career; it also provided alternative sources of patronage and periodic breaks from metropolitan practice at a later date.⁵¹ Although brief, Reynolds' training with the London-based portrait painter and fellow-Devonian Thomas Hudson helped him to establish a local base back in the West Country in the second half of the 1740s. There the young artist's association with a metropolitan artist of Hudson's standing helped him to attract a steady stream of clientele (he probably also inherited some of Hudson's West Country patrons) from local government officials and landed gentry.⁵² This experience also enabled him to develop the necessary skills in cultivating a variety of influential and powerful clientele and to divide his time between Devon and London.

From 1746 to 1749, Reynolds' established in his studio in Plymouth Dock (modern-day Devonport). This naval base provided several of his early clients from amongst the naval personnel there in addition to those amongst the county's aristocratic land-owning and

⁵¹ Richard Stephens, "City and Country", *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Acquisition of Genius* (Ed.) Sam Smiles, Exhibition Catalogue (University of Plymouth and Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery, 2009)pp.17-27. The trajectories of Reynolds' famous contemporaries such as Thomas Hudson, Thomas Gainsborough and John Opie follow a similar pattern. Their early years in the provinces laid the foundations for their later success in the capital, and like Reynolds, these London-based artists all returned to the provinces during their careers: Hudson maintained contact with his West Country clientele, Gainsborough also made trips to the West Country and the Lake District, and Opie visited Wales and the South-West to execute commissions between 1783 and 1785. See Ellen. G Miles and J. Simon, *Thomas Hudson, 1701-1779, portrait painter and collector: a bicentenary exhibition* Exhibition Catalogue (Greater London Council, the Iveagh bequest, Kenwood, 1979); Ian McIntyre, *Joshua Reynolds: the Life and Times of the First President of the Royal Academy* (Allen Lane, London 2003); Martin Postle, *Thomas Gainsborough* (Tate Britain, London 2002); Ada Earland, *John Opie and his Circle* (Hutchinson & Co London, 1911)

⁵² Stephens (2009)p.17-18

political élites, such as Lord Edgcumbe, who later facilitated important connections for Reynolds' practice in London.⁵³ Undoubtedly Reynolds' provincial practice during the 1740s was complementary to his metropolitan practice; as *The Acquisition of Genius* exhibition highlighted, the expansion of his provincial client base was not only assisted by his regional connections to the West Country, but it was also bound to his later success and fame in London.⁵⁴

In contrast, several of the artists featured in the *Georgian Faces* exhibition engaged with an alternative model of artistic mobility - that which involved moving in and around the provinces, as well as time spent in London. The political, cultural and mercantile character of the County of Dorset, and its emergence as a centre of enlightenment activity and the establishment in 1789 of a seasonal royal court in Weymouth, provided artists with varied patronal circles from which to obtain commissions. As Gwen Yarker has shown, the county was an important influence on the careers of the Dorset-born artists, Sir James Thornhill, Giles Hussey and Thomas Beach. In the 1720s, following the decline in his London practice, Thornhill returned to Dorset for commissions and to establish his political career; Hussey, a Roman Catholic, though unsuccessful in the capital, was able to cultivate his own circle of Catholic patrons in Dorset.⁵⁵ Beach was amongst several talented local artists who were sponsored by local patrons to be sent to train with an established practitioner in London: Beach himself was sent by Lord Milton to study under Reynolds while George III sent William Delamotte, the son of the local Weymouth bookshop keeper, to the Royal Academy Schools.⁵⁶ Though successful in the capital, Beach based himself in Bath for several years in addition to returning to Dorset on a seasonal basis for most of his professional career. The

⁵³ Ibid., pp.18, 21

⁵⁴ Ibid.,p.19

⁵⁵ Gwen Yarker, *Georgian Faces: Portrait of a County Exhibition Catalogue* (Dorset Natural History and Archeological Society, 2010)pp.27-30

⁵⁶ Ibid.,p.34

seasonal ebb and flow of the county's political, and cultural élites and prominent landowners enabled the painter to combine his metropolitan and provincial practices. An eighteenth-century exhibition provides proof of this model in practice - a brief glance through the listings of the Society of Artists' 1763 exhibition catalogue highlights the variety of artists practising in provincial locations. These include the portraitist William Tate in Manchester (whose artistic mobility will be discussed later in this chapter), the landscape painters, Francis Towne in Exeter and Nathan Drake in York, and the landscape and portrait painter, Thomas Chubbard in Liverpool.⁵⁷

From the above examples, we may begin to see how British portrait painters' trajectories across the provinces could be varied and complex, encompassing different sorts of professional mobility. This chapter will explore four types of artistic mobility associated with the provinces. Firstly it will look at those artists whose careers developed outside the metropolitan centre; secondly, it will look at those artists whose practice involved moving between the provinces and London; thirdly, it will investigate the movement of foreign artists to and from the English provinces; finally, it will recover the trajectories of those artists – pastellists - who seem to have been especially active in their passage across the provinces in the period, and whose practice seems to have been profoundly shaped by this pattern of continual movement.

⁵⁷ Society of Artists of Great Britain, *A catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, models, designs in architecture, drawings, prints, &c.* (London 1773)pp. 6-7, 9 and 25-26

Outside the Metropolis

The practice of Joseph Wright offers a celebrated example of the fact that provincial artistic practice was not perceived only as a springboard to material success and artistic fame in London. Although he did engage with the London art world, he famously practised successfully and almost exclusively outside the capital. By choosing to base himself in the provinces throughout his career, Wright flouted the contemporary presumption that professional success and reputation could only be achieved through being based in London; a presumption nicely captured in the advice given to Reynolds by Lord Edgcumbe early on in his career, when he was told that the capital was the ‘only place where fame could be established and [the artist’s] fortune be advanced’.⁵⁸ The addition of the label ‘of Derby’ during his own lifetime not only served to distinguish Wright from other artists with the same surname, such as the American artist Joseph Wright and the marine painter, Richard Wright from Liverpool, but also enabled him (in spite of any negative connotations that might have been suggested by the suffix) to successfully develop his own individual professional persona in distinction to metropolitan practitioners.⁵⁹ Strikingly after his death in 1797, Wright’s provincial artistic persona was celebrated as a professional as well as a personal virtue. Thus, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* emphasises that: ‘his attachment to his native town, added to his natural modesty, [and] his severe application both to the theory and the practice of painting’ served to prevent him ‘from mixing with promiscuous society’ or ‘establish[ing] his reputation by arts which he would never descend to practise...His pictures have been so much in request that there is scarcely an instance of their ever having come in to the hands of dealers; neither have his best works ever been seen in London; - a strong proof of their

⁵⁸ Northcote (1818) Vol.I, p.52

⁵⁹ See Benedict Nicolson, *Joseph Wright of Derby: Painter of Light* (Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art; Routledge and Kegan. Paul, London; New York 1968) 2 Vols; Judy Egerton, *Wright of Derby* Exhibition Catalogue (Tate Gallery, London 1990)

intrinsic worth and that no artifices were necessary to ensure their fate....⁶⁰ Wright's example is, of course, a particularly famous one; but variations of his model of practice are discovered by a closer study of some of the many British portrait painters who practised in provincial locations in the period. These included William Tate (1748-1806) and Christopher Pack (1760-1840), whose artistic practice was distinguished by extended stays in key provincial cities.

Liverpool-born Tate received his early artistic training under Wright himself. During his stay in the city, Wright had lodged with Tate's merchant brother Richard (who was also an amateur painter) and became life-long friends with Tate and his family.⁶¹ Although Tate regularly exhibited in London for over twenty years, he seems to have focused his main painting practice in the provinces, practising both in his native Liverpool and in Manchester for extended periods.⁶²

Tate is first recorded in London in 1771. He appears in the Society of Artists' exhibition catalogue for that year as 'pupil to Mr Wright of Derby' showing a painting of 'An old Man'.⁶³ With Wright's encouragement Tate was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1773, the same year he exhibited the double portrait of an unidentified couple, listed in the Society's catalogue as 'A conversation, small whole length'.⁶⁴ The picture may well have been the painting known as *Man and Woman in a Landscape with a Gate and Sundial* (fig.2); the careful delineation of form, sensitive rendering of textiles and harmonious use of colour

⁶⁰ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.67 Issue 3 September 1797, p.804

⁶¹ E. Rimbault Dibdin, "Liverpool Art and Artists in the Eighteenth Century" *Walpole Society*. Vol.6 1917-1918 (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1918)p.68, Bennett (1978) vol.1, p.197

⁶² Tate exhibited at the Society of artists between 1771 and 1791, and periodically at the Royal Academy between 1776 and 1804.

⁶³ Society of Artists of Great Britain, *A catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, models, designs in architecture, drawings, prints, &c.* (London 1771)p.14 (Tate's name in the catalogue entry is mis-spelt as 'Taler')

⁶⁴ Society of Artists of Great Britain, *A catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, models, designs in architecture, drawings, prints, &c.* (London 1773)p.26

highlights Tate's youthful emulation of his former master, sharing several characteristics of composition and costume with Wright's well-known portraits *Frances Hesketh* (1769) (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool) and *Thomas and Mary Coltman* (1771) (National Gallery, London).⁶⁵ The conversation piece was one of three paintings that Tate sent to London from Manchester, where he stayed from 1773 until 1774.

Tate returned to Liverpool in 1774, in time for the Liverpool Society of Artists' exhibition, where he exhibited two portraits and two drawings in black chalk.⁶⁶ His increased profile in the city – due largely to his connections with Wright, and to his presence at the London and Liverpool exhibitions - no doubt enabled Tate to capitalize on the same sort of informal patronal networks that proved so beneficial to his former master. He executed commissions for members of some of the city's most important families, many of whom had connections with its thriving art scene.⁶⁷ These included, Daniel Daulby (1774) (Walker Art Gallery) and Daulby's first and second wives, Elizabeth Knowles (1774) (*fig.3*) and Margaret, sister of the collector, William Roscoe (c.1777-1784; Walker Art Gallery).⁶⁸ Tate's depiction of Elizabeth Knowles shares a pictorial affinity with not only Wright's *Susannah Leigh* (1769) (*fig.4*) but also with Joshua Reynolds' *Mrs John Barrington* (c.1757-58) (*fig.5*). Compositionally, we can suggest the Reynoldsian model as the formative inspiration, but given Wright's relatively recent presence in the city (from 1768 until 1771) and his close relationship with his former pupil, Wright's interpretation may well have provided the model for Tate's representation of the flowing drapery of Knowles' costume. Thus the painting is not only suggestive of Tate's (and Wright's) engagement with a metropolitan portrait aesthetic, it also offers a sense in which portrait models were filtered through to a discerning provincial clientele.

⁶⁵ Barker (2007) p.188 cat. no. 68

⁶⁶ Dibdin (1918)p.68

⁶⁷ Barker (2007)pp.44-46

⁶⁸ Bennett (1978) vol.1, p.197

Like Wright, Tate also catered to a wealthy mercantile clientele linked to Liverpool's trans-Atlantic trade, whose tastes in portraiture usually favoured the sort of unpretentious realism popularised by Wright. Tate's close affinity with his former master's work probably enabled him to pick up these commissions after Wright's departure from the port.⁶⁹ His three-quarter length portrait of the Lancastrian merchant and slave trader, Dodshon Foster (1770-1790) (*fig.6*) highlights Tate's ability to switch between different portrait models in order to cater to the demands from his Liverpool clientele. Though the sitter's is shown seated business-like on a plain wooden chair, his clothing (in particular the ruffles of his shirt at the neck and wrists) has been carefully rendered, as has the fur of Foster's hound. Tate has alluded to the merchant's business interests with his use of a warm colour palette to suggest a hot climate, and depiction of tropical foliage in the background. The painting could have been executed in Liverpool during one of Tate's stays there, or perhaps even in Lancaster, which was an important port town as well as an industrial centre, and which shared close commercial connections with Liverpool; Foster was a former member of the Lancaster Port Commission (1755-58) and owned a warehouse on St George's Quay.⁷⁰

Between 1776 and 1791 Tate exhibited in the capital, where he also stayed periodically; he gave his address as No. 11 Craven Street, Strand, which was also Wright's London address when he exhibited there; he is recorded at No.1 Red Lion Square.⁷¹ During this time he painted the three-quarter length portrait of Captain Thomas Hewitt (1781) (*fig.7*) in either

⁶⁹ Tate had assimilated Wright's technique so well, that he was commissioned to complete Wright's unfinished portraits after the artist's death in 1797.

⁷⁰ Foster had trading interests based in North America and the West Indies; he also had part ownership in several merchant vessels, which included the *Barlborough* - the first Lancaster ship to visit Jamaica with slaves. See Lancaster Maritime Museum, online catalogue entry available at <http://collections.lancsmuseums.gov.uk/narratives/narrative.php?irn=103> [accessed 09 September 2010]

⁷¹ Bennett (1978) Vol.1, p.197; George Kearsley, *Kearsley's Pocket Ledger: Alphabetical list of the Principal History, Portrait and landscape painters, and other polite Artists residing in or near London; with their place of abode* (London, 1778)

Liverpool or London; currently, it is the only painting I have managed to link to this particular period of the artist's career, but Tate's busy exhibition output and artistic mobility would suggest that there are more paintings by the artist yet to be identified.

From 1782 until 1787, Tate seems to have been based in Liverpool once more. During this period the Norwich-born painter Christopher Pack also arrived in the city, where he practised for four years from 1783 until 1787. Tate and Pack's move to the city during this period in particular highlights how artistic mobility can be shaped by provincial development. Alex Kidson has highlighted the 'boom or bust' conditions for artists practising in the city as a consequence of Liverpool's economic dependence on trade which suffered during the war with America.⁷² Following the economic uncertainties caused by the American War of Independence, the early 1780s was a period of revival for artistic patronage in Liverpool. The Society of Artists was re-established in 1783 as Liverpool's Society for Promoting Painting and Design; like its 1773 predecessor, the new Society was focused on artistic training and followed the model of the Royal Academy in London.⁷³ It provided rooms and models, as well as lectures and evening classes (between 1784 and 1785) for its students, who were instructed by 'visitor' artists – both Pack and Tate were amongst the named instructors.⁷⁴ The Society held its first exhibition in September 1784, which was a prestigious event in Liverpool's cultural calendar. It featured two hundred and thirteen exhibits, painted by thirty-two contributors, who included Wright, Tate and London artists such as Reynolds, Angelica Kauffmann and Henry Fuseli.⁷⁵ Pack exhibited eleven paintings (portrait and landscape) at

⁷² The second collapse of the 1773 Liverpool society of Artists has also been partly attributed to this. Barker and Kidson (2007) pp.26-27

⁷³ Bennett (1978) Vol.1,p.10. It was also known as the 'Society for Promoting the Arts in Liverpool'.

⁷⁴ Dibdin (1918)p.76 and Bennett (1978) Vol.1, p.10

⁷⁵ Dibdin (1918)pp.79-80.

the exhibition and went on to exhibit and practise in London and Dublin.⁷⁶ The artist also practised in Bath for several years, extending his services to include drawing lessons. He is recorded residing at No. 20 Green-Park Street from 1797 to 1799, where he practised as a ‘miniature and portrait-painter, and drawing master’.⁷⁷

Following a disagreement with the Royal Academy, Tate stopped exhibiting in London. Understandably, he missed the exposure (and potential commissions) these metropolitan exhibitions afforded him, which is highlighted in a letter from Wright to a mutual acquaintance in 1787:

My ingenious & very worthy friend Tate, who you know, has not for several years past, owing to some ill treatment he met at the Academy exhibited any pictures, by which omission he finds himself lost to the world and neglected.⁷⁸

Tate no doubt also missed the local publicity provided by the Liverpool Society of Artists’. Though the 1784 exhibition was successful, the impetus to make it an annual event seems to have stalled as no further exhibitions were organised until 1787.⁷⁹ His dissatisfaction at his situation (his commissions in Liverpool may well have been also drying up by this time) probably prompted his return to Manchester, which as we have highlighted earlier with Dixon’s advert, was becoming an important artistic centre. Tate sent a history painting, *Abraham and Isaac* and two portraits from Manchester to the Liverpool Society’s 1787 exhibition, which although numerically smaller than that of 1784, had twice as many London-based contributors, including Gainsborough; Reynolds also exhibited once more, as

⁷⁶ Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists: with Notices of their Lives and Work* (London, 1878)pp.318-19 and Dibdin (1918) pp.79,81.

⁷⁷ *The New Bath Guide; or, useful pocket companion for all persons residing at or resorting to this antient city* (Bath 1797- 1799)

⁷⁸ Letter dated 22nd April 1787 from Wright to Mr Long Surgeon in Chancery Lane, quoted in Nicolson (1968) Vol.1, pp.138-39

⁷⁹ Dibdin (1918)p.84

did Wright.⁸⁰ Wright reported the same year that Tate was ‘advantageously fixed at Manchester where he is encouraged & respected equal to his wishes’.⁸¹ The city’s growing reputation as a promising base for artists is further underlined by the arrival of the painter Joseph Parry, who was formerly based in Liverpool and a fellow contributor to the Society’s 1787 exhibition.⁸² His advertisement in the Manchester press in early 1788 announced his establishment in the city offering a variety of services, highlighting the artist’s professional versatility:

Joseph Parry, Portrait and Seapiece painter,
Takes this method of publicly returning his sincere thanks to his friends for all past favors, and, to inform them and the Public, that he has taken a House near the top of Thomas Street, adjoining Oldham Street, in Manchester where he intends to carry out the business of portrait, Seapieces and other Ornamental Painting; and also to teach drawing etc. Those who please to favour him with their orders, may depend on his utmost endeavour to give satisfaction. N.B He will wait on Ladies and Gentlemen at their own Houses to teach Drawing.⁸³

Tate was to spend six years in the city before he moved once more to finally settle in Bath in 1804, where he died in 1806.⁸⁴

Another such artist who seems to have excluded London from his artistic practice is the peripatetic portrait and miniature painter, Edward Alcock (*fl.*1745-1778). Information about his early practice is scarce, but for most of his known career he travelled up and down the country and he is recorded practising in Bath by the mid-century.⁸⁵ However, by 1759 he appears to have ventured into the Midlands, where he worked for a short time in

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.85-86

⁸¹ Letter dated 22nd April 1787 from Wright to Mr Long Surgeon in Chancery Lane, quoted in Nicolson (1968) Vol.1 pp.138-39

⁸² Dibdin (1918) pp.86,88.; Parry sent four landscapes to the exhibition.

⁸³ *The Manchester Mercury and Harrops General Advertiser*, dated Tuesday 12 February 1788

⁸⁴ Bennett (1978) Vol.1, p.197

⁸⁵ John F. Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits* (HMSO, London 1977) Vol.1, p.72

Birmingham.⁸⁶ His patrons there included the poet and landscape gardener, William Shenstone (1714-1763) whose full-length portrait he painted in 1760 (*fig.8*).

A collection of Shenstone's correspondence from the period offers an interesting insight into the execution of Alcock's painting and the practicalities of provincial practice. A striking feature of the commission is the degree to which Shenstone directed and negotiated with Alcock regarding the details of his portrait, highlighting the fact that the artist although a skilled miniaturist, was not a specialist in the field of portraiture on canvas - at one and a half meters in length and almost a meter wide, the grand proportions of Shenstone's portrait make it a rather exceptional commission for Alcock. Whilst it was a common feature of large metropolitan studio practices for a client to be guided by the artist in such matters as composition and drapery (early on in his practice Reynolds began keeping a portfolio of prints taken from his portraits in his painting room for this purpose), it could be suggested that provincial clientele, in utilising the services of travelling artists, had more creative autonomy over the project.⁸⁷ This certainly seems to be the case with Alcock's commission for Shenstone. A letter of Shenstone's dated 13 November 1759 briefly outlines his intention to consult the collection of his friend and neighbour, the author John Scott Hylton (1725-1793), which included a cabinet of medals that may have been a source of inspiration; 'I shall when, Alcock comes borrow all kinds of Heads Mr Hylton has, to chuse an Attitude.'⁸⁸ Another distinction between provincial and metropolitan practice is illustrated by Shenstone having to manage his sittings with the artist, and it seems that he often had to chivvy Alcock to turn up for his appointments. Alcock worked on Shenstone's portrait for around six to

⁸⁶ William Shenstone, *The Letters of William Shenstone*, (Ed.) Marjorie Williams (1939)p.530

⁸⁷ James Northcote, *The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London, 1819) Vol.1, p.83

⁸⁸ B.M Add.Mss 23239, Letter no. CCXLVII dated 13 November 1759, Williams (Ed.) (1939); Hylton's diverse collection also included natural curiosities and is briefly mentioned in William P. Courtney *Dodsley's collection of poetry. Its contents and contributors. A chapter in the history of English literature in the eighteenth century...* (1968) p.104 (Robert Dodsley was a member of Hylton and Shenstone's literary circle).

eight weeks (November 1759 to January 1760) but during that time he was completing additional commissions for other Birmingham-based clientele:

...Mr. Alcock is engaged to Capt. Wight tomorrow morning- but if my own picture dries, I believe I shall cause him to break thro [the] engage[men]t., in order to get it finished...I shall endeavour to keep Alcock tomorrow ; for he has scarce done any stroke at my face... He finishes highly in miniature - & I am apt to think [the] *Appendages* at least of my Picture will be very pleasing...⁸⁹

Shenstone's discussion of his portrait with another of his circle of friends, the writer Thomas Percy, reveals that he dictated the colour of the draperies and the background details:

Alcock's portrait of me is in a manner finished; and has been hung up for these nine days past, in its carved frame opposite to the fire-place in my library. They say it is a likeness, allowing for the diminution of size. Indeed, if I can conclude anything from the strong resemblance which he has produced of others here, I may form some conjecture that he has not failed in mine. - Be this as it will, the picture is, upon the whole, a tolerably pleasing one; and this is the most I must dare to say, considering my own person makes so large a part of it. What think you of a tawny or reddish brown for the robe or night gown, with black for the waistcoat and breeches, reserving green for the curtain? Though green it is, with me at least, no very gay colour, nor has it that effect which you apprehended in the drapery. Terra-sienna is a delightful colour; so I think, is Roman ocre burnt. Let me know then, what objections you have to the drapery just proposed. Let me know also any design that you think most pleasing for a back-ground; or any story of two or three figures, that would be suitable for a relieve.⁹⁰

Shenstone seems to have also consulted with Percy, who had provided him with a drawing for the overall composition of the portrait:

The chief points wherein my picture varies from your drawing is in the corner below the base of the pedestal; where an antique vase is introduced with a flower and two or three leaves of the scarlet Geranium. The gilt vase agrees well enough with the gold fringe on the edge of the curtain; but the whole is so subdued, as not to catch the eye too strongly. It was chiefly meant to obviate the disagreeableness of the parallel lines and angles occasioned by the step in the corner; but it crowds that side a little, if one look from top to bottom; and though a pleasing object, it is hard to say whether it do more good or harm.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Letter no. CCLII dated 9 December 1759 to John Scott Hylton, Bodl. MS. Montague d.I Summ Catalogue No.25427, Williams (Ed.) (1939)

⁹⁰ B.M MSS.Add. 28221, Letter no. CCLVII dated January 1760 to Thomas Percy,

⁹¹ Ibid.

Alcock's finished portrait of Shenstone shows the sitter posed in an Italianate interior in which we can see that Shenstone did indeed decide upon red-coloured drapery. The classically-inspired theme is continued by the depiction of the satyr-like figure emerging from the curtain behind the books piled on top of the plinth, and the decorative relief on the front of the plinth that includes a figure of Ceres, the goddess of the earth, identifiable by her cornstalk headdress. These pictorial devices were no doubt selected to highlight Shenstone's literary and horticultural pursuits; in the back ground can be seen a view of the village of Halesowen and the ruined folly which Shenstone erected in the grounds of his estate of Leasowes.

Shenstone's letters convey a sense of his satisfaction of his portrait project and it is evident that, thanks to his collaborative relationship with Alcock, he took an interest in the artist's later career. Significantly, Shenstone seems to have indicated to Alcock that the brightest prospects for his career advancement lay not in the capital, but in the provinces. He suggested the artist should try his fortunes again in Bath by joining forces with the still-life painter, Amos Green. Shenstone suggests that the combined skills of the pair would provide them with a winning formula to attract the spa resort's clientele:

I believe, Alcock would go and settle in Bath, if Amos Green could be induced to join him. Amos Green is ...esteemed inferior to no one in England for fruit. He also paints flowers, insects and dead game very well. To this he would adjoin the business of water-painting. Alcock would paint portraits in oil; and to this he would add enamel painting; both of them the best-natured young fellows in the world. Now suppose them also ingenious, and tell me whether they would have a chance to thrive...⁹²

Although (as far as we know) Alcock did not go into partnership with Green, he did go on to establish a successful reputation in the provinces which was associated with portraits on a far smaller scale than the Shenstone commission. By the early 1760s he was on the move again,

⁹² Ibid.

to the town of Netherton, just north of Liverpool where he rented property and land in 1763.⁹³ He established a practice in Liverpool for a time, as he is listed in the city directory of 1766 as ‘painter’ at the ‘east side, south dock’.⁹⁴ Over the next decade or so Alcock made his way back to the West Country, where we know he achieved some reputation – his practice was celebrated in Thomas Chatterton’s poem entitled ‘Mr Alcock of Bristol, an Excellent Miniature Painter’, published in 1769. One verse in particular suggests the appeal of the simpler portrait aesthetic that Alcock could offer his provincial clientele in contrast to the predominant metropolitan-led trends inspired by paintings based on the continental or ‘Grand style’ portrait models made popular by London-based artists such as Reynolds:

...Ye classic Roman-loving fools,
Say could the painters of the schools,
With Alcock’s pencil vie?
He paints the passions of mankind,
And in the face displays the mind,
Charming the heart and the eye...⁹⁵

The artist also undertook commissions for small-scale full-length portraits, examples of which include his pair of portraits of a lady and gentleman, dated 1769 (*fig.9*). The detailed but rather doll-like depiction of his sitters as conversation piece figures in simplified compositions underline an economic approach to oil portrait painting that was not only necessitated, but also facilitated by the demands of his mobile artistic practice. Alcock may well have been encouraged by the artistic activity stimulated by the Liverpool Society of Artists exhibition of 1774 as he returned once more to the city in the same year to set up a painting business at No.16 Ansdell Street; it seems at this point in his career he had also

⁹³ LRO, DDM/44/68 Molyneux, Earls of Sefton; Also listed on the lease are Alcock’s seven year old son, Samuel and three ‘husbandmen’ employed to manage the land which included an orchard.

⁹⁴ J. Gore, *The Liverpool directory, for the year 1766: containing an alphabetical list of the merchants, tradesmen, and principal inhabitants, of the town of Liverpool* (Liverpool,1766)

⁹⁵ Chatterton’s poem was published under the pen name ‘Asaphides’ in the *Town and Country Magazine, or Universal repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment* Vol.1 (Feb 1769) pp.104-105

expanded his artistic practice as Gore's directory lists 'Alcock and co. Painters'.⁹⁶ However, Alcock's only known venture into London is in 1778, when he is recorded living at No.2 Craig's Court, Charing Cross, from where he exhibited a few portraits and genre paintings at the Royal Academy and the Free Society of Artists that year.⁹⁷

If Tate, Pack and Alcock exemplify the fact that artistic careers could be carved out without recourse to the opening of a portrait studio in the capital, particularly if a portraitist was willing to travel from one provincial centre to another, other portrait painters can be found dividing their practice between the provinces and London. Here we can also point to the fact that artists such as Tate could use London and its exhibitions as a means to generate publicity and to build a reputation whilst predominantly practising in the provinces. As we shall see, the use of publicity in this way is a characteristic feature of the practice of those artists who operated in both provincial and metropolitan locations.

Moving Between the Provinces and the Metropolis

Thomas Worlidge (1700-1766) and Thomas Beach (c.1737-1806) are good examples of a second model of artistic mobility, in which portrait painters cultivated client bases in London and a provincial location – in this case, Bath. Thomas Worlidge's division of his artistic practice between London and Bath enabled him to garner commissions from the resort's wealthy and fashionable clientele during the winter social season, and to practise in the capital for the rest of the year. Worlidge's early artistic training had taken place in London,

⁹⁶ Gore's *Liverpool Directory for the Year 1774* (John Gore, Liverpool 1774) p.3

⁹⁷ Kerslake (1977) Vol.1, p.72; *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Sculptures, &c. by the Society of Artists* (Free Society of Artists, London 1778) p.3; Alcock exhibited at the Free Society of Artists: '1. *Banditti*, 2. *Ditto – wounded* 3. *Venerable Bede writing the Homilies* 4. *Portrait of a Gentleman - small whole length* 5. *A Miser* 6. *Portrait of the real skull of Oliver Cromwell...* 7. *A Portrait of a Gentleman and his Horse.*'

firstly under the Genoese émigré artist Alessandro Maria Grimaldi (1659-1732, whose daughter became his first wife), and then under the French engraver, Louis-Philippe Boitard (d.1758).⁹⁸ His first professional practice was based in the capital, where he had some success, securing commissions from ‘among the first nobles of the Country,’ for whom he painted portraits in oil and miniatures, historical subjects and landscapes, and copies after Old Masters.⁹⁹ Worlidge also produced portrait drawings, which became his most profitable medium - his fee was two guineas (or more) for a portrait drawing on vellum and paper with black lead or chalks. He also began to develop his skills in etching and dry point printmaking.¹⁰⁰

Worlidge’s first move to Bath in around the mid-1730s was most likely prompted by his desire for a more reliable source of commissions, and designed to enhance his reputation in a less crowded market than London. His stay there seems to have been a productive one, and his portraits and especially miniatures were in great demand.¹⁰¹ Worlidge’s small full-length portrait drawing of Beau Nash, Bath’s master of ceremonies, dated 1736 (*fig.10*) suggests that he was already practising in the resort before the arrival of his contemporary, the portrait painter and pastellist, William Hoare (c.1707-1792).¹⁰² Worlidge returned to London in 1740, where he continued portrait painting and etching. *James Ashley* (c.1740) (*fig.11*) is one of his earliest portrait etchings from this period. Ashley was the proprietor of the London Coffee House (also known as the London Punch House), on Ludgate Hill.¹⁰³ Opened in 1731 and

⁹⁸ Stacey Grimaldi, *Miscellaneous Writings, Prose and Poetry from Printed & Manuscript Sources*. (Ed.) A.B Grimaldi (London, 1881) Part.3, p.638

⁹⁹ Ibid; Charles Dack, *Sketch of the Life of Thomas Worlidge, Etcher and Painter: with a catalogue of his works*. (Peterborough Natural History, Scientific and Archaeological Society, 1907)p.7

¹⁰⁰ David Alexander and Richard T. Godfrey, *Painters and Engraving: The Reproductive Print from Hogarth to Wilkie* (Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven, 1980) pp.1-12 In the etching printmaking method, the lines are bitten by acid into a metal plate; for a dry point print, the plate is directly scored with a sharp needle and it is often combined with etching on a single plate.

¹⁰¹ Dack (1907)p.7

¹⁰² Holbrook (1973)p.375

¹⁰³ Walter Thornbury “Ludgate Hill”, *Old and New London* (London,1873-1878) *Volume 1* p.227

selling cheap punch, Ashley's establishment (unsurprisingly) became a popular rendezvous for printers, literary sorts and lawyers from nearby Fleet Street and the Old Bailey. It was also a favourite haunt of Worlidge's, who is reputed to have used Ashley's dining room as an informal display space:

The dining-room of that gentleman was filled with several of his [Worlidge's] best pictures, and might indeed, without impropriety, have been called his exhibition; for he was allowed, whenever he completed any great design, to hang it up there for public inspection...¹⁰⁴

Through his attempts to cultivate a wider client base for his work in London, Worlidge probably realised the commercial possibilities in combining both sorts of activity - painting and printmaking - to enable him to operate a dual practice. Moreover, Worlidge's second marriage to Mary Wicksteed (or Wickstead; *d.*1790) in 1743, who was the daughter of Bath's leading toy and novelty retailer, and sister of James Wicksteed, the seal engraver, helped to reinforce his connections with the resort.¹⁰⁵ Worlidge's prints were sold in the Wicksteed toy shop, as well as seals and luxury goods.¹⁰⁶ By the mid-1740s he was dividing his practice between London and Bath. Worlidge visited the spa resort almost every winter throughout his career. For the rest of the year he used the capital as his base, and maintained an address generally in the Covent Garden area; he was a contributor in early public art exhibitions at the Society of Artists in 1761 and 1765 (where his address is recorded as Bedford Street, Covent Garden - sometime later in 1765 he moved into Thomas Hudson's old house in Great Queen Street) and at the Free Society in 1762 and 1765–6.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Anon. ('LIBRA') "Biographical Anecdotes of Thomas Worlidge", *Monthly Magazine and British Register* John Aiken, (Ed.) (London) (April 1796)Vol.1, no.3,p.217

¹⁰⁵ Dack (1907)p.11, Sloman and Fawcett (2002)p.32

¹⁰⁶ 'Toys' in the eighteenth-century were consumer metal wares such as buckles, watch-chains, candle-snuffers, and other goods such as those manufactured in Matthew Boulton's Birmingham factory, see Berg (2005) pp.170-71

¹⁰⁷ Society of Artists of Great Britain, *A catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, models, designs in architecture, drawings, prints, &c.* (London 1765)p.14; Riley and Lawrence (1914)p.77

Unfortunately, few of Worlidge's portrait paintings are now known (from either location), however, his portrait of one of the most celebrated actors of his day, David Garrick, in his famous role of the hero, Tancred - from James Thomson's tragedy, *Tancred and Sigismunda* (1745) (*fig.12*) - has survived. Worlidge painted several versions of the portrait, which would have provided him with examples to display in his studios in London and Bath. He also produced prints after the paintings (*figs.13-14*) enabling him to advertise and sell the prints to clientele in both locations. Bath seems to have been an ideal location for the production of prints by the entrepreneurial Worlidge.¹⁰⁸

Although Worlidge continued to paint portraits, it was his ability as an etcher in imitation of Rembrandt that was to establish his reputation. His decision from 1751 onwards, to concentrate his artistic practice on paintings, drawings and prints after Rembrandt, was well timed, coinciding with the height of the vogue for Rembrandt's work in Britain and Europe in the period.¹⁰⁹ Rembrandt's paintings were particularly popular subjects in print, as his chiaroscuro was well suited to printmaking, especially to mezzotint.¹¹⁰ Worlidge's etchings in manner of Rembrandt were some of first works to be produced in this medium in Britain, and influenced other graphic artists including the engravers, George Bickham, Benjamin Green and Richard Houston.¹¹¹

Rembrandt continued to be a major influence on Worlidge's work for the rest of his career.

His depiction of himself as an etcher wearing a Rembrandt-esque outfit – a velvet beret-type

¹⁰⁸ Trevor Fawcett has suggested that there were regional specializations in different artistic media and by early nineteenth century Bath had become particularly associated with another type of print production, lithography; other regional predilections for different media in this period, included wood-engraving in Newcastle, engraving in Birmingham and pure and soft ground etching in Norwich, see Fawcett (1974)p.57

¹⁰⁹ Christopher White, David Alexander and Ellen D'Oench, *Rembrandt in Eighteenth-Century England* Exhibition Catalogue (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut 1983), pp.20-24

¹¹⁰ White et al (1983) p.46, Alexander and Godfrey (1980) pp.1-12. In contrast to etching and dry point prints, where dark areas were revealed by either incising or by application of acid, the mezzotint began as a dark ground on which the surface was worked to reveal light areas.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p.93

headdress and fur-trimmed cape in his self portrait (1754) (*fig.15*) underlines his identification with the Old Master. One of the best known examples of Worlidge's Rembrandt-inspired work is his portrait-etching of Sir Edward Astley, produced in 1762 (*fig.16*), (and exhibited at the Free Society of Artists in the same year).¹¹² Worlidge copied Rembrandt's portrait of his great benefactor, Jan Six (1647) (*fig.17*), but replaced the face of Six with that of Astley. In doing so Worlidge pays a double tribute to the sitter. Astley, (the eldest son of Sir Jacob Astley - Heins' patron) was not only Worlidge's most important patron, but also at one time the owner of Arthur Pond's famous collection of Rembrandt prints - most of which had originally belonged to the Six family.¹¹³ Worlidge's enthusiasm for Rembrandt's work was shared by a number of influential artists and collectors in the period - including Hudson, Reynolds, Opie and Daulby.¹¹⁴

As a 'one man Rembrandt industry', Worlidge was significant figure in the dissemination of Rembrandt's work to wider audience, not just in the capital, but also in the provinces.¹¹⁵ In Bath, artists such as Gainsborough, William Hoare and Thomas Barker may well have encountered Rembrandt's art for the first time through Worlidge's copies after the works of the Dutch Master.¹¹⁶ In 1754 Worlidge published the first of what was to be a series of Rembrandt-inspired etchings of antique gems.¹¹⁷ Around this time he also copied paintings and prints attributed to Rembrandt in the collections of the Duke of Argyll and Thomas Hudson (see *figs.18-19*);¹¹⁸ these may well have been included in the exhibition of paintings

¹¹² *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Sculptures, &c. by the Society of Artists* (Free Society of Artists, London 1762) no.157, Portrait of *Sir Edward Astley Bart.*

¹¹³ White et al (1983) cat.no.158, p.95

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp.8-16

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.72

¹¹⁶ Sloman and Fawcett (2002)p.33

¹¹⁷ Dack (1907)p.9 These were issued at irregular intervals and not completed until after his death, when they were published in complete volumes by the Wicksteads under the direction of two of his pupils Alexander Grimaldi (the son of his former master), and George Powle, under the title, *Select Collection of Drawings from Curious Antique Gems ... Etched after the Manner of Rembrandt.* (1768)

¹¹⁸ White et al. (1983)p.93

and prints in Worlidge's house in Stall Street in Bath in 1758, which were described in his advertisement for his prints after Rembrandt's etching *Christ with the Sick around Him* (1647-49, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (also known as *The Hundred Guilder Print* - so-named for the price Rembrandt was able to command for it, see *figs.20-21*):

The Hundred Guilder PRINT,
Being an exact copy of that
Celebrated Etching of Rembrandt,
(Which represents CHRIST healing the Sick, and contains above 40 figures)
Now in the Possession of *Edward Astley Esq.*
Is just Finished
By THOMAS WORLIDGE,
PAINTER, in BATH,
AND ON THE SAME SIZE OF THE Original; and will be ready to deliver to the
Subscribers in ten Days, Subscriptions will continue to be received one Month after
this Time at Two Guineas each, the Price to Non-Subscribers will be Three Guineas,
and for no less will any be sold, there being but very few to be taken off more than
subscribed for; Subscriptions are received by Mr. WORLIDGE at his house at the
Golden-Head in Stall-Street; by Mrs. WICKSTEAD, in the Grove; and Mr. LEAKE
and Mr. FREDERICK, during that Time and no longer.
The Original Print was sold for 30 Guineas.
Mr. WORLIDGE has by him a curious Collection of Pictures, from the best Masters,
which may be seen at his House.¹¹⁹

Worlidge's use of the Wicksteeds' shop as an outlet for his prints, may explain why he sometimes distinguished his location on the prints, alternately inscribing them with his London address, or with the alternative caption 'Painter in Bath'. This suggests that he either produced these prints in London and Bath, or intended them specifically for the metropolitan or provincial market. His name appears with the 'Bath' caption in his advertisements in 1757 for his prints after Rembrandt. His notice informs us that subscriptions are taken in the capital as well as at the Wicksteeds' premises in the resort. By highlighting Worlidge's association with Rembrandt and the prestigious resort, the caption would have increased the prints' appeal to collectors in the capital as well as to souvenir-hunters in Bath.

¹¹⁹ *Bath Advertiser*, dated 7 October 1758.

Worldidge's entrepreneurial approach to his artistic practice is further underlined by his depiction of the ceremony in the Sheldonian Theatre for the installation of the Earl of Westmorland as Chancellor of Oxford University in 1759 (1761) (*fig.22*). For this venture, his largest and most elaborate work, the artist advertised for subscriptions (priced at one guinea), in London, Oxford, and Bath and invited those wishing to have themselves depicted in the scene to give him an extra five guineas for the privilege.¹²⁰ The subsequent print saw *Worldidge depicting nearly two hundred faces, and including a self-portrait (we can see him sketching between the right pillar and the print's edge.*¹²¹ Worldidge continued to divide his time between London and Bath until he settled in Hammersmith, Middlesex, a few years before his death in 1766.¹²²

The Dorsetshire portraitist Thomas Beach became one of the most adaptive practitioners of the period, highly attuned to the seasonal flow of clientele between the capital and the provinces. As a promising young artist, he had been sent to London in 1760 by Lord Milton (later Earl of Dorchester, who later became one of his important patrons) to study at Reynolds' studio. He trained there for a couple of years, during which time he was also enrolled at the St. Martin's Lane Academy.¹²³ After his grounding in the metropolitan art world, Beach returned to his native Dorsetshire for few years in order to practise and hone his artistic skills, executing commissions for members of the West Country squirearchy. His full-length double portrait of Charles and Henry Blair (1769) (*fig.23*), the children of Charles Blair and Lady Mary Fane in Dorset, and *Lady Elizabeth Theresa Fox-Strangways and*

¹²⁰ London Evening Post, dated 18 -22 June 1759, Jackson's Oxford Journal, dated 14 April 1759 and the *Bath Advertiser*, dated 21 April 1759

¹²¹ Grimaldi, (London, 1881) Part.3, p.638; Dack (1907)p.23; unfortunately the subscription list no longer survives and many of the 'portraits' remain yet to be identified, see R. Sharp, "The Oxford installation of 1759", *Oxoniensia*, Vol. 56 (Oxfordshire Architectural and Historical Society, 1991) pp.145-53

¹²² Dack (1907)p.11

¹²³ Elise S. Beach, *Thomas Beach, A Dorset Portrait Painter: Favourite Pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London 1934)p.4

Elizabeth Kitty Acland (1777) (*fig.24*) highlight his skills as a colourist and draughtsman and demonstrate the sort of proficient portraiture he was able to offer his provincial clientele.

By 1770, Beach felt confident enough in his artistic accomplishments to move to Bath, where he established his studio at No.2 Westgate Buildings.¹²⁴ Conveniently located enroute to the fashionable area of the Circus, Beach's portraiture practice attracted wealthy metropolitan visitors and Bath society; it soon became profitable. Beach seems to have been a popular personality who enjoyed an esteemed reputation in the city, as indicated by his entry in the Bath guide for 1778: 'MR BEACH, WESTGATE BUILDINGS. We do not know a Portrait Painter, who is more happy in giving a strong Likeness, nor a more worthy, good-natured, honest Man'.¹²⁵

Unlike Worlidge, Beach did not divide his practice between London and Bath for some years. However, from 1772 until 1783, he did ensure that his professional profile was known in the capital by sending paintings to the annual exhibitions of the Incorporated Society of Artists.¹²⁶ In addition to painting commissions for the aristocracy and gentry, Beach also produced many portraits of actors and musicians he met through his interest in theatre and music. These included the renowned castrato Giusto Tenducci (c.1782) and the composer and physician, Henry Harington, (1799). His paintings of both men were also reproduced as mezzotints - in London and Bath respectively (see *figs.25-26*).

Beach was a keen theatre-goer; his diary for 1798 records a list of the many plays (in addition to other social activities) he attended during the six months or so he spent in Bath that year.

¹²⁴ A.M Broadley, "Thomas Beach 'of Bath' ", Mowbray A. Green, *The Eighteenth Century Architecture of Bath* (Bath, 1904) Appendix, p.221

¹²⁵ Philip Thicknesse, *The New Prose Bath Guide for the Year 1778* (London; Bath 1778)p.49

¹²⁶ Beach(1934)pp.78-79

These included: *Love in a Village* (to which he went twice); *The Beggars Opera*; *The Duenna*; *The Storm* (twice); *Macbeth* and *The Castle Spectre*.¹²⁷ Several notable actors of the day were his friends, such as John Henderson, John Philip Kemble, and Sarah Siddons – the last of whom he painted at least a dozen times.¹²⁸ These pictures include Siddons represented as the character of Melancholy from Milton’s *Il Penseroso* (1782) which he exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1783; the mezzotint after the painting was published in Bath.¹²⁹ In 1782, Beach executed another portrait of the actress in which Siddons is shown seated (*fig.27*). This may well have been painted by Beach during Siddons’ visit to the artist in Dorchester, during a summer she spent based at nearby Weymouth.¹³⁰

As in the capital, artists’ exhibition rooms and studios in Bath were fashionable meeting places where visitors could socialize as well as arrange a sitting. In 1778, Beach’s rooms at Westgate Buildings were the venue for a public exhibition in the city.¹³¹ Following the model of the Royal Academy, it was hoped that the exhibition would become an annual event; however apart from the occasional display at the assembly rooms and Pump Room, it seems that artists preferred generally to exhibit in their own rooms - perhaps in order to maintain a sense of exclusivity. Some sort of entertainment was often provided to draw visitors to the artist’s showrooms; thus Beach staged a night-time concert in 1781 in his rooms at Westgate Building, in which his paintings were illuminated.¹³²

In addition to his contact with theatrical circles, Beach was also able to foster patronal networks across the West Country (and beyond) through his Masonic membership. The scope

¹²⁷ WCSL, Thomas Beach MS Diary 1798 (transcript c.1901), 11th January to 22nd June 1798.

¹²⁸ Beach (1934)p.9

¹²⁹ *Bath Chronicle*, dated 24 January 1782.

¹³⁰ Broadley (1904)p.227

¹³¹ Sloman and Fawcett (2002)p.17

¹³² Susan Legouix Sloman, “Artists’ Picture Rooms in Eighteenth-Century Bath”, *Bath History*, VI 1996, p.135

of such club connections between provincial and metropolitan networks is highlighted in the newspaper advertisement for the engraving after his portrait of the provincial grandmaster freemason, Thomas Dunckerley (1789) depicted in his Masonic regalia (*fig.28*). The print was published in London, but also was publicised in regional print outlets in the cities of Bath and Bristol:

Speedily will be published by subscription,
A print of THOMAS DUNCKERLEY, Esq;
Provincial grand master of the most Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, for the Counties of Dorset, Essex, Gloucester, Surry, Somerset; within the City and County of Bristol, Southampton and the Isle of Wight; - also Provincial Grand Superintendent for the *Royal-Arch Chapters* of the above and many other counties. The Plate is now in the hands of the most capital Engraver. The painting is executed by Brother BEACH, and presented by him to the ROYAL CUMBERLAND LODGE, Bath. Price 10s. 6d. to be paid at the time of subscribing. Subscriptions received Mr. W. Meyler, in the Grove, and Mr. R. Ricards, Bond Street, Bath; and Mr. H Browne, Quay Street, and Mr.Schiercliffe, circulating library, Bristol.¹³³

For around ten years, Beach seems to have more or less to have avoided practice in the capital, choosing to remain in Bath for the winter season and spending the summer months touring his clientele's country houses in the West Country. The catalyst for his taking up partial residence in London from 1785 (until 1798) seems to have been his change of allegiance from the Society of Artists to the Royal Academy in 1783, where he exhibited between 1785 and 1790, and again in 1797.¹³⁴ He may well have felt that he needed to be near the 'action'. He had several very successful submissions at the Royal Academy exhibitions one of which was a portrait of the notable London figure and pre-eminent horse dealer Richard Tattersall, which was exhibited in 1787 and engraved as a mezzotint in the

¹³³ *Bath Chronicle*, dated 22 October 1789

¹³⁴ Beach (1934)p.20. He was living at first in St James's Square and then later in 1788 at Nos. 54-55 Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square; his last London address was Strand-on-the Green, near Kew Bridge where his sister Frances, kept a house for him.

same year (*fig.29*).¹³⁵ However, Beach's former master, Reynolds was reputedly disgusted that 'The Famous Tattersall' was hung above his *Lady St. Asaph* (Viscountess St. Asaph and Child).¹³⁶ A reason for Reynolds' consternation may be suggested in the unseemly (and arch) analogies that could be drawn by the exhibition audience at the proximity of the two paintings - between Beach's forthright representation of Tattersall resting his hand on his stud book and the 'breeding' potential of Reynolds' aristocratic sitter.¹³⁷

Nevertheless, Beach still combined his metropolitan practice working in Bath and touring the West Country. Some of his most ambitious paintings were completed in this period. These included his large - scale group portrait of the servants at Ston Easton Park in Somerset (1782-1786); some seven feet by six feet, the painting depicts portraits of the 'Steward, the Housekeeper, the Still-room Maid and the Odd [simple] man'.¹³⁸ Similarly, Beach travelled to Bristol to produce a large-scale group portrait of the wealthy Bristol merchant Thomas Tyndall and his family at Fort House, which he began in 1794 and completed in 1797(*fig.30*).¹³⁹

Returning to Beach's diary for the year 1798, in which he spent more than five months touring the West Country, sheds some light on the practicalities of this sort of peripatetic artistic-career. His tour was undertaken between 23 June and 13 December 1798, during which time he visited several Dorset mansions for commissions and completed some thirty-one portraits. Some of the work he did during this tour continued long-standing projects.

¹³⁵ Beach also painted another version of the portrait, without a window and includes the depiction of the famous race horse 'High Flyer' in a painting behind the figure of Tattersall.

¹³⁶ Broadley (1904) p.221; Sloman and Fawcett (2002)p.67, cat.no.38- the room depicted is supposedly in a Knightsbridge building, near Hyde Park Corner where the famous horse auction was located.

¹³⁷ Such aesthetic concerns and tensions are highlighted in Mark Hallett's article, 'Reading the Walls: Pictorial Dialogue at the British Royal Academy', in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 37, no. 4 (2004), in which he discusses the contemporary awareness of the pictorial engagement between paintings in the Royal Academy exhibitions.

¹³⁸ Broadley (1904) p.224

¹³⁹ Beach (1934)p.22

These projects included his important series of portraits of the members of the Dorset Yeomanry, began in 1793 for the Earl of Dorchester, which included that of George Damer, Lord Viscount Milton, also reproduced as a mezzotint (1795) (*figs.31-32*). Another member of the Yeomanry, Captain Thomas Meggs, was one of his regular sitters between August and October 1798. His first appointment is recorded in Beach's diary on 1st August, 'Capt Meggs sat for face and Figure'.¹⁴⁰ Over the next few days Beach noted a visit to the carpenter, a trip to Weymouth and a walk over the Dorset downs to see the Yeomanry put through their paces.¹⁴¹ We may gather from Beach's diary that as he did not employ an assistant, his practice was also interspersed with mundane chores connected to oil painting, such as preparing his materials, and saw him working on the less inventive aspects of portraiture, such as drapery painting; there are many entries in his diary that simply record 'drapery all day' or, in the case of his yeomanry portraits, 'Sword notts all day.'¹⁴² Nevertheless frequent social interruptions are recorded in his diary, which possibly suggests a more leisurely pace of artistic practice compared to that in the capital or in an urban centre such as Bath.

Continental - Provincial Connections

The provincial artistic circuit was thus one in which native practitioners demonstrated various types of artistic mobility. It was also, as we can now go on to explore, one that included numerous practitioners from the continental art world. Several provincial towns could boast at least one resident portraitist trained on the continent during the period, such as Philip Mercier in York, John Theodore Heins in Norwich and Charles Christian Rosenberg in

¹⁴⁰ WCSL Manuscript Diary of Thomas Beach, 1 August 1798

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 2, 4 and 23 August 1798

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, diary entry dated 20 October 1798; Beach (1934).p.21- The series of Dorset Yeomanry portraits was finally completed by Beach in 1799

Bath.¹⁴³ Indeed, the practice of European artists working in numerous British provincial locations had long been established. Producing works in a variety of genres, these artists also provided important channels through which continental (as well as metropolitan) artistic models were disseminated. Their presence, however temporary, stimulated the development of artistic centres and circles outside the English metropolis and their lengthy stays in the provinces were also significant for the training of native artists.¹⁴⁴ A good sense of this is highlighted by the trajectories of several European painters working in the British provinces in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The demand for artistic services which involved lengthy large-scale interior decorative projects provided many artists with long term employment in and around the provinces. At Knowsley Hall near Liverpool, William Stanley, 9th Earl of Derby had a resident artist on his payroll. The list of servants he employed in 1702 records that a painter named ‘John Vandr Hagen’ was paid twenty pounds and accommodated in his own painting room.¹⁴⁵ It seems likely that Derby’s painter was the Dutch artist, Johann (or Jan) van der Hagen (1675 - c.1745). Born in The Hague, Van der Hagen specialised mainly in marine paintings, but also produced landscapes and portraits.¹⁴⁶ He is thought to have arrived in London towards the end of the seventeenth century when he probably worked for a time in the studio of the

¹⁴³ *York Courant*, advertisement dated 1st May 1739; Trevor Fawcett, “Eighteenth-Century Art in Norwich”, *Walpole Society*, Vol.46 1976-1978 (1978), p.71; *Bath Chronicle*, advertisement dated 24 October 1765.

¹⁴⁴ See Carey-Thomas (2012)pp.16-17, 26-27; Desmond Shawe -Taylor, *The Conversation Piece: Scenes of Fashionable Life* (Royal Collection, London, 2009) pp.22-59, and Pears (1988)pp107-132

¹⁴⁵ Lancs RO/ MssDDK/15/24: A list of the servants now employed by the Earl of Derby at Knowsley and Latham, with their lodging, liveries and wages.

G.H White (Ed.) *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, 2nd Edition (St Catherine’s Press Ltd, 1953) Vol. XII Part 1, p.88

¹⁴⁶ At least one portrait painting has been attributed to van der Hagen (a double portrait of a young boy and girl), see www.christies.com, Past Sale Archive, sale no 9039 lot 220:

http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?from=searchresults&intObjectID=2006671&sid=bd18f6e3-27f1-47e4-a1df-ab45ff382f3c [Accessed 14 July 2011]

marine painter, Willem van de Velde II.¹⁴⁷ Van de Velde and his father, Willem van de Velde, the Elder - also a marine painter, were amongst the many Dutch artists who responded to the proclamation issued by Charles II in 1672, inviting Protestant Dutch artisans, whose country was being devastated by the war with France during the third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-74), to settle in Britain.¹⁴⁸ Van der Hagen joined an established contingent of influential émigré Dutch artists who had settled all over the British Isles; a William van der Hagen (possibly a relative) practised in a number of locations in Ireland in the 1720s, including Waterford and Derry, where he executed numerous commissions for decorative schemes and landscapes.¹⁴⁹

Another Protestant émigré, the French decorative painter, Jacques (James) Parmentier (1658-1730), was able to divide his practice between London and the Netherlands for extended periods before he set up a painting practice in Yorkshire in the early eighteenth century; he worked in the capital in the 1670s under the painter, Adrian Henny for two or three years, and again in the 1680s for a time with his fellow Huguenot, Pierre Berchet. He returned once more with several other painters who had been brought from France to execute a commission for the Duke of Montagu's house in Bloomsbury, between 1689 and 1692.¹⁵⁰ In 1694, Parmentier was sent to the Netherlands by William III to assist the designer and engraver

¹⁴⁷ Van der Hagen's daughter, Bernarda, married his former master's son, Cornelis, in Knightsbridge Chapel in 1699.

¹⁴⁸ The encouragement of this sort of immigration to Britain in the period was not only as a feature of traditional royal policy to recruit skilled professionals in all sorts of fields, but was also to demonstrate royal beneficence toward foreign Protestants. See Caroline Robbins, "A Note on General Naturalization under the Later Stuarts and a Speech in the House of Commons on the Subject in 1664", *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Jun., 1962), pp. 168-177; The influence of the van de Veldes and their circle, and their British contemporaries is discussed by Charles Harrison-Wallace and David Joel, *The Call of the Sea: Peter Monamy, Charles Brooking and the early British marine painters* Exhibition Catalogue (St. Barbe Museum & Art Gallery, Lymington, Hants, 2009)

¹⁴⁹ The two painters are often confused with one another, see Crookshank and The Knight of Glin,(2002; 1978)pp.55-61; Seán P. Popplewell, "Domestic Decorative Painting in Ireland: 1720 to 1820", *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 68, No. 269/270 (Spring/Summer, 1979), pp. 46-65

¹⁵⁰ The three other painters working on the project are listed by Vertue as: the decorative history painter, Charles La Fosse, 'Rousseau' (a landscape painter) and 'Baptiste' (a fruit and flower artist). Vertue 'Notebook III' Vol.22 1933-34 (1934) pp.29-31

Daniel Marot (1661-1752) and a team of artists (including Berchet) working on the decoration of the palace of Het Loo near The Hague.¹⁵¹

On his return to England in 1700, however, Parmentier found lucrative and varied patronage in Yorkshire for twenty years, ‘where he painted for many Noblemen. at Hull an Altar piece...the Lords Supper [and] many portraits & other works,’ reputedly earning over three-hundred pounds in a year; he is also recorded practising in the neighbouring county of Nottinghamshire during his stay in the North, where he executed commissions for the Duke of Norfolk at Worksop Manor which included a staircase fresco. For Robert Sutton, 2nd Lord Lexington, Parmentier produced numerous decorative panels for the rooms at Averham Park Lodge.¹⁵² The painter’s altarpiece (now lost) depicting Moses and Aaron for the parish church of St Peter’s in Leeds was a gift in recognition of his Yorkshire clientele’s patronage, and is briefly described by the York antiquarian, Ralph Thoresby:

...desirous to express his Gratitude for the Encouragement he had here met with in his employment, bestowed upon the Church a most noble specimen of his Art, viz. the Giving of the *Law*, the thunder and Lightning at the rending of the thick Clouds, are expressed (in *fresco* upon the Roof) in suitable Terror, but qualified by the lovely Aspects of a Choir of Angels and Cherubs, with Moses and Aaron in the Clouds, & c...¹⁵³

Parmentier was also active in York, and his membership in the city’s circle of virtuosi highlights its development as an intellectual and artistic centre.¹⁵⁴ The York Virtuosi was founded by Martin Lister (1639-1712), a Fellow of the Royal Society and later its vice-president, who lived in York between 1670 and 1683. It was an informal group of antiquarians, artists and natural philosophers. The circle also included Thoresby, the

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p.39.

¹⁵² Vertue ‘Notebook III’ Vol.22 1933-34 (1934) pp.29-31, 45. Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England* (Country Life, London, 1962) Vol.1, p.257a and Vol.2, pp.320-21

¹⁵³ Ralph Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis: or, the topography of the ancient and populous town and parish of Leedes, and parts adjacent in the West-Riding of the county of York*. (London 1715)p.249, cited in Vertue ‘Notebook III’ Vol.29 1940-1942(1947) p.111

¹⁵⁴ Waterhouse (1981)p.267

engravers Thomas and Joshua Mann, and the topographical artists Francis Place and William Lodge.¹⁵⁵ Upon the death in London of his nearest rival and fellow Frenchman, the mural painter Louis Laguerre, Parmentier took the opportunity to try metropolitan practice once more and returned to the capital in 1721.¹⁵⁶ However, Parmentier seems to have remained in contact with his Northern clientele for the remainder of his career, as he is recorded working for three years on a large-scale decorative project of a series of historically-themed frescos at the Leeds mansion of the wealthy merchant named Major Wilson; the painter is credited as a formative influence on Wilson's young son - the portraitist Benjamin Wilson (1721-1788), who before embarking on his artistic training in London, studied for a year under the French painter, only known as 'Longueville' employed by Thomas Lister, MP at Gisborne Park in Lancashire.¹⁵⁷

Commissions at country residences dominated the practice of the German-born history and portrait painter John Closterman (1660-1711) between the late 1690s and the early 1700s, when he executed several major projects for aristocratic patrons. These include his full-length double portrait of the philosopher and politician, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury and his brother Maurice, painted during his stay at the Earl's estate, Wimborne St. Giles in Dorset, in 1700 (*fig.33*). Closterman had trained in Paris for two years before establishing himself in London in the early 1680s. During the following decade he made several trips to the continent, visiting Rome, Florence and Madrid; his expert knowledge of classical Antiquity and Old Masters was much sought after – his stays in Italy were often

¹⁵⁵ Ann-Marie Akehurst, “‘The very best of its kind out of the Metropolis’: The Foundation of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, the Yorkshire Museum and its Gardens in the early Nineteenth Century.”

<http://www.york.ac.uk/ipup/projects/york/stories/papers/akehurst.html> [accessed 05 August 2010]

¹⁵⁶ Vertue, 'Notebook III' Vol.22, 1933-34 (1934) p.29

¹⁵⁷ An abridged autobiography by Wilson is included in Chapter One of the biography of his son by Reverend Herbert Randolph, *The Life of Sir Robert Wilson* (London, 1862)pp.5-7; Reverend R. V. Taylor, (Ed.) *The biographia Leodiensis, or, Biographical sketches of the worthies of Leeds* (London and Leeds, 1865), 185–6

taken up with sourcing and buying works of art on behalf of his English patrons,¹⁵⁸ including Shaftesbury, who had undertaken a lengthy Grand Tour as a teenager.¹⁵⁹ It seems likely that Shaftesbury, who was to become an influential figure in the arena of aesthetic judgement and an exponent of the expression of philosophical ideas through art, had a firm objective in mind for a sophisticated, ideological portrait when he collaborated with the artist in the innovative conception of the painting, which includes a reference to the antique sculptural model of *Castor and Pollux* - the virtuous twin brothers in Greco-Roman mythology - in the representation of the brothers' stance.¹⁶⁰ As David Solkin has highlighted in his discussion of the portrait, the depiction of the sitters as gentlemen philosophers wearing robes inspired by classical antiquity, conversing amidst the setting of a Horatian idyll of rural retirement, offers a complex iconographical interplay between the notions of nobility, nature, culture and virtue for the viewer's contemplation.¹⁶¹ Closterman's painting therefore provides an early example of the development of a classicized pictorial code utilised for an élite model of portraiture, elements of which, as we shall see, were disseminated and adapted by British portraitists working in the provinces later in the period.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Vertue, 'Notebook I' Vol.18 (1929-30) (Oxford 1930)p.44 and 'Notebook III' Vol.22 (1933-34) (Oxford 1934) p.29

¹⁵⁹ Malcolm Rogers, *John Closterman: Master of the English Baroque*, Exhibition Catalogue (National Portrait Gallery, Great Britain, 1981) ; Robert Voile, *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, 1671-1713* (Louisiana State University Press, 1984)

¹⁶⁰ Closterman may well have been referring to this portrait in his letter to Shaftesbury around this time: '...I am extremely glad to hear of your thoughts for a family picture, and that I shall perform it as soon as I come home...to go to the country is better still, ...we shall have wholly our thoughts together...' Transcript of letter from Closterman to Shaftesbury (nd) quoted in Edgar Wind, "Shaftesbury as a Patron of Art: with a letter by Closterman and two designs by Guidi." *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Oct., 1938),p.187; A detailed discussion of the civic humanist theory of painting (the function of art in relation to public and private virtues) and its discourses, is given by John Barrell in his study, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: 'The Body of the Public'* (Yale University Press; New edition 1995) "Introduction"pp.1-68

¹⁶¹ David Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1992) pp.3-13

¹⁶² Closterman probably knew of an earlier precedent based on a variation of this theme began in England by Van Dyck with his double portraits such as *George, Lord Digby and William, Lord Russell* (c.1637), Earl Spencer, Althorp, Northamptonshire and *Lord John Stuart and his Brother, Lord Bernard Stuart* (c.1638-9) National Gallery, London. Rogers (1981) Cat.no.86; Solkin (1992) p.9

Later in the century, the painter and engraver, Philip (Philippe) Mercier (c.1689-1760) also established a practice in York. Born in Berlin of French Huguenot parents, Mercier firstly settled in London in around 1720. He went on to establish a successful portraiture studio, obtaining official royal patronage in 1729 when it was announced in the London press that, ‘‘Philip Mercier, Esq; one of the Pages of the BedChamber to the Prince of Wales is appointed Painter to his Royal Highness.’’¹⁶³ A leading figure in the capital’s art scene, Mercier was one of the first artists to adapt the elegant imaginary groups in outdoor settings depicted in the *fête galante* and *fête champêtre* paintings, such as *The Shepherds* (1717-1719) by the contemporary French painter, Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) (*fig.34*) in order to develop conversation pieces for his aristocratic and metropolitan clientele. As Kate Retford has noted in her study of the family conversation piece, Mercier’s work offers an important model for the portrayal of informal elite domesticity in the period.¹⁶⁴ The depiction of property and land were key elements in the artist’s conversation pieces which conveyed the rural, yet sophisticated personalities of his sitters.¹⁶⁵ These include such paintings as *Viscount Tyrconnel (Sir John Brownlow) with his family* (*fig.35*). Mercier’s group portrait of Tyrconnel and his family depicts a garden setting, based on the actual grounds of Belton House, near Grantham; the notion of courtly play associated with Watteau’s work is underlined by the young woman in the swing. Mercier also included a portrait of himself sketching in the left-hand corner of the painting, next to the standing figure of Tyrconnel (who is wearing the insignia of the Order of the Bath).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, Saturday 22 February 1729.

¹⁶⁴ Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, New Haven; London 2006) p.231; see also Desmond Shawe-Taylor, *The Conversation Piece: Scenes of Fashionable Life* (Royal Collection, London 2009)p.67

¹⁶⁵ See Lawrence E. Klein’s discussion of the ways in which the vocabulary of polite values were embedded in relationships between identity and property, ‘‘Property and politeness in the early eighteenth-century Whig moralists: The case of the *Spectator*’’, *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (Eds.) John Brewer and Susan Staves (Routledge, New York; London 1996)pp. 221-233

¹⁶⁶ Randall Davies, *English Society of the Eighteenth Century in Contemporary Art* (London; New York, 1907) p.38.

Following the loss of his royal patronage in 1736, Mercier briefly moved to the country, most likely to Northamptonshire, where Sir Thomas Samwell second Baronet, who was an old patron of Mercier, had estates.¹⁶⁷ He then returned to London once more in 1737, where he practised in Covent Garden for two years. During this time he sought to cultivate an alternative client base by producing genre paintings inspired by the example of another French painter, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779), Vertue reports that these were favourably received, '[Mercier] has painted several peices of some figures of conversation as big as the life. conceited plaisant fancies & habits. mixt modes really well done - and much approvd off.'¹⁶⁸ However, Mercier found it difficult to gain a firm foothold in the capital's competitive artistic arena and decided to set up a new practice in York. From his Covent Garden residence, Mercier astutely advertised in the press ahead of his arrival in York to whet potential clients' appetites for his work. His first advertisement in the *York Courant* dated 1st May 1739 (*fig.36*) lists his proposal for 'eight prints in Metzotinto' after his paintings that include, 'A School of Boys', 'A Scene in the Careless Husband' and 'A Lady at her Toilet'. The marketing and sale of the prints helped to facilitate the transfer of his reputation into the provinces.

York was a very promising location for Mercier and provided the artist with a provincial springboard into the Northern counties of England. At the time of his arrival in October 1739, the city had expanded and developed into a prosperous, vibrant cultural and social centre.¹⁶⁹ Impressive town houses had been erected and the assembly rooms designed by Lord Burlington were built in 1730-1735. York's lively summer social season and its medieval

¹⁶⁷ John Kerslake, "Mercier at Upton" *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 118, No. 884 (Nov., 1976), pp. 770-773

¹⁶⁸ Vertue, 'Notebook III' Vol.22 1933-34 (Oxford 1934)p.82

¹⁶⁹ See Jane Rendall and Mark Hallett (Eds.), *Eighteenth-Century York: Culture, Space and Society* (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, 2003)

history and architecture also attracted many visitors. Moreover, there had been no resident painter in the city since the departure of Parmentier.¹⁷⁰ Mercier was not disappointed in his expectations and he soon established a clientele who were keen consumers of his portraits and ‘fancies’; he was able to charge the same prices charged by the young Reynolds in London: five guineas for a head and shoulders, seven for a kit-cat, eight for a three-quarter length (and for a large fancy picture, five foot by three and a half feet, around twenty guineas).¹⁷¹ Within four years, Mercier had obtained portrait commissions from many of the most prominent Yorkshire gentry, including the Rockinghams of Wentworth Woodhouse and also from the aristocracy, such as the Duke of Leeds and the Boyntons of Burton Agnes.¹⁷²

Mercier’s residence in York was the most productive period of his whole career. During his thirteen years in the city, he produced around one hundred and sixty paintings.¹⁷³ Provincial practice also enabled him to concentrate on the commercial print possibilities for his genre painting, something that may well have been stimulated by the successes of Hogarth’s numerous print series, such as the *Harlot’s* and *Rake’s Progresses*. Mercier already had experience in the genre, having worked with the engravers John Simon and John Faber Junior in the portrait field.¹⁷⁴ Faber was the first engraver to publish Mercier’s fancy pictures; in addition to the set of eight published in 1739, a further eight were published in 1744 and eight more before 1750 (conversely the absence of press publicity for his portraiture seems to suggest that Mercier regarded his portraits practice as a separate concern from his production

¹⁷⁰ J. Ingamells and R. Raines, *Philip Mercier Exhibition Catalogue* (York City Art Gallery and Kenwood House, London 1969)p.39

¹⁷¹ John Ingamells and Robert Raines, “A Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings and Etchings of Philip Mercier” *Walpole Society* Vol.46 1976-1978 (1978), p.4

¹⁷² Ingamells and Raines (1969) pp.39-43

¹⁷³ Ingamells and Raines (1978)p.5

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*,

of prints).¹⁷⁵ The venture enabled Mercier to offer something collectable for existing and potential clientele. Moreover, the affordability of the prints, which were sold at a guinea for the set of eight (two shillings and six pence each), made them available simultaneously to a relatively wide provincial and metropolitan audience - as Mercier's first advertisement highlights, subscriptions were not only taken in York and London, but also significantly Mercier ensured copies of paintings and examples of the prints were made available to view in both locations.

Mercier's success in York may well have inspired him to extend his practice to other regional locations. He visited Ireland in 1747, where he painted commissions for Henriette and William LeFanu, Huguenots based in Dublin (*fig.37*); Mercier's portrait of Henriette is rather a sober contrast to his portrait, *Mrs Shakespeare* (1739) (*fig.64*), which may be due to his sitter's personal requirements as well as practical considerations - if he was on the move the head and shoulders composition would have been quicker to execute.¹⁷⁶ And in 1750 he made a trip to Edinburgh. By 1751, it is likely that Mercier felt that he had exhausted his client base in York, as Vertue records that '...haveing done so much as to fill & satisfy all that citty & adjacent parts - he is return'd to London- to try again what success he may meet there.'¹⁷⁷ He let his house in York, sold his furniture and his collection of pictures and returned to the capital. However, Mercier remained there only for a short time before setting off for Portugal, where he was joined by his family; although the Merciers did not stay long and had returned to London sometime in 1753.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ *The York Courant*, advertisements dated 1st May 1739 and 19th July 1743, 28th February and 7th March 1749.

¹⁷⁶ Vertue, 'Notebook III' Vol.22, 1933-34 (1934)p.135

¹⁷⁷ Vertue, 'Notebook III' Vol.22, 1933-34 (1934)pp.158-59

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.161. Ingamells and Raines (1978) p.6

Like York, the provincial city of Norwich also attracted foreign-born artists. Located in a prosperous textile manufacturing region, it was by the first quarter of the century the most populous city outside of London and a key administrative and ecclesiastical centre in the period, with trade links to the rest of Britain and overseas.¹⁷⁹ Norwich had a diverse social and cultural life that included the Norwich Assembly House, which was begun in 1754 by the architect Sir Thomas Ivory, and used as a ‘House of Assemblies’ for the gentry of Norwich; a theatre, ‘after the model of one of the King’s Theatres in London’ (also built by Ivory); music concerts and debating societies, and a thriving press (Norwich was one of the earliest provincial towns to publish a newspaper, in 1701).¹⁸⁰ For artists practising in the city and surrounding countryside, there were numerous possibilities for potential patrons amongst the ranks of Norfolk’s merchant gentry, manufacturers and local aristocracy.¹⁸¹

Early foreign artists to visit Norfolk included the two of the leading Venetian decorative painters of the day, Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini (1675-1741) and Marco Ricci (1676-1730), who were amongst a contingent of well-travelled Venetian painters who worked in England in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁸² Their arrival also coincided with the increasing popularity of the Grand Tour, and their skills in creating decorative schemes to complement the works of art brought back by returning Grand Tourists were in demand.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Porter (1990) pp.39, 363. Trevor Fawcett, “Eighteenth-Century Art in Norwich”, *Walpole Society*, Vol.46 1976-1978 (1978), p.71

¹⁸⁰ Stanley. J. Wearing, *Georgian Norwich: its Builders* (1926) pp.25-27, 27-33. Richard Beatniffe, *The Norfolk Tour: or, traveller's pocket companion. Being a concise description and present state of all the noblemen's and gentlemen's seats, as well as of the principal towns, and other remarkable places, in the county of Norfolk.* (Norwich and London, 1772) pp.3-8. Borsay (2002)p.129

¹⁸¹ Fawcett (1978), p.71

¹⁸² Pellegrini worked in numerous capitals all over Europe, including the Hague, Paris, Dresden and Vienna. Other visiting painters also included: Ricci’s uncle, Sebastiano Ricci, Antonio Bellucci, Jacopo Amigoni and Vincenzo Damini, who all worked in England between 1708-1739; George Knox, “Antonio Pellegrini and Marco Ricci at Burlington House and Narford Hall” *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 130, No. 1028 (Nov., 1988),p.846; Croft-Murray (1962) Vol.2, pp.13,15, 17 and 20

¹⁸³ Black (2003)pp.174,181,185-6; the demand for this sort of decorative painting stimulated the development of specialist professional painters and designers such as the Norie family of interior decorators, who specialised in this field and practised in Edinburgh later in the century, see Holloway (1994).

Pellegrini and Ricci practised in London and the provinces from autumn 1708 until 1712. They had been originally invited to England by the British Ambassador for Venice, Charles Edward Montagu, fourth Earl (and later first duke) of Manchester, who commissioned them to paint the scenery for two opera productions at the Haymarket Theatre in London, and a series of decorative schemes at his country residence of Kimbolton Castle, Cambridgeshire. Whilst they were in the capital, the painters also worked on the decoration of the hall and staircase at Montagu's town house in Arlington Street and painted murals in Portland House, the Duke of Portland's residence in St. James's Square. We know that Pellegrini's work in England was influential (he was also Sir James Thornhill's principal rival in the first competition for the commission to decorate the interior dome of the new St Paul's Cathedral) as several decorative schemes executed in the period for at least three houses in or near London strongly suggest that the Venetian painter was their source of inspiration.¹⁸⁴ Pellegrini and Ricci are also reputed to have collaborated on a programme of paintings based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* at Burlington House (now the Royal Academy of Arts) for Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington (or for his mother, Juliana).¹⁸⁵

Between 1709 and 1712, Pellegrini and Ricci made their way around the provinces executing a series of commissions, such as the portraits and decorative mural schemes for Charles Howard, 3rd Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard in Yorkshire.¹⁸⁶ These included Ricci's sets of dramatic, fantasy landscape paintings and several conversation pieces - the latest imported artistic genre from the continent. The group portrait of Mary, Anne and Elizabeth, the Earl's three daughters (c.1712) (*fig.38*), and numerous impressive frescos, such as those depicted in

¹⁸⁴ The houses were: No 8, Clifford Street, Northaw Place, Hertfordshire, near Potter's Bar and the Grange at Farnham, Surrey. Croft-Murray (1962) Vol.2, pp.13-14, 33

¹⁸⁵ Knox (Nov., 1988), pp.851-52, argues these paintings were presented to Sir Andrew Fountaine at Narford Hall in Norfolk to join the other paintings by Pellegrini and Ricci following a re-organisation of Burlington House.

¹⁸⁶ Paget Toynbee, "Horace Walpole's Journal of Visits to Country Seats &c" *Walpole Society* Vol.16 (1927-1928) (Oxford 1928) p.72

the Great Hall, were undertaken by Pellegrini.¹⁸⁷ Whilst Pellegrini's depiction of the Earl's daughters engaged in literary and musical pursuits adheres to contemporary pictorial conventions that sought to underline the female sitter's status, cultured and elegance, his painting is particularly notable for its loose handling. The suggestion of movement and lightness evokes (and complements) the painter's decorative frescos painted on the walls of his subjects' home, and offers an alternative model of group portraiture to that executed by other portrait practitioners in this period, such as the London-based painters Sir Godfrey Kneller and Jonathon Richardson.

At Kimbolton Castle, Pellegrini painted the chapel, grand staircase and 'Katherine of Aragon's room', in addition to family portraits for Montagu such as his large group portrait, *Six Children of the 1st Duke of Manchester* (c.1712,) (fig.39) which portrayal also features Pellegrini's characteristically loose brushwork.¹⁸⁸ It has been suggested that he and Ricci could have made a detour from either of these locations to execute commissions in Norfolk. Indeed, a speculative advertisement in the Norwich press may well have been placed by Pellegrini:

A gentleman not long come from Italy, pupil of the greatest painting masters in Europe, who was returning to London after a visit to the north 'by command of Nobility and Gentry,' would take likenesses and miniatures, and would especially do justice to the fair sex.¹⁸⁹

During their stay in Norfolk (probably before 1711), Pellegrini and Ricci executed a large-scale decorative scheme of mythological and classical paintings for the hall and staircase

¹⁸⁷ C. Ridgway and N. Howard, *Castle Howard, York* (Castle Howard Estate Ltd., 4th Edition 2010) pp.26,37,44. Unfortunately, the entire suite of apartments above the Great Hall, including the High Saloon and the Garden Hall in which there were further mural schemes depicting scenes from the Trojan War by Pellegrini, were devastated by a fire in 1940 and the area remained a derelict shell until 2007, when it was transformed into a set for the filming of *Brideshead Revisited* (the second time Evelyn Waugh's novel was filmed at Castle Howard).

¹⁸⁸ Croft-Murray (1962), Vol.2, pp.15, 255

¹⁸⁹ *Norwich Gazette*, advertisement dated 23 July 1709, quoted in Fawcett (1978) p.72

(figs.40-41) at Narford Hall near Swaffham, the family seat of the antiquarian scholar and art collector, Sir Andrew Fountaine who could have met the painters (or come across their work) on his visit to Venice during his first Italian Grand Tour in 1702-03; Pellegrini made a second visit to England in 1719 when he returned to Norfolk to complete more painting commissions at Narford Hall.¹⁹⁰

In around 1720, shortly after Pellegrini's departure from the county, the German-born portrait painter, John Theodore (formerly Dietrich) Heins (1697-1756) chose to settle in Norwich.¹⁹¹ He established a successful portrait practice there, competently catering to the public and private portrait requirements of numerous prominent country gentry from the city, and in the neighbouring county of Suffolk. In 1732, Heins was commissioned for the first of a series of seventeen full-length portrait paintings of civic dignitaries such as *Francis Arnam, Mayor of Norwich* (fig.42). The portraits were displayed in several administrative and legislative buildings, including St Andrew's Hall in Norwich, which are described in a contemporary travel guide to the region, Beatniffe's *Norfolk Tour* (published in 1772). As Rosemary Sweet has highlighted, such guides were a self-conscious (and often competitive) construction of provincial identities - in Beatniffe's account, a sense of the city's identity as an artistic centre in underlined by its association with artistic practice:

On the Walls, in the North and South ailes, are placed elegant paintings at full length, superbly framed, of those Gentlemen who have gone thro' the public offices of the Corporation with dignity and honour. These paintings serve at once as a public testimony of the great esteem the Gentlemen represented are held in, and are no contemptible proofs of the abilities of some of the most ingenious painters who have resided in, or occasionally visited this City.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Knox (Nov., 1988)p.850;Ingamells (1997)pp.376-77

¹⁹¹ Fawcett (1978)p.73

¹⁹² See Rosemary Sweet, "Provincial culture and urban histories in England and Ireland during the long eighteenth century", Borsay and Proudfoot (2002) pp.223-24; Beatniffe (1772)p.7

Heins' clientele also included members of the county's aristocracy, such as Sir Jacob Astley, 3rd Baronet of Melton Constable in north Norfolk. Astley was an important patron for whom Heins completed several individual portraits of members of his family, and a conversation piece that followed the conventions of the new sort of group portrait genre being popularised by Mercier in London, suggesting that Heins was in touch with the latest trends in fashionable metropolitan portraiture. Entitled, *A Musical Party at Melton Constable* (1734) (*fig.43*) the painting depicts twenty identifiable figures who include Astley in blue playing a violoncello, other members of his family, and a collection of friends.¹⁹³ *A Musical Party* is particularly noteworthy for the painter's inclusion of his self-portrait (Heins is the figure dressed in green, standing on the left-hand side of the picture), which underlines his conferred rank as the family's portraitist.

Like Mercier, Heins sought to widen the scope of his client base. He diversified in his practice by producing mezzotints of his portraits - it is likely that he was the first mezzotinter in the city. These include a print after his painting of Thomas Gooch, Bishop of Norwich (1741) (*fig.44*), which he advertised for sale at one shilling and sixpence in the *Norwich Mercury* newspaper in April 1742.¹⁹⁴ It seems that, should he have wished to, Heins could also have diversified further to fulfil the demand for a decorative painting service for clientele in the region; the East-Anglian artist, Thomas Bardwell (1704-1767) had established a decorative painting business in Bungay from the late 1720s onwards, (and may have studied under Heins), but had sold the business to his brother Robert, in order to concentrate on

¹⁹³ Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, *Portraits in Norfolk Houses*, (Ed.) Edward Farrer (Jarrold, Norwich 1927) Vol.II,p.19 cited in Einberg (1988) Cat. no. 70, p.92

¹⁹⁴J. Strutt, *A Biographical Dictionary, containing an historical account of all the engravers, from the earliest period of the art of engraving to the present time*, (London, 1785-6) Vol.2, p.11;*Norwich Mercury*, advertisement dated 24 April 1742, quoted in Fawcett (1978)p.74

portrait painting in 1738.¹⁹⁵ In 1743 Heins was requested to execute a decorative scheme for the staircase ceiling of Little Haugh Hall near Bury St. Edmunds – the home of the Suffolk antiquary, Dr Cox Macro. The decorative work on the interior walls had been completed by the émigré Flemish painter, Peter Tillemans and Thomas Ross, a local artist; Macro had first approached the London - based painter Francis Hayman, to do the remaining work, but found his fee too expensive. However, Heins declined Macro's commission as he felt he lacked experience in this field:

I beg leave to...acknowledge myself greatly Oblig'd for...preferring me to the execution of the designs You have formed for your Stair-case. But as I have never been engaged in such Kind of performance which requires Scaffolding I am afraid that my head would not bear it, and consequently run a great hazard of acquitting myself to my great disadvantage.¹⁹⁶

We know that Heins' Norwich practice enjoyed a considerable local reputation, but there is also evidence to suggest that he may have been known in metropolitan circles. A lengthy panegyric entitled 'On seeing some PORTRAITS of the celebrated Mr HEYNS [Heins] of Norwich' appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1745. The author employs the conventional allegories drawn from classical antiquity to praise Heins' abilities, but also proudly highlights the painter's affiliation with the city of Norwich itself:

How short the longest thread the fates ordain!
How much more short is Beauty's tyrant reign!
Like bright meteor darting o'er the skies,
She blooms, she blazes, and alas! she dies.
Gay following rivals share a sister's lot,
For one remember'd millions are forgot.

¹⁹⁵ Bardwell's commissions included decorative work inside the Buxton residence, Shadwell Lodge in 1729 and from 1746 onwards he executed a series of commissions for the Buxton family and mayoral portraits. See Alan Mackley (Ed), *John Buxton, Norfolk Gentleman and Architect: Letters to his Son 1719-1729* Norfolk Record Society Volume LXIX (King's Lynn, 2005) p.146, n.322, p.148 and M. Kirby Talley, "Thomas Bardwell of Bungay, artist and author, 1704-1767, with a checklist of works", *Walpole Society*, Vol.46 1976-1978 (1978) pp.95-96,101, 154.

¹⁹⁶ Extract from letter dated 24 August 1743 from Heins to Macro, quoted in Croft-Murray (1962)pp.33-34. In the end through the mediation of John Robartes, 4th Earl of Radnor, who was Macro's friend and one of Hayman's patrons, Hayman reconsidered Macro's commission and eventually completed it for twenty-eight guineas.

This saw great *Jove*, and from his awful throne
 At his command the sister arts came down,
 Painting and Poetry. Hail charming pair!
 By you preserv'd, the hero, and the fair,
 In *Fame*'s high temple shall forever live,
 Bless'd in the immortality you give.
 Had Homer never sung, long since had dy'd
 His country's *bulwark*, *happiness*, and *pride*,
 The god-like Hector; nor had Helen's charms
 Shone now, as when she fir'd the world to arms.
 Had, *Heyns!* Thy pencil ne'er the canvas stain'd,
Norwich, thy *toasts* had but a moment reign'd...¹⁹⁷

Further west, the fashionable spa town of Bath attracted artists from all over Europe. These include the portrait painter Adrien Carpentiers (*fl.* 1739-1778) from the Netherlands, (who also practised in Norwich in the late 1750s) and the sculptor Giuseppe Plura (*fl.* 1749-1756) from Italy.¹⁹⁸ Many of these foreign practitioners enjoyed European royal patronage as well as an élite British clientele and advertised in the local newspapers to alert prospective patrons of their practice. The Swiss pastellist, watercolourist, and miniaturist, Andreas Mussard (*fl.* 1724-1765), emphasises his continental pedigree by highlighting his training under the renowned Venetian pastel portraitist, Rosalba Carriera (1675-1757) in the announcement of his arrival in the Bath press:

This is to give Notice to all Gentlemen and Ladies, that Andreas Mussard, Native of the Republic of Geneva, LIMNER in MINIATURE is come to this Town to exercise his ART for a short time. He was Disciple of the late celebrated Signora Rosalba in Venice; has an extraordinary talent for Portraits of Resemblance and History pieces; and not only for grown Persons, but particularly for the extraordinary Likeness of Children; he has been in all the Courts of Europe...¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Anon, 'On seeing some PORTRAITS of the celebrated Mr HEYNS of Norwich (Norwich 24 February 1741).' *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.15 (Oct.1745) p.550

¹⁹⁸ Fawcett (1978) p.75; Sloman and Fawcett (2002)p.49

¹⁹⁹ *Bath Chronicle*, advertisement dated 24 October 1765.

The miniature painter and profile artist, Charles Christian Rosenberg from Vienna who became known as ‘Rosenberg of Bath’, similarly highlights his continental and British professional credentials in order to attract his target clientele in his press advertisements:

Mr ROSENBERG...having had the honour of taking the likenesses of most of the princes in Germany, as well as their majesties, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Princesses at Windsor- begs leave to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry &c that he takes the most exact LIKENESSES in PROFILE...²⁰⁰

Thus, the cosmopolitan character of artistic activity in the provinces is underlined by the fact that the presence of foreign artists was not limited to the London ‘satellite’ city of Bath, but as we have seen, could also be found across a variety of provincial locations such as York and Norwich. Their practice, newspaper advertisements and reproductive prints played an important part in the regional and national dissemination of continental pictorial models.

Adaptive Media and Mobility

From our discussion so far, we can see that there seems to have been, alongside those forms of mobility practised by foreign-born artists, two major models of artistic mobility exhibited by the leading provincial British portraitists of the period - one, exemplified by Tate, Pack and Alcock, which saw artists moving between leading provincial cities; and another, exemplified by Worlidge and Beach, which saw them constantly moving between London and provincial centres. Furthermore, Worlidge’s focus on printmaking and Beach’s simplified compositions have highlighted how the adaptation of artistic techniques could facilitate artistic mobility. The concept of artistic adaptation can be more fully explored if we look at those contemporary practitioners who not only travelled and toured during their careers, but

²⁰⁰ *Bath Chronicle*, advertisement dated 11 October 1787

who also changed from one medium to another or experimented with different media in order to adapt portrait models and to produce new variations of pictorial effects. This facet of artistic mobility, which for our purposes we shall call the ‘adaptive media’ model, is exemplified by three portraitists practicing in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The artists’ use of alternative mediums was tied to their mobility and had a powerful impact on their practice and modes of portraiture.

Amongst the earliest graduates of the Royal Academy Schools, the portraitists John Russell (1745-1806), Daniel Gardner (c.1750-1805) and John Downman (1750-1824) established successful portrait practices which took them in and around the provinces, and to and from London.²⁰¹ Rather than concentrating on painting in oils, however their portrait practice was distinguished by their employment of other forms of pigment-based media including pastel, gouache (opaque colour pigments ground in water mixed with a preparation of gum) and chalk. Russell turned from oils to pastel crayon in around 1770, in itself not so surprising given that his master was the artist Francis Cotes (1726-1770), who was an accomplished practitioner in the medium; Gardner had studied under the painters Benjamin West and Johann Zoffany, and enjoyed extra tuition with Reynolds in his studio, yet chose to focus on his own adaptation of gouache and pastel as his primary medium of execution; similarly, Downman gave up large portraits in oil, choosing to develop his own reproductive technique of working in coloured chinks, washes and pastel on lightweight paper so that he could produce multiple versions of the same portrait.

Pastel in particular was an advantageous medium for the mobile portrait artist. Dry and portable, it could be used to quickly build up layers to create vibrant colour. Pastel crayons

²⁰¹ Sidney C. Hutchison, “The Royal Academy Schools, 1768-1830” *Walpole Society* Vol.38 (1960-1962) pp.133 and 135: Downman entered the Royal Academy Schools on 17 March 1769, and both Russell and Gardner entered on 17 March 1770

were composed of pigments finely ground in gum arabic and, depending on the recipe, filler such as pipe clay. By the mid-eighteenth century commercially manufactured pastel crayons were widely available, though due to their limited colour palette and inconsistent quality, most professional artists made their own. Francis Cotes highlights the character and aesthetic qualities of the medium and its use in portraiture in his short manuscript entitled ‘Crayon Painting’ (posthumously published in 1797): ‘Crayon Pictures when finely painted are superlatively beautiful...for having their surface dry, they partake in an appearance of the effect of fresco, and by candlelight are luminous and beautiful beyond all other pictures.’²⁰²

The trend for portraits in pastel reached its peak in Europe during the first half of the eighteenth century. Continental practitioners such as the Venetian artist, Rosalba Carriera and the Swiss-French painter, Jean-Étienne Liotard, and their followers helped to popularise the medium in Britain after returning grand tourists brought home examples of their work. Bath portraitist William Hoare, who practised in both oil paint and pastel, was the native artist who capitalized on the trend - several examples of his female pastel portraiture of the 1760s depict the sitter in Turkish dress inspired by the paintings of Liotard.²⁰³ However, by the late 1770s the fashion for pastel portraiture had started to wane in Europe – a reason for this, Marjorie Shelley suggests, is that as a mode associated with the moral and material excesses of the rococo and ancien régime, it was criticised for its ‘inherent artifice’; with the emergence of the neo-classical movement, a more sober form of expression came into vogue.²⁰⁴

²⁰² Francis Cotes, ‘Crayon Painting’, *The European Magazine*, and *London Review* (February 1797) pp.84-85

²⁰³ See Evelyn Newby *William Hoare of Bath R.A., 1707-1792* Exhibition Catalogue (Bath Museums Service Bath, 1990)

²⁰⁴ Marjorie Shelley, “Painting in the Dry Manner: The Flourishing of Pastel in 18th-Century Europe”, Katharine Baetjer and Marjorie Shelley, *Pastel Portraits : Images of 18th-Century Europe* Exhibition Catalogue (The Metropolitan Museum of New York; Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2011)p.54; the different artistic responses to the rococo are discussed through the work of artists across Europe in Michael Levey, *Rococo to Revolution: Major Trends in Eighteenth-Century Painting* (Thames and Hudson, 1992 Edition)pp.121-64.

However, pastel remained a popular medium for female portraitists, amateurs and aspirant portraitists: in 1762, the young American painter, John Singleton Copley wrote to Liotard to request ‘the best Swis Crayons for drawing of portraits...such as you can recommend [for] liveliness of colour and justness of tints.’²⁰⁵ Although Copley proved himself highly proficient in the medium, his practice in pastel seems to have been either a passing interest or an educative exercise.²⁰⁶ Copley, of course went on to excel in the oil portraiture by which he established his artistic reputation on both sides of the Atlantic. Meanwhile, the aspiring Scottish portraitist, Anne Forbes was advised by the painter Gavin Hamilton in 1768 to quit pastels for oil painting, so that she was better equipped to compete in the London portrait market; similarly, the British portrait-painter Thomas Lawrence, as a precocious young artist in Bath in the early 1780s, enjoyed considerable success executing small portraits in pastel, but by 1790, with the establishment of his own artistic practice in London, he was practising exclusively in oils.²⁰⁷

The fact that Russell, Gardner and Downman were choosing to practise in this medium during a period when other young portrait practitioners were moving away from it in order to focus on oil painting, suggests that this branch of portrait practice was both especially suited to the more itinerant forms of artistic mobility that they practiced and catered to a taste for pastel portraiture found in the provinces as well as in the capital. This notion is underlined by the fact that all three artists enjoyed successful practice across both environments.

²⁰⁵ *Letters and papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham 1739-1776* (Ed.) G. Jones (Massachusetts Historical Society Collections 31, Boston 1914) p.26 Draft letter dated Boston, 30 September, 1762 from John Singleton Copley to Jean-Étienne Liotard; Jean André Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England* (London, 1755) pp.50-51; Lippincott (1983) pp.85-6

²⁰⁶ Baetjer and Shelley (2011) Cat nos. 7 and 8, pp.16-17

²⁰⁷ D. E. Williams, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Lawrence* (2 vols.) (London, 1831) Vol. I, pp.73; Kenneth Garlick, ‘A catalogue of the paintings, drawings and pastels of Sir Thomas Lawrence’, *Walpole Society*, Vol.39 (London, 1962-4) (whole issue).

John Russell was one of the most prolific portraitists of his day, exhibiting over three hundred works and at one time was as fashionable as Reynolds, counting theatrical figures such as Mrs Siddons and Dorothy Jordan, and members of the royal family amongst his metropolitan clientele. A pious and complex man, with lifelong interests in science and astronomy, he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy in 1772 and a full member in 1788.²⁰⁸ Although Russell often found the atmosphere of male clubbability at the Royal Academy trying, he nevertheless occupied a unique position as a pastel portraitist in an academy otherwise dominated by oil and watercolour artists.²⁰⁹

Following his studies under Cotes, Russell was established in London by 1768 and exhibited at Society of Artists for first time on 8 April 1768. In 1770 he moved to No.7 Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square and it was around this time he began to concentrate upon pastel portraiture; he is listed in Kearsley's 1778 directory as 'a portrait painter in oil and crayons'.²¹⁰ In contrast to continental pastel portraiture, his work is distinctive for its use of a colour-scheme that replicated the palette of oil painting, which was a factor in the popularity of his work, He carefully devised and made his own pastel crayon formulations using turpentine to conserve the softness yet also durability of his pastels, a method he expounded upon in his *Elements of painting with crayons*, published in 1772; he maintained that a pastel painting executed properly would not darken with age, unlike oil paintings. He thought it imperative to coat the pastels properly after execution following his discovery that coating had a significant effect on the finished result, as it could substantially change the tonal

²⁰⁸ G. C. Williamson, *John Russell R. A.* (London, 1894)pp.34-35 ; W. F. Ryan, 'John Russell, R. A., and early lunar mapping', *Smithsonian Journal of History*, 1 (1966), 27-48

²⁰⁹ NAL, MSL/1929/605/86ff.38, Russell Diaries Vol. V, entry dated 17 February 1773, for example, Russell notes 'spending evening at the Royal Academy, but obliged to leave because of their filthy conversation.'

²¹⁰ Kearsley (1778)

qualities of the medium, and thus the character of a painting.²¹¹ A good sense of the portability of the medium is provided by Russell in his description of the manner in which pastels should be stored. He recommends that the box containing the pastels, ‘should be about a foot square with nine partitions’ and that:

...they should be arranged in classes for the convenience of painting within some drawers, divided into a number of partitions is the most convenient method of disposing them properly. The crayons should be deposited according to several gradations of light. The bottom of the partition must be covered with bran, as a bed for the colours, because it not only preserves them clean, but prevents them breaking.²¹²

Throughout his career he travelled between his base in London and various locations including Guildford, Brighton and Cambridge, in addition to undertaking numerous tours that took him across the country and as far as Wales.²¹³ He also made frequent trips back to Yorkshire in his later years, especially to Leeds.

Russell’s trajectory highlights the sense that economic necessity or the ability to provide a novel product within non-metropolitan markets were often the primary stimuli for artistic mobility. In spite of his promising start in the capital, Russell experienced sporadic financial difficulties in the 1770s and early 1780s (these were alleviated by his inheritance of a small estate in 1781).²¹⁴ In 1773 he was forced to diversify his practice, and began offering tuition, as his diary records that he ‘initiated into a new branch of business to instruct a lady of great distinction into crayon-painting.’²¹⁵ The year 1780 heralded another lean patch for commissions - his diary records his ‘barrenness of employment’ - and may have provided the impetus for several trips between the summer of 1780 and early spring of 1781, during which time he travelled to Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, and Worcester where he visited the Hawkstone

²¹¹ NAL MSL/1925/1838, 86.ff.42, John Russell, *Receipts for making Crayons: as discovered by the late John Russell, Esq., R.A., Crayon Painter to the King*; John Russell, *Elements of painting with crayons* (1772),p.31

²¹² Russell *Elements* (1772), pp.39-40

²¹³ Williamson(1894) pp.13.14, 17-18, 46, 50.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.55

²¹⁵ NAL, MSL/1929/605/86ff.38, Russell Diaries Vol.VI, entry dated 24 May 1773.

home of his patron Sir Richard Hill, for whom he sketched a portrait.²¹⁶ By the mid 1780s however, Russell's fortunes were on the rise. His appointment as Crayon-Painter to the King, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Kent in 1789 and 1792 respectively, ensured a steady stream of royal commissions.²¹⁷ Russell's increased prosperity enabled him to make more extensive tours in the 1790s, revisiting several of these towns, reconnecting with his provincial patrons and obtaining new ones. These included a trip to Hawkstone where Russell also executed a commission for the Jeans family - a group portrait of Mrs Jeans and her two sons Thomas and John Locke. The portrait was later reproduced as an engraving with the title *A Mother's Holiday* (see figs. 45-46) which became a best-selling print.²¹⁸ During this period Russell also made trips further north. In 1799 he spent some three months (the end of August until the end of November) in the region where he visited Leeds and York.²¹⁹ During these tours, Russell, like Beach, was often accommodated in a patron's home. He painted at several of the great houses in Yorkshire including Temple Newsam (seat of Lady Viscountess Erwin) and Burghley House, where he executed portraits for the Cecil family (fig.47). Russell was accommodated in some style and was given a room within the mansion to work on the paintings. A journal he made during his tour describes how he has 'several times been lost in going about the house so as to be obliged to call a servant passing to tell me the way to my apartments...I dread being lost in the way by night when I do go, as it is assigned [his bedroom] at a great distance from the room in which I am employed.'²²⁰

Past critiques of Russell's artistic practice have often drawn attention to the fact that his commercial success operated in tension with his devout religious convictions (as in the case

²¹⁶ NAL, MSL/1929/605/86ff.38, Russell Diaries Vol.VIII, diary entry dated 15th (?) August 1780

²¹⁷ Williamson(1894)p.34

²¹⁸ Barbara Scott, 'Childhood in Crayons: John Russell's Portraits, *Country Life*, November 11 1982, p.1471

²¹⁹ NAL MSL/1929/632b, John Russell, *Journal of a Visit to Leeds, York, Burleigh, Tadcaster, etc.*, 1799

²²⁰ Ibid., Entry dated 12th November 1799

of his friend, and fellow Methodist, the sculptor, John Bacon RA).²²¹ However, a more recent study puts forward a counter-argument. Antje Steinhöfel's analysis of the influence of Russell's evangelicalism on his artistic practice, suggests that his religion was a seminal stimulus for his work, particularly in relation to Russell's popular reputation as a producer of 'fancy' pictures depicting appealing children, such as his *Portrait of a Girl holding Cherries* (1780) (*fig.48*), and their pets.²²² As Steinhöfel highlights, Russell's use and adaptation of pictorial models of children and animals in countryside settings served to illustrate moral values (such as virtue and benevolence) which regularly featured in the precepts of the Evangelical Revival and the cult of Sensibility in sentimental literature; they were also in tune with those contemporary ideals that underpinned the rising importance of child portraiture as a genre in the period.²²³ The subject of childhood became more prominent in discussions by philosophers and educationists; similarly the inclusion of an array of animals in child portraiture also highlights the growing interest in animal welfare.²²⁴ This is emphasized by the variety of animals featured in Russell's pictures, including rabbits, ducks, pigs and squirrels. However the depiction of dogs is most common in the artist's work; notably they also appear in some of his adult portraiture as in such pictures as *Miss Power*, *Later Mrs Shea*, (1789) (*fig.49*). Serving as status symbols and loyal companions, they underline the notion of personal responsibility and the emotional bond between the animal and its owner.²²⁵

²²¹ NAL, MSL/1929/605/86ff.38, Russell Diaries Vol.I. Russell's diary records his conversion on 30 September 1764, aged 19; see also Sarah Burnage, 'The Works of John Bacon RA (1769- 1799)' PhD Thesis 2007, Department of History of Art, University of York.

²²² See Antje Steinhöfel, 'John Russell (1745-1806) and the Impact of Evangelicalism and Natural Theology on Artistic Practice.' PhD Thesis 2005, Department of History of Art and Film, University of Leicester; R.R.M. See, 'Portraits of Children of the Russell Family by John Russell' *The Connoisseur*, Vol.LII, No.208 December 1918, pp.183-192; Barbara Scott, 'Childhood in Crayons: John Russell's Portraits, *Country Life*, November 11 1982, pp.1470-71

²²³ Steinhöfel (2005)p.20

²²⁴ See Porter *Enlightenment* (2000)pp.339-46, 348-5; also Anja Muller (Ed.), *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity* (Ashgate, England; USA 2006)

²²⁵ Steinhöfel (2005)p.87

Russell's evangelicalism also provided him with a wide range of potential client networks on many of his trips he would take the opportunity to attend a sermon given by a local preacher, and throughout his career he executed portrait commissions for numerous members of the clergy (Non-conformist and well as Anglican) and their families across the country.²²⁶ It can be suggested therefore that his faith also offered an additional, deeply personal factor in encouraging his artistic mobility.

Gardner's used London as a base from c.1767/8 onwards, from where he returned to native Kendal throughout his career; it is probable that the portraitist George Romney, his childhood tutor, facilitated some of his early patronal connections, as did Reynolds, under whom Gardner studied briefly in the capital in exchange for assistance in his studio.²²⁷ His work attracted a calibre of clientele that included members of the aristocracy, for whom he produced a number of small whole-length portraits and a few large-scale paintings. Gardner's practice is primarily distinguished by his development of an original medium to replicate (like Russell) the luminosity of oils in a fashionable metropolitan portrait format. Gardner is thought to have used or adapted an old recipe for a medium that made a good approximation of the effects in oils in which, ' Brandy, or spirits of wine , mixed with crayons scraped to dust with a knife, make drawings that look a great deal more like oil coloured pictures than those made with watercolour.'²²⁸ This technique achieved a sharp brilliance, in which transparent layers of pigment were overlaid to mimic the effects of luxurious textiles such as shot silk. Gardner often used watercolour for backgrounds; this was also his chosen medium

²²⁶ Williamson (1894) pp.40-41, 53-54 Russell's well-known Methodist sitters included John Wesley, George Whitefield and Henry Venn, see also Appendix III, pp.133-172

²²⁷ Helen Kapp, *Daniel Gardner (1750-1805)* Exhibition Catalogue, Kenwood, The Iveagh Bequest (London, 1972)

²²⁸ William T. Whitley, *Artists and their friends in England, 1700-1799* (B. Blom, New York and London, 1928:1968 Edition) Vol.I, p.278

(as well as ink) for the landscape studies and sketches he made during his trips around the country for commissions which highlight his mobility; he is recorded practising in a variety of locations including Lancashire, and the county towns of Winchester and Ipswich.²²⁹ The work he did on such trips include the studies he made during a visit to the Sussex seat of earl of Ashburnham, Viscount Asaph. The careful detail in which Gardner's landscape studies are rendered elevates them above conventional sketches (*see figs.50 and 61*).²³⁰ Such studies were an important part of mobile artistic practice, and could be used to provide portraits with realistic backgrounds.

Gardner's highly original method would have been significantly less time consuming than oil painting and thus would have provided him with an important advantage when executing large-scale group portraits outside London. These works included his commission for the wealthy banker Robert Child at his Middlesex home, Osterley Park, *Mr., Mrs Robert Child and Miss Sarah Anne Child* (1781) (*figs.52-53*) - and his group portrait of *Sir John Taylor, 1st Bt., F.R.S., his wife Elizabeth his brother Simon Taylor and four of their six children; Sir Simon Richard Brissett, 2nd Bt., Anna Susanna Elizabeth and Maria* (c.1785-6) (*fig.54*).²³¹ Given the unusual medium used in these pieces, the impressive dimensions align their status with that of history paintings in oil. As Reynolds was probably the most well-known and influential exponent of combining history painting and portraiture, it is reasonable to suggest that when conceiving these group portraits, Gardner may well have had a Reynoldsian 'Grand Style' model in mind, such as that provided by *The Marlborough Family* (1777-8; The Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim Palace, Oxford) and *Lady Elizabeth Delmé and her Children* (1777-1780; National Gallery of Art Washington, USA) Gardner's depiction of Robert Child

²²⁹ Kapp (1972)pp.4-5, 15-18

²³⁰ CAS WDX398 F10, Daniel Gardner Sketchbook B (n.d)

²³¹ G.C Williamson, *Daniel Gardner, Painter in Pastel and Gouache: A Brief Account of his Life and Works* (1908-9; published 1921) plate.70, p.125

with his horse echoes not only Reynolds' *Captain Robert Orme* (1756; National Portrait Gallery, London), but also recalls an example of Gainsborough's portraiture, his *Lord Ligonier* (1770; Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens San Marino, California USA). Gardner may well have drawn on further portrait models offered by these two artists for his *Portrait of an Actress* (1775) (fig.55) including Reynolds' *Mrs Hale as Euphrosyne in 'L'Allegro'* (1764-6) and Gainsborough's *Giovanna Baccelli* (exhibited 1782) (figs.56-57). The influence of Gainsborough in Gardner's portraiture is also manifested in the artist's focus on the details of landscape in his backgrounds.²³² As we have suggested, Gardner's attention to landscape detail in his sketchbooks, underlines that this characteristic of his practice was important to him. His distinctive rendering of foliage and stone work, such as columns and pedestals became something of an artistic 'trademark'.²³³ We may note that in his sketch for his portrait, *Mr., Mrs Robert Child and Miss Sarah Anne Child* (fig.53), he depicts some of the Italianate architectural details of Child's home, Osterley Park (fig.58) as the dominant background feature; however, these have been replaced by landscape in the finished work.²³⁴

Of our three artists, Downman perhaps earned the most fashionable reputation in metropolitan circles. Born in Wales, Downman studied briefly in Liverpool and then in London under Benjamin West before travelling to Rome with Wright of Derby in 1773-5.²³⁵ Between 1776 and 1778 Downman worked in Cambridge, where his family connections through his father helped him obtain many clients from a mercantile gentry and from collegiate circles, such as Benjamin Stead, a member of Trinity College (fig.59).²³⁶ During his time in East Anglia he also visited Norwich where he executed several commissions

²³² Martin Postle, *Gainsborough*, (Tate Publishing, London, 2002)

²³³ Williamson (1921)p.72

²³⁴ CAS WDX398F8, Daniel Gardner, Sketchbook A (n.d)

²³⁵ G. C. Williamson, *John Downman A.R.A.: his life and works* (London, 1907)p.xii

²³⁶ J. Munro, *John Downman 1750-1824* Exhibition catalogue (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1996) pp.9-10

including *Sarah and Mary Emma Rigby, daughters of Dr. Edward Rigby of Norwich*, (1778) (fig.60). The execution of the Rigby portrait in oil on copper is rather unusual for a painting of this size, as this combination of media was often found in a miniature format and is suggestive of the fact that Downman was already trying out different ways of deploying artistic media to achieve more luminous effects. It seems that by the end of 1778, Downman had returned to the capital, though he continued to cultivate a provincial clientele; during trips to the West Country, where he had family ties and to which he returned throughout his career.²³⁷ During this period he began experimenting with different drawing methods. He gave up portraits in oil and developed a technique of working in chalks and watercolour on lightweight woven, translucent paper, applying pastel to the reverse to give his work a distinctive lighting effect. Working this way enabled him to reproduce up to twelve versions of the same portrait. The recognisable quality of his portraits and the speed at which he was able to execute them and were key factors in his popularity.²³⁸ This not only enabled him to effectively peddle a fashionable portrait model around the provinces; it also enabled him to take advantage of the demand for portraits and the vogue for collecting pictures of famous and celebrated figures of the day.²³⁹ This trend was also expressed, as highlighted in Cindy McCreery's study of contemporary periodicals, in the usage of graphic portrait images in the oval format - the 'Tête-a-Tête' - depicting notable and aristocratic figures alongside satirical and gossipy articles.²⁴⁰ Thus the reproductive character and visual format of Downman's portraiture had a topical appeal. By the end of 1779 he was back in London on a more permanent basis and, by the mid 1780s, he had established a metropolitan practice that was

²³⁷ Ibid., p.10; Joseph Farington, *Farington Diary* (Ed.) James Grieg (1923) Vol.III, pp.694-95

²³⁸ Munro (1996)p.12

²³⁹ Between 1781-1785, portraiture was the predominant genre at the Royal Academy Exhibitions, Munro (1996) p.11, also see Marcia Pointon, 'Portrait Painting as a Business Enterprise in London in the 1780s', *Art History*, June 1984, pp. 187-205

²⁴⁰ Cindy McCreery, 'Keeping up with the Bon Ton: the Tête-a-Tête series in the *Town and Country Magazine*', *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representation and Responsibilities* (Eds. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (Longman, London and New York 1997)pp.207-229

acclaimed in the press of the day. In 1786, an advertisement notice in the *Morning Post* informed its readers that,

...the elegant part of Saville House in Leicester Fields is now occupied by Mr. Downman, whose drawings of late have been so universally admired and sought after by the first people of rank and taste. We were disappointed in not seeing, as usual, his singular and elegant portraits in the exhibition of the Royal Academy; but he like one or two others, only shows them at his own house.²⁴¹

Downman enjoyed the patronage of an élite clientele who included members of the royal family and their circle, such aristocratic ‘celebrities’ as *Isabella, 2nd Marchioness of Hertford, as Lady Beauchamp* (1781) and *Sarah, Countess Tyrconnel*, (1792) (figs.61-62), as well as famous figures from the capital’s theatre world such as the actresses Mrs Siddons and Miss Farren.²⁴²

However, contemporary critics were not always favourable towards Downman’s work, condemning it as ‘mannered, and deficient in likeness’.²⁴³ The rather uniform nature of his portraits (though a key factor in their success) were perhaps at odds with notions of the spontaneous creation of pictorial individuality in the period. A reviewer of the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1789 comments that:

Downman’s small heads have their usual delicacy and their usual sameness. He has but two passable faces, one face for ladies and another for gentlemen and one or other of these prototypes all his likenesses are brought to resemble.²⁴⁴

In a later review of the 1796 Royal Academy exhibition, the criticism underlines the sense that the artists’ work was rather ephemeral and disposable, and lacked gravitas:

[No.] 382. *Twelve Portraits*- J.DOWNMAN,

²⁴¹ *Morning Post*, dated Thursday 4 May 1786 (Issue 4123)

²⁴² Munro (1996)p.20, n.71 A note on the drawing at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge records that Downman executed eight versions of this portrait of the Countess Tyrconnel; G. C. Williamson, *John Downman A.R.A.: his life and works* (London, 1907)pp.37,47

²⁴³ Quoted in William T. Whitley, *Artists and their friends in England, 1700-1799* (B. Blom, New York and London 1928; 1968 Edition) Vol.II, pp.212-213

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

In the peculiar manner of this artist- Excessively flattering likenesses of the persons exhibited, but considered in a pictorial point of view, ‘trifles light as air’ – Such things as these may be called *pretty*, but as they are the offspring of a false taste, we class them with *pocket - pictures, profile shades, cut paper, &c.*²⁴⁵

Nevertheless, for some contemporary art commentators, it was his distinctive style of portrait drawing that distinguished his practice, as is suggested by the critical reaction to Downman’s venture into alternative genres such as his piece, *Rule Britannia- a Trophy, with medallions of Earl Howe, Earl ST. VINCENT, Lord DUNCAN and other distinguished Naval Heroes*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1798:

We highly admire the public spirit of Mr Downman, manifested in his choice of subject; but it is so much out of the way of his genius, that it is a pity he should have devoted so much time to it – time he might have advantageously employed upon those *Portrait Drawings* in which he is so deservedly successful. We fear he will not on this occasion or in his scenes for *Tom Jones* which however are much better works of his hand, obtain such an increase of *fame* and to compensate for the loss of *profit* – These monitory hints are offered in friendly zeal, as Mr. Downman, a very respectable artist in his province, seems to have a strong itch to soar into the *sublime*.²⁴⁶

It seems that Downman was never able to sustain the success in the capital he had known during the height of the vogue for his portraiture during the late 1780s and early 1790s, and after 1800 he returned to mainly in an itinerant artistic practice.²⁴⁷

We have seen that different models of artistic mobility across the provinces were pursued by a varied spectrum of artists, including not only famous practitioners, but also lesser-known artists whose reputations may have faded over time and for whom practice outside London offered a viable career. Here we may conclude with the rather enigmatic figure of the Salisbury-based portraitist, George Beare (*d.*1749), whose artistic practice highlights several of the points this chapter has sought to make about the diversity of provincial artistic practice,

²⁴⁵ *London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post*, dated 11th -13th May 1796 (Issue 4172)

²⁴⁶ *True Briton* (1793) , dated Monday 14 May 1798 (Issue 1681)

²⁴⁷ Munro (1996).p.17

and demonstrates the ways in which the artistic thoroughfare between the provinces and the capital stimulated the development of very different artistic identities.

Whilst Beare seems to have escaped mention in the usual contemporary accounts of the eighteenth-century British art world, such as George Vertue's *Notebooks*, and his exact movements in the period as yet remain opaque, various clues point to his operation of some sort of dual practice that enabled him to cultivate a metropolitan and a provincial client base. It is probable that Beare trained in London, possibly under Jonathan Richardson, and that he also attended the St. Martin's Lane Academy (or associated with its artistic members). The Academy re-established in 1735 by Hogarth, attracted an eclectic cross-section of both trainee and established artists, men who included the history and portrait painters, John Vanderbank and Francis Hayman, and the French designer-illustrator, Hubert François Gravelot. As previous studies of his oeuvre have highlighted, many of Beare's paintings have a striking affinity with the work of British contemporaries such as Hudson and, especially, Hogarth (he has been referred to as the 'provincial Hogarth') and with that produced by portraitists trained on the Continent, such as Mercier and Jean-Baptiste Van Loo, who also practised in the capital.²⁴⁸ *Mrs John (Mary) Vere* (1744) (fig.63) was one of the many sitters of the artist who had both provincial and metropolitan connections, which suggests that her portrait could have been produced in either location; Vere was from Suffolk, but her husband John Vere, served as a J.P. and receiver general of the land tax for the County of Norfolk, and was made a Commissioner at the Salt Office in London in 1742, so the couple were likely to have moved within provincial as well as metropolitan circles.²⁴⁹ The portrait is certainly

²⁴⁸ J. Kerslake 'Three Early Georgian Portraits', *National Art Collections Fund Review* (National Art Collections Fund, London 1984), p.104, cited in Nigel Surry, "George Beare: A Note on Current Research", *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 128, No. 1003, Special Issue Devoted to British Art from 1500 to the Present Day (Oct., 1986)p.745 and also Surry (1989)p.5; See also C.H. Collins Baker "A Portrait painter Re-discovered" *Country Life* No.123 (March 20 1958) pp.572-573; Jones(1988)p.21.

²⁴⁹ Surry (Oct 1986) pp.746, 749; Surry (1989)p.13;

suggestive of Beare's St Martin's Lane connections and underlines the artist's awareness of metropolitan portraiture of the period. Although his sitter is dressed rather modestly, Beare's depiction of her toying with her fan particularly echoes details found in the continental female portraiture popular in London, which Mercier was reproducing for his own provincial clientele in Yorkshire in the period, as in his *Mrs Shakespeare* (1739) (fig.64) in which the sitter is posed with her fan and gloves. Vere's leaning posture also recalls a slightly later, Hogarthian model, the portrait of *Miss Mary Edwards* (1742) (fig.65).

The sitters in other portraits produced by Beare in 1744 and 1745 suggest more firmly that he executed several painting commissions in London. These include *Sir Frederick Evelyn as a Boy* (1744) (fig.66). The Evelyns' residence in the capital was a town house in St. James's Place where Evelyn's father - a direct descendent of the famous diarist Sir John Evelyn - was a groom of the bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales.²⁵⁰

In addition to cultivating aristocratic patrons in the capital, Beare also catered to the demands of Salisbury's aristocracy, such as John Powell and his son, later Sir Alexander Powell, a future deputy recorder (Judge) of Salisbury (1746) (fig.67). Beare's concern for the representation of Powell's clothing is indicated in his letter to his client, and highlights a more common aspect of provincial portrait practice – the execution of the drapery by the artist himself (rather than by an assistant):

Sir

With your lieve [leave] I should be glad to have the red wa[i]stcoat which you are to be represented in your picture to paint it from you and your choise [choice] of the coullor [colour] for the coat and when you come this way if you would take the trouble to step up and see it to give me your approbation on what is allwreaddy

²⁵⁰ Surry (Oct 1986) p.746 and Artist File: Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum. The family also owned property at Wotton, Surrey and at West Dean, which is some seven miles from the Salisbury on the Hampshire border.

[already] done that I may proceed to finish it at your pleasure which is the endeavours of.²⁵¹

One of Beare's later paintings points to another journey to the capital. The *Unknown King's Messenger* (1748) (fig.68), portrays a messenger bearing an envelope addressed to the 4th Duke of Bedford, in the same year as the Duke's appointment as Secretary of State.²⁵² The commission may well have been obtained through Beare's connection to the St. Martin's Lane Academy. The duke was amongst several of artist's sitters who had connections to the Academy through the Foundling hospital; the connection with the hospital was established in 1740, when Hogarth, a hospital governor, presented his full-length portrait of its founder, Thomas Coram, for the new hospital building. Later, in 1746, Hogarth was involved with other London artists such as Hayman and Joseph Highmore in the scheme to decorate the Governors' boardroom free of charge, thus creating one of the earliest public exhibition spaces for the display and advertisement of art.²⁵³ The last notice we hear of Beare is the report of his death in the Salisbury press on 22 May 1749: 'Last Week died near Andover, Hants, Mr Beare, lately an eminent Face Painter in this City'.²⁵⁴ His example, like the others we have been exploring in the chapter, suggests that, for eighteenth-century artists, the provinces operated not only as alternative, but also as complementary artistic hubs to the capital. However, it is to another important artistic hub and capital city in the British Isles - Edinburgh - that we now turn, in order to take a closer look at its relationship with London.

²⁵¹ Letter dated 1746 from Beare to Sir Alexander Powell, quoted in Surry (Oct, 1986)p.746

²⁵² Lord John Russell (Ed.), *Correspondence of John, fourth duke of Bedford* (London 1842) Vol.I [3 vols. (London1842-6)]

²⁵³ The 4th Duke of Bedford also attended the meeting at Somerset House on 20th November, 1739, that included Hogarth and Dr. Richard Mead, when Coram presented the Royal Charter for incorporating the Foundling Hospital. See Walter H. Godfrey and W. McB. Marcham (Eds.) 'The Foundling Hospital', *Survey of London*: volume 24: The Parish of St Pancras part 4: King's Cross Neighbourhood (English Heritage, 1952)pp.10-11; Thomas Barnard, *An account of the Foundling Hospital in London, for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children*. Second Edition, (Foundling Hospital, London 1799) p.10;Hargraves (2005)pp.11-12

²⁵⁴ *Salisbury Journal* dated 22 May 1749, quoted in Surry(1989)p.4

CHAPTER TWO

TO AND FROM EDINBURGH: THREE SCOTTISH PAINTERS

An Artistic Hub

Scotland's proximity to the sea was a key factor in her economic and cultural 'give and take' not only with England, but also the Continent.²⁵⁵ Her ports were closer to Scandinavia and the Baltic than most of England's eastern seaboard, and thus most of her main European trading partners lay around the eastern and southern edges of the North Sea.²⁵⁶ Scotland's national connections were also facilitated by the internal waterways which expedited the transportation of 'human talent, capital and goods from east to west (and the reverse)'.²⁵⁷ Since the end of the seventeenth century, Edinburgh - probably the largest city in Britain after London - had enjoyed a certain status as an important artistic hub for numerous artists born and trained on the Continent 'with reputations made elsewhere'.²⁵⁸ Artistic mobility to and from Edinburgh became progressively cosmopolitan in character and foreign artists, as well as painters from the English mainland, could be found practising in the city.²⁵⁹ Many of Scotland's other long-standing connections with Europe underlie this development. The Franco-Scottish 'Auld Alliance' against the English in the thirteenth century marked the formation of Scotland's political and cultural ties with France, which lasted over three hundred years.²⁶⁰ The country's commercial and financial connections with Holland facilitated the education of many of the Scottish elite at European institutions such as Leiden

²⁵⁵ Irwin(1975),p.35

²⁵⁶ Whatley(2000)p.17

²⁵⁷ Ibid.,pp.17-18

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p.19; Stanley Cursiter, *Scottish Art* (George Harrap and Company Limited, London 1949) p.22

²⁵⁹ The few known foreign painters that have been recorded working in Scotland before the seventeenth century were predominantly portraitists. See M.R Apted and S.Hannabuss, *Painters in Scotland 1301-1700: a Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1978)

²⁶⁰ The alliance between Scotland and France culminated in the sixteenth century under Mary Queen of Scots, whose first husband Francis II was the first and last king of both France and Scotland. However, the political and cultural connections between Scotland and the Continent gained new impetus in the eighteenth century, when France and Italy became safe havens for many Jacobite exiles. See Murray G. H. Pittock, *Jacobitism* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 1998) and Daniel Szechi, "'Cam Ye O'er Frae France?' Exile and the Mind of Scottish Jacobitism, 1716-1727", *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Oct., 1998), pp. 357-390

University, and led to the development of important Scottish collections of Dutch art.²⁶¹ Moreover, the opportunities created by the lack of native-born artistic expertise, and by the turbulent political and religious upheavals of the period, were significant factors in generating artistic mobility. Like London, Edinburgh also experienced an influx of foreign-born artists when it became a centre of refuge for Protestant Dutch and French artists and craftsmen following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

Alexander Broadie has argued that it was Scotland's European connections that helped to develop 'an intellectually vigorous, well-educated and outward-looking class... [that was] well aware of European high culture and wide open to its new ideas.'²⁶² Several major artistic projects undertaken in Scotland in the period suggest that Edinburgh was operating (albeit on a smaller scale than London), as a distinctive hub of visual culture. The ambitious nature and scale of the works executed highlight the fact that foreign artists were not only filling the gaps in native artistic expertise, but also played an important part in the dissemination of new and sophisticated artistic modes.

European artists in Edinburgh

A few late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century examples will serve to illustrate this traffic of European artists through Scotland's urban and aristocratic centres, and to show how foreign-born artists and craftsmen sometimes working with native artists, could spend a good deal of time living and working in the country. Whilst some remained only for the duration of

²⁶¹ See Julia Lloyd Williams, Christopher Smout, Deborah Howard, *Dutch Art and Scotland. A Reflection of Taste* (National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1992)

²⁶² Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment* (Birlinn Limited, Edinburgh, 2007) pp.9-11

the commission, others stayed on, as in the case of the Dutch painter, Jacob de Wet the Younger (1640-1697).

De Wet was first brought over from Holland in 1673 to be employed as chief painter in one of the largest artistic projects to celebrate the restoration of the Stuart monarchy - the renovation and decoration of the Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh. The re-affirmation of Stuart dynastic authority is underlined in several of the decorative schemes de Wet executed in the palace. He made the flattering comparison of Charles II with Hercules - the greatest hero in Greek mythology - in a series of mythological scenes in the King's Bedchamber. These include, *The Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents*, (c.1675) (fig.69), and the apotheosis of the king in the illusionistic ceiling painting, *Hercules Admitted to Olympus* (1675) (fig.70).

The ceiling is unique in the palace and it is possible that de Wet sought to emulate such decorative court fresco paintings as Andrea Mantegna's *Oculus* (fig.71). De Wet similarly employed the sophisticated pictorial device of an oculus to give the viewer the impression of looking up into an Olympian heaven, and peering down at the viewer is a playful putto and a menagerie of animals that includes owls, eagles, a peacock and 'King Charles' spaniels. De Wet's inclusion of the eponymous spaniels in the iconography of both paintings underline the allusion to Charles II, with whom the popular breed of lapdog was particularly associated; for the composition of his painting of Charles as the infant Hercules, de Wet may well have had in mind the crouching spaniel shown in the right hand corner of van Dyck's group portrait of seven year old Charles and his siblings, *The five eldest children of Charles I* (1637) (The

Royal Collection, HM The Queen).²⁶³ De Wet also obtained an additional two-year contract to paint the portraits of Charles II and all the previous one hundred and ten (both real and legendary) Scottish kings, ninety-six of which decorate the walls of the Great Gallery. In doing so De Wet drew upon the established likenesses for all the Scottish kings from the accession of James I in 1406, and the earlier series of portraits painted by the Scottish artist George Jamesone (c.1590-1644), which were commissioned by Edinburgh town council on the occasion of Charles I's coronation in Edinburgh in 1633; De Wet's series appear to have been devised as free hanging paintings as they do not conform to fit the panels over the chimney pieces or door mantels.²⁶⁴ Like the other artistic programmes executed by the artist in the palace, the portraits articulated the dynastic primacy of the Stuart line and thus for the majority of the paintings, a greater importance was placed on the inscriptions bearing each king's name, age, and the years of reign, rather than any notion of reliable likeness.

After the Holyroodhouse commission, De Wet not only continued to practise in Scotland for many years, but also travelled back and forth across the North Sea between Scotland and Europe; he became a member of the Painters Corporation of Cologne in 1677.²⁶⁵ De Wet's return to Scotland in the early 1680s highlights the fact that artistic mobility was often connected to and influenced by the political relationship between Edinburgh and London in this period. When attempts were made to bar Charles II's Catholic brother James, Duke of York, from the succession during the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-81, James relocated to Edinburgh to escape the anti-Catholic persecutions in London. There he set up a royal court at Holyrood Palace. His patronage and interest in the capital helped to reinvigorate artistic

²⁶³ The painting was commissioned by Charles I, but it was sold during the Commonwealth and then later recovered by Charles II (by 12 May 1660), see online catalogue entry available at <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk>

²⁶⁴ Apted and Hannabuss (1978) pp.6-7, 50-1, 105-6. Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* Second Edition (Thomas Kirgate at Strawberry-Hill, 1765-1771) Vol.2, pp.117-8

²⁶⁵ James Holloway *Patrons and Painters: Art in Scotland, 1650–1760* Exhibition Catalogue (Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1989)p.26-27, 149

and cultural life, and the city attracted increasing numbers of foreign artists in the period. It is possible therefore that De Wet was drawn back to Scotland for a few more years by new commissions stimulated by the artistic activity in the Scottish capital. He carried out work for many Scottish families such the Makgills of Cousland, the Clerks of Penicuik, and Patrick Lyon, the first Earl of Strathmore at Glamis.²⁶⁶

De Wet's work for the Earl of Strathmore in the late 1680s underlines the multi-layered nature of artistic mobility in the period. He was assisted by William Rennie (*fl.*1684-8), a painter from Dundee, to execute decorative schemes that included the design and painting of the Apostle pictures for the chapel (*fig.*72), and a series of mythological ceiling paintings based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* for the dining room.²⁶⁷ Moreover, two English house painters, a 'Mrs Morris and her sister' (un-named) joined de Wet and Rennie to work at Glamis at the same time.²⁶⁸ House painters in the period usually undertook interior decoration, requiring some artistic skill such as painting decorative panels for use over doorways and between windows.²⁶⁹ The employment of the Morris sisters highlights that there was a specific gap in native artistic expertise in this field of decorative painting. They may well have travelled around working in Scotland, or, depending on demand, to and from the English mainland, chasing up commissions. It is clear that we can see that the recruitment

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.27

²⁶⁷ For a further discussion of the decorative scheme of the chapel, see Ruth A. Guilding, "The De Wet Apostle paintings in the chapel at Glamis Castle", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Volume 116 (1986) pp.429-445

²⁶⁸ Holloway (1989) p.26. Apted and Hannabuss (1978) p.67: In Strathmore's account of payments to de Wet there is a record of a payment of £8 to Morris.

²⁶⁹ However, this was dependent on the artistic abilities of the house painter. Campbell's London directory of trades describes the house painter as a profession in which 'every labourer may execute it as well as the most eminent Painter', and the only qualification required is 'a sound head; I do not mean with respect to their understanding; that may be as lame as they please, but a steady Brain; to go aloft upon the eaves of Houses, and stand out at windows upon very tottering supports.' See Campbell (1747) pp. 103-4. In contrast, the successful Edinburgh firm of house painters, James Norie (1684-1757) and his sons, James Junior (1711-36) and Robert (d.1766), were considered artists in their own right. Operating at the upper end of the market, they also took on apprentices, and several Scottish artists such as Alexander Runciman (1736-85) and John Wilson (1774) began their careers as house painters in the firm, which continued until the mid-nineteenth century. See James Holloway, *The Norie Family* (Scottish Masters Series 20, National Galleries of Scotland, 1994).

of different kinds of painters required for such a project was a significant stimulus for artistic mobility, and each artist, according to their skills was allocated to work on very specific parts of the scheme. This is highlighted by Strathmore's employment of Rennie to carry out the more rudimentary elements of the painting.²⁷⁰

In the same period the French Huguenot painter, Nicholas Heude (fl.1672-1703), found employment on varied projects in Scotland. He was commissioned by William, 3rd Earl and 1st Duke of Queensberry (1637-1695), to decorate his new house, Drumlanrig Castle.²⁷¹ He continued to practise in Edinburgh until his death at the beginning of the eighteenth century, obtaining commissions from the local aristocracy such as Sir George Mackenzie, 1st Lord Tarbat (1630 - 1714) whose mansion Royston House (known as Caroline Park House after 1740) in Granton, Edinburgh, displays two circular ceiling paintings, one of *Aurora* and the other *Diana visiting Endymion*, by Heude (fig.73).²⁷² Kenneth Smith (fl.1700-1707), an English painter who settled in Scotland, also found work in the service of the Duke of Queensberry, for whom he worked as a picture dealer. Smith also worked as an assistant to the Flemish painter Sir John Baptiste de Medina (1659–1710), the leading portraitist in Scotland in the period.²⁷³

Born and trained in Brussels, Medina had in fact travelled to London in search of new opportunities in the early 1690s, and established a successful portrait practice in Drury

²⁷⁰ However, in spite of this arrangement, de Wet allowed Rennie to carry out parts of his artistic work instead of completing it himself, and the Earl's consequently complained that de Wet had overcharged him, see *The Book of Record: A diary written by Patrick first Earl of Strathmore and other documents relating to Glamis castle, 1684-1689* (Publications of the Scottish historical society, vol. IX, 1890) cited in Apted and Hannabuss (1978) p.79.

²⁷¹ Walpole (1765-1771) Vol.3, p.107. Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-1990* (Edinburgh,1990) pp.81, 87

²⁷² Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/52056/photographs/edinburgh+west+granton+road+caroline+park+avenue+caroline+park+house> [accessed 5 August 2009]

²⁷³ Smith and Medina were amongst those to be naturalised by the act of the last Scottish Parliament in 1707. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Eds.) *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, (Edinburgh 1814-75) xi , p.485

Lane.²⁷⁴ Among Medina's clients were members of the Scottish nobility, several of whom were leading political figures who had returned from exile in Holland upon the accession of William III. These included the politician George Melville, first Earl of Melville; his son David Melville, Lord Leven; and Margaret, Countess of Rothes. Medina was persuaded by a subscription for five hundred pounds to make the move from London to Edinburgh so that the city would have its own principal painter.²⁷⁵ He was however, reluctant at first to give up his lucrative London practice and thoroughly tested Scottish waters by making a temporary visit to Scotland with a collection of partially completed canvases before deciding to settle there in 1694.²⁷⁶

Having seen how the demand for different sorts of painting made Scotland an attractive prospect for a variety of practitioners from Europe and England, we can now go on to explore the ways in which Scottish painters themselves addressed the gap in native expertise and operated from this cosmopolitan hub.

Scottish Painters

Having seen how the demand for different sorts of painting made Scotland an attractive prospect for a variety of practitioners from Europe and England, we can now go on to explore the ways in which Scottish portraitist themselves addressed the perceived gap in native expertise, started operating as independent artists from this cosmopolitan hub, and began exploring the possibilities of moving back and forth between Edinburgh and London. Here,

²⁷⁴ Holloway (1989) pp.37-8

²⁷⁵ Vertue, 'Notebook I', Vol.18 1929-1930 (1930) pp.48-9

²⁷⁶ Ibid.; Holloway (1989) p.38

we need to note that the propensity for travel had distinguished the Scots for centuries. Geographic, economic, and social incentives provide reasons for this phenomenon. The physical proximity between Scotland and England, and Scotland's comparative poverty, had encouraged Scottish migrants to go south for better prospects for many years. The notion of 'adventuring Scots' is underlined by those Scots who made use of long-established foreign connections to travel beyond the English mainland, to seek their fortunes on the Continent and beyond- to trade, fight or study. As Christopher Smout has highlighted, Scotland had interactions with many European countries.²⁷⁷ For generations, commercial opportunities had attracted large numbers of Scottish merchants to settle in Europe, and as a result Scottish mercantile communities had thrived in France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia and Poland since the 1500s.²⁷⁸ Another sphere in which a high proportion of Scots were active was military service. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thousands of Scottish mercenaries fought for amongst others, the Dutch, the Danes and the Poles.²⁷⁹ And later, in the eighteenth century, the Scots formed a significant proportion of the military (and civilian) personnel serving the British Empire in India.²⁸⁰

However, not all Scottish migrants intended to settle abroad permanently. For many Scots, an alternative reason to travel was education. Since the middle ages there had been a tradition of Scots going abroad to study; this saw merchants sending their sons to serve apprenticeships or study book-keeping, and young men travelling to the continent for a university education.²⁸¹ The reputation of the Scots for learning is highlighted by the late eighteenth-century writer James Anderson. In his brief biographical account of the Scottish painter

²⁷⁷ See his article, "The Culture of Migration: Scots as Europeans 1500-1800" *History Workshop Journal*, No. 40 (Autumn, 1995), pp. 108-117

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.109

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11

²⁸⁰ Colley (1992)pp.134-136

²⁸¹ Smout (1995) pp.112-14

William Aikman, he suggests it was the Scottish disposition towards intellectual accomplishments that was a factor in Scottish artistic mobility:

The education of children of persons in easy circumstances in Scotland is invariably directly toward the attainment of ‘literary’ knowledge, either to fit them for the profession of the law, or to enable them to act a becoming part in the character of a gentleman. Hence it happens that Scottish artists abroad, are in general as much as distinguished for elegant mental acquirements as professional skill; which tends to connect them more intimately with acquaintances formed abroad than is usual among those of other nations, and which too often prevents them from retiring to their native country, or continuing in it after they have attained eminence in their art.²⁸²

Based upon these strong cultural traditions, it is perhaps unsurprising that Scots-born artists were amongst the most mobile of practitioners from an early date. By the mid-seventeenth century, Scottish painters were travelling to London and Europe to train and set up practice, and to find patrons and new markets for their work. Two such painters who made use of Scotland’s connections further afield to obtain patronage were John (Jan) Collison (*fl.*1660-1680) and John Cruden (*fl.*1670s-c.1700). Both successfully practised in the élite circles of the aristocratic courts of Eastern Europe; Collison was made Polish court painter in Warsaw in 1664 and John Cruden worked in Silesia in the 1680s as an assistant to the French portrait and history painter, Claude Callot; in 1691 he was appointed court painter to the Bishop of Wroclaw.²⁸³

Alternatively, there were Scottish painters who travelled to the Continent as *cicerones* or tutor-companions. Wealthy patrons sending their sons on the Grand Tour to complete their education often provided a tutor-companion to accompany them. This kind of employment could be highly lucrative. It introduced the artist to other potential patrons and enabled them to build up the client networks that could lead to further commissions upon their return home

²⁸² James Anderson, “Biographical Sketches of Eminent Scottish Artists: Mr W. Aikman, Painter with a Portrait”, *The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer* (Edinburgh, 1793) p.2. For several centuries Scotland had more universities than England. The universities of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen were founded in the fifteenth century, modelled on the universities of Paris and Bologna; Aikman was a law graduate from Edinburgh University (founded in the sixteenth century).

²⁸³ Holloway(1989)p.42

and enable them to set up in practice. The portrait miniaturist, copyist and draughtsman, David Paton (*d.* after c.1709), for example, followed this route. Paton spent several years in Italy between the 1670s and early 1680s accompanying an early grand tourist, William Tollemache (1662–1694), (and probably his elder brother Richard, see *fig.74*), the youngest step-son of John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, who was a leading Scottish politician of the Restoration.²⁸⁴ They visited the court of Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in Florence, as well as Rome and Padua.²⁸⁵ After returning from the Continent, Paton set up a practice in Edinburgh where he worked in plumbago (graphite), pen and ink, but also painted portraits in oil; his portrait of Sir *Isaac Newton* (1708) was sent to the Grand Duke of Tuscany for his collection.²⁸⁶ However, it seems that by the early eighteenth century, Paton had been encouraged to move to the English capital.²⁸⁷ He was amongst several Scottish portrait painters who travelled across the border to set up practices, utilising the connections between the two cities in the period.

Since the end of the seventeenth century, London had been rapidly expanding and was enjoying an economic boom as a result of the growth of Atlantic trade.²⁸⁸ Consequently, an increasingly affluent proportion of inhabitants and returning émigrés had stimulated the demand for portraits and the city now offered new opportunities for painters. Moreover, London's numerous resident foreign artists could also offer a wide choice of training options for those Scottish painters who did not have the funds (or inclination) to travel to the Continent to study. The Scots-born portrait painter Thomas Murray (1663–1735), for

²⁸⁴ Paton may have also accompanied William's older brother Richard – later the 4th Earl of Lauderdale (1653-95) - on his earlier Grand Tour of Europe. The miniature portrait drawn in Rome and dated 1674 is probably of Richard Maitland. See online catalogue entry available at <http://www.vam.ac.uk/images/image/11776-popup.html> [accessed 24 October 2009]

²⁸⁵ Holloway (1989)pp.22-3

²⁸⁶ Anna Maria Crinò, "Documents Relating to Some Portraits in the Uffizi and to a Portrait at Knole" *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 102, No. 687 (Jun., 1960), pp. 257-261.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.260

²⁸⁸ Nuala Zahedieh, "London and the Colonial Consumer in the Late Seventeenth Century", *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 47, No. 2 (May, 1994), pp.239-243

example, had trained in London with the De Critz family, who were Dutch protestant émigré court painters.²⁸⁹ He then became a pupil of the leading portrait painter John Riley, whose practice in Lincoln's Inn Fields he took over when Riley died in 1691.²⁹⁰ Murray later moved his studio to the popular artistic quarter of Covent Garden, where he remained for over twenty years.²⁹¹ His distinguished list of sitters included Queen Anne, as well as members of the Scottish élite such as John Murray, 1st Duke of Atholl (1660–1724) (*fig.75*), who sat for Murray whilst he was staying in London for the summer parliamentary session of 1704.²⁹²

The relocation of Scotland's governmental centre to London the following the Act of Union with England in 1707 was a catalyst for Scottish artistic mobility and large numbers of Scots travelled south of the border. With many representative peers and Members of Parliament leaving for the English capital, there were clear advantages in having fellow Scots sufficiently highly placed in political and administrative spheres who could act as influential patrons.²⁹³ Numerous Scottish painters likewise left Scotland in search of new prospects as well as to follow established patrons. However, the past historiography of Scottish artistic mobility in the eighteenth century has often been shaped by a pejorative perception of native

²⁸⁹ The de Critz family had been settled in London since 1630s where they had established their home and studio in Holborn. Murray was probably trained by Thomas de Critz, whose grandfather John de Critz, and uncle John de Critz II, held the appointment of Sergeant-painter to Charles I. Thomas de Critz's father Emanuel (b.1599) (also a painter, and art dealer) is recorded as owning valuable art collection salvaged from the Royal collection following the installation of the Commonwealth government and the execution of Charles I. If the collection was still in existence at the time of Murray's training he would have had an invaluable resource for reference - there were paintings by Corregio, Titian, Giulio Romano, Van Dyke and a bust of Charles I by Bernini. See Rachael Poole, "An outline of the history of the De Critz family of painters" *Walpole Society* Vol.2 1912-13 (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1913)pp.55-59, 63 ; Walpole (1765) vol.2 pp.134-6, and also Kit Wedd, Lucy Peltz and Cathy Ross, *Creative Quarters the art world in London 1700 – 2000* Exhibition Catalogue (Museum of London, 2001).

²⁹⁰ Vertue 'Notebook III' Vol.22 1933-1934 (1934) pp.15, 75

²⁹¹ Murray was resident at No.8 the Great Piazza in Covent Garden from c.1702 to 1726. F. H. W. Sheppard (General Editor)'The Piazza: Notable private residents in the Piazza', *Survey of London: Vol.36: Covent Garden* (1970), pp. 96-97.

²⁹² In a letter dated March 1705, Murray confirmed that the portrait had been finished by the end of the previous summer (1704). This information was kindly provided by Jane Anderson, Archivist at Blair Castle, Perthshire.

²⁹³ Colley (1992) pp.129-130

artistic and cultural life. The nineteenth-century Scottish historian, Henry Grey Graham asked his readers:

But what was there in Scotland to satisfy a man of ambition? The demand for pictures was limited and the pay was poor. When a Laird had his own portrait and his wife's taken, or a lord of session depicted complacent in his robes, his desire to encourage art was satiated, for low ceilings and small rooms gave little accommodation for frames.²⁹⁴

This perception of the negative exchange between England and Scotland is especially exacerbated by the view that the Anglo-Scottish Union was wholly exploitative; the best talent, not only from the patrician elite and the intelligentsia, but also from the arts, is often seen as having been drained away from Scotland. The long-term ramifications of the Union with England are still being debated amongst modern historians and politicians, of course; it is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, to find that eighteenth-century commentaries often reveal contradictory views towards the Union and towards Edinburgh's status as a 'mimic' metropolis that offered a miniature version of London.²⁹⁵ This duality of approach is highlighted by the Scottish writer, Tobias Smollett in his satirical novel *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771). On the one hand, his character, the retired Scots military Captain Lismahago acknowledges the commercial and cultural benefits of the relationship: 'There is a continual circulation, like that of the blood in the human body, and England is the heart, to which all the streams which it distributes are refunded and returned...' On the other, he also says that, 'You will find that the exchange between the two kingdoms is always against Scotland.'²⁹⁶ However, Samuel Johnson's quip that, '...the noblest prospect that a Scotsman ever sees is the road which leads him to England!' highlights the notion that this

²⁹⁴ Henry Grey Graham, *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (1899; 5th Edition, 1969) Vol.1, p.69

²⁹⁵ See Broadie (2007), MacMillan (1990) and D. and F. Irwin, *Scottish painters at home and abroad, 1700–1900* (Faber and Faber, London 1975)

²⁹⁶ Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (W. Johnston and B. Collins, London, 1771) Vol.3 pp.107-8. For a varied discussion on some of the tensions surrounding the direction of Scottish culture in the period see John Dwyer and Richard B.Sher (Eds.) "Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland", *Eighteenth Century Life*. Published in Association with Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society Vol.15, nos 1&2 February & May 1991

‘exploitation’ was in fact to the Scots’ advantage.²⁹⁷ The unpopularity of the Scots-born Prime Minister, John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute and his part in negotiating the controversial Treaty of Paris (1763), helped to perpetuate this viewpoint (perhaps most vociferously epitomised by John Wilkes’s political newspaper - ironically titled *The North Briton*).²⁹⁸

Although opportunities for artistic patronage had lessened in Scotland after the union with England, it is important to avoid the impulse to regard Scotland as a provincial backwater and cultural wasteland when compared to London. Indeed, as we have discussed earlier, the examples of artistic activity and mobility in and around Edinburgh in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, were no less sophisticated than those found in the English capital. The departure of the Royal court in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries did not lead to the departure *en masse* of the Scottish aristocracy. Nor did the departure of the parliamentarians mean the end of political activity in Scotland.²⁹⁹ The *laissez faire* attitude of the London administration after the union, which gave the ruling Scottish elite a considerable degree of autonomy and political power, also effectively preserved the major sources of patronage for the universities, the church, the legal institutions and the arts.³⁰⁰ Moreover, the ruling Scottish élite ‘looked abroad and wanted more, materially and culturally’.³⁰¹ Scottish

²⁹⁷ James Boswell, *Boswell’s London journal, 1762-3* (The Reprint Society, WM Heinemann Ltd, London, 1950; 1952 Edition) p.294; Linda Colley has also highlighted this perception of the post-union relationship between England and Scotland in her article, “Review: The Multiple Elites of Eighteenth-Century Britain. A Review Article”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (Cambridge University Press Vol.29, No.2 Apr., 1987) p.410.

²⁹⁸ Since the early 1750s, Bute, a royal favourite and the tutor to the future George III, had particularly attracted suspicion and criticism for his influence over the prince; he was also reputed (erroneously) to be the lover of the Dowager Princess Augusta - George’s mother. After the accession of George III in 1760, Bute acquired great influence over ministerial appointments in which he was accused of granting preferment to Scottish peers. After the British victory in the Seven Years War, the concessions made to France in the Treaty of Paris caused an outcry, and saw a resurgence of the Scoto-phobia that had followed the successive abortive Jacobite risings between 1689 and 1746, when supporters of the restoration of the Catholic James II and his successors had tried to oust the Hanoverian monarchy. See Romney Sedgwick (Ed.) *Letters from George III to Lord Bute 1756-1766* (Macmillan and Co Ltd, London, 1939) and Pittock (1998)pp.20-5, 32-3, 37-49, 51-2 and 97-114

²⁹⁹ Broadie (2007) pp.7- 8

³⁰⁰ Ibid. Colley (1987) p.409.

³⁰¹ Christopher A. Whatley. "The Union of 1707: Why and How? (review)." *The Scottish Historical Review* Volume 87 No.1 (April 2008) p.158. For an in depth discussion of Scotland post-union see also by the same

merchants had been hitherto excluded from imperial commerce, and now had access to the markets of the developing British Empire.³⁰² And for Scottish artists, the Act of Union offered new opportunities for mobility.

Having discussed these historiographical issues, we can now consider some specific examples of Scottish artists whose training and artistic practice involved working on the Edinburgh-London axis, and included extended stays on the Continent. In order to discuss this form of artistic mobility in a concentrated way, I have chosen to focus on three Scottish portraitists: William Aikman (1682-1731), Allan Ramsay (1713-1784), and Ann Forbes (1745-1834). These painters offer distinct, but interconnected models of artistic mobility each practised in Edinburgh and London between the early 1720s and 1770s; they were all trained on the Continent and shared social and artistic circle (thus, Allan Ramsay's father, the poet Allan Ramsay (1684-1758), counted Aikman amongst his closest friends). They also had patronal and familial connections: the politician and antiquary, Sir John Clerk, of Penicuik, second Baronet (1676–1755) was, for instance, a friend and patron to Ramsay and a cousin of Aikman's; and Ann Forbes was Aikman's granddaughter.³⁰³

author, *Scottish Society 1701-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation* (Manchester University Press, 2000)

³⁰² Under the Navigation Act of 1664, Scotland was treated as a foreign country and was forbidden to trade with English colonies (which could receive European goods only via England). The Act of Union gave Scotland equal shipping privileges with England. Anon, *Inquiry into the navigation laws, and the effects of their alteration: with tables of shipping and trade compiled from official documents*. Knowsley Pamphlet Collection, (Pelham Richardson, London 1833)pp.24-5, 95-6

³⁰³ Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (c.1649–1722) was Aikman's uncle. His son John, the second Baronet (1676–1755) was one of the first new Barons of the Exchequer after the Union, and he took over from his father as Aikman's principal correspondent.

Travel and Training

We have seen that for many painters, foreign travel was an integral part of their artistic training and careers. This was particularly the case for Aikman, Ramsay and Forbes, and we can begin our study of their particular artistic trajectories by focusing upon their early training and activities on the Continent, which promised to raise them from the status of talented students to that of accomplished and sought-after professional portraitists. Artistic training was a significant motivation for the mobility of British artists in the period. The importance of travel for British artists in order to acquire the artistic skills necessary to compete on home soil with artists born and trained on the Continent, is underlined by Vertue's comments on the success of British portraitists who have studied abroad:

[of the] imployment of portrait painter[s]...several of late have made great progress by their Genius study or Travell's which may be seen by those exemplars of their works in great houses...³⁰⁴

Aikman, Ramsay and Forbes' training and early travel experiences demonstrate different aspects of artistic mobility very well. From the beginning of their careers, we can see that both Aikman and Ramsay adopted the practice of seeking out continental masters at home and abroad. Their first masters, respectively, Sir John Baptiste de Medina, and the Swedish portrait painter, Hans Hysing (Hyssing) (1678-c.1752) exemplified cosmopolitan mobility in the period. In Edinburgh the absence of any resident painter of a similar stature afforded Medina a near monopoly of aristocratic patrons such as the Melvilles, whose circle encompassed a wide spectrum of Scottish society.³⁰⁵ The scale and status of Medina's practice in the city would have certainly been an exciting prospect for the young Aikman to aspire to. In 1700 Medina painted Aikman's cousin, Sir John Clerk - who was to become a distinguished patron of arts and letters - and the Clerks possibly used their influence to enable

³⁰⁴ Vertue, 'Notebook III' Vol.29 1940-1942 (1947) 1749 p.150

³⁰⁵ Holloway (1989)pp.38-9

Aikman to train as an assistant in Medina's studio in Canongate, Edinburgh.³⁰⁶ Working alongside Kenneth Smith, (Medina's English assistant), Aikman helped paint the backgrounds and draperies in Medina's portraits. However, it seems that Aikman only stayed a year or so to learn basic skills in Medina's studio. He was keen to move on, and spurred by ambition and the draw of London, he moved to the capital in 1704 where he established his first practice as an independent painter.³⁰⁷

Working in London presented Aikman with the chance to attend an informal drawing 'academy', as well as to visit the royal galleries and copy the paintings displayed there.³⁰⁸ These appointments were arranged by a fellow Scot, the polymath and wit Dr John Arbuthnot (1667- 1735), who at the time was the royal physician.³⁰⁹ Such an opportunity offered Aikman the chance to display his talents in the presence of potential aristocratic patrons, and he began to receive his first commissions:

I am now at Kingsingtown [Kensington], copying some pictures in the Queen's galleries for my improvement. Dr Arbuthnott has procured me this singular favour, for whom I made two copies of the Prince and the Queen, which were liked by a great many persons of quality...; I doe likewise next week goe a day or two to Windsor to draw Mrs Hill's picture, who is one of the Queen's greatest favourites next to the Duchess of Marleborough, and one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber... [I am] in good hopes to have the honour to draw both Queen [Anne] and Prince [George of Denmark].³¹⁰

Ramsay's initial tuition was similarly brief, if somewhat more structured in character than. Ramsay enrolled at the new artists' Academy of St Luke in Edinburgh in 1729. The academy was named after the famous art school, Accademia di San Luca in Rome, but was based on

³⁰⁶ James Holloway, *William Aikman: 1682-1731* (Scottish Masters Series 9, Scottish Post Office, 1988) p.5

³⁰⁷ Ibid, p.6 It seems that Aikman never completed a formal apprenticeship, preferring to buy his own prints and paintings to copy, making his own way in the London art world.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, (probably the one held at the Rose and Crown tavern)

³⁰⁹ Ross, Angus, 'John Arbuthnot (*bp.* 1667, *d.* 1735)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/610> [accessed 11 Feb 2009]

³¹⁰ Robertson Aikman Manuscripts, Letter dated 23 Aug 1705 from William Aikman to his uncle Thomas Aikman of the Ross, quoted in Holloway (1988) p.6

Kneller's Academy in London.³¹¹ Amongst the academy's distinguished founders were some of the leading figures in the cultural life of the city, such as the architect William Adam, and his son Robert, Alexander Clerk (Sir John Clerk of Penicuik's half-brother), and Allan Ramsay senior. Their number also included the history painter and engraver, John Alexander as well as the young painter William Denune. For a small subscription fee, the academy offered its members two sessions a year in a room in Edinburgh University: a winter term from November to February and a short summer term in June and July. At the academy, Ramsay would have drawn from the life, and copied original works of art, engravings and plaster casts of classical sculpture, many of which had been lent to the academy from the collections of its founder members.³¹²

However, the academy was short lived and it had probably ceased its activities by 1732.³¹³ Thereafter, Ramsay, like Aikman, sought to continue his training under a foreign master, and he travelled to London to do so at the studio of Hans Hysing. The Swedish painter had trained in Stockholm before arriving in London in 1700, where he studied for a year under his compatriot painter Michael Dahl. He attended Kneller's academy in Queen Street and the St Martin's Lane Academy. Hysing's circle included several eminent figures from London's cosmopolitan colony of artists, such as the French painters Nicolas Dorigny and Parmentier; the Dutch painter, Peter Tillemans, and the engraver George Vertue.³¹⁴ By the mid 1720s, Hysing had established a prestigious practice. His commissions from London's élite included portraits of the eldest daughters of George II, the princesses Anne, Amelia, and Caroline, and

³¹¹ Iain Gordon Brown, "Young Allan Ramsay in Edinburgh", *The Burlington Magazine* (Dec.1984 CXXVI)pp.778-81

³¹² English-born engraver Richard Cooper brought with him to Edinburgh his collection of fine Old Master drawings, copies of Old Master paintings were brought back by the John Alexander recently returned from Italy, and probably paintings and drawings were donated by the dealer Andrew Hay who had already sold a collection made in Italy in 1725. Holloway (1989) pp.105-6 and Macmillan (1990) p.92

³¹³ Brown(1984)p.778

³¹⁴ John Ingamells, 'Hysing, Hans (1678–1752/3)', (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004). <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14322> [accessed 11 Feb 2009]

the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole. Importantly, in terms of exposure to potential London patrons, working in Hysing's studio gave Ramsay the opportunity to copy such portraits, and his copies of Walpole's portrait were reputedly received with acclaim.³¹⁵ Ramsay returned to Edinburgh in 1733 and set up his portrait practice in his father's house on the High Street. With his professional reputation enhanced by his training in London, Ramsay soon began to attract a fashionable clientele in the city. The importance of cultivating influential and powerful patrons is underlined by Ramsay's father who commented on the response to the young painter's portrait of *Margaret Calderwood*, (fig.81). He declared in his letter to Lord Provost Lindsay:

...My son had made an excellent half length picture of Her. I begin to think it is not bad politick for young beautys to be seen and known in my son's painting room, where so many of the beau-monde so frequently resort.³¹⁶

The poet, whose own circle included leading figures of the literary and art worlds, recognized the close relationship between politics, fashion - evoked here by the phrase 'beau-monde'- and artistic patronage. In her examination of the beau monde in London, Hannah Grieg has shown how important material culture, particularly the expression of fashion, was to elite social and political identity.³¹⁷ This would be especially relevant for Ramsay's future patronage in London and Edinburgh.

In contrast to Aikman and Ramsay, Forbes' early training – which must have taken place sometime in the early or mid-1760s - is rather more obscure. It is likely that she may have received some instruction from a resident artist in Edinburgh, such as the painter, engraver

³¹⁵ Alastair Smart, *The Paintings and Drawings by Allan Ramsay 1713-1784*, Royal Academy Exhibition pamphlet (London 1964) p.vi

³¹⁶ Allan Ramsay senior, letter to Lord Provost Lindsay 5 April 1735, Eaglescairne Manuscripts, NLS printed in the "Historical MSS Commissions 8th Report" (1881) p.312, quoted in Caw (1936-7) p.37

³¹⁷ Hannah Grieg, "Leading the Fashion: The Material Culture of London's Beau Monde", (Eds.) John Styles and Amanda Vickery, *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700-1830* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art; The Yale Center for British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven; London 2007) pp.293-313

and a founding member of the short-lived St Luke's Academy, John Alexander (1686–c.1766). Born in Aberdeen, Alexander had previously worked in London and trained on the Continent – indeed, he spent almost ten years in Italy (from 1711 to 1719). He studied in Florence and in Rome, with one of the leading Roman painters of the day, Giuseppe Bartolomeo Chiari (1654–1727).³¹⁸ Forbes may well have been inspired to look outside Scotland to progress in her career by Alexander, who also had connections with her grandfather's family, the Clerks of Penicuik, and played a role in the Scottish pastel portraitist Katherine Read's (1723-1778) success in London.³¹⁹

Significantly, all three painters felt it important to travel to the Continent. It was generally acknowledged that foreign study would hone a painter's skills and continue his or her artistic education. However, just as important to their practice was the attainment of a sophisticated artistic persona that would appeal to fashionable, discerning patrons. This is highlighted by the words of Read, who studied in France and Italy in the mid 1740s and early 1750s, and who wrote: 'I have staid one year in Rome for Improvement, I must certainly stay in it another for Name, and then you'll see I'll top it with the best of them.'³²⁰

To be able to spend several years abroad was a significant investment in their professional futures, and one for which the artists had to raise considerable funds. Aikman sold his estate, Cairnie, in Scotland in order to finance his trip. Sponsorship by friends, family and interested patrons was also an effective way for artists to finance their trip. Both Ramsay and Forbes

³¹⁸ Holloway (1989) p.85-92 Notably Alexander studied alongside William Kent, who was to provide William Aikman with useful contacts in London during his early career in the city.

³¹⁹ Alexander had taught the painter Alexander Clerk, (fl.1727-1737), who was the half-brother of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, (1676–1755) 2nd Baronet, and later patron and correspondent of Aikman. Ingamells (1997) p.216 Macmillan (1990)p.111

³²⁰ Letter dated 6 Jan 1752 from Read to her brother, Captain Alexander Read, National Register of Archives, private collection, correspondence quoted in F. M. O'Donoghue, 'Read, Katharine (1723–1778)', rev. Dorcas Taylor, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23214> [accessed 15 July 2009]

were sponsored: in Edinburgh, Ramsay's father solicited his friends and patrons for sponsorship on his son's behalf:

I am daily teased with advices about sending the young man abroad...it would certainly turn out more to their advantage as well as his, if that genius he has received from the bounty of nature were enriched with what he might acquire by an acquaintance with the works of Titian, Raphael, Corregio and other imortall artists...³²¹

Similarly, Robert Chalmers, a family friend, arranged for Forbes' family and friends to subscribe to the cost of her journey to Rome 1768.³²² Despite being decades apart, Aikman, Ramsay and Forbes' first encounters with the Continent took a similar form: they all included visits to Rome and Florence, and the study of the paintings of the great Italian masters in their itineraries. However, we shall see that each did these things in their own distinctive way.

Aikman's foreign tour provides an especially adventurous model of artistic mobility. When he set off for the Continent in June 1707, he was not only one of the few British painters to visit Italy in the first decade of the eighteenth century, but also the first British painter to work in Turkey in the period.³²³ An important factor in determining Aikman's movements on the Continent was his family's mercantile connections. These provided valuable contacts and introductions to potential patrons abroad. His first cousin William and his half-uncle John were merchants in the trading colony at the port of Leghorn (Livorno) in Tuscany, which at

³²¹ Allan Ramsay Snr. letter to Lord Provost Lindsay 5 April 1735, Eaglescairne Manuscripts, NLS printed in the "Historical MSS Commissions 8th Report" (1881) p.312, quoted in Sir James L. Caw, "Allan Ramsay, Portrait Painter, 1713-1784", *Walpole Society*, (1936-7) Vol.25 p.37; Alastair Smart, *Allan Ramsay: Painter, Essayist and Man of the Enlightenment* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1992) p.19

³²² Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age* Exhibition Catalogue (Phaidon Press, Oxford 1986)pp.33-4

³²³ Only eight British painters are recorded visiting Italy between 1700 and 1711, including the London-based (Irish-born) painter, Charles Jervas (1675–1739), who arrived in Rome in November 1699. Vertue, 'Notebook III', Vol. 22 1933-1934 (1934) p.42; Ingamells (1997) Appendix 5, p.1066. Holloway (1989) p.54; see also A.Boppe, *Les Peintres Du Bosphore au Dix-Huitième Siècle*, (Librairie Hachette, Paris 1911) and Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924* (Penguin Books Limited, London 1995) Appendix VIII, p.445. Mansel lists 18 principal artists from Italy, France, the Netherlands and Britain, working in Constantinople between the fifteenth and early twentieth centuries; he does not mention Aikman, but includes nineteenth-century artists, the painter David Wilkie (1840-41) and the illustrator Edward Lear (1849).

the time provided banking and trading facilities.³²⁴ They probably supplied the letters of introduction to British merchants in Turkey, and to Henry Newton, the British envoy to Tuscany (1705-1711), whose portrait Aikman painted during his visit to Florence, the first city on the Italian stage of his tour.³²⁵

Florence was an important location for Aikman for several reasons. The city offered a wealth of resources for enterprising artists. It was not only its Renaissance architecture and the important art collections held in its ducal palaces that made the city an essential part of an Italian tour. The opportunity to attract potential patrons and cultivate international contacts amongst the visiting collectors and tourists was also a powerful draw: ‘... [Florence is] the resort of all the Virtuosi and Painters young & old of all countries who come there and show or produce their workes to be seen...’³²⁶ One of the oldest ducal palaces was the Palazzo Vecchio. Described as a ‘venerable noble pile’ by the early eighteenth-century commentator Joseph Addison, it housed the Galleria degli Uffizi on the top floor.³²⁷ The gallery was installed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco I de Medici in 1581. Successive dukes expanded the collections and by the eighteenth century, it held some of the finest paintings, sculptures, medals and gems in Italy.³²⁸ The Uffizi was also famous for the Galleria degli Autoritratti (artist’s gallery) in Vasari’s corridor, named after the painter, Giorgio Vasari - the

³²⁴ The trading house of Aikman in Leghorn, had been founded by John Aikman of the Ross (1679-1752) in the late seventeenth century, William (1695-1784) and his brother John (1691-1770) continued the business there until 1770. Skinner (1966) p.9, Holloway (1988) p.8 Ingamells (1997) pp.11-12.

³²⁵ The port of Leghorn was a major centre for the loading and export of luxury goods, marbles and antiquities to the rest of Europe. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, successive British envoys based at the Florentine court, including Newton shipped valuable goods from Leghorn to Britain. See Elena Lazzarini, ‘The Trade of Luxury Goods in Livorno and Florence in the Eighteenth Century’ *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy c.1700-c.1860* (Eds.) Cinzia Sicca and Alison Yarrington (Leicester University Press, London and New York, 2000) pp.67-76

³²⁶ Vertue, ‘Notebook III’, Vol.22 1933-34 (1934) p.154

³²⁷ Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c. in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* (Jacob Tonson, London 1705) pp.409-10

³²⁸ The Uffizi had been open to visitors since the late sixteenth century, but it officially opened to the public in c.1765. Gloria Fossi, *Uffizi: Art, History, Collections* (3rd Revised Edition, David and Charles 2007)

palazzo's architect and author of the renowned *The Lives of the Artists*. In this prestigious space, the self-portraits by many of the best-known Old Masters were displayed on its walls, including those of Fillipino Lippi, Van Dyck, Rubens, Velasquez, and Rembrandt.³²⁹

It may well have been through Newton's diplomatic connections that Aikman was requested to present his own self-portrait to the gallery, where it is still held (*fig.76*). His portrait joined other members of this illustrious cosmopolitan artistic fraternity, and he was one of the first British painters to have their image displayed there.³³⁰ In contrast to the grandiose visual statement by his contemporary Sir Godfrey Kneller, Aikman's portrait appears to be a far more understated self-representation (see *figs. 77-78*).³³¹ In this context, we may read Aikman's portrait as defining himself in relation to his peers and positioning himself in terms of own artistic identity: his participation in this artistic pantheon underlines a sense of communal artistic status and mobility. Travelling to Italy and presenting one's self-portrait to the gallery in Florence was a distinguished landmark in a painter's career.³³² Almost seventy years after Aikman's portrait was hung in the artists' gallery, the painter James Northcote eagerly anticipated his visit to the Uffizi: '...I am told that each picture is a compartment

³²⁹ Ibid. The corridor served as a private walkway that linked the government offices housed in the Palazzo Vecchio to the Medici residence in the Palazzo Pitti.

³³⁰ In the early 1730s, Grand Tourist, Joseph Spence recorded that 'In the chamber of painters' heads drawn by themselves, out of 240 of there are but five from England, and not any one of these properly an Englishman.' (These included foreign-born painters who had practiced in London in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: Sir Peter Lely, Sir Godfrey Kneller and Medina; the Scots-born painters Thomas Murray and Aikman were included in this number). See Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men: Collected from Conversation* ed. James M. Osborn. (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1966) Vol.2, p.589

³³¹ Spence's *cicerone*, Sebastian Bianchi (1662-1738) – keeper of Grand Duke's collection of gems and medals - described Kneller's portrait as a larger picture, '...set up above all the rest, and is full of his usual vanity: he has inserted his gold chain, diamond ring, and his house at Twickenham. We don't much like it, and I believe it will soon be removed quite out of the room.' Ibid.

³³² Many of the paintings were presented to the gallery either by the artists themselves or by their patrons: Sir Godfrey Kneller's self-portrait was presented to Grand Duke Cosimo III for the gallery at the Grand Duke's request; Medina's self-portrait was presented to the Grand Duke in 1716 by Alexander Huntly, the 2nd Duke of Gordon. Vertue, 'Notebook I' Vol.18 (1929-30) (1930) p.46.

carved and gilt, in which is placed the name of the artist, so that when I go to Florence I will have a very fine one made according to my own direction...’³³³

Rome, like Florence, was another important location for artists visiting Italy where valuable connections could be made with patrons and collectors, dealers and antiquaries, as well as with fellow artists. It was ‘a school and a meeting-place; it was a market and, above all an inspiration’.³³⁴ Known as the ‘academy of Europe’, Rome was *the* training ground for young artists, especially as a place they would have opportunities to improve their ability to draw – and in particular receive instruction in life drawing. Aikman studied in the studios of at least two of the leading Italian painters of the day. He probably joined the studio of Carlo Maratta, where he would have copied paintings and drawings from the painters’ collection.³³⁵ This included some two thousand drawings, including cartoon studies by Domenichino for commissions in Rome and Naples; paintings by such masters as Raphael, Correggio; and Maratta’s own early studies after Raphael.³³⁶ During his time in the city it is likely that Aikman met the antiquary John Talman, who was based in Rome (1709-1717) in order to obtain designs for a new royal palace in Whitehall. In addition to his expertise, Talman’s Catholicism would have also been invaluable to Aikman in order gain access to private collections; later, in Rome, on the homeward leg of his tour, Aikman met up once more with Talman, who accompanied him on his visit to Naples where he also studied under one of the leading painters of the day, Francesco Solimena.³³⁷

³³³ Contributors later in the period also included Sir Joshua Reynolds and Angelica Kauffman. See William T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799* (Benjamin Blom Limited, New York and London 1928; 1968 Edition) Vol.2, p.311

³³⁴ Basil Skinner, *Scots in Italy in the 18th Century* (National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh 1966) pp.24-5

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.30, Holloway (1988)p.8

³³⁶ These drawings were widely circulated and some of the larger studies were becoming worn by the hands of the pupils copying them. See Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1672) Translated by Alice Sedgwick Wohl (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005) pp.425-6, 438 n.162.

³³⁷ Ingamells (1997)pp.924-5; Holloway(1988)p.9

For the second stage of Aikman's tour, Turkey - the centre of the Ottoman Empire - offered an exotic, exciting commercial and artistic prospect for the young portraitist. Located across the major trade routes between Europe and Asia, the Ottoman Empire at the height of its powers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries extended from central Europe to the Middle East and North Africa. Turkey's capital, Constantinople attracted merchants and diplomats from three continents, such as the members of the Levant Trading Company, which had a monopoly of the English Levant trade from the late 1500s onwards.³³⁸ The company established principal British merchant communities in Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna. Ottoman diplomatic and commercial treaties with Western powers, such as England and France, had helped them establish 'mini nations' within Constantinople and other Ottoman port cities.³³⁹ The Dutch painter and traveller, Cornelius de Bruyn (1652-1719) noted in his description of the Turkish capital in 1678: 'On the outside it appears like a little World, and I believe there is not a finer sight under the Face of Heaven.'³⁴⁰ The city's cultural diversity, a fusion of East and West, where mosques were built alongside churches and Roman ruins, shaped its unique urban character.

However, up until the time of Aikman's visit, few Western artists had travelled to Turkey, which remained an unconventional destination for Western travellers until the 1730s and 1740s.³⁴¹ Although religion usually proscribed the commissioning or collection of pictures by

³³⁸ Mansel (1995) p.190-1.

³³⁹ Bruce Masters, "Trading Diasporas and 'Nations': The Genesis of National Identities in Ottoman Aleppo." *The International History Review*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Aug., 1987) pp.345-9. Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989)p.25

³⁴⁰ Cornelis de Bruyn, *A Voyage to the Levant* (Trans. by W. J., London, 1702) p.28

³⁴¹ It was not until the discoveries at the excavations of the lost cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii in Italy, that the study of the Constantinople's past as a Roman capital (and its reputation as a contemporary resort) gained momentum and began to attract increasing numbers of British scholars, tourists and artists. These include the British painter, Francis Smith (*fl.* 1763-1779), who accompanied the writer (and notorious rake) Frederick Calvert, sixth Baron Baltimore on his tour of Italy and the Levant in 1763. See Frederick Calvert, Baron Baltimore, *A Tour to the East, in the Years 1763 and 1764. With Remarks on the City of Constantinople and the Turks. Also select pieces of Oriental wit, poetry and wisdom.* (W. Richardson and S. Clark, London, 1767). Edward Edwards, *Anecdotes of Painters who have resided or been born in England: with critical remarks on*

the Ottoman élite, numerous Western embassies and trading factories provided opportunities for artistic patronage.³⁴² Permanent embassies had been set up in the city after their establishment in Western capitals, and by the eighteenth century it had more embassies than any other city in Europe.³⁴³ One of the earliest embassy artists was the French painter, Jean Baptiste Vanmour, who had a highly successful practice in Constantinople between 1699 and 1737.³⁴⁴ Vanmour frequented European diplomatic circles and was also a favourite of the Turkish Court where his paintings depicting Ottoman everyday life as well as important officials and courtly occasions (see *fig.79*), were highly regarded and collected.³⁴⁵ Aikman arrived in Constantinople in October 1709; it is possible that with his uncle's connections, Aikman may have seen some of Vanmour's paintings in collections during his stay in the city. Though there are no recorded paintings directly attributed to his four month stay in the capital, Aikman kept a notebook and his self-portrait wearing a turban is thought to have been painted either during or just after his stay in Turkey (*fig.80*).³⁴⁶

their productions. (Luke Hansard & Sons, for Leigh and Sotheby et al, London 1808). A collection of illustrations from Smith's pictures documenting the tour were engraved and published in London in 1769 under the title *Eastern Costume*; he exhibited a view of Vesuvius at the Society of Artists in 1768 and at the Royal Academy in the early 1770s showing panoramic views of Constantinople. A number of these engravings were published again in London in the 1770s and in European publications towards the end of the century. Boppe (1911)Appendice, p.230

³⁴² However, adherence to religious customs did not always exclude the emulation of Western artistic patronage. The Italian painter, Gentile Bellini stayed at Mehmet II's court in Constantinople (1479-1481), where he painted the Sultan's portrait and frescos for his private apartments. See Rona Goffen, "Crossing the Alps: Portraiture in Renaissance Venice", *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian*, (Eds.) Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown. Exhibition Catalogue (Thames & Hudson, London 1999) pp.115-132. For further discussion of eighteenth-century Ottoman artistic patronage, see *Ali Uzay Peker*, "Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul", *Eighteenth-Century Life*, (Volume 26, Number 3, Fall 2002) pp. 139-163

³⁴³ Mansel (1995) p.189

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.216

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.217 One of Vanmour's major commissions was a series of paintings of the costumes of the Ottoman Empire for the Marquis Charles de Ferriol, the French ambassador in Constantinople. The engravings after the paintings were published in 1712 in the *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant*. The *Recueil* was hugely popular and influential, translated and reprinted in many languages, its engravings were copied by artists such as Antoine Watteau and Francois Boucher.

³⁴⁶ Anderson, *The Bee* (1793) pp.4-5 and p.9. Anderson records that Aikman's daughter (Margaret Forbes) '...has another portrait of Mr Aikman in Turkish dress done by himself while in Turkey, but it was never quite finished; nor does Mrs Forbes think the likeness so exact.'

Aikman travelled to Smyrna in February 1710. The city's reputation as the birthplace of the epic poet Homer and its location near the ancient Roman city of Ephesus had begun to attract a few early tourists and collectors of virtu; by the end of the seventeenth century, the British were leading exporters of statuary, and had carried out numerous amateur archaeological excavations there.³⁴⁷ Moreover Smyrna was an important port and international trading centre, with its own culturally diverse community: '...the *English, French, Dutch* and in general all the *Franks*, dwell towards the sea, in a long street called, *The Street of the Franks*, and each nation has a particular consul'.³⁴⁸ During his stay in Smyrna, Aikman painted the portraits of some of the British merchants and he continued his habit of recording painting techniques in his notebook.³⁴⁹

We have seen that the opportunity to make useful connections was an important part of the artists' experience abroad. This is highlighted by Aikman's meeting with the painter and architect William Kent in Rome. As we shall see later, Aikman's contact with Kent was to prove advantageous for the young painter. By March 1711, Aikman was back in Edinburgh, ready to set up his own practice.

When Ramsay made his first foreign excursion in May 1736, the pace of international artistic mobility was accelerating and in this aspect he notably deviates from Aikman's model of mobility. Ramsay and several of his contemporaries, such as the London-based portrait painter Joseph Highmore, made repeated journeys to the Continent.³⁵⁰ Not only were the numbers of British artists visiting Italy increasing, so was the circulation of individuals in

³⁴⁷ Anderson (1989) pp.16-17

³⁴⁸ Ibid, pp.17-18. De Bruyn (1702) p.19

³⁴⁹ Holloway (1988), pp.9, 18 n. 13

³⁵⁰ Highmore made two foreign tours: Holland in 1732 and Paris in 1734. See Elizabeth Johnstone, 'Joseph Highmore's Paris journal, 1734', *Walpole Society*, Vol. 42 (Oxford, 1970) pp.61-104

related professions, such as the Scots painter–turned art dealer, Andrew Hay (*d.* 1754).³⁵¹ Vertue recorded in his note of Hay’s retirement in 1745, that over the course of his career, Hay ‘had been 6 times in Italy... [he] had been [to] France 14 times [and] backwards & forwards from England to Scotland...’³⁵²

We may also suggest that as a result of these developments, Ramsay’s network of connections (crucial for an artist’s introduction to potential masters and access to art collections) were, in contrast to Aikman’s mercantile contacts, increasingly negotiated through picture-dealers and collectors in Scotland and London. The Clerks of Penicuik probably recommended Francesco Imperiali as the Italian master under whom Ramsay should study in Rome.³⁵³ Ramsay obtained letters of recommendation from influential figures such as Dr. Richard Mead in London, who was known throughout Europe as a connoisseur and great collector of books and art. Then later in Paris the renowned dealer, critic and collector Pierre-Jean Mariette, gave Ramsay and his travelling companion, the grand tourist Dr. Alexander Cunyngham, valuable recommendations to the Academies in Rome and Florence.³⁵⁴ They spent three weeks in Florence, where Mead had also provided an introduction to the Grand Duke’s physician and Ramsay was able to copy some of the antiquities in the ducal galleries. These included the renowned sculptures, the Venus de’ Medici and statues of Augustus and Cicero.³⁵⁵

³⁵¹ Ingamells (1997) Appendix 5, p.1066: The number of artists had risen to twenty one between 1730 and 1740; by the time Ramsay took his second trip to Italy between 1754 and 1757, fifty-three British artists are recorded in Italy in the same decade.

³⁵² Vertue ‘Notebook III’ Vol.29 1940-42 (1947) p.125

³⁵³ Smart (1952) pp.12-13. During his grand tour, Sir John Clerk’s son James had attached himself to the studio of the Genoese painter, who specialized in religious and classical subjects, though there is no evidence that he received formal training there, see Ingamells (1997) pp.216-17

³⁵⁴ Alastair Smart, *Allan Ramsay: Artist, Essayist and Man of the Enlightenment* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992) p. 27

³⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp.29-30

By the time of Ramsay's first visit in 1736, the Roman stage of a painter's tour of Italy had become a tradition. There were three main objectives to accomplish in Rome: to visit and study the sculptures at the Capitoline Hill, to study Raphael's *Stanze* at the Vatican, and to attend life drawing classes. Like Aikman before him Ramsay took the opportunity to improve his drawing; he and Cunyngham drew at the French Academy in the evenings during their stay.³⁵⁶ Rome was also important for making contacts. Whilst studying under Imperiali, Ramsay made the acquaintance of his master's former pupil, the history painter and portraitist Pompeo Batoni, who was a significant influence on his artistic development there.³⁵⁷ The chalk drawings made by Ramsay after Batoni's detailed studies of hands provide some evidence that he also studied in Batoni's studio.³⁵⁸ Ramsay subsequently made a detailed study of a hand gesture for his own portrait of his friend, Anglo-Italian Samuel Torriano, later executed in Rome - the only known picture from his first trip to Italy. His depiction of Torriano, flamboyantly gesturing in a billowing papal-red robe, represents a striking visual record of the artistic models he had been absorbing in Italy (see *figs.82-83*). Ramsay continued his practice of making detailed drawings for many of his paintings throughout the rest of his career.

By the summer of 1737 Ramsay had made his way to Naples with Torriano.³⁵⁹ There he sought out Solimena, under whom Aikman had also studied and who was now one of the pre-

³⁵⁶ Ibid, p.30 By the time of Ramsay's third and fourth visits to Italy in 1774-5 and 1782-4, artists seeking a private drawing academy in Rome could choose from a least a dozen: the best-known were those offered by Batoni and Mengs. A list of those who attended Batoni's life drawing classes reveal artists of many nationalities: (Russian), Matvei Ivanovich Puchinov; (Spanish), Carlos Spinosa; (Swiss), Jean Pierre Saint-Ours; (German), Johann Dominik Fiorillo; British artists Edward Francis Cunningham and John Astley; (American), Henry Benbridge. Ramsay's son, John, also attended Batoni's drawing classes in 1782, during his father's last trip to Italy before his death in 1784. See Johann Henirich Wilhelm Tischbein, *Aus meinem Leben* ed. Kuno Mittelstädt, Berlin 1956) pp.251-52 cited in Edgar Peters Bowron and Peter Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni : Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome* Exhibition Catalogue (National Gallery, London: Yale University Press, New Haven and Museum of Fine Arts Houston 2007) n.37, p.204

³⁵⁷ Smart (1992) pp.30-31

³⁵⁸ Ibid, p.30

³⁵⁹ Ingamells (1997) pp.796-7 Cunyngham left Rome in March 1737.

eminent masters in Europe. The young painter so impressed the Italian master with his portraits of tourists that he also sat for him: 'I have done six portraits finished upon blew [sic] paper...which have gained me great fame, and the approbation of Solimena who has desired me to do one for him...' ³⁶⁰ On his homeward journey via Rome in 1738, Ramsay also included visits to: Venice, 'where I shall see the works of Titian and Paul Veronese,' and Bologna, 'where the school of the Carraches [Carrachis] as you know is the highest perfection thence to Modena, Parma, Milan...' ³⁶¹

Ramsay's first visit to the Continent also highlights the wide circulation of artistic goods in this period. In Rome at this time was his fellow Scot, the Aberdonian portrait painter, William Mosman, (c.1700-71). Mosman not only acted as an agent for Captain John Urquhart, for whom he was buying pictures and works of art; he was also a point of contact for other collectors. Ramsay's father, on the behalf of a 'Mr Calderwood' requested Cunyngham to chase up a subscription for prints from '...Mr Mosiman, who has been sometime at Rome, studying painting...' ³⁶² Meanwhile, Ramsay complemented his studies by collecting prints, drawings and items of virtu, such as the antique terracotta Tuscan vase 'which is of a mighty pretty form such as they offered in the Sacrifices, and quite entire.' ³⁶³ Several of these items were for his collection but some were commissions for collectors such as Mead, which he sent back to England before his return in June 1738.

Forbes, accompanied by her widowed mother, Margaret Forbes as chaperone, had arrived in Rome by March 1768. Her studies in Rome follow a similar form to those of Aikman and Ramsay: copying Old Master drawings, paintings and antique marbles. However there is a

³⁶⁰ NAS GD331/24/2 Letter dated 2 August 1737 from Ramsay to Cunyngham.

³⁶¹ NAS GD331/24/4 Letter dated 5 April 1738 from Ramsay to Cunyngham.

³⁶² NAS GD331/24/5 Letter dated 21 Dec 1736 Ramsay Snr. to Cunyngham (Mosman was in Rome from c.1733 to 1740)

³⁶³ NAS GD331/24/4 Letter dated 5 April 1738, Ramsay to Cunyngham.

notable difference. By the late 1760s there was a large contingent of distinguished British artists resident in Rome and instead of seeking out Italian masters under which to study, Forbes chose modern British masters. She took instruction and advice from several British artists based in Rome, including the Scottish painters Gavin Hamilton and James Nevey (c.1730–c.1811).³⁶⁴ Hamilton, as an active archaeologist, and a prominent dealer, as well as a celebrated history painter, was at the centre of artistic life in the city.³⁶⁵ The Leghorn merchant, John Aikman of the Ross, who helped to arrange Forbes' travel to Italy and tuition under Hamilton (who was an old friend) underlines the painter's formidable reputation in the city:

Mr Gavin Hamilton...is what the Italians call the *Premiero*, and what we call *Principal*, in the Academy of Painting at Rome, and all the young students apply to him for Direction and Instruction in their Studies...He is a sweet blooded gentleman, and being the most renowned of all the History Painters of this age is highly respected at Rome.³⁶⁶

Forbes was in a unique position, as one of the few British female painters in the eighteenth century to receive full professional artistic training. However aspects of Forbes' artistic training were shaped by cultural restrictions. Eighteenth-century art academies and studios (abroad and at home) in general excluded female artists.³⁶⁷ As Forbes could not attend the academies or studios, she instead had private instruction from Hamilton and Nevey, both of whom paid her regular visits during her stay in Rome.³⁶⁸ The gendered restrictions of artistic

³⁶⁴ Forbes may well have also consulted the painter Alexander Runciman (1736-1785), who was listed at the same address at the Strada Gregoriana in 1769. He had studied under the painter Robert Norie (d.1766), whose family had run a successful interior decoration business in Edinburgh. Ingamells (1997) p.828

³⁶⁵ See Ruth Stewart, 'Gavin Hamilton and the Classical Ideal 1775-1798: Painting and Antiquity in Late Eighteenth-Century Rome' PhD Thesis, Department of Art History, University of York 2004 (2Vols)

³⁶⁶ Letter dated 29 August 1767 from John Aikman of the Ross to John Forbes, transcript of Forbes papers by B.C Skinner, quoted in Macmillan (1986) p.33

³⁶⁷ In her study, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession and Representation in English Visual Culture 1665-1800* (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1997) Marcia Pointon has highlighted that in the eighteenth century, literary and visual cultures were producing 'an increasingly restrictive model of femininity.' p.5; See also Chapter Four which discusses the practice of two female artists: "Working, Earning, Bequeathing: Mary Grace and Mary Moser" pp.131-172.

³⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Forbes was romantically linked, albeit erroneously, with Nevey during her stay in Rome. Consequently Nevey stopped calling daily and had to be summoned, Macmillan(1986)p.49 The professional and

training were an important issue for female artists. Katherine Read's earlier experiences in Italy can shed some light on the kinds of restrictions placed on Forbes' training in this period.

As Read's chaperone and *cicerone*, Abbé Peter Grant highlights:

Was it not for the restrictions her sex obliges her to be under I dare safely say she would shine wonderfully in history painting too, but as it is impossible for her attend publick academies or even design or draw from Nature, she is determined to confine herself to portraits and one branch of history painting which consists in single figures...the strong byass of genius she has for this sort of painting in doing of Angels, Saints, Magdalens, Cleopatras, etc...³⁶⁹

Forbes' studies in Rome do appear to follow these lines. Correspondence from her mother confirms that she had, 'begun to copy a Magdalen's head by Guido, a most beautiful thing it is, but will be extremely difficult. If she succeeds well in it, she is to send it to L[or]d Bute, as also a St. Agnes from the one by Corregio...'³⁷⁰ Importantly for Forbes, Hamilton's connections would have facilitated her access to collections of art and enabled her to borrow paintings to copy.³⁷¹ Again, however, this mode of studying art in Italy could be problematic for a female artist. Although Read had also been allowed on occasions to take drawings back to her apartment to copy, she was sometimes frustrated in her attempts to view works of art in certain locations that were barred to women on religious and cultural grounds:

...[in Naples] there is a great deal of painting, but not many fine Pictures, the best I have seen were in the Palaces of the King, the Prince Subino, and the Duke del Torrey [della Torre]. There are likeways some good ones, particularly in one which belongs to the Carthusians, but as these superstitious Biggotts won't allow a female creature to enter their door, I am deprived of the pleasure I should have had.³⁷²

Whilst in Rome, Forbes followed Hamilton's advice to move from using pastels to painting in oils, her cousin, John Aikman reported 'that she should begin to paint in oil in the month of

personal relationship between the male painter and his female protégé (and between the sitter and painter) were sites of tension which stimulated discussion in contemporary discourses and satire in visual culture throughout the period. Forbes' contemporary, Angelica Kauffmann's was the subject of such speculation throughout her career. See Angela Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility* (The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2006) pp. 67-69.

³⁶⁹ Letter from Abbé Peter Grant quoted in A. Francis Steuart, "Miss Katherine Read, Court Paintress" *Scottish Historical Review* (Glasgow, 1904) pp.41-2

³⁷⁰ NLS MS20767 (Anne Forbes Correspondence) Letter from Margaret Forbes (n.d).

³⁷¹ Ingamells (1997)p.367

³⁷² Letters from Read dated 16 June 1751 (Rome) and 6 April 1753 (Naples) quoted in Steuart (1904) pp. 40,42

October and hope that in another year and a half she will be able to make a considerable figure in her own country.’³⁷³ This was significant for her artistic development - particularly for her future practice in London where she would potentially compete against other female portraitists such as Read and the Swiss-born portrait and history painter, Angelica Kauffmann (1741-1807), who was a friend of Hamilton’s and had also been tutored by him during her stay in Rome in 1763. Forbes may have regarded Kauffman, who was nearer her own age, as offering a model of a professional female portraitist to which she could aspire. This is highlighted in Forbes’ artistic self-fashioning. Her self-portrait in pastel (*fig.84*), produced around this time, incorporates elements of the pictorial trope of the allegory of painting or ‘*pictura*’. Forbes is shown wearing loosely draped clothing, holding her *porte-crayon* (a metal holder with a wooden handle in which the crayon or charcoal is held) and folio, which also echoes the depiction of Kauffmann in her one of her own self-portraits (*fig.85*); indeed, Kauffman used variations of this composition in several of her self-portraits in the period.³⁷⁴

Forbes’ encouragement by Bute and the visits paid to her by many of the British residents, including the envoy to Naples, Sir William Hamilton, played an important part in making patronal connections on the Continent as well as in London and Edinburgh. Forbes painted several oil paintings in Rome including one of her brother Captain John Forbes of the Ross, who, after accompanying Forbes and her mother to Italy in 1767, had returned to Rome in 1770 (*fig.26*). She also painted her cousin Captain John Clerk, who was related to the Clerks of Penicuik, and who reported from Rome on the artist’s progress: he sends news of

...our cousin Miss Forbes who has uncommon Talents, and is one of the most promising artists in Rome. She has lately copied some things from Guido and Correggio with good exactness and has made several good portraits from nature and soone intends to make an essay upon my Snout.³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Forbes MSS, Private Collection. Letter dated 3 October 1768 from John Aikman of the Ross, quoted in Ingamells (1997) p.367

³⁷⁴ See Angela Rosenthal’s discussion of Kauffmann’s self-image, (2006) pp.223-56

³⁷⁵ NAS GD18/5494 Letter dated 18 Nov 1769 from Captain John Clerk to John Clerk of Eldin.

Forbes eventually left Rome in April 1771; she took the opportunity to visit Florence, Bologna and Turin before leaving Italy and returning to Edinburgh.³⁷⁶

Metropolitan Practice

Aikman's studies on the Continent had endowed him with the requisite professional persona to compete with portraitists working in Edinburgh at this time, such as John Scougal (c.1645-1737) and John Waitt (*fl.*1708-1732). He soon established a successful practice in the city.³⁷⁷ Aikman's commercial success was augmented by the patronage of his former master's clients following Medina's death in October 1710. These included high profile public commissions from Edinburgh town council and the Incorporation of Surgeons. The series of thirty portraits of the members of the Royal College of Surgeons (as it was later known) was a major project begun in 1697 by Medina for the newly built Surgeons Hall. Aikman was probably already involved in the project during his apprenticeship.³⁷⁸ The portrait of *Robert Clerk* (who was a relative) dated c.1700 has been attributed to Aikman (*fig.87*). Upon his return from the continent Aikman painted at least three more portraits for the Surgeons Hall, including *John McGill* (c.1711) and *John Monro* (1715) (*figs.88-89*). The benefits from his studies abroad are evident in the development and refinement of his management of chiaroscuro, line and colour in the paintings, and in his self-portrait he produced in the same period (*fig.90*). They

³⁷⁶ Ingamells (1997)p.367

³⁷⁷ Scougal was near retirement, and between 1713 and 1715, Waitt was probably working outside his Edinburgh studio on the major commission for an extensive programme of clan portraits for Alexander Grant, Chief of Clan of Grant, whose seat, Castle Grant was in the Highlands; John Alexander was in London in 1710 and then in Rome until 1719; and John Smibert (1688-1751) was training in London and did not return to Edinburgh until 1717, where he practiced for two years before undertaking his own tour of Italy between 1719 and 1722. Holloway (1989) pp.85-92, 71-2, 77-8, 49

³⁷⁸ Duncan Macmillan, "Foreword", Alastair H.B. Masson, *Portraits, Paintings and Busts in the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh* (Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh 1995) xv-xvii. Irwin (1975) pp. 41-44.

demonstrate the type of subtle and urbane portraiture that he could now offer his Edinburgh clientele.

Moreover, his network of family and friends such as the Clerks of Penicuik assisted his contact with some of the leading Scottish society and political figures of the time. His portraits of such figures gained him recognition and additional commissions. Aikman's portraits of Lady Grisell Baillie, her husband George and her daughter, Lady Murray, led to further commissions from Lady Grisell's own father, the politician Patrick Hume, first Earl of Marchmont (1720) (*fig.91*).³⁷⁹ For his striking, yet sensitive portrait of the elderly statesman, Aikman may well have drawn inspiration from his travels in Turkey. The Earl is shown wearing an Indian robe or 'banyan' and a turban-style headdress which lends the sitter the air of an Oriental sage. In the light of the Earl's profession, the depiction of the clothing is significant for reinforcing the notion of his gravitas and intellectual abilities. The 'banyan' was a loose robe, thought to originate from those brought back by merchants in the East Indies. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries they had become fashionable casual wear. Their depiction in male portraiture of the period (often combined with the sitter wearing a turban) signalled the sitter's contemplative or creative intelligence.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁹ Holloway (1989)p.56

³⁸⁰ For further discussion of the notion of genius in eighteenth-century portraiture, see Brandon Brame Fortune and Deborah J. Warner, Chapter 4 "Banyans and the Scholarly Image", *Franklin and his friends: Portraying the Man of Science in Eighteenth-Century America* (Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C. 1999) pp.51-66; Patricia Fara, *Face Values: How Portraits Win Friends and Influence People Science*, New Series, Vol. 299, No. 5608 (Feb. 7, 2003), pp. 831-832 and Desmond Shawe-Taylor *Genial Company: The Theme of Genius in 18th-Century British Portraiture* Exhibition Catalogue (Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh 1987)

In addition to his practice in Edinburgh, Aikman was also making regular excursions to London for work. His earlier contact with William Kent in Italy realized a significant commission in the capital - his full-length portrait of Kent was painted after the architect's return to the London in 1719.³⁸¹ As Timothy Mowl has argued in his study of Kent's career, the importance of impressing at home (and abroad) and retaining the patronage of fashionable and influential clientele could not be underestimated.³⁸² Kent's patron Richard Boyle, Lord Burlington was a leading patron and collector of the day, and had helped to introduce Kent to elite patrons, such as Sir Richard Child, Lord Castlemaine. For one of his earliest commissions, Kent was employed by Castlemaine to paint the *Hours of the Day* on the ceiling of the entrance hall of Wanstead House in Essex. Therefore it is likely that Kent facilitated Aikman's commission from Castlemaine to paint his portrait for the overmantel of the hall (*fig.92*). It depicts Kent in fashionable banyan-style undress, palette in hand, leaning against classical architectural remains. Kent's red turban stands out here, because it not only echoes the earlier portrait of Burlington by Jonathan Richardson, but also Aikman's Uffizi self-portrait. The iconographic associations with the creative-artistic persona are further underlined by Burlington's portrait (*fig.93*), in which he is shown wearing a red turban and a Turkish-inspired coat. In his right hand he holds a compass, and in the background is the bagnio at Chiswick which he designed in 1719.

By dividing his time between Edinburgh and London during this period, Aikman was able to build up an extensive and distinguished network of patronage.³⁸³ His time in London would have facilitated his connections with Burlington and his circle (several of whom were later to

³⁸¹ It has been suggested that Kent's portrait was painted before this date (whilst Aikman was still in Rome) but it is unlikely due to the size of the painting. Holloway (1988) p.10

³⁸² Timothy Mowl, *William Kent: Architect, Designer, Opportunist* (Pimlico, London 2007) pp.47 and 95

³⁸³ A similar practice had also been adopted by Aikman's contemporary, the Irish-born portrait-painter Jervas, who practised in London, but still made trips to Ireland for painting commissions in the period. Ellis Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of British Eighteenth-Century Painters* (Antique Collectors' Club, 1981) pp.195-6

become Aikman's patrons).³⁸⁴ It also enabled him to remain in contact with his London-based Scottish clientele, most notably the politician and soldier John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll, whose portraits Aikman painted in 1717 and c.1720-1725 (*figs.94-96*).³⁸⁵ Nevertheless Argyll persuaded Aikman to move permanently to London. There were good reasons to set up his practice there: he had already established promising patronal connections amongst the resident English and Scottish aristocracy; moreover there were no obvious successors to the aging Kneller, and business was slow at the time in Edinburgh.³⁸⁶

Aikman decided to give the venture a six month trial and collected commissions ahead of his stay in the city, beginning in the winter of 1720. His work was well received, though at this stage he remained cautious of his long term prospects; he was reluctant to sacrifice any commissions he may have had lined up in Edinburgh and was rather dismayed at the costs involved in setting up a practice in London:

I am making what despatch I can with my business here and find that my manner pleaseth much. I could have to doe[do]enough and far better prices than att Edr[Edinburgh] but am loath to engadge [[engage] deep lest I transgress the tyme[time] I propose to be att Edinburgh quich[which] is the 1st of March. However I have begun some fine things to bring in ready money to bear expenses and defray the charge of drapery painters, which are not for ease to be found good in this place as one might have imagin'd. When I am once master of all the Scotch business I brought with me I will know better what to determine as to my continuing here for some tyme[time] longer than I first propos'd.³⁸⁷

However, by 1723 Aikman had settled permanently in London with his wife and young family, setting up his studio at first in Suffolk Street, a few streets away from St. Martins

³⁸⁴ NAS GD18/4589 Aikman painted the portraits of Lord and Lady Burlington during the winter of 1723-4. Lord Burlington also commissioned him to paint the portrait of the poet Alexander Pope, with whom Aikman had become a great friend; Horace Walpole lists Aikman's portraits of 'Queen Caroline & the Duke of Cumberland in Lady Burlington's dressing room on his visit to Burlington's house in Chiswick in 1760. Paget Toynbee (ed.), "Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats &c" *The Walpole Society* (1927-1928) Vol.XVI Oxford (1928) pp.22-3

³⁸⁵ Holloway (1988) p.12 Aikman painted at least three different versions of the full-length portraits, in addition to seven three-quarter lengths and five half-lengths. Many copies were also made, as well as prints after the paintings, for Argyll's political allies and supporters.

³⁸⁶ Holloway (1988) p.12. NAS GD18/4579 Letter dated 8 Dec 1720 from Aikman to Sir John Clerk

³⁸⁷ NAS GD18/4578 Letter dated 25 October 1720 from Aikman to Sir John Clerk

Lane and Covent Garden. He was enjoying some success but he was aware that in order to secure more lucrative work, it was essential to cultivate a more sophisticated professional persona: ‘...all business here [London] is managed in the Politicks...’³⁸⁸ One way to do so was to develop expert knowledge on art and collecting. There is evidence which suggests that during the early years of his practice in the city Aikman acted as agent for his cousin Sir John Clerk and bought many paintings on his behalf (including the gilt frames). Aikman’s club connections in the Society of Virtuosi of St. Luke (a convivial club for artists and connoisseurs and whose other members included Talman and Kent) may have assisted him with this venture.³⁸⁹ He was also acquainted with Clerk’s antiquary in London, Alexander Gordon, whose contacts and familiarity with Italian collections would have been useful to the painter.³⁹⁰ Moreover, Aikman’s earlier contact with antiquities and the great works of art on the Continent (especially his visit to Smyrna and travels with Talman in Naples) would have certainly sharpened his own expertise in this area.³⁹¹ Several of Aikman’s account receipts dated 1723 are signed by himself and Clerk in Edinburgh, which indicate that the painter made regular excursions to Scotland on this kind of business (see *figs.97-99*).³⁹²

Another way to raise one’s public profile was to move to a more genteel district of the city.

Aikman’s decision to move his practice may well have been also motivated by competition

³⁸⁸ NAS GD18/4587 Letter dated 24 Aug 1723 from Aikman to Sir John Clerk

³⁸⁹ In 1724 Aikman held position of steward of the society, whose duties were to provide the annual dinner at a London tavern. Whitley (1968) Vol.1, pp.74-5 and Vol.2, p.243. Vertue ‘Notebook III’ Vol 22. 1933-34 (1934) p.120

³⁹⁰ Gordon had spent many years in Italy, at first as a professional singer then antiquary. Described by Sir John Clerk as ‘a great lover of Antiquities’, he became renowned for his work on the Roman monuments in Scotland and Northern Britain, the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*. The work was published in two volumes in 1726, and its illustrious list of ‘subscribers’ included Smibert, the architects William Adam, Christopher Wren and James Gibbs, and the Drs. Mead and Hunter. See John M.Gray (Ed.), *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Baronet, Baron of the Exchequer; Extracted By Himself From His Own Journals, 1676-1755*, (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1892; Facsimile Edition Kessinger Publishing) pp.117-119

³⁹¹ Aikman also trawled the statuary auctions held in London on Clerk’s behalf : ‘I went with a friend of mine through all the statuary shows in Pickadilly & Hyde park corner but nothing for your purpose but a Triton or two ... [nothing but those] only proper for gardens.’ NAS GD18/4597 Letter from Aikman to Sir John Clerk dated 5th November 1724.

³⁹² NAS GD18/4567 receipts signed by William Aikman and Sir John Clerk dated 16 February and 16 April 1723; also bill from the frame maker and gilder, Jacques Hue dated 13 April 1723.

from his fellow Scottish painter, John Smibert, who had returned from Italy and had established a thriving practice in nearby Covent Garden by 1725. There were practical requirements too, as Aikman explained to Sir John Clerk:

I daily advance in the way of my business, but tho I am lodgd in a House which stands me near 60£ a year its not at all a right house for a Painter, I have been looking about for a better, I mean larger – with properer lights but see non that I can have under 100£ a year...tho everybody would push me to it as the only means of cutting a Figur as they call it here & so of raising my prices, without which is scarce profitable to save anything considerable.³⁹³

Aikman's search for larger premises underlines the rapid pace of mobility within the city in the period; he found that if he did not make an offer quick enough 'in such a populous place there is no home left ... as the opportunity is offer'd, it must be snatch'd else another comes in the play and picks it up.'³⁹⁴ The painter eventually moved his practice to the affluent area of Leicester Fields and his practice flourished.³⁹⁵ Amongst his most important commissions were his portraits of the Earl and Countess of Burlington and the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole. Aikman's portrait of Walpole was well received by the prime minister himself, '...he has declared it to be the best picture ever was done for him next to Sir Godfrey's, and he has satt to all the best masters in towne...'³⁹⁶ (see *figs.100-101*). These commissions heralded Aikman's establishment of an elite circle of patrons in the capital which would secure him future work. By the summer of 1727, Aikman was pleased to report that 'I am at present very full of business from the best people [and] I believe my business will goe on here... [I am] making great courtship to anybody for I have been very strong since you left...and a good appearance of continuing.'³⁹⁷

³⁹³ NAS GD18/4583 Letter (c. 1723) from Aikman to Sir John Clerk

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Auction notices in the *Daily Post* (Saturday April 3 1731) for Aikman's collection of prints and paintings after his death in 1731, lists his address as 'Mr Aikman's Dwelling-House, the East Side of Leicester Square'.

³⁹⁶ NAS GD18/4595 Letter dated 20 May 1724 from Aikman to Sir John Clerk

³⁹⁷ NAS GD18/4605 and 4604 Letters dated 10 & 15 June 1727 from Aikman to Sir John Clerk

Over the next couple of years Aikman's London practice continued to thrive. Unfortunately, however, tuberculosis was to cut short his career and eventually his life. The group portrait of *The Royal Family* (1730), probably commissioned by Burlington, was one of Aikman's last major commissions before he became too ill to work. A friend of the Clerks, Smart Lethieullier, gives an account of his visit to Aikman's studio shortly before he completed the painting:

I have this morning seen our freind Mr Aikman who I think poor man is in a very bad way...If he does not mend he proposes going to Naples in the Summer. Tis much to his misfortune to be taken from his Busyness at a time when he has all the employments he can desire, & I think is greatly improv'd. He is about finishing a very large picture of all the King's Children in one peice, for which they have satt, & he has succeeded extreamly well both in design & Execution...³⁹⁸

Aikman died in London the following year.

In contrast to Aikman, whose portrait practice took a few years to take hold, professional success came quickly for Ramsay. Only a year or so after his return from the Continent, Ramsay's portrait practice in Covent Garden was flourishing. As Ramsay's contemporary remarks to his friend Cunyngham highlights, London was *the* place to be, and he was making the most of his practice in the city after a two-year absence. He was enjoying a steady flow of commissions, successfully seeing off the competition from several of the most fashionable foreign portraitists practicing there:

You tell me you make money very fast by never being at home, I do the same but tis never being abroad... I have put all your vanloos and Soldis and Roscos to flight and now play the first fiddle myself.³⁹⁹

What had enabled Ramsay to gain a strong foothold in the notoriously fickle and crowded field of portrait painting in such a short time? Several reasons can be suggested for this.

³⁹⁸ NAS GD18/4595 letter dated around 1730 from Smart Lethieullier to Sir John Clerk

³⁹⁹ These being the French painter, Jean-Baptiste Van Loo and the Italian painters, Andrea Soldi and Francesco Carlo Rusca. NAS GD331/5/20 Letter from Ramsay to Cunyngham dated London April 10 1740.

Ramsay's association with Mead had provided him with valuable introductions to London society that helped to secure some of his early commissions from a wide spectrum of English and Scottish patrons. These connections were important in helping the painter to establish a prestigious network for future commissions:

[Ramsay] had in the first year of business for portraits people of the first quality, being recommended by Dr Mead... [he was] much cried up by the Scotch gentry they being much pleased with their Countryman's performances amongst the rest the Duke of Argyle sat for his picture at whole length in his robes and his Dutches, the Lord chancellor at length...many others Ladies and Gentlemen Scotch & English.⁴⁰⁰

Moreover Ramsay now had the cachet associated with studied in Italy. He impressed his sitters with the skills and techniques he had developed under his Italian masters and through studying Old Master paintings and the works of contemporary Italian painters, such as Batoni.⁴⁰¹ Perhaps more important still was that Ramsay brought back a 'new' method of painting. This is underlined by the art dealer Andrew Hay's observation that the depreciation of Old Master paintings in the London art market at this time was probably due to the preoccupation with the latest novelty: '...but then they want the advantage of being Nouvelmen Arivé, which goes along way...'⁴⁰² The technique involved applying several layers of red under-painting to the face on the canvas, which produced warmth and transparency to the flesh tones applied afterwards. Ramsay had adopted the technique from the work of Italian masters such as Benedetto Luti (1666-1724), one of the most influential painters practicing in Rome and Florence in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁴⁰³ The red under-painting can be detected in most of Ramsay's paintings (especially

⁴⁰⁰ Vertue 'Notebook III' Vol.22 1933-34 (1934) p.96

⁴⁰¹ Smart (1992) pp.74-76

⁴⁰² Letter dated 1738 from Andrew Hay to Sir John Clerk, quoted in Iain Gordon Brown, "Allan Ramsay's rise and Reputation", *The Walpole Society* Vol. L (1984) p.235

⁴⁰³ Vertue 'Notebook III' Vol. 22 1933-34 (1934) p.96, Smart(1952) p.35

where the glaze has cracked) painted between 1738 and 1761, such as his self-portrait and his portrait of his first wife, Anne Bayne (*figs.102-105*).⁴⁰⁴

Alexander Gordon, Clerk's antiquary, saw Ramsay's self-portrait in his studio in London: 'a head of young Allan's painting from nature, coloured in the manner of Solimena that quite surprized me. If he is equal to that in every other portrait he does, I pronounce him the best face painter in Brittain in which 'tis not my own opinion but that of all the connoisseurs in London.'⁴⁰⁵ However, Vertue was underwhelmed at Ramsay's early attempts to develop a new kind of realism in portrait painting: '[he]...has brought nothing new unless a way of painting faces the first setting- all red – or of lake or vermillion, the whole mask or visage over...'⁴⁰⁶ And in Hogarth's view the fuss made over it was typical of the disproportionate prestige credited to artists who had travelled to the Continent. His thinly veiled jibe echoes Hay's view of the prevailing capricious tastes: '...he has address enough to persuade the public that he has brought a new discovered method of colouring, and paints his faces all red, all blue, or all purple...'⁴⁰⁷

Though Vertue's comments suggest the technique was new to the London art world, a very similar method was documented forty years earlier by Marshall Smith in his treatise, *The Art of Painting...* (1693). Smith lists at least three shades of red paint, (vermillion, lake and Indian red) that could be used to model the head before applying the flesh tones.⁴⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Vertue's reaction to Ramsay's use of the method strongly suggests that he was the first British painter to be documented using the method (which he continued to employ until the early 1760s). Ramsay's

⁴⁰⁴ Smart (1952)p.39, n.3; for a further discussion of this technique, see Rica Jones, "The Artist's Training and Techniques", Elizabeth Einberg, *Manners and Morals: Hogarth and British Painting 1700-1760* Exhibition Catalogue (Tate Gallery, London 1988) pp.24-25

⁴⁰⁵ NAS GD18/5023/3/82 Letter from Gordon to Sir John Clerk dated 29 June 1738.

⁴⁰⁶ Vertue 'Notebook III' Vol.22 1933-34 (1934) p.85. Smart suggests that it was Vertue's bias towards the impasto techniques of great court portraitists such as Lely and Kneller, that he missed the significance of the employment of the method to impart realism to the sitter's face. Smart (1952) pp.39-40

⁴⁰⁷ Quoted in Whitley (1968) Vol.1, p.58

⁴⁰⁸ Smith (1693) Chapter XXIX pp.77-8

focus on realism shaped the direction and development of his future artistic practice: the visual effects of colour, light and the representation of textiles.

Although Ramsay had established a successful portrait practice in London, mobility remained an important and integral part of his professional artistic practice, not only to fulfil commissions, but also to develop his painting skills and individual technique. For many years Ramsay continued to maintain and cultivate a clientele in his native Scotland, where he established a second studio in his father's house on Castle Hill in Edinburgh (*fig.106*). Built in 1740, the house became known as 'goose pie' or 'guse pie' house because of the roundness of its shape and hexagonal roof. It was in a prime location, a short distance from the Castle walls and the houses of the Scottish elite.⁴⁰⁹ Ramsay operated a thriving practice from his studio there in the 1740s and 1750s, in addition to his studio in London.

It was not unusual for artists to travel between practices in the period. As we have seen earlier in the century, Aikman travelled between the English and Scottish capital for commissions, as did several of Ramsay's contemporaries, who include William Denune (1712-1750), who had successful practices in both Edinburgh and Dumfries, and George Chalmers (c.1720-1791), who moved between practices in Edinburgh, London and Hull.⁴¹⁰ Jeremiah Davison (c.1695–1745) also had practices in London and Scotland. Born in England of Scots-parents, Davison began his career in London as a popular copyist of the works of Sir Peter Lely. He subsequently set up a practice in the city in the early 1730s, during which he painted the portraits of aristocratic and notable figures such as Frederick, Prince of Wales and Admiral Byng. Through his membership at a Masonic lodge in London Davison met James, 2nd Duke of Atholl, whose portrait he painted and presented to the lodge. He went on to receive follow-

⁴⁰⁹ Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh* (London & Edinburgh 1825; 1912 Edition) p.16 Ramsay inherited the house on his father's death in 1758.

⁴¹⁰ Holloway (1989)pp.142-43

up commissions from the duke, and under his patronage travelled to Scotland, where he stayed for three years obtaining commissions from many of the duke's relatives. He returned to London in around 1740, nearly fifteen hundred pounds richer, '[and thus] increased his reputation & number of Friends', which enabled him to establish another successful and fashionable practice from his studio in his house in Leicester Fields until his death.⁴¹¹

However, Ramsay is especially notable for operating two successful portrait practices simultaneously. His employment of drapery assistants, such as the Flemish painter, Joseph Van Aken (also known as Vanhaecken) (c.1699-1749) facilitated this operation and organisation of dual metropolitan practices. Van Aken was an independent drapery specialist who was subcontracted by numerous portraitists and painters to complete the draperies and accessories in their paintings.⁴¹² He was also a painter in his own right. He had his own assistants and studio, which was conveniently located in King's Street in Covent Garden, near to Ramsay's studio in the piazza nearby and to those of many other painters of the day.⁴¹³ During his visits to Scotland, Ramsay would sometimes paint his sitters' heads in his Edinburgh studio, and send the canvases down to London for Van Aken to complete the rest of the figures and drapery in his own studio. A good example of this in practice is Ramsay's portrait of the *Hon. Francis Charteris and his wife Lady Katherine Gordon* (1747-8) (*fig.107*) Van Aken's own preliminary drawings (*figs.108-109*) for the portrait suggest that he was subsequently responsible for the rest of the painting. The portrait heads were then sewn into the main support of the canvas upon Ramsay's return to London, in January 1748.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹¹ Vertue, 'Notebook III' Vol.29, 1940-42(1947) p.129. Waterhouse (1981) p.103

⁴¹² ; Vertue confirms that Van Aken was employed by at least eight painters in the period: Ramsay (who was at one time paying Van Aken at least £100 pounds a year) and Hudson, Isaac Wood, John Vanderbank, Hamlet Winstanley, George Knappton, Giles Hussey and Bartholomew Dandridge. Vertue 'Notebook III', Vol.29 (1940-42) p.117.

⁴¹³ Desmond Shaw-Taylor, *The Georgians: Eighteenth-Century Portraiture and Society* (Barrie and Jenkins, London 1990) pp.11-13; Wedd et al (2001)p.27

⁴¹⁴ Smart (1999) p.91. Vertue 'Notebook III' Vol.29 1940-42 (1947) p.136

Ramsay also travelled around Scotland for commissions. In the summer of 1748, he spent several weeks at Inveraray Castle, the ancestral home of Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll; as in the case of Aikman, the cultivation of the patronage of powerful Scottish politicians like Argyll would later facilitate Ramsay's commissions for elite clientele in London. Ramsay's bust-length portrait of the Duke produced that year became the basis for the imposing seated full-length portrait (*fig.110*) commissioned by the Town Council of Glasgow in 1749.⁴¹⁵ The Glasgow commission would have also highlighted Ramsay's ability to cater to the demands of public portraiture. His deployment of dramatic light and shade effects heightens the realism of the figure of Argyll, which would have had maximum impact when viewed at a distance in the public space of the council hall.

In contrast to his portrait of Argyll, around this time Ramsay was also beginning to develop a more intimate, informal sort of portraiture to fulfil the demands of his urban clientele, figures such as the London merchant, John Sargent (1715-1791) and his wife, Rosamund (1722–1792) (*figs.111-112*), whose pendant portraits Ramsay was commissioned to paint on the occasion of their marriage in 1749. Sargent, who was also personal friend of the painter, provides a good example of the sort of mercantile elite Ramsay's London practice attracted. As David Hancock has highlighted in his study of an eighteenth-century merchant community in London, the commissioning of fashionable portraiture (and collecting works of art) was important for respectability and status: '[it was] one way that socially lesser men could compete with peers of the realm.'⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Smart (1992) pp.86-8

⁴¹⁶ David Hancock, *Citizens of the World; London Merchants and the Integration of the Atlantic Community 1735-1785* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995) pp.347-363,375. Sargent was a member of one of four circles of partnership that included 23 merchants identified by Hancock, operating in London during the period.

Sargent was amongst the most successful merchants operating from the city in the eighteenth century. His international trading firm was one of London's largest buyers of East India goods and developed trade links with North America and West Africa.⁴¹⁷ Sargent also commissioned portraits from George Romney: a description of the interior of the Sargents' house appears in Christie's *A Catalogue of Household Furniture* (1806) which lists in the 'Large drawing Room': Four Sargent family portraits by Alan (*sic*) Ramsay and George Romney hung between large, full-length pier glass mirrors...⁴¹⁸

The death of Van Aken in July in the same year hastened the sea-change in Ramsay's portraiture.⁴¹⁹ His growing focus on informal realism continued to evolve, most noticeably in mid-1750s and early 1760s. The likely reason was his need to respond to the growing competition from Reynolds, who since his return from the continent in 1752, was developing his 'Grand Manner' or 'Grand Style' portraiture.⁴²⁰ Therefore Ramsay's lengthy second stay on the continent, from July 1754 until August 1757, was probably spurred on by a desire to develop a new style in order to compete with Reynolds.

Upon his arrival in Rome, Ramsay revisited the French Academy, which was under the direction of eminent French portrait and history painter, Charles Natoire, and attended life classes there during the evenings. Moreover, he seems to have had some contact with French artistic community in the city, which included the painters Jean Honoré Fragonard, Hubert

⁴¹⁷ Hancock (1995)p.73

⁴¹⁸ Christie's *A Catalogue of Household Furniture* (London 15th -16th December 1806) quoted in Hancock (1995) pp.97-8

⁴¹⁹ After Joseph van Aken's death, Ramsay seems to have employed his 'much less gifted' brother, Alexander for a while. From the mid-1750s onwards, Ramsay's assistants included David Martin, Alexander Nasmyth and Philip Reinagle. Smart (1992) p.88.

⁴²⁰ Smart (1992)pp.149-151. In Reynolds' second letter to the *Idler* (a weekly series of essays that were published in letter form) in 1759, he criticizes the mechanic aspect of slavish imitation in painting, and emphasises the need of 'Grand Style' if painting is to maintain its status as a liberal art.: 'The grand style of Painting requires this minute attention to be carefully avoided, and must be kept as separate from it as the style of Poetry from that of History.' "The Idler. No.79 Saturday 20th October 1759", Samuel Johnson, *The Idler. In Two Volumes...* (London, 1761) Vol.2 p.149

Robert and Jean-Baptiste Greuze. Ramsay may well have also attended the informal academy set up by the French artist Laurent Pécheux and his friends at Santa Trinità del Monte, which was supervised by Pompeo Batoni as drawing master.⁴²¹ It is perhaps unsurprising therefore upon his return from the continent, Ramsay's portraiture further incorporated elements of fashionable French portraiture in order to appeal to such members of the British metropolitan élites as Ramsay's friend, the famous bluestocking and London society hostess, *Elizabeth Montagu* (1762), (*fig.113*).⁴²² Ramsay's representation of the sitter echoes the sort of informal, yet sophisticated portraits produced by contemporary French portraitists, such as Jean-Baptiste Perroneau's portrait of *Madame de Sorquainville* (1749) (*fig.114*).⁴²³

After his return to London in the late summer of 1757, Ramsay moved his house and studio from Covent Garden to the more fashionable residential area of Soho Square.⁴²⁴ Ramsay's change of location also coincided with his admittance into royal circles through his commission for the Earl of Bute to paint the impressive full-length portrait of George, Prince of Wales (*fig.115*) (later George III) in the autumn of 1757. Ramsay's previous commissions for Bute's uncle, the duke of Argyll, may well have helped to facilitate his contact with Bute. During the following year, the Prince of Wales responded likewise, commissioning Ramsay to paint Bute's portrait (*fig.116*).⁴²⁵ The cultivation of such clientele was an important aspect of a successful metropolitan practice. Portraitists displayed the portraits of their famous sitters in their painting rooms to attract potential patrons.

⁴²¹ Smart (1992)pp.118-9

⁴²² E.J Climenson, *Elizabeth Montagu, The Queen of the Bluestockings: her Correspondence from 1720 to 1761* (London 1906) 2 Vols. Smart (1952) pp.83-4 and (1992) p.91

⁴²³ André Pératé, "Notes on the Portrait Exhibition in Paris-II" *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 15, No. 76 (Jul., 1909), p.212. Paul Ratouis de Limay "Jean-Baptiste Perronneau, Painter and Pastel-List, 1715-1783" *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 36, No. 202 (Jan., 1920), p. 36. The figure of Montagu has also been compared to Jean-Marc Nattier's portrait of *Marie Leczinska* (1748) See Smart (1999) catalogue No.371, p.160

⁴²⁴ Smart (1992) p.149

⁴²⁵ James, 2nd Earl Waldegrave, described Bute as having '...a good person, fine legs and a theatrical air of the greatest importance.' *Memoirs* (from 1754-1758) (London, 1821)p.38 quoted in Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of King George II* (Ed.) John Brooke, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) Vol.1, pp.32-3 n. 9

In 1760, on the accession of the Prince of Wales as George III, Ramsay was commissioned to paint the coronation portraits of George III and Queen Charlotte (*figs.117-118*) and thereafter was appointed as ‘one of His majesty’s Principal Painters in Ordinary’.⁴²⁶ He was also engaged to paint the copies of the coronation portraits and all the commissions which passed through the Lord Chamberlain’s office.⁴²⁷ It was a huge project to produce such a large number of paintings (the copies ran into hundreds) for numerous recipients, who included ambassadors, colonial governors, and heads of state, corporations and institutions.⁴²⁸ An acquaintance of Ramsay’s, Joseph Moser’s describes the production-line method employed by the artist to execute the paintings, highlights the pressure of such an undertaking:

I have seen his show-room crowded with portraits of His Majesty in every stage of their operation. The ardour with which these beloved objects were sought for by distant corporations and transmarine colonies was astonishing; the painter with all the assistance he could procure could by no means satisfy the diurnal demands that were made in Soho Square upon his talents and industry, which was probably the reason why some of these pictures were not so highly finished as they ought to have been.⁴²⁹

In due course, the execution of the portrait copies necessitated larger premises and in 1764, Ramsay bought a large house at number 67 Harley Street, where he converted several outbuildings into a studio-factory and a long gallery for the production of the royal portraits.⁴³⁰ After 1766, Ramsay’s output of other portrait commissions decreased and the royal commissions were, to a degree, dominate his portrait practice for almost twenty years.⁴³¹ The main burden of drapery painting was taken on by his assistant David Martin,

⁴²⁶ Smart (1992) pp.164-67. The post of Principal Painter had been held by John Shackleton, and it was presumed that Ramsay would be taking over from him with the accession of the new king. However due to an administrative error, Shackleton was sworn in once more, and Ramsay did not take over the post until after Shackleton’s death in 1768.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Around 200 portraits are listed in Smart (1999)pp.112-121

⁴²⁹ Extract from Moser’s account of his visit to Ramsay’s Soho studio in *European Magazine* Vol. LXIV (1813)p.516

⁴³⁰ Smart (1992) p.149

⁴³¹ Smart (1992)p.IX, Smart corrects the notion that Ramsay painted nothing apart from replicas of his state portraits, he points out that Ramsay was still executing other commissions in this period.

who remained in Ramsay's service until 1775.⁴³² In March 1773, Ramsay sustained an injury to his right arm in a fall, which enforced his retirement from painting.⁴³³ Nevertheless, he made two more trips to the continent before his death in 1784. Ramsay's visits to Italy in 1775-7 and 1782-4 were preoccupied with his antiquarian interests, including his investigation of the site of Horace's Sabine Villa at Licenza.⁴³⁴

In comparison to the models of artistic mobility exemplified by Aikman and Ramsay, Forbes' metropolitan practice was far more static. Following her return from the Continent, Forbes stayed briefly in Edinburgh, where she received commissions to execute in London; during her visit she may well have also called upon Allan Ramsay for his advice on the practicalities of portrait practice, such as fees. In her letter to Robert Chalmers, Forbes' sister, Elizabeth confirms that: '...the prices you know were fixed by the advice of Allen [*sic*] Ramsay, at 15 guineas a head, 20 the bust & 30 the half length.'⁴³⁵

By the early summer of 1771, Forbes had set up a studio in St. Martin's Lane, London with the expectation that she could realize the sort of professional success and recognition as a female portraitist enjoyed by her contemporaries, Katherine Read and Angelica Kauffmann, who operated fashionable practices catering to the metropolitan élites.⁴³⁶ However, like many artists working in the London art world in the period, Forbes found practice in the capital challenging, as her efforts to establish her professional artistic persona and cultivate a client base illustrate. She was initially very busy with painting commissions from Edinburgh and

⁴³² Irwin (1975)pp.65-68

⁴³³ Smart (1992)pp.238-9

⁴³⁴ See J. Holloway, 'Two projects to illustrate Allan Ramsay's treatise on Horace's Sabine villa', *Master Drawings*, 14 (1976) pp.280-86

⁴³⁵ NLS MS20767 Letter dated 13 August 1772 from Forbes' sister, Elizabeth Forbes to Robert Chalmers

⁴³⁶ Lady Victoria Manners, "Catherine Read: the 'English Rosalba' " *The Connoisseur Magazine* December 1931, Vol.88 No.364, pp.376-86, Margery Morgan, "Katherine Read: A Woman Painter in Romney's London" *The Transactions of the Romney Society* Vol. 4 1999, pp.12-17. Wendy Wassyng Roworth, "Kauffman and the Art of Painting in England", Wendy Wassyng Roworth (Ed.), *Angelica Kauffman : A Continental Artist in Georgian England* (London, 1992)pp.37-91

London-based Scots (or those with Scottish connections) and Grand Tourists whom she had met in Italy. One of her most important commissions was for Robert Ord, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland (*fig.119*). The composition of the impressive half-length painting may have been inspired by Ramsay's portraits of *Sir James Dalrymple* (1740) and *Sir Hew Dalrymple* (1754) (*figs.120-121*).⁴³⁷ Another major commission (also a half-length) was for the Scottish politician and courtier, Charles Douglas, third Duke of Queensberry (*fig.122*).

To attract further clients, Forbes endeavoured to include the latest trends in female portraiture within her repertoire. Portraitists such as Reynolds and Kauffmann exemplified the reigning vogue for the portrayal of female sitters as allegorical, mythical and historical figures (see *figs.123-124*). The famous political hostess Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon, was portrayed as the Goddess Diana (*fig.125*) by Kauffmann in 1772 and in the same year, Forbes depicted her in the character of a Sybil.⁴³⁸ However, Forbes' portrait of the Duchess received mixed reviews - her technique was perhaps at odds with the more dramatic sort of portraiture being demanded by many metropolitan clients - as Forbes' sister Elizabeth comments when discussing the paintings the artist had executed since her arrival in the capital:

As to the characters there is non but the portrait style except the Duchess of Gordon who is in the character of a Sybil with a scroll of parchment in her hand, there being no paper in the times of Sybils, tho many of the Dillitenis [dilettantes] here found fault with it not being a paper. I don't meen by this that her works are much inferior to any of them, as without prejudice when you consider them as portraits I do think they stand their ground with any that I have seen - but the taste of the present times here is confounding portrait

⁴³⁷ Ord (1700-1778), a former Member of Parliament for St Michael's borough, Newcastle and Morpeth, Northumberland, was appointed to the post in Scotland in 1755. E. Mackenzie (Ed.), *An Historical, topographical and descriptive view of the County of Northumberland...* (Second edition, Newcastle Upon Tyne 1825) Vol.2, pp. 360-61

⁴³⁸ SNPG Ann Forbes Artist File: there is a photograph of a painting that fits this description, but the painting has not, as yet, been confirmed as Forbes' work.

& History Painting together which is a thing peculiar to Britain...here the misses are not pleased without they be flying in the air or riding in a cloud feeding Jupiter's eagle.⁴³⁹

However, despite the fact that Forbes exhibited four paintings at the Royal Academy in the summer of 1772 and that she did gain important commissions, such as her portraits of Baron Ord and the Duke of Queensberry, she found it hard to establish a steady flow of commissions and cultivate a more diverse client base.⁴⁴⁰ It was a frustrating situation for the artist. On the one hand she was finding the workload difficult to cope with; but on the other she still did not receive enough commissions to employ a drapery assistant. This was crucial for her practice, as Forbes' mother, Margaret highlights: '...without a run of English business such as could enable her to employ a drapery painter, she can in no way live here...'⁴⁴¹

Moreover, promises of future work did not materialise:

When Ann came here she had in view many powerful patrons and who we suppos'd would not only show her [shape?] away as an Artist but as a Gentlewoman, and that immediately she would have some faces to shew that were generally renown, but vice versa no one has ever taken her by the hand or so much come to see her works, all the world was at the exhibition and in the catalogues every Artists name and place of abode was mark'd so if any one had been so minded to do her service she was easy to be found...⁴⁴²

The fact that Forbes was not able to obtain more painting commissions from well-known figures was significant. By displaying such portraits, portraitists could publicize their practice and attract new clientele, and as Forbes discovered, without celebrity faces in her studio, it was difficult to do so:

...a Coronet coach came today with 5 ladys to look at pictures they said they knew none of them & that there was not half enough pictures, some of them

⁴³⁹ NLS MS20767 Letter dated 13 August 1772 from Elizabeth Forbes to Robert Chalmers. The Duchess of Gordon had also sat for Read in a similar guise in 1768, see Morgan (1999)p.13, plate.2 ; Kauffman, especially capitalized on female patronage for such subjects, see Rosenthal (2006)pp.163-8

⁴⁴⁰ Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts; A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904* (London 1905) Vol.3 p.134, Forbes' other entries were: 'portrait of a Lady of quality', 'an Officer', and 'a Young girl.'; NLS MS20767 Letter dated 13 October 1772 from Ann Forbes.

⁴⁴¹ NLS MS20767 Letter dated 26 October 1772, from Margaret Forbes to Robert Chalmers

⁴⁴² NLS MS20767 Letter dated 12 Dec 1772 from Margaret Forbes to Robert Chalmers

had been here before as they ask'd in particular to see Miss Forbes' sisters picture with the guitar.⁴⁴³

One reason for this failure in Forbes' patronal connections, suggests Duncan Macmillan, was that the Clerk connections that served Aikman and Ramsay so well in their early practice, had petered out by the last quarter of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴⁴ It seems that Forbes also found it difficult to negotiate the demands of a competitive art market and the changing tastes of a fickle clientele. The traditional sort of patron-artist relationship experienced between her grandfather, William Aikman and his patrons John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll and Richard Boyle, Lord Burlington in the early part of the eighteenth century, had all but disappeared. By the time Forbes was practising in London, as Louise Lippincott has highlighted, the trend to patronise several portraitists rather than remain loyal to one practitioner, was well established, '...few patrons could resist the temptation to see their reflections in different mirrors, and artists had to fight to attract and still more to keep their attention.'⁴⁴⁵ Unfortunately for Forbes, she did not benefit from this phenomenon; she was passed over for better known portrait practitioners:

Mrs Pelham has at last favour'd us with a call in, but no more, she is sitting to Sir Joshua [Reynolds], Miss angelica [Kauffmann] & [Nathaniel] Dance, we call'd on her but according to custom were not admitted...⁴⁴⁶

Eventually, tired and ill, Forbes was forced to return to Scotland in 1773, where she later set up a portrait practice in Edinburgh with some success, and later she was appointed portrait painter to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1788.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Macmillan (1990) p.111

⁴⁴⁵ Lippincott (1988) pp. 69-70

⁴⁴⁶ NLS MS20767 Letter dated 12 Dec 1772, from Margaret Forbes to Robert Chalmers

⁴⁴⁷ Macmillan (1990) p.111, Patricia R. Andrew, 'Ann Forbes, (1745–1834)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/73393> [accessed 24 July 2010]

We have seen that the English and Scottish capitals were an integral part of early European artistic circuits. Both cities operated not only as centres of portraiture in themselves, but also as a crossroads for arrivals and departures of foreign and native portraitists. The case studies of Aikman, Ramsay and Forbes have shed some light on how some of these artistic circuits operated were undertaken. However, the models of artistic mobility exemplified by our three portraitists were not only shaped by the kinds of the travel and training undertaken, but also by the developing networks of patrons and dealers in the period. Changing political and social factors were also important in relation to their mobility. The case of Forbes stands out here in distinction to Aikman and Ramsay who successfully practiced in both capitals. Her experience of metropolitan practice underlines the challenges faced by portraitists - particularly female portraitists - striving to make their way in the London art world during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Why was Forbes' unsuccessful in her venture in London? Her gender may have made the cultivation of a sustainable and varied client base in London especially difficult. As a woman, the conventional routes into building and maintaining patronal networks, such as clubs and art dealing utilised by Aikman and Ramsay, were denied her. However, her female counterparts, Katherine Read and Angelica Kauffmann, were able to overcome such obstacles through their cultivation of elite female patronage. Another possible reason for her relative lack of success is that she may have been unable or unprepared to fulfil the demands of a shifting consumer clientele who had the choice of the many portrait painters operating in the English metropolis. The fact that Forbes set up a portrait practice on her return to Scotland suggests that this may well have been the case. Like Forbes, there were many artists who, threatened by the sheer competitiveness of the London art world chose alternative locations outside of the English capital in which to set up a practice. With this in mind, having explored portraitists' artistic mobility within Britain,

we can now turn our attention to those practitioners who ventured further afield, and who sought to develop their careers in the American colonies.

CHAPTER THREE

AMERICA: ARTISTIC MOBILITY IN THE BRITISH ATLANTIC WORLD

New Horizons

Why did British portrait painters travel to America? For those artists who sought an alternative market to Britain and Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century, Britain's American colonies proved an attractive proposition. Several reasons can be suggested for this. America was frequently idealised as an unspoilt paradise, a place for new beginnings, and as a land of opportunity where one could make one's fortune. Dean George Berkeley envisages a utopian vision for the arts in his verses on *The Prospect of Planting ARTS and LEARNING in America* (1726), which he hoped would promote his project to build a college of the arts and sciences for the instruction of Native Americans in Bermuda. Berkeley contrasts the stagnation of the arts in Europe with their elevation and renewal under the auspices of an expanding British Empire:

The Muse, disgusted at an Age and Clime,
Barren of every Glorious Theme,
In distant Lands now waits a better Time,
Producing Subjects worthy Fame:

In happy Climes, where from the genial Sun
And virgin Earth such Scenes ensue,
The Force of Art by Nature seems outdone,
And fancied Beauties by the true:

In happy Climes the seat of Innocence,
Where Nature guides and Virtue rules,
Where Men shall not impose for Truth and Sense
The Pedantry of Courts and Schools:

There shall be sung another golden Age,
The rise of Empire and of Arts,
The Good and Great inspiring epic Rage,
The wisest Heads and noblest Hearts.
Not such as *Europe* breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heav'nly Flame did animate her Clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way;
The first four Acts already past,
A fifth shall close the Drama with the Day;
Time's noblest Offspring is the last.⁴⁴⁸

Horace Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting England* (1762) echoes Berkeley in his view of the colonies as 'a new theatre of prospects, rich warm, and glowing with scenery which no pencil had yet made cheap and common by a sameness and thinking of imagination.'⁴⁴⁹ The view that the colonies were part of an expanding British imperial community was reinforced by the acquisition of new territories following British victory in the Seven Years War. Walpole also highlights the potential of these new territorial gains for Britain in the American Colonies in relation to the export and rejuvenation of her arts (and artists), 'As our disputes and politics have travelled to America, is it not probable that poetry and painting too, will revive amidst those extensive tracts as they increase in opulence and empire, and where the stones of nature are so various, so magnificent, and so new?'⁴⁵⁰

The American territories (which included the Trans-Appalachian West, Quebec, East and West Florida) were important new consumer markets and sources of manpower, and consequently the period saw increased communication and travel between the American colonies and Britain, which helped create the sense that the colonies seemed less remote in

⁴⁴⁸ Although Berkeley's verses were written in 1726, probably due to the failure of the project they were not published until 1752; George Berkeley, *A Miscellany containing several tracts on Various Subjects. By the Bishop of Cloyne* (London 1752) pp.186-7

⁴⁴⁹ Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of painting in England; with some account of the principal artists; and incidental notes on other arts; collected by the late Mr. George Vertue*. Second Edition (London 1765-71) Vol.4. p.29

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid. The American colonies were perceived as an 'open-society' version of Britain, 'free of the encumbrances of king and nobility, prelates and paupers, but blessed with unlimited land, Indians to expropriate, black slaves and indentured servants...' See Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*. (Penguin London, Revised Edition 1990) p.36

relation to each other (and to Europe).⁴⁵¹ Moreover, the appeal of the colonies was underpinned by the reassuring perception that across the vast expanse of the Atlantic ocean, they offered an extension of the British Isles, and that the lives of the colonists (the majority of whom were of British descent) and their societies were ‘parallel and comparable’ to those who resided in Britain. The colonists not only shared a common material culture - they followed British fashions, read British books and bought British goods - but also adopted ‘English liberties’ and values which made the British Empire distinct.⁴⁵²

Furthermore, portraitists were in demand. Commerce played an important part in the development of visual culture in the American colonies, and all sorts of consumer goods from Britain and all over the British Empire, were exported to the British territories in North America in the eighteenth century: textiles, porcelain and furniture disseminated the latest metropolitan tastes in fashionable dress, decor and manners. Colonial consumers could purchase a wide variety of imported prints and paintings, which were transported in great quantities to the colonies. However, portrait paintings - by their very nature necessitating at least one sitting with the artist - could not be imported. Therefore, in order to meet the demand for portraits, portraiture became the dominant genre practised by artists in America during the first half of the eighteenth century.⁴⁵³

Additionally, the American colonies were a less crowded artistic arena than that to be found at home. Compared to the ‘fifty-seven eminent artists’ listed practicing in London in 1748 in the November issue of the *Universal Magazine*, in the period between 1740 and 1755, there

⁴⁵¹ Elizabeth Mancke “Empire and State”, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Eds.) David Armitage and Michael J.Braddick (Palgrave Macmillan, London 2002) pp.192-3.

⁴⁵² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and the spread of nationalism* (London, New York, 1991) pp.188, 192. Colley (1992) pp.140-141. Jack P. Greene, “Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution”, (Marshall, 2001)Vol.II, p.223

⁴⁵³ Carrie Rehora Barratt “Faces of a new Nation: American Portraits of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries”, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series Vol 61. No.1 (Summer 2003) p.10

were only between one and three active portraitists resident at any one time in key American cities such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston.⁴⁵⁴ Even when the numbers of painters increased to as many as seven in several cities between 1756 and 1776, America, when compared to London, still provided visiting artists very favourable odds for obtaining commissions.⁴⁵⁵

Artistic mobility had an important relationship with social mobility in the colonies. The fluidity of American colonial society provided numerous opportunities for portrait painters; one eighteenth-century colonial commentator noted that, ‘Every Tradesman is a Merchant, every Merchant is a Gentleman, and every Gentleman one of the noblesse.’⁴⁵⁶ Although the overall development of élite culture in the colonies closely followed that of Britain, art historians such as Wayne Craven have highlighted that colonists often sought to ‘define their own levels of middle-class aristocracy, from yeoman-tradesman-merchant beginnings to patrimonies of wealth, social position, and elegance of lifestyle.’⁴⁵⁷ And significantly, for the upwardly mobile, ‘the lower line was penetrable and the upper line was flexible.’⁴⁵⁸ Therefore portrait paintings acquired a certain cachet as one of the few luxury objects that could be made in situ.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁴ Jessie Poesch, “‘In Just Lines to Trace’ - The Colonial Artist, 1700-1776”, *The Portrait In Eighteenth-Century America*, (Ed.) Ellen G.Miles (Newark, University of Delaware Press, London and Toronto, Associated University Presses, 1993) p.62

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid. In Mortimer’s 1763 directory, there are one hundred and twenty-one painters listed, forty-nine of whom are portrait painters; Marcia Pointon has estimated (based on recorded exhibiting artists) there was a minimum of one-hundred and eleven portraitists active in London in the 1780s, see her article, “Portrait Painting as a Business Enterprise in London in the 1780s” (*Art History*, Vol.7 No.2 June 1984) p.190

⁴⁵⁶ Anonymous author, (alias ‘Mentor’) *South Carolina Gazette*, 1 March 1773, extract from the newspaper article quoted in Rutledge (1949)p.117

⁴⁵⁷ Michael J Braddick, “Civility and Authority”, Armitage and Braddick (2002) pp.93-112. Wayne Craven, *Colonial American Portraiture: the economic, religious, social, cultural, philosophical, scientific, and aesthetic foundations* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986) p.xvii.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Rebora Barratt (2003) p.10; Lovell (2005) p.22

Portraitists in the Americas (many of whom were of British origin) often became highly mobile practitioners. In their search for new commercial prospects in a range of urban and rural locations, portraitists generated patterns of movement and developed networks of patronage which not only shaped their artistic practice, but also highlighted the fact that mobility was an essential part of the ‘migrant experience in the New World’.⁴⁶⁰ As a result, British portrait painters’ artistic practice in colonial America seems to be differentiated by a particular sense of self-sufficiency and separation from that found in the metropole. In contrast to their counterparts who practised on the continent and in India later in the century, British portraitists working in the American colonies do not appear to have sent paintings back to Britain for exhibition.⁴⁶¹ We shall see that there were different (and overlapping) models of artistic mobility demonstrated by British portraitists working in the colonies.

John Smibert (1688-1751) is perhaps the best known British portrait painter to have practised in America in the first half of the eighteenth century. His career and work have been the focus of significant scholarly attention, the most recent example of which is Richard H. Saunders’ extensive study, *John Smibert: Colonial America’s First Portrait Painter* (1995).⁴⁶² During his early career, Smibert had followed a similar trajectory to his fellow Scot, William Aikman: he studied in London before establishing a portrait practice in his native Edinburgh.

⁴⁶⁰ James Horn, “British Diaspora: Emigration from Britain 1680-1815”, *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (Ed.) P.J Marshall (Oxford University Press Oxford University Press 1998; 2001) Vol.II, p.29

⁴⁶¹ Conversely, John Singleton Copley (1738-1815) is probably the best-known example of an American artist to do so with his portrait of *Henry Pelham (Boy with a Squirrel)* (1765), which he sent to London for the Society of Artists’ exhibition in 1766, see Jennifer L. Roberts “Copley’s Cargo: *Boy with a Squirrel* and the Dilemma of Transit” *American Art*, Volume 21, No.2 (Summer 2007) pp. 20–41. The painting is listed in the Society of Artists’ exhibition catalogue (with an incorrect first name and alternative spelling of his surname): ‘Mr William Copely, Boston New England, *A boy with a flying squirrel.*’ Society of Artists of Great Britain, *A catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, designs in architecture, models, drawings, prints, &c. exhibited by the Society of Artists of Great-Britain* (London, 1766) p.4

⁴⁶² Richard H. Saunders, *John Smibert: Colonial America’s First Portrait Painter* (Yale University Press, New Haven; London 1995) See also the earlier major study by Henry Wilder Foote, *John Smibert, Painter*, which includes a descriptive catalogue of his work, and notes on the paintings of his son, Nathaniel Smibert. (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1950) 8 Volumes

He then embarked on a continental tour (1719-22) during which he studied in Florence and Rome.⁴⁶³ On his return from Italy, Smibert set up his portrait studio in London. Although he was professionally successful there, Smibert sought an alternative to the ruthless cut and thrust of London's commercial art world and in late 1728, he joined Berkeley and his party bound for Bermuda.⁴⁶⁴

However, by May 1729 the Bermuda project had stalled thanks to lack of funding (it was eventually abandoned altogether) and Smibert decided to settle in Boston, hoping to meet a demand for the services of a competent British artist 'in the most promising field in the Colonies'.⁴⁶⁵ He went on to establish a successful portrait practice, capitalizing on the status of his training in Italy and practice in London to cultivate a client base amongst the merchant gentry of the city and travellers through the busy port of Boston.⁴⁶⁶ His sitters ranged from the 'middling sort' to some of the most important and influential figures in New England, such as the Newport shipping merchant, 'King' David Chesebrough, who was fabulously wealthy and had Scottish connections (see *fig.126*).⁴⁶⁷

Like fashionable painters in London, Smibert utilised his studio in Boston as an exhibition space to display recent commissioned paintings as well as his art collection (which he had brought with him to America). His studio attracted local artists, patrons and tourists, many of

⁴⁶³ John Smibert, *The Notebook of John Smibert* (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston 1969) pp.3-7. Ingamells (1997) pp.864-5.

⁴⁶⁴ Saunders (1995) pp.57-59

⁴⁶⁵ *The Notebook of John Smibert* (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston 1969) p.5; in his first year in Boston, Smibert had painted twenty-six sitters. By January 1731, it became apparent that the funding for Berkeley's college had been withdrawn and the Bermuda project was consequently abandoned.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.60, 83-4

⁴⁶⁷ Smibert may well have made Chesebrough's acquaintance in Newport, Rhode Island where he spent a couple of months before travelling to Boston in April 1729. Chesebrough was a prominent member of the Scots Charitable Society and was noted for promoting Scots interests in colonies; he had Scots ancestry, his maternal grandfather was the Stonington (Connecticut) merchant Fergus MacDowall, who was of Scots-Irish parentage. Michael J.Boonstra, "David Chesebrough", *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. Vol. 156 July 2002 (no. 623) pp.222-236, n.29

whom would have never seen such a range of different genres including portraiture and history paintings. Amongst the paintings he displayed was the impressive large-scale conversation piece, *The Bermuda Group* (fig.127). Combining elements from Renaissance history painting and allegory, it was a type of group portrait that had never before been seen in the American colonies and it became one of the most influential paintings to be produced there.⁴⁶⁸ The painting had been commissioned (by John Wainwright) to commemorate the Bermuda project in 1728, prior to Berkeley and his party's departure from England. However following the failure of the project, the painting remained in Smibert's studio.

Visitors to Smibert's studio included a young Bostonian Mather Byles, who after his visit in 1730 published a poem in which he especially praised the realism of the painter's work:

...Still wondrous artist let thy pencil flow/Still warm with Life thy blended colours glow/Raise the ripe Blush, bid the quick Eye-balls roll/and call forth every Passion of the Soul.⁴⁶⁹

Some visitors came from further afield. Dr Alexander Hamilton, a Scottish physician who had emigrated to Maryland in 1738, visited Smibert's studio twice during his tour of the colonies between 30th May 1744 and 27th September 1744. There he saw 'a collection of fine pictures, among the rest that part of Scipio's history in Spain where he delivers the lady to the prince to whom she had been betrothed... I saw here likewise a collection of good busts and statues, most of them antiques done in clay and paste, among the rest of Homers head and a model of the Venus of Medicis.'⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸ Saunders (1995) pp.84-6

⁴⁶⁹ Poetry had been used as an elevated form of publicity for painters and their work since the late seventeenth century. Saunders (1995)p.53 Byles published the poem in the *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia) 10-19 February 1730, p.2, quoted in Henry Wilder Foote, "Mr. Smibert shows His Pictures March 1730" *New England Quarterly*, March 1935, Vol.8, No.1, pp.19-21 It was also reprinted in the *London Daily Courant* 14 April, 1730, cited in Vertue 'Notebook III' 1933-1934 (1934) Vol.22, pp.42-3.

⁴⁷⁰ Dr Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr Alexander Hamilton* (1744) Ed. Carl Bridenbaugh, (University of North Carolina Press, USA 1948) Tuesday 24th July 1744. Smibert's studio and collection was kept intact, providing inspiration for future artists. It could still be seen long after his death in

Nevertheless, to insure against slack periods, Smibert opened a paint shop, for which he regularly advertised in the Boston press (and which would also indirectly attract potential patrons to his studio).⁴⁷¹ He not only sold artists' supplies, but also prints produced by the London-born émigré, the engraver and painter Peter Pelham (1697-1751), who had established himself in Boston in 1727 (*figs.128-129*).⁴⁷² Additionally, Smibert advertised a range of imported continental and British prints sent by his agent in London, the print seller Arthur Pond (*fig.130*), some of which he would use as inspiration for his own portrait compositions.⁴⁷³ The seascapes he requested from Pond may well have been similar to those he employed in the background for his portrait of the merchant, Richard Bill (*fig.131*): 'These ships I want sometimes for to be in a distant view in Portraits of Merchts etc who chuse such, so if there be any better done since send them, but they must be in the modern construction...'⁴⁷⁴

Smibert's contact with Pond also kept him informed of latest news and artistic trends in London. Several of their letters written in the early 1740s highlight the disruption to shipping and the slump in the art market caused by the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748). And although he was no longer in Britain, at the centre of the London art world, Smibert suggests (like many colonists) that he felt very much that he was still an extension of it:

I am sorry the State of the Virtu is at so low an ebb. if the arts are about to leave Great Britain I wish they may take their flight into our new World that they may, at least remain in some part of the British dominions, remember me to al my old friends

1751; amongst the visitors in the 1760s and 1770s were the American artists John Singleton Copley and Charles Wilson Peale. Flexner (1947) p.130

⁴⁷¹ The paint shop was run by Smibert's nephew, Thomas Moffatt (1702-1787) who had joined him in Boston. Smibert (1969) p.9

⁴⁷² Groce and Wallace (1969). Saunders (1995) pp.65-6

⁴⁷³ Lippincott (1983)pp.115, 119. Saunders (1995) pp.101-102

⁴⁷⁴ Letter dated, Boston, 24th March, 1744, Smibert to Arthur Pond, quoted in James Schouler "Smibert-Moffatt Letters", *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, Vol. 49 (Oct., 1915 - Jun., 1916) p.31

among the Painters...when you write me let me know the State of Painting, who makes a figure and what eminent ones are gone of the Stage, as for myself I have as much as keeps me employed...⁴⁷⁵

So far Smibert's story appears to be one of emigration and settlement. However towards the end of his professional career in 1740, he undertook a painting tour that lasted almost a year, and that saw him visiting Philadelphia, Burlington in New Jersey and New York. During his tour Smibert utilised patron networks and letters of introduction. It was a highly successful and productive period in which he painted several figures of the political élite, such as the Lieutenant Governor of New York, George Clarke (1676-1760) (*fig.132*). During his one month stay in the city he received eleven commissions, 'more than any other month of his career'.⁴⁷⁶ We can suggest here that Smibert's tour exemplifies one mode of artistic mobility, albeit of a limited sort. Significantly, Smibert was not alone. Saunders briefly acknowledges there were other artists practicing in the American colonies when he describes Smibert as the 'first portrait painter of *any distinction* (my emphasis) to attempt to carve out an existence in colonial America'.⁴⁷⁷

In fact there was a whole range of artists (and craftsmen) working in the American colonies; British painters were part of a larger community of immigrant European artists.⁴⁷⁸ As early as the 1630s, Netherland artists had been working in the Dutch colonial settlement of New Amsterdam (later New York).⁴⁷⁹ The Dutch painter, Evert Duyckinck I (1621-1702) set up a

⁴⁷⁵ Letter dated 1st July 1743, Smibert to Pond, quoted in Schouler (1915-1916)p.29

⁴⁷⁶ Saunders (1995) pp.112-3

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.xi

⁴⁷⁸ It should be noted that professional mobility was not exclusive to artists. Craftsmen, many of whom were British, such as London-based 'John Davis, Copper Plate Printer', and 'James Strachan, Carver and Gilder', set up new businesses in the colonies during the period. Davis' and Strachan's advertisements appeared in *The New-York Gazette or the Weekly Post-Boy*, June 23, 1763 (Supplement) and *New-York Gazette or the Weekly Post-Boy*, October 24, 1765 respectively, quoted in Gottesman (1936) Part 1 Vol No.69, pp.12, 128

⁴⁷⁹ England had gained control of the settlement in 1664, but it was recaptured by the Dutch in 1673 during the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674). In the treaty of 1674, New Amsterdam was ceded to England permanently and renamed New York. G.E Aylmer, "Navy, State, Trade and Empire." *The Oxford History of the*

practice there in 1638, and went on to found the Duyckinck dynasty of three generations of painters.⁴⁸⁰ The earliest recorded European-trained artist to work in America, the portraitist Hendrick Couturier (*d.*1684?), also established his practice in New Amsterdam in the 1660s; his patrons included the Governor Stuyvesant and his family.⁴⁸¹

During the first decades of eighteenth century, there was an increasingly cosmopolitan contingent of artists working in the American colonies. The German-born painter Justus Englehardt Kühn (*d.*1717) practised in Annapolis between 1708 and 1717 and painted Maryland planters.⁴⁸² The Swedish painter Gustavus Hesselius (1682-1755) mainly practised in Delaware, but also worked up and down Maryland and Pennsylvania during his forty years of practice. He painted the portraits of planters as well as religious pictures, classical myths and landscapes.⁴⁸³ Further south, one of the earliest professional female artists in America, the portrait pastellist, Henrietta Johnston (1674-1729) established a practice in Charleston, South Carolina. A Huguenot émigré, Johnston had practised in Dublin and London before she accompanied her husband, the Reverend Gideon Johnston to America on his appointment as the Bishop of London's Commissary in South Carolina.⁴⁸⁴

Charleston had a prominent Huguenot community and Johnston's clientele included several of its gentry, such as the Du Boses, for whom she produced elegant, yet understated

British Empire: The Origins of Empire (Ed.) Nicholas Canny (Oxford University Press Oxford University Press 1998; 2001)Vol.I, pp.467-70

⁴⁸⁰ Gerrit 1660- c.1710 (son of Evert I); Gerardus I 1695-c.1746 (son of Gerrit and grandson of Evert I); Evert III c.1677-1727 (grandson of Evert I) and Gerardus II 1723-1797(son of Gerardus I). Groce and Wallace (1969)p.200

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, p.151 Couturier trained at the St.Luke's Guild art school in 1648 in Leyden, Holland and worked in Amsterdam, before emigrating to America in around 1661.

⁴⁸² Craven (1986) pp.134-5

⁴⁸³ Wright (2002) p.211. His son John (1728 -1778) later took over his practice.

⁴⁸⁴ Flexner (1947) p.91-2; Anna Wells Rutledge, "Artists in the life of Charleston through Colony and State from Restoration to Reconstruction" *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. New Series, Vol.39, no.2 1949) p.111; Groce and Wallace (1969) p.355; Martha R. Severens, "Who was Henrietta Johnston?" *Antiques* No.148, (Nov, 1995)pp.704-709

likenesses. Her portrait of *Mary DuBose (Mrs Samuel Wragg)* (1708) (*fig.133*), highlights how the availability of artists' materials could shape artistic practice in the American colonies in the early 1700s. The modest scale of the work and Johnston's economic use of colour suggests that pastel crayons (an unusual medium in this period) and paper were in short supply, or difficult to obtain in the American colonies.⁴⁸⁵ Johnston also made at least one trip to New York in 1725 for commissions from a Colonel John Moore (1686-1749), a native of Charleston, for the pastel portraits of four members of his family.⁴⁸⁶

Some European artists took advantage of their previous practice (and training) in London, to publicise their services and attract clientele. This is underlined by the example of German-born painter, Lawrence Kilburn (1720-1775). In the colonies he assumed a British identity, and in the press notices he used to announce his arrival in New York in 1754, he draws the readers' attention to his earlier practice and reputation in the fashionable London art scene:

Lawrence Kilburn, Limner, just arrived from London with Capt. Miller, hereby acquaints all Gentlemen and Ladies inclined to favour him in having their pictures drawn, that he don't doubt of pleasing them in taking a true Likeness, and finishing the Drapery in a proper Manner, as also in the Choice of Attitudes, suitable to each Person's Age and Sex, and giving agreeable satisfaction, as he has heretofore done to Gentlemen and Ladies in London...⁴⁸⁷

Kilburn continued to use newspaper advertisements throughout his career to inform his prospective patrons of his latest paintings which he made available to view (see *fig.134*).

⁴⁸⁵ Severens (1995)pp.706-707, notes that Johnston's earlier portraits that were executed in Ireland, were larger, more colourful and sophisticated in their composition.

⁴⁸⁶ Severens (1995) p.709 n.21

⁴⁸⁷ *New York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy*, dated 13 May 1754, quoted in Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York: Advertisements and news items from New York City Newspapers 1726-1776*, (New York Historical Society, New York 1936) Part 1 Vol. 69, pp.3-4

I have yet to uncover evidence of when exactly the painter anglicised his surname (and indeed what name he practiced under in London) as his name appears as other variants of Kilbrunn in numerous advertisements in the New York press, such as Kilbrunn, Kilburnn and Killbrun; a 'Lorenz Kielbrunn' appears in the list of the congregation members of the Moravian Church in New York City in 1754, and listed later in 1774 are 'Lawrence and Judith Killbrunn'. See Harry E. Stocker, *A History of the Moravian church in New York City* (New York City 1922) pp.85, 116. After Kilburn's death, an advertisement dated 17 July 1775 in *The New York Gazette* requested that 'all persons indebted to the estate of Lawrence Kilburn, late of this city, deceased, are hereby requested to pay the same speedily to Judith Kilburn, or Abm. H. Van Vleck, Merchant...'

Notably, Kilburn's descriptions of himself as 'limner' and 'painter' alternately in his advertisements highlight the question of the status of artists in colonial America. The traditional description of 'limner' was usually synonymous with professional miniaturist, whereas 'painter' could mean any trade associated with painting, such as coach, house and sign painters. Although the term 'limner' was used less in Britain by the 1750s, in the American colonies it was interchangeably used in both senses of the word.⁴⁸⁸

Like Smibert (and many other portraitists in the period), Kilburn supplemented his income by additional art-related employment, selling artists supplies (*fig.135*). Portrait painters often found additional work in the other sorts of painting mentioned earlier - sign and coach painting and interior decorating, but also they found jobs in the wider sphere of 'polite' education. The London painter, William Birchall Tatley, who practised in New York in the early 1770s, advertised his painting services and dance lessons in the newspapers (*fig.136*). While these alternative employments were an economic necessity, there was a fine line to tread between promoting oneself and being tainted by the suggestion of overt commercialism. As Saunders has observed, because painters were often forced to take on mundane work in order to survive in the American colonies, it reinforced 'society's impression of them as tradesmen'.⁴⁸⁹ In Britain the professional status of artists was elevated with the advent of regular organised art exhibitions from the 1760s onwards and the establishment of the Royal Academy of Art in 1768. However, it was not until the early nineteenth century that the first official art academies were established in America.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ Saunders and Gross Miles (1987) pp.42-3

⁴⁸⁹ Saunders (1995) p.100

⁴⁹⁰ The first academies were established in New York in 1803 and in Philadelphia in 1805. See James K. McNutt, "Plaster Casts after Antique Sculpture: Their Role in the Elevation of Public Taste and in American Art Instruction.", *Studies in Art Education*, Vol.31, No.3 (Spring 1990) pp.160-164 and Edward J. Nygren, "The First Art Schools at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts", *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (Apr., 1971), pp. 221-238

Kilburn remained in residence in New York until his death; however he did undertake an occasional painting trip. His proposed painting trip to Albany in the summer of 1761 was advertised in the *New York Mercury* and probably led to his commissions to paint the portraits of the wealthy businessman, James Beekman and his wife (*figs.137-138*).⁴⁹¹ Kilburn's handling of the composition and his attention to details in the clothing and drapery in his competent portraits of the couple suggest his referral to metropolitan portrait models. The British painter John Wollaston (*fl.1736-1775*), who will be discussed later in the chapter, may well have been his stimulus. Wollaston worked in New York from 1749 to c.1752, and had also worked in London before travelling to the colonies. It is possible therefore that Kilburn may have competed with Wollaston in London and in New York for a brief time.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹¹ Wayne Craven, "Painting in New York City – Lawrence Kilburn", *Offprint from Winterthur Conference Report 1971, American Painting to 1776: A Re-Appraisal* (The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, University Press of Virginia 1971) Newark Museum, New Jersey, Artist File no.56.321, p.265-268. Beekman paid £20 for the pair of paintings, and frames from the carver Stephen Dwight, costing £11.10 each. However, five years later Beekman paid a native painter, John Durand (who, he had also commissioned to paint his children) to repaint his wife's face in her portrait; an entry dated 24 Nov 1767 reads: 'for alturing my wife's picture... £1.10' NYHS, *James Beekman Account Book/Personal affairs 1761-1796*. Frick Art Reference Library New York, Lawrence Kilburn Artist File: no.122-7a

⁴⁹² Rebora Barrett (2003) p.12

Urban Visual Cultures

We can begin to see that artists such as Smibert, Kilburn and Birchall Tatley operated within a distinctive colonial art world. Before turning to the trajectories of other portraitists in America, it will be worth exploring this art world in a little more detail. We can begin by noting that the increase in travel and communication between the Atlantic Coast of America, Britain and the Continent stimulated the circulation of visual cultures and the development of a colonial consumer market. A thriving print culture was as much a part of colonial life as it was in Britain, and the new kinds of print culture and networks (on both sides of the Atlantic) highlight the information exchanges, the movement of goods and the mobility of people in the period.⁴⁹³

Nevertheless guides, encyclopaedias and dictionaries speeded the communication of commercial as well as practical travel information. An example is provided by Thomas Prince's reference handbook, *The Vade Mecum for America: or A companion for traders and travellers*. Published in Boston in 1731, *The Vade Mecum* included amongst its listings, all the routes and the mileage between major towns in the American colonies (though Prince had to advertise for more information relating to the more isolated plantations, see *fig.139*). A good sense of the handbook's British colonial and mercantile readership is suggested by Prince's inclusion of a ready reckoner for commodities, simple and compound interest, in addition to 'A correct Table of the Kings and Queens of England, from Egbert the first King of England to His present Majesty King George II.'⁴⁹⁴ Other publications such as Richard Rolts' *New Dictionary of trade and commerce*, which was available 'in all languages', listed

⁴⁹³ Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600-1850* (Pimlico London 2003) p.174

⁴⁹⁴ Thomas Prince, *The Vade Mecum for America: or A companion for traders and travellers* (Boston 1731) Chapters I, II and VI

information including shipping timetables and costs for sending and receiving letters and goods between Britain, Europe, and the colonial settlements.⁴⁹⁵

These developments in communication were not only important for travellers and settlers in the more isolated areas of the colonies, but also for British portraitists who practised in America, especially those painters who toured the urban settlements. The growth of artists' communities in cities such as Boston, New York and Philadelphia enabled them to obtain artists' supplies with greater ease. Meanwhile, newspaper advertisements indicated the range of artistic materials available, such as paints, brushes and canvases, and notices in the press were often used to publicise painters' arrival in town, and the painting services they offered (see *fig. 140*).⁴⁹⁶

High volumes of printed material were exported to the colonies, including books and prints. British magazines, such as the *London Magazine* and the *Universal Magazine*, which contained information and articles on the visual arts, were also widely available and relatively easy to access. Colonists could order magazines direct from merchants: Mrs Ann Kay from Newport, Rhode Island requested '4 London Magazeins' to be added to her order that included books and shoes from the Boston shipping merchants, Jeffries and Company.⁴⁹⁷ Or they could buy them from American booksellers who included magazines and periodicals in

⁴⁹⁵ Richard Rolt, *New Dictionary of trade and commerce, compiled from the information of the most eminent merchants and from the works of the best writers on commercial subjects, available in all languages* (London, 1756) pp501-2. The cost of packets and letters (based on weight - per oz) from any port of France to London was 3 shillings, 4 pence; from London to New York (return post), 4 shillings, and return post from Newport, Boston, Portsmouth and Annapolis to any place not exceeding 60 English miles in the American colonies, 1 shilling, 4 pence.

⁴⁹⁶ Richard H. Saunders and Ellen Gross Miles, *American Colonial Portraits, 1700-1776* (National Portrait Gallery Smithsonian Institution, Washington City 1987)p.38

⁴⁹⁷ MHS, Jeffries Family Papers, Letter dated 10 July 1734 to Boston shipping merchants David Jeffries and Company, Vol.10 Folder pp.91-100

their stock for sale or borrow them from libraries.⁴⁹⁸ Importantly, the availability of these publications and European artistic treatises not only disseminated cultural authority, but also provided an awareness of the activities of the London art world; the New York Historical Society library held North America's first recorded copy of William Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* in 1758 – only five years after it was published and reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁴⁹⁹

Though it should be noted, eighteenth-century trans-Atlantic haulage was not of course, without risk or delay. Any object was subjected to the vagaries and hazards peculiar to long-haul sea transit, as Jennifer L. Roberts has highlighted in her 'vehicular analysis' of the trans-Atlantic journey of John Singleton Copley's painting *Boy with a Squirrel*: a ship could sink, get blown off course, or its cargo jettisoned, or, whilst onboard, damaged by seawater, or eaten by weevils during the weeks at sea.⁵⁰⁰ Thus as light, easily transportable and inexpensive objects, prints were imported by the hundreds into the colonies beginning in the eighteenth century. As in Britain, print shops were an integral part of urban visual culture. The first print shop in Boston was set up by John Foster (d.1681) in 1674.⁵⁰¹ He sold a range of prints in different sizes, together with matching frames. Foster also painted portraits, undertook print subscriptions, and as in the case of Smibert, he may have also sold artistic supplies.⁵⁰² By the early eighteenth century, advertisements for imported prints and related paraphernalia commonly appeared in colonial newspapers. A Bostonian print seller, William Price, advertised his pictures and 'all sorts of prints and maps lately from London, sold very

⁴⁹⁸ Janice G Schimmelman "Art in the early English Magazine, 1731-1800: A Checklist of articles on Drawing, Painting and Sculpture, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *London Magazine* and *Universal Magazine*". *American Antiquarian Society* Vol.108, Part 2, (Worcester American Antiquarian Society, 2000) pp.399-400.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid, p.407

⁵⁰⁰ Jennifer L. Roberts "Copley's Cargo: *Boy with a Squirrel* and the Dilemma of Transit" *American Art*, Volume 21, No.2 (Summer 2007) pp. 20–41; see also Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1986) pp.213-228

⁵⁰¹ Samuel Abbott Green, *John Foster; The Earliest American Engraver and the first Boston printer* (Massachusetts Historical Society, 1909; Facsimile Kessinger Publishing 2008)

⁵⁰² James Thomas Flexner, *American Painting: First Flowers of Our Wilderness* (Boston, 1947) pp.14-16

cheap with frames or without' frequently in the Boston newspapers in the 1720s.⁵⁰³ Price also undertook more ambitious and speculative graphic productions aimed at the higher end of the market. In his proposal for 'A Prospect of the Great Town of Boston', he informed prospective customers that the original drawing was 'designed to be curiously cut on copper plate, [and] will be carried out by subscription as such expensive works commonly are.'⁵⁰⁴ Once enough subscribers had applied, the drawing was to be sent to London for engraving; Price pressed for a quick response from interested parties, 'in order to the speedy sending of the drawing for England' otherwise 'it will not be printed'.⁵⁰⁵ Such an arrangement suggests a shortage of local professional engravers, and the fact that the prints could be produced more cheaply and of a higher quality (as well acquiring the associated prestige) in Britain.⁵⁰⁶

Along with topographical subjects, imported mezzotint portraits of notable British political and aristocratic figures were also popular. The paintings of London-based portraitists such as Sir Godfrey Kneller, Thomas Hudson, Allan Ramsay, and later Sir Joshua Reynolds, provided the models for superb full-length, half-length and bust scale mezzotints. Consequently, the mezzotint enjoyed a high status. The chiaroscuro effects of the tonal process corresponded closely to those of oil painting (contrasting with other print-making processes such as etching or copper-plate engraving).⁵⁰⁷ Moreover, mezzotints were also very

⁵⁰³ *Boston Gazette*, Monday 14 and 21 May 1722 (Issues 130-131) and *New England Courant*, Monday 6, 13 and 20 May 1723 (Issues 93-95). The enterprising Price, sensitive to colonial consumer demand, also sold the requisite accessories for polite sociability: 'All sorts of new-fashioned Looking-glasses, Sconces and tea-tables.'

⁵⁰⁴ *New England Courant*, Monday 6, 13 and 20 May 1723 (Issues 93-95)

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁶ Price's project would have required a considerable investment to make the original engraved copper plate in the first place, and prints produced in Europe were generally of higher quality and at lower cost than colonial American printmakers could compete with in the period. See Margareta M. Lovell, in *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2005) pp.15-16 and Lippincott (1983) pp.126-148

⁵⁰⁷ Alexander and Godfrey (1980) pp.1-12 Until lithography was invented in 1799, mezzotint was to prove the most important engraving technique of the eighteenth century. It had been established as *la manière anglaise* by engravers working after Sir Godfrey Kneller and became the predominant reproductive print medium for portraiture for most of the century.

lucrative; though unsuitable for quickly drawn, topical satires, the mezzotint was ideal for popular designs which as they dated or the plates wore out, could be endlessly reworked. As portraits in oil were one of the most expensive luxury products, portrait prints frequently provided pictorial models for colonial and foreign portraitists to copy or adapt, as they sought to ‘aristocraticize’ their colonial sitters as stately figures, goddesses and shepherdesses.⁵⁰⁸ Their portability and affordability also made them a convenient alternative source of information about art for the colonial patron-collector and would-be artist given the limited instruction available in the region and the lack of access to great painting collections.⁵⁰⁹

The demand for portrait prints and pictures is highlighted by the merchants, Reak and Okey, who were London émigrés trading in Newport later in the period. Emphasising their metropolitan credentials with the subheading ‘Lately from LONDON’, Reak and Okey’s advertisement lists their stock including books, prints and pictures. They also undertook a diverse range of artistic services such as portrait commissions, and (significantly) mezzotint engravings in situ, which ‘They flatter themselves that this first attempt to introduce so valuable a part of the polite arts into America, will meet with approbation and countenance of the public...’ (see *fig. 141*).⁵¹⁰

Portrait prints were part of a thriving secondary picture market that included painted reproductions of old masters, history paintings and landscapes.⁵¹¹ These pictures were imported and offered for sale by auctions and art dealers across the American colonies: a ‘Mr

⁵⁰⁸ Craven (1986)pp.132-8

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., Saunders and Gross Miles (1987)pp.43-6

⁵¹⁰ *Newport Mercury*, advertisement dated 10 November 1773. Reak and Okey’s mezzotint print of the Newport worthy, the Reverend Thomas Hiscox was after the portrait painted by the American painter, Robert Feke (1705-c.1752?) in 1745, see Flexner (1947) pp.138, 298, 348

⁵¹¹ Saunders (1995) pp.101-104

Shores' in Queen Street, Boston' advertised a 'public vendue [sale] at the Crown Coffee house on Long Wharf of a collection of choice pictures fit for any gentleman's dining room or staircase.'⁵¹² In provincial South Carolina, 'a choice and curious Collection of Pictures, by the best hands' were sold at 'Mrs Peach's, the New Tavern in Church-street.'⁵¹³ The development of a sophisticated and discerning colonial-consumer market for art is underlined by the advertisements that began to appear in the colonial newspapers by the 1750s. A wide range of paintings were listed by subject, including religious pictures such as *The Virgin and Child*; allegories, such as *Liberality and Modesty* after Guido Reni; history paintings such as *Caesar putting away Pompey and revering his Wife*,⁵¹⁴ and 'Fruit and Flower pieces, elegantly done..., just imported and to be sold...'⁵¹⁵

Perhaps unsurprisingly, paintings, and, especially, prints, were sent back to America by travelling colonists. These included men such as Peter Manigault and Barnard Elliott, who visited London in the 1750s and 1760s respectively.⁵¹⁶ Manigault, the son of the wealthy Charleston merchant Gabriel Manigault, had been sent to London to complete his education and to study law, and during his time in capital he began to send prints to his mother to collect:

...the Prints are of the best Sort, and very dear, for which reason, I did not send many, there are great Variety of them, & if you approve of it, I will send more I hope you will like my choice, so well that you will frequently oblige me with your Commands:

⁵¹² *Boston Gazette*, advertisement dated 21 May 1722. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century writers on art often included advice on the appropriate location for different genres of paintings: Richard Blome recommended that the 'Stair-case, ought to be set out with Pieces of Buildings, Land-skips, History &c...' *The Gentleman's Recreation in two parts...* (London, 1686) Chapter XIX, and John Elsum, in his *Art of Painting After the Italian Manner...* (London, 1704) p.83, listed 'Hunting Pieces', 'All sorts of Landscapes' and 'Pieces of Drollery', as suitable to hang in halls and parlours.

⁵¹³ *South Carolina Gazette*, August 26 - September 2, 1732, quoted in Rutledge (1949)p.113

⁵¹⁴ Flexner(1947)p.152

⁵¹⁵ Advertisement placed by the New York art dealer, John Wetherhead, from *The New York Mercury*, dated 24 December 1764, quoted in Gottesman(1938) p.7

⁵¹⁶ Rutledge (1949) p.115

if you should have a mind to any more Prints, pray send me a List of what you have, that I may not send the same.⁵¹⁷

And Elliott's discussion of his commission for his brother-in-law in Charleston, South Carolina, highlights their interest in a range of genres:

I have sent you 4 guineas worth of prints...they are as near to your directions as I could get them, some you'll find pretty good of the kind but indifferent quality. [The] landscapes are as near to what you wanted as I could pick of most of the print shops in London... Had I but fifty guineas to spend I would bring over such a collection of Hunting pieces etc. as would charm you beyond everything but they are painted in oil, and are too dear for me to purchase...⁵¹⁸

For those colonists who could afford to travel to Europe for business or the Grand Tour, portrait paintings were also a popular (and prestigious) souvenir of their European travels. Manigault took the precaution of commissioning two bust-length portraits for the approval of his mother before he would commit to the expense of shipping a full length portrait:

This comes by Capt Cowie, who brings you two Busts, which were designed for me, you'll judge how like they are, I have no Thoughts of having my Picture drawn, till I hear whether you'll have it full length, which I should like best...⁵¹⁹

After some deliberation, Manigault decided to commission one of the most fashionable and accomplished painters in London at this time, Allan Ramsay, rather than his lesser-known contemporary William Keeble (1714-1774), to paint his portrait (*fig. 142*):

And now a few Words concerning my Picture...Tis done by one of the best Hands in England, and is accounted by all Judges here, not only an Exceeding good Likeness, but a very good Piece of Painting: The Drapery is all taken, from my own Clothes, & the very Flowers in the lace, upon the Hat, are taken from a Hat of my own...I was advised to have it drawn by one Keble, that drew Tom Smith, & several others that went over to Carolina, but upon seeing his Paintings, I found that though his Likenesses, (which is the easiest Part in doing a Picture,) were some of them very good, yet his Paint seemed to be laid on with a Trowel, and looked more like

⁵¹⁷ Letter dated 2 August 1750 from Peter Manigault to his mother Mrs Anne Manigault quoted in Peter Manigault and Mabel L. Webber, "Peter Manigault's Letters" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Jul., 1930) p.174

⁵¹⁸ Letter dated 1764 from Barnard Elliott to his brother-in-law, Richard Bohun Baker, from the *Collections of Glen Drayton- Grimké*, quoted in (Rutledge 1949) p.116

⁵¹⁹ Letter dated London, 1 Nov 1750 from Peter Manigault to Mrs Ann Manigault. Manigault and Webber (1930) p.181

Plastering than Painting, you may guess at the Difference between Ramsay, & Keble Painting, by the Difference of their Prices, What Ramsay demands Four & Twenty Guineas for, T'other humbly hopes, you'll allow him Seven...⁵²⁰

Following the success of his portrait, Manigault looked to Ramsay's portraiture to provide the inspiration for the later pendant portrait of his wife. *Elizabeth Wragg Manigault* (fig.143) was painted in 1757 by the principal portraitist practicing in Charleston in the period, the Swiss-born painter Jeremiah Theus (c.1719-1774).⁵²¹ The pose and dress of the sitter is adapted from an earlier portrait by Ramsay, *Rebecca Countess of Erroll* (c.1748-9), which was engraved by James McArdell in 1749 and reproduced in mezzotint as *Lady Boyd* (fig.144).⁵²²

Portrait paintings were also commissioned from British artists working in Britain as well as those practising in America, for public display in the colonies. Often full-length and on a large scale, the portraits of government officials military heroes and royalty could be viewed by colonists in public or semi-public settings such as governors' residences and colonial council chambers.⁵²³ Moreover, with the expansion of the British colonies in the eighteenth century, the demand for the state portraits of the reigning monarch increased. Copies of Ramsay's portraits of George III and Queen Charlotte were sent from his London studio all over the British Empire, including the governors' residences in New York, New Jersey, West Florida and Virginia in the American colonies; however, none of the portraits on display before the American Revolution are known to have survived.⁵²⁴

⁵²⁰ Letter dated London 15 April 1751 from Peter Manigault to Mrs Ann Manigault. Manigault and Webber (1930) Vol. 31, No. 4 (Oct., 1930) pp.277-8

⁵²¹ It seems likely that Manigault had a close patron-artist relationship with Theus; upon the safe arrival of his portrait in South Carolina, he had arranged for it to be shown to the painter for his appraisal. Ibid.

⁵²² Between 1749 and 1779, there were at least 50 of Ramsay's portraits, excluding book illustrations, which were engraved and independently published as prints. The original painting may have also been copied by Reynolds, in whose ledgers record a payment of 'thirty guineas from Lord Erroll on June 1762 for a copy after Ramsay.' See M. Cormack, *Walpole Society* XLII, 1970, p.118, quoted in Smart (1999) Catalogue no.155, p.104

⁵²³ Saunders and Gross Miles (1987)pp.53-5

⁵²⁴ Ibid.,

British Portrait Painters' American Trajectories

Colonial American visual culture was thus highly emulative of the metropole, and strikingly diverse and cosmopolitan in character. Its growth was closely linked to the broader development of prosperous settlements and cities in the colonies, which also provided a variety of promising locations for portrait painters. These included the wealthy merchant and port towns along the eastern seaboard, such as Boston and Newport, where the great fortunes made by the export of goods, the manufacture of rum and the slave trade had enabled a mercantile aristocracy to emulate the habits of the British élite at home.⁵²⁵ There were also numerous prosperous families in the cities of Philadelphia and New York, which were also important commercial and cultural centres in the period.⁵²⁶ Philadelphia, the larger of the two, became the second city of Britain's American Empire. Since the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the settlement had had trading connections with the Caribbean and North America. By the 1700s, its port was integral to British imperial and commercial interests in her colonies in the rest of world. Philadelphia and the British port of Bristol provided the principal connections to North America, the West Indies and the slave coast of West Africa (see *figs. 145-146*).⁵²⁷

New York, like Boston, had its own Royal Governor and accompanying small court which helped to establish an élite enclave in the Hudson valley, and brought with it the refinements

⁵²⁵ Boston was one of the leading producers of rum in the period; the Newport slave traders ran the largest slave export operation of all the other New England port towns engaged in the infamous triangle trade between the American colonies, the West Indies and the coast of Africa. See Louis B Wright, *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies* (Dover Publications, New York (1957) 2002 Edition) pp.30-39 and Richard H. Randolph, "Eighteenth-Century Newport and its Merchants", *Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society* No.170 (Spring 1978)Vol.51 Part 2, pp.21-38

⁵²⁶ Richard Drayton "Knowledge and Empire" (Marshall, 2001)Vol.II, pp.231-252

⁵²⁷ K. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press Cambridge 2004)

in fashion and etiquette of British courtly society.⁵²⁸ Further south in Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina, there were wealthy plantation owners, a sort of super-gentry, who imitated the life-style of the British nobility; several of the grand Virginian plantations were named after aristocratic stately houses in Britain, such as Wilton and Chatsworth – the country residences of the Earls of Pembroke and the Dukes of Devonshire respectively (see *Map.3*).⁵²⁹ By the mid-eighteenth century, South Carolina's capital, Charleston was one of the most affluent and gentrified cities in the colonies. It did its utmost to 'imitate the beau monde of Augustan London'.⁵³⁰ The city had a lively cultural life that included music concerts and the theatre. Like the British capital, Charleston also had its own season, when the élite escaped the malarial heat of summer on the plantations to reside in their town houses.⁵³¹

The British portraitists who came to ply their trade in this promising environment demonstrated different types of artistic mobility. This is clearly demonstrated by looking at *Maps.1 – 3*, which plot artistic movement across a number of territories. The first map focuses on artistic mobility along the eastern seaboard, encompassing Boston, New York and Virginia between 1714 and 1746; the second details artistic mobility within the broader territory of the New England, mid-Atlantic and southern colonies between 1749 to 1771; the third homes in on examples of artistic mobility within the colony of Virginia between 1735 to 1771.

Looking at these maps, we can first note variations in the sort of limited artistic mobility exemplified by Smibert occurring quite early on in the period – here I refer to portraitists who stayed in one location, but who from time to time undertook a painting tour or travelled to a

⁵²⁸ Wayne Craven, *Colonial American Portraiture: the economic, religious, social, cultural, philosophical, scientific, and aesthetic foundations* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986)p.127; Flexner (1947)p.37

⁵²⁹ Wright (2002) p.19

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Ibid, p.17

neighbouring county for commissions (see *Map.1*). Portrait painters such as John Watson (1685-1768) and Charles Bridges (*d.*1747) are examples of this sort of artistic mobility.

Watson, like his fellow Scot, Smibert, probably began his artistic career as an apprentice to a house and sign painter during the early 1700s. After his training, he set up a portrait practice in his native Dumfries, before leaving for the American colonies.⁵³² Watson settled in Perth Amboy, New Jersey. This port-town was an attractive prospect, for it enjoyed an established community of resident Scots since the late seventeenth century; Dr Hamilton, who visited Perth Amboy during his tour of the colonies, describes it ‘as a seaport, having a good harbour, but small trade...It lies close upon the water, and the best houses in town are arranged along the waterside.’⁵³³

By 1714, Watson had established his painting practice in Perth Amboy.⁵³⁴ He took advantage of the town’s location near New York and its port facilities (though not a large commercial centre, it was frequent point of arrival and embarkation by sea) to cultivate his client base from travelling colonists who came from all over the American colonies and the West Indies. He produced portraits in oils, ink washes, as well as pencil and ink drawings – these latter mediums in particular suggest that he also catered to clientele who were passengers in transit.⁵³⁵ His sitters included many local worthies such as Captain and Mrs. Johannes Schuyler from nearby New York and William Burnet, the Governor of New York and New

⁵³² No evidence has yet been found to suggest that Watson received any other formal artistic training during this time. Benson. J Lossing, “First Professional Painters in America” (manuscript) quoted in John Hill Morgan, *John Watson, Painter, Merchant and Capitalist of New Jersey 1685-1768* (American Antiquarian Society Worcester, Massachusetts, 1941) pp.15-16, n.1

⁵³³ Hamilton (1744) Friday 15 June 1744

⁵³⁴ There had been a major influx of Scottish migrants into Perth Amboy in 1685, following the accession of the Catholic James II of England (James VII of Scotland) and the renewed persecution of the (Protestant) Presbyterian Covenanters in Scotland. See William A Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy and adjoining Country with Sketches of men and Events in New Jersey during the Colonial Era*. (New York 1856; Facsimile Michigan Historical Reprint Series University of Michigan, University Library, nd) pp23-35. Hill Morgan (1941) pp.17-18

⁵³⁵ Mrs Russel Hastings in her article “A John Watson Discovery”, *Antiques* 1939 July Vol.36 p.27, suggested that ‘voyagers stopping at the inn to wait for a favourable tide might have whiled away the time by sitting for a likeness to Watson.’

Jersey (*figs. 147-148*). He was pro-active in this respect; we know that he painted portraits in New York sometime between 1726 and 1727. Since the seventeenth century, there had been a regular ferry boat service operating between Amboy and New York to transport passengers and goods, and between 1716 and 1734, additional ferry services were set up from Amboy to Staten Island and from Perth to South Amboy.⁵³⁶ Therefore it would have been convenient for Watson to travel to New York for commissions. Moreover, in the case of commissions being slow, Watson supplemented his income outside the realms of art. He was a merchant, bought and sold land and was a banker. These alternative activities may have been the most practical and convenient available given his location in a commercial port. His businesses would have also necessitated occasional visits to New York and may have well have stimulated commissions for his painting services.⁵³⁷

However, Watson's list of sitters from further afield - figures such as Mr Raie, from Rhode Island; Mr Caleb Jacobet from Philadelphia; Reverend Robert Innes, Mrs Armstead and Mrs Molly Carter, from Virginia, and Mr Layone, from Antigua indicate that his reputation extended well beyond New York and New Jersey.⁵³⁸ Watson's decision to set up a gallery or picture house was probably a factor in promoting his painting services to a wider circle of clientele. The building, which adjoined his residence, had the rather unique feature of shuttered windows to display paintings on the outside. We do not know exactly when Watson built his gallery; it may have been erected sometime in the 1720s or 1730s.⁵³⁹ If it was the latter period, it is not unfeasible to suggest that Watson may have heard of the success of Smibert's studio show room, which opened in 1730 in Boston, and decided to open one of his

⁵³⁶ Whitehead (1856) pp.269-271

⁵³⁷ Hill Morgan (1941) pp. 18, 36-38 and 44-52.

⁵³⁸ Benson J. Lossing, *The American Historical Record and Repertory of Notes and Queries: Concerning the History and Antiques of America and Biography of Americans* (October 1872; Facsimile 2006 Kessinger Publishing) Vol.1 No.10 pp.465-6

⁵³⁹ Hill Morgan (1941) pp.13-14

own. Watson visited Europe and Scotland in around 1730 and brought back to America pictures, prints and a plaster cast of a Bust of Homer, which he displayed in his gallery.⁵⁴⁰ It is not known whether Watson intended the cast to be used for instruction as well as aesthetic display, but it was one of the earliest displays of Western sculpture in the colonies, and it would have attracted considerable interest in his gallery.⁵⁴¹ The plaster cast, together with the pictures and prints from Europe, formed part of a large art collection, which also included pictures (originals and copies) and drawings of John Locke, the poet Allan Ramsay, Sir Isaac Newton and Dryden together with ‘portraits real or imaginary, of the kings of England and Scotland’, and nine ink and pencil self-portraits between the ages of twenty-seven and sixty years old (*fig.149*)⁵⁴²

In his posthumous account of Watson, the early nineteenth-century American painter and historian, William Dunlap (who was born in Perth Amboy), recalls his childhood memory of the gallery (like Smibert’s show room, it had remained intact after Watson’s death):

His dwelling house had been pulled down by his heir but a smaller building adjoining it, which had been his painting and picture house, remained and attracted admiration by the heads of sages, heroes and kings. The window-shutters were divided into squares, and on each square presented the head of a man and woman which presented personages in the antique costume, and the men with beards and helmets or crowns.⁵⁴³

The size of Watson’s painting of *Gaius Caesar Caligula* (see *fig.150*) indicates that it was probably one of the gallery portraits and large enough to be hung on a gallery shutter.⁵⁴⁴ The ‘personages in antique costume’ were probably inspired by Bernard de Montfaucon’s

⁵⁴⁰ Saunders (1995) p.132, n.15. Dunlap (1834) Vol.I p.14

⁵⁴¹ Smibert’s collection of casts was the first recorded display Western sculpture in colonial America. McKnutt (1990) p.159

⁵⁴² Dunlap (1834) Vol.I pp.12-15. Lossing (October 1872) p.465-66.

⁵⁴³ Dunlap (1834) Vol.I p.15. Unfortunately, much of Watson’s collection was destroyed and the remainder dispersed in 1776, following the occupation of Perth Amboy by the Continental militia during the American Revolution.

⁵⁴⁴ Hill Morgan (1941) pp.30-31, 66-68

Antiquity explained (1721);⁵⁴⁵ Watson may have also used Montfaucon as a source for his picture of *Hercules* (see *figs. 151-152*).⁵⁴⁶

Charles Bridges in Virginia

Like Watson, the London painter Charles Bridges established himself in one location in the American colonies – in his case, the colony of Virginia (see *Map.3*).⁵⁴⁷ However, he travelled to America very late in his professional career. Remarkably he was around 70 years old when he arrived in April or May of 1735 in Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia - Britain's largest North American colony. It is likely that Bridges had intended to emigrate to Virginia for a better life for his family, as he was accompanied by his son and daughters.⁵⁴⁸ Henry Wilder Foote has suggested that the venture was also Bridges' last chance for professional recognition: 'Like the other professional artists of the period who came from Great Britain to the American colonies, Bridges had failed to achieve distinction at home'.⁵⁴⁹ Arguably, Bridges' contemporary, Smibert, was not seeking this kind of recognition when he decided to emigrate to the colonies (he had had an expanding practice in London, albeit one encumbered by non-paying clients) – but this may have been the case for Bridges.⁵⁵⁰ We have seen that it was often a struggle for artists to successfully establish a practice in the commercial art market of London where reputations were often ephemeral.

⁵⁴⁵ Bernard de Montfaucon, *Antiquity explained, and represented in sculptures*. Trans. David Humphreys (London, 1721) 5 Volumes. Benson J. Lossing, *The American Historical Record and Repertory of Notes and Queries: Concerning the History and Antiques of America and Biography of Americans* (August 1872) Vol.1 No.8 pp.337-8. Hill Morgan (1941) pp.35-6

⁵⁴⁶ De Montfaucon (1721), Chapter V, Part II, p.131

⁵⁴⁷ Flexner (1947) pp.103-5, 294 n.7. Graham Hood, "A New Look at Charles Bridges, Colonial Virginia Painter, 1735-45" *American Art Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Nov., 1977) pp. 57-67

Henry Wilder Foote "Charles Bridges, 'Sergeant-Painter of Virginia' 1735-1740" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Virginia Historical Society Vol.60 No.1 (Jan 1952) pp.3-55. Harry B. Wehle, "A Portrait by Charles Bridges", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Vol. 20, No. 8 (Aug., 1925), pp. 197-200

⁵⁴⁸ Wilder Foote (1952) p.7

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.7-8

⁵⁵⁰ Saunders (1995) pp.53-60

The early and middle years of Bridges' career are obscure, but he possibly worked as an assistant in Kneller's busy portrait studio in London, where the pressure of commissions necessitated the employment of numerous specialized assistant-painters to execute the drapery and backgrounds.⁵⁵¹ There is also evidence that he had some patronage during this time.⁵⁵² We know that Bridges had an attractive incentive for his emigration – he had obtained several painting commissions to fulfil (and the promise of more to follow) for one of the most important and influential figures in the American colonies - Colonel William Byrd II (1674-1744).⁵⁵³

Byrd was from one of the most wealthy and prominent families in Virginia. He had spent most of his youth in England, where he been educated as a gentleman. Byrd then travelled for some time on the Continent, where he was apprenticed to English merchants in Holland, before he returned to London to study law in 1692.⁵⁵⁴ A cultured and ambitious man, Byrd had careers in politics and public service on both sides of the Atlantic.⁵⁵⁵ In Virginia he was member of the House of Burgesses (the legislative body for the colony) and the Council of State. He was a fellow of the Royal Society in London, and his appointment as the agent for

⁵⁵¹ Kneller's assistants in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries included: Jean Baptist Gaspar (poses); John James Backer, Marcel Laroon and John Pieters (draperies); Jean Baptiste Monnoyer (flower backgrounds); Henry Vergazon (architectural and landscape scenes). Kneller's brother, John Zachary Kneller (*d.* 1702) and a painter named Fancatti, worked as copyists; James Worsdale and later Edward and Robert Byng also assisted. See Lord Killanin, *Sir Godfrey Kneller and his Times, 1646-1723: Being a Review of English Portraiture of the Period*. (B.T Batsford, London 1948)pp.50-54

⁵⁵² Although no signed or dated portraits by Bridges have been identified for this period, there is evidence for one commission. A mezzotint by J. Simon after Bridges' portrait of the Reverend Thomas Baker was published c.1717 and five copies of the painting exist. Wilder Foote (1952) p.8-9, Hood (1977) pp.58-9

⁵⁵³ Wilder Foote (1952) p.9.

⁵⁵⁴ Byrd was sent to London to be educated in 1681, he returned to Virginia in 1695. By 1697, he was back in London; however following the death of his father he went back to Virginia in 1705. He resided in London once more from 1715 until 1726, when he settled in Virginia permanently. *Ibid.*, pp19-20. Wright (2002) pp.8-9

⁵⁵⁵ Pierre Marambaud, "William Byrd of Westover: Cavalier, Diarist, and Chronicler", *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (Apr., 1970), pp. 144-183.

the colony of Virginia meant that he regularly moved within the élite circles of British aristocratic and political society in London. Byrd also took advantage of his time in Europe to pursue his interests in collecting books and art; during his lifetime he amassed an impressive collection of books and thirty portrait-paintings, which he had installed in his library-gallery in a separate wing of his mansion, Westover, in Virginia.⁵⁵⁶

Bridges is reputed to have become acquainted with Byrd in Kneller's studio when Byrd sat for his portrait (*fig.153*), which has been not only attributed to Bridges, but also to Kneller and his school.⁵⁵⁷ This is perhaps unsurprising, as Bridges would have assimilated Kneller's painting technique during his employment in his studio - a skill that would have provided the painter with the opportunity to obtain additional employment during the vogue for Kneller's society portraiture. It was perhaps Bridges' ability to emulate Kneller that attracted Byrd's patronage.⁵⁵⁸ During his last year or so in the capital, Byrd commissioned Bridges to paint the portrait of his second wife, Maria Taylor, whom he had married in 1724. Although Bridges did not leave for the American colonies until several years after Byrd's departure from London, he must have remained in contact with Byrd, whose connections facilitated Bridges' later commissions from notable figures within the Virginian social and political élite.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁶ William M. S. Rasmussen and Lora Robins, "Portraits from the Byrd Collection, Westover" *The Virginia Historical Society* <http://www.vahistorical.org/dynasties/byrdfamily.htm> [accessed 02 March 2010].

The catalogue of nearly four thousand books in Byrd's library at Westover is listed in John Spencer Bassett (ed.), *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd, of Westover in Virginia Esqr* (New York, 1901) "Appendix A", pp.413-443

⁵⁵⁷ Both Wilder Foote (1952) p.26 and Wehle (1925) p.198, have attributed this painting to Bridges and dated it between 1715-1725 - during Byrd's final period of residence in London. The portrait is one of the three known portraits of Byrd: another portrait held at the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond Virginia (<http://www.vahistorical.org>), previously thought to have been painted by Kneller in 1704, has more recently been attributed (and dated c.1724) to the fashionable London portraitist, Hans Hysing. Wilder Foote (1952) p.27, records another portrait of Byrd painted by Bridges in Virginia in around 1735. Cf. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Portrait of William Byrd II (1674-1744)"

<http://emuseum.history.org/code/emuseum.asp> [accessed 22 March 2010]

⁵⁵⁸ Wilder Foote (1952) pp.8-9,

⁵⁵⁹ Wehle (1925) pp.198-200, Wilder Foote(1952) p.9, Hood (1977) pp.63-4

Bridges' arrival in Virginia was well-timed. During the 1720s and 1730s, there were several grand public and private building projects completed in the colony. In Williamsburg, the Governor's Palace, home to the Lieutenant Governors of Virginia, was built between 1706 and 1722.⁵⁶⁰ The great dynastic Virginian families, such as the Byrds and Pages, were involved in their own large-scale building projects that emulated the country retreats of the British élite. Byrd's mansion, Westover, on the James River in Charles City County, and Rosewell - the largest mansion in the American colonies (began by Mann Page and later finished by his son, Mann Page II) – on the banks of York River in Gloucester County, were two of the most splendid houses being completed in the 1730s (see *figs.154-155*).⁵⁶¹

The great river plantations such as Westover and Rosewell were unique to Virginia. The colonial settlement on plantations had resulted in the absence of major urban centres and the development of mansion and plantation complexes.⁵⁶² The plantation system was operated on a vast scale and depended on enslaved labour – 'the factories in the field', which collectively generated the great wealth of the colony.⁵⁶³ Consequently, it was the largest plantation

⁵⁶⁰ It was a mansion house but due to the expense of its construction, the building acquired the sobriquet 'palace' in around 1714; the building was destroyed in 1781 and reconstructed 1935. "The Governor's Palace Historical Notes", *The Governor's Palace Historical Notes Block 20 Building 3*. Dept. of Research and Record Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
http://research.history.org/ewilliamsburg/document.cfm?source=Research%20Reports/XML/RR0219.xml&rm_id=RM00095 [Accessed 05 March 2010]

⁵⁶¹ Hood (1977) p.67. Thomas Tileston Waterman, "English Antecedents of Virginia Architecture" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (Jan. 20, 1939), pp. 57-63

⁵⁶² William M. S. Rasmussen and Lora Robins, "Family Portraits" *Virginia Historical Society* <http://www.vahistorical.org/dynasties/familyportraits.htm> [accessed 18 March 2010]
Christopher L. Brown, "The Politics of Slavery", *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (eds.) David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Palgrave Macmillan 2002) pp.214-232.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.217. The valuable export commodities such as tobacco, wheat and cotton were cultivated on the plantations, which ranged in size from the expansive, such as the three-hundred thousand acres across several counties and near one-thousand enslaved blacks owned by the wealthy and powerful Robert "King" Carter, to the more modest estates of the 'middling' planter-farmer. By the mid 1700s several planters had diversified into iron production and mining. See Edmund Berkeley, Jr. and Robert Jones, "Robert Carter as Agricultural Administrator: His Letters to Robert Jones, 1727-1729" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (Apr., 1993), pp. 273-295, and Kevin Kelly, "A Portrait of York County Middling Planters and Their Slaves, 1760-1775" *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* http://research.history.org/Historical_Research/Research_Themes/ThemePossession/YCFamily.cfm [accessed 09 March 2010]

owners, the planter élite, such as Byrd and Page, who wielded cultural, political and economic power.⁵⁶⁴ Their grand houses were a visual affirmation of this power, as were the paintings, silverware and furniture displayed inside them. Portraiture, in particular, was used to underline dynastic authority. Wealthy Virginia planters were notable for their commissioning of large and often multiple groups of family portraits.⁵⁶⁵ Bridges became almost an in-house painter for several of these families during the period; we can see parallels in Bridges' mobility here with the activities of the painters we discussed earlier, such as William Rennie, who worked on the grand-scale interior decorative schemes in Edinburgh and London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Byrd, like many of the colonial élite who had returned from Europe in the period, consciously sought to put the 'seal of sophistication' on his way of life in America.⁵⁶⁶ Bridges' presence in the colony must have been a coup for Byrd, who had in effect imported a British portraitist to his home. Bridges painted the portraits of at least four of Byrd's six children during his stay at Westover, including Anne, and his eldest daughter Evelyn (*figs.156-157*).⁵⁶⁷ The portraits formed part of the collection of portrait paintings displayed in Byrd's library, which also included the portraits of many prominent figures (friends, acquaintances, and those whom Byrd did not know but admired) from London's intelligentsia, political and social élites. These included his fellow members of the Royal Society: John Perceval, First Earl of Egmont, Sir Robert Southwell, and Charles Boyle, later Earl of Orrery; Byrd also had a copy

⁵⁶⁴ Brown (2002) pp.216-217

⁵⁶⁵ William M. S. Rasmussen and Lora Robins "Virginia's colonial dynasties" *Virginia Historical Society* <http://www.vahistorical.org/dynasties/essay.htm>. [accessed 02 March 2010]

⁵⁶⁶ Hood (1977) p.67. Wayne Craven, "Virginia Portraits: Iconography, Style, and Social Context" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 92, No. 2 (Apr., 1984), p.219

⁵⁶⁷ Hood (1977) pp.62-63 Byrd had two older daughters, Evelyn (b.1707) and Wilhelmina (b.1715) by his first wife, Lucy Parke (*d.* 1716), and he had four more children by his second wife, Maria: Anne (b.1725); Maria (b.1727); William III (b.1728) and Jane (b.1729) It has been suggested that Evelyn Byrd's portrait may have been painted earlier by Bridges, (she had been sent to London to complete her education) prior to her return to Virginia with her father and step-mother in 1726. Wehle (1925) p.200 However, the bird perched on the bough above her shoulder is a Red Cardinal which is a native bird of North America. Wilder Foote (1952) pp.16, n.16, 23

of Aikman's portrait of *John Campbell, Second Duke of Argyll* (c. 1720-25).⁵⁶⁸ The display of these paintings, alongside his extensive library of imported books, was an emphatic statement of Byrd's political, cultural, and intellectual authority.

Although Bridges remained in Virginia throughout his stay in America, his mobility within the colony is striking, and demonstrates an alternative to the models of mobility practised in the larger urban centres in the American colonies. The lack of a permanent studio-based location necessitated a different sort of approach to attracting clientele. Moreover, the absence of developed urban centres made it difficult for artists to diversify in other employments. Painters had to be specifically invited to individual plantations of potential clients, and much rested upon the excellence of their reputation.⁵⁶⁹ Therefore Bridges was heavily reliant on the networks of familial and political interconnections within elite planter-society: he travelled around at least nine different counties during his practice in Virginia. We know that he was supplied with at least two letters of introduction. One was addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor William Gooch from his brother, Thomas Gooch, Bishop of Norwich, and the other (provided by Byrd), was addressed to another important figure, Colonel Alexander Spotswood, a former lieutenant-governor (1714-1722), member of the House of Burgesses, owner of one of the earliest iron works in the colony, and vast landholdings to which he gave his name.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁸ Bassett (1901) p.lxxxii. Byrd and Argyll probably became friends when both were young men completing their education in London in the 1690s, and later Byrd was a guest at Argyll's country retreat outside London, Sudbrook, in Surrey. William M. S. Rasmussen and Lora Robins, "Portraits from the Byrd Collection, Westover" *Virginia Historical Society* <http://www.vahistorical.org/dynasties/byrdfamily.htm>[accessed 02 March 2010]

⁵⁶⁹ Flexner (1947) p.110. There is only one record of a non-portrait commission completed by Bridges in Virginia - he painted the King's Arms for the use of the Caroline County Court. *Order Book of Caroline County*, entry dated October 1740, quoted in Wilder Foote(1952)p.14

⁵⁷⁰ Wright (2002) p.63

Probably as a gesture of regard towards Byrd, Gooch received Bridges at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg in some considerable style. The bemused tone of Gooch's letter to his brother in England also underlines the ambivalent attitudes towards the status of artists in the period (nevertheless it seems that Bridges made the most of his stay there):

Mr. Bridges I have already loaded with my civilities, tho' it looks a little odd for a Governour to show so much favour to a Painter, as to lend him Coach to fetch his Daughters and Son, and his waggon for two days to bring up his Goods, and to entertain him at Dinner & Supper several times since his arrival, and to promise him as soon as he's settled that he shall begin to show the country his Art, by drawing my Picture, but all this I have done, and upon yr. recommendation shall continue to do him all the Service in my power.⁵⁷¹

Bridges' contact with Gooch may well have led to his commission to paint Commissary James Blair (*fig.158*) - the Bishop of London's representative in the colony, and the founder of the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg. Although Bridges' depiction of Blair in his clerical vestments underlines his religious office, Blair was also an important political figure in the colony. He was linked by marriage to several leading Virginia families, such as the Harrisons and the Bollings, some of whom were members in the House of Burgesses.⁵⁷² His brother Archibald and his nephew John later became leaders of the House of Burgesses and colonial council, which helped to establish Blair's network of powerful political connections.⁵⁷³ Blair also acted as governor of colony between 1740 and 1741, when Gooch

⁵⁷¹ Letter dated 26 May 1735 from Governor William Gooch to his brother, Thomas Gooch, Bishop of Norwich from the original letter book owned by Sir Robert E. S. Gooch, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., quoted in Wilder Foote (1952) pp. 10-11. There is an existing portrait of Gooch that has been attributed to Bridges; though Wilder Foote considers this doubtful, see pp.46-50.

⁵⁷² "Harrison of James River (Continued)" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Jan., 1923), pp. 83-87.

⁵⁷³ James B. Bell, 'Blair, James (1655/6-1743)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2564>, accessed 30 March 2010]

took part in the British expedition against the Spanish in Cartagena, South America, during the War of Jenkins's Ear (1739–42).⁵⁷⁴

Bridges travelled to Spotsylvania County in late 1735, to present Spotswood with Byrd's letter of introduction.⁵⁷⁵ Byrd's recommendation reveals on the one hand that he knows that Bridges is not quite a 'first rate' painter, comparing him unfavourably to the pre-eminent London society portraitists of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁵⁷⁶ However, on the other hand, Byrd intimates his awareness of how the harsh commercial realities of the London art world could thwart talented painters:

The Person who has the honor to wait upon you with this letter is a man of Good Family, but either by the frowns of Fortune or his own Mismanagement, is obliged to seek his Bread, a little of the latest, in a strange land. His name is Bridges, and his Profession Painting, and if you have any Employment for him in that way he will be proud of obeying your command. He has drawn my children and several others in this neighborhood, and though he has not the Master Hand of a Lilly or Kneller, yet had he lived so long ago as when Places were given to the most Deserving, he might have pretended to be Sergeant Painter of Virginia.⁵⁷⁷

Bridges had a productive visit in Spotsylvania, where he produced two three-quarter length portraits of Spotswood, probably painted in early 1736 (*fig.159*).⁵⁷⁸ Bridges then acquired further commissions as he travelled from county to county. The simplified composition of many of the portraits he produced in this period serve to underline this very mobile phase. By

⁵⁷⁴ James Blair and John C. Van Horne (ed.) "The Correspondence of James Blair as Acting Governor of Virginia, 1740-1741" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 84, No. 1 (Jan., 1976), pp. 19-48

⁵⁷⁵ Germanna in Spotsylvania (about 85 miles from Williamsburg) was Spotswood's main residence in the period. Cappon, Lester J., Spotswood, Alexander and Spotswood, John "Correspondence of Alexander Spotswood with John Spotswood of Edinburgh" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Apr., 1952), Letter dated 12 July 1723, p.238

⁵⁷⁶ Oskar Hagen, *The Birth of the American Tradition in Art* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; London 1940) p.63

⁵⁷⁷ Letter dated 30 December 1735 from William Byrd II to Colonel Alexander Spotswood, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. IX, p. 235, quoted in Wehle (1925) p.197

⁵⁷⁸ Wilder Foote (1952) p.12

February 1737 Bridges was living in Hanover County, where he painted the portrait of Mrs. Mary Winn, at the Jessamine Lawn plantation.⁵⁷⁹ Through Byrd's connections he may have also visited the Scotchtown house and plantation owned by the Chiswell family in the same county. Colonel John Chiswell was a fellow member of the House of Burgesses, and Byrd had spent some time in 1732 with Chiswell's father, Charles Chiswell (*d.*1737) on account of his iron manufactory, which he had established in addition to agricultural production on the plantation.⁵⁸⁰

Although no portraits of the Chiswells by Bridges have been found, we know that the family commissioned portraits in the period; a portrait of Mrs John (Elizabeth Randolph) Chiswell (1715-1776) dated 1755, has been attributed to John Wollaston (whose practice in the colony is discussed later in this thesis), who may well have painted the portrait in Williamsburg after the family relocated there between 1752 and 1753.⁵⁸¹ The Belvoir plantation, the seat of William Fairfax (1691-1757) and the prominent Fairfax family in Prince William County, is another location that offers some clues to Bridges' mobility in the colony: Bridges stayed there between 16th October 1737 and 25th February 1739.⁵⁸²

Bridges is recorded as staying with Byrd at Westover once again during the summers of 1739 and 1740. He most likely paid these visits while he was working at another plantation in the

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., pp.12, 40. The painting has been attributed to Bridges and dated between 1735 and 1740 by the Smithsonian American Art Museum. See Art Inventories, Smithsonian American Art Museum: <http://siris-artinventories.si.edu/> [accessed 29 March 2010]

⁵⁸⁰ Catherine E. Dean "History of Scotchtown" *Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities* <http://www.apva.org/scotchtown/house/> [accessed 24 March 2010]. Byrd describes his visit to Chiswell's mine from the 23rd to 27th September, in his *Progress to the Mines*, see *The Westover Manuscripts: Containing The History Of The Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia And North Carolina; A Journey To The Land Of Eden, A. D. 1733 ; And A Progress To The Mines Written From 1738 To 1716, And Now First Published By William Byrd Of Westover* (Edmund and Julian C. Ruffin Petersburg, Virginia, 1841) pp.126-131

⁵⁸¹ David Meschutt, "John Wollaston's Portraits of The Randolph Family Owned by the Virginia Historical Society" in "Notes and Documents" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (Oct., 1984), pp. 461,466,473

⁵⁸² Wilder Foote (1952) p.13, though unfortunately no portrait from Bridges' visit has been traced.

same county, such as Shirley, as it would have been impractical to ride (7 to 8 hours on horseback - each way) from Hanover County or Williamsburg.⁵⁸³ Shirley was the oldest plantation in Virginia. Established in 1613 by Edward Hill, its mansion house was begun in 1723 when his great-granddaughter, Elizabeth Hill, married John Carter, eldest son of Robert 'King' Carter. The house was finally completed in 1738 and a portrait of Elizabeth has been attributed to Bridges for this period.⁵⁸⁴

The familial and political connections between the Byrd and Carter families facilitated additional commissions for Bridges: John Carter's younger brother, Charles, was also a member of the House of Burgesses. He resided at Cleve plantation in King George County, where Bridges is reputed to have painted portraits of Charles and his wife, Mary (*d.1742*).⁵⁸⁵ Charles Carter was also Mann Page II's uncle (on his mothers' side); at Rosewell, Mann Page II commissioned from Bridges a large pair of portraits of himself and his wife, Judith, with their oldest child (*figs.160-161*).⁵⁸⁶ Moreover, Byrd's daughter, Maria, was the second wife of another Carter sibling, Landon. Bridges probably visited them at their residence, Sabine Hall Plantation in Richmond County, to paint their portraits in around 1740.⁵⁸⁷ The neighbouring estate of the Fauntleroy's also provided Bridges with at least one more commission, the portrait of Apphia Fauntleroy, daughter of William and Apphia Fauntleroy, which has been attributed to him in this period.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸³ Ibid., p.13-14

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., p.44, The Shirley Plantation, Charles City, Virginia
http://www.shirleyplantation.com/shirley's_history.html [accessed 06 March 2010]

⁵⁸⁵ Carter's second wife was Byrd's daughter, Anne (*d.1757*) Wilder Foote (1952) pp.34-5 L. M. Watson, "The colonel and his lady come home", *Antiques*, 74 (1958), 436-8. Virginia Historical Society,
<http://www.vahistorical.org/lva/cleve.htm>

⁵⁸⁶ Judith Page (née Carter) was the second daughter of Robert 'King' Carter. See Richard Channing Moore Page, *Genealogy of the Page family in Virginia...* (New York, 1883) p.59, some of Bridges' paintings are also briefly listed.

⁵⁸⁷ Wilder Foote (1952) p.24. It is believed that the painting presently held at Sabine Hall is a copy. The original portrait was recorded in 1813 at Westover and therefore the portraits (as a pair) may well have been part of Byrd's library collection.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.,p.p.36-37

Bridges also travelled to Henrico County, where he probably stayed at Curles (also known as ‘Curles Neck’) plantation, home to the Randolph family; the portraits of Richard Randolph I and his wife, Jane have been attributed to Bridges.⁵⁸⁹ Whilst he was in the same county, Bridges also visited the Cobbs plantation, to paint the portraits of the distinguished Bolling family, whose connections to the commissary James Blair may well have led to his commissions.⁵⁹⁰ Bridges’ portrait of John Bolling Jr. (*fig.162*) is one of three paintings of the Bollings that he produced during his stay.⁵⁹¹

Some of the last commissions Bridges completed in Virginia were the portraits of Philip Ludwell III and members of his family.⁵⁹² The Ludwells were one of the wealthiest and most prominent planter families in the colony.⁵⁹³ Their extensive land holdings included their main residence, Greenspring plantation in James City County, and a satellite plantation, named ‘Rich Neck’, near Williamsburg.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid, p.40

⁵⁹⁰ This part of Henrico County, near the Appotomax River, later became Chesterfield County in 1749. Henrico Historical Society, <http://www.henricohistoricalociety.org/henricohistory.html> [accessed 04 April 2010] The Bollings lineage had a notable pedigree in colonial American history. Bolling Jr’s grandfather, was Colonel Robert Bolling who married Jane Rolfe, the granddaughter of Pocahontas and John Rolfe. John Bolling Jr’s second wife Elizabeth, was Blair’s niece and the Bollings were also connected by marriage to the Randolphs at Curles. “The Ancestors and Descendants of John Rolfe with Notices of Some Connected Families (Continued)”*The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Jan., 1914), pp. 103-107

⁵⁹¹ Hood (1977) pp.64, 67; The Bollings also had another plantation in neighbouring Goochland County (named after Gooch in his honour in 1728) called ‘Bolling’s Island’. Anon., “The Ancestors and Descendants of John Rolfe with Notices of Some Connected Families. Bolling of Virginia (Continued)” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Apr., 1914), pp. 215-217

⁵⁹² Wilder Foote (1952) pp.38-40. Hood (1977) p.67

⁵⁹³ Anon., “Ludwell Family”,*The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Jan., 1911), pp. p.213

⁵⁹⁴ Ludwell III’s probate inventory made in 1767, listed nine working plantations, including Rich Neck and Greenspring, and 235 enslaved blacks. “Appraisement of the Estate of Philip Ludwell Esqr, Decd” 1913 *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* XXI(1): 395-416; “Virginia Gleanings in England”. 1911 *Virginia Historical Magazine*, Dec. 3, XIX: 288-289 quoted in Digital Archive of Comparative Slavery <http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/RichneckQuarter/RichneckQuarterhistory.html#> [accessed 29 March 2010]

For unknown reasons Bridges did not settle in Virginia permanently. He braved the hardships of the trans-Atlantic crossing once more to return to England in around 1745.⁵⁹⁵ Even though Bridges was the first professional British painter to practice in Virginia, as Graham Hood has highlighted, his artistic practice there has been often overlooked by historians in favour of better known and documented artists such as Smibert.⁵⁹⁶ In this respect, the example of Bridges characterizes the mobility of lesser-known British painters throughout the period as they sought new opportunities to develop their own practice in the American colonies.⁵⁹⁷

William Williams: between the American colonies and the West Indies

⁵⁹⁵ It may well have been that after ten years in Virginia, Bridges, now in advanced old age, had decided that he wanted to spend his last days in his homeland. In an address book belonging to George Vertue, he is recorded living in Norfolk in 1746 with an associate of Vertue's - the antiquary Thomas Martin (1697-1771) Wilder Foote (1952) p.15

⁵⁹⁶ Hood (1977) p.57

⁵⁹⁷ These include, in New York: the Scottish painter named Chambers, who trained under Medina in Edinburgh, and served as William Aikman's assistant before he tried his fortunes in London, where he worked as an assistant to the painter, Edward Gouge in Covent Garden. Chambers went to New York in 1725, but returned to London in around 1734. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of the First Earl of Egmont (Viscount Percival)*, Vol.2 1734-1738, (HMSO 1923) p.192.

In Philadelphia: the London painter, John Winter practiced in and around Philadelphia and Maryland between the 1740s and 1770s. During this time he also shared a practice with the Swedish painter, Gustavus Hesselius. They highlighted their cosmopolitan credentials in their newspaper advertisements: 'Painting done in the best manner by Gustavus Hesselius of Sweden and John Winter of London.' *The Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 December 1740, quoted in Jeanette Eckman, Anthony Higgins and William H. Conner (Eds.), *Delaware, A Guide to the First State* (Viking Press, New York 1938) p.137.

In South Carolina: a painter from London named Warwell (*d.*1767) practised in Charleston in the mid- 1760s. See *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, 21 January 1766, quoted in Rutledge (1949) p.118 and *South Carolina Gazette*, 15 December 1766, quoted in "Advertisements of Artists" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Apr., 1920)p.88 ; John Grafton (*d.*1775) also practiced in the city in the 1770s. Grafton's advertisements in the press especially emphasised his training in London: 'a late pupil to SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS of Leicester Fields, LONDON...one of the first masters of that Art in England...' *South Carolina and American General Gazette* , 4-11 November 1774, quoted in Rutledge (1949)p.120

In contrast to Watson and Bridges, some British painters established themselves in more than one location during their practice in the American colonies. The Bristol-born painter, William Williams (1727-1791), offers an example of this phenomenon. He not only practised in Philadelphia and New York between c.1747 and 1776, but he also undertook a painting tour in the West Indies (see *Map.2*).⁵⁹⁸ Williams' decision to settle firstly in Philadelphia, may have been influenced by his native port's close commercial connections with the city. He practised there as a professional theatrical scene painter, set designer and portraitist in the 1750s and 1760s - a period during which Philadelphia was developing as an urban cultural centre. The Hallam theatrical company was one of the first documented theatre companies in Philadelphia in the early 1750s.⁵⁹⁹ Its repertoire included some of the most popular plays of the period, such as Rowe's *Fair Penitent*, Garrick's *Miss in Her Teens*, as well as many of Shakespeare's plays, such as *King Lear*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*.

However, its season in Philadelphia had been limited by the Governor to thirty performances as a result of vigorous opposition by religious groups such as the Quakers and Methodists in the city. Consequently, the company left Philadelphia to seek alternative engagements in

⁵⁹⁸ There has been some confusion in the past over Williams' identity - there were several Williamses practicing (on both sides of the Atlantic) during the period. Our Williams was allegedly a sailor, and a castaway - he was also the author of the *Journal of Llewellyn Penrose* (a fictional tale of shipwreck and adventure, published in 1815). Although there is very little record of Williams' own early artistic training, except that he was perhaps taught by an unknown portraitist and landscape painter in England, he was credited as a formative influence on the career of the American painter, Benjamin West; after Williams' return to Britain in 1776, he is reputedly to have visited West's studio in London and was model for one of figures in West's *Battle of La Hogue* (1778). See William Sawitzky, "William Williams, first instructor of Benjamin West", *The Magazine Antiques*, XXXI (May 1937) pp.240-242, "Further Light on William Williams", *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, XXV (July 1941) pp.101-112, and James Thomas Flexner, "The Amazing William Williams: Painter, Author, Teacher, Musician, Stage Designer, Castaway." *American Magazine of Art* (1944) pp..242-6 and pp. 276-8. E.P Richardson's article, "William Williams: A Dissenting Opinion" *American Art Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring, 1972), pp. 5-23, provides some convincing arguments and evidence to clarify the facts relating to the painter's life and career and more recently, Susan Rather discusses Williams and his relationship with West in her article, "Benjamin West's Professional Endgame and the Historical Conundrum of William Williams", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Oct., 2002), pp. 821-864

⁵⁹⁹ Arthur Hobson Quinn, "The Theatre and the Drama in Old Philadelphia" *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1953) p.313

Jamaica in the West Indies.⁶⁰⁰ The island was a major outlet for Philadelphia's exports, as well as luxury consumer goods from all over the British Empire, and the capital, Kingston, was its centre of wealth and culture.⁶⁰¹ Upon the company's return to the city in 1759, David Douglass took over plans to build a new theatre and commission scenery (which would have probably been taken on the company's touring engagements and later replaced when worn out).⁶⁰² Williams, and another painter named Alexander, were contracted for the considerable sum of over one hundred pounds to paint 'a New Set of Scenes for said House...'⁶⁰³

Williams' large fee suggests that by this time he had established a practice of some repute in the city.⁶⁰⁴ His movements within the city itself offer a clue to his professional progress. In 1757, Williams had advertised his change of address, to the house next door to the prominent builder and carpenter, fellow British émigré, Benjamin Loxley (*fig.163*).⁶⁰⁵ It was commercially astute move in a period of growing affluence in the city. Such a strategic location would draw the sort of clientele, such as the rising middling gentry, who would be attracted by Williams' offer of music lessons for 'young Gentlemen', and also very likely to commission portraits; the close proximity of Loxley may well have also been advantageous for Williams' theatre set commissions.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., David Howard Dickason, *William Williams: Novelist and Painter of Colonial America* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington Indiana; London (1970) p.30

⁶⁰¹ Richardson (1972)p.13, Berg (2005) p.286

⁶⁰² Dickason (1970) pp.28-30. Richardson (1972) p.12. Douglass managed to avoid conflict with the religious authorities of the city by building a temporary theatre in a different area of the city, though once again the company were only allowed to play a limited the season; he also built a number of theatres in other cities which formed the circuit of the "American Company," but they were short-lived ventures until 1766 when he built Philadelphia's first permanent theatre. Quinn(1953) p.313

⁶⁰³ *Pennsylvania Archives First Series III*, p.659, quoted in Richardson (1972)p.12 - Williams was a signatory on the petition presented to Governor Denny, in protest at the potential loss of earnings as a result of the threatened ban on the theatre by religious groups.

⁶⁰⁴ Richardson (1972) p.12 For a comparison, in the period between 1751 and 1766, fashionable portraitists in London, such as Ramsay, charged from 42 guineas rising to 84 guineas for a full length portrait (in 1751 Peter Manigault quoted Ramsay's price as 24 guineas for his three-quarter length portrait, inclusive of the frame - or just over £25 - 1 guinea being equivalent to 21 shillings,) and for the same period, Reynolds charged 42 guineas rising to 150 guineas. Smart (1992) p.92

⁶⁰⁵ Charles E. Peterson, "Benjamin Loxley and Carpenters' Hall" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 15, No. 4, Fifteenth Anniversary Issue (Dec., 1956), pp. 23-26

Williams was probably encouraged by his theatrical contacts that the West Indies was a promising location for a painting tour, and in 1760 or 1761 he travelled to Jamaica (and possibly Antigua) where he undertook commissions for wealthy planter families.⁶⁰⁶ His painting tour lasted around fourteen months, and by January 1763, he had resumed his painting practice in Philadelphia. Williams publicised his return with an advertisement in the newspapers, which shows that his practice had expanded to include drawing instruction:

WILLIAM WILLIAMS Limner &c, Being lately returned from the West-Indies; desires to acquaint the Publick, that he now lives in Loxley's Court, at the sign of Hogarth's Head, his former place of Residence, where he intends to carry on his Business, viz. Painting in General. Also an Evening School, for the Instruction of Polite Youth, in different branches of Drawing, and to sound the Hautboy, German and common Flutes, by their humble servant WILLIAM WILLIAMS

N.B. Those Gentlemen inclining to Learn may by applying be informed of the Conditions.⁶⁰⁷

Williams' advertisement also highlights a notable aspect of Williams' practice - his strategic use of trade signs to promote himself and express his British artistic persona. The 'Hogarth's Head' would have underlined his professional importance, intellect and artistic skill by aligning Williams with the painter and engraver, William Hogarth - one of the most versatile and innovative British artists in the period; in London, the Hogarth's Head trade sign had been adopted by at least two print shops and cited in their press advertisements in the mid-1750s.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁶ By Williams' own account, he produced fifty-four paintings during the tour. Dickason (1970) pp.30, 231 n.45, Richardson (1972)p.13

⁶⁰⁷ *The Pennsylvania Journal*, 13 January 1763, No. 1049; Richardson (1972)p.13

⁶⁰⁸ John Smith of Cheapside: advertisements in the *Daily Advertiser* dated Saturday 30 March, 1754 and in the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* dated Tuesday February 03, 1756; R.Withy and J.Ryall of Fleet Street: advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* dated Thursday 07 April, 1757

Williams' identification with Hogarth is further reiterated by his self-portrait (*fig.164*), in which Williams depicted himself as a creative, intellectual artist, (suggested by his turban-style cap and banyan) which echoes Hogarth's self-portrait (*fig.165*) painted in 1745, and later reproduced as an engraving in 1749.⁶⁰⁹ Williams' potential clientele would have been familiar with the print reproductions of Hogarth's paintings and engravings, which were circulated in high numbers in the American colonies throughout the period.⁶¹⁰

Williams had his own large and varied print collection, which he would have used as a source of inspiration for the composition and background details for his portraits, as well as for his theatrical commissions.⁶¹¹ A sense of this is suggested in the stage set-like qualities, such as silhouetted trees and foliage (and often capricci landscapes), in several of his paintings of the period. These include some of Williams' most impressive commissions in Philadelphia – his three full-length portraits of the Hall children, painted in 1766. Deborah, William, and David Jr., were the children of British émigré printer, David Hall. Hall had worked for the inventor and statesman, Benjamin Franklin in his printing business. In 1766 Hall set up his own firm, Hall and Sellen, and took over from Franklin as the publisher of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, in addition to his large bookselling and stationery business.⁶¹²

Williams also drew upon traditional European artistic conventions for his portraits of the Hall children. For example, Hall's eldest son, William (*fig.166*) is depicted amongst a library of books and ledgers, which underline his education and aspirations. The classically inspired background, with its swagged curtain and Italianate architecture, further lend the sitter an air of authority and status. Williams' use of iconographic emblems from sources such as Cesare

⁶⁰⁹ Williams' self portrait and physical resemblance to Hogarth is discussed further by Flexner (1944)p.277 and Rather (2002) pp.832-4, 840-2

⁶¹⁰ Rather (2002) pp.831-3

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.836-7

⁶¹² Dickason (1970) p.147, Richardson (1972) p.16

Ripa's *Iconologia* (first published in 1593, and still influential throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) is particularly notable. The paintings' emblematic details aim to provide a sophisticated scheme of layered meanings to be interpreted by the viewer.⁶¹³ In doing so, Williams not only emulates the visual story-telling of Hogarth, but also evokes European aristocratic portraiture which is intended to emphasize the ascending status of the family.⁶¹⁴

A good sense of this is underlined in Deborah Hall's portrait (*fig.165*), in which Williams deployed an iconography based on the themes of love, beauty and chastity. The pot of roses, the cupid's arrow, the sculptural relief of the mythological figures of Apollo and Daphne on the stone plinth beneath, and the emblem of the pet squirrel symbolizing obedience, diligence, and refinement (indicated by the successful domestication of a wild creature) endow the fifteen-year old sitter with the most admired feminine (and wifely) attributes - which also highlights the fact that she has reached marriageable age.⁶¹⁵ These themes remained popular in contemporary fashionable female portraiture in the period. Williams' interpretation of the subject echoes this trend, and a comparison can be found with Ramsay's society portrait of *Lady Louisa Connolly* (1759) (*fig.167*), in which the newly-wed sitter (who was also around the same age as Deborah Hall) is depicted in a garden setting, wearing a pink dress adorned with roses; except here the sitter holds a bunch of grapes to suggest her fertility.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹³ Roland E. Fleischer, "Emblems and Colonial American Painting." *American Art Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1988), p.3

⁶¹⁴ However, Rather (2002) p.828, maintains that such 'overloaded' imagery would have appeared provincial to the connoisseur.

⁶¹⁵ Fleischer (1988) pp.3-5

⁶¹⁶ The portrait of Louisa Connolly (1743-1821) was one of a series of portraits of members of the Fox and Lennox families, commissioned by the sitter's sister Caroline Fox, Baroness Holland from Ramsay and Reynolds, to hang in her new gallery at Holland House in Kensington. Smart (1999) pp.94-5

Animal emblems, such as pet squirrels, were very popular in colonial portraits of children and Williams may have seen a print after John Singleton Copley's portrait of his half-brother, Henry Pelham, *Boy with a Squirrel* (1765). Another is depicted in the painting, *Girl with Squirrel* (1770) (*fig.166*) by the British painter, Cosmo Alexander during his visit to the colonies; the emblem also appeared in British portraiture of the period, such as *Miss Paine* (c.1760) (*fig.170*) attributed to the British painter, Tilly Kettle.⁶¹⁷ Williams incorporates more animal emblems in his portrait of David Hall Jr., (*fig.171*), in which he deploys the emblems of a bird and dog, to convey friendship and loyalty, within the setting of a hunting portrait.⁶¹⁸ Similar themes are expressed in Williams' portrait of the *Boy of the Crossfield Family*, painted in New York (*fig.172*), where instead of animal emblems, a racket (or 'battledore') and shuttlecock are used to suggest popular childhood pastimes.⁶¹⁹

By the end of the 1760s, Williams had moved his painting business to New York. His advertisement (*fig.173*) highlights the wide scope of his painting practice, which included history and landscape, portraiture and sign painting, in addition to the services he offered relating to the restoration of paintings, such as the strewing of smalt, and the cleaning and repair of 'any old pictures of value'.⁶²⁰ Williams' adoption of the 'Rembrandt's Head' as a trade sign was particularly appropriate for the city, formerly New Amsterdam, which still retained much of its character from the original Dutch colony; one of Williams' conversation pieces painted in New York, *The Wiley Family* (1771) (*fig.174*), includes a windmill in

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Fleischer (1988) p.26, Fleischer states that in spite of their popularity in emblematic literature, the appearance of squirrels was far more common in eighteenth-century colonial portraiture than in European portraits, which suggests an American precedence for the emblematic reference.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.9

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.18, Dickason (1970) pp.173-5

⁶²⁰ Smalt ('strewing' was the name given to the process) was a bright blue paint pigment made of a mixture of ground glass and cobalt oxide. It had been used by painters in Europe since the sixteenth century to give oil paintings sparkling finish, though it was prone to discolouration. See Joyce Plesters "A Preliminary Note on the Incidence of Discolouration of Smalt in Oil Media" *Studies in Conservation*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (May, 1969), pp. 62-74

background of the Manhattan landscape. Williams' display of the Rembrandt's Head would have attracted clientele on account of the high status associated with an Old Master and the popularity for collecting Rembrandt's etchings and paintings in the period.⁶²¹ Although Williams' painting practice in the American colonies also encompassed the more commercial sorts of commissions such as sign painting, his display of distinctive trade signs set him apart from the more general tradesmen.⁶²²

⁶²¹ Flexner (1944) p.276, Rather (2002)pp. 831-3, 836. The first English catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings was published in 1752. See White et al. (1983) p.5

⁶²² Rather (2002)p.831, has noted that it was rare for general painters and craftsmen to identify themselves so specifically in this way in the period.

The Itinerant British Portrait Painter in the Americas

However, some British painters pursued far more peripatetic trajectories than Williams in order to cultivate markets for their work. This different sort of artistic mobility is especially demonstrated by three British portraitists practicing in the American colonies during the last half of the eighteenth century: John Wollaston (*fl.*1736-1775), who undertook artistic circuits of the mid-Atlantic and southern colonies between 1749 and 1767 (*see Maps.2&3*), Joseph Blackburn (*fl.*1752-1777) who practised firstly in Bermuda – Britain’s oldest Atlantic colony- in the early 1750s, and then toured the New England colonies from 1754 to 1763 (*see Map.2*); and Cosmo Alexander (1724-1772), (the most mobile painter of the period) who, during his stay from 1765 to 1771, travelled around the colonial urban centres of New England and the mid-Atlantic colonies, as well as undertaking a painting tour of the colonies in the south (*see Maps.2&3*).⁶²³ By adopting more proactive modes of artistic mobility, these painters were able to expand their client bases and connections amongst the colonial merchant gentry in urban centres, and to engage with the wealthy planter élites in more rural locations.

Wollaston and Blackburn enjoyed considerable repute in the American colonies and were especially sought after for their ability to capture the qualities of the silks, satins and velvets worn by their sitters. These skills highlight the painters’ connections with some of London’s most prestigious portrait studios; during their early careers, both Wollaston and Blackburn

⁶²³ Theodore Bolton and Harry L. Binsse, "Wollaston, an Early American Portrait Manufacturer," *Antiquarian*, XVI, June 1931, pp. 30-33 and 50-52. George C. Groce, "John Wollaston (*fl.*1736-67): A Cosmopolitan painter in the British Colonies", *Art Quarterly* (1952) Vol.15 Issue No.2 pp.132-49. Wayne Craven, "John Wollaston: His career in England and New York City", *American Art Journal*, Vol.7, No.2 (Nov 1975) pp.19-31. John Hill Morgan, "Further Notes on Blackburn." *The Brooklyn Museum Quarterly* (July 1919) Vol. 6 Part 3, pp.147-55. Lawrence Park, "Joseph Blackburn: A Colonial Portrait Painter, with a Descriptive List of His Works." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 32 (October 1923), pp.270-329. C.H Collins Baker, "Notes on Joseph Blackburn and Nathaniel Dance", *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol.9, No.1 (Nov 1945) pp.33-47. G.L.M. Goodfellow, "The Art, Life and Times of Cosmo Alexander (1724-1772): Portrait Painter in Scotland and America." (MA thesis, Oberlin College, Ohio USA, 2 Vols. 1961) Pam Mclellan Geddy, "Cosmo Alexander’s travels and patrons in America" *Antiques* (Nov 1977) Vol.112, pp.972-79

probably trained and worked under a foreign master, such as Joseph Van Aken – one of the most accomplished drapery specialists of the day,⁶²⁴ or a British portraitist fully grounded in continental painting techniques, such as Thomas Hudson or Joshua Reynolds.⁶²⁵ The painting techniques acquired by Wollaston and Blackburn enabled them to emulate fashionable portraiture produced in the British capital to cater for the demands of their colonial clientele.⁶²⁶

A few months after the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in October 1748, which signalled the end of the Austrian War of Succession, travel overseas became much more accessible. Wollaston took the opportunity to seek new opportunities beyond the Continent, to find new markets for his work in the American colonies. His arrival in New York in 1749 was opportune. The city had no principal portrait-painter of ability who was also fluent in the latest trends in cosmopolitan portraiture: Watson had ceased to paint, and New Yorkers had been turning to New England portraitists such as Smibert and Robert Feke for their portraits. Moreover, within a year or so Smibert was ill (he was to die in 1751) and Feke had left the colonies.⁶²⁷

Wollaston stayed three years or so in New York, during which time he painted around seventy-five portraits. His clientele included many members of the city's most wealthy and prominent residents, such as the landowner and merchant, William Axtell (1720-1795).

⁶²⁴ Saunders and Gross Miles (1987) p.177.

⁶²⁵ Groce (1952) pp.132-35 and 147 n.1. Hagen (1940) p.96 and 98-102, c.f Baker (1945) pp. 34-40. Baker proposes that Blackburn did not arrive in Bermuda with a 'well-formed London style', and forwards the notion that the painter's training had more provincial, even American, origins. Hagen suggests that during his stay in Boston, the development of Blackburn's practice may have been influenced by his artistic exchanges with the rising native-born painter in the city, John Singleton Copley.

⁶²⁶ Craven (1975) pp.19-22, states that Wollaston may well have also trained in father's studio, the portraitist John Woolaston (the name was spelled originally with a double 'o' instead of a double 'l') (c.1672 - c.1743), and took over his father's practice when he died.

⁶²⁷ Groce (1952) pp.137-8. Craven (1971) p.261. Craven (1975) pp.25-7. Hagen (1940) pp.69-70, suggests that Feke made use of Newport's commercial links to the Caribbean, and sailed from there to Barbados.

Axtell, the son of a rich West-Indian planter, had a mansion house on Broadway in the city and a country estate, Melrose Hall in Flatbush, Brooklyn.⁶²⁸ Wollaston's portrait of Axtell (*fig. 175*), commissioned for the larger of the houses, Melrose Hall, demonstrates the type of accomplished portraiture he could offer his colonial clientele.⁶²⁹ He had the painterly skills to produce the latest modes in portraiture, which included elegant deportment and the detailed rendition of the exquisite fabrics of his sitters' clothes, such as Axtell's expensive brocaded waistcoat.

Wollaston's decision to leave New York points to the emergence of a more ambitious, expansive sort of artistic mobility in the colonies. Rather than try his fortunes in neighbouring New England, Wollaston ventured further afield to the affluent southern colonies of Maryland and Virginia; his contact with the New York's mercantile aristocracy may well have encouraged him to utilise the city's commercial links with the southern plantations. New York was a leading colonial port in the period. In addition to provisioning the American colonies, it also exported goods and commodities to Britain and to other British colonies overseas, such as the West Indies. Maryland and Virginia were the main producers of one of the dominant export products – tobacco (sugar was the other), which was shipped from the port of New York all over the British Empire.⁶³⁰ Thus Wollaston's model of artistic mobility enabled him to develop his connections with (and between) both an urban and a rural clientele, so that he was not reliant upon one source (or location) for patronage.

⁶²⁸ Groce (1952) p.138. Francis S. Drake, *Dictionary of American Biography* (Boston, 1879)p.45

⁶²⁹ Rehora Barratt (2003) pp.12-14 Wollaston also painted a pendant portrait of Axtell's wife, Margaret de Peyster.

⁶³⁰ Cathy Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore Maryland: London 1998) pp.60, 79-80,182-7, 200,261-2.

On his way south in 1752, Wollaston practised in Philadelphia for a short time, where his clients included Pennsylvania's royal governor, James Hamilton.⁶³¹ By early 1753, Wollaston was working in Annapolis, the political and social capital of Maryland, and the centre of cultural life in the colony. His presence in the city was publicized by a poem praising his painting skills, (echoing the effusive verses similarly dedicated to Smibert in 1730), entitled: "EXTEMPORE: On seeing Mr. WOLLASTON'S pictures in Annapolis", which was published in the *Maryland Gazette* on 15 March, 1753. The author draws attention to the portraitist's ability to capture on canvas the requisite physical attributes of his female sitters:

Behold the wond'rous Power of Art!
That mocks devouring Time and Death,
Can Nature's ev'ry Charm impart;
And make the lifeless Canvas Breathe.
The Lilly blended with the Rose,
Blooms gaily on each fertile Cheek.
Their Eyes the sparkling Gems disclose,
And Balmy Lips, too, seem to speak.
Nature and We, must bless the Hand,
That can such heav'nly Charms portray,
And save the Beauties of this Land
From envious Obscurity.
Whilst on each Piece we gaze,
In various Wonder, we are lost;
And know not justly which to praise,
Or Nature, Or the Painter, most.⁶³²

Maryland, like its sister colony, Virginia had a plantation-based tobacco economy, and had its own aristocratic ruling classes who emulated the cultural and intellectual pursuits of the British élites. The powerful Maryland landowners operated a manorial system through

⁶³¹ Carolyn Jeanette Weekley, "John Wollaston, Portrait Painter: His Career in Virginia, 1754–1758." (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware 1976).p.227, quoted in artist biography, "John Wollaston" at Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, online at: http://www.worcesterart.org/Collection/Early_American/ [accessed 01 May 2010]

⁶³² Quoted in Groce(1952)p.140

which the great estates were administered by close networks of friends and relatives.⁶³³ During his stay in the colony from 1753 to 1754, Wollaston was kept busy with commissions. He painted portraits for many of the élite families, including the Calverts and the Carrolls (*fig.176*). Though his stay was relatively brief, Wollaston's work was influential. His paintings were a source of inspiration for later portraitists such as John Hesselius, who began to model himself after the British painter in around 1758 and attracted several commissions from Wollaston's former patrons.⁶³⁴

It was probably the close familial, political and commercial ties between the planter-families of Wollaston's sitters in Maryland that helped facilitate further commissions in Virginia, where he practised from about 1755 until October 1757. We can see here that Wollaston retraces many of Bridges' steps, sharing the same pattern of mobility (and patronage) during his stay (see *Map.3*). He painted almost one hundred portraits, many of which he painted for the same great Virginian families, including the Bollings, the Byrds at Westover (*fig.177*) and the Pages at Rosewell (*fig.178*). Wollaston also completed portrait commissions for other wealthy and prominent families in neighbouring counties, such as the Wormeleys at their Rosegill plantation near Urbanna, in Middlesex County, and the Tayloes of Richmond County. He produced around thirty-five portraits for the various branches of the prodigious Randolph family, such as William Randolph III (*fig.179*), and members of his family at the Wilton plantation in Richmond, near the James River.

⁶³³ Charles A. Barker, "Maryland before the Revolution: Society and Thought" *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Oct., 1940), pp. 1-20. However in contrast to Virginia, as the century progressed Maryland's élites became more socially diverse in areas connected to the prosperous port of Baltimore, where the wealthy merchant gentry became predominant. Wright (2002)pp.13-16

⁶³⁴ Groce (1952)p.140, 145. Wright (2002) pp.10,16. Richard K. Doud, "John Hesselius, Maryland Limner" *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 5 The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Inc (1969) pp.129-153

One of the last visits Wollaston made in the colony was to the Whitehouse plantation in New Kent County, where he executed several commissions in October 1757 for Mrs. Martha Parke Custis (later Mrs. George Washington), who paid him fifty-six pistoles for three portraits: one of herself, one of her husband, Daniel Parke Custis, and a double portrait of their two children, John Parke Custis and Martha Parke Custis.⁶³⁵ After leaving Virginia, Wollaston made his way back to Philadelphia for a short second visit by the summer of 1758. By this time, Wollaston was a painter of renown in the colonies. A poetical essay in his honour, “Verses inscribed to Mr. Wollaston”, was published in the *American Magazine* in 1758.⁶³⁶ The author, Francis Hopkinson, footnotes his prose with the sentence, ‘An Eminent painter, whose name is sufficiently known in the world.’ Hopkinson not only highlights Wollaston’s artistic skills, but also holds the painter up as a beacon to rising native painters, such as Benjamin West:

...The silk that richly flows with graceful air—
All tell the hand of *Wollaston* was there...

Nor let the muse forget thy name O West...
Hail sacred *Genius!* Mayst thou ever tread;
The pleasing paths your *Wollaston* has lead.
Let his just precepts all your works refine,
Copy each grace, and learn like him to shine;
So shall some future muse her sweeter lays
Swell with your name, and give *you* all his praise.⁶³⁷

Wollaston completed numerous painting commissions for at least half a dozen Philadelphian families during his stay.⁶³⁸ However, we have no firm evidence relating to the painter’s activities for the period after he left Philadelphia, from around 1759 until 1764, when he is

⁶³⁵ Groce (1952) p.140. William M. S. Rasmussen and Lora Robins, *The Virginia Historical Society* “Wormeley Family Portraits” <http://www.vahistorical.org/dynasties/wormeleyfamily.htm> and “Randolph Family Portraits” <http://www.vahistorical.org/dynasties/randolphfamily.htm> [accessed 10 June 2010]

⁶³⁶ F.H Elogium [Francis Hopkinson] “Verses inscribed to Mr. Wollaston” *The American Magazine*, (18 September 1758)pp.607-8

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.608

⁶³⁸ Groce (1952)p.141

recorded living on the island of St. Kitts in the West Indies.⁶³⁹ It is possible that the military operations during this stage of the Seven Years War may have prompted him to stay longer in the West Indies than previously has been thought. Several British artists travelled via the commercial shipping routes from key port towns to visit other British colonies, and it would have been convenient for Wollaston (as in the case of Williams earlier) to obtain a passage aboard a ship leaving from the port of Philadelphia to go the West Indies.⁶⁴⁰ When Wollaston left St. Kitts in 1765 to return to the American colonies for the last time, he used the island's trade links to travel to the wealthy city of Charleston in South Carolina. Charleston was also a busy port, and like Philadelphia, it operated extensive shipping routes between the Caribbean and the Atlantic; later in the period, the British painters, John and Hamilton Stevenson, travelled from Charleston to stay in Jamaica between 1779 and 1782.⁶⁴¹

In Charleston, Wollaston socialised with Peter Manigault's parents, the wealthy planter and merchant Gabriel Manigault and Ann Ashby Manigault - whose diary entry for 27 September 1765, notes that the painter had been her guest at dinner that night.⁶⁴² Although the

⁶³⁹ Groce (1952)pp.141-42,146, states that Wollaston became a writer and later a magistrate for the East India Company, before returning once more to the American Colonies. However, more recent research by Weekley (1976)pp.18-19, has confirmed that the John Wollaston recorded in India was born in 1740 and therefore was not the painter. John Baker, a former solicitor-general of the Leeward Islands (St.Kitts and Nevis) recorded in his diary that, "Mr. Woollaston, the painter, came up to me before dinner [at Mr. Smith's] and claimed our acquaintance at Mrs. Cottle's, St. Kitt's in 1764 or 1765." Philip C. Yorke (ed.) *The Diary of John Baker Barrister of the Middle Temple Solicitor General of the Leeward Islands* (Hutchinson & Co, London 1931) p.324. Unfortunately, there is no record as yet that confirms Wollaston painted portraits during his time on the island.

⁶⁴⁰ Groce (1952)p.141, points out that undertaking a sea voyage in wartime would have necessitated an armed vessel, which would have been most readily found at a large port such as Philadelphia.

⁶⁴¹ Groce and Wallace (1969) p.603, Rutledge (1949) pp.121-122 The Stevenson brothers were former students of Foulis Academy in Glasgow. They opened a painting and drawing academy in Charleston in 1774, which offered instruction in portraiture, history, landscape and miniature painting, and conversation pieces. However, we do not know how successful the venture was - the American Revolution probably compelled them to try their fortunes in the West Indies for a while; after being besieged by the British, Charleston finally capitulated in 1781 and was occupied by the British and Hessian mercenary forces, though only Hamilton returned to Charleston in 1782.

⁶⁴² Ann Manigault and Mabel L. Webber, "Extracts from the Journal of Mrs. Ann Manigault: 1754-1781 (Continued)" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Jul., 1919), p.209, entry dated 27 September 1765 noted "Mr Wollaston at dinner." The Manigaults invited him to dinner again, about six weeks before he left: entry dated 7 April 1767 noted " Mr. King, Walter and Wooleston at dinner"

Manigaults do not appear to have commissioned any portraits from Wollaston, they may have provided a few introductions to their circle. He painted around twenty portraits for the city's gentry, a class which included women such as Ann Gibbes (*fig.180*), the young wife of Edward Thomas, a physician and planter of the Georgetown District.⁶⁴³ The sitter's oriental-inspired dress, with its ermine, silk and hanging jewels, and the masquerade mask in her hand, suggests the lively metropolitan entertainments enjoyed by the Charleston élites. Wollaston's depiction of Gibbes' graceful folded arm gesture particularly evokes fashionable London portraiture, which Wollaston may have drawn upon for the painting: Reynolds' portrait of the courtesan Kitty Fisher, which was reproduced in mezzotint in around 1759 (*Miss Kitty Fischer, fig.181*) and Ramsay's *Lady Susan O'Brien* (1761) (*fig.182*) - both of which recall the Countess of Pembroke in Van Dyck's *Herbert Family* (*fig.183*) which was engraved in 1740.⁶⁴⁴ In May 1767, Wollaston finally left the American colonies for England on the *Snow Portland*.⁶⁴⁵ He had produced more than two hundred portraits during his thirteen years in the American colonies.⁶⁴⁶

In contrast to Wollaston, Joseph Blackburn's artistic mobility focused mainly on circuits of the urban settlements of New England. His practice in Bermuda between 1752 and 1753, before his arrival in the American colonies, may well have helped to determine his pattern of artistic mobility. The island was a promising location for practice. A local community of wealthy merchants and sugar planters was just as keen to commission fashionable portraiture

Ann Manigault "Extracts from Journal of Mrs. Ann Manigault 1754-1781 (Continued)" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Oct., 1919), p.257

⁶⁴³ Trustees of Worcester Art Museum, *Art through Fifty Centuries from the Collections of the Worcester Art Museum* Catalogue (Worcester, Massachusetts 1948) p.76. Worcester Art Museum, *A Handbook to the Worcester Art Museum* Catalogue (Worcester, Massachusetts 1973)p.151

⁶⁴⁴ Smart (1999) p.167

⁶⁴⁵ Wollaston's departure was reported in the *South Carolina Gazette*, 11 May–1 June, 1767, quoted in Rutledge (1949)p.118

⁶⁴⁶ Bolton and. Binsse (1931) pp. 50-52. John Caldwell , Oswaldo Rodriguez Roque , Dale T. Johnson , Carrie Reborra Barrett, *American Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Volume 1: A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born by 1815* (Princeton University Press Aug 1994) pp. 22-24.

in the latest London manner as the colonial gentry on the American mainland; Blackburn is reputed to have had painting commissions in advance of his arrival on the island from the Tucker family who sent for him from London.⁶⁴⁷ Blackburn was kept busy by his Bermudian clientele, for whom he produced around twenty-four portraits.⁶⁴⁸ His detailed representation of the lace-trimmed satin dress worn by Patience Stowe (*fig.184*), wife of Captain William Hall of Bermuda, demonstrates the drapery skills for which he became so sought after and admired in New England.

Bermuda's prosperous economy based on inter-colonial and trans-Atlantic trade also made it an ideal location from which to make connections with potential patrons on the mainland colonies. Newport in Rhode Island was a key city in the island's Atlantic and Caribbean trade networks. Blackburn may well have met the wealthy Newport merchant, David Chesebrough through the commercial and social exchanges between the two colonies. Chesebrough would have known many of his fellow merchants operating from Bermuda and heard of Blackburn's commissions for their families.⁶⁴⁹ After a year or so on the island, it is reasonable to suggest that Blackburn now took this opportunity to accompany Chesebrough back to Newport to cater for the prosperous merchant communities of New England.⁶⁵⁰

Blackburn painted around six portraits in Rhode Island, three of which were for the Chesebrough family: Chesebrough's wife, Margaret Sylvester, his daughter by his first marriage, Abigail, and his sister-in-law, Mary Sylvester (see *figs.185-187*). The group of paintings showcase Blackburn's familiarity with the London portrait scene and imagery

⁶⁴⁷ Baker (1945) p.34

⁶⁴⁸ John Hill Morgan, and Henry Wilder Foote, "An Extension of Lawrence Park's Descriptive List of the Work of Joseph Blackburn." Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society Vol. 46 (April 1936) pp. 15-81

⁶⁴⁹ William B. Stevens Jr., "Joseph Blackburn and His Newport Sitters 1754-1756" *Newport History* No.127 Vol.40 (Summer 1967) Part 3, pp.95-6

⁶⁵⁰ Boonstra (2002) (no. 623) p.230

sourced from portrait prints after famous London portraitists such as Kneller and Hudson - the pastoral theme of Mary Sylvester's portrait recalls Hudson's *Lady Mary Carew*, engraved in the early 1740s (*fig. 188*).⁶⁵¹

After a brief but successful stay in Newport, by November 1754 Blackburn had set his sights on Boston. Before he set off he obtained a glowing letter of introduction written by Newport merchant, Thomas Vernon, son-in-law of Blackburn's Newport customers Mr. and Mrs. John Brown, to the lawyer, James Boutineau in Boston. Vernon's letter highlights Blackburn's cultivation of his professional persona and status to attract potential clientele:

I hope you'll excuse the liberty I shall now take of recommending the bearer Mr Blackburne to your favor & friendship, he is late from the Island of Bermuda a Limner by profession & is allow'd to excell in that science, has now spent some months in this place, & behav'd in all respects as becomes a Gentleman, being possess'd with the agreeable qualities of great modesty, good sence & genteel behaviour he purposes if suitable encouragements to make some stay in Boston, and will be an entire stranger there XXX, shall therefore be obliged to you or friends for any civilities you are pleased to shew him, my best Compliments with Mrs Vernons to your good lady Miss Sucky and Miss Nancy & who's Pictures I expect to see in Boston drawn by the above Gent[lema]n.⁶⁵²

Boutineau's connections facilitated a steady run of commissions for Blackburn, beginning in 1755 with the portraits of Boutineau's fellow lawyer, (and later patriot delegate) James Otis and his wife. The following five years or so in the city was a highly productive period for Blackburn, during which he produced many of his known portraits. Moreover, during his practice in Boston, it seems that Blackburn still maintained a small clientele base in Newport

⁶⁵¹ Carrie Rebor, Paul Staiti, Erica Hirshler, Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., Carol Troyen et al, *John Singleton Copley in America*. Exhibition Catalogue (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1995) pp.176-77 Staiti suggests that the engraving influenced both Blackburn and Copley.

⁶⁵² MS letter, dated 25 Nov 1754, Newport, Rhode Island, Historical Society quoted in Stevens (1967) p.10. William Henry Whitmore, *An account of the Temple family: with notes and pedigree of the family of Bowdoin: reprinted from the New England historical and genealogical register, with corrections and additions*. (Dutton & Wentworth Boston 1856) p.15

- at least for a short time. His portrait of Newport resident Benjamin Ellery (*fig.189*) was painted a year after Blackburn left for Boston, suggesting that either Blackburn returned to Newport to paint the occasional commission, or that Ellery could have visited Blackburn in Boston.⁶⁵³ Either scenario was feasible as there were regular ferry boat services sailing between the two ports, taking around three hours each way - ‘wind and weather permitting’.⁶⁵⁴

Bostonian Mary Cary Russell’s enquiry after her brother-law, Chambers Russell’s sitting to Blackburn, reveals that the painter was held in high regard for his ability to produce a life-like animation of the sitter’s features and a detailed portrayal of their clothing (she even includes a jokey reference to Byles’ poem dedicated to Smibert in 1730):

Have you sat for your Pickture[?]. . . is the mouth placed in the proper order [?] do your eyes roll about [?] Tell Mr. Blackburn that Miss Lucy is in love with his Picktures, wonders what business he has to make such extream fine lace and satten besides taking so exact a likeness.⁶⁵⁵

A good sense of fine ‘satten’ is demonstrated by several of Blackburn’s Boston portraits, such as the prominent Boston merchant, *Jonathan Simpson* (1758) (*figs.190-191*) who is shown in an understated, yet very expensive satin suit.⁶⁵⁶ For his portrait of Hannah Babcock in 1759 (*fig.192*), Blackburn shows the sitter wearing a white satin dress that echoes the

⁶⁵³ Stevens (1967)p.105

⁶⁵⁴ The passage boats kept by Messrs., Perry, Pearce and Colver ran daily, with ‘carriages to convey passengers to and from Boston.’ *Newport Mercury*, advertisement dated 30 April 1770.

⁶⁵⁵ AAS, Mary Russell letters 1753-1806. Letter dated 1757 from Mary Russell to Chambers Russell, quoted in *An account of the Russell family of Charlestown, from a book in the handwriting of Mary Russell, who died in 1806, and from other family records in possession of Richard Sullivan of Boston. February 1, 1905*. It has been suggested by art historians that until this time, Copley had been very much influenced by Blackburn, however as he had matured, instead Blackburn was emulating Copley’s polished modelling of the sitter’s figure. Jules David Prown, *John Singleton Copley* (The Ailsa Mellon Bruce Studies in American Art. Harvard University Press, for the National Gallery of Art, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966) Vol I, p.25. Paul. Staiti, "Accounting for Copley.", *Rebora et al* (1995)pp. 25–51

⁶⁵⁶ Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire “Annual Report, Collections 2007-2008: Recent Acquisitions 17” available online: <http://hoodmuseum.dartmouth.edu/about/museum/annualreport/0708annrep/collections/recentacq17.html> [accessed 04 may 2010]

vogue in contemporary female portraiture for Rubens' 'Helene Fourment' or 'Van Dyck' type paintings. Interpretations of famous Rubens and Van Dyck portraits were produced by Hudson and Ramsay amongst others and available as print reproductions (see *fig.193*).⁶⁵⁷ Blackburn's reference to these sources further emphasises the reliance on prints among the painters working in the colonies.

However, by 1760 the native-born painter John Singleton Copley's increasing dominance of portrait commissions in the city had prompted Blackburn to relocate to New Hampshire and necessitated a new pattern of mobility. For the last three years or so of his stay in the colonies, Blackburn mainly divided his practice between two of the most prosperous towns (outside of Boston and Newport) in New England – Portsmouth and Exeter. Portsmouth in particular, had a thriving port that challenged Boston and New York in commercial importance.⁶⁵⁸ Blackburn was very successful in New Hampshire and enjoyed a very productive practice during which he cultivated a prominent and affluent clientele, for whom he painted almost sixty-five portraits. These include some of his most ambitious and striking paintings in this period, such as the three-quarter length portrait of *Colonel Theodore Atkinson* (1760) (*fig.194*). Atkinson was the Secretary of the province of Portsmouth, and one of most powerful political figures in the colony. His connections by marriage to New Hampshire's Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth and Governor Benning Wentworth no doubt helped to facilitate the series of portrait commissions Blackburn completed for the two families, which also included Atkinson's wife and son.⁶⁵⁹ Blackburn's portrait of *Mrs*

⁶⁵⁷ Baker (1945)p.39-40, further discusses Blackburn's painting in relation to Ruben's portrait of Helene Fourment. See also Smart (1992) pp.62-4 for his discussion of Ramsay and Hudson's interpretation of the painting.

⁶⁵⁸ John Hill Morgan, 'Notes on Blackburn and His Portrait of Lettice Mitchell' *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly* Vol. 6 Part 1 (January 1919) pp. 30-31

⁶⁵⁹ Charles Deane, A.T Perkins, Oliver Wendell Homes, "Portraits by Blackburn" *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, (December 1878)Vol.16, pp.386-7 L[awrence] P[ark], "Two Portraits by Joseph Blackburn", *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Vol.6, No. 9 (Nov., 1919) pp.139-141.

Nathaniel Barrell (Sarah Sayward) (1761) (*fig.195*) shares the same impressive scale and was commissioned by the sitter's father, Jonathan Sayward, a wealthy merchant from Maine in New Hampshire. The fee Blackburn was able to command for such portraits further highlights the demand for his services in the colony: he charged Sayward ten guineas for his daughter's picture - at least two guineas more than his young rival Copley commanded for a three-quarter length portrait in Boston.⁶⁶⁰ Blackburn was back in Britain by January 1764, and continued his itinerant existence, painting portraits in the west of England, Wales, and Dublin between 1768 and 1777.⁶⁶¹

On the Move: Cosmo Alexander

The Scots-born painter, Cosmo Alexander was one of the most mobile of British painters of the eighteenth century, and offers a suggestive final example of the kinds of artistic mobility that shaped many portraitists' practice in the American Colonies. His artistic training was undertaken with his father, the history painter John Alexander, who, as we have seen, had himself pursued a cosmopolitan and mobile artistic practice - he had spent several years training and working on the Continent and had also practised in Edinburgh and London.⁶⁶² Cosmo's early career was just as mobile, and far more dramatic. He had only just begun his professional practice when during the summer of 1745, Prince Charles Edward Stuart arrived in Scotland from France to raise army in order to depose the Hanoverian monarch, George II and reclaim the throne for his father, Catholic claimant James Stuart (the 'Old Pretender').

⁶⁶⁰ The receipt signed by Blackburn is dated Boston, July 12 1762, which suggests that he was still visiting Boston occasionally during this period. The receipt is reproduced in Hill Morgan (July 1919) Vol. VI No. 3, pp.228-9. Copley' fee for a three-quarter length portrait was eight guineas in 1764. Prown (1966) I, pp.97-8

⁶⁶¹ Hill Morgan and Wilder Foote (1936)pp.79-81

⁶⁶² Cosmo was named as a compliment to his father's patrons: (in Florence) the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de' Medici and (in Scotland) Cosmo Gordon, Marquess of Huntly and eldest son of the Duke of Gordon. Goodfellow (1961)I,p.7

Cosmo and his father, who were loyal supporters of the Jacobite cause, enlisted in the rebel army.⁶⁶³

Following the defeat of the Jacobite Rebellion in 1746, Cosmo fled Scotland for the Continent, arriving in Rome in Easter 1747, where he found patronage amongst the exiled Jacobite Court and Grand Tourists.⁶⁶⁴ Shortly after his arrival, he obtained a commission from James Stuart, for a portrait of his son, Charles Edward Stuart, and subsequently obtained follow-on commissions from the exiled Jacobites in the city (and in Paris later).⁶⁶⁵ Like many British artists in Rome in the period, Cosmo studied and made copies of Old Masters for tourists; he also made sure to establish himself in the artistic networks in the city, by operating as a dealer for wealthy British collectors to facilitate further commissions.⁶⁶⁶

Alexander spent five years in Rome until 1751, when he began to make his way back to London. His first port of call was Leghorn, where he obtained a commission to paint the portrait of the merchant, William Aikman of the Ross.⁶⁶⁷ He then visited Bologna and Venice by early 1752, followed by a stay in Paris.⁶⁶⁸ Alexander finally arrived back in London in 1754, when he began to establish a considerable practice which he divided between London and Scotland. His inheritance from his friend and fellow Scot, the architect, James Gibbs, who had bequeathed him a house on Henrietta Street, enabled him to set up a studio and

⁶⁶³ Catholics were regarded as likely Jacobites, however the Jacobite cause also drew support from those with different motives for wanting the removal of the Hanoverian monarchy, such as xenophobia against the Dutch and Germans, see Pittock (1998) pp.18-9; there is evidence that John and Cosmo Alexander had Catholic sympathies, but it is unknown if they were Catholic, Goodfellow (1961) I, pp.2-3.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., pp14-16 Cosmo's father remained in hiding in Scotland until 1747, when the Act of General Pardon was passed, granting amnesty to all Jacobite rebels (with certain exceptions).

⁶⁶⁵ France was a traditional bolt-hole for exiled Jacobites; James Stuart's Court had been established in Avignon in France before it moved to Urbino and then Rome, where it had been since 1719. Pittock (1998)p.52

⁶⁶⁶ Goodfellow (1961) I, pp.21-4

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., p.31, Ingamells(1997)p.11. William, who was another Aikman cousin, had been in Leghorn for many years and had began his career in his uncle's merchant house, which had provided letters of introduction for his cousin, the portrait painter William Aikman, some forty years earlier.

⁶⁶⁸ Ingamells (1997) p.12 ; c.f Goodfellow (1961) I, p.40 Alexander may have arrived London earlier to briefly set up practice before making a second trip to Paris before returning to London once more in 1754.

residence in London and at the same time regularly return to cater to his Scottish clientele in Edinburgh and Aberdeenshire (where the competition for painting commissions was not as intense) throughout the 1750s.⁶⁶⁹

Alexander's connections with his former client, William Aikman in Leghorn may well have facilitated at least four painting commissions in 1763 from the wealthy merchant bankers, Thomas and Adrian Hope in Holland.⁶⁷⁰ Alexander travelled between Amsterdam and Rotterdam completing his commissions for the Hope family and obtaining new clientele amongst the Dutch and British merchant gentry.⁶⁷¹ Alexander then moved to The Hague and joined the cosmopolitan community of artists there, many of whom had been trained on the Continent. In order to practice and sell his work in the city, Alexander became a member of the painters' guild, the 'Confrerie Pictura'. However his stay in The Hague does not appear to have been productive, and after trying to avoid paying his fees to the guild, Alexander returned to London in 1764.⁶⁷²

Alexander's decision to travel to the American Colonies in 1765 seems to have been an expedient response to his financial situation at the time - he had fallen into serious debt and faced the prospect of finding himself in debtor's prison.⁶⁷³ A painting tour in the colonies would allow him to escape his creditors, and importantly, he was in a good position to make

⁶⁶⁹ The house was one of four properties Gibbs had designed for Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford on Henrietta Street, Cavendish Square. Bryan Little, *The Life and Works of James Gibbs (1682-1754)* (B.T Batsford Ltd London, 1955) p.49 Goodfellow(1961) I, pp.44-6, 55.

⁶⁷⁰ The Hopes were of Scottish descent and had been business associates of Aikman, Goodfellow (1961) I, pp.58-9

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.,pp.60-61

⁶⁷² Ibid.,pp.61-2 Though he eventually paid the fee of 18 guilders, Alexander did not stay long and no paintings from his time in The Hague have yet been discovered.

⁶⁷³ It is probable that Alexander had to let or sell his house on Henrietta street; before his departure, in April 1765 he exhibited one portrait at the annual exhibition of the Incorporated Society of Artists, and his address was listed in the exhibition catalogue as Gerrard Street, Soho; it is likely that he had to borrow the fare for his passage to the American colonies. Ibid., pp.66-7, Maclellan Geddy (1977) pp.973, 976, n.8

some money.⁶⁷⁴ He would have been aware of the prestige his training on the continent and his metropolitan practice would have afforded him and confident that he would be in demand; Alexander's visit was well timed, Blackburn had returned from the colonies by 1764, and in the same year the American painter Mathew Pratt left his native Philadelphia to study in London under his fellow Philadelphian Benjamin West, who had been established in the capital since 1763.⁶⁷⁵ Therefore with the absence of any other notable artists (with the exception of Copley who continued to dominate portrait commissions in Boston) working along the Eastern Seaboard in the period, urban centres such as New York and Philadelphia were promising locations for Alexander. These cities also had the advantage of well-established Scottish communities with whom he formed many social contacts, and it was through these networks he obtained many of his commissions during his stay in the colonies. Moreover like Wollaston, Alexander is representative of an expansive mode of artistic mobility as he also cultivated a client base in the southern colonies.

One of Alexander's earliest commissions in the America was a portrait of *Mrs John Marshcalk (Christine Farmer)* (fig.196) in New York in 1765.⁶⁷⁶ The painting offers a good example of the sort of sophisticated portraiture the painter could provide his urban clientele. Alexander's distinctive modelling and understated yet elegant depiction of his sitter underlines his continental training and familiarity with metropolitan tastes; the portrait's sense of quiet intimacy and the study of the sitter's hands particularly echoes Ramsay's portrait of his wife Margaret Ramsay (see figs.197-198).

⁶⁷⁴ Alexander may have also hoped to reclaim some property left to him whilst he was there, see Goodfellow (1961) I, p.71-2

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., pp.70, 72. Groce and Wallace (1969) pp.674-5

⁶⁷⁶ Maclellan Geddy (1977)p.973

By the summer of 1766 Alexander had made his way to Pennsylvania. He was admitted as a member of the St. Andrews Society of Philadelphia on the 1st of December 1766, probably with support of the Attorney General John Ross of Philadelphia, a prominent lawyer of Scottish descent, who had commissioned portraits of himself and his daughters, Catherine and Margaretta. Alexander's contact with the Scottish community in Philadelphia proved advantageous and as a result, Alexander was kept busy with further commissions. His association with the St. Andrews Society enabled him to cultivate a valuable network of contacts in Philadelphia (and in other urban centres); it was probably there that he made the acquaintance of fellow Scot and society member, Dr William Ritchie whose portrait he painted in 1767 (*fig.199*) before leaving for New York once more. Alexander's commissions in the city included the posthumous portrait of the Reverend Henry Barclay, commissioned by Trinity Church. In New York he also joined the St. Andrews Society and it may well have been that his Philadelphia membership helped him obtain the commission, as Barclay had been member of the New York branch.⁶⁷⁷

Between 1768 and 1769 Alexander continued to work in New York and in Philadelphia finishing commissions and executing new ones. In January 1769 he travelled to Burlington New Jersey for commissions he had obtained through his contact in London, the printer and publisher, William Strahan. Strahan was an old friend of Governor of New Jersey, William Franklin (who was the eldest son of Benjamin Franklin). Alexander obtained a letter of

⁶⁷⁷ G.L.M. Goodfellow, "Cosmo Alexander in America", *American Quarterly* (1963) Vol.26, p.310 and p.320, n.5. Goodfellow (1961) I, pp.73-4. The St Andrews Society, which still exists today, was founded in December 1749 by Philadelphian Scots and was similar in nature to the societies established in Boston (1657), Charleston (1729), New York (1744) and in other cities at later dates; Alexander paid 20 shillings to join the New York branch. Perhaps to indicate his professional status, his name appears handwritten in the Latinized 'Cosmus Alexander Esq.' and added to the list of honorary members. Hugh Gainie, *Rules for the St. Andrews Society in New York*. (St Andrews Society at New York in the Province of New York, New York 1770)

recommendation from Strahan to Franklin and consequently he painted several portraits for Franklin and his friends (although to date, their pictures have not been identified):⁶⁷⁸

[Alexander] has been for several weeks together at my house, and I employed him in doing as much painting as came to ninety Guineas... [and] getting him business in that way from several friends...⁶⁷⁹

Alexander returned to New York and then later Philadelphia. However, during this period, Alexander's practice in the colonies received a series of setbacks. He was suffered from a re-occurring illness that left him unable to work. Within a few months, he was in debt once more and was thrown in to a debtor's prison in Philadelphia.⁶⁸⁰ Fortunately, he was rescued by a creditor and by the summer of 1769 he was reconsidering his options. He almost followed Williams' and Wollaston's example by trying his fortunes in the West Indies; however he ultimately decided to travel to Rhode Island, with good reason. There were strong cultural connections between Rhode Island and Scottish migrants; its residents included a large number of Scots, many of whom emigrated there after defeat of the Jacobite Rebellion in 1746:

Between the years 1746 and '50, there came over from Great Britain, to these colonies, a number of Scotch gentlemen, who had not the appearance of what is generally understood by the term emigrant, nor yet they merchants nor seemed to be men of fortune. They came not in companies, but dropped in quietly, one after the other. Their unassuming appearance, retired habits, bordering on the reserve, seemed to place them above the common class of British travellers. Their mode of life was snug, discreet and respectable, yet clannish. Some settled in Philadelphia, some in Perth Amboy [New Jersey], some in New York, but a greater proportion sat down at that pleasant and healthy spot Rhode Island...⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁸ Franklin's sister, Sarah may have also added her recommendation - Alexander had used her as a model in order to complete his portrait of Margareta Ross, who had unfortunately died before the painting was finished. Maclellan Geddy (1977) p.974

⁶⁷⁹ Extract from letter dated 29 January 1769 from Governor William Franklin to William Strahan reproduced in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Volume XXV, 1911, pp.444-446, quoted in Goodfellow (1961) I, pp.78-80

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.79-80, 83 His claim to the lands he had hoped to obtain had also failed; Alexander's situation does suggest that he perhaps let his membership of the Philadelphia St. Andrews Society lapse (or that his debts were too great) as these societies also provided funds if members were in financial need. Gaine (1770) Rule V

⁶⁸¹ William Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*. (New York, 1834; (Ed.) Alexander Wyckoff, Benjamin Blom Inc. New York, 1965) Vol.1, pp.194-195; The cooler climate of Rhode Island was also more agreeable to Alexander.

It is perhaps not surprising that many (though not all) of Alexander's sitters were of Scots origin.⁶⁸² His first commissions in Rhode Island include the pendant portraits he painted for Charles Dudley, Collector of the King's Customs at the affluent port city of Newport, and his wife, Catherine in 1769 (*figs.200-201*).⁶⁸³ Alexander's painting practice soon attracted a steady flow of commissions, enough for him to settle for a short time in Newport, where he set up a painting room. Like Smibert's studio in Boston, it became a visitor attraction. A contemporary visitor, Dr Benjamin Waterhouse, provides a brief account:

Mr Alexander associated almost exclusively with the gentlemen from Scotland, and was said by them to paint for his amusement...he soon opened a painting room, well provided with cameras and optical glasses for taking prospective views. He soon put upon canvas the Hunters, the Keiths, the Fergusons, the Grants and the Hamiltons...⁶⁸⁴

It is notable that many of the Scottish names listed above also had family connections in New York and Philadelphia (and whose members Alexander had probably either come in to contact with as clientele or through social networks such as the St. Andrews Society).⁶⁸⁵ Alexander's full-length portrait of Alexander Grant (1770) (*fig.202*), was one of the most impressive paintings he produced in Newport; the detailed rendering of Grant's clothing offers especially a better sense of Alexander's abilities when he was not so constricted by time or his client's budget. The painting was commissioned by David Chesebrough as a companion portrait to Blackburn's portrait of Abigail Chesebrough, whom Grant had married in 1760; Grant divided his time between Jamaica, Newport and London on business and it

⁶⁸² Cosmo may well have also drawn upon Rhode Island's community of wealthy merchant Jews for patronage. He is reputed to have painted the portrait of Isaac Truro (dated 1769-1770, now lost) Minister of the Sephardic Synagogue in Newport. Mclellan Geddy (1977) pp.974, 977.n.23

⁶⁸³ Frick Art Reference Library New York, Cosmo Alexander Artist file: nos. 221-6c and 222-11a

⁶⁸⁴ The original account, now lost is quoted in Dunlap(1834) Vol.1, p.197

⁶⁸⁵ Goodfellow(1961) I, p.84. Of the names listed by Waterhouse, so far only the portraits of Dr. Hunter and his wife and daughter, and Alexander Grant have been identified. Maclellan Geddy (1977)p.974

was during a visit to Newport that he sat for Alexander (his portrait shows a letter in his hand addressed to ‘Alex. Grant Esq. Late of Jamaica’).⁶⁸⁶

In addition to the network of contacts he had made between New York, Philadelphia and Rhode Island, Alexander took advantage of the seasonal movements of the colonial settlers to cultivate his client base further south. Newport was a fashionable resort of plantation owners and their families escaping the summer heat and malaria of the southern colonies. It is very likely that Alexander utilised the contacts he made from the planters’ summer visits to Newport to facilitate several of the commissions he undertook during his painting tour of the southern colonies between 1770 and 1771.⁶⁸⁷

In late 1770, accompanied by Gilbert Stuart, whom he had taken on as his pupil in Newport, Alexander started to make his way south. They probably stopped at first in Providence for Alexander’s commissions for the Reverend and Mrs Jane Manning. It is likely that they may have also visited Philadelphia in early 1771 as a portrait (now lost) of Mary Shippen Willing Byrd and her daughter was signed by Alexander in this period. Mary was the second wife of William Byrd III of Westover but made frequent trips to Philadelphia to visit family and friends - one of whom was Sarah Franklin who may well have recommended the painter to Mary (whose portrait commission probably helped Alexander obtain further commissions from the Byrd family in Virginia).⁶⁸⁸

Upon their arrival in Virginia, Alexander followed some of the patterns of artistic mobility demonstrated earlier by Bridges and Wollaston: he painted family members of William Byrd

⁶⁸⁶ It is likely that Grant was the illegitimate son of a Scottish laird, Sir Alexander Grant of Dalvey and had gone to Jamaica to seek his fortune where probably met Chesebrough. Boonstra (2002) No.624, pp.373-381

⁶⁸⁷ Goodfellow(1961) I, p.85

⁶⁸⁸ Maclellan Geddy (1977)p.975 Mary’s godfather was Sarah’s father - Benjamin Franklin

III at Westover, which included the portrait of Elizabeth Hill Byrd (*fig.203*); and portrait paintings of the Bollings at Cobbs plantation have been attributed to Alexander during this time. Like Bridges and Wollaston, Alexander also travelled between several neighbouring counties for portrait commissions: he painted portraits of Mrs John Blair in Williamsburg and the portraits of James and Sarah Wall in Brunswick (later Greenville) County; the couple also had connections in Williamsburg and Chesterfield (formerly Henrico) County, so Alexander could have executed the paintings in any of these locations.⁶⁸⁹ The portrait of Sarah Waters Mead (*fig.204*), whose husband's estate was in Nansemond County, is also attributed to Alexander's visit.⁶⁹⁰ It has been recorded that Alexander's last stop on his tour was Charleston in South Carolina, however no portraits from this time have yet come to light, nor is there a record of his membership of the Charleston St. Andrews Society. Alexander finally returned to Scotland with his student Gilbert Stuart (who himself later became a famous painter) in 1771. He set up a studio in Edinburgh where they worked together until Alexander's death a year later.⁶⁹¹

Conclusion

We began our discussion of artistic mobility in the American colonies with the famous example of Smibert. However, we have seen that he is only one of many examples of artistic mobility in the period. In some respects we may view British portraitists' artistic mobility as an extension of mobility in Britain and Europe – Smibert and Alexander were already highly mobile figures in the Old World before travelling to America. The close cultural and commercial ties to home and the development and expansion of the colonial urban

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁰ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Portrait of Sarah Waters Mead (Mrs. David Mead, Jr.) (1749-1829)" <http://emuseum.history.org/code/emuseum.asp> [accessed 27 June 2010]

Bayrd Still, "The Westward Migration of a Planter Pioneer in 1796" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Second Series, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Oct., 1941), pp. 318-19, n.2

⁶⁹¹ Dunlap (1834) Vol. I, p.167, Goodfellow(1961) I, pp.88-90

settlements played important part in the stimulus of artistic mobility in American colonies; the adaptive characteristics of British painters' mobility suggest that there were distinct phases of movement coinciding with this. The most distinguishing feature of British portraitists experience in the colonies is the perceptible shift (or adaptation) over time from the more established artistic circuits taken around the eastern seaboard ports and towns, to the wider ranging patterns of mobility that included the comparatively unexploited rural locations of the plantations in the south, and that extended in the cases of Williams, Wollaston and Blackburn who took their practice even further afield across to the West Indies and North Atlantic.

The development of British portraitists' mobility in this way had some clear advantages. The distinct sense of self-sufficiency in British portraitists' practice in the colonies, characterized especially by the most itinerant trajectories, such as those demonstrated by the examples of Wollaston and Alexander, enabled them to cultivate both urban and rural client bases. They often found that their urban or provincial client networks could play an important part in their contact with élite planter clientele. Thus British portraitists were not wholly reliant on one sort of patronage and could expand and develop their sphere of practice in the American colonies. Later, in the period after the American Revolution, variations of these models of artistic mobility continue to be demonstrated by British portraitists such as Robert Edge Pine and James Sharples. Pine's migration was stimulated by his republican sympathies rather than economic reasons. He settled in Philadelphia in 1784, where he opened a gallery in the state house with paintings he had brought from England, but he still undertook painting tours around the south for commissions.⁶⁹² Sharples on the other hand, toured towns in New York and Philadelphia for several years in the 1790s in a mobile studio - 'a four wheeled carriage

⁶⁹² R. G. Stewart, *Robert Edge Pine: a British portrait painter in America, 1784–1788* (Exhibition catalogue, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, 1 Nov 1979 – 6 Jan 1980).

of his own contrivance, which carried the whole family, and all his implements, and was drawn by a large horse.’⁶⁹³ His practice and mobility particularly recalls the ‘adaptive media’ model demonstrated by the portraitists, Russell, Gardner and Downman in the English provinces; though he usually practised in oils, Sharples’ most successful work was produced primarily by painting in pastel powder from bottles; by adapting his practice to suit life on the road, he could produce a small portrait in two hours.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹³ Groce and Wallace (1969), Henry T. Tuckermann, *Book of the Artists* (James F Carr, New York, 1867), Dunlap(1834) Vol.II p.204-7

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

To and From India: 1785-1795

India offers a concluding example of the kinds of artistic mobility we have been discussing over the last three chapters, and a case study that once again helps us place the trajectories of British portraitists within a broader context of imperial and commercial expansion. Artists, in the last decades of the eighteenth century responded to a new phase of imperial development, centred on the ‘East Indies’ and shaped by the military victories of mid-century and the losses of the American wars. The British association with India was not entirely new, however; it could be traced back to 1600, when the royal charter was granted to the East India Company to trade in the East Indies. The Company’s primary concerns were the trading posts (‘factories’) in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta and the export of textiles. In the early eighteenth century, with the collapse of the Mughal Empire and the breakdown of central authority in India, local rulers carved out their own independent kingdoms. Consequently European powers struggled for supremacy during a series of local trading disputes and as part of the international conflicts known as the Wars of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) and the Austrian Succession (1740-1748).⁶⁹⁵ By the mid-century, British acquisition of territory prompted a change in British attitudes towards India and its interests in the territory as source of produce and a market for British manufactures was matched by the expanding role of the East India Company. These interests were intensified by the military successes of the Seven Years War, when the Company’s activities went far beyond trade to embrace the administration of justice and taxation. The British victory at the battle of Plassey in 1757 secured by East India Company troops under the command of Robert Clive, confirmed

⁶⁹⁵ P.J. Marshall , “ The British in Asia: Trade to Dominion, 1700-1765”, P.J. Marshall (Ed.) (2001) Volume II, pp.489-491

control over Bengal, one of the richest regions in India, and a territory larger than Britain itself. In 1765, the Company was granted effective rule over the region and control of its valuable revenues (see *Map.4*).⁶⁹⁶

The growth of the British military and civilian presence in Bengal undoubtedly encouraged one of the earliest British artistic visitors to India, the London portraitist Tilly Kettle (1735-1786), to quit Britain to seek a less competitive arena in India which promised a much needed financial boost. As John Brewer has highlighted, ‘...an artist travelled to Italy to help make his fortune; he travelled to India to save himself from penury.’⁶⁹⁷ For some, the opportunity to make one’s fortune outweighed the obvious hazards involved in undertaking such a trip. The voyage from England to India was arduous, and extended over a considerably longer period than did a voyage to the British colonies along the American Eastern Seaboard – it took between four and eight months to get to Madras and around six months to reach Calcutta (see *fig.205*).⁶⁹⁸ Having survived the threats of disease and shipwreck, new arrivals had to face the challenges of ‘persistent germ warfare’ - especially dysentery, waterborne cholera and malaria - and the unforgiving climate.⁶⁹⁹

For those with government connections it was possible to cultivate royal patronage at the Indian courts, though for the majority of artists, their clientele was made up of army

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., 492-495; the spoils of war amounted to the sum of £1,238,575 which were divided amongst Company traders and military officers, see Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (2006) p.103

⁶⁹⁷ Kettle is reputedly to have been encouraged in his application to the East India Company to work in Bengal as an artist by Sir Samuel Cornish, who was a veteran of the Seven Years War and a sitter in Kettle’s group portrait *An Admiral in his Cabin Issuing his Orders* (exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1768) see J. D. Milner, “Tilly Kettle, 1735–1786”, *Walpole Society*, 15 (1926–7)pp. 47–104. It has been estimated that there were at least thirty British artists (in oils) and approximately twenty-eight miniaturists who travelled to India between the late 1760s and 1800. See Sir William Foster, “British Artists in India: 1760-1820”, *The Walpole Society*, Vol.19 (1930-31) (Oxford University Press, 1931) p.88 and Mildred Archer, *India and British Portraiture 1770-1825* (Sotheby Parke Bernet, London 1979a) p.36; Brewer (1997) p.316

⁶⁹⁸ The prevailing winds in Indian Ocean are south-westerly from April to Sept, but north-easterly from Oct to March, to sail for India meant leaving in spring; you could only return home in autumn- see *fig.3*.

⁶⁹⁹ Colley (2003) p.259

personnel, company officials and their families.⁷⁰⁰ The demand for oil-paintings fulfilled numerous requirements. Many company officials and personnel resided in houses which were far larger than they would have had at home and painted canvases provided a decorative solution to the damp climate and to the depredations of voracious insects.⁷⁰¹ On a more intimate scale, miniatures were also in constant demand. Valued for their portability and ease of despatch overseas, miniatures could be mounted on items of jewellery, such as locketts, bracelets and brooches. They were usually enamelled on copper or painted on ivory, vellum or paper and were, unlike oil paintings, more resistant to the extremes of the Indian climate.⁷⁰² Commissioning and collecting art also enhanced and reinforced social prestige, and where there were widening hierarchical social divisions between the merchant and professional classes, those keen to gain entry into fashionable society would only be too willing to patronise any competent artist who presented himself and commission a portrait, ‘to set a seal on their new position.’⁷⁰³

Kettle, who is probably the best-known example of this east-bound artistic trajectory, was the first professional practitioner of western portraiture in oils in India.⁷⁰⁴ Soon after his arrival in Madras in June 1769, he quickly established himself in a successful career, securing commissions from East India Company personnel, as well as Indian potentates. Kettle’s full-length double portrait of Charles and John Sealy (1773) (*fig.206*) was one of the many portraits the artist executed during a seven year stay in India in which he went on to work in Calcutta, at the Indian royal court at Lucknow and the prosperous trading centre of Faizabad,

⁷⁰⁰ Foster(1931)pp.78-79

⁷⁰¹ Archer (1979a) p.56

⁷⁰² Marcia Pointon,“ ‘Surrounded by Brilliants’: Miniature portraits in eighteenth-century England”, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol.83., March 2001, pp.48-71;Daphne Foskett, *British Portrait Miniatures: A History* (Methuen, London, 1968)

⁷⁰³ Archer (1979a) p.56

⁷⁰⁴ Sir Evan Cotton, “Tilly Kettle and his portraits.” *Bengal Past and Present* (Calcutta 1925) Vol.29, pp.44-55

in the kingdom of Oudh.⁷⁰⁵ The impressive dimensions of the painting and its classical pictorial dynamics echo earlier British portrait models, such as Closterman's *3rd Earl Shaftesbury and the Hon. Maurice Ashley-Cooper* (c.1700-1701) (fig.33), providing a good sense of the sort of large scale, theatrical portraiture Kettle introduced into the Indian art world.⁷⁰⁶

As a number of art-historians have highlighted, Kettle was also the first India-based artist to send his work to London.⁷⁰⁷ In doing so he also signalled to fellow practitioners in the British art world that India was a viable location for portrait practice. With the onset of hostilities between Britain and her American colonies, the draw of India gained momentum as it increasingly replaced the 'first' British Empire and by the mid-1770s, with the continued consolidation of the British administration, there was an expanding population of British subjects and servants of the East India Company.⁷⁰⁸ At home, the immense riches and extravagant habits of returning émigré 'Nabobs' - so-called for their self-imagined resemblance to 'Nawabs' (local aristocratic Indian rulers) - exemplified the appeal of emigration to India.⁷⁰⁹ This is underlined by the contemporary English language press coverage in India. In 1790, *The Calcutta Chronicle and Advertiser*, listed the number of free

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁶ HAL, Papers of James Donald Milner. NPG41/3/2; The Sealy portrait may well have been commissioned to commemorate the reunion in Calcutta of Charles, a Registrar of the Mayor's Court, Calcutta and his brother, Captain John Sealy, Commander of the East Indiaman, the *Northington*, which had reached Bengal at the end of July 1773, and remained there for a refit until 28th December 1773. The portrait conventions of these gestures are discussed further by Arline Meyer in her article, "Re-dressing Classical Statuary: The Eighteenth-Century "Hand-in-Waistcoat" Portrait." *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (Mar., 1995), pp. 45-63

⁷⁰⁷ Archer, (1979a) p.97; Almeida and Gilpin (2005)p.68; Kettle's first portraits to be sent back to England were of the Nawab of Arcot and his sons, which were shown at the Society of Artists exhibition in 1771, entry no.71: 'MR TILLY KETTLE, in the East Indies, The portraits of Mahomed Ali Cawn (nabob of Arcot and Subah of the Carnatic, faithful friend and ally of the English) and of his five sons, whole lengths.' Society of Artists of Great Britain, *A catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, models, designs in architecture, drawings, prints, &c.* (London 1771)p.7

⁷⁰⁸ Rajat Kanta Ray, "Indian Society and the Establishment of British Supremacy, 1765-1813" P.J. Marshall (Ed.) (2001) Volume II, pp.508-529

⁷⁰⁹ Philip Lawson and Jim Philips, " 'Our Execrable Banditti': Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain" in Philip Lawson, *A Taste for Empire and Glory: Studies in British Overseas Expansion, 1660-1800* (Variorum, Ashgate Publishing, Great Britain and USA, 1997) XII, p.225

merchants, lawyers and artists in the city at three hundred and fifty and opined that the ‘chief object of Europeans, when they arrive is to make money and return home...’⁷¹⁰ Tales of the fabulous wealth to be earned by artists were widely circulated, such as those famously described in a letter from the artist Paul Sandby to the architect James Gandon in 1783:

...a dinner was given to [Johan] Zoffani [Zoffany] on his departure for the East, where he anticipates to roll in gold dust. [William] Hodges has already made a fortune by his art, not so much by painting, for the natives there don’t like pictures, but prefer the smiles and fine bows he makes. [George] Willison has brought from thence fifteen thousand pounds and will now sit down by the fire at auld Reekie, snugly by the ingleside... You may erect palaces and temples of fame, but fortune is seldom raised in the north, south, or west. The east, it appears, is the golden point and compass to wealth.⁷¹¹

Following Kettle’s departure in 1776 and the ‘loss’ of the American colonies in 1783, numerous British artists looked to India - Britain’s second great imperial possession - as an alternative location for artistic-commercial ventures. The decade 1785 to 1795 is particularly notable for the numbers of British artists working in the country; for this reason I have chosen to focus on this temporal ‘snap-shot’ as a stimulating context for our concluding discussion. Recovering some of the stories of these travelling artists will also provide a suggestive confirmation of both the prizes and the pitfalls opened up by artistic mobility in the period.

⁷¹⁰ *The Calcutta Chronicle and Advertiser*, dated Thursday 7 January 1790.

⁷¹¹ J. Gandon and T. J. Mulvany, (Eds.), *Life of J. Gandon* (1846) Letter dated Feb 3rd 1783, p.67

In recent years, the last quarter of the eighteenth century has been the focus of a renewed art-historical interest in British art in India. Natasha Jane Eaton's thesis, *Imaging Empire: the trafficking of art and aesthetics in British India c.1772 to c.1795* (2000) for example, has highlighted the importance of India as a critical stimulus for the arts and artists, and studies by Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (1999), and Betty Joseph, *Reading the East India Company, 1720-1840: Colonial Critiques of Gender* (2004), have put forward several different approaches for reading the British portraiture produced in India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: Fowkes Tobin suggests that artists adapted and adopted pictorial models in order to negotiate the differences between the Indian and British cultures, whereas Joseph argues that this approach to the portraiture ignores the complex multi-cultural role these paintings played as 'an archive of available representation.'⁷¹² An alternative approach is suggested by Vicky Coltman, who is currently researching the subject through the perspective of Scots in India - who included notable figures such as East India Company servant, Claud Alexander and his fellow Scots, David Anderson and George Bogle - for her forthcoming study on the fashioning of identity by Scots in the British Empire, Europe and London.

Indeed, we may not be surprised to find that venturesome Scots made up amongst at least twenty of the professional portrait artists who are recorded in India in the period we are exploring (see *Table.1*). Their trajectories allow us to begin revisiting the core issues that have been discussed throughout this thesis, and to formulate some conclusions about how artistic mobility shaped the artistic practice of portrait painters. These artists include

⁷¹² Natasha Jane Eaton, *Imaging Empire: the trafficking of art and aesthetics in British India c.1772 to c.1795* PhD Thesis, Department of History of Art, University of Warwick, 2000; Beth Fowkes Tobin, "Accommodating India: Domestic Arrangements in Anglo-Indian Portraiture", *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina 1999) pp. 110-138 and Betty Joseph, *Reading the East India Company, 1720-1840: Colonial Critiques of Gender* (2004)p.100

ephemeral practitioners such as the ‘J.Dean’ whose presence is only known through one newspaper advertisement:

Miniature and crayon painting by J. Dean, who begs leave to inform those gentlemen and ladies of Calcutta that wish to have their likeness in either of those branches...[he] is now ready to wait on them at their house, if most agreeable. His terms are moderate and a likeness may be depended on...⁷¹³

Better known figures such as the Scottish artists, John Thomas Seton and James Wales, as well as those who had enjoyed fashionable reputation in the English capital, such as Johan Zoffany, and the miniaturist, Ozias Humphry, are also represented. The make-up of this community of artists seems to have been dependent on two key factors – the experience on the part of some practitioners of marginalization within the London market (Zoffany and Humphry being famous examples) ; and, perhaps more importantly, existing experience of extended artistic mobility.⁷¹⁴ Many of these men seemed always to have followed an itinerant or adventurous trajectory. Thomas Hickey, Robert Home and Arthur William Devis offer good examples. Hickey had practiced in London, Bath and Lisbon before arriving in Calcutta in 1784. He was later part of a diplomatic mission to China, before returning to work in London and Dublin.⁷¹⁵ Home, meanwhile, demonstrated wanderlust from an early age, when he made a voyage to Newfoundland on a whaler. He went on to study in London and Rome before setting up a fashionable portrait practice in Dublin, Devis having trained in London at the Royal Academy schools, was employed as a draughtsman by the East India Company as part of an exploratory mission to the Far East. After surviving his ship being wrecked on one of the Pelew Islands, east of Borneo, he spent several months in China before arriving in India in 1785.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ Dean’s advertisement appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated 13 October 1791

⁷¹⁴ Mary Webster, *Johan Zoffany: 1733-1810* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 2011); G. C. Williamson, *Life and Works of Ozias Humphry* (London, 1918)

⁷¹⁵ Foster (1931), pp. 34-39

⁷¹⁶ William Hickey, *Memoirs of William Hickey* Alfred Spencer (Ed.), (5th Edition, London, 1948) Vol.2, pp.386-7; Foster (1931), pp.24-31;42-49; H.E.A Cotton, “Robert Home”, *Bengal Past and Present* (Calcutta, 1928) pp.1-24

If we look at *Table.2*, we may gain a clearer sense of the distribution and trajectories of these artists across the key locations in India between 1785 and 1795. We can see that for the majority of practitioners, the principal settlements of Madras and Calcutta provided a sustainable base for their work. Both cities provided various opportunities for portrait practice. Madras was dominated by military personnel and the Nawab of Arcot's court – a magnet for fortune-hunters - Calcutta was more diverse. There was a limited military presence in the city, but there were greater numbers of ambitious civil servants, and professional, educated men such as judges and lawyers who provided a cultured and intellectual outlook, not dissimilar to the metropole. The idea of Calcutta as a microcosm of British society was further reinforced by the seasonal movement of the British élite to the country and suburbs during the hot and rainy months. The city therefore provided a winter season for the élite in Calcutta, just as in London.⁷¹⁷ As well as a lively market for portraiture, Calcutta also had sophisticated print market. Although the major collectors of European prints and art were located in and around the Indian courts at Seringapatam, Arcot and Lucknow, for those who wanted to collect art, there was an international network of agents, auctioneers, connoisseurs and painters based in Calcutta, Lucknow and London and designed to facilitate the traffic of objects across the seas. The French-born collector and East India Company army officer, Claude Martin, who was based in Lucknow, dealt in European art through such a network which included Charles Townley, the noted antiquarian in London as one of his correspondents and suppliers.⁷¹⁸

Thus Madras and Calcutta were busy centres for British portraitists, though the competition for commissions was not solely between male artists. We may note that there were two

⁷¹⁷ Suresh, Chandraghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal 1757-1800* (Published PhD Thesis, E.J Brill, Leiden, Netherlands, 1970) p.106

⁷¹⁸ Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East 1750-1850* (Harper Perennial, London 2006) pp.75-86

female artists recorded practicing in India in the period we are focussing upon. Diana Hill and Sarah Baxter specialised in miniatures. Hill arrived in Calcutta in 1786, not long after Humphry and much to his chagrin. Indeed, he felt that his hopes for a rich seam of commissions in the city had been effectively stymied by the arrival of Hill. Like other successful female practitioners in the metropole, such as Angelica Kauffmann, Hill seems to have been able to take advantage of her sex in order to cultivate her client base in Calcutta, promoting herself as ‘a pretty widow with two children...[who had] adventured across this immense ocean in search of provision.’⁷¹⁹ The extent of Hill’s success in obtaining patronage was such that according to Humphry, he would have ‘rather have had all the male artists in England land in Bengal than this single woman; following Humphry’s departure for England, Hill moved into his house, from where she continued to make ‘handsome faces’.⁷²⁰ Baxter is recorded practicing in Calcutta five years later. A former exhibitor in London at the Royal Academy in 1791, it seems that Baxter endeavoured to import a sense of fashionable metropolitan modes in her portraiture. The Calcutta resident William Baillie, an amateur artist and an acquaintance of Humphry, commented disparagingly that, ‘she affects, to imitate Sir Joshua in shadows dark as erebus, fine black and purple, with lights of pure Naples yellow. Some of her pictures give me the idea of a man in the jaundice, being sadly mauled about the chops and eyes and left black and blue. I do not fear her as a competitor...’⁷²¹

Hill’s arrival may well have stimulated Humphry to follow Zoffany’s example and pursue commissions in Lucknow - as we can see from *Table.2*, he did not linger very long in Calcutta. As the art capital of India, Lucknow represented an extremely attractive proposition for artists. Jasanoff attributes the city’s reputation in the period as ‘a Rome of the East’, to the

⁷¹⁹ Williamson (1918), pp.143-4; RA Humphry MS HU/4/13 Letter dated 7 Nov 1788 from Thomas Daniell to Ozias Humphry

⁷²⁰ Williamson (1918) p.145

⁷²¹ RA, Humphry MS HU/4/88-89 Letter dated 23 November 1793, from William Baillie to Ozias Humphry.

terminal decline of the ancient Indian aristocracy in the Delhi and Mughal heartlands.⁷²² As a result, many noble families were reduced to selling off heirlooms, libraries, and art collections, which the art-conscious Lucknow élite (Indian, as well as European) were keen to purchase.⁷²³

In addition to commissions for military and Company personnel and their families, painters could also look for the more lucrative patronage of ‘diplomatic’ portrait commissions provided by the Indian royal courts. Following the parliamentary Regulatory Act of 1773, company officials were legally banned from accepting valuable gifts such as jewellery and money. Yet, as Natasha Eaton has highlighted, due to the central status of gifting in Indian society, this could not be abandoned entirely. The exchange of portraits provided a highly personalized form of gifting that the British believed to be commensurate diplomatic offerings.⁷²⁴ Warren Hastings, the first governor-general of Bengal, introduced this practice into his foreign policy which consequently provided more opportunities for portraitists at the Indian royal courts. Zoffany was at Lucknow in 1784 and 1785-1786, and Humphry had arrived there by 20 February 1786 (he stayed there until 26 June 1786); later Baxter is recorded practising in the city between 1794 and 1796 (though we do not know whether she practised at the court as very few examples of her work survive).⁷²⁵ A number of Zoffany’s painting commissions were executed for Hastings, including portraits of the Nawab vizier, Asaf ud-Daula and members of his court; Humphry also obtained a number of royal commissions, through Hastings’ successor, Sir John Macpherson.⁷²⁶

⁷²² Jasanoff (2006)p.63

⁷²³ Ibid

⁷²⁴ Natasha Eaton, “Critical cosmopolitanism: gifting and collecting art at Lucknow, 1775-97”, *Art and the British Empire*, (Eds.) Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2007) p.194

⁷²⁵ Webster (2011);BL /MSS Photo.Eur.43, Ozias Humphry 1786 Diary; Archer(1979a)p.402

⁷²⁶ BL, Add. MS 13532, Ozias Humphry Papers relating to court of Oudh. Unfortunately for Humphry, his fee of forty-seven thousand rupees was never paid by the Nawab and Humphry pursued (unsuccessfully) the outstanding debt for the remainder of his life.

We can also see from *Table.2* that there were painters such as James Wales who found sources of commissions in alternative locations, in his case that of Bombay, which was far smaller and less affluent than the other presidency towns. Its chief concern for the East India Company was the harbour and the dockyard, but it was unpopular with the British due to its being surrounded by marshes, and its having a malarial climate. Through his meeting with Sir Charles Warre Malet, the resident at the Maratha Court in Poona from 1786-1797, Wales secured a number of commissions to paint the portraits of the Maratha chiefs and their ministers.⁷²⁷ Similarly Zoffany and Devis included stays in less competitive, mercantile centres to take advantage of commissions; in 1786 Zoffany visited Delhi, an important cultural and commercial city, and in the same year Devis was working in Patna, an international trading centre situated near the river Ganges in the province of Bihar.⁷²⁸ Likewise Francesco Renaldi is notable as an artist who pursued a more adventurous trajectory in the region. In addition to practising in Calcutta and Lucknow, he travelled to Dacca, a large town in eastern Bengal in pursuit of commissions at the court of the recently appointed Nawab, Nasrat Jang, and at the English factory based there.⁷²⁹ As we can see, Renaldi also spent several years between 1789 and 1793 touring ‘up country’ – stopping at the river stations that followed the route of the Ganges, and which in his case probably included Murshidabad, Benares and Patna.⁷³⁰ In doing so Renaldi seems to have prospered in a period when fellow practitioners in Calcutta were experiencing a slump in the demand for their services: when Renaldi left the city in 1789, an acquaintance of Baillie’s had commented that ‘Painting is decaying in India for want of encouragement.’ A few years later Baillie reported

⁷²⁷ Archer (1979a)pp.340-44; also by the same author, “Works by William Alexander and James Wales”, *The Royal Asiatic Society: Its History and Treasures* (Royal Asiatic Society, London 1979b)

⁷²⁸ Kanta Ray (2001)p.511

⁷²⁹ Archer (1979a)p.288

⁷³⁰ *The East India Kalendar or Asiatic Register for Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Fort Marlborough, China and St. Helena*, records Renaldi ‘up the country’ for the years 1791- 1797; however Renaldi had left for England by August 1796, Foster (1931)p.65

to Humphry that he believed Renaldi had ‘done very well at the different out-stations.’⁷³¹

This variety of artistic mobility shares characteristics with those we may recall demonstrated by plantation ‘hopping’ artists in Virginia, such as Charles Bridges and John Wollaston.

Whilst Zoffany, Devis and Renaldi are amongst a number of artists who we find regularly moving from location to location, a greater number underline the sense that India provided a more restricted horizon of artistic than the other environments studied in this thesis. Many are the artists who stay in one location, suggesting a contrasting infrastructure to those discussed in the preceding chapters. The lack of the official (or more informal) display spaces that usually provided artists with the opportunity to develop patronal connections and interchanges could make practice very challenging in India. In addition to the risks of transporting large canvases home, import duties meant that only a few could afford the expense of sending their work back to London for exhibition.⁷³²

Having looked at these examples of the different trajectories exhibited by British artists, we can now turn to a more detailed account of the opportunities and challenges to be found in India, as highlighted by the cases of Robert Home and John Alefounder. Robert Home, who had family connections in India and the East India Company, was one of the most successful practitioners in negotiating this environment. During his long career in India, Home effectively cultivated varied practices, undertaking large and small commissions in the key locations of Madras, Calcutta, and later in his career, Lucknow. His first large-scale project, *The Reception of the Mysorean Hostage Princes by Marquis Cornwallis* (c.1793; National Army Museum, London) highlights Home’s keen business sense and his ability to take advantage of unfolding events in India. He accompanied the British army to Bangalore during

⁷³¹ RA Humphrey MS HU/4/112 and HU/4/18, Letters from Gavin Hamilton [not the famous painter] and William Baillie to Ozias Humphry, dated 15 Feb 1789 and 4 Oct 1795 respectively.

⁷³² Almeida and Gilpin (2005)p. 67; It was not until 1793 that British artists could send home work duty free, Joseph Farington, *Farington Diary* (ed.) James Greig (1923) Vol.I p.12

the Third Anglo-Mysore War (1789-1792), from March 1791 until early April 1792, sketching the Indian countryside, captured forts and military personnel. Home was present at the handing over of the hostage princes, the sons of the defeated Tipu Sultan, ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore.⁷³³ Home also produced a series of sketches capitalising on public interest in India at home and abroad, which were engraved and published in 1794 as *Selected Views of Mysore, the country of Tipoo Sultan*; the tag-line, *From Drawings Taken on the Spot by Mr. Home*, emphasises the immediacy of the artist's response to this foreign landscape. The publication of twenty-nine of the sketches, which were accompanied by 'written historical' descriptions, was undertaken by Robert Bowyer, who had opened his own 'Historic Gallery' in response to Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery in Pall Mall.⁷³⁴

Home's development of his topographic skills enabled him to evoke an authentic sense of India, not only in his large-scale paintings, but also in his larger portraits in which the details of the landscape are meticulously rendered. One such example is the full-length double portrait of Colonel William Sydenham and his wife, Amelia (c.1794) (*fig.207*), who are depicted against the backdrop of St. Thomas' Mount near Fort St. George, Madras, where Sydenham served as Lieutenant-Colonel in command of the first Battalion.⁷³⁵ Home's emphasis on the landscape and the extent to which it fills the picture frame, echoes earlier models of the outdoors portrait-conversation piece such as Thomas Gainsborough's *Mr and Mrs Andrews* (1750; National Gallery, London), which suggests the political and social status of his sitters.⁷³⁶

⁷³³ Archer (1979a) pp.299-301

⁷³⁴ See Cynthia E. Roman, "Pictures for Private Purses: Robert Bowyer's Historic Gallery and illustrated edition of David Hume's *History of England*" PhD Thesis, Department of History of Art and Architecture, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island (1997)

⁷³⁵ Sotheby's Catalogue notes and Provenance: Lot.13. [E-catalogue available at www.sotheby's.com]

⁷³⁶ The significance of landscape in Gainsborough's portraiture has been explored from a variety of social, cultural and political perspectives; for one of the most recent discussions see Martin Postle, 'Composition in the Landskip way', *Gainsborough*, (Tate Publishing, London, 2002) Chapter 3, pp31-42

Home's contact with the military was to prove profitable - on his return to Madras in 1792 a subscription was raised for him to paint a series of paintings that included a portrait of Marquis Cornwallis (1792; Government House, Madras) and another contemporary history piece, *The Death of Colonel Moorhouse at the Storming of the Pettah Gate of Bangalore, 7 March 1791* (1793-4; National Army Museum, London).⁷³⁷ The painting, in which the figure of Moorhouse echoes the heroic fallen form of General Wolfe in Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770; National Gallery of Canada) was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1797; meanwhile, *The Reception of the Mysorean Hostage Princes* was displayed in Home's painting rooms at Fort St. George and subscriptions for engravings after the painting were taken before it was shipped to London for the same exhibition.⁷³⁸

By the time Home arrived in Calcutta in June 1795, his reputation preceded him. In fact his arrival in the city had been heralded (albeit prematurely) in the press in 1792, 'Mr Home, whose painting of Earl Cornwallis, and his views in the Mysore Country have excited much deserved admiration, is expected in Calcutta by the first Indiaman from Madras...'⁷³⁹ Home remained in Calcutta for several years. His clientele were primarily Company servants and their families. Home's account and sitter book records that he worked throughout the year, even during the hottest months - may well be partly due to the fact that many of his commissions were bust-length portraits which would have been relatively quick to complete and less labour intensive; this format was priced at 500 sicca rupees a piece and the same fee was charged for copies.⁷⁴⁰ The East India merchant, Richard Campbell Bazett (*fig.208*) and his wife, are amongst Home's first sitters; they sat for their portraits on 17 June and 30

⁷³⁷ Henry Davison Love, *Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House and the Banqueting Hall, Madras*, (1903)p.81

⁷³⁸ Foster (1931)p.44

⁷³⁹ *Calcutta Gazette*, dated 18 October 1792

⁷⁴⁰ HAL, NPG 50/9/432 (Mss 51-52) *The Account Book of Robert Home India 1795- 1814*.

September 1795.⁷⁴¹ Bazett's portrait demonstrates the economy of composition - featuring neither superfluous accessories nor background details that Home deployed to enable him to execute a proficient, yet sensitive and speedily produced likeness.

The artist's Calcutta clientele also included members of the judiciary, such as the Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Robert Chambers, whose expressive portrait was reproduced as a mezzotint (*fig.209*). The publicity stimulated by Home's commissions in Madras, and by the well-publicised subscriptions for the engravings after his paintings, enabled him to command high fees for his work. His prices were higher than those charged by some fashionable portraitists in London, indicating the demand for his service, as William Baillie confirmed shortly after arriving in the city, Home was 'much employed and has handsome prices.'⁷⁴² In September 1795 Home took 1000 sicca rupees (equivalent to approximately one hundred guineas) for a half-length portrait of Judge Hyde; George Romney's sitter notebook for the late 1780s and early 1790s (at the height of the artist's popularity) records that he charged the same price for a full-length portrait.⁷⁴³

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Home had firmly established a considerable artistic practice in Calcutta. The memoirist and lawyer, William Hickey proclaimed Home 'the best artist in Asia' after his visit to artist's house in 1804, where Home also maintained an exhibition room with a collection of finished pictures that included portraits of the Governor-General, Marquis Wellesley and his brother Sir Arthur Wellesley, later first Duke

⁷⁴¹ It seems likely that the commissions were obtained through Home's acquaintance with the Colvin family; James Colvin was Bazett's business partner. Foster (1931)p.44; Descendants' Genealogy database available @ www.barkerclan.com [Accessed 23 may 2012]

⁷⁴² RA, Humphry MS HU/4/112 Letter from William Baillie to Ozias Humphry, dated 4 Oct 1795

⁷⁴³ HAL, NPG 50/9/432 (Mss 51-52) *The Account Book of Robert Home India 1795- 1814*; Archer(1979a), p.438n.16: one sicca rupee was worth approximately two shillings and six pence (10 sicca rupees were therefore worth approximately one guinea (21 shillings); FWM, George Romney Notebook I, entries dated 1788 -1793, pp.1-6

of Wellington.⁷⁴⁴ Later in his career, Home secured an appointment with an annual salary equivalent to two thousand pounds at the royal court in Lucknow, probably through the connections of his son, John who was equerry and European Aide de Camp there. Home not only painted portraits, but also was responsible for the design and maintenance of the royal carriages and boats. However, despite Home's successful practice in India, the comments of Reverend Reginald Heber (Bishop of Calcutta), who was visitor to the court in 1824, imply that the artist remained rather isolated in India, and lacked the aesthetic stimulus he would have experienced had he stayed in Britain. Heber suggests that Home's 'glowing colours' are out of touch with the latest European portrait models:

I sate [sat] for my portrait to Mr. Home four times. He has made several portraits of the King, redolent of youth, and radiant with diamonds...He is a very good artist, indeed, for a king of Oude to have got hold of. He is a quiet gentlemanly old man... [who] was invited...to Lucknow by Saadut Ali [the Nawab] a little before his death, and has since been retained by the King at a fixed salary, to which he adds a little by private practice... Mr. Home would have been a distinguished painter had he remained in Europe, for he has a great deal of taste, and his drawing is very good and rapid; but it has been, of course, a great disadvantage to him to have only his own works to study, and he probably finds it necessary to paint in glowing colours to satisfy his royal master.⁷⁴⁵

Our second example, John Alefounder, must have come to wish he had stayed in Britain. As we have highlighted, the infrastructure for artistic display in India could be challenging. Some artists therefore invariably struggled, as in the case of Alefounder, whose situation had tragic consequences. In London, Alefounder seems to have been a promising and capable artist. He was a student of the Royal Academy Schools (various notices in the newspapers

⁷⁴⁴ William Hickey, *Memoirs of William Hickey* (Ed.) Alfred Spencer (5th Edition, 1948 London) Vol.IV, (1804- 1805) pp.304-5; HAL, NPG 50/9/432 (Mss 51-52) *The Account Book of Robert Home India 1795- 1814*. Home's account book records eight portraits of Marquis Wellesley, when Governor General and fourteen of Sir Arthur Wellesley begun between 1804 and 1806.

⁷⁴⁵ Reverend Reginald Heber (Lord Bishop of Calcutta), *Narrative of a journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay 1824-1825: With Notes on Ceylon; An Account of a Journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces, 1826; and Letters written in India* (Philadelphia 1829) Vol.1, pp.339-40

record that he won several silver medals for drawing of Academy figures on an annual basis) and became a regular contributor at the Royal Academy exhibitions, showing portraits and miniatures between 1777 and 1784; furthermore he sent a number of exhibition pieces back from India between 1787 and 1793.⁷⁴⁶

He arrived in Calcutta in October 1785 without a licence, or introductions, but with an expectation that he would make his fortune. However, when the steady stream of patrons he had hoped for did not prove forthcoming, he quickly descended into depression. Humphry reported that, ‘Alefounder is so disappointed at the great expense which attended his journey and the uncertain profits that he has gone melancholy mad, and neither knows any person nor can do in his profession the smallest thing...’⁷⁴⁷ To alleviate his worsening financial situation, his fellow artist and friend, Arthur William Devis took it upon himself to sell off Alefounder’s stock of pictures and materials. Unfortunately for Devis, Alefounder, on his recovery took exception to this well-meaning gesture and placed a lengthy advertisement in the press for the return of his property, which is worth quoting in full:

Mr. Alefounder, Portrait Painter in Oil and Miniature,
Begs leave to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Presidency that he is perfectly recovered from his late indisposition, and continues to take likenesses as formerly at Mr. George Forbes’s, late Colonel Hampton’s Garden, Mirzapore; and any letters addressed to him at Messrs. Forbes and Ullman’s in Calcutta, will be punctually attended to.

N. B.—During Mr. Alefounder’s illness, his pictures (which were, in general. Portraits of his friends,) with his colors, canvass, &c., were all sold, by Mr. Davis’s [Devis’s] order, at Burrell and Gould’s, entirely unknown to him, and without his being once consulted in the business, though at the very time he was perfectly capable of practising his profession.

⁷⁴⁶ His awards for drawing are listed in the *London Chronicle*, dated December 12-14 1782 and *General Evening Post* dated December 11-14 1784; Foster (1931)p.5; in 1787, no.105 ‘Portrait of a Gentleman’; in 1789, no.278 ‘Frame with three miniatures’; in 1791 no.94 ‘Portrait of a Dog’; in 1793 no.476 ‘Portrait of an artist’ (it is unknown which artist). Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts : A complete dictionary of artists and their work from its foundation 1769-1904* (London, 1905) Vol.I,p.19

⁷⁴⁷ Extract from letter dated 29 December 1785 quoted in Williamson (1918)p.130

To those Gentlemen who have been so kind as to return him Pictures, Prints, Painting Utensils, &c., Mr. Alefounder cannot sufficiently express the gratitude he feels on the occasion. The Gentleman who is in possession of a large whole length of a Lady and Child, Mr. Alefounder will esteem it a particular favor to have it returned, as it cannot be interesting where the party is unknown, and from the Lady being a portrait of his wife, who is at present in England. A miniature Picture of Peter, the Wild Boy, painted from the life in September 1782; a frame containing five miniatures of his acquaintance in England; a copy from Sir Joshua Reynolds's picture of a Lady and Child (Mrs. Hartley), with a number of others in Oil and Miniature; he will be greatly obliged to any Gentleman to consent to favor him with them, as they are of the utmost consequence to him, and will render him the most essential service. If the purchaser of the Match Boy will acquiesce to return it, it will be a most particular favor, as it is a portrait of a very near relation, painted in that character, to whom he is much attached, and a portrait of a child, three-quarters, in mourning', with a silk sash round him; this is the same little boy. A Portrait of a Lady, three-quarters, painted with a balloon hat and white drapery, with a sky back ground (a show picture)

As the quantity of Fitch Pencils [brushes] were [more] considerable than he brought, if the purchaser will favor him with part of them, they will be gratefully received, as there are none to be met with in Calcutta, and he has not any of them to paint with.⁷⁴⁸

It is reasonable to suggest that by advertising a list of the items he hoped to reclaim, Alefounder was also publicising the sort of painting services he was able to offer (such as copies after Reynolds, in addition to miniatures, oil paintings and prints) as well as the fact that he practising again after his incapacitation. The advert may well have stimulated some commissions. One of the artist's few surviving oil paintings was produced around this time, *Mrs Graham of Kinross, her Daughter and a Jamadar*, c.1786 (fig. 210) offers a rather romanticised depiction of a languid young woman with a child against a colourful tropical background, though although it is interesting to note that Alefounder's portrait of the Jamadar (an officer in the British Indian Army) is more realistically expressed.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁸ *Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser*, dated Thursday, September 21, 1786, quoted in W.S. Seton-Karr, *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes for the years 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787 and 1788, showing the political and social condition of the English in India eighty years ago.* (Calcutta) Vol.I, pp.180-1

⁷⁴⁹ Sir E.A Cotton, "A Calcutta Painter", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol.34 (Calcutta, 1927) pp.116-119; The sitter was most likely the wife of Thomas Graham, a Company merchant, writer and member of the Supreme Board and Council of Revenue.

Alefounder's efforts to secure further commissions are illustrated in a later series of advertisements placed in the *Calcutta Chronicle and General Advertiser* between July and October 1788.⁷⁵⁰ The first advertisement in the series appeared on 14 August, advertising a scheme for a raffle for twenty-eight pictures (*fig.211*). The variety of genres on offer, which encompasses portraits, genre paintings, Indian subjects and landscapes in various sizes is striking and is worth looking into further. We see that the first and second prizes are sets of pictures depicting actors in the characters of popular contemporary London theatrical productions: *Maid of the Mill* (a comic opera by Isaac Bickerstaff, 1765), *The Siege of Gibraltar or the Magic Cestus* (a romantic comedy inspired by Milton's *Comus*, 1634) and *The Critic* (a satire by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, 1779).⁷⁵¹ These productions would certainly have been familiar to Calcutta's British residents. Alefounder may well have aimed to capture interest by offering these popular theatrical subjects as prizes. The many newspaper advertisements for the Calcutta theatre in the period indicate that it enjoyed a busy repertoire of theatrical productions imported from the metropole. Thus rehearsals for a production of *The Critic* had been announced in the press just a few months before Alefounder's advertisement was placed.⁷⁵² Moreover, all of these paintings were either the originals or possibly Alefounder's copies after the original canvases he had exhibited in London at the Royal Academy in 1784. The listed pictures are mentioned in several of the reviews of the Academy exhibition in the London press. These include his portrait of 'Mr Parsons in the character of Sir Fretful Plagiary'; a critic calling himself 'Candid' and writing

⁷⁵⁰ The advertisements placed in the *Calcutta Chronicle and General Advertiser* dated 31 July and 7 August appear without the final paragraph.

⁷⁵¹ The 'Cestus' was the magic girdle of the goddess, Venus, see Thomas B. Stroup, 'The Cestus: Manuscript of an Anonymous Eighteenth-Century Imitation of *Comus*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 2, No. 1, *The English Renaissance* (Winter, 1962), pp. 47-55; the addition of the supplementary title, *The Siege of Gibraltar*, was no doubt to appeal to contemporary audiences after the British victory and the unsuccessful attempt of the French and Spanish to take the peninsula during the American Revolution in 1782; this was also reflected in the visual arts. The British victory was depicted by several artists including, John Singleton Copley (1783; Guildhall Hall Art Gallery, London) and Joseph Wright of Derby, see J. Bonehill, "Laying Siege To The Royal Academy: Wright Of Derby's *View Of Gibraltar At Robins's Rooms*, Covent Garden, April 1785" *Art History*, 30(2007)pp. 521-544

⁷⁵² *Calcutta Chronicle and General Advertiser*, dated Thursday 14 February 1788

in *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* stated that ‘Mr Alefounder’s Sir Fretful Plagiary No.9 ... promise[s] great things from his pencil in that line.’ However, his portraits of ‘No.198 Mr Suet [t] and Mrs Wrighten, as Ralph and Fanny in the *Maid of the Mill*’, received the following comments by *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, ‘This young man is all hand - we would recommend it to him to borrow a head.’⁷⁵³ Alefounder did seek to maintain contact with the London art world, and in spite of the expense of shipping, he sent back a number of pieces for exhibition at the Royal Academy: in 1787, a ‘Portrait of a Gentleman’; in 1789, ‘Frame with three miniatures’; in 1791 a ‘Portrait of a Dog’; in 1793 a ‘Portrait of an artist’.⁷⁵⁴

The third and fourth prizes of ‘The Churack Poojah, or Swinging’ and ‘The Moorman’s Holiday, of Houssain Houisain’, depict Hindu and Muslim religious festivals.⁷⁵⁵ The fifth prize, the portrait of ‘Mr Palmer, comedian’ is of another well-figure from the London stage. Palmer appeared in the comedy, *The Young Quaker*, as the character ‘Ruben Sandboy’ in 1783; the London press review of the play also reveals that Alefounder had a direct professional connection with the production as he painted a portrait and possibly some of the scenery for the play:

..the comedy was remarkably well dressed...it had a few new scenes to decorate it, and those extremely well painted. In one of them a portrait of Captain Ambush is exhibited, which presented very happy likeness of Mr Williamson [playing the character of the ‘Young Quaker’] by Alefounder. The performers in general were not sufficiently perfect.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵³ *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* dated 29 April 1784; *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* 14 Wednesday 1784, other reviews appeared in the *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* dated 4 May and 11 May 1784.

⁷⁵⁴ Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts : A complete dictionary of artists and their work from its foundation 1769-1904* (London, 1905) Vol.I,p.19

⁷⁵⁵ Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey D.D [1761-1834] Late Missionary to Bengal, Professor of Oriental Languages at the College of Fort St. William, Calcutta* (London, 1836)p.230

⁷⁵⁶ *General Evening Post*, dated 26 July -29 July 1783 Issue 7771

We may note that the rest of the pictures listed by Alefounder, in addition to more Indian subjects, also include two of the paintings he was attempting to reclaim in his 1786 advertisement, his miniature of ‘Peter, the Wild Boy’ and his copy after Sir Joshua Reynolds’s ‘Lady and Child (Mrs. Hartley)’. We must deduce that he had been able to retrieve them. Again these pictures would have been seen in the English capital in one form or another: Alefounder’s exhibited his miniature of ‘Peter, the Wild Boy’ at the Royal Academy in 1783 and it was engraved by Bartolozzi in 1784.⁷⁵⁷ The originals of the copies after Reynolds that appear on the list: ‘Mrs Hartley and Child’, ‘Samuel’, ‘Mr [Joseph] Baretta’ and ‘Master Bunbury’ (the seventh, tenth, thirteenth and fourteenth prizes), were all likewise exhibited in London.⁷⁵⁸ By presenting such a diverse range of pictures, many of which would have been familiar or appealing to potential patrons, Alefounder must have hoped to stimulate custom for his artistic practice. In order to garner interest, the paintings were placed on view at Alefounder’s house, where tickets could also be purchased for a raffle, the pictures being the prizes.

An advert in *The Calcutta Chronicle and General Advertiser*, dated 11 September 1788 (figs.212-213) indicates a change of tack by Alefounder. In addition to producing portrait miniatures, the artist diversified by painting a collection of canvases depicting ‘Customs and Manners of the Country’. Alefounder was the first artist to promote such a scheme on Indian subjects and no doubt he hoped the novelty would draw some interest; other artists who followed his example included Devis, who produced his own series based on the arts and

⁷⁵⁷ ‘Peter the Wild Boy’ was a feral child found in Hanover and brought over to England by George I; British Museum database.

⁷⁵⁸ ‘Mrs Hartley and Child’ was exhibited in 1773 as ‘A Nymph with Young Bacchus’ (Tate Britain); ‘Samuel’ was exhibited in 1776 (Tate Britain); the portrait of ‘Mr [Joseph] Baretta’ was one of a series of ‘Worthies’ Mathew Thrale commissioned Reynolds to execute in 1773 for his Library at Streatham Park, Mannings (2000) Vol.1; ‘Master Bunbury’ was exhibited in 1781(Philadelphia Museum of Art, USA)

manufactures of Bengal in 1792.⁷⁵⁹ Alefounder's straightened circumstances are highlighted by the fact that he requests payment in advance for his services; his health still seems rather fragile, and there is a sadly prophetic instruction regarding the disposal of any pictures 'in case an accident happening to Mr Alefounder'. If we return to the full page advertisement (fig.212) we can also see that below Alefounder's main advertisement, a shorter notice informed the reader that he had imported a miniature by 'Zink' (Christian Frederick Zincke), a German miniaturist who practised in London in the 1760s, and who was renowned for his exquisite work.⁷⁶⁰ Although he is offering it for sale, Alefounder may well have been inviting comparisons between the work of Zincke and his own miniature pieces in order to generate commissions; a similar practice we may recall was adopted by artists in the English provinces such as Thomas Worlidge in Bath, who displayed original and copied works after Rembrandt in his showroom. This suggestion is not unreasonable, for if we look at the notice located directly underneath this one on the newspaper page, we see Alefounder's request to be notified upon the arrival of his shipment of miniature colours. At the same time, if we glance across to the right we can see another example of artistic diversification, this time demonstrated by the artist Thomas Hickey, who has advertised a proposal for subscriptions to print copies of his *The History of Ancient Painting and Sculpture*. The necessity for these alternative activities underlines the fact that the market for portraiture and other artistic services in Calcutta exhibited slumps as well as booms, just as in the case of the English capital. There were no further volumes of Hickey's work and by 1789 the artist had left Bengal with his patron William Burke to pursue commissions in Madras.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁹ Archer (1979a)p.271

⁷⁶⁰ Walpole (1765-1771) Vol.4, pp.91-92

⁷⁶¹ William Hickey, *Memoirs of William Hickey* Alfred Spencer (Ed.), (5th Edition, London, 1948) Vol.2, pp.146-147

Alefounder's final advertisement in this series is dated 2 October 1788 (*figs.214-215*). It shows us that his focus had turned towards a scheme of thirty-six pictures based solely on a range of local Indian subjects. These included a 'Collection of twelve portraits of Nabobs [Nawabs], Rajahs, High Gentoos, Bramins and remarkable characters' and once more, images of religious festivals and rituals such as 'Swinging' [Churack Poojah] and 'A woman attending her husband's funeral Pile and preparing to burn herself with him' [Suttee]. It may not have been a coincidence that Alefounder's advertisement appeared in October, as a number of religious rituals (such as Churack Poojah) were observed during that month.⁷⁶² If this was the case then artist probably sought to take advantage of the interest in the festival to encourage purchase of his pictures. If we once again turn to the full page of notices (*fig.214*), we see that an advertisement at the bottom left indicates that the artist had also executed engravings for a proposed publication dealing with amusing equestrian mishaps, entitled, *THE ACADEMY FOR GROWN HORSEMEN, by Geoffr[e]y Gambado esq.* This illustrated edition of the publication may well only have been printed in India, or it may not have been printed at all as no copies seem to have survived.⁷⁶³ It is known that over the next few years Alefounder pursued etching as a supplementary branch of his practice; in April 1790, he engraved the Sanskrit figures for Samuel Davis's article on Hindu astronomy in *Asiatick Researches*.⁷⁶⁴ Between 1790 and 1791, the artist also produced a number of engraved

⁷⁶² Carey(1836)pp.229-233.

⁷⁶³ 'Geoffrey Gambado' was the pseudonym of the caricaturist Henry William Bunbury (1750-1811) whose etchings appear in the editions of the book published in Britain including the years 1788, 1796, 1808 and 1905. See Karen Marie Roche, 'Picturing an Englishman: The Art of Sir Henry William Bunbury, 1770-1787' PhD Thesis, Department of English, Exeter University 2008 and J.C Riely, *Henry William Bunbury: The Amateur caricaturist* Exhibition Catalogue, Gainsborough's House, Sudbury Suffolk (1983)

⁷⁶⁴ Sir William Jones, 'Letters of Sir William Jones to the Late Samuel Davis, Esq., F.R.S., &c. from 1785 to 1794, Chiefly Relating to the Literature and Science of India, and Elucidatory of the Early History of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta' *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* Vol. 3, No. 1 (1831), Letter XIII, dated 21 February 1790 and Letter XVII, dated 19 April 1790, pp.11 and 16 respectively.

frontispieces for the *Calcutta Monthly Register*, which included several small bust-length portraits of military figures and Indian subjects.⁷⁶⁵

Alefounder's strategy underlines the sort of adaptive commercial and display practices that we have continually seen being deployed by artists as they moved between different markets. Other examples include those of Thomas Worlidge, who had a display space in a London tavern, Thomas Beach, who hosted a candlelight music concert in his rooms in Bath, and John Watson's exhibition of paintings on the shutters of his house in Perth Amboy in the American colonies. Unfortunately for Alefounder, none of the schemes he devised made his fortune. Instead, he struggled on for another three years in Calcutta, before committing suicide on Christmas Eve 1794. Baillie confirms that, 'Poor Alefounder destroyed himself, and (shocking to relate) with a penknife. His head was almost cut off. He had been very melancholy for some days...'⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶⁵ BL P.P.33776.b (nos. 1-3, 7&8) *Calcutta Monthly Register, or India Repository of instruction and entertainment*, Issue no. I November 1790, 'a hircarrah and a servant holding the title up'; Issue II December 1790, 'Thos Deane Pearse, late Colonel, commanding the Bengal Artillery'; Issue III January 1791, 'Cha. Rusell Deare, late Lt. Colonel, commanding the Bengal Artillery on the Carnatic'; Issue no. VII May 1791, 'View of the Fort of Ticulore, which fell to the Army under Colonel Hartley, 10th December, 1790'; Issue no. VIII June 1792 'A Balasore Bearer'.

⁷⁶⁶ RA Humphrey MS, HU/4/112 Letter from William Baillie to Ozias Humphry dated 4 Oct 1795

As the successes of Home and the vicissitudes of poor Alefounder have underlined, the challenges of pursuing an artistic practice in a foreign land could be both rewarding and overwhelming.

The example of the Scottish portrait-painter John Thomas Seton provides a final and especially striking example of the artistic mobility that has been recovered and explored in this thesis, and of the diversity and fluidity of artistic practice that such mobility generated. Seton (1738-1806), not only practised in Britain and Europe, but also, like many of the artists we have studied, took advantage of the new opportunities offered by the expansion of the British Empire. He was born in Scotland, the son of Christopher Seton, a gem engraver who practised in London.⁷⁶⁷ His father enjoyed close links with the artists who congregated in and around Old Slaughters Coffee House on St. Martin's Lane and in the streets of Soho in the 1740s and 1750s. The younger Seton chose to train at the St. Martins Lane Academy, which was opened by William Hogarth and John Ellys in 1735 and provided basic artistic training and facilities by subscription.⁷⁶⁸ There, he studied under Francis Hayman, a painter of portraits, history paintings and conversation pieces.⁷⁶⁹ Between 1758 and 1759, Seton continued his studies in Rome, joining the fraternity of British painters who were to be found practising and studying there, including Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798), James Russel (c.1720-

⁷⁶⁷ K. E. Maison, "John Thomas Seton" *Apollo* (September 1941) p.59

⁷⁶⁸ Hogarth and other members of the academy were involved in the organisation of the first public art exhibition in 1760; however a dispute following the first show split the exhibitors into two rival groups. Seton's father became a director of one of them - the Society of Artists of Great Britain- in 1765. See Ilaria Bignamini, "Art Institutions in London 1689-1768" *Walpole Society* Vol.54 1988 (Oxford University Press 1991) pp.117, 123 n.66, and for a detailed discussion and analysis of the Society of Artists and its impact on the developments in commercial art exhibitions in the period, see Matthew Hargraves, *Candidates For Fame: The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760-1791* (Paul Mellon Centre For Studies in British Art, Yale university Press, New Haven and London, 2005).

⁷⁶⁹ Foster (1931) pp.66-7. For a further discussion on Hayman, see Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman* Exhibition Catalogue (Published in association with English Heritage (the Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood) and the Yale Center for British Art by Yale University Press, New Haven, 1987)

1763) and Jonathan Skelton (d.1759). He studied hard, and according to a fellow student, Richard Dalton, he had high hopes that he would succeed ‘in the portraits very well’.⁷⁷⁰

Capitalizing on his stay in Rome, Seton also took the opportunity to introduce himself to potential patrons and supplement his income by practising as a dealer of artistic goods; he invested profitably in the Hamerani collection of drawings for Lord Bute on behalf of the Prince of Wales, the future King George III.⁷⁷¹ Upon his return from Italy, and over the next decade, Seton practised in a variety of locations. He first set up practice from his father’s address in London, at Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, and then later at Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.⁷⁷²

Seton also practised in the provinces. In 1766, he joined the phalanx of painters who followed the *bon ton* in its seasonal jaunts between the capital and the fashionable spa resort of Bath. During his time there, he painted the Covent Garden actress, Jane Lessingham, who was working at provincial theatres for the season.⁷⁷³ After briefly working in Southampton, Seton returned to his London practice once more, before moving to Edinburgh in 1772. There, he established a successful practice for two years, during which he also sent paintings to London for exhibition at the Society of Artists in 1772, and at the Royal Academy in 1774.⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷⁰ Richard Dalton’s letter to 3rd Earl of Bute dated 3rd March 1759, “The Letters of Jonathan Skelton”, Brinsley Ford (Ed.) *Walpole Society*, Vol.36 (1956-58) (Glasgow University Press, 1960) p.68, n.6

⁷⁷¹ The Hamerani were a prominent family of medallists who catered to papal and private patrons for nearly two centuries. Giovanni Martino Hamerani (1649-1705) was medallist of the Papal Mint from 1681 until his death, and his two sons Ermenegildo (1685-1744) and Ottone (1694-1768) were also important medallists of the papal court. L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists Coin-, Gem-, and Seal-Engravers Mint-Masters, &C: Ancient and Modern with References to their Works B.C. 500 — A.D. 1900* (London, 1904) Vol.2 pp. 365, 367 and 394

⁷⁷² Thomas Mortimer’s *The Universal Director; or, the nobleman and gentleman's true guide to the masters and professors of the liberal and polite arts and sciences*; (London, 1763) p.25. Seton’s new address at Henrietta Street, is recorded in the Society of Artists’ exhibition catalogue of 1763: *Society of Artists of Great Britain, a catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, designs in architecture, models, drawings, prints, &c* (London, 1763) p.12

⁷⁷³ Seton’s portrait of her - *Mrs Lessingham in the character of Lady Dainty in the ‘Double Gallant’* - was one of three paintings he sent to London for the Society of Artists exhibition in 1766. *Society of Artists of Great Britain, a catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, designs in architecture, models, drawings, prints, &c* (London, 1766) p.12

⁷⁷⁴ Seton sent two paintings to the Society of Artists, *Society of Artists of Great Britain, a catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, designs in architecture, models, drawings, prints, &c* (London, 1772) p.23; and ‘three portraits of ladies’ to the Royal Academy. Foster (1931) p.67.

It was probably the connections Seton established through some of his commissions in London, and later in Edinburgh, that persuaded him to try his luck in India. While he was practising in London, he painted the Chambers family, including the future Sir Robert Chambers, who was to become the Chief Justice of Bengal, a key figure in the East India Company's administration of Calcutta.⁷⁷⁵ Chambers received his appointment to the Supreme Council of Bengal in 1773 and departed for India the following year.⁷⁷⁶ In Edinburgh, Seton was commissioned in 1773 to paint the double portrait of William Fullerton of Carstairs, East India Company surgeon in Bengal, and Captain Ninian Lewis (*fig.216*).⁷⁷⁷ Seton arrived in Calcutta in August 1776 and soon established a flourishing practice there, painting East India Company personnel and their families. Even so, Seton, like many artists working abroad, and so obviously keen to ensure he was not lost to British view, continued to send paintings back to London for exhibition; thus, he exhibited a 'portrait of a young gentleman' painted in Calcutta, at the Society of Artists in London in 1777.⁷⁷⁸

As his reputation grew, Seton moved premises, and he began to receive commissions from the upper echelons of the Company in Bengal. These included his commission in 1783 to paint the commander-in chief, Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote. Seton's advertisements for the sale of his house in *The Calcutta Gazette* of October and November 1784, indicate that he lived in a particularly well-appointed residence, behind the house of the Governor-General of

⁷⁷⁵ The painting was exhibited as a 'conversation piece' at the Society of Artists in 1763. *Society of Artists of Great Britain, a catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, designs in architecture, models, drawings, prints, &c* (London, 1763) p.8

⁷⁷⁶ Chambers also had a connection to the Royal Academy by his marriage in to Frances Wilton, the daughter of Joseph Wilton, the sculptor and founder member of the Royal Academy. See Thomas M. Curley, *Sir Robert Chambers: Law, Literature and Empire in the Age of Johnson* (University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 1998)

⁷⁷⁷ Archer (1979a) p.109

⁷⁷⁸ *Society of Artists of Great Britain, a catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, designs in architecture, models, drawings, prints, &c* (London, 1777) p.9

India, Warren Hastings.⁷⁷⁹ In the same year Seton produced two versions of Hastings' portrait for Company officials - one for Sir Thomas Theophilis Metcalfe, a director of the Company and the other for the Persian translator, Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, who was also Hastings' friend; one of the portraits was also reproduced as a mezzotint in 1785 (*fig.217*).⁷⁸⁰ By the end of Seton's successful artistic venture in India, he had spent nine profitable years in Bengal, and according to Humphry, 'returned to England after an easy time...with twelve thousand pounds in his pocket'.⁷⁸¹ Seton subsequently returned to Edinburgh and resumed his practice there until his death in around 1806.

Seton was, of course, an especially nomadic artist of the period. But his example, as we have seen, was indicative of a wider form of artistic mobility that, we can now conclude, profoundly shaped the character and extent of British art in the eighteenth century. Having followed so many artists on their journeys into so many different territories and markets, so many different houses and businesses, and so many projects and ventures, it becomes all the more difficult to remain loyal to the blinkered focus of the standard narratives of British art in this period, which have tended to concentrate on London, and on English artists, in isolation. Now, we can better see that the artistic environment provided by the English capital existed as part of a far wider and more complex network of interconnecting art worlds and visual subcultures, each of which was related to the others in different ways – some direct, some oblique – and each of which was continually traversed by artists both British and foreign-born, endlessly in search of new opportunities and new markets. British art of the eighteenth century was becoming ever more diverse, mobile and recognisably modern.

⁷⁷⁹ E. Cotton, "Victoria Memorial Hall: A New Portrait of Warren Hastings", *Bengal Past and Present*. (April–June 1934) Vol XLVII, pp.106-108

⁷⁸⁰ Foster (1931) p.67. Archer (1979a) pp.115-116

⁷⁸¹ Letter dated 20 November 1785, quoted in Williamson (1918) p.142

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, USA
BL	British Library, London
CAS	Cumbria Archives Service, Kendal Cumbria
FWM	Department of Manuscripts and Printed Books, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
HAL	Heinz Archive and Library, National Portrait Gallery, London
LRO	Lancashire Records Office, Preston Lancashire
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, USA
NAS	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NAL	National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NYHS	New York Historical Society, New York, USA
RA	Royal Academy of Arts Archive, London
WCSL	West Country Studies Library, Exeter

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Eighteenth-Century Newspapers and Periodicals

Britain

Bath Chronicle

The Critical Review

The Gentleman's Magazine

The Lady's Magazine or Polite Companion for the Fair Sex

The London Magazine

The Manchester Mercury and Harrops General Advertiser

The New Annual Register, or general repository of history, politics, and literature.

The York Courant

The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement

Morning Post

London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post

Town and Country Magazine, or Universal repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment

True Briton (1793)

Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle, Or Weekly Advertiser

Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal

America

Boston Newsletter

Boston Post Boy

Boston Weekly News

New England Courant

The American Magazine

The New York Gazette

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury
New York Journal or General Advertiser
Newport Mercury
New England Weekly Journal
Pennsylvania Gazette

India

The India Gazette, or Calcutta Advertiser
Calcutta Chronicle and General Advertiser

Manuscript Sources

Britain

British Library, London:

BL P.P.33776.b, nos. 1-3, 7&8 *The East India Kalendar or Asiatic Register for Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Fort Marlborough, China and St. Helena.*

Humphry, Ozias, 1786 Diary BL/MSS Photo.Eur.43

— Papers relating to court of Oudh, BL, Add. MS 13532

Russel, James, Correspondence, Add. MS 41169

Cumbria Archives Service

Gardner, Daniel, Sketchbook A (n.d) WDX398 F8

— Sketchbook B (n.d)WDX398 F10

Heinz Archive and Library, National Portrait Gallery, London

Kettle, Tilly, Papers of James Donald Milner. HAL/NPG41/3/2

Home, Robert, *The Account Book of Robert Home India 1795- 1814.* HAL/NPG 50/9/432 (Mss 51-52)

Lancashire Records Office, Preston Lancashire

MS/DDM/44/68, Molyneux, Earls of Sefton

MssDDK/15/24, A list of the servants now employed by the Earl of Derby at Knowsley and Latham, with their lodging, liveries and wages.

National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh:

GD18/4567-4678, Clerk of Penicuik Papers

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh:

Forbes, Ann, Correspondence, MS.20767

National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Russell, J., Diaries, 8 volumes, (1766-1802), NAL MSL1929/605/86.ff.38-45

— *Receipts for making Crayons: as discovered by the late John Russell, Esq., R.A., Crayon Painter to the King*, (originally written in shorthand by J. Russell, transcribed by A.M. Cross ;1884), with an introduction by W. Russell ;1862, also transcribed by A.M. Cross) NAL MSL/1925/1838, 86.ff.42

— *Journal of a Visit to Leeds, York, Burleigh, Tadcaster, etc.*, 1799 NAL MSL/1929/632b

Royal Academy of Arts Archive, London

Humphry, Ozias, Papers, MS HU/4/13, HU/4/18, HU/4/88-89, HU/4/112

West Country Studies Library, Exeter:

Beach, Thomas MS diary (transcript, c.1900)

America

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts:

Mary Russell letters 1753-1806.

Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston:

Jeffries Family papers

The Constitution and Rules of the St. Andrews Society in Philadelphia
— in New York

New York Historical Society, New York:

James Beekman Account Book/Personal Affairs 1761-1796.

Beekman Family papers

Published Primary Sources

Addison, Joseph, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c. in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* (London 1705)

Anderson, James, “Biographical Sketches of Eminent Scottish Artists: Mr W. Aikman, Painter with a Portrait”, *The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer*, Edinburgh, 1793, Vol.18, pp.1-10

Anon. ('LIBRA') "Biographical Anecdotes of Thomas Worlidge", *Monthly Magazine and British Register* John Aiken, (Ed.) (London) (April 1796) Vol.1, no.3, pp.216-218

Anon, 'On seeing some PORTRAITS of the celebrated Mr HEYNS of Norwich (Norwich 24 February 1741).' *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.15 (Oct.1745)

'Asaphides', 'Mr Alcock of Bristol, an Excellent Miniature Painter', *Town and Country Magazine, or Universal repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment* Vol.1 (Feb 1769) pp.104-105

Bailey's British Directory; or Merchant & Traders useful companion for the year 1784 (London, 1784)

Beatniffe, Richard *The Norfolk Tour: or, traveller's pocket companion. Being a concise description and present state of all the noblemen's and gentlemen's seats, as well as of the principal towns, and other remarkable places, in the county of Norfolk.* (Norwich and London, 1772)

Berkeley, George, "Verses by the author on the prospect of planting ARTS and LEARNING in America" *A Miscellany containing several tracts on Various Subjects. By the Bishop of Cloyne* (London 1752) pp.186-7

Bellori, Giovanni Pietro *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1672) (Translated by Alice Sedgwick Wohl) Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005

Blome, Richard, *The Gentleman's Recreation in two parts...* London, 1686

Boddely, Thomas *The tradesman's and traveller's pocket companion: or, the Bath and Bristol guide: calculated for the use of gentlemen and ladies who visit Bath; The Inhabitants of Bath and Bristol; and All Persons who have Occasion to Travel.* 2nd Edition (Bath, 1753).

Boswell, James, *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-3.* The Reprint Society, WM Heinemann Ltd, London (1950; 1952 Edition)

Bruyn, Cornelis de, *A Voyage to the Levant* (Trans. by W. J.,) London, 1702

Burnaby, Andrew *Travels through the Middle Settlements of North America; In the Years 1759-1760 with Observations upon the State of the Colonies,* 2nd Edition, London, 1775

Burney, Fanny, *Evelina, or, The history of a young lady's entrance into the world* 4th Edition London, 1779, 3 Vols

Byrd, William and Bassett, John Spencer (Ed.), *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd, of Westover in Virginia Esqr.*, New York, 1901

Calvert, Frederick, Baron Baltimore, *A Tour to the East, in the Years 1763 and 1764. With Remarks on the City of Constantinople and the Turks. Also select pieces of Oriental wit, poetry and wisdom.* London, 1767

Campbell, Richard, *The London Tradesman*, London 1747

Carey, Eustace, *Memoir of William Carey D.D [1761-1834] Late Missionary to Bengal, Professor of Oriental Languages at the College of Fort St. William, Calcutta* London, 1836

Cartwright, James Joel (Ed.), *The Travels of Dr. Richard Pococke during 1750, 1751 and later years.* Camden Society, 1889, 2 Vols

Cappon, Lester J., Spotswood, Alexander and Spotswood, John
"Correspondence of Alexander Spotswood with John Spotswood of Edinburgh" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Apr., 1952), pp. 211-240

Cotes, Francis, 'Crayon Painting', *The European Magazine and London Review* (February) London 1797 pp.84-85

Chapman, William (attr.), *Essays commercial and political, on the real and relative interests of imperial and dependent states, particularly of Great Britain and her dependencies...* London 1777

Clerk, John and Gray John M., (Ed.), *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Baronet, Baron of the Exchequer; Extracted By Himself From His Own Journals, 1676-1755,* Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1892; Facsimile Edition, nd Kessinger Publishing

Cockings, George, *Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce: A Poem*, London 1765

Dossie, Robert, *Handmaid to the Arts*, Second Edition, London 1764, 2 Vols.

Edwards, Edward, *Anecdotes of Painters who have resided or been born in England: with critical remarks on their productions.* London 1808

Elsum, John, *Art of Painting after the Italian Manner...* London, 1704

Farington, Joseph, *Farington Diary* (ed.) James Greig, 1923, 8Vols

Forbes, James, *Oriental Memoirs*, 1813, 4 Vols.

Gainé, Hugh, *Rules for the St. Andrews Society in New York: St Andrews Society at New York in the Province of New York*, New York 1770

Goldsmith, Oliver, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Salisbury, 1766, 2 Vols

Gore, J., *The Liverpool directory, for the year 1766: containing an alphabetical list of the merchants, tradesmen, and principal inhabitants, of the town of Liverpool* Liverpool, 1766

— *Liverpool Directory for the Year 1774* (John Gore, Liverpool 1774)

Hamilton, Dr Alexander, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr Alexander Hamilton* (1744) (Ed.) Carl Bridenbaugh, University of North Carolina Press, USA 1948

Heber, Reverend Reginald (Lord Bishop of Calcutta), *Narrative of a journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay 1824-1825: With Notes on Ceylon; An Account of a Journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces, 1826; and Letters written in India* Philadelphia 1829

Hickey, William, *Memoirs of William Hickey* (Ed.) Alfred Spencer, 5th Edition, London 1948, 4 Vols

Johnson, Samuel, *The Idler. In Two Volumes...* London, 1761, 2 Vols.

Kearsley, George *Kearsley's Pocket Ledger: Alphabetical list of the Principal History, Portrait and landscape painters, and other polite Artists residing in or near London; with their place of abode* (London, 1778)

Kitson, Michael, "Hogarth's 'Apology for Artists' " *The Walpole Society* Vol. 41 (1966-1968) University Press Glasgow, 1968

Martyn, Thomas, *The English Connoisseur: Containing an account of whatever is curious in painting, sculpture, &c. in the palaces and seats of the nobility and principal gentry of England, both in town and country.* London, 1766 2 Vols.

Montfaucon, Bernard de, *Antiquity explained, and represented in sculptures.* Trans. David Humphreys London, 1721 5 Vols.

Mortimer, Thomas, *The Universal Director; or, the nobleman and gentleman's true guide to the masters and professors of the liberal and polite arts and sciences*; London, 1763

Parrott, Richard, *Reflections on various subjects relating to arts and commerce: particularly, the consequences of admitting foreign artists on easier terms*, London, 1752

Playfair, William, *The Commercial and Political Atlas...the most important public accounts of revenues, expenditures, debts and commerce of England*, London, 1787

Postlethwayt, Malachy, *Britain's commercial interest explained and improved; in a series of dissertations on several important branches of her trade and police...* London 1757, 2 Vols.

Prince, Thomas, *The Vade Mecum for America: or A companion for traders and travellers* (Boston 1731)

Richardson, Jonathan, "A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur", *Two Discourses*, London, 1719

— *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715) Second Edition, London 1725

Rolt, Richard, *New Dictionary of trade and commerce, compiled from the information of the most eminent merchants and from the works of the best writers on commercial subjects, available in all languages*, London, 1756

Rouquet, Jean André, *The Present State of the Arts in England* (London, 1755)

Russel, James, *Letters from a Young Artist abroad to his friends in England*, London, 1750, 2 Vols.

Russell, John, *Elements of painting with crayons*, London 1772

Singleton Copley, John and Pelham, Henry, *Letters and papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham 1739-1776* (Ed.) G. Jones Massachusetts Historical Society Collections 31, Boston 1914

Scholes' Manchester and Salford Directory (John Scholes, Manchester 1797)

Shenstone, William, *The Letters of William Shenstone*, (Ed.) Marjorie Williams, 1939

Smibert, John, *The Notebook of John Smibert*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston 1969

Smith, Marshall, *The Art of Painting according to the Theory and Practise of the best Italian, French and German Masters* (Second Edition, London 1693)

Smollett, Tobias, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* 2nd Edition, London, 1771
3 Vols

Society of Artists of Great Britain, a catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, designs in architecture, models, drawings, prints, &c London: 1761-3, 1766-7, 1769-70, 1772, 1777

Spence, Joseph *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men: Collected from Conversation* (Ed.) James M. Osborn. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1966, 2 Vols

Steele, Ian K., *The English Atlantic 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* Oxford University Press, Oxford 1986

Thicknesse, Philip, *The New Prose Bath Guide for the Year 1778* London; Bath 1778

Thoresby, Ralph, *Ducatus Leodiensis: or, the topography of the ancient and populous town and parish of Leedes, and parts adjacent in the West-Riding of the county of York*. London 1715

Vertue, George, 'Notebooks', *The Walpole Society*, Vol.18 1929-30 (Oxford, 1930); Vol.22 1933-34 (Oxford, 1934); Vol.29 1940-1942 (Oxford, 1947)

Walpole, Horace, *Anecdotes of painting in England; with some account of the principal artists; and incidental notes on other arts; collected by the late Mr. George Vertue*. Second Edition, London, 1765-71, 4 Vols.

___ *Memoirs of King George II* (Ed.) John Brooke, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985 3 Vols.

Williamson, Captain Thomas, *The East India Vade Mecum*, London 1810, 2 Vols.

Secondary Sources

Abbott Green, Samuel, *John Foster; The Earliest American Engraver and the first Boston printer* Massachusetts Historical Society, 1909; Facsimile Kessinger Publishing 2008

Alexander, David and T. Godfrey, Richard, *Painters and Engraving: The Reproductive Print from Hogarth to Wilkie*, New Haven: Yale Centre for British Art, 1980

Almeida de, Hermione and Gilpin, George H., *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India*, Ashgate, 2006

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and the spread of nationalism* London, New York, 1991

Anderson, Sonia P., *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycout at Smyrna, 1667-1678* Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989

Anon, *Inquiry into the navigation laws, and the effects of their alteration: with tables of shipping and trade compiled from official documents.* Knowsley Pamphlet Collection, Pelham Richardson, London 1833

Anon., "Ludwell Family", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Jan., 1911), pp. 199-214

Apted M.R., and Hannabuss, S., *Painters in Scotland 1301-1700: a Biographical Dictionary* Edinburgh, 1978

Archer, Mildred, *India and British Portraiture 1770-1825*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1979

Armitage, David, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History" *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Eds.) David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, Palgrave Macmillan London 2002 pp.11-30

Arnold, M., *Library of the Fine Arts or Repertory of painting, Sculpture, Architecture and Engraving* London, 1831-1834, 8 Vols.

Aylmer, G.E., "Navy, State, Trade and Empire." *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Origins of Empire* (Ed.) Nicholas Canny Oxford University Press Oxford University Press 2001 Vol.I, pp.467-81

Baker, C.H Collins., "Notes on Joseph Blackburn and Nathaniel Dance", *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol.9, No.1 (Nov 1945) pp.33-47

— "A Portrait Painter Re-discovered" *Country Life* No.123 (March 20 1958) pp.572-73

Barbeau, A., *Life and Letters at Bath in the Eighteenth Century* London, 1904; 2009 Edition

Barker, Charles A., Maryland Before the Revolution *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Oct., 1940), pp. 1-20

Barker Elizabeth E., and Kidson, Alex (with Hopkinson, Martin, Longmore, Jane and Parsons, Sarah) *Joseph Wright of Derby in Liverpool* Exhibition Catalogue, Walker Art Gallery, National Museums Liverpool; Yale Center for British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2007

Barrell, John, "The Dangerous Goddess: Masculinity, Prestige and the Aesthetic in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain", *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge*. Macmillan Press, London, 1992, pp. 63-89

— Barrell, John *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: 'The Body of the Public'* (Yale University Press; New edition 1995)

Barringer, Tim, 'A White Atlantic? The Idea of American Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain.', *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century: Transatlanticism: Identities and exchanges* 19, no.9 (2009), pp1-26

Barringer, Tim Quilley, Geoff and Fordham, Douglas (Eds), *Art and the British Empire*. (Manchester, University Press, Manchester, 2007)

Beach, Elise S., *Thomas Beach, A Dorset Portrait Painter: Favourite Pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds* London, 1934

Bennett, Mary (Ed.), *Merseyside Painters, People & Places: Catalogue of Oil Paintings* Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool 1978, 2 Vols

Berg, Maxine, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005

Berkeley, Edmund Jr., and Jones, Robert, "Robert Carter as Agricultural Administrator: His Letters to Robert Jones, 1727-1729" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (Apr., 1993), pp. 273-295

Bermingham, Ann and Brewer, John, (Eds.) *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800 : Image, Object, Text*, Routledge, London, 1995

Bhabha, Homi, K. *The Location of Culture* Routledge, London 1994

Bignamini, Ilaria "Art Institutions in London 1689-1768" *Walpole Society* Vol.54 1988
Oxford University Press 1991, pp.1-148

_____ and Hornsby Clare, *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-Century Rome* Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven; London 2010

Black, Jeremy, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2003

Bolton Theodore, and Binsse, Harry L., "Wollaston, an Early American Portrait Manufacturer," *The Antiquarian*, XVI, (June 1931) pp.30-33, 50, 52

Boonstra, Michael J., "David Cheseborough", *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. Vol. 156 July 2002 (no. 623) pp.222-36, (no. 624) pp.373-88, Vol.157 July 2002 (no.625) pp.58-71

Boppe, A., *Les Peintres Du Bosphore au Dix-Huitième Siècle*, Librairie Hachette, Paris 1911

Borsay Peter and Proudfoot Lindsay (Eds.), *Proceedings of the British Academy* 108, *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence* (British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2002

Borsay, Peter *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989; 2002 Edition)

Bowron, Edgar Peters and Kerber, Peter Björn, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome* Exhibition Catalogue National Gallery, London: Yale University Press, New Haven and Museum of Fine Arts Houston 2007

Braddick, Michael J., "Civility and Authority", *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Eds.) David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, Palgrave Macmillan London 2002 pp.93-112.

Breen, T.H., "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1689-1776," *Journal of British Studies*, XXV (1986), pp.467-99

____ " 'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century", *Past and Present*, No.119, May 1988

____ "The Meaning of 'Likeness': Portrait Painting in an Eighteenth-Century Consumer Society.", *The Portrait in Eighteenth-Century America*, (Ed.) Ellen G. Miles, Newark, University of Delaware Press, London and Toronto, Associated University Presses, 1993, pp.37-60

Brewer, John, *Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, Harper Collins, London, 1997

____ and Porter, Roy (Eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, Routledge, London, 1993

Brilliant, Richard, *Group Dynamics: Family Portraits and Scenes of Everyday Life at the New York Historical Society*, Exhibition Catalogue New York Historical Society, New York 2006

Broadie, Alexander, *The Scottish Enlightenment: the Historical Age of the Historical Nation* Birlinn Limited, Edinburgh, 2007

Broadley, A.M, "Thomas Beach 'of Bath' ", Mowbray A. Green, *The Eighteenth Century Architecture of Bath* Bath, 1904, Appendix, p220-228

Brown, Iain Gordon, "Allan Ramsay's Rise and Reputation", *The Walpole Society* Vol. L (1984), pp.209-247

— “Young Allan Ramsay in Edinburgh”, *The Burlington Magazine* (Dec.1984 CXXVI)pp.778-81

Brown, Laura, “Oceans and Floods: Fables of Global Perspective” in *The Global Eighteenth Century*, (Ed). Felicity A. Nussbaum, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2003, pp. 107-122

Caldwell, John., Rodriguez Roque, Oswaldo., Johnson,Dale T., Reborá Barrett, Carrie., *American Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Volume 1: A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born by 1815* Princeton University Press 1994

Canny, Nicholas and Low, Alaine (Eds.), *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001

Carey, Eustace, *Memoir of William Carey D.D [1761-1834] Late Missionary to Bengal, Professor of Oriental Languages at the College of Fort St. William, Calcutta* (London, 1836)

Carey-Thomas, Lizzie et al, (eds.) *Migrations* Exhibition Catalogue, (Tate Publishing, London 2012)

Carlos, Ann M., and Nicholas, Stephen “ ‘Giants of an Earlier Capitalism’ : The Chartered Trading Companies as Modern Multinationals” *The Business History Review*, The President and Fellows of Harvard College Vol. 62, No. 3 (Autumn, 1988), pp. 398-419

Cathcart Borer, Mary, *The Story of Covent Garden*, Robert Hale Limited, London, 1984

Caw, Sir James L., “Allan Ramsay, Portrait Painter, 1713-1784”, *The Walpole Society*, (1936-7) Vol.25 pp.33-82

Chambers, Robert, *Traditions of Edinburgh* London & Edinburgh 1825; 1912 Edition

Chandraghosh, Suresh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal 1757-1800*, Published PhD Thesis, E.J Brill, Leiden, Netherlands, 1970

Clark Peter and Raymond Gillespie (Eds.), *Proceedings of the British Academy* 107, *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840* (British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2001

Climenson, E.J., *Elizabeth Montagu, The Queen of the Bluestockings: her Correspondence from 1720 to 1761* London 1906, 2 Vols.

Cole, Alison, *Virtue and Magnificence: Art of the Italian Renaissance Courts*, Prentice Hall, Inc., and Harry N. Abrams Inc., New York 1995

Colley, Linda, "Review: The Multiple Elites of Eighteenth-Century Britain. A Review Article", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (Cambridge University Press Vol.29, No.2 Apr., 1987) pp.408-413

___ *Britons: Forging the Nation 1701-1837*, Yale University Press, Great Britain, 1992

___ *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600-1850*, Pimlico, London, 2003

Connell, Sheila (ed.) *London: 1753*, Exhibition Catalogue, British Museum, London, 2003

Cotton, E., "Victoria Memorial Hall: A New Portrait of Warren Hastings", *Bengal Past and Present*. Vol XLVII, April-June 1934 pp.106-110

Cotton, H.E.A "Robert Home", *Bengal Past and Present* (Calcutta, 1928) pp.1-24

___ "A Calcutta Painter", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol.34 (Calcutta, 1927) pp.116-119

Cotton, Sir Evan "Tilly Kettle and his portraits." *Bengal Past and Present* (Calcutta 1925) Vol.29, pp.44-55

Courtney, William P. *Dodsley's collection of poetry. Its contents and contributors. A chapter in the history of English literature in the eighteenth century....* (1968)

Craven, Wayne, "Painting in New York City - Lawrence Kilburn", *Offprint from Winterthur Conference Report 1971, American Painting to 1776: A Re-Appraisal* (The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, University Press of Virginia 1971)pp. 265-70.

___ "John Wollaston: His Career in England and New York City", *American Art Journal*, Vol.7, No.2, Nov., 1975, pp.19-31

----- "Virginia Portraits: Iconography, Style, and Social Context" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 92, No. 2 (Apr., 1984), pp. 201- 225

___ *Colonial American Portraiture: The economic, religious, Social, Cultural, Philosophical, Scientific and aesthetic foundations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986

Crinò, Anna Maria, "Documents Relating to Some Portraits in the Uffizi and to a Portrait at Knoke" *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 102, No. 687 (Jun., 1960), pp. 257-261

Croft-Murray, Edward, *Decorative Painting in England* (Country Life, London, 1962) 2 Vols

Crookshank Anne and Glin, the Knight of, *Ireland's Painters 1660-1940* (Yale University Press for the Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, New Haven; London, 2002).;Previous ed. published as: *The Painters of Ireland, c.1600-1920* (Barrie and Jenkins, London 1978)

Curley, Thomas M., *Sir Robert Chambers: Law, Literature and Empire in the Age of Johnson* University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin 1998

Cursiter, Stanley, *Scottish Art* George Harrap and Company Limited, London 1949

Dack, Charles *Sketch of the Life of Thomas Worlidge, Etcher and Painter: with a catalogue of his works.* (Peterborough Natural History, Scientific and Archaeological Society, 1907)

Davies, Kristian *The Orientalists : Western Artists in Arabia, the Sahara, Persia & India* (Laynfaroh, New York,2005)

Davies, Randall, *English Society of the Eighteenth Century in Contemporary Art* London; New York, 1907

Deane, Charles, Perkins, A.T., Homes, Oliver Wendell, (December Meeting 1878) "Portraits by Blackburn", *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol.16 (1878) pp.385-92

Dennistoun, James, *Memoirs of Robert Strange and Andrew Lumisden*, London, 1855, 2 Vols.

Dias, Rosie, " 'A World of pictures': Pall Mall and the topography of display. 1780-99 ", Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J Withers (Eds.), *Georgian Geographies: Essays on Space, Place and Landscape in the eighteenth century*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2004, pp.92-113

Dickason, David Howard, *William Williams: Novelist and Painter of Colonial America* Indiana University Press, Bloomington Indiana; London 1970

Dow, George Francis, *The Arts & Crafts in New England 1704-1775: Gleanings from Boston Newspapers.* Wayside Press, Topsfield Massachusetts, 1927

Dunlap, William, *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*, (ed.) Alexander Wyckoff, New York, 1834; Benjamin Blom Inc. New York, 1965, 3 Vols.

Dwyer, John, and Sher, Richard B., (Eds.) "Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland", *Eighteenth Century Life*. Published in Association with Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society Vol.15, no. 1&2 February & May 1991

Earland, Ada, *John Opie and his Circle* Hutchinson & Co London, 1911

Eaton, Natasha, *Imaging Empire: the trafficking of art and aesthetics in British India c.1772 to c.1795* PhD Thesis, Department of History of Art, University of Warwick, 2000

— "Critical cosmopolitanism: gifting and collecting art at Lucknow, 1775-97", *Art and the British Empire*, (Eds.) Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2007, pp.189-204

Eckman, Jeanette, Higgins, Anthony, and Conner William H., (Eds.), *Delaware, A Guide to the First State*. Viking Press, New York, 1938

Egerton, Judy, *Wright of Derby* Exhibition Catalogue, Tate Gallery, London 1990

Einberg, Elizabeth, *Manners and Morals: Hogarth and British Painting 1700-1760* Exhibition Catalogue (Tate Gallery, London 1988)

Fara, Patricia, *Face Values: How Portraits Win Friends and Influence People* *Science*, New Series, Vol. 299, No. 5608 (Feb. 7, 2003), pp. 831-832

Fawcett, Trevor, "Eighteenth-Century Art in Norwich", *The Walpole Society*, Vol.46 (1976-1978) 1978 pp.71-90

— *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons and Institutions outside London, 1800-1830*. (Oxford Studies in the History of Art and Architecture, Oxford University Press, 1974)

Fitzgerald, Brian (Ed.) *Correspondence of Emily Duchess of Leinster 1731-1814* (1949-1957) 3 Vols

Fleischer, Roland E., "Emblems and Colonial American Painting." *American Art Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1988), pp. 3-35

Flexner, James Thomas, "The Amazing William Williams: Painter, Author, Teacher, Musician, Stage designer, Castaway." *American Magazine of Art*, 1944, pp.243-46, 276-77

___ *American Painting: First Flowers of Our Wilderness* Boston, 1947

Foote, Henry Wilder, "Mr. Smibert shows His Pictures March 1730" *New England Quarterly*, March 1935, Vol.8, No.1, pp.14-28

___ *John Smibert, Painter, which includes a descriptive catalogue of his work, and notes on the paintings of his son, Nathaniel Smibert.* Cambridge, Massachusetts 1950, 8 Volumes

___ "Charles Bridges, 'Sergeant-Painter of Virginia' 1735-1740" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Virginia Historical Society Vol.60 No.1 (Jan 1952) pp.3-55.

Ford, Brinsley, (Ed.), "The Letters of Jonathan Skelton written from Rome and Tivoli in 1758, together with correspondence relating to his death on 19th January 1759", *The Walpole Society*, Vol.36(1956-58), Glasgow University Press, 1960, pp.32-84

Forrer, L., *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists Coin-, Gem-, and Seal-Engravers Mint-Masters, &C.: Ancient and Modern with References to their Works B.C. 500 — A.D. 1900* London, 1904, 8 Vols

Fortune, Brandon Brame and Warner, Deborah J., Chapter 4, "Banyans and the Scholarly Image", *Franklin and his friends: Portraying the Man of Science in Eighteenth-Century America*, Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C. 1999, pp.51-66

Foskett, Daphne *British Portrait Miniatures: A History* Methuen, London, 1968

Fossi, Gloria *Uffizi: Art, History, Collections*, 3rd Revised Edition, David and Charles 2007

Foster, Sir William, "British Painters in Bengal", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol.XXIX, 1925, pp.1-6

___ "British Artists in India: 1760-1820" in *The Walpole Society*, Vol.19 (1930-31), Oxford University Press, 1931, pp.1-88

Fowkes Tobin, Beth, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1999

Gibson-Wood, Carol, "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century", *The Art Bulletin* Vol.84, No.3 (Sep., 2002) pp.491-500

Goodfellow, G.L.M., 'The Art, and Times of Cosmo Alexander (1724-1772): Portrait Painter in Scotland and America'. MA dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1961

___ "Cosmo Alexander in America", *American Quarterly* 1963 Vol.26, pp.309- 322

___ "Cosmo Alexander in Holland", *Oud Holland*. 1964, pp.85-87

George, Dorothy. M., *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Peregrin Books Limited London, 1925; 1966 Edition

Gerhold, Dorian *Carriers and Coachmasters: Trade and Travel before the Turnpikes* (Phillimore, Chichester 2005

Gibson-Wood, Carol "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century", *The Art Bulletin* Vol.84, No.3 (Sep., 2002) pp493-494

Godfrey, Walter H. and Marcham, W. McB. (Eds.) 'The Foundling Hospital', *Survey of London: volume 24: The Parish of St Pancras part 4: King's Cross Neighbourhood*, English Heritage, 1952, pp.10-24

Goffen, Rona, "Crossing the Alps: Portraiture in Renaissance Venice", *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian*, (Eds.) Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown. Exhibition Catalogue Thames & Hudson, London 1999, pp.115-132.

Gottesman, Rita Susswein, *The Arts and Crafts in New York: Advertisements and news items from New York City Newspapers 1726-1776*, Vol. 69, New York Historical Society, New York 1936

Graves, Algernon, *The Royal Academy of Arts; A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904* London 1905 8 Vols

Greene, Jack P., "Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution", *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (ed.) P.J Marshall Oxford University Press Oxford University Press 1998; 2001, Vol.II, pp.208-230

Greenblatt, Stephen et al , *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010)

Grieg, Hannah, "Leading the Fashion: The Material Culture of London's Beau Monde", (Eds.) John Styles and Amanda Vickery, *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700-1830* Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art; The Yale Center for British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven; London 2007, pp.293-313

Grimaldi, Stacey, *Miscellaneous Writings, Prose and Poetry from Printed & Manuscript Sources*. (Ed.) A.B Grimaldi, London 1874-1884 Parts 1-4

Groce, George. C, "John Wollaston: A Cosmopolitan Painter in the British Colonies", *Art Quarterly*, XV, Summer 1952, pp.132-149

___ and Wallace, David H., *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America: 1564-1860*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1969

Guilding, Ruth A., "The De Wet Apostle paintings in the chapel at Glamis Castle", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Volume 116 (1986) pp.429-445

Hagen, Oskar, *The Birth of the American Tradition in Art*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; London 1940

Hallett, Mark, "The view across the city: William Hogarth and the visual culture of eighteenth-century London", *Hogarth: Representing Nature's Machines*, David Bindman and Frederic Ogée (Eds.) Manchester University Press, Manchester, New York, 2001, pp.146-162

___ *Hogarth* Phaidon Press Ltd., London 2000

Hancock, David, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785*, Cambridge University Press, 1995

Hargraves, Matthew *Candidates for Fame: the Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760-1791* Yale University Press, New Haven; London 2006

Harris, Michael *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (Associated University Press, London and Toronto, 1987)

Hastings, Mrs Russel, "A John Watson Discovery", *Antiques* July 1939, Vol.36,pp.26-7

Hayes, John (Ed.), *The Letters of Thomas Gainsborough* Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 2001

Hemingway, Andrew "Cultural Philanthropy and the Invention of the Norwich School" *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1988) pp. 17-39

Hill Morgan, John, *John Watson, Painter, Merchant and Capitalist of New Jersey 1685-1768* American Antiquarian Society Worcester, Massachusetts, 1941

Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of the First Earl of Egmont (Viscount Percival)*, Vol.2 1734-1738, (HMSO 1923)

Holbrook, Mary, "Painters in Bath in the Eighteenth Century", *Apollo* 98 (1973) pp.375-84

Holloway, James, *William Aikman 1682-1731*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1988

___ *Patrons and Painters: Art in Scotland, 1650–1760* Exhibition Catalogue, Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1989

___ *The Norie Family* Scottish Masters Series 20, National Galleries of Scotland, 1994

Hopkinson, Martin, "Printmaking and Print Collectors in the North West 1760-1800" Barker, Elizabeth E. and Kidson Alex et al, *Joseph Wright of Derby in Liverpool* Exhibition Catalogue, Walker Art Gallery, National Museums Liverpool, Yale Center for British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2007, pp.85-103

Hood, Graham, "A New Look at Charles Bridges, Colonial Virginia Painter, 1735-45" *American Art Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Nov., 1977) pp. 57-67

Horn, James, "British Diaspora: Emigration from Britain 1680-1815", *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (ed.) P.J Marshall Oxford University Press Oxford University Press 1998; 2001 Vol.II, pp.28-52

Hutchison, Sidney C. "The Royal Academy Schools, 1768-1830" *Walpole Society* Vol.38 (1960-1962)

Ingamells J., and Raines, R., *Philip Mercier* Exhibition Catalogue, York City Art Gallery and Kenwood House, London 1969

Ingamells J., "A Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings and Etchings of Philip Mercier" *The Walpole Society* Vol.46 (1976-1978) 1978, pp.1-70

Ingamells, John, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1997

Irwin, David and Francina, *Scottish Painters At Home and Abroad 1700-1900*, Faber and Faber, London, 1975

Jacobs, Michael *The Painted Voyage: Art, Travel and Exploration 1564-1875* British Museum Press, London, 1995)

Jasanoff, Maya, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East 1750-1850*, Harper Perennial, London 2006

Johnstone, Elizabeth, 'Joseph Highmore's Paris Journal, 1734', *The Walpole Society*, Vol. 42 (Oxford, 1970) pp.61-104

Jones, Rica, "The Artist's Training and Techniques", Einberg (1988) pp.19-28

Jones, Sir William, 'Letters of Sir William Jones to the Late Samuel Davis, Esq., F.R.S., &c. from 1785 to 1794, Chiefly Relating to the Literature and Science of India, and Elucidatory of the Early History of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta' *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* Vol. 3, No. 1 (1831)

Joseph, Betty *Reading the East India Company, 1720-1840: Colonial Critiques of Gender* (2004)

Kaplan, Caren *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Poetics of Displacement* (Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1996)

Kapp, Helen *Daniel Gardner (1750-1805)* Exhibition Catalogue, Kenwood, The Iveagh Bequest (London, 1972)

Kerslake, John, "Mercier at Upton" *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 118, No. 884 (Nov., 1976), pp. 770-773

— "Three Early Georgian Portraits", *National Art Collections Fund Review*, National Art Collections Fund, London 1984

Kidson, Alex, *George Romney 1734-1802*. Exhibition Catalogue, National Portrait Gallery, London 2002

Killanin, Lord, *Sir Godfrey Kneller and his Times, 1646-1723: Being a Review of English Portraiture of the Period*. B.T Batsford, London 1948

Kriz, Kay Dian, *Slavery, Sugar and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies 1700-1840* (The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008)

Lawson, Philip and Philips, Jim, "'Our Execrable Banditti': Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain" Lawson, Philip, *A Taste for Empire and Glory: Studies in British Overseas Expansion, 1660-1800*, Variorum, Ashgate Publishing, Great Britain and USA, 1997, pp.225-241

Lazzarini, Elena, "The Trade of Luxury Goods in Livorno and Florence in the Eighteenth Century" *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy c.1700-c.1860* (Eds.) Cinzia Sicca and Alison Yarrington (Leicester University Press, London and New York, 2000) pp.67-76

Lingelbach, W. E., "The Internal Organisation of the Merchant Adventurers of England" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Royal Historical Society New Series, Vol. 16 1902, pp. 19-67

Lippincott, Louise, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, New Haven 1983

Little, Bryan., *The Life and Works of James Gibbs (1682-1754)* B.T Batsford Ltd London, 1955

Lord, Peter *The Visual Culture of Wales: Imaging the Nation* University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2000

Lossing, Benson J., *The American Historical Record and Repertory of Notes and Queries: Concerning the History and Antiques of America and Biography of Americans* August 1872, Vol.1 No.8 pp.337-8

___ October 1872; Facsimile 2006 Kessinger Publishing, Vol.1 No.10 pp.465-6

Love, Henry, Davison, *Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House and the Banqueting Hall, Madras*, 1903

___ *Vestiges of Old Madras 1640-1800*, 1913, 3 Vols.

Lovell, Margaretta M., *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2005

Macmillan, Duncan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age* Exhibition Catalogue (Phaidon Press, Oxford 1986)

___ *Scottish Art 1460-1990* Edinburgh, 1990

Mackenzie, E (Ed.), *An historical, topographical, and descriptive view of the county of Northumberland, and of those parts of the county of Durham situated north of the river Tyne, with Berwick Upon Tweed, and brief notices of celebrated places on the Scottish border.* Second edition, Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1825

Maison, K.E, "John Thomas Seton" *Apollo* September 1941 pp.59-60,79

Mancke, Elizabeth, "Empire and State", *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Eds.) David Armitage and Michael J.Braddick Palgrave Macmillan, London 2002 pp.175-195

Manigault, Ann and Webber, Mabel L., "Extracts from the Journal of Mrs. Ann Manigault: 1754-1781 (Continued)" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Jul., 1919), pp. 204-212 & No. 4 (Oct., 1919) pp. 256-259

Manigault, Peter and Webber Mabel L., "Peter Manigault's Letters" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Jul., 1930) pp.171-183 & No. 4 (Oct., 1930) pp.269-282

Manners, Lady Victoria, "Catherine Read: the 'English Rosalba' " *The Connoisseur Magazine* December 1931, Vol.88 No.364, pp.376-86

Mansel, Philip, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924* Penguin Books Limited, London 1995

Marambaud, Pierre, "William Byrd of Westover: Cavalier, Diarist, and Chronicler", *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (Apr., 1970), pp. 144-83.

Marshall, P.J, *East India Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976

____ "The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" *An Illustrated History of Modern India 1600-1947*, (ed.) C.A Bayly, Oxford University Press, Bombay; Calcutta; Madras, 1991,pp.16-25

____ (Ed.), *The Oxford History of The British Empire: The Eighteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, Volume II

Masson, Alastair H.B., *Portraits, Paintings and Busts in the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh* (Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh 1995)

Masters, Bruce "Trading Diasporas and 'Nations': The Genesis of National Identities in Ottoman Aleppo." *The International History Review*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Aug., 1987), pp. 345-367

McCreery, Cindy 'Keeping up with the Bon Ton: the Tête-a-Tête series in the Town and Country Magazine', *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representation and Responsibilities* (Eds. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (Longman, London and New York 1997)pp.207-229

McIntyre, Ian, *Joshua Reynolds: the Life and Times of the First President of the Royal Academy* (Allen Lane, London 2003)

McLellan Geddy, Pam, "Cosmo Alexander's travels and patrons in America", *Antiques*, November, 1977, pp.972-77

McNutt, James K., "Plaster Casts after Antique Sculpture: Their Role in the Elevation of Public Taste and in American Art Instruction.", *Studies in Art Education*, Vol.31, No.3 (Spring 1990) pp.160-164

Meschutt, David, "John Wollaston's Portraits of The Randolph Family Owned by the Virginia Historical Society" in "Notes and Documents" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (Oct., 1984), pp. 449- 473

Miles, Ellen Gross, "Thomas Hudson (1701-1779): Portraitist of the British Establishment." PhD Thesis Yale University, New Haven Connecticut USA, 2 Vols, 1976

___ and J. Simon, *Thomas Hudson, 1701-1779, portrait painter and collector: a bicentenary exhibition* Exhibition Catalogue, Greater London Council and Kenwood House, 1979

Morgan, K., *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press Cambridge 2004)

Morgan, Margery, "Katherine Read: A Woman Painter in Romney's London" *The Transactions of the Romney Society* Vol. 4, 1999, pp.12-17

Mowl, Timothy, *William Kent: Architect, Designer, Opportunist* (Pimlico, London 2007)

Munro, J., *John Downman 1750-1824* Exhibition catalogue (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1996)

Nelson, Christina H., "Transfer-Printed Creamware and Pearlware for the American Market" *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer, 1980) pp. 93-115

Nicolson, Benedict, *Joseph Wright of Derby: Painter of Light* Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art; Routledge and Kegan Paul, London; New York 1968, 2 Vols

Northcote, James *The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London, 1819)

Nussbaum, Felicity A., (Ed.), *The Global Eighteenth Century*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London 2003

Nygren, Edward J., "The First Art Schools at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts", *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (Apr., 1971), pp. 221-238

O'Brien, Patrick K., "Inseparable Connections: Trade, Economy, Fiscal State and the Expansion of the Empire", *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century*

(ed.) P.J Marshall Oxford University Press Oxford University Press 1998; 2001, Vol.II, pp.53-77

Ogborn, Miles and Withers, Charles W. J (eds.), *Georgian Geographies: Essays on Space, Place and Landscape in the eighteenth century*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2004

Page, Richard Channing Moore, *Genealogy of the Page family in Virginia. Also a condensed account of the Nelson, Walker, Pendleton and Randolph families, with references to the Byrd, Carter, Cary, Duke, Gilmer, Harrison, Rives, Thornton, Wellford, Washington, and other distinguished families in Virginia* (New York, 1883)

Park, Lawrence, "Two Portraits by Joseph Blackburn", *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Vol.6, No. 9 (Nov., 1919) pp.139-141.

Pears, Iain, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University, New Haven Press, 1988

Pearson, Fiona, (ed.) *Virtue and Vision: Sculpture and Scotland 1540-1990*, Exhibition Catalogue, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1991

Peker, Ali Uzay, "Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul", *Eighteenth-Century Life*, (Volume 26, Number 3, Fall 2002) pp. 139-163

Pératé, André, "Notes on the Portrait Exhibition in Paris-II" *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 15, No. 76 (Jul., 1909), pp. 208- 209, 211-213,216-217.

Peterson, Charles E., "Benjamin Loxley and Carpenters' Hall" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 15, No. 4, Fifteenth Anniversary Issue (Dec., 1956), pp. 23-26

Pidgley, Michael and Smiles, Samuel, *The Perfection of England: Artist Visitors to Devon c.1750-1870* Exhibition Catalogue, University of Plymouth 1995

Pittock, Murray G. H., *Jacobitism* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 1998

Plesters, Joyce, "A Preliminary Note on the Incidence of Discolouration of Smalt in Oil Media" *Studies in Conservation*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (May, 1969), pp. 62-74

Poesch, Jessie, " 'In Just Lines to Trace' - The Colonial Artist, 1700-1776", *The Portrait In Eighteenth-Century America*, (Ed.) Ellen G.Miles, Newark, University of Delaware Press, London and Toronto, Associated University Presses, 1993, pp.61-83

Pointon, Marcia, "Portrait Painting as a Business Enterprise in London in the 1780s" *Art History*, Vol.7 No.2 June 1984, pp.187-205

---- *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1993

___ "Working, Earning, Bequeathing: Mary Grace and Mary Moser" in *Strategies for Showing: Women , Possession and Representation in English Visual Culture 1665-1800* Oxford University Press, Oxford 1997, Chapter Four, pp.131-172.

___ " 'Surrounded by Brilliants': Miniature portraits in eighteenth-century England", *The Art Bulletin*, Vol.83., March 2001, pp.48-71

Pidgley Michael and Smiles, Samuel *The Perfection of England: Artist Visitors to Devon c.1750-1870* Exhibition Catalogue (University of Plymouth 1995

Poole, Rachael, "An outline of the history of the De Critz family of painters" *Walpole Society* Vol.2 1912-13 Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1913 pp.45-68

Popplewell, Seán P. "Domestic Decorative Painting in Ireland: 1720 to 1820", *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 68, No. 269/270 (Spring/Summer, 1979),3

Porter, Roy *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Penguin Ltd., London 1990 Edition)

Porter, Roy, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, Penguin Group, 1990

___ *London: A Social History*, Hamish Hamilton, London 1994

___ *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World*, Penguin Books Limited, London 2000

Postle, Martin "The Road to the Royal Academy", *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Acquisition of Genius* (Ed.) Sam Smiles, Exhibition Catalogue, University of Plymouth and Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery, 2009, pp.75-88

___ *Thomas Gainsborough* (Tate Britain, London 2002)

Peters Corbett, David and Monks, Sarah *Anglo-American: Artistic Exchange between Britain and the USA*. *Art History*, 34 (4) (2011) pp. 630-651

Price, Jacob. M. "The Imperial Economy, 1700-1776", *The Oxford History of The British Empire: The Eighteenth Century*, (Ed.), P.J. Marshall, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, Volume II

Quinn, Arthur Hobson, "The Theatre and the Drama in Old Philadelphia" *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1953), pp. 313-17

Rather, Susan, "Benjamin West's Professional Endgame and the Historical Conundrum of William Williams", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Oct., 2002), pp. 821-864

Rebora Barratt, Carrie, "Faces of a new Nation: American Portraits of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series Vol 61. No.1 (Summer 2003) pp.3-56

Redgrave, Samuel *A Dictionary of artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists: with Notices of their Lives and Work* (London, 1878)

Rendall , Jane and Hallett, Mark (Eds.), *Eighteenth-Century York: Culture, Space and Society* (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, 2003)

Retford, Kate *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, New Haven; London 2006)

Riely, J.C., *Henry William Bunbury: The Amateur caricaturist* Exhibition Catalogue, Gainsborough's House, Sudbury Suffolk (1983)

Richardson, E.P., "William Williams: A Dissenting Opinion" *American Art Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring, 1972), pp. 5-23

Riley, W. Edward and Gomme, Sir Laurence (Eds.) "Nos 55 and 56 Great Queen Street" and "Freemasons Hall" *Survey of London* Vol.5: St Giles-in-the-Fields, Pt.II (1914) pp. 42-58 and pp.59-83

Rimbault Dibdin, E. "Liverpool Art and Artists in the Eighteenth Century" *Walpole Society*. Vol.6 1917-1918 (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1918)

Roberts, Jennifer L., "Copley's Cargo: *Boy with a Squirrel* and the Dilemma of Transit" *American Art*, Volume 21, No.2 (Summer 2007) pp. 20-41

Roche, Karen Marie "Picturing an Englishman: The Art of Sir Henry William Bunbury, 1770-1787" PhD Thesis, Department of English, Exeter University 2008

Rogers, Malcolm *John Closterman: Master of the English Baroque*, Exhibition Catalogue (National Portrait Gallery, Great Britain, 1981)

Rosenthal, Angela, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility* The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2006

Roworth, Wendy Wassyng, "Kauffman and the Art of Painting in England", Roworth, Wendy Wassyng (Ed.), *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England* London, 1992, pp.12-95

Saunders, Richard H. and Gross Miles, Ellen, *American Colonial Portraits, 1700-1776*, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington City, 1987

Saunders, Richard H., *John Smibert: Colonial America's First Portrait Painter*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1995

Sawitzky, William, "William Williams, First Instructor of Benjamin West" *Antiques* XXXI (May 1937) pp.240-242

___ "Further Light on the Work of William Williams," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, XXV. (July, 1941), 101-12

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism* (Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.,1978)

___ *Culture and Imperialism* (Chatto & Windus,London1993)

Schimmelman, Janice G., "Art in the early English Magazine, 1731-1800: A Checklist of articles on Drawing, Painting and Sculpture, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *London Magazine* and *Universal Magazine*". *American Antiquarian Society* Vol.108, Part 2, Worcester American Antiquarian Society, 2000

Schouler, James (October Meeting 1915) "Smibert-Moffatt Letters", *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, Vol. 49 (Oct., 1915 - Jun., 1916) pp. 23-42

Sedgwick, Romney, (Ed.) *Letters from George III to Lord Bute 1756-1766* Macmillan and Co Ltd, London, 1939

Severens, Martha R., "Who was Henrietta Johnston?" *Antiques* No. 148, Nov, 1995 pp.704-709

Sharp, R. "The Oxford installation of 1759", *Oxoniensia*, Vol. 56 (Oxfordshire Architectural and Historical Society, 1991)

Shawe-Taylor, Desmond, *Genial Company: The Theme of Genius in 18th-Century British Portraiture* (Exhibition Catalogue) Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh 1987
— *The Conversation Piece: Scenes of Fashionable Life* (Royal Collection, London, 2009)

Shelley, Marjorie "Painting in the Dry Manner: The Flourishing of Pastel in 18th-Century Europe", Baetjer, Katharine and Shelley, Marjorie *Pastel Portraits : Images of 18th-Century Europe* Exhibition Catalogue (The Metropolitan Museum of New York; Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2011)

Sheppard, F. H. W., (General Editor) "The Piazza: Notable private residents in the Piazza", *Survey of London: Vol.36: Covent Garden* (1970)

Skinner, Basil, *Scots in Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, Board of Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1966

Sloman, Susan and Fawcett, Trevor, *Pickpocketing the Rich: Portrait Painting in Bath 1720-1800* Exhibition Catalogue, The Holburne Museum of Art, Bath and The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2002

Smart, Alastair, *The Life and Works of Allan Ramsay*, Routledge, Kegan and Paul, London 1952

___ *The Paintings and Drawings by Allan Ramsay 1713-1784*, Royal Academy Exhibition pamphlet, London 1964

___ *Allan Ramsay: Artist, Essayist and Man of the Enlightenment*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1992

___ *Allan Ramsay: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings* (ed.) John Ingamells, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1999

Smiles, Sam (Ed.) *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Acquisition of Genius* Exhibition Catalogue (University of Plymouth and Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery, 2009)

Smith, John Thomas, *Nollekens and his Times: comprehending a life of that celebrated Sculptor: and memoirs of several contemporary artists...* London 1828 2 Vols

Smout, Christopher, "The Culture of Migration: Scots as Europeans 1500-1800" *History Workshop Journal*, No. 40 (Autumn, 1995), pp. 108-117

Solkin, David H., *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1992

South Carolina Historical Society, "Advertisements of Artists" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Apr., 1920) pp.88-91

Spence, Joseph, *Letters from the Grand Tour* (Ed.) Salva Klima (McGill-Queens University Press Montreal and London 1975)

Steele, Ian K., *The English Atlantic 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1986)

Stephens, Richard "City and Country", *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Acquisition of Genius* (Ed.) Sam Smiles, Exhibition Catalogue, University of Plymouth and Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery, 2009, pp.17-28

Steinhöfel, Antje, 'John Russell (1745-1806) and the Impact of Evangelicalism and Natural Theology on Artistic Practice.' PhD Thesis 2005, Department of History of Art and Film, University of Leicester

Steuart, A. Francis, "Miss Katherine Read, Court Paintress" *Scottish Historical Review* (Glasgow, 1904) pp.38-46

Stevens Jr., William B., "Joseph Blackburn and His Newport Sitters 1754-1756" *Newport History* No.127 Vol.40 (Summer 1967) Part 3, pp.95-107

Still, Bayrd, "The Westward Migration of a Planter Pioneer in 1796" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Second Series, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Oct., 1941), pp. 318-343

Stocker, Harry E., *A History of the Moravian church in New York City* New York City 1922

Stroup, Thomas B. 'The Cestus: Manuscript of an Anonymous Eighteenth-Century Imitation of Comus', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 2, No. 1, *The English Renaissance*(Winter, 1962), pp. 47-55

Styles, John and Vickery, Amanda (Eds.), *Gender, taste, and material culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*. Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, The Yale Center for British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven, London 2007

Surry, Nigel, "George Beare: A Note on Current Research", *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 128, No. 1003, Special Issue Devoted to British Art from 1500 to the Present Day (Oct., 1986) pp. 745-749

— *George Beare* Exhibition Catalogue, Pallant House Gallery, Chichester 1989

Szechi, Daniel, " 'Cam Ye O'er Frae France?' Exile and the Mind of Scottish Jacobitism, 1716-1727", *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Oct., 1998), pp. 357-390

Talley, M. Kirby, " Thomas Bardwell of Bungay, artist and author, 1704-1767, with a checklist of works", *The Walpole Society*, Vol.46 1976-1978 (1978) pp.91-163

Thornbury, Walter "Ludgate Hill", *Old and New London* (London,1873-1878) *Volume 1*, pp. 220-233

Thornton, Lynne *The Orientalists: Painter-Travellers* (Paris, 1994)

Toynbee, Paget (Ed.), "Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats &c" *The Walpole Society* (1927-1928) Vol.16 Oxford (1928) pp.9-80

Urry, John *Mobilities* (Polity Press, Cambridge; Massachusetts, 2007)

Vickery, Amanda, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* Yale University Press, New Haven; London 2009

Waterhouse, Ellis, *The Dictionary of British Eighteenth-Century Painters*, Antique Collectors' Club, 1981

Waterman, Thomas Tileston, "English Antecedents of Virginia Architecture" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (Jan. 20, 1939), pp. 57-63

Watson, L. M., "The colonel and his lady come home", *Antiques*, 74 (1958) pp. 436–8

Wearing, Stanley J., *Georgian Norwich: Its Builders* Jarrold & Sons Limited, Norwich 1926

Webster, Mary Johan *Zoffany: 1733-1810* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 2011); G. C. Williamson, *Life and Works of Ozias Humphry* (London, 1918)

Wedd, Kit Peltz, Lucy, and Ross, Cathy, *Creative Quarters the art world in London 1700 – 2000* Exhibition Catalogue, Museum of London, 2001

Wehle, Harry B., "A Portrait by Charles Bridges", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Vol. 20, No. 8 (Aug., 1925), pp. 197-200

Wells Rutledge, Anna, "Artists in the Life of Charleston through Colony and State, from Restoration to Reconstruction" in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. New Series Vol.39 No.2, 1949, pp.101-250

Whatley, Christopher A., "The Union of 1707: Why and How? (Review)." *The Scottish Historical Review* Volume 87 No.1 (April 2008) pp.158-9

— *Scottish Society 1701-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, towards Industrialisation* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2000)

White, G.H (Ed.) *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, 2nd Edition (St Catherine's Press Ltd, 1953)

Whitehead, William A., *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy and adjoining Country with Sketches of men and Events in New Jersey during the Colonial Era.* (New York 1856) Facsimile Michigan Historical Reprint Series University of Michigan, University Library, (nd)

Whitley, William T., *Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799* Benjamin Blom Limited, New York and London 1928; 1968 Edition 2 Vols

Williams, Julia Lloyd, Smout, Christopher, Howard, Deborah *Dutch Art and Scotland. A Reflection of Taste* National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1992

Williams, Marjorie, (Ed.) *The Letters of William Shenstone*, 1939

Williamson, Captain Thomas, *The East India Vade Mecum*, 1810 2 Vols.

Williamson, G.C., *John Russell R. A.*, London, 1894

John Downman A.R.A.: his life and works, London, 1907

— *Daniel Gardner, Painter in Pastel and Gouache: A Brief Account of his Life and Works* , 1908-9; published 1921

Williams, William, and Gerdts, William H., “William Williams: New American Discoveries” *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 4 (1968), pp. 159-167

Williamson, George Charles, *Life and Works of Ozias Humphry R.A.*, London 1918

Wilson, Kathleen, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*, Routledge, London 2003

Wilton Andrew and Bignamini, Ilaria *Grand Tour: the lure of Italy in the eighteenth century* Exhibition Catalogue, Tate Gallery London, 1996

Wind, Edgar, “Shaftesbury as a Patron of Art: with a letter by Closterman and two designs by Guidi.” *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. 2, No. 2 Oct., 1938, pp. 185-188

Wright, Louis B., *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies* Dover Publications, New York (1957) 2002 Edition

Yarker, Gwen *Georgian Faces: Portrait of a County Exhibition Catalogue* (Dorset Natural History and Archeological Society, 2010)

Other Reference sources

Artist Files USA: Boston Athenaeum, Boston; Frick Art Reference Library, New York; Newark Museum, New Jersey; Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts;

Artist Files UK: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh; Salisbury Museum, Salisbury; National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

These are referred to in the footnotes.

Electronic Sources

Art Inventories Catalogue, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Smithsonian Institution Research Information System (SIRIS)
(<http://siris-artinventories.si.edu/>)

Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (<http://www.apva.org>)

Digital Archive of Comparative Slavery
(<http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/>)

Colonial Williamsburg Official History Site
(www.colonialwilliamsburg.org):

Kelly, Kevin, "A Portrait of York County Middling Planters and Their Slaves, 1760-1775"
http://research.history.org/Historical_Research/Research_Themes/ThemePossession/YCFamily.cfm [accessed 09 March 2010]

"The Governor's Palace Historical Notes", *The Governor's Palace Historical Notes Block 20 Building 3*. Dept. of Research and Record Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
http://research.history.org/ewilliamsburg/document.cfm?source=Research%20Reports/XML/RR0219.xml&rm_id=RM00095 [accessed 05 March 2010]

Lancaster Museum
(www.lancashire.gov.uk):

<http://collections.lancsmuseums.gov.uk/narratives/narrative.php?irn=103>
[accessed 09 September 2010]

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

(www.oxforddnb.com):

Andrew, Patricia R., 'Ann Forbes (1745–1834)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/73393>
[accessed 24 July 2010]

Barron, Kathryn, 'James Parmentier (1658–1730)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn,
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2185>
[accessed 13 July 2009]

Bowyer, T. H., 'Sir Robert Chambers (1737–1803)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2010
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5078> [accessed 23 June 2010]

Ingamells, John, 'Hans Hysing (1678–1752/3)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008,
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14322> [accessed 11 Feb 2009]

Martin, John, 'Wallop, John, first Earl of Portsmouth (1690–1762)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004,
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/28582>, accessed 10 Sept 2010]

O'Donoghue, F. M., 'Katharine Read (1723–1778)', rev. Dorcas Taylor, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008,
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23214> [accessed 15 July 2009]

Ross, Angus, 'John Arbuthnot (*bap.* 1667, *d.* 1735)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn,
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/610> [accessed 11 Feb 2009]

Whistler, Catherine, 'Venetian painters in Britain (*act.* 1708–*c.* 1750)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2007,
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/66558>, [accessed 18 Aug 2010]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

(www.rcahms.gov.uk):

<http://www.canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/52056/photographs/edinburgh+west+granton+road+caroline+park+avenue+caroline+park+house> [accessed 05 August 2009]

University of York, Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past
(www.york.ac.uk/ipup):

<http://www.york.ac.uk/ipup/projects/york/stories/papers/akehurst.html>
[accessed 05 August 2010]

Victoria & Albert Museum, London

(www.vam.ac.uk)

David Paton (?), *Richard Maitland, 4th Earl of Lauderdale (1653-95)*

<http://www.vam.ac.uk/images/image/11776-popup.html>

[accessed 24 October 2009]

Virginia Historical Society

(www.vahistorical.org):

William M. S. Rasmussen, Lora Robins, "Virginia's colonial dynasties: Portraits from the Byrd Collection, Westover" Virginia Historical Society

<http://www.vahistorical.org/dynasties/byrdfamily.htm> [accessed 02 March 2010]