

Edward Hodges Baily (1788-1867) and the notion of poetic sculpture c.1800-1845

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In memory of

Robert Fleming (1926-2006) & Richard Jordan (1945-2000)

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Abstract

This thesis examines ideal sculpture of the first half of the nineteenth century. It uses the term ‘poetic sculpture’ – a phrase used regularly by commentators during this period – as a route into exploring the production, patronage and reception of a group of ideal sculptures by Edward Hodges Baily (1788-1867). The Introduction considers some of the longstanding interpretations of this genre and demonstrates that a scholarly focus on subjects such as the popularity of Antonio Canova, the establishment of aristocratic private sculpture galleries, and the absence of ideal sculpture in the oeuvre of Francis Chantrey has led to a limited understanding of this genre.

Chapter One provides an introduction to Baily. It establishes a context for the chapters which follow by investigating the sculptor’s training and formative years; his wider career more generally and, in particular, the financial difficulties which plagued him throughout. Chapter Two focuses on Baily’s most famous poetic sculpture, *Eve at the Fountain* (1822), and the later, closely-related *Eve Listening to the Voice* (1842). It investigates the former as one of the earliest and most successful interpretations of a subject from the native literary canon in British sculpture. Chapter Three explores a series of mother and child groups which Baily produced between 1823 and 1837 and it aims to integrate these works into the wider cultural construction of motherhood during this period. The final chapter considers some of the public showcases available to Baily for exhibiting his ideal figures. In addition to the galleries of the Royal Academy, the British Institution and the Society of British Artists, a wider range of metropolitan exhibition venues are included. During the 1820s ‘one-man’ sculpture shows became popular sight-seeing attractions in the West End and sculptors’ studios also functioned as important spaces of display. One of the most celebrated public galleries for the medium during this period was the Glyptotheca of the Colosseum in Regent’s Park. Sculptures by Baily representing Eve from *Paradise Lost* and a mother and child group were placed at the forefront of this palace of popular entertainment. During the first half of the nineteenth century ideal sculpture flourished, it was no longer the preserve of the patrician private sculpture gallery and should not remain isolated in this research context.

Preface

This thesis explores the production and reception of ideal sculpture during the first half of the nineteenth century. Rather than attempting to compile a survey of sculptural practice, this study takes as its focus a small but significant group of works produced by Edward Hodges Baily (1788-1867). This thesis is not a monographic investigation; instead, this artist is used as a lens through which the production and reception of ideal sculpture might come into sharper focus. The term ‘ideal sculpture’ was used during the nineteenth century, and continues to be used today, to distinguish the highest class in a hierarchy of sculptural genres. It refers to free-standing figures and groups, usually nude or partially draped, representing some form of invented subject matter typically drawn from literary sources. During the early 1800s it is noticeable that the expression ‘poetic sculpture’ was often used to describe this genre. Critics referred to ‘works of a poetic order’ or ‘poetical figures’ and sculptors who practiced in this genre were praised as ‘poetical men’.¹ While this phrase was used in relation to many sculptors, it was applied with particular regularity to Baily. When, in 1842, the sculptor exhibited the work for which he is best known today, the *Statue to Lord Nelson* intended for William Railton’s column in Trafalgar Square, the critic of the *Athenaeum* was disappointed to see the sculptor working in the more prosaic genre of portraiture:

Baily we miss on his own appropriate ground, where he has no living rival – poetical sculpture, taking English forms – or borrowing some mere abstraction from the Greek, and clothing it in a natural beauty which the English heart can understand.²

¹ The term ‘works of a poetic order’ and ‘poetic sculpture’ were used in A. Cunningham, *The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, London, 1829-33, see, for example, vol. III, p. 82 and p. 96. Cunningham’s earliest documented use of the term was in his article ‘Francis Chantrey, Sculptor’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, April 1820, pp. 3-10, p. 7. The term ‘poetical men’ was used by Benjamin Robert Haydon when responding to a book review written by Cunningham; see A. Cunningham, ‘Memoirs of Antonio Canova, with a critical analysis of his Works and an Historical View of Modern Sculpture by S. Memes, London, &c, 1825’, *Quarterly Review*, June 1826, pp. 110-136 and *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, W.B. Pope, ed., Cambridge, MA., 1960-1963, vol. III. 10 September 1826, p. 145. This exchange is discussed in greater detail on pp. 34-37.

² *Athenaeum*, 21 May 1842, no. 760, p. 457. *Statue to Lord Nelson for Trafalgar Square Column* (RA 1842, no. 1273).

Many recent scholars, such as Malcolm Baker and Alison Yarrington, have noted the regular usage of this term.³ The latter has usefully explored the relationship between poetic and sculptural form in a recent co-authored paper with Nigel Wood.⁴ This study seeks to contribute to this body of research, but in a very specific way. In the first instance the term ‘poetic sculpture’ is taken quite literally to mean the interpretation of poetic subjects in sculpture. Of interest is how sculptors and spectators alike used poetry as a context for engaging with sculpture, particularly those works which represented the naked or partially draped body. The basis for this investigation will be a group of works produced by Baily during the period 1810-1845 which lend themselves to this analysis. As a result, the study which follows is not a comprehensive exploration of the notion of poetic sculpture during the early 1800s, but rather one which augments current scholarship through a series of focused case studies. It is not suggested here that a precise definition for ‘poetic sculpture’ might be established, neither that the poetic constituted an identifiable sub-genre of the ideal. My interest in this phrase is intended primarily to bring into play a broader range of issues that is commonly ascribed to British ideal sculpture of this period.

One might begin by noting that during the first half of the nineteenth century British sculptors began to utilise a wider range of literary and poetic sources as the basis of their ideal figures. During the eighteenth century, subjects for this genre were drawn almost exclusively from classical texts. The development of ideal sculpture in Britain was closely linked to the establishment of the Royal Academy and to its promotion of artistic practice as a liberal and intellectual endeavour. Artists were encouraged to execute those genres which best encapsulated these lofty ambitions; for sculptors, this entailed the production of ideal figures or groups based upon the paradigm offered by antique statuary. This genre demanded the artistic skill necessary to sculpt the nude and the intellectual erudition required to translate a classical literary or

³ See M. Baker, *Figured in Marble: the making and viewing of eighteenth-century sculpture*, London, 2000, pp. 26-7 and A. Yarrington ‘Art in the Dark: Viewing and Exhibiting Sculpture at Somerset House’ in *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, D. Solkin, ed., (exhib. cat.) The Courtauld Institute Gallery, New Haven and London, 2001, pp. 173-187. Yarrington recently published an essay which further addressed the notion of poetic sculpture in A. Yarrington, ‘The Poetics of Sculpture: pedestal, verse and inscription’ in *Display and Displacement: sculpture and the pedestal from Renaissance to Post-modern*, A. Gerstein, ed., London, 2007, pp. 73-96.

⁴ Yarrington, A and N.P. Wood, ‘Ut Sculptura Poesis: English Romantic Poetry and Sculptural Form’, in *Poetry on Art: Renaissance to Romanticism*, T. Frangenberg, ed., Donington, 2003, pp. 215-235.

historical theme into a freestanding figure or group. As the medium with the closest links to the antique exemplars venerated by the Academy, sculptors were more dependent on classical subject matter than painters. Following the Academy's foundation, the first instance of a sculpture representing a subject from British literature was not exhibited there until almost thirty years later: *Model of Eve as described by Milton* (1796; untraced) by Charles Rossi (1762-1839)⁵

John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) was exceptional in being the first native poetic text to be widely used by British sculptors. Following Rossi's 'watershed' work, the treatment of subjects from native literature slowly increased and by the 1820s and 30s they were a regular feature of the exhibitions. One of Baily's early works, *Eve at the Fountain* (fig. 1) (1822; Bristol City Museum & Art Gallery) was among these first representations of British poetry in sculpture; in this respect, it was an innovative work which offers much scope for an investigation of the strategies used by sculptors in seeking to extend the representational range of ideal sculpture beyond the time-honoured repertoire of the antique. Another tactic which served this purpose was the execution of works representing generic themes, such as mother and child groups, in sculpture. These sculptures were often exhibited at the Academy with a poetic quotation included in the catalogue to contextualise the figures and to set the tone for the spectator's engagement. This was the case with Baily's *Affection* (fig. 2) (model RA 1823; marble, 1837, Victoria & Albert Museum), the first ideal figure to represent a generic maternal theme in British sculpture.

Artists were not alone in using poetry as a context in which to engage with figure sculpture during the early 1800s. A number of poetic responses to sculpture were also published at this time. This study focuses on examples written in the British context, but an important influence upon these was the fashion in Italy for writing poetry in response to sculpture, particularly to the work of Antonio Canova (1757-1822). These include Ugo Foscolo's *Le Grazie* (1812), Ippolito Pindemonte's 'Per l'Ebe del prelodato Scultore', translated into English circa 1830 by Felicia Hemans (1793-1835), and Byron's 'On the Bust of Helen by Canova' (1816). Although these poems are evidence of a fascinating poetic engagement with sculpture, they are all

⁵ RA 1796, no. 880. This work will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter on Baily's *Eve at the Fountain*; see pp. 73-78.

well documented in current scholarship and have already been the subject of investigation.⁶ In comparison, there has been much less consideration of poems inspired by modern British sculpture. The significant exceptions to this are two poems written in response to Sir Francis Chantrey's *The Sleeping Children*. These include 'On Chantrey's Sleeping Children' (1827) by William Lisle Bowles (1762-1850) and 'The Sculptured Children' (1829) by Felicia Hemans.⁷ Both were published in popular literary annuals of the day: the former in *The Literary Souvenir, or, Cabinet of Poetry and Romance* and the latter in *The Forget Me Not; a Christmas, New Year, and Birthday Present*.⁸ The appearance of these poems in these popular literary contexts provides just some indication of the scope which exists for further research into poetic responses to sculpture in the British context. This study takes as its focus a specific group of examples suggested by Baily's sculptural practice. They include individual poems which appeared in periodicals such as the *Literary Gazette*, as well as entire books devoted to poetry and sculpture, such as Thomas Kibble Hervey's *Illustrations of Modern Sculpture* (1832).⁹

Hervey's publication consisted of a series of high-quality engravings after contemporary sculptures with poems written in response to each work. Quite aside from its fascinating conjunction of poetry and sculpture, this book is of significance as an anthology of works considered to be emblematic of the best of British sculpture. Like many critics of the day, Hervey was committed to promoting the talents of native practitioners:

A School of Sculpture has at length ... and with almost unexampled rapidity, grown up in Britain, – based upon the purest principles of the best days of Grecian art, and in harmony with the feelings and habits of our land ... At the present moment, no school of sculpture in Europe can claim to take the lead of that of England.¹⁰

⁶ See, for example, Yarrington and Wood (2003), pp. 215-235.

⁷ Hemans also wrote 'The Child and the Dove' in relation to Chantrey's *Statue of Lady Louisa Russell* (1818; Woburn Abbey), also published in *The Literary Souvenir, or, Cabinet of Poetry and Romance* London, 1826.

⁸ Literary annuals were compilations of popular poetry and prose usually brought out at Christmas. For a further discussion of this literary phenomenon and its relationship to sculpture see pp. 118-119, 121-122 and p. 136.

⁹ T.K. Hervey, *The Illustrations of Modern Sculpture: a series of engravings, with descriptive prose, and illustrative poetry*, London, 1832.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 'Introduction: On Sculpture', unpaginated.

Hervey's eulogistic attitude to British sculptural practice is further illustrated in the eighteen poems included in the *Illustrations*. A select group of these will be examined in this study as they provide an insight into the reception of ideal statuary during the early nineteenth century. Hervey's publication might be considered an exemplary manifestation of the sympathetic relationship which existed between sculpture and poetry during this period.

In addition to writing poetry to describe viewing encounters, it is possible to find spectators quoting from well-known poems and literary texts to augment their responses to sculpture. As ideal figures typically represented the nude or partially-draped body, these literary props were often utilised in formulating an appropriate response to the representation of the body in sculpture. It would seem that in the making and viewing of ideal sculpture, therefore, the poetic often assisted the sculptural. The regular conjunction of poetry and sculpture suggests a potentially fruitful relationship for exploration, one which offers many possible routes of enquiry. In this thesis, two case studies have been selected as the basis of investigation: the first will examine Baily's ideal figures representing Eve from *Paradise Lost* and the second will consider this sculptor's mother and child groups. Baily executed several sculptures on these themes during the period 1819 to 1841. The sculptor's output at this time naturally encompassed a much wider variety of works. A selective range of Baily's oeuvre is focused upon here to explore the production and reception of poetic sculpture in the context of one practitioner's career, so that due attention can be given to the technical and economic factors involved. While a preliminary section provides a general introduction to Baily, this sculptor would certainly benefit from a fuller monographic investigation than is offered here.

In addition to examining examples of Baily's sculptural practice, the aim is also to provide a broader-based discussion of the contexts in which these works were viewed and admired. Rather than focusing upon the manner in which Baily's sculptures were displayed by the private patrons who collected his pieces, the final chapter hopes to plot an alternative course of enquiry by considering the public showcases available to this sculptor and his contemporaries in seeking an audience for their work. A parallel goal is to reveal ideal sculpture's role as an important

feature of early nineteenth-century exhibition culture. An image which illustrates the pertinence of these issues is George Childs' watercolour *The Glyptotheca or Museum of Sculpture* (fig. 3) (1845; Manchester City Art Gallery) representing the interior of the Colosseum in London. This venue was a commercial tourist destination offering visitors a variety of artistic attractions, including the city's largest panorama and a gallery dedicated to displaying the works of British sculptors. Critics of this period were unanimous in describing the Colosseum's sculpture gallery – or Glyptotheca, as it was grandly titled – as providing superlative conditions for the appreciation of the medium.¹¹ Given this praise, it is surprising to note that this venue rarely features in histories of nineteenth-century British sculpture. While much attention has been devoted to the display of contemporary sculpture at the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Colosseum is currently little-documented as a site of sculptural spectatorship. The occasion of the Colosseum's first major British sculpture exhibition in 1845 has been chosen as the concluding point of this study so that this important venue can be fully investigated. The two works represented in the foreground of Childs' image are both by Baily: to the right is his *Mother and Child* (fig. 4) (1835; Manchester City Art Gallery, on display at Heaton Hall) and to the left *Eve Listening to the Voice* (fig. 5) (1842; Victoria & Albert Museum). Here examples of Baily's poetic sculptures are displayed at the heart of one of nineteenth-century London's most celebrated entertainment hotspots. This study seeks to examine Baily's ideal figures not only as manifestations of poetic sculpture, but as popular cultural products of the period.

¹¹ See *Athenaeum*, 14 June 1845, no. 920, p. 589.

Introduction

Articulating the ideal in early nineteenth-century sculpture

It is a curious anomaly in the brief history of English sculpture that successful results in poetical composition ... acquire for the artist an extended reputation – it is admired, spoken of, remembered, but never *commissioned*.¹

Before embarking on an investigation of Baily's sculptural practice, it is useful to undertake a literature review to establish the strengths and weaknesses of current scholarship. In addition to situating this thesis in relation to other studies, the aim of this chapter is to consider more generally some of the longstanding interpretations regarding the development of ideal sculpture up to the early nineteenth century. This will serve not only to introduce some important historical issues relating to the subject, but also provide an opportunity to interrogate some of the standard and oft-repeated conventions informing its study. The production and reception of nineteenth-century ideal sculpture is a rich and sizeable topic about which surprisingly little has been written. On its publication in 1982, Benedict Read's *Victorian Sculpture* was a pioneering enquiry into a subject previously neglected in art historical literature; today it remains its definitive account.² In Read's comprehensive study, ideal sculpture was included as one of a number of formal options available to sculptors. Martin Greenwood's doctoral thesis, *Victorian Ideal Sculpture: 1830-1880*, built upon the foundations established by Read to investigate the patronage and practice of this genre with greater focus.³ In examining fifty years of sculptural production, the scope of Greenwood's thesis was a major achievement. Utilising a wealth of contemporary sources, this author cogently demonstrated the variety and extent of the genre; nevertheless, given this study's great breadth, there is little focused consideration of individual works. Many important sculptures which merit detailed analysis are covered by Greenwood in just one or two lines. The aim of scholars currently working on nineteenth-century sculpture is to build upon this wide-ranging overview with sustained enquiries into specific works so that detail can be added to this broad but currently rather bare framework.

¹ *Art Union*, 1 October 1847, p. 354.

² B. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, New Haven and London, 1982.

³ M. Greenwood, *Victorian Ideal Sculpture: 1830-1880*, PhD thesis, University of London (Courtauld Institute of Art), 1998.

The study of late nineteenth-century ideal sculpture has recently benefited from the publication of a number of detailed investigations of this kind. Unfortunately, scholarly interest in the sculpture of this period has often resulted in a denigration of that which went before. In *Body Doubles: Sculpture in Britain 1877-1905*, David Getsy presented a series of highly focused analyses of ideal sculptures including Frederic Leighton's *Athlete Wrestling with a Python* (1877; Tate, London).⁴ Getsy's central argument was that the heightened verisimilitude evident in the statuary of this period served to create a modern theory of sculpture which anticipated and enabled the emergence of modernism, as well as reinvigorating the medium itself. The genesis and development of this new sculptural aesthetic has also been of concern to Martina Droth and Jason Edwards.⁵ In some of these studies, ideal figures produced earlier in the century have been disparaged so as to throw into higher relief the innovations of the 'New Sculpture'.⁶ In the process a false dichotomy has been established. Droth, for example, referred to early nineteenth-century 'neoclassical' sculpture as operating within 'a rarefied, self-contained sphere', one which was in contrast with the 'New Sculpture', the latter being described as reaching 'outside conventional boundaries and actively engaging with the material world'.⁷ This characterisation tends to be derogatory and, in some cases, appears driven by an agenda which seeks to draw late nineteenth-century sculpture into narratives about modernist art. Many scholars engaged in this project are indebted to Alex Potts' *The Sculptural Imagination: figurative, modernist, minimal*.⁸ In this study, Potts used the ideal sculpture of Canova as a starting point for a discussion of sculptural modernism. Potts explored the exquisite formal qualities of Canova's oeuvre and suggested that this sculptor's use of engaging figural compositions, his virtuoso

⁴ D. Getsy, *Body Doubles: Sculpture in Britain 1877-1905*, New Haven and London, 2005.

⁵ See M. Droth, 'The Ethics of Making: Craft and English Sculptural Aesthetics, c.1851-1900', *Journal of Design History*, 17 (3), 2004, pp. 221-236 and J. Edwards, *Alfred Gilbert's Aestheticism: Gilbert amongst Whistler, Wilde, Pater, Leighton and Burne-Jones*, Aldershot, 2006.

⁶ This has been the case since the first major enquiry into the sculpture of this period; see S. Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, New Haven, 1983. Beattie suggested that 'by the mid-nineteenth century in England sculpture had shrunk to the limits imposed on it by Francis Chantrey, John Gibson and their followers. It stood for the white marble portrait bust, the impassive Grecian goddess and the enervated funerary angel', p. 1.

⁷ Droth (2004), p. 223. The word 'neoclassical' is not used in this study: it was not a phrase employed by contemporary commentators and it is often used to dismiss the sculpture of this period, rather than to engage with it in any useful way.

⁸ A. Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: figurative, modernist, minimalist*, New Haven and London, 2000.

carving techniques, and delicately contrasting textural finishes were all predicated on the basis that his work would be the subject of close and attentive viewing practices. These formal concerns were concurrent with the establishment of custom-built sculpture galleries, public art exhibitions and a developing art theory which recognised the sculpted figure as an autonomous aesthetic object.

Potts' arguments are of significance to this study, as will be discussed, but it is arguable that a concentration on Canova's ideal figures and groups – their lustrous material qualities and original circumstances of display – has for some time set the terms of enquiry into early nineteenth-century sculpture and led to an understanding of this medium in Britain based on a restricted set of works and interpretative arguments. During the early 1800s, particularly in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, Canova was undoubtedly the most famous artist in Europe. His works were also highly sought after by British patrons, many of whom formulated bespoke galleries for its display, as with John Russell (1766-1839), 6th Duke of Bedford, who commissioned the 'Temple of the Graces' at Woburn Abbey as the setting for Canova's *Three Graces* (fig. 6) (1815-17; Victoria & Albert Museum). All of Canova's output has been well researched, but perhaps no example more so than this sculpture, which has been the basis of several highly illuminating studies.⁹ Alison Yarrington has examined the gendered and familial meanings which this group generated in its original setting at Woburn, for example.¹⁰ This statue also functioned as the concluding point to Malcolm Baker's recent study, *Figured in Marble: the making and viewing of eighteenth-century sculpture*.¹¹ In this publication Baker brought together a series of case studies with the aim of writing sculpture 'back into debates about British art'.¹² In this respect Baker's study has been highly influential on the approach taken in this thesis. It is perhaps revealing, however, that this study of eighteenth-century sculpture in Britain concluded with a consideration of Canova's *Three Graces*. Baker was entirely justified in exploring works available to be *seen* in the country, rather than simply those *made* here, of course, but it nevertheless remains the case that relatively little is known about the British

⁹ See, for example, the four essays included in *The Three Graces: Antonio Canova*, H. Honour and A. Weston-Lewis, eds, (exhib. cat) National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1995.

¹⁰ A. Yarrington, 'The Three Graces and the Temple of Feminine Virtue', *Sculpture Journal*, VII, 2002, pp. 30-43

¹¹ Baker (2000), pp. 159-168.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

sculptors who produced ideal figures during the early 1800s and, perhaps more significantly, the contemporary appeal of their works.

Like Potts, Baker also focused on the innovative formal qualities of Canova's practice. He argued that this sculptor's execution of superbly finished sculptures incorporating the subtle and highly engaging surface qualities previously expected only of small-scale cabinet pieces and *Kleinplastik* encouraged the recognition of the large-scale, freestanding sculpted figure as an aesthetic object. These arguments are convincing but they require some modification when related to the specific historic context of early nineteenth-century Britain. The findings of this thesis suggest that many critics of the period were alert to the material qualities which Potts and Baker describe, but that most viewed this sculptor's seductive formal brilliance with suspicion. The reviews of journalists such as William Paulet Carey (1759-1839), Robert Hunt (active throughout 1810s to 30s) and, most particularly, Allan Cunningham (1784-1842), suggest that rather than simply admiring the formal qualities of a sculpture, it was more often the subject matter represented which determined whether or not an exhibition-goer engaged with a work and whether or not it was considered a success.¹³ In concentrating so much on Canova's ideal statuary, our understanding of the appeal of British sculptural practice has been somewhat obscured.

Many historians of Canova's figures and groups have been particularly concerned with exploring the dynamics of viewing encouraged by the purpose-built galleries in which they were so often displayed. The interplay between sculpture and setting is an undeniably fascinating subject and the establishment of private sculpture galleries in Britain circa 1800 to 1830 has merited a considerable amount of attention. The 'marble mania' which infected the British aristocracy from the mid eighteenth century, who sought to collect antique sculptures and transpose these emblems of

¹³ Even Richard Westmacott – who had trained with Canova and whose work reflected the Italian sculptor's influence – criticised him for 'seducing' viewers with the 'luxuriance' of his execution. Westmacott admitted that while Canova excelled in the 'manual part' of his art, sculptors such as Flaxman were superior 'in the higher qualities, poetical feeling and invention'; see R. Westmacott, 'Extracts from Sir Richard Westmacott's First Lecture delivered at the Royal Academy' in J. Flaxman, *Lectures on Sculpture With an introductory lecture and two addresses ... on the death of Thomas Banks, in 1805, and of Antonio Canova, in 1822, and an address on the death of Flaxman, by Sir Richard Westmacott, R.A.*, London, 1874, p. x and p. xii.

classical culture to the context of the British country house has been well documented.¹⁴ From the early 1800s, some of these patrician collectors began to include works by modern sculptors alongside ancient exemplars; in so doing they raised the status of contemporary sculpture by placing it upon an equal footing with the antique. In particular, three sculpture galleries have been the subject of scholarly enquiry, those at Petworth, Chatsworth and Woburn Abbey.

George O'Brien Wyndham (1751-1837), 3rd Earl of Egremont, specifically sought to encourage British artists and his sculpture gallery at Petworth included ideal figures by John Flaxman (1755-1826), Richard Westmacott (1775-1856) and John Edward Carew (c.1782-1868).¹⁵ Egremont displayed works by these sculptors alongside his collection of paintings (fig. 7). Carew, in particular, benefited from a particularly close relationship with Egremont. During the 1820s Carew executed a series of large-scale ideal figures for the Earl and later he even relocated to Petworth to work almost exclusively for this patron.¹⁶ Egremont enlarged the gallery at Petworth twice: once in 1800 when he was re-arranging his father's antique marbles and another time in 1824 to make room for his modern sculpture. He also had the windows in the gallery blocked up and a lantern light installed in the roof so that full use could be made of the walls for the display of paintings and so that a more sympathetic light for sculpture could be cast from above.

At Woburn Abbey, as previously mentioned, the Duke of Bedford also displayed his sculpture collection in a custom-designed environment (fig. 9), not least in the

¹⁴ For a discussion of this phenomenon see R. Guilding, *Marble Mania: sculpture galleries in England 1640-1840*, (exhib. cat.) Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 2001 and J. Scott, *The Pleasures of Antiquity: British collectors of Greece and Rome*, New Haven and London, 2003.

¹⁵ For a discussion of this collector and his gallery at Petworth see J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'Lord Egremont and his Sculptors: the collection at Petworth House, Sussex', *Country Life*, June 1973, pp. 1640-1642; V. Flaxman, *The private patronage of the late 18th century and early 19th century English sculpture, with particular reference to the third Earl of Egremont and the sixth Duke of Bedford*, MA dissertation, University of London (Courtauld Institute of Art), 1976; J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'The Third Earl of Egremont and Neo-classical Sculpture', *Apollo*, May 1977, p. 367-73; J. Kenworthy-Browne, *The Sculpture Collection at Petworth House*, London, 1977 and T. Proudfoot and C. Rowell, 'The Display and Conservation of Sculpture at Petworth' in *Sculpture Conservation: preservation or interference?*, P. Lindley, ed., Brookfield, VT, 1997, pp. 179-192.

¹⁶ For more information on Carew see J. Turpin, 'Carew, John Edward (c.1782-1868)', *DNB* [accessed 1 December 2006]. Carew argued with the Earl's executors after his patron's death in 1837 and much information about the sculptor is contained in *Report of the Trial in the cause J. E. Carew against Sir C. M. Burrell ... and Col. George Wyndham, executors of the late Earl of Egremont ...*, London, 1840.

'Temple of the Graces' which housed Canova's *Three Graces* (fig. 6).¹⁷ This work was undoubtedly the most significant purchase which Bedford made for the gallery at Woburn. It was the focal point around which other sculpture commissions were placed and one of the hubs around which the interior decoration of the gallery was orientated. Prior to the Duke's purchase of this statue in 1815 the sculpture gallery consisted of a long room originally designed as an orangery. At over forty-two metres in length, with nine windows on the south façade, it was a greenhouse conceived on a grand scale. In 1800 the 5th Duke commissioned his architect Henry Holland (1745-1806) to design the 'Temple of Liberty', a small square room at the east end of the building to house his collection of portrait busts after political colleagues and heroes.¹⁸ As the main room of the orangery was increasingly given over to sculpture it was also enhanced by the incorporation of a set of antique marble columns bought in Rome. The 6th Duke's remodelling of the sculpture gallery at Woburn took place after his purchase of the *Three Graces*. Canova himself visited Woburn during a trip to Britain in 1815, to be considered shortly, where he discussed with the Duke and his architect, Jeffry Wyatt (later Sir Jeffrey Wyattville) (1766-1840), the most desirable means by which the statue could be displayed. In 1816 Wyatt began work on a design for a rotunda for the west end of the Duke's gallery. Approached through a columned screen the 'Temple of the Graces' was an exquisitely conceived repository for Canova's statue, in which each feature was carefully considered (fig. 6). The delicate mosaic pattern on the floor, for example, was perfectly designed to accommodate the sculpture's plinth.

From 1818 William Spencer Cavendish (1790-1858), 6th Duke of Devonshire, also commissioned Wyatt to work on a sculpture gallery for Chatsworth (fig. 8).¹⁹ The Duke's collection was formed mainly during a series of visits to Rome in 1818, 1822 and 1824. It consisted principally of sculptures by Italian artists – most notably Canova – as well as marble samples and fragments of antique stone. Kenworthy-

¹⁷ See J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'The Sculpture Gallery at Woburn Abbey and the architecture of the Temple of the Graces', in Honour and Weston-Lewis, eds (1995), pp. 61-71; Baker (2000), pp. 159-168 and Yarrington (2002), pp. 30-43.

¹⁸ For a fuller discussion of this space see J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'The Temple of Liberty at Woburn Abbey', *Apollo*, July 1989, pp. 27-32.

¹⁹ For this collection and gallery see J. Kenworthy-Browne *The Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth*, MA dissertation, University of London (Courtauld Institute of Art), 1970 and J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'A Ducal Patron of Sculptors', *Apollo*, October 1972, pp. 322-31. See also the Duke's own account of the gallery in his *Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick*, London (privately printed), 1844.

Browne has noted that it was an intensely personal collection, with each piece of marble containing memories of time spent in Rome.²⁰ The Duke's love of marble is evident in the gallery itself, as the walls are lined with a plain ashlar of local sandstone which was intended to contrast with the texture of the marble statues while not distracting from them. Like Petworth, the gallery at Chatsworth also benefited from a lantern light in the roof which left the wall space uncluttered as a backdrop against which to view the sculptures; it also ensured there were no dark corners which might disadvantage any sculpture on display. Although the gallery at Petworth contained paintings as well as sculpture, while at Chatsworth and Woburn the emphasis was on sculpture alone, at all three galleries a new level of care and attention was bestowed upon the arrangement of modern sculpture and the conditions in which it was appreciated. This spoke volumes about the cultural value and importance of this medium. These galleries represented the optimum viewing conditions for sculpture, one rarely achieved in public exhibition venues such as the Royal Academy. When the viewing conditions for sculpture at this venue are discussed in Chapter Four the extent to which these differ will be fully revealed.

While these three collections undoubtedly marked a new departure in aristocratic sculpture collecting and new heights in the private display of sculpture, Egremont, Bedford and Devonshire nevertheless constitute a restricted canon of sculptural patronage during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the interpretation which emerges from many studies based on these collectors is one which solely credits patrons with stimulating the development, if not the genesis, of ideal sculpture. In *The private patronage of the late 18th century and early 19th century English sculpture*, for example, Vivien Flaxman characterised Egremont and Bedford as galvanised by a patriotic desire to patronise modern British art. These collectors were credited with offering sculptors 'wider opportunities for personal development by the introduction of a new genre, the "ideal" or "poetic" work, hitherto virtually unknown, and in so doing revolutionised the state of sculpture in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century'.²¹ While the patriotism of these patrons is not doubted, Flaxman's interpretation needs to be interwoven into the wider cultural context of the early 1800s. During this period a new conception of

²⁰ Kenworthy-Browne (1972), p. 322.

²¹ Flaxman (1976), p. 1.

British artistic practice emerged, one which was increasingly a matter of national concern. To cite the patriotism of one or two aristocratic patrons as the founding impulse for the genesis of British ideal sculpture is to offer a considerably curtailed interpretation of its development. Additionally, by concentrating on the sculpture that was *collected* during the early nineteenth century, these studies have provided only a partial indication of the sculpture that was actually *produced*.

Much useful information about the production of early nineteenth-century sculpture is to be found in monographs on individual practitioners. Sculptors such as Flaxman Westmacott and Chantrey have all been the subjects of biographical studies.²² These biographical investigations attempt to account for all aspects of a sculptor's practice and, as a result, there is little space for a detailed re-evaluation of any given genre. What emerges from many of these studies is an understanding of British ideal sculpture based on a set of widely-accepted, little-interrogated tenets. In *Richard Westmacott: Sculptor*, for example, Marie Busco suggested that patronage of this genre should be considered as 'an outgrowth of the collecting of antique statuary'.²³ She also argued that it was Canova's popularity with British collectors which enabled modern British sculptors to be regarded as 'direct heirs to the classical tradition, and their works thought of as modern classics'.²⁴ While these arguments are broadly valid, the following discussion aims to question, and thus refine, the interpretations offered by Busco and others and to introduce some new issues for consideration.

Scholars working on the presence – or absence, rather – of ideal sculpture in the oeuvre of Chantrey, have approached the subject from a different point of view. Arguably the most celebrated British sculptor of his day, Chantrey was remarkable in executing very few examples of ideal sculpture, at a time when it was widely upheld as the greatest test of a sculptor's abilities. Chantrey's reputation and his great personal wealth were instead founded upon his much-admired portrait busts.

²² See D. Irwin, *John Flaxman 1755-1826: sculptor, illustrator, designer*, London, 1979; D. Bindman, *John Flaxman*, (exhib. cat.) Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1979; M. Busco, *Richard Westmacott: Sculptor*, Cambridge, 1994; A. Potts, *Sir Francis Chantrey 1781-1841: sculptor of the great*, (exhib. cat), National Portrait Gallery, London, 1980 and S. Dunkerley, *Francis Chantrey, sculptor: from Norton to Knighthood*, Sheffield, 1995.

²³ Busco (1994), p. 91.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

statues and church monuments, traditionally less significant genres in the academic hierarchy. Both during and after Chantrey's lifetime, scholars and writers of sculpture have attempted to rationalise this sculptor's failure to execute ideal statuary.²⁵ Both Potts and Yarrington have been concerned to present Chantrey's avoidance of poetic sculpture as a deliberate and bold choice on the sculptor's part.²⁶ This thesis will argue that in justifying Chantrey's refusal to execute 'works of a poetic order', the achievements made by other sculptors in this genre have been overlooked. Concentration on a practitioner who failed to participate in the market for ideal sculpture has also lent weight to the argument that its production was limited. Commissions may have been rare, but this is not to say that sculptors were not adept at finding the means to demonstrate their abilities in this respect.

To illustrate this point one might refer to the Academy's exhibition catalogues from the early 1800s. From an examination of these annual inventories of sculptural production, one would conclude that ideal sculpture was a thriving genre in Britain as there were always several examples exhibited each year.²⁷ Most of these exhibits were speculative works – that is to say, full or small-scale models in plaster produced for the purpose of public exhibition in the hope of attracting a patron who would pay for the work to be executed in marble. As many of these models failed to secure a commission, they could be dismissed as evidence of the limited market for ideal sculpture.²⁸ The significant presence of speculative works at the exhibitions

²⁵ As will be discussed, a number of Chantrey's friends were important writers and critics on sculpture; see pp.34-37.

²⁶ See A. Potts, 'Chantrey as the National Sculptor of Early Nineteenth century Britain', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 4, no. 2, November 1981, pp. 17-27, p. 18 and A. Yarrington, 'Anglo-Italian Attitudes: Chantrey and Canova' in *The Lustrous Trade: material culture and the history of sculpture in England and Italy, c.1700-c.1860*, C. Sicca and A. Yarrington, eds, London, 2000, pp. 132-155.

²⁷ In 1819, for example, out of a total of 70 sculpture exhibits there were 10 works that can be classified as ideal sculptures or models preparatory to this genre (i.e. sculptures representing a literary, mythological or historic subject). This represented one seventh of the sculptural output exhibited that year. In 1830, there were 31 'ideal sculptures' out of a total of 109 exhibits, representing almost a third of the contributions. These figures are undeniably approximate (the material and scale of these works is not documented in most cases) but even as rough estimations, these proportions indicate that ideal sculpture (or the ambition among sculptors to execute works in this class) constituted a serious presence at the Academy exhibitions.

²⁸ As unsuccessful speculations in a relatively fragile material, few of these models survive and it is, of course, difficult to investigate works which are no longer extant. Nevertheless, plaster models were crucial to sculptors both in the production and exhibition of their work. The extent to which sculptors relied on this medium is discussed later in the study; see pp. 90-92 and pp. 181-182. This study hopes to contribute to the recent revival of interest in plaster casts, as witnessed by the conference *Plaster Casts: making, collecting and displaying: from classical antiquity to the present*, University of Oxford, 23-27 September 2007.

requires investigation, however; if historians only examine those works which were executed in marble then a considerable amount of sculptural production is entirely ignored. In the first instance, these speculative pieces are testimony to the ambitions of sculptors during the early 1800s; secondly, they are an indication of the changing dynamics of the market place, with many sculptors prepared to circumvent the traditional 'patron-artist' relationship. In *Sculpture: Processes and Principles*, Rudolf Wittkower criticised sculpture historians for concentrating exclusively on the finished object and rarely taking into account the processes which constituted its making.²⁹ This thesis seeks to investigate not simply those ideal figures or groups which were the result of conventional commissions, but the full range of works – speculative and otherwise – which made up the field of production during the early 1800s.

Before considering examples of ideal sculpture from this period, it is necessary to establish the theoretical formulation underpinning the production of this genre. The term 'ideal sculpture' alluded to the aesthetic theory promulgated in classical and Renaissance texts and in the teachings of the French and Italian art academies from the seventeenth century.³⁰ One of the most influential statements on the ideal was Giovanni Pietro Bellori's (1613-1696) *Idea* discourse, originally delivered as a lecture at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome in 1664. One of the central precepts of Bellori's argument was the suggestion that perfect beauty did not exist in nature. In the *Idea*, artists were exhorted to follow the precedent set by ancient artists and to judiciously combine the most beautiful parts in nature to create a unified whole. The result was the production of the *beau-ideal*, an image more beautiful than nature could ever supply.³¹ Bellori encouraged artists to study classical sculpture, not

²⁹ R. Wittkower, *Sculpture: Processes and Principles*, Harmondsworth, 1977.

³⁰ For a full discussion of this academic art theory and practice see N. Pevsner, *Academies of Art: Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1940; A.W.A. Boschloo, ed., *Academies of Art: between Renaissance and Romanticism*, SDU uitgeverij, 1989 and C. Goldstein, *Teaching Art: Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers*, Cambridge, 1996.

³¹ The most famous ancient story used to illustrate this point is Pliny's description of the painter Zeuxis who, in painting a picture of Helen of Troy, selected five beautiful models and combined their most perfect features in his representation. For a discussion of this and other classical and Renaissance texts on the ideal see D. Irwin, 'Art, Theory and Morality' in *Johann Joachim Winckelmann: Writings on art*, London, 1972, pp. 30-47 and J. Rothenberg, 'British Taste and Aesthetic Theory' in *'Descensus ad terram': The Acquisition and Reception of the Elgin Marbles*, New York, 1977, pp. 12-53.

simply to acquire a taste for the antique, but because the art of the ancient world represented an achieved ideal.

During the eighteenth century, the basis of artistic practice on classical exemplars was reinvigorated as a result of the wider revival of interest in the arts of antiquity.³² Central to these developments were the writings of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768). In a series of publications including *On the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* (1755) and the *History of Ancient Art* (1764) this author celebrated the beauty of Greek art in effusive language and articulated a new and influential vision of ancient culture.³³ Winckelmann maintained that the arts of antiquity were a vital source of instruction to modern artists: ‘There is but one way for the moderns to become great, and perhaps unequalled; I mean, by imitating the ancients.’³⁴ A canonical group of sculptures – the *Venus de’ Medici*, the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Laocoon* – became firmly enshrined as the finest examples of classical beauty. Although Winckelmann based his interpretation on sculptures that are now known to be Roman copies of lost Greek originals, his insistence that the ideal was an intellectual beauty and his advocacy of antique sculpture as its most complete embodiment were central to the artistic practice advocated in Britain during the eighteenth century.

At the Royal Academy in London, presided over by its first President, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), the statuary of the ancient world was upheld as the epitome of artistic excellence. Modern sculpture occupied a somewhat anomalous position at the institution during its earliest decades. At the time of the Academy’s inception, for example, it was not considered necessary to appoint a Professor of Sculpture and the founding theoretical statement on the medium was consequently delivered by Reynolds. Of the fifteen lectures which he delivered between 1769 and 1794, only one concerned sculpture, *Discourse X*, delivered in 1780. As a painter, Reynolds had

³² For a discussion of this see D. Irwin, *English Neoclassical Art: studies in inspiration and taste*, London, 1966; A. Hope, *The theory and practice of Neoclassicism in English painting: the origins, development and decline of an ideal*, New York and London, 1988; D. Irwin, *Neoclassicism*, London, 1997 and V. Coltman, *Fabricating the antique: neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800*, London, 2006.

³³ See A. Potts: *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*, New Haven and London, 1994.

³⁴ J. Winckelmann, *On the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* (1755); quoted from Irwin (1972), p. 61.

little practical experience of this art. He began his lecture by firmly establishing the inferior status of this medium, describing it as ‘an art of much more simplicity and uniformity’ than painting.³⁵ He further insisted that its purpose could be comprised in just two words: ‘Form and Character’.³⁶ For Reynolds, the character of sculpture was grave and austere and the delight which it offered was cerebral in nature, resulting from the contemplation of perfect beauty and faultless form. The pursuit of perfection in this respect was achieved by the scrupulous avoidance of visual trickery – such as fluttering drapery and contorted poses – and by eschewing individualised representations of the body. It was essential, Reynolds argued, that sculptors submitted their work to a process of idealisation: ‘Poetry and elocution of every sort make use of signs, but those signs are arbitrary and conventional. The sculptor employs the representation of the thing itself; but still as a means to an end, – as a gradual ascent always advancing towards faultless form and perfect beauty.’³⁷ Having established the medium’s purpose, Reynolds further advised sculptors that they would never surpass the achievements of classical statuary: ‘the boundaries of [this] art have long been fixed, and ... all endeavours will be in vain that hope to pass beyond the best works which remain of ancient sculpture’.³⁸ Sculptors were thus instructed to study the ‘inimitable’ statues of the past, but at the same time these were agreed to be impossible to surpass.

Aside from one or two allusions to bas-reliefs, the main body of Reynolds’ *Discourse* was concerned with issues relating to freestanding figure sculptures. The more ‘bread-and-butter’ genres, such as church monuments and portrait busts, were entirely beneath Reynolds’ concern.³⁹ This bias was reflected at all levels of the Academy, particularly in the Schools where teaching was based on the systematic copying of classical statuary.⁴⁰ This method was predicated on the theoretical insistence, outlined above, that physical perfection was not embodied in nature but in

³⁵ J. Reynolds, ‘Discourse X’, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: Discourses*, P. Rogers, ed., London, 1992, pp. 232-246, p. 232.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-233.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-235.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

³⁹ Reynolds’ only comment regarding portrait statuary, for example, was the stipulation that sculptors should avoid the representation of modern dress; *ibid.*, p. 240 and p. 245.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the teachings of the Academy see I. Bignamini and M. Postle, eds, *The Artist’s Model: its role in British art from Lely to Etty* (exhib. cat), University of Nottingham, 1991 and M. Postle, ‘Naked Authority? Reproducing Antique Statuary in the English Academy, from Lely to Haydon’ in *Sculpture and its Reproductions*, A. Hughes and E. Ranfft, eds, London, 1997, pp. 79-99.

the paradigm offered by the antique. Images such as E.F. Burney's *The Antique School of Old Somerset House* (fig. 10) (1779; Royal Academy of Arts, London) illustrate the extent to which students were surrounded with – not to say overshadowed by – the antique examples upon which they were instructed to base their art. Even when a student graduated to the Life Academy, the models were positioned in the attitude of classical statuary and students were encouraged to improve upon nature according to the concept of ideal beauty.

The abilities of artists in this respect were rewarded in the Academy's Gold Medal competition process which enabled students to compete for a travel scholarship funding three years' study in Rome.⁴¹ Student-sculptors hoping to compete for this prize were required to produce a clay model including at least three figures which illustrated a pre-determined literary passage. The Academy's Council – the group of Academicians elected to serve as the institution's governing body – were responsible for selecting the subjects for the premiums and prior to the 1780s they relied almost exclusively on the canonical texts of the ancient world.⁴² During the examination, students were given thirty minutes to consult the relevant text and a set number of hours in which to produce their model. If an artist was later successful in being elected as an Academician, it was also expected that they would submit as their Diploma Work a demonstration piece which conformed to this elevated conception of sculptural practice; as Helen Valentine has noted, artists were discouraged from submitting works of portraiture to the Diploma Gallery.⁴³

In advocating the production of figure sculptures based on classical antiquity, the skills which the Academy encouraged were somewhat at odds with the practical demands of the market place. Ideal sculpture was a genre without an established

⁴¹ For a critical discussion of this competition process see M. Myrone, 'The Authorisation of the Classical Ideal: Royal Patronage and the Academy', *Body-building: British historical artists in London and Rome and the remaking of the heroic ideal, c. 1760-1800*, PhD thesis, University of London (Courtauld Institute of Art), 1998, pp.134-167.

⁴² For a full list of the premium subjects see Royal Academy Archives, RAA/KEE/3/1, *Premiums R.A. 1769-1880: a list of the students of the Royal Academy who have obtained Premiums of Gold and Silver Medals in Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*. The first premium subject for sculpture in 1769 was *Aeneas escaping from Troy*, followed by the *Rape of Proserpine* (1770) and *The Choice of Hercules* (1771). The first British literary subjects were given in 1780; see p. 65.

⁴³ H. Valentine, *From Reynolds to Lawrence: the first sixty years of the Royal Academy of Arts and its collections*, London, 1991, p. 12.

tradition of patronage in Britain.⁴⁴ During this period the mainstay of a sculptor's practice was primarily the execution of busts, monuments and architectural sculpture such as chimney pieces. In the same way that painters received little encouragement in the production of Grand Manner history paintings, so the ambitions of sculptors were often frustrated by the demands of the market which was overwhelmingly for portraiture.⁴⁵ As will be discussed, the market for ideal sculpture was undeniably restricted because these pieces were expensive to commission and the pleasures which they offered the beholder – according to Reynolds, at least – were purely aesthetic and intellectual in nature, resulting from the appreciation of ideal form. This represented a tradition of connoisseurship predicated on an elite form of culture typically reserved for the most elevated echelons of society.

During the eighteenth century, this privileged stratum of society was primarily concerned with collecting antique sculptures, rather than modern re-interpretations. The importance bestowed upon continental travel and classical culture during this period brought many would-be connoisseurs (and artists keen to benefit from their patronage) to Rome.⁴⁶ Having visited outstanding collections such as the Museo Pio-Clementino and the Villa Borghese, many wealthy British tourists sought the satisfaction of embellishing their homes in the same way. Contemporary taste dictated that the visual completeness of an antique statue was more important than its authenticity and, as a result, substantially restored pieces were favoured over authentic but fragmentary pieces.⁴⁷ From the mid eighteenth century, a thriving restoration trade developed in Rome, the most famous workshop being that of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (c.1716-1799).⁴⁸ Many British sculptors travelled to Rome

⁴⁴ This point was made by Myrone in 'From the Academy to the Marketplace: "Three Young Sculptors" in London and Rome, 1785-1795'; see Myrone (1998), pp. 292-333 and this author's later re-working of this chapter in M. Myrone, 'Three young sculptors of the 1790s', *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinities in British art 1750-1810*, New Haven, 2005, pp. 275-294.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of the conflict between the demand for history painting and portraiture see L. Lippincott 'Expanding on portraiture: the market, the public and the hierarchy of genres in eighteenth-century Britain' in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: image, object, text*, J. Brewer and A. Bermingham, eds, London, 1995, pp. 75-88.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the Grand Tour see *Grand Tour: the lure of Italy in the eighteenth century*, A. Wilton and I. Bignamini, eds, (exhib. cat.) Tate Gallery, London, 1996.

⁴⁷ Gerard Vaughan has argued that from the 1770s a new style of restoration developed whereby visual perfection became increasingly important; see G. Vaughan, 'Albacini and his English Patrons', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 3, no.2, (1991), pp. 183-197.

⁴⁸ See S. Howard, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: eighteenth-century restorer*, London, 1982 and S. Howard, 'Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and the origins of neoclassical sculpture', *Antiquity Restored: essays on the afterlife of the antique*, Vienna, 1990, pp. 98-116.

and the city's thriving antiquities trade offered much scope for employment. It was often when ancient marbles required restoration that collectors visited Rome's sculpture workshops. The antiquities market thus provided many opportunities to come into contact with potential patrons; theoretically, this could also result in new orders for sculpture being generated. The suggestion put forward by Busco – that the market for ideal sculpture developed out of the trade in antiquities – is complicated by the experiences of British sculptors in the city.⁴⁹

The arrival in Rome of the sculptor Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823) in 1762 coincided with the hey-day of the antiquities trade and it was mainly in this context that the sculptor received the bulk of his employment in the city.⁵⁰ Nollekens received no orders for ideal sculptures while in Rome, although on his return to London he was commissioned by Charles Watson-Wentworth (1730-1782), 2nd Marquess of Rockingham, to produce a series of classical goddesses, including *Venus*, *Minerva* and *Juno* (fig. 11) (1773-6; J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).⁵¹ Charles Anderson-Pelham (1749-1823), 1st Baron Yarborough, also ordered from Nollekens *Venus Chiding Cupid* (fig. 12) (1778; The Collection, Lincoln) and *Seated Mercury* (fig. 13) (1783; The Collection, Lincoln).⁵² Although this group of ideal figures are of considerable interest, Nollekens' professional success, his wealth and professional standing, were predicated on the vast number of portrait busts he executed. The sculptor's reputation also subsequently suffered during the early nineteenth century as a result of his perceived role as a lackey restorer and copyist.⁵³

By contrast, Thomas Banks (1735-1805) refused to participate in the antiquities market and, as Julius Bryant has noted, this sculptor's efforts to establish a market for modern gallery sculpture 'were exceptional in an age when most patrons

⁴⁹ Busco (1994), p. 91.

⁵⁰ See J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'Making a Reputation' and 'Genius Recognised', *Country Life*, CLXV, 7 and 14 June 1979, pp. 1844-6 and pp. 1930-1.

⁵¹ These three statues were to be displayed alongside a restored antique statue of *Paris* constituting a 'Judgment of Paris' group. For a full discussion of this ensemble see N. Penny 'Lord Rockingham's Sculpture Collection and *The Judgement of Paris* by Nollekens', *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 19 (1991), pp. 5-34.

⁵² For a discussion of these commissions see J. Lord, 'Joseph Nollekens and Lord Yarborough: documents and drawings', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXX, December 1988, pp. 915-919. This patron placed almost thirty orders for portrait busts and church monuments with Nollekens, which puts the two commissions for ideal gallery figures in context.

⁵³ See Cunningham (1829-33), vol. III, pp. 122-199.

preferred restored antique marbles, replicas, pastiches, busts and memorials'.⁵⁴ Banks was undoubtedly committed to the production of ideal sculpture in theory, but this project was fraught with frustrations in practice. While he received some important commissions in Rome, these usually resulted in financial and professional disappointment, eventually resulting in the Banks' return to London in 1779 due to ill health. In 1770, Banks had been first sculptor to receive the Academy's travel scholarship. Arriving in Rome two years later, his first major work in the city was a relief entitled *Caractacus before Claudius* (fig. 14) (1773/4-77; Stowe School, Buckinghamshire) commissioned by George Grenville (1753-1813), later 1st Marquess of Buckingham.⁵⁵ Having agreed a price of £100, Banks subsequently re-assessed the value of his *Caractacus* relief and sent Grenville a revised bill for £200. It is not clear whether this change in price was the result of an unforeseen increase in material and labour costs, or whether Banks simply believed that his efforts deserved more substantial recompense. In either case, Grenville strongly protested: 'When I ordered this marble from you as an encouragement to you to proceed in yr. studys [sic] the price fixed by you was one hundred pounds ... I most certainly never intended to pay for the work of a modern artist what I cannot help thinking of as an exorbitant price.'⁵⁶

This response highlights a misapprehension which existed between sculptors and patrons at this time. As a liberal patron of the arts, Grenville wished to encourage modern sculpture but its commercial and aesthetic value was far from clear. One commentator crystallised the problem thus:

Even from [Banks'] own countrymen such favours did not flow freely. An artist of their own land embodying in marble the fictions of poetry and the images of history, was something so new that they could not be sure whether he was creating them in a proper spirit or no; they had gone to Rome to purchase antiquities – at least such things as have the hue and seem to have experienced the mutabilities of the true progeny

⁵⁴ J. Bryant, 'Banks, Thomas', *Grove Art Online*, <<http://0-www.groveart.com>> [accessed 15 October 2005], unpaginated. See also J. Bryant, ed., *Thomas Banks 1735-1805: Britain's First Modern Sculptor*, (exhib. cat.) Sir John Soane Museum, London, 2004.

⁵⁵ For a full discussion of this work see Bryant (2004), pp. 26-28.

⁵⁶ Letter from Grenville to Banks, dated 5 March 1778, Private Collection; quoted from D. Bindman, 'Thomas Banks's *Caractacus before Claudius*: new letters to and from Ozias Humphry' *Burlington Magazine*, CXLII (2000), pp. 769-72, p. 772.

of Phidias – and they did not choose to lay their money on works which could not by any chance be old.⁵⁷

Banks suffered at the hands of other patrons, including the notoriously unreliable Frederick Hervey (1730-1803), Bishop of Derry, later 4th Earl of Bristol, who ordered four sculptures, none of which he ever accepted.⁵⁸

Banks was not the only sculptor to experience problems with this patron. In 1787, with money accumulated from his work for Josiah Wedgwood, Flaxman travelled to Rome in the hope of securing patronage.⁵⁹ It was not until 1790 that the sculptor received his first commission when the Earl-Bishop placed an order for the *Fury of Athamas* (fig. 15) (1790-94; Ickworth, Suffolk).⁶⁰ The seemingly generous sum agreed upon was six hundred guineas, to cover all costs. Flaxman's initial delight over this order turned sour when the price failed to cover materials and labour. This situation stands in sharp contrast to the typical practice governing commissions for church monuments, which were usually subject to detailed contracts including stipulations on size and iconography, and a firm agreement on price.⁶¹ Despite these difficulties, Flaxman accepted that if he wished to secure further orders in this genre, 'it is but reasonable that I should show the world some proof of my abilities, otherwise I cannot but reasonably expect employment of that kind'.⁶² This comment indicates the tension at the heart of the production of ideal sculpture: they were considered the standard by which a sculptor's talents were measured, but in practice commissions were plagued with difficulties.

These arguments begin to put into perspective the assertion that the market for nineteenth-century ideal sculpture developed out of the trade in antiquities. While the vogue for collecting classical sculpture undoubtedly impacted upon modern

⁵⁷ Cunningham (1829-33), vol. III, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁸ See Bryant (2004), pp. 34-35.

⁵⁹ For a discussion Flaxman's time in Rome see Bindman (1979), pp. 54-66.

⁶⁰ For a full discussion of this work see Bindman (1979), pp. 54-58 and R.A. Spiegel, *The 'Fury of Athamas' as demonstration piece: 'Grand manner' aspirations, 'Grand Tour' collecting*, MA dissertation, University of London (Courtauld Institute of Art), 2001.

⁶¹ See, for example, Baker's discussion of the drawings and models which were the basis of the Louis François Roubiliac's *Monument to John, 2nd Duke of Argyll* (1745; Westminster Abbey) in Baker (2000), pp. 40-45.

⁶² Flaxman to his parents, Rome 7 October 1790. British Library, Add. MSS 39780, f. 50; quoted from Irwin (1979), p. 57.

sculpture, the demand for antiquities arguably constituted more of a hindrance than an encouragement to the execution of modern works. More problematic again is the assertion that, by the early nineteenth century, the market for modern sculpture was a consequence of the scarcity of antique pieces due to a period of sustained high demand. In the otherwise excellent catalogue, *Joseph Gott 1786-1860: Sculptor*. Terry Friedman was concerned to account for the conviction among many early nineteenth-century commentators – not least Hervey in the *Illustrations* – that the British school of sculpture was enjoying a period of unprecedented development and growth. In attempting to explain why this time appeared to contemporaries a ‘golden age’ for sculpture, Friedman concluded simply that during this period ‘the supply of antique marbles had virtually dried up and this forced aspiring collectors to consider contemporary pieces’.⁶³ It is the argument of this thesis that the British school of sculpture during the early 1800s did not simply represent a divergence of funds from the antique to the modern. The supply of antique statuary may have been depleted by this time, but it was events such as Britain’s first contact with the Parthenon marbles which initiated a radical change of attitude to Greco-Roman sculpture and a re-evaluation of contemporary perceptions of sculpture more generally.⁶⁴

Friedman’s interpretation additionally suggested that it was primarily at the instigation of collectors, who – unable to purchase antique works – were ‘forced’ to consider contemporary pieces. Hervey’s conviction that the British school of sculpture – one ‘based on the purest principles of the best days of Grecian art’ – was enjoying a period of exceptional growth is perhaps better contextualised in a framework which takes into account the wider political and cultural events of this period. In the first instance, it was Britain’s war against France from 1793 which created an unprecedented public demand for sculpture in the form of national monuments commemorating the country’s war dead. During the period 1794 to 1823 the government funded the erection of a total of thirty-six monuments, mostly intended for installation in St Paul’s Cathedral.⁶⁵ This prolonged programme of

⁶³ T. Friedman and T. Stephens, *Joseph Gott 1786-1860: Sculptor* (exhib. cat.), Temple Newsam, Leeds and Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, 1972, p. 6.

⁶⁴ For a fuller discussion of this change of attitude to antiquity see J. Levine, ‘The Rise and Decline of English Neoclassicism’, in *Enlightening the British: knowledge, discovery and the museum in the eighteenth century*, R.G.W. Anderson, ed., London, 2003, pp. 136-141.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of these national monuments see A. Yarrington, *The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864: Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars*, New York and London, 1988.

sculptural patronage, overseen by the Committee of National Monuments (better known as the 'Committee of Taste'), was a significant source of income for sculptors. Flaxman won three of the commissions and received a total of £16,275 for his work.⁶⁶ Westmacott won the highest number of commissions, securing eight contracts to the value of £29,300.⁶⁷ The advantages of this scheme were not purely economic, however; these works also conferred prestige upon the sculpture profession by suggesting that Britain's military and naval heroes could be justly honoured by her artistic ones.

Some indication of the importance of the Committee of Taste scheme is suggested by the fact that it was at the height of the war years that the Academy agreed to establish the post of Professor of Sculpture. The successful candidate was Flaxman who delivered his first lecture of 1811.⁶⁸ In addressing the delayed establishment of this post in his first lecture, Flaxman suggested that at the time of the Academy's inception, sculpture was 'confined within narrow limits' and, as a result, a professorship in this medium was not considered necessary 'until the increasing taste of the country had given great popularity to the art itself, and native achievements had called on the powers of native sculpture to celebrate British heroes and patriots'.⁶⁹ Later commentators have concurred with Flaxman, describing the Committee of Taste monuments as initiating a 'new phase in British sculpture'.⁷⁰

pp. 61-78; H. Hoock, *The King's Artists: the Royal Academy of Arts and the politics of British culture, 1760-1840*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 253-298 and H. Hoock, 'The British military pantheon in St Paul's Cathedral: the State, cultural patriotism, and the politics of national monuments' in *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea*, R. Wrigley and M. Craske, eds, London, 2004, pp. 81-105.

⁶⁶ See Yarrington (1988), p. 67 for a breakdown of how much each sculptor received.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁶⁸ Royal Academy Archives, Council Minute Book (referred to hereafter as RA, CMB), vol. IV, 13 July 1809, f. 136. The position was proposed to the Academy by Henry Fuseli and Flaxman was present at the meeting. It was subsequently agreed that the incumbent would receive £60 per annum for duties including reading 'lectures annually, explanatory of the Principles of Form and Style in that Art, its peculiarities of Composition and Technic [sic] processes'; see CMB, vol. IV, 17 October 1809, f. 147. Again, Flaxman was present at this meeting, officiating as the Secretary, when this resolution was carried. In December that year a notice was issued stating that a Professor of Sculpture would be elected and that those Academicians who wished to offer themselves as candidates should do so by a letter to the Secretary; see CMB, vol. IV, 1 December 1809, f. 162. The only letter of application came from Flaxman (see CMB, vol. IV, 8 December 1809, f. 166) and he was duly appointed in 1810; see the General Assembly Minutes, vol. III, 10 February 1810, f. 3.

⁶⁹ Flaxman, *Lectures*, p. 17.

⁷⁰ Yarrington (1988), p. 61.

It was not only modern sculpture which was attracting increased public attention during the early 1800s. From 1807 the marbles brought back to England from the Parthenon by Thomas Bruce (1766-1841), 7th Earl of Elgin, were placed on public display in London.⁷¹ These works caused an immediate sensation, primarily because the naturalism and anatomical detail evident in them was diametrically opposed to the smooth and abstracted corporeal forms previously considered characteristic of ancient sculpture. Lord Elgin's collection problematised these long-standing traditions of connoisseurship, ones in which the British elite had invested heavily. The Parthenon marbles also challenged the *beau-ideal* as the basis of academic art practice. Some artists, most notably Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846), hoped that these sculptures would initiate a radically new approach to art, one based on the close study of nature rather than the slavish imitation of the previously established canon of antique statuary.⁷²

Some scholars have suggested that, far from precipitating an artistic revolution, these works had little effect on cotemporary sculptural practice.⁷³ The findings generated by this thesis suggest that the situation was much more complex. When Elgin's collection arrived in London, artistic veneration of the antique was deeply entrenched; what emerged during the following years was a new appreciation of the importance of 'truth to nature' coexisting alongside traditional admiration of the *beau-ideal*.⁷⁴ Many of the works discussed in this thesis might be described as illustrative of this approach. Furthermore, in considering the significance of the nation's purchase of the Parthenon marbles, equally important was the *expectation* that these ancient statues would impact positively upon modern sculpture. It was also the prominent role played by British sculptors in securing these works for the

⁷¹ For a discussion of the arrival and impact of these marbles see: A.H. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVI, 1916, pp. 163-372; Rothenberg (1977); I. Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes: in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum, 1800-1939*, London, 1992, pp. 13-40; W. St Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles: the controversial history of the Parthenon sculptures*, Oxford, 1983 (second edition), pp.166-179 and Hooek (2003), pp. 285-295.

⁷² For Haydon's famously enthusiastic response to the Parthenon marbles see Rothenberg (1977), pp. 230-351 and F. Cummings, 'B. R. Haydon and His School', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 26, no. 3/4 1963, pp. 367-380.

⁷³ See M. Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830*, Baltimore, 1964, p. 210; St Clair (1983), pp. 264-5 and R.W. Liscombe, 'The Commencement of Real Art', *Apollo*, CII, January 1976, no. 167, pp. 34-39.

⁷⁴ This point has usefully been made by Yarrington (2001), p. 182.

nation which was arguably the most important factor in raising the public profile and perceived distinction of the profession.

It was not until March 1816, in the aftermath of Wellington's victory at Waterloo, that the government established a Select Committee to determine whether or not to purchase Elgin's collection. Public debates about the acquisition of the Parthenon marbles thus occurred during a period of charged political significance. The post-war years were a period of heightened financial crisis for the British government, but also one in which the significance of national art collections came to the fore.⁷⁵ Following Napoleon's confiscation of Italian art and antiquities, the galleries of the Louvre contained the greatest art collection ever assembled in one place. In the aftermath of peace, the allies were required to address the question of what to do with these plundered works. Pope Pius VII (1740-1823) sent Canova to Paris to act as his representative in the campaign for their restitution.⁷⁶ After several months of stressful negotiations, Canova was successful in his mission. The sculptor received material support in his task from the British, who offered to pay the cost of shipping the works back to Italy, and Canova's appreciation was widely expressed during his visit to London in 1815.⁷⁷ As a result of these events, at the same time as Britain was helping to finance the forced return of Napoleon's spoils of war to Italy, the country was also given the chance to purchase (under what it believed to be legitimate conditions) a collection of antique marbles with international significance. The need to establish the artist and financial worth of Elgin's collection was consequently of paramount significance.

The witnesses called by the government to its Select Committee Hearing on the subject included both connoisseurs and artists. In addition to the country's two leading painters – Benjamin West (1738-20), then President of the Academy, and Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830) (who would succeed West to this position) – the most sizeable group of witnesses asked to give evidence were sculptors: Flaxman, Nollekens, Rossi, Chantrey and Westmacott, all of whom expressed their deep

⁷⁵ See Jenkins (1992), pp. 13-19.

⁷⁶ For this sculptor's diplomatic mission see K. Eustace, "'Questa Scabrosa Missione' Canova in Paris and London in 1815' in *Canova Ideal Heads*, K. Eustace, ed., (exhib. cat.) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1997, pp. 9-38.

⁷⁷ It was during this visit to Britain that Canova visited Woburn Abbey to discuss the display of the *Three Graces*; see p. 12.

admiration of the Parthenon marbles and their faith in their great antiquity and aesthetic value.⁷⁸ The connoisseurs who testified were led by Richard Payne Knight (1751-1824). As a member of the Society of Dilettanti, Knight was one of a generation of connoisseurs who based their appreciation of classical sculpture on works seen on the Grand Tour, namely Roman and Hellenistic copies of Greek sculptures.⁷⁹ Knight entirely failed to appreciate the significance of Elgin's collection and dismissed it as architectural decoration of the period of Hadrian. In spite of Knight's damning critique, the findings of the Select Committee supported and fully endorsed the testimonies of the painters and sculptors who gave evidence. John Brewer and Holger Hock have both attributed much significance to the government's faith in the expertise of practising artists over that of aristocratic connoisseurs – the traditional arbiters in matters of public taste – as an indication of the growing respect accorded to the profession from the early 1800s.⁸⁰ In the *Report* of the Select Committee, the role of artists in securing the nation's purchase of the Parthenon marbles was clearly stated: the country's 'most eminent Artists' were described as having declared the collection to be 'in the very first class of ancient art.'⁸¹ The interlinked political and cultural expediency of the purchase was also clearly articulated:

No country can be better adapted than our own to afford an honourable asylum to these monuments of the school of *Phidias*, and of the administration of *Pericles*; where secure from further injury and degradation, they may receive that admiration and homage to which they are entitled, and serve in return as models and examples to those, who by knowing how to revere and appreciate them, may learn first to imitate, and ultimately to rival them.⁸²

Britain thus acquired an internationally important group of ancient marbles, which would ultimately enable the country's artists to rival ancient precursors and to

⁷⁸ Despite their support of the purchase, these sculptors nevertheless struggled to entirely relinquish the opinion that idealisation was not a fundamental principle of Greek art. Most acknowledged the naturalism evident in the Parthenon marbles while continuing to admire the traditional canon of antique sculpture; see the transcript of the sculptors' testimonies in 'Report from the Select Committee on the Purchase of the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices', *Parliamentary Papers*, 1816, iii, (161), 49. pp. 30-37.

⁷⁹ For a discussion of Knight see *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824*, M. Clarke and N. Penny, eds, (exhib. cat.) Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester, 1982.

⁸⁰ See J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century*, New York, 1997, p. 282 and Hock (2003), p. 293.

⁸¹ *Report of the Select Committee*, 1816, p. 6.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 1816, p. 15.

initiate a period of cultural prosperity and ascendancy over European competitors. The *Report* compared the arrival of the Parthenon marbles to the rediscovery of classical antiquities during the Italian Renaissance, thus implying that these ancient marbles would have a similarly significant impact on British sculptural production.⁸³ In the aftermath of purchasing Elgin's collection, many commentators were inspired to draw close connections between ancient Greece and Britain.⁸⁴ Hervey's reference to contemporary British sculptural practice as closely allied to the purity of ancient Greek sculpture might be situated in this framework. An important distinction to this argument was developing, however; one which this study seeks to explore. While sculptors were expected to base their work upon Greek sculptural models stylistically, it was increasingly felt that classical history and mythology were inappropriate as sources of subject matter because of their lack of relevance to a contemporary audience. It was in this context that British literary and historical sources were promoted as suitable subjects for representation in sculpture.

Attention now turns to an event which provides an occasion to explore these issues further. The Royal Academy exhibition of 1817 was a particularly significant one for sculptors: it was the first to follow the nation's purchase of the Parthenon marbles and, for the first time, Canova had also requested to submit examples of his work for public display at Somerset House. This exhibition thus offered London exhibition-goers the chance to gauge the standing of the national school in the aftermath of this important purchase, as well as comparing works by British practitioners with those by Europe's most celebrated sculptor. The discourse generated by the 1817 exhibition also provides an occasion to test some of the assertions made about the great popularity of Canova's statuary during the early 1800s and, specifically, the appeal of the classical subjects typically represented by this sculptor. Additionally, it provides an opportunity to introduce some of the critical debates on Chantrey's approach to sculpture and the notable absence of poetic works in this sculptor's oeuvre. While the 1817 exhibition has been considered specifically as it relates to

⁸³ This would appear to have been a widely held view. See, for example, Felicia Hemans' poem 'Modern Greece' (1816) which stated: 'Who can tell how pure, how bright a flame, / Caught from these models, may illumine the West? / What British Angelo may rise to fame, / On the free isle, what beams of art may rest?': quoted from St Clair (1983), p. 264.

⁸⁴ See I. Jenkins, 'Athens rising near the pole': London, Athens and the Idea of Freedom in *London World City*, C. Fox, ed., New Haven and London, 1992, p. 143-153 and D. Challis, 'The Parthenon Sculptures: Emblems of national identity', *British Art Journal*, vol. VII, no. 1, pp. 33-39.

Canova and Chantrey, this study hopes to set an alternative course of enquiry by considering its impact for other sculptors of this period, most notably Baily.⁸⁵

The undoubted critical success of the 1817 exhibition was Chantrey's church monument commemorating the two recently deceased sisters, Ellen Jane and Marianne Robinson, better known as the *Sleeping Children* (fig. 16) (1817; Lichfield Cathedral).⁸⁶ Chantrey's monument represented the two sisters lying asleep in each others arms. The implication that the two girls were sleeping allowed the spectator to imagine that they might awake from their peaceful slumbers, while equally preserving the futility of this wish. Chantrey's representation was indebted to Thomas Banks' earlier *Monument to Penelope Boothby* (fig. 17) (1783; St Oswald's Church, Derbyshire), which elicited many famously sentimental responses from spectators.⁸⁷ Around the base of Chantrey's monument was inscribed the first line from Milton's 'On the death of a fair infant' which read, 'O fairest flowers, no sooner blown than blasted'.⁸⁸ If Chantrey's exhibit was characterised by the simplicity of its imagery and the affecting nature of its sentiment, Canova's contributions were of a different order entirely. Of the three works Canova submitted to Somerset House, two were partially-draped ideal figures representing classical goddesses: *Terpsichore* (fig. 18) (1814-16; Cleveland Museum of Art), the muse of dance and lyrical poetry, and *Hebe* (fig. 19) (1808-1814; Chatsworth, Derbyshire), cup-bearer to the gods.⁸⁹ Following the exhibition's opening, Simon Houghton Clarke, the patron of *Terpsichore*, wrote to Canova to describe the reception of his works: 'They have made a great sensation and, I think, will mark a new epoch in our Sculpture.'⁹⁰ The Duke of Bedford also reported back to Canova that he had had 'the satisfaction to see your Hebe and Terpsichore placed in the Sculpture Room and

⁸⁵ The importance of the 1817 exhibition has already been discussed in Yarrington (2000), pp. 138-142 and Yarrington (2001), pp. 182-85, but it is important to reiterate information about this event as a context for the discussion which follows.

⁸⁶ For a discussion of this work see Penny (1977), pp. 117-120 and I.D. Lieberman, 'Sir Francis Chantrey's Early Monuments to Children, and Neoclassical Sensibilities', *Church Monuments*, vol. V, 1990, pp. 70-80.

⁸⁷ See Penny (1997), pp. 115-17 and Yarrington (2007), pp. 87-88. Penelope's father, Sir Brooke Boothby, wrote a sonnet on his daughter's monument published in his *Sorrows. Sacred to the Memory of Penelope – ipso sese solatio cruciabat*, London, 1796.

⁸⁸ For the full text see John Milton 'On the Death of a fair infant, dying of a cough' (1626) in *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, H. Derbishire, ed., London, 1958, pp. 405-408.

⁸⁹ Nos 1008 and 1009. Canova also exhibited *Head of Peace*, no 1030.

⁹⁰ Letter from Clarke to Canova dated 27 May 1817, Biblioteca Civica, Bassano del Grappa, inventory no. 733; quoted from H. Honour, 'Canova's Statue of a Dancer', *National Gallery of Canada Bulletin*, VI (1968), pp. 2-13, n. 25.

to hear them universally praised and admired'.⁹¹ While the responses of Canova's esteemed coterie of patrons were unsurprisingly glowing, this exhibition offers the chance to investigate a wider range of critical voices reacting to this sculptor's work.

The *Literary Gazette* described Canova's classical goddesses as demonstrating the sculptor's knowledge of the antique but, despite their 'compliance' with the received rules of beauty, they were considered to have little 'fine feeling' or 'novelty of invention'.⁹² They were also felt to possess a certain 'coldness' which lessened their interest.⁹³ Furthermore, it was considered to be simply the fashion of the day to praise Canova and the British were described as joining in with this trend with 'indifference' and 'forgetfulness'.⁹⁴ In the *Examiner*, *Hebe* and *Terpsichore* were praised but it was noted disparagingly that much of what was to be admired in these statues could be found in the antique.⁹⁵ The cold indifference merited by Canova's goddesses was in considerable contrast to the absorbed attention warranted by Chantrey's *Sleeping Children*. This was described as a work of 'warm and genuine feeling', which not only exercised 'a supreme dominion over the heart' but also awakened 'the most lively and pensive images of fancy, through the medium of our sensibilities'.⁹⁶ Canova's mythological figures were later described as obtaining 'few admirers' compared to Chantrey's sleeping sisters: 'So eager was the press to see them that a look could not always be obtained – mothers stood over them and wept; and the deep impression they made on the public mind must be permanent.'⁹⁷

It was evidently the ability of Chantrey's work to awaken sentiment and to elicit an emotional response which was the subject of praise. These critiques introduce an important new development to the qualities considered worthy of admiration in sculpture. In Reynolds' *Discourse* on sculpture of 1780, the medium's proper purpose had been described as the pursuit of faultless form.⁹⁸ In the exhibition reviews of 1817, it was form united with sentiment which was the subject of praise.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13, n. 24.

⁹² *Literary Gazette, or Journal of Belles Lettres*, 28 June 1817, no. XXIII, p. 359.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁹⁵ *Examiner*, 29 June 1817, no. 496, p. 414.

⁹⁶ *Literary Gazette, or Journal of Belles Lettres*, 28 June 1817, no. XXIII, p. 359.

⁹⁷ Cunningham (1820), p. 7.

⁹⁸ See pp. 17-19.

This view was articulated specifically in relation to the Academy exhibition, where sculpture came into contact with a broad segment of the exhibition-going public, many of whom were not potential patrons of sculpture but who were nonetheless important arbiters of success in the public sphere. To triumph in this context, the question of a sculpture's subject matter acquired increased significance.

These arguments were taken further in a publication issued by the art critic William Paulet Carey in 1817. Referring to the exhibition that year, Carey suggested that a sculptor's choice of subject was of crucial importance:

A *Terpsichore*, a *Hebe*, or any other divinity from the heathen mythology, by a *living* Sculptor, may have the recommendation of a *classic* name; but to counter-balance this advantage, the whole system of religion, the customs and manners, from whence those fabulous representations sprung ... have been so often repeated, in every possible mode, that they no longer claim attention as proofs of invention or resemblances of any real or supposed archetype. They afford no food for the mind; exercise no power over opinion; and are, wholly, foreign from the feelings and way of thinking of modern times.⁹⁹

Carey argued that while the modern sculptor should have 'a strong *technical feeling*' for classical sculpture, the modern spectator could not hope to form a strong emotional enthusiasm for such works: 'Without an earnestness of heart ... what is the offspring of any imitative art, but a shadow; a cold form, begotten mechanically; born without life; beheld with indifference ... ?'¹⁰⁰

While Canova was highly celebrated during the early 1800s, it is not the case that the sculptor enjoyed 'constant respect' and 'undisputed' critical standing in Britain at this time.¹⁰¹ Following the Napoleonic wars, there was a perceptible negative critical opinion articulated in Britain in relation to Canova's work. These views were undoubtedly underpinned by patriotic prejudices, particularly as the sculptor had

⁹⁹ W. Carey, *Critical Description and Analytical Review of Death on the Pale Horse, painted by Benjamin West, P.R.A. With desultory references to the works of some ancient masters and living British artists*, London, 1817, pp. 143-44.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

¹⁰¹ See F.J.B. Watson, 'Canova and the English', *Architectural Review*, vol. 122, 1957, pp. 403-406 (1957), p. 403 and Whinney (1964), p. 204. The latter suggested that Canova's reputation was probably at its 'highest point' in 1817.

been associated with the French during the wars (albeit against his wishes).¹⁰² Even if national interests played a part, Canova's work was not dismissed simply on the grounds that he was a foreign practitioner, although references to 'foreign artifice' do creep up.¹⁰³ It was more usually the qualities embodied by his ideal figures, typically representing sensual gods and goddesses, which were criticised for their lack of public appeal. Many critics praised Canova's 'polished' surfaces and the 'highly wrought' finish of his figures, but they equally critiqued his works as cold reproductions of the antique. For many critics, Canova's sculpture provided a useful paradigm against which to define the best qualities of the British school. In an article published in the *European Magazine* in 1822, for example, Canova was criticised for failing to base his practice on the 'severe school of Grecian art'.¹⁰⁴ The writer consequently observed that: 'All comparisons between Canova and our own celebrated artists, are rendered nugatory by the different schools in which they respectively excel.'¹⁰⁵ In all of these writings, a persuasive vision of the best qualities of British sculpture was being articulated. It was thought to excel in simplicity, naturalness and lack of affectation; it was imbued with sentiment and relied on native and natural sources rather than the antique.¹⁰⁶ At the 1817 exhibition, the sculptor whose work was best thought to embody these qualities was Chantrey.

Chantrey had arrived in London from his native Sheffield in 1804 and a series of portrait busts exhibited at the Academy had secured him considerable praise and plenty of further commissions for works in this genre. Following the success of his *Sleeping Children*, many critics expected the sculptor to fulfil his potential with a work of poetic sculpture. His only imaginative work by this date had been a model

¹⁰² One French commentator writing in 1822 expressed it thus: 'The native land of Canova has for so long been united with the destiny of France ... that we have to some extent adopted him'; see A. Pichot, *Historical and literary tour of a foreigner in England and Scotland*, London, 1825, p. 84. For a discussion of how international artists were received at the Academy exhibitions more generally see A. Puetz, 'Foreign Exhibitors at the British School and the Royal Academy, 1768-1823' in Solkin, ed., (2001), pp. 229-241.

¹⁰³ See *Literary Gazette, or Journal of Belles Lettres*, 28 June 1817, no. XXIII, p. 359.

¹⁰⁴ *European Magazine and London Review*, November 1822, vol. 82, p. 400.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

¹⁰⁶ In this respect there are some similarities between the qualities praised in British sculpture and landscape painting during the early 1800s. K.D. Kriz has shown that during this period a nascent school of 'natural' and 'chaste' landscape painting developed in Britain which was defined in distinction to what was perceived to be the French qualities of 'artificiality', 'theatricality' and 'glitter'; see K.D. Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter: genius as alibi in the early nineteenth century*, New Haven, 1997.

for a *Bust of Satan* exhibited at the Academy in 1808 (untraced).¹⁰⁷ Taken from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, many of the sculptor's friends praised Chantrey's use of a British literary text in this work as a brave and innovative choice of subject matter. The sculptor was fortunate that many of these friends were journalists who were able to publicly proclaim his talents in the press. Chantrey's most significant supporter in this respect was Allan Cunningham, who was a noted sculpture critics of the day and (as luck would have it) Chantrey's employee. Cunningham had originally trained as a stonemason but his primary interests were literary.¹⁰⁸ Between 1814 and 1841 he worked in Chantrey's studio, firstly as the sculptor's stonemason and later as his secretary. Throughout this period Cunningham pursued his literary career, becoming well known for his poetry and writings on the arts.¹⁰⁹ His most famous publication was the six-volume *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, issued between 1829 and 1833, which told the history of British art through a chronological series of artists' biographies. The volume on sculpture (dedicated to Chantrey) covered the period from the Restoration to the early nineteenth century, concluding with Flaxman who had died in 1826.

During the 1820s Cunningham published two articles which were in many ways forerunners to the *Lives* and in which the author specifically addressed the imminent appearance of a work of poetic sculpture in Chantrey's oeuvre. The first was a memoir of his employer published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1820.¹¹⁰ In this piece, Chantrey was characterised as arriving at the pinnacle of his success. Following the triumphant exhibition of the *Sleeping Children* in 1817, and Chantrey's election as an Academician the following year, the sculptor had recently returned from a visit to Rome. Cunningham noted that Chantrey had spent time with Canova in the city, but he made it clear that the respective styles of the two were not to be compared: 'Canova seeks to revive the might and beauty of Greek art on earth

¹⁰⁷ No. 902. For a discussion of this work see A. Yarrington, I. D. Lieberman, A. Potts, and M. Baker, 'An edition of the ledger of Sir Francis Chantrey RA at the Royal Academy, 1809-1841', *Walpole Society*, 56 (1991-2), pp. 140-141.

¹⁰⁸ For biographical details on Cunningham see D. Hogg: *The Life of Allan Cunningham*, London, 1875 and G.E.H. Hughes, *The life and works of Allan Cunningham*, PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1975.

¹⁰⁹ For a full list of Cunningham's publications see Hughes, *ibid.*, pp. 264-274.

¹¹⁰ A. Cunningham, 'Francis Chantrey, Sculptor' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, April 1820, pp. 3-10.

– the art of Chantrey is a pure emanation of English genius.’¹¹¹ Cunningham was pointedly critical of Canova’s statuary, particularly his early works, which he described as ‘theatrical and affected’ in style.¹¹² His main reproach of the sculptor was that his ideal figures were exclusively concerned with the representation of ‘demi gods’.¹¹³ Cunningham noted that Chantrey had recently secured several orders for poetic figures and groups. Suggesting that such commissions were ‘new to English sculpture’, Cunningham indicated that Chantrey’s patrons had left the choice of subject matter to the sculptor, a compliment surely indicative of their faith in his genius. Chantrey’s ledger duly records several commissions for ideal statues:

Recd. an order for a poetical figure from his grace the Duke of Devonshire – no price mentioned.¹¹⁴

Recd. an order from the Earl of Egremont to execute a Figure of Satan pursuant to a Sketch – no price mentioned.¹¹⁵

Recd. an order from Lord Yarborough to execute a Figure or Groupe [sic] – Subject and price and time left to the judgement of the Sculptor.¹¹⁶

In the *Blackwood’s* article of 1820, Cunningham noted that Chantrey was then engaged on the figure of *Satan* for Lord Egremont. He described this subject as one selected from Christian belief and thus ‘dearer to us than all the dumb gods of the heathens’.¹¹⁷ Having given a taster of Chantrey’s work in-progress, Cunningham concluded with the following prophetic statement:

Something in the highest poetical walk of sculpture has long been expected from his hand; and whether he may choose to come before the world in the soft and gentle, or in the dignified and impressive, it is useless to conjecture. Before the world he *will* come, in a subject of his own choice and election, and that soon.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 9.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 9.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 9.

¹¹⁴ Yarrington et al, (1991-2), pp. 139-40, no. 120a.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 140-141, no. 121a.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 142-143, no. 123a.

¹¹⁷ Cunningham (1820), p. 7.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 10.

Four years later, Chantrey was yet to complete any of these orders. In 1824 the sculptor's friend, Ebenezer Rhodes (1762-1839), published a guide book to Derbyshire which included a chapter on the sculptor.¹¹⁹ In this short biography, Rhodes felt compelled to address the continued dearth of poetic works in Chantrey's practice:

That this eminent artist should have devoted so much of his time to the execution of busts, may perhaps be regretted. There is a higher walk in sculpture, in which all the excellencies of his profession are required, and all the energies of the mightiest talent may be displayed. Here the genius of Chantrey may move amid beings of his own creation, and establish for himself a name and character not less elevated in art than Canova's. He has attained much, but much more remains to be accomplished.¹²⁰

Two years later it was the turn of Cunningham to address again Chantrey's continued failure to execute a poetic work. The occasion was a book review of J.S. Memes' *Memoirs of Antonio Canova*, published in the *Quarterly Review* of 1826.¹²¹ Having discussed Canova's work and Memes' interpretation of it, Cunningham sketched a short history of British sculpture. The article concluded with a short consideration of the current generation of sculptors. Cunningham included Westmacott, Rossi and Baily in this group but, unsurprisingly, it was Chantrey who merited the most glowing attention. In justifying the continued absence of poetic works in his employer's oeuvre, Cunningham drew on the argument that it was simply market forces which dissuaded him from venturing into this financially risky genre. Chantrey was thus described as keeping 'the preserve of pure poetry' for a time when the sculptor had 'uninterrupted leisure, and the cares of providing for an existence shall no longer have any right to interfere with fancy'.¹²²

Cunningham's role as Chantrey's apologist was evidently wearing thin. This article prompted an angry response from Haydon – an acknowledged champion of high art – who recorded in his *Diary*: 'Let Mr Chantrey depend, if his Genius and invention

¹¹⁹ E. Rhodes, *Peak Scenery, or, The Derbyshire Tourist*, London and Sheffield, 1824.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹²¹ A. Cunningham, 'Memoirs of Antonio Canova, with a critical analysis of his Works and an Historical View of Modern Sculpture by S. Memes, London, &c, 1825' *Quarterly Review*, June 1826, pp. 110-136.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

consent to wait till he has uninterrupted leisure, it cannot be very vigorous.’¹²³ Haydon was particularly irked by the distinction which Cunningham bestowed upon his employer:

because [Chantrey] has just imagination enough to elevate his model without loosing a likeness, is he to be put in comparison as *superior* to Flaxman, Rossi, Westmacott, Bailey [sic], who are poetical men, who have no paddock of poetry under lock & key, but whose lock & key was long since broken open because their imaginations were too powerful to be kept, for uninterrupted leisure.¹²⁴

Cunningham’s argument, that it was simply market forces which dissuaded the sculptor from entering into the ‘preserve of pure poetry’, are conflicted by the knowledge that the sculptor had already secured several commissions from patrons prepared to pay for such works, which he simply failed to complete.¹²⁵ If writers during Chantrey’s lifetime were keen to explain why this sculptor refused to prove himself in the highest genre of sculpture, recent historians have been concerned to do the same. In the process, Chantrey’s avoidance of this challenging genre has been effectively re-interpreted as a calculated decision. Potts rationalised Chantrey’s focus on portrait sculpture as a strategy consonant with the national aspirations and market forces of his day.¹²⁶ The sculptor was described as having launched his career when poetic figures were at the height of fashion, but as best able to establish his reputation (and fortune) as a sculptor of portraits and public monuments. Yarrington suggested that Chantrey’s deliberate avoidance of conventional ideal sculpture was an innovative and creditable choice.¹²⁷ She suggested that following the sculptor’s success at the 1817 exhibition, Chantrey ceased to pursue the ideal in its traditional guise – exhibiting gallery statues based on literary sources – instead, the sculptor ‘followed the path begun with the *Sleeping Children*, by seeking to incorporate the poetic and ideal in themes of a more literal nature’.¹²⁸ While the finer points of

¹²³ Haydon, *Diary*, vol. III, 10 September 1826, p. 145.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹²⁵ Other than two bas-relief sculptures, Chantrey never executed any works beyond portrait statues, busts or tomb sculptures. These two reliefs were commissioned by the Duke of Bedford to flank the Temple of the Graces at Woburn Abbey. The subjects were *The Parting of Hector and Andromache* (RA 1829, no. 1217) and *Penelope with the Bow of Ulysses* (RA 1829, no. 1218). For a discussion of these works see Yarrington (2002), pp. 30-44.

¹²⁶ Potts (1981), p. 18.

¹²⁷ Yarrington (2000), p. 136.

¹²⁸ Yarrington (2001), pp. 184-85.

Chantrey's reconfiguration of the poetic are of interest, it remains the case that those sculptors who did execute ideal figures in the conventional sense require investigation.

During the 1820s, Baily executed a series of ambitious ideal sculptures which have as yet merited little analysis by historians. In Cunningham's *Quarterly Review* article, Baily was picked out as one of the most promising sculptors of the current generation. Cunningham advised him to find his subjects 'at home' and he further declared that: 'With his knowledge of nature, and his skill in using it – and with his feeling for the antique as inspirer, and no more – he cannot fail of success.'¹²⁹ These comments illustrate some of the key qualities associated with poetic sculpture during the early 1800s; namely, that subjects drawn from British literature were the most suitable for representation, and that the study of nature should be privileged over imitation of the antique. If Baily was identified as an artist with 'poetic' potential during the early stages of his career, by the 1840s he was firmly ensconced as the nation's definitive sculptor of poetic works. The expense of producing such sculptures took their toll, however, whereas Chantrey died a wealthy man, Baily suffered from acute financial problems throughout his career. The sculpture business demanded a high degree of commercial acumen and the ability to compete with colleagues working not just in London but also in Rome, where the market for ideal sculpture was almost saturated. The following chapters will examine how a sculptor picked out as a 'poetical man' in the 1820s struggled to succeed in this genre.

¹²⁹ Cunningham (1826), p. 133.

Chapter One

Outdone and out run?: an introduction to E.H. Baily, Esq. R.A.

It was the lot of Mr. Baily to be outdone by his master, and his worse lot to find a rival and an outrunner in the race of successful sculpture in Mr. Chantrey.¹

Baily's obituarist in the *Builder* here articulated some of the factors which have affected the sculptor's reputation, both during and after his lifetime. Whereas Flaxman, Chantrey and Westmacott have all benefited from biographical studies of their life and works, Baily is comparatively little documented.² Often referred to simply as Flaxman's most dedicated pupil, he has also been criticised as remaining stylistically indebted to his mentor throughout his career.³ Katharine Eustace was perhaps accurate in observing that while Baily was 'the acknowledged exponent of ideal or poetical sculpture' at the peak of his career, 'his retirement coincided with a reaction against ideal and literary-inspired subjects, from which his reputation has never recovered'.⁴ During his career Baily also struggled to contend with the success of sculptors working in Rome. As will be discussed, there is no evidence to suggest that Baily ever travelled abroad and he was acutely conscious of the disadvantages he faced by working in London in terms of the cost of living and proximity to an active clientele, not to mention the status conferred on a sculptor who worked and studied in a city of pre-eminent importance to his profession. The aim of this thesis is not to rescue Baily's reputation, although it is hoped that this study will give an indication of the considerable interest and importance of his practice. Instead, a specific group of Baily's ideal figures serve as the basis for an exploration of some of the relationships which existed between poetry and sculpture during the early 1800s. What follows is not a synopsis of the sculptor's career, therefore, but rather

¹ *Builder*, 1 June 1867, no. 1269, p. 387.

² For biographical details on Baily see 'Portraits of British Artists: No. 5. E.H. Baily, Esq., R.A.', *Art Union*, 1 July 1847, p. 260; 'E.H. Baily, R.A.' in *Portraits of Men of Eminence*, L. Reeve, ed., vol. I, London, 1863, pp. 119-122; G.D. Leslie and F.A. Eaton, 'The Royal Academy in the Nineteenth Century: Edward Hodges Baily, R.A.', *Art Journal*, 1903, pp. 331-332; R. Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851*, London, 1968 (2nd edition), pp. 32-36; E. Knowles, "*The Most Brilliant Genius That Ever Lived ...?*" *Edward Hodges Baily 1788-1867*, BA dissertation, University of Leicester, 1994 and K. Eustace, 'Baily, Edward Hodges (1788-1867)', *DNB* [accessed 1 December 2005].

³ See, for example, K. Eustace, 'Baily, Edward Hodges' *Grove Art Online* [accessed 1 December 2005].

⁴ Eustace, *DNB*, unpaginated.

an introduction which functions as a foundation to the case studies which follow. In the first section some details regarding Baily's early biography are established; in the second, attention is given to the financial problems which plagued the sculptor throughout his life.

Biographical details relating to Baily's early years are fairly limited and much of what is known about him is reliant upon a few articles published during, or just after, his lifetime. In 1847 Baily featured in the *Art Union's* biographical series 'Portraits of British Artists' (fig. 20).⁵ Baily was the first sculptor to be included in this series, providing some indication of his eminence at the time. Like all of Baily's contemporary biographies, this article was highly anecdotal in character and many of the narratives which featured in it have been repeated *ad infinitum*.⁶ It is nevertheless worth re-counting these to establish the key components of Baily's formative years.

Edward Hodges Baily was born in Bristol on 10 March 1788.⁷ His father, William Hellier Baily, was a carver of ship figureheads in the city.⁸ Bristol was then a thriving sea port, with sugar, tobacco and the slave trade being the main sources of the city's wealth.⁹ Baily showed an early ability for the plastic arts but his father attempted to thwart these natural inclinations by placing him in the counting house of a local merchant. Dislike of the mercantile life led the young man to quit this situation and set up on his own account as a wax modeller.¹⁰ One of the favourite and oft-repeated stories regarding the sculptor's formative years concerns a visit to

⁵ *Art Union*, 1 July 1847, p. 260.

⁶ For an indication of the anecdotal character of Baily's early biographies see the sculptor's obituaries: *Illustrated London News*, 8 June 1867, no. 1430, vol. L, pp. 569-70; *Art Journal*, 1 July 1867, pp. 170-171 and *Athenaeum*, 1 June 1867, no. 2066, pp. 726-727. Many of the stories told in these texts have since become enshrined in Gunnis's *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851* as this author often relied upon obituaries as a source of information for nineteenth-century sculptors' lives. These issues were discussed in the author's conference paper, 'Shaping Sculptors' Lives: Shaping Sculpture's Histories' at the Association of Art Historians Conference, Leeds, 2006.

⁷ Reeve gives the address of his birth as No. 1 Red Lodge Court, Bristol; see Reeve (1863), p. 119.

⁸ There is some dispute over the profession of Baily's father and his consequent social standing. In an article published in the *Bristol Evening Post* in 1976 some descendants of the family suggested that the sculptor's father was a wealthy shipbroker with a skill in carving figureheads, rather than a carver by trade. It has not been possible to substantiate these claims, or trace this branch of the family; see an unpaginated clipping from the *Bristol Evening Post*, 9 December 1976, in the file on Baily held in Bristol Local Studies Library.

⁹ For a history of city during his period see *Bristol in the eighteenth century*, P. McGrath, ed., Newton Abbot, 1972.

¹⁰ A wax portrait by Baily, thought to represent the sculptor's mother, is in the collection of a descendent; see J. Lea-Jones and F. Charlton 'Famous Bristolians (Part 1) E.H. Baily – Further Information', *Bristol Local History Group Newsletter*, August 1987, pp. 14-15.

Bristol Cathedral where Baily saw John Bacon's *Monument to Elizabeth Draper* (fig. 21) (1778).¹¹ It was apparently in front of this monument that Baily was awakened to 'the first emotion of a higher aspiration' to work in marble.¹² The *Art Union* suggested that 'but for such accident, he might have devoted his lifetime to wax, and have lived in obscurity'. Luckily, it continued, 'wax was laid aside and clay substituted; portraiture was succeeded by imaginative composition; imitation yielded to original impulse'.¹³ A recurrent feature of many nineteenth-century sculptors' life stories is the hierarchy of materials through which the aspiring artist ascended: from wax or wood, through clay, to marble. The suggestion that a sculptor had been determined for another career and that fate played a hand in the discovery of his true talents were other popular rhetorical flourishes, as were 'moment of awakening' scenes.¹⁴ Baily's obituarist in the *Builder* described his experience in Bristol Cathedral as one which made him 'irrevocably a sculptor'.¹⁵

Following this defining moment, a local patron commissioned two clay models depicting scenes from Flaxman's illustrations to the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*. The success of these works secured Baily an introduction to Flaxman in 1807.¹⁶ Although little documentary material survives relating to Baily's early years in the capital, it is possible to establish the milieu in which he worked. When Baily arrived in London, Flaxman's studio was situated at No. 7 Buckingham Street and his first lodgings in the city were situated just a few minutes' walk from his employer.¹⁷ Flaxman was then approaching the pinnacle of his career. Admired for his sculpture as well as his line illustrations, he had also recently started providing designs for the royal

¹¹ Many of Baily's biographers point out that Elizabeth Draper (1744-1778) was the 'Eliza' of Lawrence Sterne's amorous attentions in his *Sentimental Journey*, (1768).

¹² *Art Union*, 1 July 1847, p. 260.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

¹⁴ Chantrey's 'moment of awakening' scene occurred on the very morning he was due to start an apprenticeship to a solicitor, for example. The sculptor's obituarist in the *Athenaeum* described it thus: 'Within but a few hours of the time appointed for the execution of the deed ... [Chantrey] had his attention arrested, while wandering through the streets, by the figures in a carver's window, and felt in his heart the summons to the arena of his future fame.' See the *Athenaeum*, 4 December 1841, no. 736, p. 933.

¹⁵ *Builder*, 1 June 1867, no. 1269, p. 387.

¹⁶ Reeve suggested that this patron was a Bristol surgeon named Leigh. He described Baily as travelling to London with a letter of introduction to Flaxman; see Reeve (1863), p. 119. These clay models are untraced.

¹⁷ Baily's first address in London was No. 13 Upper Cleveland Street (1810-1811). In 1812 he is recorded as living at No. 12 Mary Street, Fitzroy Square (1812-14). Both of these addresses were very close to Flaxman's studio; see *The A to Z of Regency London*, P. Laxton, ed., London, 1985, in which Richard Horwood's *Plan of London* (1799-1819) is reproduced.

silversmiths, Rundell, Bridge & Rundell (popularly known as Rundell's). At the Academy, Flaxman was an active member of the Council, shortly to be elected the institution's first Professor of Sculpture. Baily thus entered the studios of one of London's most esteemed sculptors, one who was at the heart of many of the issues affecting the profession over the coming decades. In fact, Baily's arrival in London precisely coincided with the unfolding of these events. The year 1807 was in many respects the peak of the Committee of Taste scheme, as this year's competition included the monuments commemorating those who had died at the Battle of Trafalgar. Flaxman secured the most prestigious of these with the monument to Vice Admiral Nelson (1807-1818; St Paul's Cathedral). It was also in 1807 that the Parthenon marbles were first placed on public show in London. Flaxman was actively involved with this collection from an early date, as Lord Elgin had requested the sculptor's advice on restoring and arranging the works.¹⁸ The influence of these statues was also quickly to manifest in Flaxman's sculpture. David Irwin has suggested that Flaxman 'responded more quickly as an artist to the Elgin Marbles' than any other of the period.¹⁹ Baily was thus working for an artist who was not only closely involved with the Parthenon marbles, but one who was sensitive to their appeal.

The aim in the following section is to consider how these events, discussed in the Introduction in general terms, impacted upon Baily's formative years in London. On arriving in the city, the sculptor did not apply to the Academy Schools straight away; instead, he spent his first months honing his skills as an apprentice in Flaxman's studio. Here he would have worked alongside the sculptor's other assistants, including John Ely Hinchcliffe (1788-1867).²⁰ Flaxman at this time concerned himself mainly with executing drawings and small-scale sketch models and he delegated the work of enlarging designs and transferring these to marble to his

¹⁸ See Smith (1916), pp. 297-8. Flaxman advised against their restoration but assisted with the fitting together of some of the fragments.

¹⁹ Irwin (1979), p. 174.

²⁰ Hinchcliffe began working for Flaxman in 1806, remaining with the sculptor until his death in 1826. Baily and Hinchcliffe remained close throughout their careers. Following Flaxman's death, Hinchcliffe moved to work in Baily's studio. Flaxman's sister-in-law and executrix, Maria Denman (1776-1861), accused Baily of 'poaching' Hinchcliffe with a view to securing the Duke of Bedford's commission for *The Flight of Satan*, which was then uncompleted in Flaxman's studio; see M. Denman's correspondence in the Flaxman's papers, British Library, Add. MSS. 39783, vol. IV, ff. 25-70. Hinchcliffe remained in Baily's employment until at least 1831 when he gave evidence at the latter's bankruptcy hearing; these events are discussed on p. 51 and pp. 94-96.

assistants. As an apprentice in Flaxman's studio, Baily would have learnt many crucial technical skills: not simply in modelling but also in making plaster moulds and plaster casts; the ability to transfer a design from model to marble using a pointing machine, along with stonemasonry techniques in cutting and polishing. More generally, while working for Flaxman, Baily would have come into contact with some of the leading artists of the day. The elder sculptor's friends and associates at this time included Henry Fuseli (1741-1825), William Blake (1757-1827) and the painter and illustrator Thomas Stothard (1755-1834).

Flaxman and Stothard were also professionally linked during the early 1800s, as both artists provided designs for silverware to Philip Rundell (1746-1827) and John Bridge (1755-1834).²¹ These gentlemen were proprietors of what was then London's most fashionable silversmiths and jewellers. As neither had any ability in the design or manufacture of their wares, they subcontracted production to the silversmith Paul Storr (c.1770-1844) and bought in designs from esteemed artists such as Flaxman and Stothard. Flaxman's association with the firm began in 1805, when he was asked to provide designs for a vase commemorating the Battle of Trafalgar and he continued to work for the silversmiths throughout the remainder of his career.²² The object which established his pre-eminence in this field was *The Shield of Achilles* (fig. 22) (1821; Royal Collection). It was most likely Flaxman who introduced Baily to Rundell and Bridge.²³ Charles Oman has suggested that Baily's initiation with this firm was probably in modelling Flaxman's designs or copying his drawings into the company pattern book.²⁴ This *ad hoc* work would have provided an additional source of income and experience for the young artist.

In addition to the practical skills he developed in Flaxman's studio, Baily also sought enrolment at the Academy Schools. His letter of application was submitted to

²¹ For a recent history of their firm see *Royal Goldsmiths: the Art of Rundell & Bridge 1797-1843*, C. Hartop, ed., (exhib. cat.) Koopman Rare Art, London, 2005; see also C. Oman, 'A problem of artistic responsibility: the firm of Rundell, Bridge and Rundell', *Apollo*, 83 (1966), pp. 174-83.

²² See Irwin (1979), pp. 190-203.

²³ The precise date that Baily started working for Rundell's is not known; as will be discussed shortly, there is evidence that the sculptor entered into a contract with the firm in 1815 but its favourable terms suggest that he had previous experience of working for Rundell and Bridge.

²⁴ See Oman (1966), p. 180. The only model that Flaxman executed for Rundell's was for the *Shield of Achilles*, otherwise he provided designs on paper.

the Council in March 1809.²⁵ Flaxman was present at this meeting and Baily's *Model of an Academy Figure* was duly approved. Baily's time as a student at the Academy coincided with his employer's active involvement in improving the School's study facilities.²⁶ In 1810 Flaxman submitted a report to the Council outlining his additions to the School's library and cast collections.²⁷ These included publications such as Robert Potter's new editions of Aeschylus and Euripides, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* and the latest edition of John Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*. Flaxman also expanded the Academy's cast collection with those taken from the 'moulds in possession of Lord Elgin, from the Townley, the French and the Neapolitan Museums'.²⁸ Evidently the sculptor did not consider it incongruous to offer students casts after Greco-Roman sculptures alongside those from the Parthenon marbles, which in effect silently condemned the previously accepted canon. Elgin's collection was making some impact, however, as Flaxman's efforts at this time indicate that the study of anatomy was becoming increasingly important. The sculptor also sought to improve facilities in the Life Academy by introducing a 'Skeleton with an Anatomical Cast from Nature' and some 'Anatomical Tables' in 1809.²⁹

Baily quickly benefited from the tuition he received at the Academy and he was awarded a Silver Medal for his *Academy Figure* in 1809. The following year he submitted his first work for exhibition, *A Study from Nature* (1810; untraced).³⁰ This work would suggest that the sculptor quickly graduated from the Antique to the Life Academy. The next year was an important one for sculptor-students at the Academy as Flaxman delivered his first lecture as Professor of Sculpture in 1811. Flaxman's lecture was an eagerly anticipated event, attended by 'a crowded audience of Professors, Amateurs and Literati [who] testified in loud applause, their

²⁵ RA, CMB, vol. IV, 8 March 1809, f. 103.

²⁶ See R.W. Liscombe, 'The "Diffusion of Knowledge and Taste": John Flaxman and the Improvement of the Study Facilities at the Royal Academy', *Walpole Society Journal*, vol. 53, 1987, pp. 226-238.

²⁷ RA, CMB, vol. IV, 17 November 1810, ff. 249-252.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 252.

²⁹ RA, CMB, vol. IV, 1 December 1809, f. 161.

³⁰ No. 729. Baily's first exhibited work in London was at the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, where he exhibited a plaster cast of the *Laocoon* in 1809.

estimation of the talents of the Professor'.³¹ It is likely that Baily was among this number: he certainly attended Benjamin West's lecture that year, as it was at this event that he received his Gold Medal for sculpture.³² Following the distribution of Premiums, the President delivered a lecture illustrated by examples from the Parthenon marbles. The 'cardinal point' of this discourse was described as being 'the necessity of infusing the appearance of a mental impetus, or semblance of vitality, into the depicted or sculptured objects of art, and to keep the mere academical habits as remote from the perception of the spectator as possible'.³³ It is notable that Baily won his Gold Medal in a year when these qualities in sculpture were being admired.

Baily won his premium for a model of *Hercules rescuing Alcestis from Orcas*, a scene from Euripides' *Alcestis*.³⁴ The source for this subject was Potter's recent translation of the tragedy, purchased for the Academy's library by Flaxman in 1810. All of Baily's early exhibits adhered closely to the body of classical literature advocated by the Council. In 1811, for example, he exhibited *Neptune driving off the winds* (untraced).³⁵ This narrative episode from the *Aeneid* was that which immediately following the Gold Medal subject selected by the Council in 1807.³⁶ In 1813 Baily exhibited another figure of Hercules based on Euripides' *Alcestis*, representing a slightly later scene in the play.³⁷ The sculptor treated Herculean subjects twice again, taking both of these from Ovid: *Hercules throwing Lychas into the Sea* (1814; untraced) and *Hercules wrestling with Achelous* (1817; untraced).³⁸ Baily also utilised the *Iliad* for source material, exhibiting *Apollo discharging his arrows against the Greeks* in 1815 and *Achilles contending with Scamander* in 1816.³⁹ During the period 1811 to 1816, therefore, Baily was exclusively concerned with the representation of heroic male characters taken from Greek and Roman

³¹ Quoted from an article in the *Royal Academy Critiques*, vol. II (1794-1818), 'Discourse on Sculpture at the Royal Academy', unpaginated and un-sourced.

³² See the review of West's lecture included in the *Royal Academy Critiques*, vol. II, dated 15 December 1811, unpaginated and un-sourced. The award included a fifty guinea purse and a copy of Reynolds' *Discourses*. The Gold Medal itself was manufactured by Rundell's.

³³ *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

³⁴ As Gold Medal winning submissions were not permitted to be exhibited at the Academy the same year as the award, Baily exhibited this work at the British Institution in 1812 (no. 218).

³⁵ No. 904.

³⁶ In 1807 the Academy's Gold Medal subject for sculpture was *Juno applying to Aeolus to raise the storm against Aeneas' fleet*; see RA, *Premiums R.A. 1769-1880*, 1807, unpaginated.

³⁷ *Hercules restoring Alcestis to Admetus* from 'Potter's Euripides', (no. 913) (untraced).

³⁸ No. 774 and no. 103 respectively.

³⁹ No 672 and no 928.

literature, as advocated by the Academy's Council. Although these models are now untraced, the titles indicate that they glorified masculine valour and bravura in battle. Holger Hoock has described the Committee of Taste monuments of this period as reflecting a 'revival of militaristic, heroic and chivalric ideals among the British ruling elite, which was fed by a public school education emphasizing competitive physical hardiness, aggressive manliness and a classical curriculum'.⁴⁰ Baily might be described as celebrating in ideal sculpture the same qualities as were being honoured in these important national works.

It was during the summer that Baily exhibited his *Apollo discharging his Arrows* that the British defeated Napoleon's army at Waterloo. There is no evidence to indicate that the young sculptor was among those British artists who took advantage of this opportunity to visit Paris. He may have suffered from a lack of funds, as during this period he is documented as having for some time struggled to support a large family.⁴¹ Baily's professional circumstances also changed this year. Having worked as an apprentice in Flaxman's studio for over seven years, Baily now entered into a direct contract with Rundell and Bridge to become one of their in-house modellers. From 1815 Baily was based at their Dean Street manufactory working alongside Storr and the firm's chief modeller, the sculptor William Theed (1764-1817). Theed had joined Rundell's in 1803, having previously worked for Wedgwood.⁴² He remained with the silversmiths throughout his career, later becoming a partner in the firm, and combining this with his successful practice as an independent sculptor. Like Theed, Baily was also free to pursue his wider artistic ambitions; indeed, it would appear that he was encouraged to do so. A description of Baily's terms of employment indicates that he was given a studio in which to work on his private commissions.⁴³ Rundell and Bridge evidently considered Baily a long-term investment and wished to encourage his professional development as his first salary was described as £600 per annum, which was raised to £800 when he became an

⁴⁰ See Hoock (2004), p. 87.

⁴¹ See *Annals of Fine Art*, vol. III, 1819, p. 571.

⁴² For information on Theed see Gunnis (1968), pp. 385-6 and M. Greenwood, 'Theed, William, the younger (1804-1891)', *DNB* [accessed 28 October 2006]. One of his most famous sculptures was *Hercules capturing the Thracian Horses* (1816) on the pediment of the Royal Mews at Buckingham Palace.

⁴³ An account of Baily's terms of employment was published in the *Athenaeum* in 1867. It was written by Henry Shaw (1800-1873), the antiquarian and illuminator, who described himself as an old friend of the sculptor; see the *Athenaeum*, 8 June 1867, no. 2067, p. 759.

Associate of the Academy and £1000 when he attained the full membership.⁴⁴ Baily's employment at the silversmiths thus provided him with much-needed financial security. No longer an apprentice, he was gradually becoming more professionally established. By 1817 these events had crystallised as this year Baily received his first commission for an ideal gallery figure, *Flora*, representing the goddess of spring. The sculptor's patron was John Bligh (1767-1831), 4th Earl of Darnley.⁴⁵ This commission was also Baily's first female figure in sculpture and in 1817 it was exhibited at the Academy in the company of Canova's *Hebe* and *Terpsichore* and Chantrey's *Sleeping Children*.⁴⁶ It was also this year that Baily took control of his first major commission for a monumental work. In 1816 Theed had secured a Committee of Taste contract to execute the monument commemorating Major-General Sir William Ponsonby (1772-1815).⁴⁷ Theed died in 1817, before work on this commission had been completed, and Baily subsequently took over its completion (fig. 23) (1817-20; St Paul's Cathedral, London). Theed and Baily had evidently been close as the latter is recorded as having given his remuneration for the Ponsonby monument to the deceased's family.⁴⁸ In assuming control of such a prestigious work, Baily succeeded in achieving another level of professional distinction.

In November of that year, Baily was elected an Associate of the Academy, beating his competitors (including John Constable) with nineteen supporters.⁴⁹ He had been

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 759.

⁴⁵ Unfortunately, it has not been possible to trace the Earl's commission or to establish Baily's contact with this patron. Little is known of Darnley's sculpture collection. Some of the family's collection was sold at auction in 1957; see Sotheby's *Cobham Hall: valuable contents, pictures, statuary furniture and household furnishings*, 22-23 July 1957. This sale included some sculptures, but no work by Baily (or a female statue that might have been *Flora*) was listed.

⁴⁶ No. 1062.

⁴⁷ Ponsonby died at Waterloo and the commission for his monument was one of a number given by the Committee of Taste in 1816. Theed's contract was to the value of £3,150; see Hooch (2003), p. 261.

⁴⁸ See the *Annals of Fine Art*, vol. III, 1819, p. 571. When Baily exhibited *Victory: Part of a Monument to the Memory of General-Sir Wm. Ponsonby* (RA 1820, no. 1006), he described the work as 'modelled and executed in marble from the original design of Theed'. This suggests that Baily assumed control of the project at an early stage. Baily did not secure a Committee of Taste monument in his own right until 1823, the *Monument to Admiral Earl St Vincent*; see Hooch (2003), p. 261. This was the last commission awarded by the Committee of Taste.

⁴⁹ See RA, General Assembly Minutes, vol. III, 3 November 1817, f. 249; see also *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, K. Garlick and A. Macintyre, eds, New Haven and London, 1978-1998, vol. XIX, 3 November 1817, p. 5096 which provides a breakdown of the votes.

campaigning for this position since 1815.⁵⁰ Some indication of the high opinion in which the sculptor was held at this time is given in a letter written by Thomas Lawrence to Joseph Farington on the eve of the election: ‘there is one [candidate] of so much merit as a sculptor, Bailey, [sic] that feeling how necessary it is that the Academy should have the support of the strongest talents in art ... I cannot avoid voting for him without feeling myself unjust to both the Body and the Individual’.⁵¹ Lawrence evidently considered Baily to be an important addition to the Academy’s firmament of talent. Both artists hailed from Bristol and the painter did much to encourage Baily following his election as President of the Academy in 1820.⁵² Lawrence’s election to this position came following the death of West. It was as a result of West’s death that an election for a new Academician took place and Baily won this vote in two ballots.⁵³ At the exhibition of 1820 Baily submitted two works representing figures from Milton’s *Paradise Lost*: *Eve at the Fountain* and *Satan addressing the Sun* (untraced).⁵⁴ These ideal figures from a British literary text represented a notable change of direction for the sculptor. Baily’s representation of subjects from *Paradise Lost* will be the subject of discussion in the next chapter. Before moving onto this subject it is useful to consider Baily’s career more generally and the financial problems which affected it in particular.

One of the most important sources of information on Baily is an archive of papers assembled during the 1880s by the sculptor’s son-in-law, Joseph Riddel.⁵⁵ Riddel had hoped that his findings would form the basis of a monograph on the sculptor. This publication did not materialise but the research which he assembled provides a

⁵⁰ Farington noted that the sculptor called on him in October 1815 to mention that he was a candidate for Associate; see Farington, *Diary*, vol. XIII, 30 October 1815, p. 4726.

⁵¹ RA, LAW 2/230, Thomas Lawrence to Joseph Farington, 3 November 1817.

⁵² Between 1823 and 1828, for example, Lawrence gave Baily four commissions to execute portrait busts representing Flaxman, Fuseli, Stothard and Robert Smirke (1780-1867). For a discussion of this commission see A. Kader, ‘Four Marble Busts of Artists by Edward Hodges Baily’, *La scultura 11: studi in onore di Andrew S. Ciechanowiecki*, Turin, 1996. pp. 177-182.

⁵³ See RA, General Assembly Minutes, vol. III, 10 February 1821, ff. 341-342. Baily had sought election in 1819 but had lost to William Hilton; see Farington, *Diary*, vol. XV, 10 February 1819. p. 5323. Baily also called on Farington seeking his support in February 1820; see Farington, *Diary*, vol. XVI, 2 February 1820, p. 5459.

⁵⁴ No. 1008 and no. 1038 respectively.

⁵⁵ *Collection of notes, letters, extracts and cuttings from newspapers and magazines, engravings, portraits, etc., made by Joseph Riddel chiefly in 1883, 1884, for an intended life of his father-in-law Edward Hodges Bailey, R.A., sculptor (d. 1867)*. British Library, Add. MSS. 38678 (referred to hereafter as the Baily papers). Knowles has suggested that Riddel trained in Baily’s studio; see Knowles (1994), p. 2.

rich resource for scholars. It takes the form of a scrapbook compiling articles, reviews, prints and photographs (fig. 24). Also included are a number of letters from Baily's friends and patrons (and transcribed notes recounting Riddel's conversations with these sources) which provide much previously unpublished information. The archive takes as its structure distinct sections of Baily's sculptural practice. The first is concerned with Baily's famous statue of Nelson and the second with his monument and medal to J.M.W Turner (1857) (fig. 25). In the remaining four sections, Riddel considered each genre of Baily's oeuvre in turn.

The first of these addressed the sculptor's longstanding association with the silver trade. Baily worked for Rundell and Bridge until the latter's death in 1833. He then transferred to a rival firm that had been set up by the ex-Rundell's silversmith, Paul Storr, in 1822.⁵⁶ Following Storr's retirement in 1838 this business subsequently became known as Mortimer and Hunt and, later again, as Hunt and Roskell.⁵⁷ Baily worked for all these firms, primarily as a supervisor of designs.⁵⁸ In addition to providing a steady income, this association with the silver trade contributed greatly to the sculptor's public profile. Silverware was an important area of artistic production during the mid century. The *Illustrated London News* published innumerable illustrations of silver racing cups and memorial plate during this period (fig. 26).⁵⁹ These fantastic objects representing 'ancient fables and historical events' were widely celebrated as a 'national art and a national manufacture'.⁶⁰ A writer praising the Ascot Race Cup, for example, designed under Baily's supervision, credited horseracing with not only improving the horsemanship of the British cavalry, but for also having drawn forth the talents of the nation's artists and

⁵⁶ Storr left Rundell's in 1819 and set up in business with John Mortimer (d.1871) in 1822; see Hartop (2005), p. 133 and N. Penzer, *Paul Storr: the last of the goldsmiths*, London, 1954.

⁵⁷ Little research has been carried out into this firm. They exhibited a number of items at the Great Exhibition; see their *Catalogue of Articles exhibited at Great Exhibition 1851 by Hunt and Roskell*, London, 1851.

⁵⁸ Although Baily originally worked as both a modeller and designer, he later worked for the silversmiths in a purely supervisory capacity. Riddel included an extract from a letter from William Hellier Baily (the sculptor's nephew) which stated that he 'went on his own tack, and was engaged at £300 a year to inspect the young modellers twice a week ... he told me it paid for his carriage and pair of horses; half an hour, or something like that was all the time he spent twice a week'; see the Baily papers, f. 60.

⁵⁹ A collection of these articles (c.1840-55) are included in Riddel's archive; see the Baily papers, ff. 33-41.

⁶⁰ See *Illustrated London News*, 20 April 1850, or the Baily papers, f. 36.

designers.⁶¹ The relationship between sculpture and silverware during the nineteenth century is a subject which requires further investigation. Some contribution towards this project is made in the next chapter, which considers Baily's *Eve at the Fountain* as an ideal sculpture which developed out of the sculptor's work for Rundell and Bridge.

In his archive on Baily, Riddel segregated the sculptor's ideal figures into distinct sections: the first dealt with representations of Eve from *Paradise Lost*, the second with statues of 'maternal affection', and the third with works representing subjects of a classical and mythological nature. The latter group included examples such as Baily's *Nymph preparing for a bath* (fig. 27) *The Graces* (fig. 28) and *The Tired Hunter* (fig. 29), executed between 1845 and 1850. Many of these sculptures were the result of commissions placed with Baily by Joseph Neeld, M.P. (1789-1856) (fig. 30 & fig. 31). Neeld was the nephew of Philip Rundell and it was following the latter's death in 1827 that he inherited the silversmith's fortune which enabled him to become one of the most important sculpture collectors of the period. Neeld built up a formidable collection of some thirty-five works, including fifteen by Baily, during the period 1838 to 1856.⁶² All of these were displayed in a double-height sculpture gallery at Neeld's home, Grittleton House, near Chippenham (fig. 32). This fascinating group of works remained *in situ* until sold by Neeld's descendants in 1966.⁶³ Although this collection is considered as it relates to the examples of Baily's work studied in the thesis, it falls outside the remit of this investigation to consider the full range of sculptures purchased by Neeld. The distinctive manner in which this patron acquired and arranged his collection would certainly benefit from further study.

Although Baily's reputation during his lifetime rested on his ideal figures, today the sculptor is better known for his public memorials and portrait statues. Some of the sculptor's most successful works in this category include his monument to Charles, 2nd Earl Grey (1838; Grey Street, Newcastle upon Tyne) and Sir Robert Peel (1852; Market Place, Bury). These memorials to eminent Victorian statesmen testify to the

⁶¹ Ibid., f. 36.

⁶² Neeld and his sculpture collection will be discussed in the chapter on *Eve at the Fountain*; see pp. 96-100.

⁶³ See Christie, Manson & Woods, London, *Catalogue of the Grittleton Marbles*, 22 September 1966.

civic and national pride of the period and they remain highly visible urban landmarks dispersed throughout Britain and, in some cases, at the outposts of Empire.⁶⁴ Riddel's archive provides some details on the production and reception of these works, but, surprisingly, it does not provide any information at all on Baily's practice as an executor of portrait busts. The sculptor produced innumerable works in this class and his sitters included many well-known names of the period such as *Michael Faraday* (1830; University Museum, Oxford), *Henry Peter, Lord Brougham* (RA 1832; untraced) and *Douglas Jerrold* (1853; National Portrait Gallery, London).⁶⁵ Baily's ability as a portraitist was sometimes called into question by his contemporaries, however, and he suffered from competition with Chantrey.⁶⁶ Even Neeld, who commissioned so many ideal figures from Baily, went to Chantrey for his own portrait bust.⁶⁷

Given Riddel and Baily's close family connections, it is surprising to note that the archive provides very little personal and biographical information on the sculptor. Baily married Elizabeth Wadley on 21 April 1806 in St Augustine's Parish Church in Bristol. The couple had eight children.⁶⁸ In keeping with this lack of personal information, Riddel made no reference at all to the financial difficulties which plagued his father-in-law. Given family sensitivities over the subject, this is perhaps understandable but these unfortunate events are crucial episodes the sculptor's career which require investigation. Baily was declared bankrupt twice: the first time in November 1831 and again in December 1837 when he was imprisoned as an insolvent debtor in Fleet Prison until March 1838. As some of the sculptor's bankruptcy records from 1831 survive, the moment of Baily's greatest financial distress is also the point at which some of the most revealing biographical

⁶⁴ Some of Baily's public statues can be found at locations once part of the British colonies; these include the *Monument to Charles Theophilus, Baron Metcalfe* (1843) in Kingston, Jamaica, and the *Monument to David Hare* (1846) in Calcutta, India.

⁶⁵ For an indication of the extent of Baily's practice as a portrait artist see Gunnis (1967), pp. 34-35. In addition to executing commissions for new busts, Baily also produced copies of busts, such as his *Samuel Johnson* after Joseph Nollekens and *Sir Isaac Newton* after Louis-François Roubiliac (both 1828; Beningbrough Hall, Yorkshire).

⁶⁶ See *Builder*, 1 June 1867, no. 1269, p. 387, which referred to his portrait busts as 'luckily few in number'.

⁶⁷ Chantrey exhibited his bust of Neeld at the Academy in 1841 (no. 1325).

⁶⁸ Baily's bankruptcy records of 1831 refer to housekeeping expenses for looking after a wife and eight children, including three grown up daughters; National Archives, Bankruptcy Proceedings for E.H. Baily (1831), *Office of the Commissioners of Bankrupts and successors: Bankruptcy Commission Files*, B3/714, 'The Bankrupt's Balance Sheet', f. 6.

information about him comes to light.⁶⁹ Although these papers are in a partial state, they nevertheless provide a rare glimpse of the financial workings of a sculptor's studio. They also offer some personal insight into the traumatic process of a bankruptcy proceeding for a nineteenth-century family. Information on Baily's bankruptcies will be interwoven into the chapters which follow, as it was against the backdrop of these financial crises that Baily executed the works discussed in this thesis.

In addition to the sculptor's surviving bankruptcy papers, Baily also wrote a series of letters to the Academy's Council in the 1830s asking for financial assistance in which he also articulated many of the problems he faced as a sculptor.⁷⁰ It is worth considering these letters in detail as they explain at first hand the challenges that Baily had to negotiate in his profession. In 1833, two years after his first bankruptcy, Baily stated that the aim of his letter was to draw the Council's attention to the 'depressed state' of British sculpture.⁷¹ He began by complaining of the high price of marble in Britain and the advantages for sculptors working close to the Italian marble quarries. If a Rome-based sculptor found that a stone was defective, he explained, it could easily be returned and a better one selected. Baily suspected that many of these flawed stones were exported to Britain, where sculptors paid fourfold the price for fault-ridden blocks. As patrons refused to meet any unforeseen costs, it was typically the sculptor who bore the brunt of this disadvantage. Baily additionally suggested that the cost of living a 'respectable' life in Britain was enormous when compared to the continent. In spite of Baily's acute recognition of the advantages of working abroad, there is no evidence to suggest that he ever travelled to Rome. In 1817 Baily had applied for the Academy's first Rome scholarship since 1798, when the wars had prevented artists visiting the continent.⁷² The sculptor Samuel Joseph

⁶⁹ NA, Bankruptcy Proceedings for E.H. Baily (1831), B3/714 and B3/715. These papers are in a confused state and often difficult to decipher. It is hoped that with further investigation they will form the basis of a future article. Although Knowles touched upon Baily's bankruptcy in her study this is the first time that these papers have been investigated; see Knowles (1994), pp. 20-21. The most useful section of the two volumes is 'The Bankrupts Balance Sheet', ff. 1-7 at the back of B3/714. The author has also found the following useful in contextualising Baily's proceedings, V. Markham Lester, *Victorian insolvency: bankruptcy, imprisonment for debt, and company winding-up in nineteenth-century England*, Oxford, 1995.

⁷⁰ See Baily's file at the Royal Academy Archives: Baily/RAA/SEC/2/3.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, E.H. Baily to the President and Council of the Royal Academy, 15 November 1833, unpaginated.

⁷² RA, CMB, vol. V, 18 July 1817, f. 398.

(1790-1850) had also applied this year but both applications were rejected as they were received after the Academy's deadline.⁷³ Terry Freidman has described Joseph's failure to travel to Rome as having a significant impact on his career, one that 'exacerbated his isolation from the ideal classicism of portrait sculpture then in vogue, and propelled him instead towards a rarer, idiosyncratic naturalism'.⁷⁴ Baily's failure to secure the travel scholarship had a less profound effect, although one could argue that many of the sculptures he produced after 1817 were specifically oriented towards the home market. Certainly he was keenly sensitive to the competition he faced from colleagues working in Rome, and this was not without good reason. In 1826 the Scottish painter David Wilkie (1785-1841), then residing in Rome, commented upon the great market for sculpture which existed in the city, 'But it is sculpture here that is the great object of attention and encouragement. The number of hewers and cutters multiply by every day's further knowledge of Rome: the chisel and hammer are heard in every corner ... statues and groups are growing to life with almost faultless form'.⁷⁵ Wilkie's comments give some indication of the success of the sculpture market in Rome and practitioners based in London must have felt remote indeed from this hive of activity. We might also compare Baily's period of acute struggle during the 1830s with the great success enjoyed by Rome-based sculptors such as John Gibson (1790-1866) and R.J. Wyatt (1795-1850) during the same period.⁷⁶ Gibson travelled to Rome in 1817 and Wyatt in 1821. After a few years training in the studio of Canova, both sculptors established successful independent studios in the area around the via della Fontenella. It is notable that both received early and important commissions from the Duke of Devonshire on his visits to the city. In 1819 the Duke commissioned Gibson to execute *Mars and Cupid* (1825; Chatsworth). On a visit to Wyatt's studio the Duke also saw and admired a

⁷³ RA, General Assembly Minutes, vol. III, 1810-1825, 25 July 1817, f. 242; see also Farington, *Diary*, vol. XIV, 25 June 1817, p. 5061. A second competition was subsequently advertised but, neither Baily nor Joseph applied again.

⁷⁴ T. Friedman, 'Joseph, Samuel', *DNB* [accessed 6 October 2006]. Joseph subsequently became involved in the then popular pseudo-science of phrenology; see T. Friedman, 'Samuel Joseph phrenologized', *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 86, 1980, pp. 20-28.

⁷⁵ Letter from Wilkie to Abraham Reimbach, 10 January 1826; quoted from Yarrington, 2000, p. 137. For an indication of the competitive nature of the Rome-based sculpture trade during the eighteenth century see my discussion pp. 21-23 and Greenwood (1998), pp. 78-109.

⁷⁶ For Gibson see E. Eastlake, *Life of John Gibson, R.A., sculptor*, London, 1870; T. Matthews, *Biography of John Gibson, R.A., sculptor, Rome*, London 1911 and M. Greenwood, 'Gibson, John', *DNB* [accessed 6 October 2006]. For Wyatt see R.A. Martin, *The Life & Work of Richard James Wyatt (1795-1850)*, undated MA thesis, Henry Moore Institute and J.M. Robinson, 'Wyatt, Richard James', *DNB* [accessed 6 October 2006].

plaster model for *Musidora* in the sculptor's studio and commissioned this in marble (1824; Chatsworth).⁷⁷ The Duke's encouragement of Gibson and Wyatt was crucial at this early stage in their careers and both experienced great success, particularly in commissions for ideal sculpture from British patrons visiting Rome. Baily never benefited from the patronage of Devonshire – or any of the other aristocratic collectors mentioned in the Introduction, all of whom were active collecting sculpture until at least the late 1830s. Devonshire, in particular, preferred collecting sculpture while in Rome and it is possible that Baily's reputation suffered because of his relative 'provincialism' compared to sculptors such as Gibson and Wyatt who operated on an international stage.

In his letter to the Academy, Baily felt that the national biases which affected the sculpture trade demonstrated the inevitable 'ruin which must fall on the sculptors of this country unless some plan can be delivered for averting it'.⁷⁸ He insisted that the matter was of national significance:

The commonest manufacture [in Britain] is guarded against unfair competition and it is but just that a profession requiring so many higher qualifications should not be left to perish or be compelled to seek its preservation in foreign lands ... The stigma of times gone by will again fall upon us and at a moment when the most successful exertions have been made ... to render England as celebrated for sculpture as for the sister arts, she will once more be unworthily held up as incapable of either the imagination or of the technical powers of competing with other nations.⁷⁹

Baily was hoping that the Council might be able to suggest some means of saving sculptors from this disgrace. In response to Baily's heartfelt request, the Council simply assured him that 'if any means of promoting the Art should present themselves, the Council will be most happy to adopt them'.⁸⁰ By 1837 Baily was in dire straits and in two further letters to the Academy, written in great haste and in shaky handwriting, indicate that he was on the verge of arrest and imprisonment as

⁷⁷ Devonshire made a series of important commissions during at least three visits to Rome; for a list see Kenworthy-Browne (1970), Appendix 1, pp. 61-63.

⁷⁸ RA, Baily/RAA/SEC/2/3, EHB to the Royal Academy, 15 November 1833, unpaginated.

⁷⁹ Ibid., unpaginated.

⁸⁰ RA, CMB, vol. VIII, 18 November 1833, f. 53.

an insolvent debtor.⁸¹ He further described himself as without any means of providing for his family ‘or of securing my future and effects, without the aid of my friends’.⁸² No longer concerned with drawing the Council’s attention to the national problems faced by the profession, Baily’s later letters to the Academy were desperate personal pleas for assistance.

The works examined in this study were produced against this difficult financial backdrop. A criticism sometimes levelled at the study of ideal sculpture is that too much attention is devoted to considerations of subject and style, while too little is given to the technical and commercial factors underpinning a work’s production. In *Figured in Marble*, for example, Malcolm Baker critiqued Cunningham’s *Lives* as one of the texts which first established this convention.⁸³ Baker described Cunningham as more concerned with presenting sculptors as creative artists, rather than as practitioners working in a manual, laborious, workshop-based trade. He further argued that the attention which Cunningham paid to ideal works had had a serious negative impact on the study of sculpture:

By the time Cunningham was writing it was the single independent figure or group – what he describes ... as ‘works of a poetic order’ – that had primacy, making even monuments, let alone chimney pieces, fairly marginal. Along with the marginalisation of such classes of sculptural production went a tendency to play down those aspects of sculptural practice that involved technical processes that were seen as ‘mechanical’.⁸⁴

Baker’s aim in his study was to recover these marginalised sculptural genres and to write about them in such a way that addressed the technical and commercial processes involved. This project was an entirely valid one, but some interesting issues relating to ideal sculpture were consequently neglected: what were the processes by which ‘works of a poetic order’ achieved primacy over other types of sculpture, and is it not possible to write about this elevated genre in such a way that addresses the commercial and technical factors involved? Baker considered the

⁸¹ RA, Baily/RAA/SEC/2/3, EHB to the Royal Academy, 5 and 8 December 1837; see also CMB, vol. VIII, 12 December 1837, f. 382 and 15 December 1837, f. 384.

⁸² Baily/RAA/SEC/2/3, EHB to the Royal Academy, 5 December 1837, unpaginated.

⁸³ See Baker (2000), pp. 25-28.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

reproductive and collaborative strategies employed in the production of church monuments, small-scale bronzes and garden statuary, for example: is it to be assumed that these practices were not employed for ideal figures? Clearly this was not the case: this seemingly high-minded and elite genre was subject to the same mechanical processes, produced in collaboration, reproduced in serial and the product of complex commercial negotiations – and a detailed study can reveal how.

Chapter Two

Eve at the Fountain: a female nude in a British idiom

No example of our school of sculpture has attained a wider range of popularity, or has merited a higher claim to what it enjoys, than this exquisitely beautiful figure, in which the purity and chastity of the sculptor's style is pre-eminently manifested.¹

Despite the evident high regard in which Baily's statue was once held, *Eve at the Fountain* is a relatively little-remarked upon object in histories of nineteenth-century sculpture. Many scholars have commented upon the one-time celebrity of this statue but little further research has been carried out.² Baily first exhibited a model for *Eve* in 1819. Having previously relied upon Greek and Roman literature as a source of subject matter for ideal figures, the sculptor's use of a poem from the British literary canon represented a significant departure. Baily subsequently executed the statue in marble at his own expense and exhibited this at the Academy in 1822. This was an ambitious and risky speculation as, despite much critical success, no one came forward to purchase the work. Baily only managed to sell his statue four years later when the Bristol Institution, an organisation from the sculptor's native city, arranged a subscription for its acquisition. In many respects, this was a purchase which the sculptor himself engineered. It was certainly a much-needed sale, as Baily was struggling with financial difficulties at the time. *Eve at the Fountain* subsequently became one of Baily's most popular productions: innumerable plaster reproductions were issued and the sculptor executed several later versions in marble. By the middle of the century, the sculpture was widely celebrated as the finest emanation of the British school itself.

This chapter seeks to investigate how *Eve at the Fountain* became so famous. Of particular concern is Baily's use of *Paradise Lost* as a context in which to represent the female nude. The aim is to explore how this literary context affected the reception of the work and its growing popularity. In addition to critical responses, some poetic responses to the statue will also be considered. With the purchase of *Eve* by the Bristol Institution, the mercantile and aldermanic gentlemen who comprised

¹ *Art Union*, 1 November 1848, p. 320.

² *Eve at the Fountain* has been discussed by Read (1982), p. 54 and p. 203; Knowles (1994), pp. 4-6 and Greenwood (1998), p. 166-167.

this civic organisation were given a rare opportunity to assume the role of collective patrons of modern British gallery sculpture. The organisation's acquisition of *Eve*, and the carefully considered circumstances of display they formulated for it, will also be examined. This chapter will additionally address Baily's later reproduction of the statue. One of the first themes to be explored is the relationship between sculpture and silver during the early nineteenth century. *Eve* was produced during Baily's employment by Rundell and Bridge; indeed, this 'exemplary' manifestation of British sculpture originated as a design in silver.

A product of the luxury trades: the relationship between sculpture and silver

In his *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, Rupert Gunnis described *Eve at the Fountain* as the work which secured Baily an international reputation before commenting that 'it is curious to reflect that he had made the original design as the handle of a cover for a soup-tureen'.³ Gunnis probably sourced this anecdote from one of Baily's obituaries, which noted the following:

The Story of Mr. Baily's 'Eve' forms a pleasing episode in the history of English sculpture. Oddly enough, it was made for the handle of a lid or cover for a City soup-tureen, – perhaps for the Licensed Victuallers. Eve, in all her beauty, surmounting a tureen redolent with real turtle, – fit food for lips and mind.⁴

The Licensed Victuallers do not possess a silver soup-tureen as above described, but Baily's statue did originate as a design in silver, specifically as a figure of Venus surmounting a series of monumental bottle coolers produced by Rundell and Bridge during the 1820s (fig. 33). The overall design of this object has been attributed to Flaxman, with Baily modelling the entire piece and conceiving the Venus.⁵ Both Gunnis and Baily's obituarist found it noteworthy, not to say 'odd' and 'curious', that the sculptor's most famous work began as a decorative embellishment in silver. In fact, sculpture and silver enjoyed a close alliance during the early nineteenth century. This was widely acknowledged at the time, but it was also the subject of some debate: on the one hand, the market for silverware provided sculptors with

³ Gunnis (1968), p. 32.

⁴ *Builder*, 1 June 1867, no. 1269, p. 387.

⁵ See Irwin (1979), p. 194 and *Royal Treasures: A Golden Jubilee Celebration*, J. Roberts, ed., London, 2002, pp. 268-269.

employment and financial stability; on the other, sculptors' reliance on the luxury trades was considered an indication of the dearth of patronage available from other sources.

During the period of Baily's employment by Rundell and Bridge, the firm was London's most successful emporia selling silverware, jewellery and *objets de luxe*.⁶ The company had secured the royal warrant in 1794 from George III, but it was the patronage of the Prince Regent, later George IV, which ensured the company's fortunes. The Prince's expenditure with Rundell's was prodigious. The *beau-monde* followed suit and the firm's showroom on Ludgate Hill was flooded with a rich and fashionable clientele keen to vaunt their wealth and social standing. The prosperity of the silver trade was also underpinned by the political and economic fortunes of the day. The war years were a boom period for the silversmiths, as Philippa Glanville has noted: 'Throughout the almost continuous campaigning against Napoleon, lavish expenditure on goldsmiths' work was fuelled by the swelling incomes of the landed elite ... Having done well from the war, landowners were assertive in their display of wealth.'⁷ Silverware was a desirable avenue of cultural expenditure as, unlike other fine or decorative arts, the raw material was inherently valuable and not as subject to sudden depreciation.

Rundell's success in the market rested particularly on the quality of their designs. Using a similar strategy to that employed by Wedgwood, the firm hired a number of respected artists to work as designers and modellers. In the former group, artists such as Flaxman, Stothard, the painter Henry Howard (1769-1847) and the architects John Buonarotti Papworth (1775-1847) and Charles Robert Cockerell (1788-1863) provided designs.⁸ It was the job of modellers such as Theed and Baily to turn two-dimensional designs on paper into working models which could be passed to Storr

⁶ See Hartop (2005); Oman, (1966), pp. 174-83 and S. Bury, 'The lengthening shadow of Rundell's [pts 1-3]', *The Connoisseur*, 161 (1966), pp.79-85, pp. 152-8 and pp. 218-22.

⁷ P. Glanville, 'Introduction' in Hartop (2005), p. 17.

⁸ For further information on the association of these artists with the silversmiths see Hartop (2005), p. 104 and p. 119 and Oman (1966), pp. 174-83. Hartop suggested that Chantrey also worked for the firm, see Hartop (2005), p. 44, p. 90 and p. 103. Baily evidently formed many close links through his work at Rundell's. J.B. Papworth was the brother of the sculptor Thomas Papworth (1773-1814). Thomas Papworth's son, Edgar George Papworth (1809-1866), lived with his uncle and received sculptural training from Baily. He later married the sculptor's eldest daughter, Caroline, on 10 February 1831 at the Old Church, St Pancras. Their son, another Edgar George Papworth (b. 1832), also became a sculptor; see M. Stocker, 'Papworth, Edgar George', *DNB* [accessed 20 October 2006].

and the firm's others silversmiths for execution in precious metals. The production of silverware at Rundell's was thus characterised by a process of synthesis and collaboration. The firm's wares were also distinguished by their finely modelled figurative ornamentation and bold sculptural forms.

When Baily began his employment with the silversmiths he was based at their Dean Street manufactory working under the supervision of Theed. The firm evidently liked to keep their chief modeller close to hand. Theed was provided with accommodation on Dean Street as part of his contract and, following Theed's death in 1817, Baily's professional address was subsequently listed as No. 76 Dean Street, presumably also at Rundell's expense.⁹ Given these close quarters, it is unsurprising that there were several occasions of symbiosis between sculpture and silver in the oeuvres of modellers working for the firm. Theed's contributions to the Academy included models for ideal figures and works in silver.¹⁰ On more than one occasion there was a slippage between these two aspects of Theed's career. In 1805, for example, Theed exhibited *Thetis with the Arms of Achilles; a model in wax* at the Academy; in 1812 he exhibited the work again with a quotation from Homer, suggesting that he intended it as a gallery figure.¹¹ This design was then re-worked into a set of salt cellars, which became one of Rundell's most popular productions (fig. 34).¹² In 1829 the *Thetis* group was re-worked again and issued by Rundell's as a four-foot bronze statue for George IV (fig. 35) (1829; Royal Collection, London).¹³ This example

⁹ Theed's professional address during his employment by the firm was No. 53 Dean Street. Baily's change of address after 1817 would suggest that he was promoted after Theed's death and given accommodation as part of his contract. Some historians have suggested that Flaxman was made chief modeller in 1817 but, as Hartop has suggested, that there is no evidence to support this claim and this sculptor carried out little practical modelling for the firm; see Hartop (2005), p. 119, n. 14.

¹⁰ In 1809 the sculptor exhibited *A fawn [sic]; part of a group of figures for execution in ornamental plate* (no. 865) for example, and in 1814 he showed two models for plate to be executed for the Prince Regent (no. 790 and 791). Some historians have perhaps overstated the elitist aims of the Academy. Myrone suggested because ornamental design was excluded from the Academy's curriculum, this signalled 'the absolute supremacy of figurative art over ornament' at the institution; see Myrone (1998), p. 162. In practice, models for decorative wares were regularly exhibited alongside busts, statues and monuments and many sculptors worked as designers and modellers for the retail trades; see, for example, T. Clifford, 'John Bacon [senior] and the manufacturers', *Apollo*, 122 (1985), pp. 288-304.

¹¹ RA 1805, No. 695 and RA 1812, no. 915.

¹² There are countless different versions of these salt cellars in existence: see, for example, Christie's, 20 October 1999, lot 182 and lot 204 and Hartop (2005), p. 101.

¹³ The bronze was included in *Sculpture 1850 and 1950: Souvenir Catalogue of London County Council exhibition at Holland Park* (exhib. cat.), London, 1957, unpaginated.

serves to illustrate the mutable nature of sculptural design in blurring the boundaries between its status as a fine and ornamental art.

During the early 1800s, demand for Flaxman's ornamental work was arguably greater than that for his sculpture. Flaxman produced countless designs for George IV's grand dinner service, for example, but he secured very few commissions for sculpture from this patron.¹⁴ This disparity between the market for sculpture and silver was identified at the time and considered a discredit to the nation:

When foreigners visit us they inquire after the works of Flaxman, but nobody knows whither to refer them. They at length have visited Rundell and Bridge's, and have learned that the poetry of sculpture becomes only respectable among us when it derives its value from gold and silver.¹⁵

Another commentator writing in 1819 described Baily's work for the silversmiths as a lamentable state of affairs, attributable to the sculptor's economic hardship: 'However painful such employment may be to the feelings of an artist, who has constantly aimed at the higher branches of his profession, a large family will compel him to follow that line which will best enable him to support them.'¹⁶ Although a sculptor's employment in the silver trade was considered indicative of a lack of wider patronage, silverware was nonetheless a prestigious showcase for sculptural talent. The objects designed and modelled by Flaxman and Baily enjoyed great social cachet as the elite productions of one of London's most desirable luxury trades. At a time when formal dinners were a prominent feature of the fashionable social calendar, elaborate plate functioned as 'table top' sculpture.¹⁷ A version of the marine bottle cooler under discussion here was sold in 1821 to the banker Thomas

¹⁴ Flaxman's only commission for sculpture from George IV was an indirect one, received via the architect John Nash, who commissioned the sculptor to provide the sculpture for the projected triumphal arch for Buckingham House. Flaxman died in 1826, before completing this project and his designs were subsequently executed by Baily, Westmacott and Rossi; see pp. 88-89 and p. 133.

¹⁵ *Art Union*, 1 April 1847, p. 120.

¹⁶ *Annals of Fine Art*, vol. III, 1819, p. 571. Baily was described in this article as in need of being rescued from 'the hands of the silversmiths'.

¹⁷ For an indication of the extent to which sculpture featured in tablewares see *Elegant Eating: four hundred years of dining in style*, P. Glanville and H. Young, eds, London, 2002.

Coutts and his wife, the actress Harriet Mellon (fig. 36).¹⁸ Four were also supplied to George IV circa 1828, and continue in use today (fig. 37).¹⁹

The bottle cooler's exuberant design is typical of Flaxman's work in silver and it stands in some contrast to the chaste simplicity of his marble sculpture and the linear formality of his print illustrations. The entire surface of this object is rich in decorative detail: an assemblage of tortoises and shells support the structure, while tritons and mermen surround the main vessel. At the top of this glittering marine-themed spectacle sits the figure of Venus, as if rising from the waves. Baily's Venus has been compared to Giambologna's female nudes and is closely related to the antique sculpture *Nymph with a Shell* (fig. 38) (Louvre).²⁰ When Baily modified this figure for execution as a statue, he made some significant changes to its design. The sculptor's plaster *maquette* for *Venus* has survived and is in the collection of Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery (fig. 39). It was donated to the museum via a (possible) descendant of the sculptor with an accompanying note:

This model was the original design of 'Eve at the Fountain' ... This very statuette was sent to Bristol for the criticism of the Artist's father (a ship's figure head carver in the employ of Alderman Daniell) who advised his son to get rid of the piece of drapery and let loose the hair, as being more in accordance with a design for Eve.²¹

It has been suggested that *Eve at the Fountain* is simply a variation on the classical bathing nymph theme transferred to a British literary context.²² This interpretation does not fully attend to the important modifications which the sculptor made to his original design. In the sculpted version, the figure's drapery was removed and the hair represented loose, indicating that Baily specifically wished to produce a statue which accorded with the iconography of Eve. The following section will investigate Baily's decision to execute a female nude representing a character from British

¹⁸ See Hartop (2005), pp. 108-109. The Duke of Cumberland also owned a version; see *Silver from a Gilded Age: a selling exhibition of magnificent silver and silver-gilt from George III to Queen Victoria*, J. Adamson, ed., (exhib. cat.) Koopman Rare Art, London, 2005, pp. 44-45.

¹⁹ See Roberts (2002), pp. 268-269.

²⁰ See Hartop (2005), p. 108.

²¹ Baily's model was donated to the museum in 1914 by the family of a doctor from Bristol named Taylor who acquired it from a patient of his, a 'Miss B.', thought to have been related to Baily; see Bristol City Art Gallery and Museum's 'Historical File' on Baily. The maquette is 125mm high.

²² Greenwood (1998), p. 167.

literature. The aim is also to foreground a discussion of how this literary context affected the response of spectators to the work.

Milonic sculpture at the Royal Academy

During the early 1800s, a small but increasing number of sculptures based on British literary subjects were exhibited at the Academy. Classical mythology continued to be a popular subject throughout this period, but the hegemony of classical literature as the basis of ideal sculpture was challenged; or rather, the range of subjects considered admissible to be represented in this genre was broadened. *Paradise Lost* was remarkable in being the first native literary source used by sculptors during the early decades of the century.²³ This fact has been observed by previous scholars but has not yet merited investigation.²⁴ The importance of this text is primarily attributable to the venerated status of the poet himself. By the end of the eighteenth century, John Milton (1608-1674) was firmly enshrined as one of the country's greatest names in literature – a field in which Britain felt particularly confident of its distinction over continental rivals. One of the factors contributing to Milton's high standing was the characterisation of *Paradise Lost* as an epic to equal the ancients. In 1712 Joseph Addison published the first of his famous essays on Milton in the *Spectator*, in which he compared this poet with Homer and Virgil.²⁵ Addison was specifically concerned to demonstrate how an epic composed in the author's native tongue conformed to the ancient laws governing this genre. Milton was credited with possessing a 'classical' quality as a poet: 'Milton's true character as a writer is that he is an Ancient, but born two thousand Years after his time.'²⁶

Paradise Lost was not simply the subject of scholarly veneration, however; along with the Bible and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) it was one of the best-known literary texts of the period. In his study of the impact of *Paradise Lost*, R.D. Havens has noted that this text was published over one hundred times during the

²³ Other British literary texts included James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1730). For a discussion of sculptural interpretations of this poem see Greenwood (1998), pp. 168-171.

²⁴ Greenwood considered early Milonic sculptures in his study, but this included little detailed investigation of individual works; *ibid.*, pp. 165-168.

²⁵ For a discussion of this article see M.D. Ravenhall, *Illustrations of Paradise Lost in England, 1688-1802*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1980, vol. 1, pp. 170.

²⁶ J. Richardson, *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost*, London, 1734, p. 494; quoted from Ravenhall (1980), p. 273.

eighteenth century, along with a considerable body of supporting literature – critical essays, annotated editions, anthologies and adaptations for children – all of which testify to a sizeable public appetite for Milton and his works.²⁷ It was mainly through abridged versions that the reading public were familiar with the text. John Wesley's *An Extract from Milton's Paradise Lost with Notes* (1763), was specifically designed for the 'unlearned' and has been described as an 'epochal' work in the history of British literacy and reading.²⁸ The 'Milton Cult' of the early nineteenth century has also been investigated by Lucy Newlyn, who outlined the importance of *Paradise Lost* thus:

Children, familiarized with [the poem] during the early stages of their education, were encouraged to read it as a kind of primer; and in the popular imagination it acquired the status of a biblical text. Novelists, male and female alike, turned to it as a model for the structure of their narratives and for the delineation of their characters. They knew they could rely upon the immediacy and effectiveness of its popular appeal to bring home any moral point they themselves wished to convey.²⁹

By representing subjects from *Paradise Lost*, therefore, sculptors appealed to a much broader base of the public than they could with a work illustrating classical literature or mythology. They could also rely on the 'immediacy and effectiveness' of Milton's poem to appeal not only to wealthy and well-educated potential patrons, but also to the wider social spectrum of spectators who constituted the audience at the Academy exhibitions.

On a practical level, *Paradise Lost* also provided sculptors with the opportunity to represent the nude, with the characters of Adam, Eve and Satan amenable to being assimilated into the classicising aesthetic of sculpture. While Milton drew widely on a range of Greek and Roman narratives, his interpretations were considered by many British critics to be improvements on the classical texts. In the passage to be

²⁷ See R.D. Havens *The Influence of Milton on English poetry*, Cambridge, MA, 1922, p. 4.

²⁸ O. Sherwin, 'Milton for the Masses: John Wesley's Edition of *Paradise Lost*', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 12 (1951), pp. 267-85. Wesley described his undertaking in the following terms: 'Of all the poems which have hitherto been appreciated in the world, in whatever Age or Nation, the Preference has generally been given by impartial Judges to Milton's *Paradise Lost* ... The immense Learning which he has everywhere crowded together making it quite obscure to persons of a common Education. This Difficulty, almost insuperable as it appears, I have endeavoured to remove in the following Extract.' J. Wesley, 'Dedication to the Reader', *An Extract from Milton's Paradise Lost*, London, 1763 (2nd ed. 1791), unpaginated.

²⁹ L. Newlyn, *Paradise Lost and the Romantic Reader*, Oxford, 1993, p. 19.

explored in this chapter, for example, Eve's admiration of her reflection was based on the tale of Narcissus from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Milton's interpretation of this myth was described as being more 'delicate' and 'natural' than that of Ovid.³⁰ By the same token, the poet based his physical description of Eve on the *Venus de' Medici*, while at the same time suggesting that Eve's beauty was superior to that of the goddess. *Paradise Lost* thus offered sculptors the opportunity to represent the nude body with the necessary erudite contextualisation, but which also had the advantage of being indigenous to Britain and consonant with its religious beliefs.

The importance of *Paradise Lost* as a text for British sculpture was established by its selection in 1780 as the first native poem to be used as a subject for the Gold Medal competitions at the Academy. As noted in the Introduction, previously all the subjects for the premiums had been taken from classical literature or the Bible. In 1780 painters were directed to select a scene of their choice from *Macbeth* and sculptors were invited to do the same using *Paradise Lost*.³¹ In 1794 the poem was used again for the sculpture premium and Rossi's *Model of Eve* was exhibited at the Academy two years later.³² That it took sixteen years from the Council's first official endorsement of *Paradise Lost* for the first Miltonic work to be publicly exhibited there is an indication of the entrenched alliance between sculpture and the antique.

While it is beyond the scope and requirements of this study to investigate representations of British literary themes in art *per se*, these subjects were undoubtedly the focus of increased visualisation during the late eighteenth century. During this period, artists and entrepreneurs turned to native cultural resources in a variety of contexts: in the vogue for picturesque tours, for example, and in the efflorescence of 'literary galleries' in London, such as John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and Thomas Macklin's Poets Gallery.³³ When the Academy took the

³⁰ See Ravenhall (1980), pp. 417-419 who discusses a range of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century critical responses to this passage.

³¹ The premium subject for sculpture in 1780 was listed as 'Any Subject in Milton's *Paradise Lost*'; see RA, *Premiums R.A. 1769-1880*, 1780, unpaginated. Painters were not given a subject from *Paradise Lost* until 1786. During the 1780s and 90s it was mainly Shakespearean themes that were given as the premium subjects for painting.

³² The 1794 sculpture premium subject was specified as the passage representing Adam and Eve waking after Eve's dream (Book V, Ver. 15); *ibid.*, 1794, unpaginated.

³³ See T.S.R. Boase, 'Macklin and Bowyer', *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (26), 1963, pp. 148-77; W.H. Friedman, *Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery*, London and New York, 1976 and R.

decision in 1798 to permit artists to include literary quotations in its exhibition catalogues, this ruling implicitly reflected the increasingly close bond between history painting and British literature.³⁴ Many painters associated with the literary galleries made use of this ruling, but it was also used less descriptively, as by artists such as J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851). In 1798 Turner exhibited *Coniston Fells, Cumberland* (1798; Tate, London) with an excerpt from *Paradise Lost* included in the catalogue.³⁵ The painter's use of a Miltonic quotation was intended to elevate his representation of the British landscape to the status of an epic. Turner's reference to this text to bestow distinction upon his work is important to the concerns of this chapter.

The artist who undoubtedly lavished the greatest attention on *Paradise Lost* was Henry Fuseli whose Milton Gallery of 1799 and 1800 was the most thorough-going visual treatment of this poet's life and works.³⁶ When arguing the case for Milton's popularity at the turn of the century, however, it is necessary to acknowledge that this venture was not a success. In 1791 Fuseli had issued a prospectus for a newly-illustrated edition of Milton, to be supervised by the poet William Cowper (1731-1800). The project quickly foundered, partly as a result of competition from other forthcoming Milton editions.³⁷ Despite these problems, the first Milton Gallery opened in 1799 containing a cycle of forty-one paintings dedicated to Milton's life and works.³⁸ These included spectacular canvases such as *The Creation of Eve* (fig.

Dias, *John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the promotion of a national aesthetic*, PhD thesis, University of York, 2003.

³⁴ In 1798 the Academy changed its admission policy, charging one shilling per person entrance fee and six shillings for a Descriptive Catalogue. Following this ruling, an artist was permitted to submit in writing 'such description of his Performance, as he thinks proper, for insertion, in the Catalogue'. It was expected that this would be confined to as few words as possible; see RA, CMB, vol. II, 20 January 1798, ff. 352-353. Previous to this date artists were only allowed to include the title of a work and literary quotations were not permitted.

³⁵ For a discussion of Turner's use of poetic quotations see *The Triumph of Watercolour*, T. Wilcox, ed., (exhib. cat.) Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 2005, p. 16. For Turner's 'poetic landscapes' more generally see R. Paulson *Literary Landscape: Turner and Constable*, 1982 and J. Heffernan, *The Recreation of Landscape: a study of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Constable and Turner*, Hanover, 1985.

³⁶ For Fuseli's Milton Gallery see M. Pointon, *Milton and English Art*, Manchester, 1970, pp. 90-135 and pp. 255-60; G. Schiff, *Henry Fuseli, 1745-1825* (exhib. cat.), Tate Gallery, London, 1975, pp. 87-96; C. Becker, *Johann Heinrich Füssli: das Verlorene Paradies*, (exhib. cat.) Saatsgalerie, Stuttgart, 1997 and L. Calè, *Fuseli's Milton Gallery: 'turning readers into spectators'*, Oxford, 2006.

³⁷ See Pointon (1970), p. 106.

³⁸ Fuseli received financial support during the early stages of his project from the Liverpool financier William Roscoe (1753-1831). Fuseli anticipated reimbursing Roscoe through entrance and subscriptions fees. In the event, supporters of the Milton Gallery were repaid with unsold paintings; see Pointon (1970), pp.106-7.

40) (1793; Hamburg Kunsthalle).³⁹ The next year a second, enlarged series of forty-seven exhibits was mounted. Both exhibitions were financial and critical failures and Fuseli struggled to sell any works. Most scholars agree that the artist produced an incoherent set of paintings, which might be described as characterised by their wilful unconventionality.⁴⁰ In his *Life of the painter*, Allan Cunningham suggested that: ‘the genius of Fuseli was of a different order to that of Milton. To the severe and serene majesty of the poet the intractable fancy of the painter had refused to bow.’⁴¹ For Cunningham, it was the ‘serene and severe’ qualities of this text which made it so suitable for representation in sculpture. Clearly the exhibition-going public were discerning as to how the poet was represented in art. Irrespective of the Milton Gallery’s failure, Calè has suggested that the Swiss painter’s allegiance to this British literary text was an effective means of securing ‘cultural capital’, one which significantly contributed to the painter’s rising status at the Academy and his election as Professor of Painting in 1799.⁴² This argument might be related to the popularity of this text with sculptors, who were also seeking to attain greater professional standing for their works.

Some of Fuseli’s Miltonic paintings were subsequently issued in an 1802 edition of Milton.⁴³ Cowper’s translations of Milton’s *Latin and Italian Poems* were also published in an edition by the poet William Hayley (1745-1820) in 1808.⁴⁴ Hayley was a close personal friend of Flaxman and the sculptor provided three line illustrations for this publication (fig. 41).⁴⁵ Although Flaxman indicated in a letter to Hayley of 1814 that he intended to produce a ‘great work of sculpture’ based on

³⁹ No. 17 in *The Milton Gallery. A catalogue from the first series of pictures and sketches from the poetic works of John Milton by Henry Fuzli, R.A.*, London, 1799.

⁴⁰ See Pointon (1970), pp. 131-5 and Schiff (1975), pp. 38-40. Many of Fuseli’s canvases represented scenes explicitly cut out of popular versions of the text such as Wesley’s widely-read edition of 1763; see Calè (2001), pp. 82-96.

⁴¹ Cunningham, (1829-33), vol. II, pp. 283-4.

⁴² See Calè (2001), pp. 42-57.

⁴³ See *Milton’s Paradise Lost. A new edition; adorned with plates engraved, chiefly by F. Bartolozzi, from designs by W. Hamilton and H. Fuseli*, 2 vols, London, 1802.

⁴⁴ *Latin and Italian Poems of Milton translated into English verse; and a fragment of a commentary on Paradise Lost, by the late W. Cowper with a preface and notes by the editor, W. Hayley, ed.*, London, 1808.

⁴⁵ For Hayley and Flaxman’s friendship see Irwin (1979), various references, particularly pp. 8-10. In 1800 Hayley wrote *An Essay on Sculpture: in a series of Epistles*, which was dedicated to Flaxman. This text was written after the death of the poet’s son, who had worked as a pupil in Flaxman’s studio.

Paradise Lost, it was not until late in his career that this was put into practice.⁴⁶ During the early 1800s, the majority of sculptors who tackled Milton's poetry were younger and less established, precisely those who were seeking to acquire 'cultural capital' for their work.

Following Rossi's pioneering exhibit in 1796, a number of sculptures representing subjects from *Paradise Lost* appeared at the Academy. In 1802 the actress Sarah Siddons submitted *A Bust of Adam from Milton's Paradise Lost*.⁴⁷ The following year John Smith and Humphrey Hopper both exhibited Miltonic works and in 1805 Thomas Papworth exhibited *Il Penseroso: Bust of Mrs Papworth*, providing a rare example of a tendency common in the Great Room upstairs for painted portraits based on literary characters.⁴⁸ Three years later Chantrey exhibited what was the most significant Miltonic work of the early 1800s, his *Bust of Satan* (untraced).⁴⁹ Although this work was a bust rather than a gallery figure, it was an imaginative piece which the sculptor intended to execute on an ambitious scale. Chantrey developed this subject over the following years and in 1817 a model for a full figure of this character was recorded in the sculptor's ledger.⁵⁰ Several Satanic sculptures were exhibited at the Academy around this time, including in 1814 one by Chantrey's assistant, F.A. Legé (1779-1837) with the quote: 'So stretched out, huge in length, the arch fiend lay'.⁵¹ Although none of these Satan sculptures survive, they were evidently dramatic works in a similar vein to Banks' *Falling Titan* (fig. 42) (1786; Tate, London) and Flaxman's *Fury of Athamas* (fig. 15). In Edmund Burke's

⁴⁶ In 1824 Flaxman began work on *The Flight of Satan*, a commission from the Duke of Bedford, which was uncompleted at the time of the sculptor's death in 1826. For a discussion of this work see V. Flaxman, 'The Flight of Satan from Paradise and Adam and Eve: John Flaxman's last works?', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 122, no. 931, October 1980, pp. 687-690 and 693; B. Sandström, 'A Rediscovered Marble Relief by John Flaxman', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 131, no. 1038, September 1989, pp. 631-633 and P. Fogelman, 'Flaxman's Relief of Satan's Flight from Paradise', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 132, no. 1042, January 1990, p. 31.

⁴⁷ No. 1058. Siddons was a keen amateur sculptor and a noted promoter of Milton. In 1822 she published an abridged version of the poem for children. *The Story of our First Parents; selected from Milton's 'Paradise Lost': for the use of young persons*, London 1822. For information on Siddons as a sculptor see R. Asleson, ed., *Sarah Siddons and her Portraitists*, Los Angeles, 1999, p. 67.

⁴⁸ No. 802. Smith's work, *An Angel casting Satan into the abyss* (no. 1012), was marked with an asterisk in the catalogue, indicating that it was for sale. Hopper's *Adam and Eve* (no. 1020) was exhibited with the quotation: 'To the nuptial bow'r / I led her, blushing like the morn; all heav'n, / And happy constellations on that hour / Shed their selected influence', (Book VIII, lines 510-13). All three works are untraced.

⁴⁹ No. 902.

⁵⁰ See p. 35.

⁵¹ No. 1072.

A Philosophical Enquiry into the origin of our ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful (1757), Satan was described as an exemplary manifestation of the sublime, just as Eve was characterised as the epitome of the beautiful.⁵² No single figures of Eve had been exhibited at the Academy since Rossi's inaugural work. In 1815 the Academy chose *Eve supplicating forgiveness at the feet of Adam* as the premium subject and a number of works on this theme were subsequently exhibited, including in 1816 Samuel Joseph's premium-winning *Eve entreating forgiveness of Adam* (untraced).⁵³ There is no record of any of these figures being commissioned and it is likely that all were speculative models in plaster. Despite the increasing regularity with which Miltonic subjects were exhibited at the Academy, Chantrey's *Satan* was the only sculpture to make a significant critical impact. It was not until the 1817 exhibition and its aftermath that a sustained discourse on the promotion of *Paradise Lost* as a source of subject matter for sculpture was articulated.

As discussed in the Introduction, it was at this exhibition that Canova submitted examples of his statuary for public display at Somerset House. When the *Examiner* described this occasion as one offering spectators the chance to decide whether Britain was capable of cultivating sculptors of the same eminence as Italy, the critic asked 'why not?', when in the sister art of poetry Britain could boast the names of Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton.⁵⁴ It was at this exhibition that Canova was criticised for his choice of subject matter, with William Carey arguing that gods and goddesses were outmoded subjects for contemporary sculptors.⁵⁵ With the *Bust of Satan*, Carey praised Chantrey as having trodden an 'unbeaten path' in British sculpture. While admitting that this character did not elicit an affectionate response in viewers, it did exert a powerful interest:

⁵² For a discussion of Burke's theory of the sublime in relation to Milton's poem see Pointon (1970), pp. 90-135.

⁵³ No. 918.

⁵⁴ *Examiner*, 29 June 1817, no. 496, p. 414. It is tempting to suggest that British artists were keen to challenge – or contain – Canova's genius by reference to Milton as a great British poet. Two out of the three Miltonic works on display in 1817 were positioned either side of Henry Rossi's *Bust of Canova* (no. 1024): Henry Peck's *The Lord Pronouncing Judgement on Adam and Eve* (no. 1023) and Vincent Gahagan's *Satan in Council* (no. 1025). More generally, this impression is suggested by evidence such as Haydon's gift to Canova of an edition of Milton's poetry during the sculptor's visit to London in 1815; see *The Examiner*, 10 December 1815, no. 415, p. 793.

⁵⁵ In supporting his argument, Carey referred to Michelangelo's *Moses* and suggested that this sculptor had been 'too high-minded for frigid repetitions from the heathen mythology'; see Carey (1817), p. 149.

As the Grecian Sculptors and Painters formed the great style, which immortalized their statues of the Gods, from Homer's Deities: so the British Sculptor turned into the right path for elevation, when he sought for materials from our great Epic Poet. That divine poem unlocks a Paradise of naked modesty and beauty, celestial grace and majesty, to a Sculptor or Painter.⁵⁶

The qualities which made *Paradise Lost* so appropriate for sculpture were here clearly identified: the work was not only a classic to rival the ancients, but also a semi-divine text which offered the opportunity to represent the naked body in a context that could be justified as native, natural and 'modest'. Carey went on to list some of the subjects from *Paradise Lost* which were considered suitable for representation in sculpture:

Eve, mild, pure, lovely, fresh from the hand of Heaven, the mother of all; in the first moment of existence, raising her gentle eyes to the sun. What a number of ... noble subjects! What a source of inspiration for the British chisel ...!⁵⁷

Carey was a noted supporter of Chantrey and, as this sculptor was then engaged on a subject from *Paradise Lost*, these views were hardly disinterested. During the early 1820s Chantrey's promoters insisted that he would shortly fulfil his potential with a great work illustrating native literature, namely with the figure of *Satan* (by then commissioned by Egremont). *Paradise Lost* was thus being established as the context in which Chantrey would realise his ambitions in the poetic realm. Despite this 'public relations' campaign, Chantrey failed to complete his *Satan* and never again attempted a sculpture illustrating British literature.

Baily could be described as a sculptor who set out to follow exactly the path claimed for Chantrey by his supporters. In 1819, he exhibited *A Sketch for a figure of Eve, to be executed the size of life* (untraced) at the Academy.⁵⁸ The following year he exhibited this work again under the title *Eve at the Fountain*.⁵⁹ The sculptor also exhibited this year *Satan addressing the Sun: a sketch for a colossal statue*

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 150.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 150.

⁵⁸ No. 1209.

⁵⁹ No. 1007. There is no evidence to confirm the size or material of this exhibit.

(untraced).⁶⁰ This sculpture represented exactly the same subject then being worked upon by Chantrey. Chantrey was just a few years older than Baily and somewhat quicker to rise to professional eminence. When he was made an Academician in 1818, his Diploma Work was a bust of the Academy's then President, Benjamin West (1818; Royal Academy of Arts, London). When Baily was elected as an Academician in 1821 he submitted *Eve at the Fountain* as the demonstration of his talents.⁶¹

In 1822 Baily took something of a financial gamble in executing this subject in marble again for the Academy exhibition.⁶² His statue received an important 'puff' in the March edition of the *Literary Gazette* when it reported that *Eve* was already finished in marble: 'We do not think that so exquisite a nude female figure has ever come from a British chisel, nor indeed that the world can produce many superior representations of feminine loveliness.'⁶³ This positive reception was one which Baily received from all the critics. This was a considerable achievement as Baily's *Eve* was in competition at that year's exhibition with another work representing exactly the same subject. Having executed his model some twenty-six years earlier, Rossi decided to execute his *Eve* in marble in 1822.⁶⁴

The Academy exhibition this year opened to great popular acclaim. The *Literary Gazette* suggested that 'to judge by the crowds which poured in, one might imagine that all Cockney-land was peopled by connoisseurs'.⁶⁵ The main attraction in the Great Room was David Wilkie's *Chelsea Pensioners* (1822; Apsley House, London). Downstairs in the Model Academy, it was noted that a 'distinguished and high stand' was being made by the sculptors:

⁶⁰ No. 1038.

⁶¹ For Baily's submission of *Eve at the Fountain* in marble as his Diploma Work see RA, CMB, VI, 31 October 1821, f. 230 and his accompanying letter: Baily/RAA/SEC/2/3, EHB to the Royal Academy, 31 October 1821. Baily would later remove this work from the Academy and replace it with his *Bust of Flaxman*; see pp. 188-189.

⁶² It may be significant that the sculptor exhibited five portrait busts in 1821, suggesting that he was undertaking a series of 'bread-and-butter' commissions to bankroll his more ambitious pieces.

⁶³ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 20 April 1822, no. 274, p. 250.

⁶⁴ No. 990. In the interim period, Rossi had also exhibited *A recumbent figure of Eve (from Milton) an original model* at the British Institution in 1806, no. 41; see p. 164.

⁶⁵ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 11 May 1822, no. 277, p. 296.

We do not recollect any exhibition in which this everlasting art has been so pre-eminently cultivated. Mr Baily's Eve is not alone in beauty, for there is a charming Psyche by Westmacott; and in the grand style, a groupe [sic] of Satan overcome by St. Michael, does honour to the academical genius of Flaxman. Chantrey's Bust of the King, and other able busts, together with designs for monuments and classic models, complete the attractions of a room, whose untoward darkness we never regretted so much before.⁶⁶

Flaxman's *Satan overcome by St Michael* (fig. 7) (1822; Petworth House) had been commissioned by the Earl of Egremont and the subject was taken from the *Book of Revelation* rather than *Paradise Lost*.⁶⁷ Westmacott's *Psyche* (fig. 43) (1822; Woburn Abbey) was another important commission on display, the patron in this instance being the Duke of Bedford.⁶⁸ Westmacott had been successful in securing considerable 'press coverage' for this his first statue of a female nude. The *European Magazine* reported in delighted tones that it had been granted permission by the Duke to publish an engraving of Westmacott's sculpture as the frontispiece for its July edition (fig. 44).⁶⁹ This was accompanied by a lengthy explanation of Apuleius' tale. Westmacott's statue represented Psyche on the verge of opening the accursed casket and the sculptor had incorporated an actual box in gold and ivory into his work. Many critics were disparaging of the sculptor's use of mixed media. The *Literary Gazette* considered this innovation as detracting from the simplicity and unity of sculpture.⁷⁰ Another commentator described Westmacott's gilt box as no less fatal to the sculpture than it had been to the character of Psyche herself.⁷¹ It was further argued that this novelty degraded the figure to the same level as 'those images that are placed on chimney-pieces to serve as candelabra'.⁷² This polychromatic innovation might be described as drawing attention to the 'objecthood' of the sculpted figure and blurring the distinction between sculpture

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 297.

⁶⁷ No. 985. Egremont clearly had an interest in Satan as a literary and biblical character. For a discussion of this group see P. McEvansoneya, 'Lord Egremont and Flaxman's "St Michael overcoming Satan"', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 143, no. 1179, June 2001, pp. 351-359.

⁶⁸ *Psyche, a statue in marble* (no. 987). For a discussion of this work and the Duke of Bedford's patronage of Westmacott see Busco (1994), pp. 95-99; see also R. Westmacott, *To his Grace the Duke of Bedford ... the annexed Plate of Psyche ... in his Grace's Gallery at Woburn Abbey*, London, 1822.

⁶⁹ *European Magazine and London Review*, July 1822, vol. 82, frontispiece and pp. 63-67.

⁷⁰ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 22 June 1822, no. 283, p. 393.

⁷¹ Pichot (1825), p. 82.

⁷² Ibid., p. 82.

and other material goods.⁷³ Despite these criticisms, Westmacott's *Psyche* was otherwise the subject of praise, particularly for the statue's apparent 'fleshiness'. One critic felt compelled to touch the marble: 'We have indeed the evidence of our own senses, as well as the assurance of the Catalogue, that it is marble we are contemplating, or the polished roundness of those limbs would warrant pressure.'⁷⁴ These surface qualities and the critic's evident desire to touch the statue will be relevant to the forthcoming discussion of *Eve*. It is also worth recalling here that Baily's statue originated as a design for silver tableware and that the perceived purity of the sculptural object was itself a fabrication.

In contrast to Westmacott's *Psyche*, Baily's ideal figure was drawn from the British literary tradition. The sculptor had also included a lengthy quotation from *Paradise Lost* in the catalogue. This passage described Eve's account to Adam of her first waking moments of life:

I laid me down
On the green bank, to look into the clear
Smooth lake that to me seem'd another skie,
As I bent down to look, just opposite,
A shape within the wat'ry gleam appear'd,
Bending to look on me: I started back,⁷⁵

Baily's statue thus represented a freshly created, pre-lapsarian Eve shrinking in surprise from the sight of her first reflection. Rossi's statue, exhibited under the title *Statue of Eve, in Greek Marble*, included the same quotation in the catalogue, excluding the final expression: 'I started back'. Although Rossi's *Eve* is untraced, a good description of it has survived written by the sculptor himself.⁷⁶ Rossi's *Eve* was

⁷³ For a wider discussion of sculptural polychromy see *The Colour of Sculpture*, A. Blühm, ed., (exhib. cat) Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam and Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, 1996-97.

⁷⁴ *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 22 June 1822, no. 283, p. 393.

⁷⁵ The quote has been taken from the Academy catalogue of 1822 (lines 457-462, Book IV). When *Eve* was exhibited in 1820 a slightly earlier section of the poem was used: 'As I bent down to look, just opposite, / A shape within the watry gleam appeared, / Bending to look on me: I started back / It started back; but pleas'd, I soon return'd / Pleas'd it return'd as soon with answering looks / Of sympathy and love' (lines 460-465, Book IV) For the full text see Derbishire, ed. (1958), p. 85.

⁷⁶ Rossi failed to find a purchaser for his *Eve* and the marble and original plaster model were included in the sculptor's studio sale held prior to his retirement; see *Catalogue of the Splendid Collection of Sculpture and Works of Art of Charles Rossi, Esq., RA at his gallery in Grove Place, Lisson Grove*, 3-4 March 1835, lot 119 (the model) and lot 176 (the marble). Gunnis noted that Rossi's marble *Eve*

a recumbent figure, executed in marble from the Pentelicus quarries in Greece on a reduced scale.⁷⁷ The sculptor stated that he had taken ‘great pains’ to accurately represent Milton’s description of Eve admiring her reflection. Rossi evidently wished to heighten this impression, as he had incorporated a ‘plate of looking glass’ onto the top of the sculpture’s green and white Italian marble base. He wrote that this mirror was intended to give ‘pleasing *coup d’oeil*’.⁷⁸ Like Westmacott’s incorporation of gilt and ivory, this mixed media innovation risked degrading the perceived purity of the sculptural object. Rossi’s *Eve* was not well received. The critic of the *Examiner* compared Baily and Rossi’s statues in its review:

Of Eve, consecrated in our hearts to admiration and love, by Milton’s description of her perfections, nothing far short of the consummation of Art will justify a Sculptor’s representation: we cannot therefore be satisfied with Mr Rossi’s *Eve looking at herself in the Lake*, – Mr Baily’s *Eve at the Fountain*, starting back at the sight of herself in the ‘wat’ry gleam’ leads our thoughts agreeably back to his great progenitors in the divine Art of Sculpture in ancient Greece.⁷⁹

These comments were further elaborated by the French writer Amédée Pichot (1795-1877). Pichot compared Baily and Rossi’s statues in his account of a visit to the 1822 Academy exhibition.⁸⁰ Baily’s *Eve* was much admired, but Rossi’s figure was described as comparable to Jacques Delille’s translation of *Paradise Lost*; as Pichot explained, ‘that is to say, by substituting dazzling style and insipid ornament for the dignified and nervous simplicity of the English Bard’.⁸¹ Pichot’s description of the Miltonic text as ‘dignified’ and ‘simple’ were exactly the qualities which rendered it suitable for representation in sculpture. His use of the terms ‘dazzling’ and ‘insipid ornament’ in relation to Rossi’s more self-consciously ‘staged’ representation reveals the extent to which this sculptor had failed in his interpretation of Milton’s poem. Pichot disparaged Rossi’s incorporation of a mirror as ‘whimsical’ and noted that of Baily’s *Eve*: ‘There is a charming air of natural grace in the attitude, and the

sold for 200 guineas, but he does not provide a source for this (or indicate the identity of the purchaser); see Gunnis (1968), p. 327.

⁷⁷ The statue was described as 25 inches high and 32 inches long (635mm x 813mm).

⁷⁸ Rossi (1835), unpaginated.

⁷⁹ *Examiner*, 30 June 1822, no. 753, p. 413.

⁸⁰ Pichot (1825), pp. 81-82.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81. Jacques Delille (1738-1813) was a French poet whose *Paradis perdu. Traduit*, London, 1805 had been accused of weakening the grandeur of Milton’s language.

smile of the countenance well expresses the innocent joys of Eden.’⁸² This response indicates the discrimination of spectators as to how this text, ‘consecrated in our hearts to admiration and love’, was represented in art.

‘Nay, - ‘tis no sculptured art’: a poetic response to *Eve*

Having considered some of the critical responses to *Eve*, attention now turns to a poetic response to Baily’s statue. In August 1822 a poem entitled ‘On seeing Edward Hodges Baily’s *Eve* at the Fountain’ was published in the *Literary Gazette*.⁸³ The author was Henry Neele (1798-1828), a popular poet who contributed to a number of literary magazines and annuals.⁸⁴ Baily and Neele are recorded as being friends and his poem may have been written to help promote the sculpture.⁸⁵ Neele’s extended poetic description of Baily’s statue might be described as an example of ekphrasis, a genre of poetry concerned with describing works of art or encounters with them.⁸⁶ This literary genre was the subject of renewed attention during the early nineteenth century in poems such as the sculptural passages of Keats’ ‘Written on seeing the Elgin Marbles’ (1817) and ‘Ode on a Grecian Urn’ (1820), Byron’s ‘Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage’ (1818) and Shelley’s ‘On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci in the Florentine Gallery’ (1819).⁸⁷ Neele’s poem is, admittedly, not of the same sophistication as this distinguished set of poetic ekphrasis, although it does share with them some common themes. As a poetic response to viewing a modern gallery sculpture it is of considerable interest.⁸⁸ Neele’s poem will be the subject of some discussion and is here quoted in full:

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁸³ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 10 August 1822, no. 290, p. 504. The poem itself is dated May 1822.

⁸⁴ For details on Neele see the ‘Memoir’ published in *The Literary Remains of Henry Neele*, London, 1829. This poet’s career was cut short by his suicide in 1828; see *The Times*, 11 February 1828, p. 3.

⁸⁵ See Hervey (1832), ‘*Eve* at the Fountain’, unpaginated.

⁸⁶ The most famous example of this poetic genre is Homer’s description of the *Shield of Achilles* in Book XVIII of the *Iliad*. For a discussion of ekphrasis as a poetic form see J. Heffernan, *Museum of words: the poetics of ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery*, Chicago & London, 1993 and G.F. Scott, *The Sculpted Word: Keats, ekphrasis, and the visual arts*, London, 1984.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of these poems and their contexts of publication see Scott (1983), pp. 45-67; Heffernan (1984), pp. 94-134 and Yarrington and Wood (2003), pp. 215-235. For Keats, in particular, see I. Jack, *Keats and the Mirror of Art*, Oxford, 1967. These authors emphasise the vogue for ekphrastic poetry in the context of the arrival the Parthenon marbles in London. For poetic responses to ancient statuary specifically see S. Larrabee, *English bards and Grecian marbles: the relationship between sculpture and poetry especially in the Romantic period*, New York, 1943.

⁸⁸ It predates the poems on Chantrey’s *Sleeping Children*, to which most scholars refer; see p. 4.

Nay, 'tis no sculptured art – 'tis she – 'tis she –
 The fatal fair, whose bright betraying smile
 Robbed man of Paradise but taught him Love!
 Oh! More than seraph-beauty. Even man
 Is but “a little lower than the angels,”
 While woman, lovely woman, all divine,
 Transcends their glittering hierarchy. This
 Well knew the subtle tempter, who, albeit
 Himself the semblance of a child of light,
 Could wear, yet chose a brighter minister
 To lure to the fond ruin. Ah! on such
 A face as this, our primal sire might well
 Gaze away Eden! Who than hung on lips
 Like those, and listening to the utterings
 Which made them eloquent, would still desire
 The presence of angelic visitants,
 Or sigh for cherub warblings? Who that felt
 That soft heart beat to his, while that o'er that neck
 Locked in love's fond embrace, his fingers twined,
 Like ring-doves nestling around the tree of life,
 Would deem she lured to death.

Yet, yet she smiles,
 Yet o'er her own sweet image hangs enamour'd,
 While still steadfastly as she, we gaze,
 And share her rapturous wonder; deeming her
 Scarcely less vital than ourselves, and breathless
 Only from admiration! Beautiful!
 'The statue which enchants the world', no more
 Boasts undivided homage. Britain claims
 The laurel for her son, whose genius bids
 Its sweet creation start to life and light,
 Lovely as Pallas, when the brain of Jove
 Teemed with divine imaginings.⁸⁹

In the final stanza Neele quoted from Thomson's *The Seasons* and boldly asserted that Baily has secured glory for the British nation by executing a statue to challenge the supremacy of the *Venus de' Medici*. Despite the fervent quality of the writing, this poem raises a number of interesting issues: firstly, it is testimony to the writer's highly imaginative engagement with the statue. This engagement was not predicated simply upon the beautiful, lustrous or life-like forms of Baily's sculpture. Neele was also responding specifically to the character of the subject represented. In effect, the sculpture's literary context stimulated and encouraged the poet's absorbed engagement with the work. Just as Eve was described as hanging over her own

⁸⁹ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 10 August 1822, no. 290, p. 504.

reflection, so Neele was steadfastly suspended, becoming, quite literally, breathless from admiration. From his description, it seemed that both statue and spectator hovered indeterminately between lifeless marble and animate life.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of Neele's ode is the tone of disbelief which manifested itself throughout the poem: the poet could not believe that Eve's figure was composed of lifeless marble, nor could he believe that the character of Eve was capable of sin. The passage of *Paradise Lost* selected by Baily represented Eve at the moment of her greatest innocence and purity. In her newly-created state she was entirely inexperienced, unable even to recognise or conceptualise her own reflection in the lake. In the same manner that Milton foreshadowed Eve's later transgression in *Paradise Lost*, Neele also alluded to this character's ambivalent status.⁹⁰ In phrases such as 'fatal fair' and 'betraying smile' Neele conjoined and balanced Eve's innocence and culpability in equal measure. Having entered into a poetic reverie on the purity of Eve's pre-lapsarian character, Neele invited the reader to imagine hanging on 'lips like those' and to feel 'that soft heart beat' before asking portentously: 'Who ... would deem she lured to death?'⁹¹ This passage invoked a highly sensory, albeit vicarious, engagement with the statue. The invitation to the reader-spectator to imagine touching *Eve* is a register of the many eroticised senses brought into play by some male spectators when viewing representations of the female body. While a spectator might imagine a sculpted figure to be breathing, or fantasise that the statue's surface would be warm and malleable to touch, to place a hand on the sculpture would not only dispel the illusion, it would also break the accepted conventions of viewing sculpture, namely that it was an ocular and intellectual activity involving a refined set of aesthetic sensibilities.⁹²

Since antiquity the mimetic potential of the sculpted body has constituted one of the principal tensions in sculptural spectatorship. The question of mimeticism is

⁹⁰ For a discussion of Milton's ambivalent characterisation of Eve see C. Belsey, *John Milton: language, gender and power*, Oxford, 1988 and Newlyn (1993), pp. 153-191.

⁹¹ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 10 August 1822, no. 290, p. 504.

⁹² Richard Wrigley has noted in relation to the French eighteenth-century context that touching a sculpture was often an integral part of sculptural spectatorship in private collections, but in the public sphere of the Salon, stricter standards applied; see R. Wrigley, 'Sculpture and the Language of Criticism in Eighteenth-century France in *Augustin Pajou et ses Contemporains*, G. Sherf, ed., Paris, 1999, pp. 75-89.

considerably more potent in relation to sculpted figures than painted ones. While a painted body existed as a two-dimensional representation, the sculpted body occupies the same space as the spectator and is more amenable to being imagined as a living presence.⁹³ The most celebrated and enduring narrative delineation of a statue coming to life is, of course, that of Pygmalion from the *Metamorphoses*. Ovid's tale recounted the story of a young sculptor who fell in a love with his ivory carving of a female figure. Pygmalion was described as caressing his work and imagining its flesh to be soft. He even took his statue to bed and prayed to Venus that he might find a bride resembling his creation. The goddess took pity on Pygmalion and breathed life into the sculpture. At the climax of story, Pygmalion embraced his work and felt its cold, hard surface become warm and soft. As a gendered drama between a male viewer/artist and a female object of desire, the overtly erotic elements of this tale point to the issues at stake in imagining a statue of a female nude to be alive.⁹⁴ Taken from an erudite classical literary source, Ovid's story provided a blueprint for male spectators who wished to give polite expression to the libidinous feelings generated by viewing the female body.

The imputation of 'life' to a sculpture was an entirely knowing suspension of disbelief, one which added an important frisson of excitement to the viewing of sculpture.⁹⁵ This practice was also a well-worn literary convention in describing statuary, particularly representations of the female body, whether or not the work in question was actually life-like. During the eighteenth century, countless poems and epigrams were composed upon the potential for illusion generated by the *Venus de'*

⁹³ For an exploration of this phenomenon see A. Potts, 'Male Phantasy and Modern Sculpture', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1992, pp. 38-47 and K. Gross, *The Dream of the Moving Statue*, Ithaca, 1992.

⁹⁴ For the Pygmalion myth see J. Elsner and A. Sharrock, 'Re-viewing Pygmalion', pp. 149-153; J. Elsner 'Visual Mimesis and the Myth of the Real: Ovid's Pygmalion as Viewer', pp. 154-168 and A. R. Sharrock 'The Love of Creation' pp. 169-182 in *Ramus: Critical Studies in Greek and Roman Literature*, vol. 20 no. 2, 1991. For this myth in the nineteenth-century British context see *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture 1848-1914*, B. Read and J. Barnes eds., London, 1991, pp. 7-11. Other manifestations of the fantasy of a statue coming to life include Hermione's re-animation in *A Winter's Tale*. This narrative event is discussed in Yarrington (2007), pp. 89-96.

⁹⁵ The fantasy of imagining a statue to be 'alive' was very much a rhetorical device. Mistaking a sculpted body for a real one was often cited as evidence of childishness and naivety. See, for example, Cunningham's description of a child confusing Chantrey's statue of Louisa Russell for a little girl: Cunningham (1820), p. 7.

Medici.⁹⁶ Jonathan Richardson described this statue as having ‘such a fleshy softness, one would think it would yield to the touch’.⁹⁷ It was also considered to possess the power to literally petrify the spectator in rapt adulation. The ‘Medusa effect’ was a common feature of sculptural ekphrasis, employed by Neele and many other poets of the time.⁹⁸ In *English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, Stephen Larrabee noted that many poets of the Romantic period engaged in the imaginative ‘animation’ or ‘emotionalising’ of ancient statuary.⁹⁹ John Barrell has also explored how inscriptions and epigrams were used to police the meanings generated by statues representing Venus during the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁰ This was an approach which enabled spectators to ‘narrativise’ the statue and to legitimise their engagement with it. For writers such as Neele, this technique enabled them to hold in balance the evident sensual nature of their encounter by reference to the poetic context of the statue.

Many of these issues are intensified when one considers the formal characteristics of Baily’s statue. The figure of *Eve* is presented in a demure seated position. This composition allowed spectators to enter into a close engagement with the sculpture, but one which was equally frustrated by the figure’s idealised facial expression and inclined head. Walking around the statue, the spectator could admire at close proximity the delicate creases of *Eve*’s flesh and the upturned soles of her feet. *Eve* is also a life-sized figure, something quite rare with ideal sculptures of this period which were usually executed on a ‘less-than-life’ scale: Rossi’s *Eve* was described as less-than-life-sized, for example, and Westmacott’s *Psyche* was also just three-foot tall.¹⁰¹ By adopting this reduced scale, the potential for a statue to be imagined as a living body was considerably curtailed. Baily had indicated from the first that his sculpture would be executed ‘the size of life’.¹⁰² This was testimony to the sculptor’s

⁹⁶ See J.R. Hale, ‘Art and Audience: the Medici Venus, c. 1750-c. 1850’, *Italian Studies* 31, 1976, pp. 37-58 for a discussion of (predominately male) responses to this iconic statue.

⁹⁷ J. Richardson (senior and junior), *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, etc., with Remarks*, London, 1722, p. 36.

⁹⁸ See Scott (1984), pp. 132-34 and pp. 145-48 and Heffernan (1993), pp. 119-124.

⁹⁹ Larrabee (1943), p. 278.

¹⁰⁰ J. Barrell, ‘“The Dangerous Goddess”: Masculinity, Prestige, and the Aesthetic in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Cultural Critique*, No. 12, Spring, 1989, pp. 101-131.

¹⁰¹ Rossi’s statue was 635mm high and Westmacott’s 915mm. Many eighteenth-century ideal figures are also on the traditional ‘three-quarter’ scale, as with Nollekens’ *Venus and Cupid* (1778; The Collection, Lincoln) which is 1320mm high.

¹⁰² *A Sketch for a figure of Eve, to be executed the size of life* (RA 1819, no. 1209).

ambitions and, perhaps, an indication that this scale was something of an innovation. One might also argue that the sculptor wished to invite some of the dynamic and illusory responses discussed above. In this context, it is fascinating to find that there are a set of contemporary references which suggest that Baily may have used a life-cast as the basis of *Eve*.

The earliest reference appeared in an 1845 article on British sculpture, in which the author noted of Baily's statue that a 'beautiful' model had been found 'who consented to be cast all over'.¹⁰³ The two other contemporary references to the use of a life cast originate from sculptors who worked in Baily's studio as assistants. One was published in a biography on the sculptor M.L. Watson (1804-1847) of 1866, in which the author noted: 'The many admirers of Baily's "Eve at the Fountain" are not aware that the pleasure they derive from the work rests on the fact of a "life model" not objecting to a cast being taken of her entire person – hence the beauty of the work, a fine woman, faithfully rendered by Art.'¹⁰⁴ The third source is a note written by Riddel, Baily's son-in-law, in his archive on the sculptor. This reference is of interest as it suggests that the body which Baily used as the basis of his life-cast was his wife's:

Samuel James B. Haydon, a pupil of Mr Baily from 1838 to 1840 ... says he has often seen in Mr. B's studio a cast of the whole of Mrs B's body, except the head, which her husband took when he was modelling his life size Eve and that she was only too glad to serve her husband as a model, to keep away the female models, of whom she was extremely jealous.¹⁰⁵

Although this reference to the identity of Baily's model is remarkable, it is impossible to confirm that his wife, Elizabeth, was the basis of the life-cast. Rather than speculate on these issues, it is perhaps more useful to consider the context in which Baily's experimentation with life-casting might have taken place. This sculptural technique was certainly the subject of renewed interest during the early

¹⁰³ *Fraser's Magazine*, February, 1845, pp. 171-72.

¹⁰⁴ H. Lonsdale, *The Life and Works of Musgrave Lewthwaite Watson, Sculptor*, London, 1866, p. 65. Lonsdale was not personally acquainted with Watson (so he could not have learnt this from the sculptor himself) but he was given Watson's papers by the family when he undertook to write his biography.

¹⁰⁵ See the Baily papers, f. 85. Samuel James Bouverie Haydon (1815-1891) was the brother of B.R. Haydon. Gunnis noted that Samuel trained with Baily; see Gunnis (1968), p. 193.

1800s, not least as a result of the arrival of the Parthenon marbles in London.¹⁰⁶ Such was the naturalism evident in these works that many commentators believed that the sculptors of ancient Greece had used life-casting. Haydon experimented with this technique and wrote that he had, ‘no doubt of the Ancients catching all the markings of instant exertion, by dashing something on that took the impression, then casting it’.¹⁰⁷ In his article ‘On the Elgin Marbles’, William Hazlitt also noted that Chantrey carried out a series of life-casts from a male life model in the light of seeing this collection.¹⁰⁸ Hazlitt himself believed that the Parthenon marbles had ‘every appearance of absolute *fac-similes* or casts taken from nature’.¹⁰⁹ It was the plasticity and fleshiness of the figures which Hazlitt admired, writing that ‘they do not seem to be the outer surface of a hard and immovable block of marble, but to be ... composed of the same soft and flexible materials as the human body’.¹¹⁰ Hazlitt and Haydon expressed some concerns about life-casting as a sculptural process, however, believing that total reliance on this method risked depriving the art of its ‘greatest triumphs’ and rendering it ‘as mechanical as a shaded profile’.¹¹¹ Baily was a close friend of Haydon, exhibiting a bust of the painter alongside one of his own father in 1818.¹¹² The sculptor was also completing the Ponsonby monument for St Paul’s Cathedral at this time, which is often referred to as a sculpture exhibiting a clear debt to the Parthenon marbles.¹¹³ Baily undoubtedly studied these ancient sculptures

¹⁰⁶ The subject of life-casting is rarely discussed in relation to British nineteenth-century sculpture. There is much more literature on this procedure in the French context; see *A fleur de peau: Le moulage sur nature au XIX^e siècle*, E. Papet, ed., (exhib. cat.) Musée d’Orsay, 2001. Auguste Clesinger’s *Woman Bitten by a Snake* (1847; Musée d’Orsay) was famously produced using a life-cast and Eugène Delacroix referred to it as a ‘daguerrotype in sculpture’; quoted in J. Hall, *The World as Sculpture*, London, 1999, p. 342.

¹⁰⁷ Haydon, *Diary*, vol. I, p. 29. Haydon had some experience of producing plaster casts as he produced a life mask of Wordsworth in 1815 and one of Keats in 1816. The former is recorded as taking place on 13 June 1815; see the *Diary*, vol. I, p. 450. Examples of both these casts (they were produced in serial) are in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery (NPG 2020 and 686).

¹⁰⁸ *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, P.P. Howe, ed., London, 1933, vol. 18, p. 149.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹¹² Nos 1085 and 1087 respectively. Haydon recorded that in 1817 he and Baily lived close to one another in Somers Town; see *The Autobiography of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, E. Blunden, ed., London, 1927, p. 348. As previously discussed, Haydon’s brother, Samuel, also trained in Baily’s studio. The sculptor features regularly in the painter’s diary; see Haydon, *Diary*, vol. III, p. 120, where Haydon refers to ‘my old friend Baily’. Both artists were committed to executing ‘high art’ and both were declared bankrupt several times during their careers.

¹¹³ See, for example, Whinney (1964), p. 276, n. 27.

closely and is documented as having exchanged a cast of his *Apollo discharging his arrows* for five guineas' worth of casts from the Parthenon marbles in 1818.¹¹⁴

If Baily was sympathetic to the naturalism suggested by these ancient works, it is reasonable to suggest that he experimented with life casting in his production of *Eve*. This process would only have provided a starting point for the sculptor: all the distinctive qualities of a life-cast – the reproduction of the entire surface of the body including all its wrinkles, faults and flaws – would have been entirely erased during the carving of the statue. The surface of *Eve* does have a notably 'fleshy' appearance, however, which was something remarked upon by contemporary spectators. The *European Magazine* noted particularly the 'great flexibility' evident in the figure's skin.¹¹⁵ The body of *Eve* thus combined qualities of fleshiness and naturalism, but within a framework that was entirely idealising. In refining the suggestion that the Parthenon marbles had little impact on contemporary sculpture, Baily's *Eve* might be cited as an example of the process of assimilation which took place between the traditional artistic veneration of the ideal and the growing admiration of 'life like' beauty during the early 1800s.

The Bristol Institution: civic patronage of poetic sculpture

Despite critical success at the exhibition of 1822, Baily received no offers for the purchase of *Eve*. The next year the sculptor had another opportunity to exhibit the statue at the British Institution, where it secured their prize of 100 guineas for 'the best specimen of native sculpture'.¹¹⁶ In May 1823 the *Bristol Mirror* reported on the proceedings of various artistic meeting in London. The chair of one of these, the Earl of Darnley, had descanted upon the merits of British sculpture and had suggested that the exhibits at the Academy that year 'not only vied with but exceeded Canova'.¹¹⁷ The critic of the *Bristol Mirror* felt sure that Darnley was referring here to Baily. At the 1823 exhibition Baily had submitted a model for a new work, *Affection* (fig. 2). The critic further suggested that if Baily's *Eve* was 'unearthed

¹¹⁴ A correspondent in the *Annals of Art* noted that Baily's *Apollo* (RA 1815, BI 1816) had been returned from the exhibitions unsold and was then to be found in 'Mazzoni's shop', exchanged for casts of the Parthenon marbles; see the *Annals of Fine Art*, vol. II, 1818, p. 120.

¹¹⁵ *European Magazine and London Review*, July 1822, vol. 82, p. 67.

¹¹⁶ BI 1823, no. 337. For the award of 100 guineas see the *Art Union*, 1 November 1848, p. 320.

¹¹⁷ *Bristol Mirror*, 17 May 1823, p. 3. The Earl of Darnley was one of Baily's patrons, who had commissioned *Flora* in 1817, see p. 47.

among the ruins of some Temple of Antiquity' it would be ranked alongside the *Apollo Belvedere* and Parthenon marbles. The article concluded with the following intelligence:

We understand that the propriety of purchasing *Eve* for the Bristol Institution was lately discussed by some public spirited individuals, and for that purpose one gentleman put down 200 guineas. A certain *fastidiousness* of taste, which is never so injurious as in its effects upon works of art, interfered, however, and the idea of the purchase was abandoned for the present. But we trust the gentlemen to whom we allude will persevere in their original intention; as we know that the artist is himself anxious that this his masterpiece, should grace the Temple of Science in his native city.¹¹⁸

Although it would take three years to come to fruition, the Bristol Institution would eventually purchase *Eve* by subscription. This civic and collective purchase might be described as an indication of a sophisticated appreciation of modern British gallery sculpture and an innovative approach to its encouragement. Their acquisition requires further investigation, however, as it was equally a sale which Baily brought about himself.

The foundation of a philosophical and literary society had been the subject of debate in Bristol since the late 1790s, but it was not until 1820 that sufficient funds had been raised for its official inauguration.¹¹⁹ Such a prestigious organisation required a suitable home and the founders appointed C.R. Cockerell as architect.¹²⁰ Cockerell's Greek revival building on Park Street opened to subscribers in 1823 (fig. 45). The premises included a library, 300-seater lecture hall and a fully-fitted laboratory, as well as committee and exhibition rooms. This assortment of facilities attested to the wide-ranging intellectual interests of the Institution. Cockerell's building also housed a museum which by 1823 included a sizeable collection of stuffed animals,

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹⁹ See *Memoir of the Bristol Institution from its commencement in 1820*, Bristol, 1836; J. Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol*, Bristol, 1887, p. 107 and T. Fawcett, *The Rise of Provincial Art: artists, patrons and institutions outside of London*, Oxford, 1974, pp. 185-187.

¹²⁰ For a discussion of Cockerell's building see D. Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell*, London, 1974, pp. 145-7.

geological maps, anthropological specimens – including a finely preserved mummy – and various examples of mineralogy and palaeontology.¹²¹

One of the most prestigious donations which the Institution received was from Cockerell, who contributed a set of plaster casts after the Aegina marbles. The British government had missed the opportunity to purchase these works in 1812 when they had been secured by the Crown Prince of Bavaria, later Ludwig I, to be housed in his Glyptotek in Munich.¹²² Cockerell took moulds of his discoveries, however, and plaster casts were donated to the Liverpool Institution as well as to Bristol.¹²³ Having received casts of ‘the purest specimens of Greek sculpture’, the Institution subsequently purchased casts of the Phigaleian marbles.¹²⁴ The Bristol Institution was very proud of the Greek character of both its building and its growing art collections.

In 1823 the organisation received another donation when Baily offered to carve a relief to surmount the portico of Cockerell’s building (fig. 46).¹²⁵ The frieze was fitted into place in early 1824 and the Institution wrote to express their warmest thanks to the sculptor.¹²⁶ A print of Baily’s sculpture was used as the illustration for the Institution’s share certificates (fig. 47), which included a full iconographic description of the scene:

The Arts, Sciences and Literature are introduced by Apollo and Minerva to the City of Bristol; who, seated on the Avon receives them under her maternal protection and dispenses to them encouragement and rewards, whilst Plenty unveils herself to Peace, since under their happy influence those explanations of the human intellect flourish and improve.¹²⁷

¹²¹ A full description of the layout and contents of the Bristol Institution can be found in *Mathews’s Complete Bristol Guide; forming an ancient as well as a modern history of that opulent provincial metropolis*, Bristol, 1828.

¹²² See Watkin (1974), pp. 3-38 and Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, London, 1987, pp. 191-3.

¹²³ The set in Liverpool were donated by Cockerell’s fellow traveller John Foster (1787-1846), a founder member of the Liverpool Academy of Arts.

¹²⁴ See *Objects and Regulations of the Bristol Institution for the Advancement of Science, Literature and the Arts with Proceedings of the General Meetings*, Bristol, 1823, p. 13. These sculptures had also been discovered by Cockerell and his colleagues and had been purchased by the British Museum in 1815; see Watkin (1974), pp. 11-23 and Jenkins (1992), pp. 78-81.

¹²⁵ Bristol Record Office, Bristol Institution archives (ref. 32079), *Committee Book for General Purpose*, 3 April 1823, unpaginated.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, *Letters Out*, 16 January 1824, unpaginated.

¹²⁷ Baily arranged for the engraving of his work to be carried out for the Institution, at their request; see *ibid.*, *Committee Book for General Purpose*, 6 December 1824, unpaginated.

Baily's frieze thus encapsulated the very highest ambitions of the Institution and was presumably very flattering to its members. The outlook for art patronage in Bristol was less propitious than this scene would suggest, however, as during this period the city had a poor reputation as a haven for the arts.¹²⁸ The poets Thomas Chatterton and Robert Lovell, both native to Bristol, had damned the self-satisfied meanness of the city's merchants, as had Byron.¹²⁹ In 1824 the *Bristol Mercury* also spoke of 'the reproach to which Bristol has long been obnoxious, of apathy in elegant and refined pursuits'.¹³⁰ During the early decades of the nineteenth century, the need to encourage British art was exhorted as a matter of national and civic responsibility.¹³¹ With the inauguration of the Bristol Institution, it was finally hoped that some progress was being made in the city.

The Institution's first art exhibition was held in 1824. Modelled on those of the British Institution, it was composed of Old Master paintings drawn from local collections. Later this year, the first selling exhibition of practising Bristol artists was staged. Prior to the opening of this show the Institution received a letter from Baily, 'announcing his intention' of submitting some of his portrait busts for exhibition: one of Sir Richard Hart Davis, M.P. for Bristol, and another of the popular comedian Joseph Munden.¹³² The Institution had determined that their exhibitions should only include paintings but, conscious of their 'peculiar obligation' to the sculptor, it was conceded that one of Baily's busts could be placed in a committee room.¹³³ In the event, the modern art exhibition was not a success and no exhibits were sold.¹³⁴ This

¹²⁸ See Fawcett (1974), pp. 185-6. Much information about the Bristol arts scene in the early 1800s is to be found in literature on the painter Francis Danby (1793-1861), also a native of the city; see E. Adams, *Francis Danby: varieties of poetic landscape*, New Haven, 1973, pp. 46-48 and F. Greenacre, *Francis Danby 1793-1861* (exhib. cat), Tate Gallery and City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, 1988, pp. 23-24.

¹²⁹ See Adams (1973), pp. 46-47.

¹³⁰ *Bristol Mercury*, 26 July 1824; quoted from Fawcett (1974), p. 185.

¹³¹ See, for example, W.P. Carey, *Observations on the Primary Object of the British Institution and of the Provincial Institutions for the Promotion of the Fine Arts*, London, 1829. Carey insisted upon the important benefits of national and regional art exhibitions as a means of encouraging patronage of British art and fighting foreign competition.

¹³² BRO, BI, *Committee Book for General Purpose*, 19 June 1824, unpaginated. Baily had exhibited the former at the Academy in 1823 (no. 1097). The latter must have been a recent work as it was not exhibited at the Academy until 1825 (no. 1030).

¹³³ *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

¹³⁴ See Fawcett (1974), p. 187.

dearth of patronage was thought to reflect very poorly on the character of the city and its inhabitants.

The following year's Old Master exhibition was much better attended and this success generated additional funds for the Institution in the entrance fees.¹³⁵ The President of the Fine Arts Committee, John Naish Saunders, subsequently suggested that a portion of these proceeds might be used to purchase a piece of sculpture by Baily 'as a small tribute of respect and gratitude for [the sculptor's] great liberality to the Institution'.¹³⁶ Initially it was thought that a commission for a portrait bust would suffice and a special sub-committee was formed to put this into effect. The chair was John Scandrett Harford (1787-1866), a prominent member of the Institution and a descendant from a long line of wealthy Bristolian merchants, bankers and iron manufactures.¹³⁷ The other members of the committee were also from the wealthy families of Bristol and it is entirely possible that Baily was known to them from his youth in the city when he had worked in the merchant trade.

During the course of the sub-committee's meetings it became evident that Baily was hoping for considerably more substantial recompense than a commission for a portrait bust. Harford was in correspondence with the sculptor and at a meeting held in January 1826 it was confidentially communicated to those gathered that Baily's finances were in a very 'embarrassed situation owing to misplaced confidence'.¹³⁸ The members were evidently affected by this news and they rescinded the earlier resolution to purchase a bust in favour of using the proceeds of the 1825 exhibition as the basis of a subscription to purchase Baily's 'celebrated statue of Eve'.¹³⁹ A price of £630 was agreed upon with the sculptor and 32 members of the Institution pledged sums ranging from £5 to £55 towards the scheme.¹⁴⁰ The membership of the Bristol Institution represented a wide range of interests, however, and a certain

¹³⁵ See BRO, BI, *Proceedings of the Sub-Committee for the Exhibition Room*, 31 August 1825, unpaginated.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

¹³⁷ For the Harford family see A. Harford, *Annals of the Harford Family*, London, 1909. J.S. Harford was a patron of John Nash, for whom the latter built Blaise Hamlet.

¹³⁸ BRO, BI, *Special Sub-Committee Book*, 7 February 1826, unpaginated.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

¹⁴⁰ See 'Special Fund for the Promotion of the Fine Arts' in *Objects and Regulations of the Bristol Institution ... with Proceedings of the General Meetings*, Bristol, 1826, p. 30. This provides a full list of all subscribers to *Eve* and a financial breakdown of the purchase.

‘fastidiousness of taste’ – as referred to by the *Bristol Mirror* in 1823 – persisted. The artist and writer George Cumberland (1754-1848) was a member of the Institution at this time and he alluded to the sensitive deliberations taking place over the purchase and display of *Eve* in his correspondence.¹⁴¹ Cumberland noted somewhat mischievously that the whole affair with Baily’s statue would ‘afford a little fun’.¹⁴² The Bristol Institution were certainly very careful over the display of the sculpture and attempted to ‘stage manage’ its critical reception in the city.

Eve was sent to Bristol by sea and conveyed to the Institution on a sledge from the port on 1 April 1826.¹⁴³ Subscribers to the statue were admitted to view the work immediately but it was not shown to the public until specific preparations were made for its display, as the *Bristol Mirror* noted:

We are happy to learn that Mr Baily’s statue of *Eve* is at length safely housed at our Institution; but that the lady will not be ‘at home’ for receiving company until the arrangements of the Committee of Fine Arts shall be completed. Even *Paul Pry* himself, though he has ‘just dropped in’ for the purpose several times has not been able to obtain a peep at her.¹⁴⁴

The Institution’s annual painting exhibition opened in April 1826, including works by Reynolds, West and Stothard, as well as local artists such as Francis Danby and the painter (later turned sculptor) Edward Ripplingille (c.1790-1859). It was agreed that *Eve* would be housed in the same room as Cockerell’s plaster casts of the *Aegina* and *Phigaleian* marbles (room K in fig. 48). These sculptures represented physically aggressive male figures, as can be appreciated from the display of the *Aegina* marbles in the Munich Glyptotek (fig. 49), and they must have formed a rather striking context in which to situate *Eve*. The Institution’s records indicate that the *Aegina* casts were moved to one side so as to ‘leave full room for the *Eve* to be exhibited to the best advantage’.¹⁴⁵ The room was hung with crimson cloth which was draped in such a way so that Baily’s statue was seen without the casts, while still

¹⁴¹ British Library, Cumberland Papers, Add. MSS 36511, July 1825-June 1829. f. 129, f. 175 and f. 180.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, f. 129.

¹⁴³ BRO, BI, *Proceedings of the Sub-committee for the Exhibition Room*, 1 April 1826, unpaginated.

¹⁴⁴ *Bristol Mirror*, 8 April 1826, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ BRO, BI, *Proceedings of the Sub-committee for the Exhibition Room*, 1 April 1826, unpaginated.

enabling visitors to see the latter if desired.¹⁴⁶ *Eve* must have been ensconced in a pavilion-like enclosure of crimson cloth. The stated aim of sequestering the statue in this fashion was so that *Eve* could be seen without the interference of the other sculpted works. This space would have enabled spectators to enjoy a particularly close and private engagement with the sculpture. At the same time, Baily's statue was also effectively concealed within an enclosure and only those visitors who wished to view the work would do so.

Baily sent the Institution a specially-designed pedestal on which to display *Eve* and a notice containing the quotation from Milton and a list of all the subscribers was placed alongside.¹⁴⁷ One of the Institution's members, a Mr Edgar, was invited to write 'a few preparatory remarks' to be used in its official literature, which was also forwarded to local newspapers.¹⁴⁸ Edgar's literary supplement concentrated on identifying the precise moment of *Paradise Lost* which Baily's statue represented. Spectators were advised that this was Eve at the very moment of her conception, 'shrinking in gentle surprise' from the sight of her reflection. Baily was praised as having selected a 'happy point of time for the display of the magic effect of sculpture'.¹⁴⁹ Edgar suggested the expression of Eve's countenance was 'free from the vacancy of mere astonishment or the wildness of unrestrained delight. Her surprise seems attempered [sic] with the new born faculty of thought, and with the self-possession of a rational being.'¹⁵⁰ This commentary was a notably positive interpretation of the character of Eve, one almost entirely free from the feelings of reproach which often accompany responses to her later transgression.

Baily's statue succeeded in generating considerable interest among the Bristolian exhibition-goers when it eventually opened to the public and the Institution took over £70 more than expected in entrance fees. The Fine Arts Committee later

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 10 April 1826, unpaginated. The choice of red for the fabric is of interest; this colour was traditionally used for the display of antique sculpture as it brought out the lustrous qualities of the marble. With its sensuous associations, however, this colour seems a little at odds with the fairly circumscribed environment which the Bristol Institution was trying to establish for Baily's work.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 3 May 1826, unpaginated.

¹⁴⁸ Edgar's account of the statue was printed in *Bristol Mirror*, 13 May 1826, p. 3 and *Felix Farley Bristol Journal*, 13 May 1826, p. 3. It was also included in subsequent exhibition catalogues: see *The Fourth Exhibition of Pictures at the Bristol Institution*, Bristol, 1827, unpaginated. It has not been possible to discover more about Mr. Edgar (he was not among the subscribers to *Eve*).

¹⁴⁹ *Bristol Mirror*, 13 May 1826, p. 3.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

attributed this success to the popularity of Baily's statue.¹⁵¹ All of the Bristol newspapers responded positively to the work. The *Bristol Mirror* likened the city's patronage of Baily to the encouragement offered to sculptors in the 'civilised states' of ancient Greece and considered the residence of *Eve* in Bristol to be a 'permanent memorial of the discrimination and taste' of its citizens.¹⁵² The Institution's purchase also earned them national recognition. The *Literary Gazette* reported with great pleasure that Baily's *Eve* had been, 'purchased by a number of spirited fellow citizens, who, upon hearing that Mr Baily mediated on sending it to the Continent, determined that the country should not suffer under the imputation of having neglected so admirable a specimen of sculpture'.¹⁵³

While the Institution may have garnered praise for its act of sculptural patronage, the acquisition and display of *Eve* evidently required sensitive handling. The level of care taken over the statue's display suggests that committee members were mindful of their need to control the terms in which the statue was interpreted. In many respects their purchase of *Eve* was the discharge of a debt owed to Baily following his donation of the *Apollo and Minerva* frieze in 1823. The Institution justified its purchase in these terms in its annual report, which advised members that, 'a well-earned tribute of gratitude and esteem has been offered to the Artist, to whose taste, talents and munificence, your Portico is indebted for its beautiful Bas-relief'.¹⁵⁴ The Institution's purchase may have been motivated by a sense of obligation, but the acquisition still offered the organisation's membership a rare opportunity to act as patrons of the sculpture, something which they sought to develop in the coming years.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ BRO, BI, *Proceedings for the Sub-committee for the Exhibition Room*, 5 December 1827, unpaginated.

¹⁵² *Bristol Mirror*, 13 May 1826, p. 3.

¹⁵³ *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 11 March 1826, no. 477, p. 155. There is no other evidence to suggest that Baily was hoping to sell his work abroad. The perceived threat of foreign export has a modern resonance, with nationally important works of art in need of being 'saved' from foreign hands.

¹⁵⁴ *Objects and Regulations of the Bristol Institution ... with Proceedings of the General Meetings*, Bristol, 1827, p. 23.

¹⁵⁵ In 1829 the Institution acquired Edward Rippingille's model for a sculpture called *Sleep*. After insisting that the subject's bosom was covered in drapery, the Institution began a subscription to commission the work in marble. This project was never brought to completion but it is evidence of this organisation's desire to build upon its role as collective patrons of modern British sculpture and to develop their collections in this respect; see F. Greenacre, 'Rippingille, Edward Villiers', *DNB* [accessed 12 February 2006]. The Institution was also keen to add to its collection of antique casts and Baily worked for them as an adviser and agent; see BRO, BI, *Proceedings of the Sub-committee*

The making of a ‘universally popular’ sculpture

Although *Eve* was now sequestered in a provincial collection, it was still accessible to visitors and tourist guides, such as *Mathews’s Complete Bristol Guide* of 1828, specifically mentioned Baily’s statue as one of the city’s attractions.¹⁵⁶ The question nevertheless remains as to how the sculpture achieved such notoriety that by 1848 it was described as the ‘finest emanation’ of the British school of sculpture.¹⁵⁷ Almost immediately after its sale to the Bristol Institution, it is clear that Baily started executing plaster reproductions of his statue. In 1827 he exhibited a cast of *Eve* at the Society of British Artists.¹⁵⁸ Three years later Baily donated a full-size cast of the sculpture to the Athenaeum club in London, along with another work entitled *Painting deriving Inspiration from Poetry* (RA 1826; untraced).¹⁵⁹ Baily had been commissioned by this organisation’s architect Decimus Burton (1800-1881) to execute a replica of the *Athena Belletri* for the club’s new building on Pall Mall (fig. 50).¹⁶⁰ Completed in 1830, Burton’s design was an exemplary manifestation of the Greek revival style. Burton had also commissioned John Henning (1771-1851) to provide a copy of the Parthenon frieze for the exterior.¹⁶¹ The Athenaeum quickly became one of the foremost meeting places of the metropolitan cognoscenti. Baily’s donation of his two casts thus offered the sculptor the perfect context for promoting his talents to potential patrons. It also indicated that Baily was innovative in seeking new ways to showcase his talents. His casts were displayed with other sculptures in the Athenaeum building: the entrance vestibule contained casts after the *Apollo Belvedere*, *Venus Genetrix* and *Diane de Gabies*, for example.¹⁶² Baily’s two

for the Exhibition Room, 30 January 1827 and 7 June 1827, unpaginated. The author hopes that the Bristol Institution’s attempts at expanding its sculpture collection will form the basis of future research.

¹⁵⁶ Mathews (1828), unpaginated.

¹⁵⁷ *Art Union*, 1 November 1848, p. 320

¹⁵⁸ SOBA 1827, no. 839.

¹⁵⁹ Athenaeum Club, London. *General Committee Minutes of the Athenaeum Club*, 9 February 1830, f. 94. See also *The Athenaeum Collection*, H. Tait, ed., London, 2000, p. xxi and cat. no. 1400 and 1409, pp. 180-181. Baily also presented the club with a stipple engraving of *Eve* in 1829; see cat. no. 1401, p. 180. The Athenaeum disposed of its two casts by Baily in July 1927.

¹⁶⁰ For a discussion of the founding of the Athenaeum and its building see H. Ward, *The History of the Athenaeum 1824-1925*, London, 1925; F.R. Cowell, *The Athenæum: club and social life in London 1824-1974*, London, 1975 and Tait (2000), pp. xvi-xxvii.

¹⁶¹ Henning made a career from executing copies of the Parthenon frieze in a variety scales and media; see R.J. Malden, *John Henning ... a very ingenious modeller* (exhib. cat.), Renfrew Art Gallery, Paisley, 1977. His son, John Henning Junior (1801-1857), also executed copies of this frieze, most notably for the Colosseum; see p. 200.

¹⁶² See Tait (2000), cat. no. 1258, 1259 and 1260, pp. 159-60.

sculptures were placed at the top of the staircase on the first floor and were thus seen in the context of these canonical pieces.

Baily subsequently issued many further casts after *Eve*. One of these survives in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum and it offers an opportunity to compare marble and plaster (fig. 51).¹⁶³ This is instructive as there are several differences: firstly, in the marble, the left hand is touching the flesh, whereas in the plaster it does not quite meet. The hair on the marble is also fuller and longer. In his archive on Baily, Riddel suggested that a total of twelve full-size casts were published (to use his term) but it seems likely that many more were in circulation.¹⁶⁴ Plaster reproductions of *Eve* are recorded in number of paintings of the period, in a self-portrait of the painter James Sant (1820-1916) in his studio, for example (fig. 52) (National Portrait Gallery, London).¹⁶⁵ Here a cast of *Eve* is seen reflected in a mirror, as if functioning as the painter's muse. Baily himself was represented with *Eve* in Thomas Mogford's portrait *E.H. Baily, Esq., R.A.* (fig. 53), exhibited at the Academy in 1843.¹⁶⁶ *Eve* can also be seen in an anonymous watercolour representing the interior of Baily's studio (fig. 54) (c.1851; National Portrait Gallery, London).¹⁶⁷ It is worth pausing here to consider the significance of 'original' plaster models. In the early 1800s, sculptors such as Canova and Flaxman began to rely upon full-size models when transferring a work to marble. This process enabled greater control to be exerted over the transfer of a design.¹⁶⁸ By retaining their 'original' plaster

¹⁶³ See D. Bilbey and M. Trusted, *British Sculpture 1470 to 2000: a concise catalogue of the collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 2002, cat. no. 262, pp. 185-186.

Riddel suggested that this cast was purchased in 1854-5 for £6 from a Mr Thomas Clark, formerly Head Master of the Birmingham School of Design. Mr Clark was given this cast by the Reverend James Prince Lee (1804-1869), afterwards Bishop of Manchester; see the Baily papers, f. 81.

¹⁶⁴ See the Baily papers, f. 81. Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery has a file on Baily which contains several letters from visitors who have written to inform the museum that they own a plaster cast of *Eve*; see their 'Historical File' on Baily. Baily also exhibited casts of *Eve at the Fountain* at many of the international exhibitions of the period; see A.B. Jameson, *A Handbook to the Courts of Modern Sculpture*, London, 1854, no. 4b, p. 161; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, Dublin 1853, no. 1001, p. 174 and *International Exhibition 1862. Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Department*, London, 1862, (corrected edition), Class XXXIX B, p. 141.

¹⁶⁵ NPG 4093. The title of this work is not known, nor if it was exhibited at the Royal Academy. It was given to the NPG by Sant's grandchildren, James and Sylvia Gye, in 1959.

¹⁶⁶ No. 131 This painting is currently untraced but it was reproduced in Leslie and Eaton (1903), pp. 331-332. Mogford exhibited a second portrait of Baily in 1854 (no. 535), along with one of the sculptor's third daughter, Martha (no. 42).

¹⁶⁷ NPG 6364. This painting was previously attributed to Charles Hutton Lear; see D. Saywell and J. Simon, *Complete Illustrated Catalogue: National Portrait Gallery*, London, 2004, p. 29.

¹⁶⁸ For Canova's use of full-size plaster models see H. Honour, 'Canova's Studio Practice-I: The Early Years' and 'Canova's Studio Practice-II: 1792-1822', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 114, no. 828

models, sculptors were also able to use these as the basis of later versions of their statues, as well as to issue plaster reproductions to a wider market. Another consequent advantage of using full-size plaster models was that sculptors were able to stage in their studios what was effectively a continuous one-man show of their work to date.¹⁶⁹

In addition to full-size plaster casts, Baily also issued multiple reduced plaster statuettes. Some indication of the ubiquity of *Eve* in this medium is suggested by the statue's frequent appearance in early photographic experiments circa 1839-1841. A statuette of *Eve* appeared in many photographs by William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), for example (fig. 55 and fig. 56). In one photograph she is the centre-piece of a three-shelf display of figurines, while in another she is staged alone sitting on a highly polished table top evoking the 'wat'ry gleam' in which *Eve* first beheld her reflection. In his study of Talbot, Larry Schaaf noted that *Eve* was second only to a bust of *Patroclus* as the photographer's most popular subject.¹⁷⁰ *Eve* also appeared in several pictures taken by the French photographer Hippolyte Bayard (1801-1887) c.1839-1840 (fig. 57) suggesting the statuette's popularity on the continent by this time.¹⁷¹ In addition to reproductions of the full statue, Baily also produced a portrait bust of *Eve* in 1837 (fig. 58), several versions of which exist.¹⁷² It was also reported that 20,000 casts of the bust were manufactured.¹⁷³ There is no evidence to suggest that *Eve* was ever issued in parianware or that Baily used the new technologies of

and no. 829, March and April 1972, pp. 146-156 and pp. 214-229; C.C. Hemingway, 'On the Sculptural Technique of Antonio Canova and his Plaster Casts', *Sculpture Review*, Winter 2002, pp. 18-23. Flaxman altered his working procedures for his *St Michael overcoming Satan* and produced a full-size plaster model, having previously relied on reduced ones. For a discussion of Flaxman's use of plaster models see E. Talfourd, *Catalogue of works of art in the Flaxman Gallery*. University College London, London, 1900, pp. 2-3.

¹⁶⁹ These events are discussed in great later detail later in the study; see pp. 181-184.

¹⁷⁰ See L. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot*, Princeton, NJ and Oxford, 2000, pp. 128-129 and p. 246. Schaaf noted that the first positively dated negative of *Eve* was taken on 24 April 1840 and the last on 9 August 1843. In total Talbot took at least twenty-nine negatives of Baily's sculpture. Schaaf also noted that a title page was printed for attaching to the mounts of prints of *Eve* offered by Talbot for sale; see Schaaf (2000), p. 246.

¹⁷¹ See H. von Amelunxen, 'Skiagraphia: l'exposition du sculpté' in *Sculptor Photographer: Photographie-Sculpture: actes du colloque*, M. Frizot and D. Païni, eds, Paris, 1993, p. 23 and M. Poivert, 'Hippolyte Bayard et la préhistoriographie de la photographie', *Revue de l'Art*, no. 141, 2003.

¹⁷² *Head in Marble of Eve*, RA 1837, no.1279. A marble bust of *Eve* is in the collection at Cragstone Hall, Northumberland. The bust has been at the house since it was taken over by the National Trust and is thought to have been purchased by William George Armstrong (1810-1900). Several versions of Baily's bust of *Eve* have been on the market in recent years; see Sotheby's London, 20 November 1997, lot 125.

¹⁷³ *Illustrated London News*, 8 June 1867, no. 1430, vol. L, p. 569.

machine reduction to issue small-scale copies of his work. Thomas Cheverton's machine was patented in 1844 and parianware became popular from the mid-1840s.¹⁷⁴ Baily's statue had achieved its considerable popularity before these newer materials and techniques became available. The material which Baily used to issue cheap reductions of his work, and to access wider markets for his sculpture, appears to have been plaster.¹⁷⁵

Baily's reproduction of *Eve*, which began almost immediately after the statue's sale in 1826, coincided with a period of acute financial difficulty for him. It is useful to contextualise the sculptor's sustained reproduction of his statue in this light. Baily had admitted to the Bristol Institution in 1826 that he was suffering from some financial embarrassment.¹⁷⁶ These problems must have been resolved, or postponed, when in 1828 Baily received a major public commission for sculpture. During the 1820s the architect John Nash had been employed by George IV to remodel Buckingham House into a grander residence approached through a triumphal arch.¹⁷⁷ The commission for the sculptural decoration of this structure had been given to Flaxman, but the sculptor died before any of his designs had been executed.¹⁷⁸ In 1828 Nash split the completion of the work between Westmacott, Rossi and Baily.¹⁷⁹ Baily's contract was for £4,000 and this sizeable commission may have encouraged the sculptor to feel more financially stable as later this year he took out a life assurance policy on the annual payment of £169.¹⁸⁰ This security was short lived, however, as two years later Baily was still waiting to be paid the final instalment of £1,000 for his role in Nash's project.

¹⁷⁴ For a discussion of these developments, see *The Parian Phenomenon: a survey of Victorian parian porcelain statuary and busts*, P. Atterbury, ed., Shepton Beauchamp, 1989 and M. Droth 'Small sculpture c. 1900: the "New Statuette" in English sculptural aesthetics' in *Sculpture and the Pursuit of a Modern Ideal in Britain*, D. Getsy, ed., Aldershot, 2004, pp. 141-65.

¹⁷⁵ It was not until the 1860s the French foundry Barbedienne issued bronze reductions of *Eve*: see F. Barbedienne, *Catalogues des Bronzes d'Art*, Paris, 1867, p. 39.

¹⁷⁶ BRO, BI, *Special Sub-Committee Book*, 7 February 1826, unpaginated

¹⁷⁷ For a more detailed discussion of this project see J. Crook and M.H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. VI, 1782-1851, London, 1973, pp. 293-302; H. Clifford Smith, 'Vicissitudes of the Marble Arch', *Country Life*, 4 July 1952, pp. 38-39 and Yarrington (1988), pp. 229-245.

¹⁷⁸ See Irwin (1979), pp. 175-176.

¹⁷⁹ See Crook and Port (1973), p. 195 for precise details on the division of work undertaken by each sculptor. The contracts were signed on 12 June 1828.

¹⁸⁰ 'Premiums and Duty on Life Assurance for £2000 in the Rock Life Office from September 1828 to September 1831, four years at £169, 15d, 0s per Annum'; see NA, Bankruptcy Proceedings for E.H. Baily (1831), B3/714, 'The Bankrupt's Balance Sheet', 28 December 1831, f. 6.

By 1830 serious concerns over the spiralling costs of Nash's project had led to questions being raised as to the proper use of public funds.¹⁸¹ Following the death of George IV in June that year, William IV showed little interest in Nash's designs and the extravagance of the scheme was considered inappropriate in the economic climate of the day. The government subsequently suspended all payments. On 5 July 1831 Baily and Westmacott wrote to the Treasury to request the final instalment of their fee.¹⁸² When this was not forthcoming, Baily's financial standing – which had never been secure – began to look ever more precarious. He began to borrow money and leave bills unsettled; on 11 November 1831 matters came to a head and the sculptor's creditors issued a petition of bankruptcy against him.¹⁸³

During Baily's bankruptcy proceeding, the sculptor attributed his financial difficulties to the problem of obtaining money from the government for his work at Buckingham House and his subsequent entanglement with some usurious money lenders.¹⁸⁴ While these factors were undoubtedly significant, it is equally clear from Baily's list of debts that he was living beyond his means. The sculptor was indebted to thirty-four creditors to a total of £6,954.¹⁸⁵ Baily's largest creditors by far were Robert Henry Daubeney of Cote near Bristol for £1,838 and his banker, Sir Samuel Scott for £1,666.¹⁸⁶ It has proved impossible to establish the nature of Baily's debt to Daubeney, suffice to say that the two must have been connected through their links to Bristol. Many of his other debts were for relatively small sums owed to local suppliers: his coal merchant, stable keeper, upholsterer, wine merchant, tailor and the landlord of the nearby tavern. Other creditors were purveyors of more luxury goods,

¹⁸¹ See Yarrington (1988), pp. 234-5.

¹⁸² National Archives, Treasury Papers, R. Westmacott and E.H. Baily to the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury, T.1/3489, f. 1189.

¹⁸³ NA, Bankruptcy Proceedings for E.H. Baily (1831), B3/714, 11 November 1831, f. 1. Creditors were subsequently required to attend the Court of Commissioners of Bankrupts on Basinghall Street to prove their debts. These depositions were lodged between 11-29 November 1831 (they survive in partial form in B3/714, between ff. 2-29).

¹⁸⁴ One of Baily's assignees (who was responsible for realising the value of the sculptor's estate and effects) reported on a conversation with Baily in which the sculptor attributed his financial problems to these causes; *ibid.*, B3/175. 'Description of the Assignees expenses', 16, 20 and 21 December 1831, f. 9.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, B3/714. 'The Bankrupt's Balance Sheet', f. 2.

¹⁸⁶ Baily's bank traded under the name 'Sir Claude Scott, Bart, & Co.' and their accounts are held in the archives of the Royal Bank of Scotland. Unfortunately, customer records do not survive but Baily's bad debt is recorded in *The Private Ledger of Sir Claude Scott, Bart & Co* (SCO 1), f. 23.

including a goldsmith, picture dealer and jeweller.¹⁸⁷ Baily also owed wages to his employees; these included his foreman John Parker and assistants James Loft, John Cooper and John Hinchcliffe.¹⁸⁸

As part of his bankruptcy proceedings, Baily was required to attend a hearing on 23 December 1831 at which a full statement of his 'estate and effects' was submitted.¹⁸⁹ It was subsequently agreed that an auction of the sculptor's belongings would take place in January 1832 to satisfy his creditors.¹⁹⁰ To give an indication of what a professional – not to say personal – disaster that the bankruptcy posed, this sale was to include Baily's studio contents and all the family's household possessions.¹⁹¹ Fortunately, the family avoided being evicted from their home through the efforts of some friends and supporters. A portion of their possessions were also purchased privately and it would seem that at least some of Baily's tools, models and materials were also saved at the auction, again, by the sculptor's friends.¹⁹²

Although the paperwork survives only in partial form, it is clear that Baily's bankruptcy of 1831 was resolved and the sculptor avoided imprisonment. Throughout the 1830s Baily continued to struggle financially; in 1833 he wrote to the Academy's Council decrying the 'depressed state of British sculpture' and in December 1837 he wrote again desperately requesting the Academy's assistance to

¹⁸⁷ For a complete list of Baily's creditors see NA, Bankruptcy Proceedings for E.H. Baily (1831), B3/714, 'The Bankrupt's Balance Sheet', f. 2.

¹⁸⁸ Parker stated that had been in Baily's employment for 10 years. James Loft (1820-1867) had previously trained in Chantrey's studio. He was then based at Ebury Street, Pimlico and Baily owed him £25, 10s. John Cooper lived at 13 Warren Street, Fitzroy Square and was owed £27, 13s 6d; see NA, Bankruptcy Proceedings for E.H. Baily (1831), B3/714, 29 November 1831, f. 22. Hinchcliffe had previously worked for Flaxman and Maria Denman accused Baily of poaching this assistant in 1824; see p. 39. Hinchcliffe lived at Mornington Place, Hampstead and he was owed £45; see B3/714, 18 November 1831, f. 17.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, B3/714, 23 December 1831, f. 77.

¹⁹⁰ This was arranged to take place at Mills auctioneers on 6 January 1832. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to locate a catalogue for this sale.

¹⁹¹ Baily's property included marble to the value of £1000; studio equipment to the value of £500; household furniture and effects from the family home to the value of £900; books and prints to the value of £100 and two Life Assurance policies; see NA, Bankruptcy Proceedings for E.H. Baily (1831), B3/714, 'The Bankrupt's Balance Sheet', f. 3.

¹⁹² Baily's 'friends and supporters' purchased the family's household furniture for £500. Baily's foreman, Parker, also acquired many lots at the studio sale to the value of £85, 11s, 3d. Presumably Parker purchased these on behalf of Baily, with the financial support of the sculptor's friends. Baily certainly continued to practice as a sculptor following his bankruptcy, exhibiting four works at the Academy exhibition in the summer of 1832. The possible identity of some of these friends is discussed in the next chapter; see pp. 138-141.

avoid his incarceration for debt.¹⁹³ The precise circumstances surrounding Baily's arrest are unclear but the sculptor was taken into custody shortly after and imprisoned in Fleet Prison until March 1838.¹⁹⁴ Despite these acute financial crises, the family continued to reside at Percy Street and Baily continued to exhibit at the Academy. The sculptor's creditors from his second bankruptcy required him to hold a lottery to dispose of some unsold works in his studio. One of the handbills distributed to advertise this event has survived, dated 25 June 1838 (fig. 59).¹⁹⁵ The two prizes offered in the lottery were both marble statues: the group *Maternal Affection* (fig. 2) which Baily had first exhibited as a model in 1823, and a new, smaller-scale work, *Eve Listening to the Voice*.¹⁹⁶ The lottery was originally advertised to take place at Baily's studio in August 1838 but, for unknown reasons, it did not take place until 29 May 1839.¹⁹⁷ Despite the best efforts of the sculptor to solicit subscriptions, the event was not success. According to the *Art Union* of 1847, the price for the two works amounted to 1,000 guineas but not more than half the tickets were sold.¹⁹⁸ The draw went ahead despite this and the Duke of Buccleuch won *Eve Listening to the Voice*. The ticket for *Maternal Affection* was not drawn and remained Baily's property.

It was at this point that Baily experienced a much-needed change in fortune, when he came into contact with Joseph Neeld, the nephew of Philip Rundell, in whose employment Baily had first produced *Eve at the Fountain*. Neeld had originally trained as a solicitor but as a result of attending to his uncle during his dying days he

¹⁹³ See pp. 52-55.

¹⁹⁴ In the records of the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors, Baily is listed in the *Petitions of Prisoners Record Book* as an 'out of work sculptor'. He made a petition for release from Fleet on 17 January 1838 and the case was heard on 3 March 1838; see NA, *Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors and Office of the Commissioners of Bankrupts*, B8/14, 1838, unpaginated. Baily was subsequently discharged; see NA, *Office of the Commissioners of Bankrupts and successors: Registers of Documents Filed in Bankruptcy Proceedings, Petitions of Prisoners*, 1836-1841, B6/69, unpaginated. An account of Baily's hearing at the Insolvent Debtors Court was published in *The Times*, 3 March 1838, p. 7.

¹⁹⁵ Baily sent this solicitation to the Royal Manchester Institution in the hope that they would purchase a subscription; see *Solicitation for subscribers*, 25 June 1838. Manchester Central Library, Royal Manchester Institution archives (M6/1), *General Correspondence* (M6/1/51), 20 November 1838, f. 84 and *Letters Out* (M6/1/49), f. 156. The RMI took out a subscription for 10 guineas.

¹⁹⁶ Baily had exhibited *Maternal Affection* in marble at the Academy in 1837, no. 1179; *Eve Listening to the Voice* had not previously been exhibited at the Academy.

¹⁹⁷ See MCL, RMI, *General Correspondence* (M6/1/51), 2 May 1839, f. 90.

¹⁹⁸ Other than the existing handbill, all further information on Baily's lottery comes from an article on *Maternal Affection* published in the *Art Union*, 1 April 1847, p. 120.

inherited the bulk of Rundell's estate in 1827.¹⁹⁹ This sum amounted to approximately £900,000, the largest legacy ever proved at Doctors' Commons. Neeld's life story is somewhat reminiscent of a character from a Dickensian novel. On inheriting his fortune, Neeld sought to establish himself in society and he purchased the manor at Grittleton near Chippenham and its estates, which he subsequently redeveloped into a sizeable property (fig. 60).²⁰⁰ Neeld also stood for parliament and secured a seat as the Conservative member for Chippenham in 1830, a post he continued to hold until his death in 1856. Additionally, he sought a suitable marriage and on 1 January 1831 he married the daughter of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lady Caroline Ashley-Cooper (1787-1869), at Warwick Castle. The marriage was generally agreed to have been a socially desirable match for Neeld and financially desirable one for Lady Caroline. Unfortunately, their union was an immediate and disastrous failure. Within just a few days the Neelds were irrevocably separated and Lady Caroline sued for divorce. The court case took place in November 1831 and it was a scandalous one, reported in the press in lurid detail.²⁰¹ Following this humiliation, Neeld travelled on the continent. In 1833 he was in Rome and it was at this point that he placed his first order for a work of sculpture. This commission went to John Gibson, as recounted by sculptor: 'When Mr Joseph Neeld came to Rome he often visited my studio, and at length expressed a wish to possess a statue by me – the subject to be a Venus, nude, but with some drapery modestly arranged without sacrificing too much of the form.'²⁰²

This commission resulted in the *Venus Verticordia* (fig. 61) (1839; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). Several later versions of this statue were produced, one of

¹⁹⁹ For further biographical information on Neeld see the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1856, vol. I, pp. 527-8; F. Boase, *Modern English biography: containing many thousand concise memoirs of persons who have died between the years 1851-1900*, London, 1965, vol. II, p. 1093 and *Who's Who of British Parliament*, M. Stenton, ed., Hassocks, 1976-1981, vol. I, p. 283. Rundell's will was reprinted in *The Times*, 5 March 1827, p. 3 which included an explanation of his decision to leave his wealth to Neeld. For further information on the gossip surrounding this bequest see, W. Doran, *The only authentic edition [of the] Memoirs of the life of ... Philip Rundell*, London, 1827 and the anonymous *Memoirs of the late Philip Rundell*, London 1827.

²⁰⁰ For Grittleton House see the *Builder*, 30 April 1853, no. 534, pp. 279-281; G. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, vol. III, pp. 243-48; M. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, Oxford, 1971, p. 407; T. Mowl, 'A Taste for Towers', *Country Life*, 1 October 1987, pp. 152-155 and *Creating paradise: the building of the English country house, 1660-1880*, R. Wilson and A. Mackley, eds, London, 2000, pp. 42-45.

²⁰¹ For lengthy and painfully detailed description of the Neelds' truly disastrous union see *The Times*, 26 November 1831, p. 3.

²⁰² Matthews (1911), p. 179.

which became the famous *Tinted Venus* at the International Exhibition of 1862.²⁰³ Gibson's statue for Neeld was completed by 1839 and exhibited at the Academy that year.²⁰⁴ By this time Neeld had returned to London and had made contact with Baily, placing a commission for a bust of his uncle and beneficiary, Philip Rundell (fig. 62) (1838; National Portrait Gallery).²⁰⁵ It was following Baily's unsuccessful 1839 lottery that Neeld agreed to purchase the unsold prize, *Maternal Affection*. He also commissioned a full-size version of *Eve Listening to the Voice* (fig. 63). The latter work was exhibited at the Academy in 1841.²⁰⁶ Although a poetic quotation from *Paradise Lost* was not included in the catalogue, the statue was intended to illustrate the passage which immediately followed the one represented by *Eve at the Fountain*.²⁰⁷ The title referred to the moment at which Eve described to Adam her first sight of her reflection:

... there had I fixt,
 Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,
 Had not a voice thus warn'd me, 'What thou seest,
 What there thou seest fair Creature is thyself,
 With thee it came and goes: but follow me,
 And I will bring thee where no shadow stays,
 Thy coming, ...'²⁰⁸

Clearly Baily's statue was almost an exact repetition of his first *Eve*, but the critics were not perturbed and instead expressed delight to see represented in marble again 'the same perfectly beautiful, and as yet sinless woman'.²⁰⁹ As the critic of the *Athenaeum* noted: 'The rich and voluptuous contours, the polished limbs, and the graceful sweep of outline, are the same; so is the exquisite spell by which all these,

²⁰³ For more information on this statue see Read (1982), pp. 25-26 and C. Arscott 'Venus as dominatrix: nineteenth-century artists and their creations' in *Manifestations of Venus: Art and Sexuality*, C. Arscott and K. Scott, eds, Manchester, 2000, pp. 90-125.

²⁰⁴ No. 1303.

²⁰⁵ A bust of Rundell signed and dated *E. H. Baily sculp London 1838* was included in the Grittleton House sale; see Christie's (1966), lot 7. In 1840 Baily exhibited an improved version of this bust at the Academy (no. 1174).

²⁰⁶ *Eve Listening to the Voice, a statue in marble executed for Joseph Neeld, Esq. MP* (no. 1219). Despite exhibiting this work in 1841, the statue in Neeld's collection was dated 1849. It is not clear why Neeld did not take the first version; see p. 97, no. 230. Neeld's statue was sold at Christie's (1966), lot 9 and was later with Daniel Katz; see D. Katz, *European Sculpture*, London and New York, 1996, pp. 118-119. It was also sold by Sotheby's London, 6 June 1997, lot 62.

²⁰⁷ Published descriptions of the statue confirm the sculpture's subject and the lines it represented; see the *Art Journal*, 1 July 1850, p. 208 and S.C. Hall, *Gallery of Modern Sculpture*, London, 1854. 'Eve Listening to the Voice', unpaginated.

²⁰⁸ *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, lines 465-471. For the full text see Derbshire, ed. (1958), p 85.

²⁰⁹ *Athenaeum*, 22 May 1841, no. 708, p. 406.

in their naked loveliness, are made to breathe the very spirit of purity and chastity.’²¹⁰ A poetic response to the statue was phrased in the following terms:

Oh Sculptor ...
 ... Thou hast indeed excell'd thine Art!
 Hast thou not breath inspir'd into that form,
 Then made the silent marble, half afraid,
 To breathe? – Oh! Eve! – Thou art not fallen yet!²¹¹

Eve Listening to the Voice was considered the ‘gem’ of the 1841 exhibition and an exemplary illustration of the ‘appropriate domain of sculpture’.²¹² The basis of Baily’s success was specifically described as his use of the principles of Greek sculpture to illustrate ‘the poetic mythology and rich literature of his native land’.²¹³ While Greek sculpture was venerated as a benchmark of sculptural excellence, the representation of classical subject matter was considered inappropriate:

While it is fitting that a school of art shall get its principles, and frame its canons, as learnedly as it can, it must not hope to carry the public sympathy – and so make a nation of its patrons – but by addressing itself, in practice, to the popular heart and the popular understanding.²¹⁴

These sentiments are exactly those expressed by critics earlier in the century. While Baily’s *Eve at the Fountain* was one of the earliest examples of ideal sculpture representing a character from British literature in the 1820s, twenty years later these subjects were actively encouraged, in the forthcoming competitions to decorate the Palace of Westminster held in 1844 and 1845, for example.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 406.

²¹¹ This poem is quoted from a clipping in the Baily papers, f. 89. The poet was the Rev. W.A. Vaughan, who later corresponded with Riddel regarding the publication of his poem; see the Baily papers, f. 90. The author has been unable to establish the original context in which this poem was published.

²¹² *Athenaeum*, 22 May 1841, no. 708, p. 406.

²¹³ *Athenaeum*, 21 May 1842, no. 760, p. 456. This critic noted, for example, that both Edward Foley and William Calder Marshall had represented *Venus rescuing Aeneas from Diomed*, (no. 1275 and no. 1287, respectively) and it posed the question: ‘how many non-professional visitors to the Academy do Mr. Foley and Mr. Marshall find lingering near their respective works? For whom has the subject the slightest interest? Where [is] ... the instant appreciation that irresistibly arrested the foot of every visitor beside Milton’s Eve as she came in her exceeding beauty from the hand of Baily’.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 457.

²¹⁵ For a discussion of this event see Greenwood (1998), pp. 119, 149-50 and 197.

Neeld's purchase of *Maternal Affection* and *Eve Listening to the Voice* marked the beginning of an important relationship for Baily, one which resulted in several further commissions for ideal figures and groups.²¹⁶ Neeld's sculpture collection at Grittleton House is of considerable interest. Although fairly well documented, it offers much scope for further research.²¹⁷ Some information on the arrangement of works at Neeld's property survives in a set of photographs taken in 1964 (fig. 64).²¹⁸ Although these images date from approximately 100 years after Neeld's death, many of the sculptures were 'slotted' into niches, so presumably the display had altered relatively little. Baily's *Maternal Affection* is identifiable in one of the lower niches. The original location of *Eve Listening to the Voice* is not recorded; Neeld also owned a plaster cast of *Eve at the Fountain*, the location for which is also undocumented.²¹⁹

In seeking to chart the rising popularity of *Eve at the Fountain*, further investigation of Neeld's sculpture collection unfortunately falls outside the parameters of this chapter, suffice to say that it represented an innovative and idiosyncratic approach to the medium's display. Instead, attention turns to some of the other patrons who purchased later versions of Baily's two statues of *Eve*. One of these was Elhanan Bicknell (1788-1861) a wealthy merchant of whale oil (fig. 65). Bicknell was a self-made man, known for his ardent Unitarian faith and his fair-minded politics; he supported free trade even when it threatened to damage his own commercial interests.²²⁰ The family home was a villa in Herne Hill close to Dulwich (fig. 66) and it was here that Bicknell displayed his collection of modern British art. Today Bicknell's reputation as a connoisseur is founded primarily on his patronage of

²¹⁶ Baily executed fifteen works for Neeld, including a third Miltonic sculpture, *Adam comforting Eve after the Dream* (RA 1855, no. 1412). The author hopes to investigate this sculpture in the context of Neeld's wider collection in future research. Of particular interest are a group of portrait figures at Grittleton: two by Baily representing Flaxman and Stothard, and another by Baily's grandson, George Edgar Papworth, representing Baily himself.

²¹⁷ Neeld's sculpture collection has been discussed by J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'Marbles from a Victorian Fantasy', *Country Life*, 22 September 1966, pp. 708-712; Read (1982), pp. 140-141 and Greenwood (1998), pp. 259-261.

²¹⁸ See the National Monuments Record, English Heritage, ref NGR: ST8586679973.

²¹⁹ See Christie's (1966), p. 9, lot 9a.

²²⁰ For further biographical information on Bicknell see 'The Late Elhanan Bicknell', *Christian Reformer, or, Unitarian Magazine and Review*, 1862, pp. 55-9 and S. Whittingham, 'Bicknell, Elhanan', *DNB* [accessed 2 November 2005].

Turner, although he collected a wide range of British painting.²²¹ Most of these were direct commissions or purchases from artists and Bicknell was reported to have stated that he did not ‘give a damn’ for Old Masters.²²² In *Treasures of Art*, Gustav Waagen referred to Bicknell’s villa as ‘literally filled’ with pictures.²²³ The bulk of Bicknell’s collection was displayed over three rooms, the principal of which was the drawing room. This was described as richly decorated in the rococo taste, with mirror-lined shutters which Waagen anticipated would have had a brilliant effect when lighted by candlelight. In addition to paintings, Bicknell also built up a collection of modern sculpture. Aside from two pieces by Bertel Thorvaldsen, the majority of Bicknell’s twenty-two piece collection was by British practitioners: including Gibson, Baily, Patrick Macdowell, William Calder Marshall and Joseph Gott.²²⁴ Baily received the bulk of Bicknell’s patronage, executing nine works for the collector. These included a marble version of *Eve Listening to the Voice*, which was described as having been obtained ‘directly’ from the artist.²²⁵ It is documented that this statue was displayed in a small room adjoining the drawing room, known as the ‘ante-room’.²²⁶ It was displayed alongside four other works by Baily: ideal figures representing *Paris*, *Helen*, *Cupid* and *Psyche* (fig. 67).²²⁷ Finally, Bicknell also owned a cycle of portrait busts by Baily representing four canonical British writers and thinkers: John Locke, Isaac Newton, William Shakespeare, and John Milton.²²⁸ A tantalising glimpse of Bicknell’s sculpture collection is given in Stephen Poyntz

²²¹ See P. Bicknell, ‘Turner’s “The whale ship”: a missing link?’, *Turner Studies*, v/ii, 1985, pp. 20-23 and P. Bicknell and H. Guiterman: ‘The Turner Collector: Elhanan Bicknell’, *Turner Studies*, vii/1, 1987, pp. 34-44.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 36. For a wider consideration of Bicknell’s collecting habits see D.S. Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class: money and the making of cultural identity*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 393-5.

²²³ Waagen (1854) vol. II, p. 349; see also ‘The Collection of Elkanah [sic] Bicknell, esq., at Herne Hill’, *Art Journal*, 1 January 1857, pp. 8-10.

²²⁴ Bicknell’s art collection was sold after his death and the catalogue listed twenty-two sculptures: see Christie’s, London, *Collection of English pictures and sculptures of Elhanan Bicknell, Esq., Deceased removed from Herne Hill ...*, 25 April 1863, lots 123-145.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, lot 139. The catalogue does not indicate if the work was dated.

²²⁶ See Waagen (1854), p. 349.

²²⁷ Baily exhibited *Psyche* and *Helen unveiling herself to Paris* in marble at the Academy in 1843 (no 1388 and no 1410 respectively). The following year he exhibited the models for *Paris* and *Cupid*. These works were listed as *Model of a small statue of Paris, executed in marble* (no. 1268) and *Model of a small statue of Cupid, executed in marble* (no. 1282). The author reads this to suggest that the sculptor exhibited models of works already executed in marble. Baily’s *Psyche* (signed and dated 1842) was sold at Bonham’s, *Fine 19th century Furniture, Sculpture and Ceramics*, 7 October 1998, lot 33. The statue was listed as 1315mm in height, 2010mm including base, which was a rotary pedestal. It has not as yet proved possible to establish the provenance of this sculpture, but it is possible that it was commissioned by Bicknell.

²²⁸ Lots 125-128. No further information survives as to when Baily executed these pieces or how they were displayed in Bicknell’s villa.

Denning's *The children of Elhanan and Lucinda Bicknell at home* (fig. 68) (1841; Victoria and Albert Museum). To the right of the painting can be seen the corner of a free-standing sculptural figure or group. Although little further information about the interior of Bicknell's home survives, it is clear that his art collection was spread throughout family's living quarters.

Other collectors of Baily's *Eve Listening to the Voice* included Wynn Ellis, M.P. (1790-1875). Ellis was a haberdasher by trade who went on to establish the largest silk business in London.²²⁹ Elected the Liberal M.P. for Leicester in 1831, he served until 1834 and then again between 1839 and 1847. He was an active member of parliament, advocating total repeal of Corn Laws and supporting free trade. In 1836 he bought the manor of Ponsbourne Park Hertfordshire (fig. 69). Following Ellis's death, much of his art collection was bequeathed to the nation and his *Eve Listening to the Voice* is now in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 5).²³⁰ Baily also executed later marble versions of *Eve at the Fountain*, one of which was in the collection of Robert Vernon (1774-1849).²³¹ *Eve* was not among the works Vernon donated to the nation in the 1847, but it was in the possession of Vernon's beneficiary, Captain Leicester Vernon, when it was loaned to the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition in 1857.²³² Another marble version of *Eve at the Fountain* is in the collection of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (fig. 70). It was bought in 1886 by the museum's founder, the brewer and art collector Carl Jacobsen (1842-1914).²³³

²²⁹ Much information on Ellis can be sourced from his obituary in the *Illustrated London News*, 8 January 1876, no. 1902, vol. LXVII, pp. 35-58. For further details of Ellis's art patronage see Macleod (1996), p. 413; see also Ellis' entry in Stenton (1976-1981), vol. I (1832-1885), p. 127 and G.C. Boase, 'Ellis, Wynne', rev. A. McConnell, *DNB* [accessed 11 September 2006].

²³⁰ See Bilbey and Trusted (2004), cat. no. 266, p. 188. Ellis's version is inscribed 'The ORIGINAL Eve by / E.H. Baily, R.A. Sculp London, 1842'. It is impossible to be sure how Ellis came into possession of this piece. The version in Neeld's collection is dated 1849, making Ellis's version the earlier work; see p. 93, n. 206. It is possible that Neeld rejected the first version of the statue, as the one dated 1842 has a strong grey 'ripple' running through the marble. The version eventually purchased by Neeld is not 'flawed' in the same way. Baily executed Ellis' portrait bust in 1853 (no. 1439) so the two were certainly acquainted from this point.

²³¹ Riddel noted that Baily executed a copy for: 'Mr Vernon of Pall Mall and Ardington House, Berks, for which he paid £525'; see the Baily papers, f. 81. Vernon's collection of modern British paintings is well documented, but less is known of his sculpture collection. For information on this patron and his bequest see R. Hamlyn, *Robert Vernon's gift: British art for the nation, 1847*, (exhib. cat) Tate Gallery, London, 1993 and Macleod (1996), pp. 484-485.

²³² *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom: collected at Manchester in 1857*. London, 1857, no. 1, p. 163. It is not known if this work was dated and it is now untraced.

²³³ This information comes from the archive of the Carlsberg Glyptotek. The museum's statue is signed and dated 'E. H. Baily R. A. Sculpt. 1849'. For more information on Jacobson's art collection, see K. Glamann, *Beer and marble: Carl Jacobsen of New Carlsberg, Denmark*, 1996.

One could argue that many of the gentlemen who owned versions of Baily's *Eve at the Fountain* and *Eve Listening to the Voice* were representative of a new type of collector for ideal sculpture: entrepreneurs, businessmen and politicians, rather than the landed aristocracy. This group could also be described as broadly reflective of the collectors examined by Dianne Sacho Macleod in *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*. In this publication Macleod argued that many of the industrialists who constituted the market for modern British art during the nineteenth century did not seek to emulate the aristocracy and existing patterns of patronage, instead they recast the cultural system in their own image.²³⁴ Neeld is excluded from Macleod's book as he inherited his wealth and became one of Britain's wealthiest landowners, albeit one often snobbishly dismissed as an *arriviste*.²³⁵ Rather than attempting to identify any particular 'type' of sculpture collector, the significant conclusion to draw from the material considered above is the increasingly diversified market for ideal sculpture, with evidence of an equally varied preference for how sculpture could be displayed in the home. Equally, it is important to recognise that the sculptors themselves were adept at meeting the needs of this broader range of consumers. Baily may have initially struggled to sell *Eve at the Fountain* in 1822, but by 1854 the statue was described as 'universally popular':

... they must be few indeed who are not intimately acquainted with it. In every possible material, and in an infinite variety of sizes, it has been copied and dispersed abroad, to an extent, perhaps, far exceeding that of any sculptured work.²³⁶

While *Eve at the Fountain* may have been considered a stalwart example of British school by mid-century commentators, it is important to read this statue's popularity against Baily's financial difficulties of the 1830s and the sculptor's sustained reproduction of it. It is difficult to know now whether the innumerable versions which the sculptor issued – marble copies, full-size plaster casts, reduced plaster statuettes and portrait bust versions in marble and plaster – satisfied or created a demand for this work. In his large-scale reproduction of *Eve at the Fountain*, and in

²³⁴ See particularly Macleod (1996), pp. 88-129.

²³⁵ See J. Mordaunt Crook, *The rise of the nouveaux riches: style and status in Victorian and Edwardian architecture*, London, 1999, p. 53.

²³⁶ Hall (1854), 'Eve at the Fountain' unpaginated.

the execution of an almost identical statue in 1841, Baily was not criticised for attempting to expunge the greatest financial return from his work. Instead, the sculptor's replication of his statue – and the new markets which these objects reached – was described as something to be celebrated, as evidence of the work's great public popularity, and the success of the British school itself. From classical nymph embellishing opulent Regency plate, to an icon of the early photographic age, *Eve at the Fountain* gives some indication of developments in British sculpture during the early nineteenth century, and how one sculptor struggled to succeed in this market.

Chapter Three

Objects of Affection: mother and child groups as poetic sculptures

What can be more pleasing to the sight, or more entrancing to the heart, than a beautiful woman with a lovely infant in her arms? No living object.¹

Having examined Baily's statues representing Eve from Milton's *Paradise Lost* attention now turns to another genre of Baily's poetic sculptures, mother and child groups. This chapter takes as its starting point the statue on the right of George Childs' watercolour of the Colosseum (fig. 3), representing a reclining mother holding her baby to her chest (fig. 4). This figural group was originally commissioned circa 1832 by Henry McConnel (1801-1871), a Manchester cotton-mill owner whose wife had died in childbirth. Although the commission may have been prompted by this sad event, the statue was not intended as a portrait or church monument; instead, it was displayed as an ideal figure in the patron's home, having been publicly exhibited in London and Manchester. A plaster cast of the statue was also later placed on show at the Colosseum. McConnel's commission serves as an introduction to an important area of Baily's sculptural output. During the period 1823 to 1837 he executed a total of six mother and child works and, in some cases, several versions of each were produced.

During the 1820s generic maternal groups intended as gallery statues became a notable presence at the exhibitions. Many sculptors aside from Baily executed works of this type. While reference will be made to a range of sculptors – so that the popularity of this genre can be established – the group produced by Baily forms the nucleus to the study which follows. The main exception to this is Westmacott's *Houseless Traveller* (fig. 71) (1822; Bowood, Wiltshire) which is discussed in some detail in the first section. The aim of this chapter is to consider the production and patronage of these mother and child groups in relation to a set of wider themes: the contemporary appeal of maternal-themed gallery statues and poetic responses to them; the relationship of these sculptures to medical and moral debates which

¹ Quoted from an unidentified press clipping in the Baily papers, f. 99.

informed the cultural construction of motherhood; and the pleasures and anxieties generated by viewing the maternal body in marble.

During the early nineteenth century the family was characterised as a semi-divine institution in a range of religious, literary and poetic contexts.² Situated at the emotional heart of this social unit was the ministering angel of the mother. In much of the literature of this period, the notion that a woman should devote herself to the discharge of her maternal duties was characterised as crucial not only to her family's happiness but also to the social, political and economic well-being of the nation at large.³ Motherhood may have been a semi-sacred institution but it was also one framed by prohibitions. The early nineteenth century witnessed an enormous growth in literature directed at young mothers: advice books and medical publications of all kinds instructed women on their responsibilities regarding breastfeeding, nursery government and ensuring the physical, moral and religious wellbeing of her offspring. While scholars have related cultural productions such as novels, poetry and painting to this body of literature, sculpture remains somewhat disconnected from these debates.⁴ In addition to considering sculptural productions within this social context, this chapter seeks to consider what was specific about the representation of motherhood in this medium.

Before launching into these investigations, an introductory appraisal of the contexts in which mother and child groups appeared in British sculpture is required. During the eighteenth century, the representation of women as mothers in ideal sculpture

² In different ways, for example, authors such as Sarah Stickney Ellis (1799-1872) and Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) characterised the family as a repository of stable values offering social harmony and individual fulfilment; see S. Ellis, *The Mothers of England, their Influence and Responsibility*, London, 1845 and H. Martineau, *Devotional Exercises*, London and Norwich, 1823 and *Household Education*, London, 1849.

³ For an indication of this see, for example, W. Buchan's *Advice to Mothers*, in which the author stated: 'I do not know of any manner in which humanity, charity and patriotism can be more laudably exerted, or in every part of the public revenue more usefully employed, than in enabling mothers to bring up a healthy and hardy race of men, fit to earn their livelihood by useful employment and to defend their country in the hour of danger.' W. Buchan, *Advice to mothers, on the best means of promoting the health, strength, beauty, and intellectual improvement of their offspring*, London, 1803 (2nd edition, 1811), pp. 4-5. In 'enabling' mothers to do this, Buchan sternly stipulated an alarming number of 'rules of conduct' expected of her.

⁴ See, for example, S. Casteras, *Images of Victorian womanhood in art*, Rutherford, NJ and London, 1987; E.A. Kaplan, *Motherhood and representation: the mother in popular culture and melodrama*, London, 1992 and J. Egerton, *Beyond the sentiment: the image of Victorian motherhood in literature, art and popular culture*, PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2003.

was limited. Classical mythology offered subjects which might be construed as maternal, such as Joseph Nollekens' *Venus chiding Cupid* (fig. 12) (1778; The Collection, Lincoln), but figures such as this were chiefly sensual portrayals of the goddess of love attended by her cherubic companion. Thomas Banks' *Thetis and Achilles* (fig. 72) (1790; Victoria & Albert Museum, London) was also more likely to be read as representing an event from pagan mythology.⁵ Flaxman later observed that the representation of domestic affection was rarely found in ancient art; consequently, it seldom appeared in the gallery figures of eighteenth-century sculptors who were committed to the antique.⁶ As will be discussed, Flaxman recommended the portrayal of maternal affection to sculptor-students at the Academy specifically because it was a modern innovation in sculpture and one associated with the Christian faith.

The market for religious sculptures in the eighteenth century was virtually non-existent, as a result of the Reformation. Certainly few statues of the Virgin Mary were to be found adorning English churches.⁷ The Protestant faith held the view that Marian imagery was idolatrous and Catholic veneration of the Virgin was considered a symptom of withholding the Bible from the poor. Westmacott's *Madonna and Child* (fig. 73) (1825; Church of Transfiguration, New York) is one of the few post-Reformation examples of this subject known to the author. While the Anglican Church did not permit devotional sculpture, the production of commemorative sculpture flourished.⁸ During the second half of the eighteenth century it became increasingly popular in this genre to memorialise women in the guise of loving mothers. Given that death in childbed was an alarming risk for many mothers during this period, Nicholas Penny has investigated church monuments specifically commemorating women who died in this way.⁹ During the seventeenth century it had been the convention to distinguish women who had died in childbed by showing

⁵ See Bryant (2005), cat. no. 26, pp. 35-36. Even though this group was a portrait of the patron's wife and daughter, it was not a generic representation of maternal affection, in that the mother is holding her baby by its ankle.

⁶ Flaxman, *Lectures*, pp. 255-6.

⁷ For the destruction of Marian imagery in post-Reformation England see M. Warner, *All Alone of Her Sex: the myth and cult of the Virgin Mary*, London, 1976 (2nd edition, 2000), pp. 285-298.

⁸ See, for example, Penny (1977) and M. Craske, *The London trade in monumental sculpture and the development of the imagery of the family in funerary monuments of the period 1720-60*, PhD thesis, University of London, 1992.

⁹ N. Penny, 'English Church Monuments to Women Who Died in Childbed between 1780 and 1835', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 38, 1975, pp. 314-332.

them holding their baby.¹⁰ Over the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, the formality which characterised traditional effigies gave way to a greater sense of intimacy and domestic affection. In *Church Monuments in Romantic England*, Nicholas Penny described these works as providing an outlet for imagery otherwise discouraged by the Protestant church.¹¹ In line with this argument, one might relate to the British context what Simon Schama has written regarding seventeenth-century Holland. Schama described how the Dutch abolished images of the Virgin and Child from their churches ‘only to reinstate them surreptitiously as simple nursing mothers in paintings of church interiors’.¹² What was worthy of worship was not a religious icon but the natural act of piety that a mother performed when she nourished her child.

The celebration of motherhood in British memorial sculpture was in itself testimony to a considerable change of taste in tomb statuary and attitudes to death and commemoration. One might compare Louis-François Roubiliac’s *Monument to Elizabeth Nightingale* (fig. 74) (1761; Westminster Abbey) to Flaxman’s *Monument to Sarah Morely* (fig. 75) (1784; Gloucester Cathedral) to illustrate this point. Both of these monuments commemorated women who died in childbirth. In the former the deceased’s husband attempts to ward off the terrifying shrouded-skeleton of Death; in the latter the deceased is supported by angels who gently conduct the mother and child to Heaven. Whereas Roubiliac’s patrons expected drama and allegorical flourishes, by the end of the century imagery of a more simple and pious nature was preferred. Church monuments of the later eighteenth century typically reflected the view that death was an event to be faced with equanimity rather than fear.¹³

This change of attitude to death and commemoration is partly attributable to the Evangelical revival of the late eighteenth century.¹⁴ This religious movement revitalised the traditional Christian ideal of the ‘good death’ as one which required

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 319.

¹¹ Penny (1977), p. 59.

¹² S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: an interpretation of Dutch culture in the golden age*, London, 1988, p. 540.

¹³ For a discussion of changing attitudes to death and commemoration see *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, P.C. Jupp and C. Gittings, eds, Manchester, 1999.

¹⁴ See D. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London, 1993, pp. 75-104.

inner faith and fortitude rather than terror. Death was conceived of as a family event and interpreted in terms of the assurance of a family reunion in Heaven.¹⁵ Evangelicalism was one strand of the well-documented rise of affection within the family, as chronicled by Lawrence Stone in *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*.¹⁶ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have also charted the development of the 'ideology of domesticity' as part of the rise of the middle classes occurring from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.¹⁷ Complicit with these developments, the commemoration of women as loving mothers became an increasingly popular convention in English sculpture.

The work of Flaxman is highly influential in the development being charted as this sculptor excelled in the treatment of the theme of maternal affection in his church monuments.¹⁸ Flaxman specifically promoted the representation of mother and child groups in his *Lectures*, considering it an exemplary subject because it was both modern and Christian. Discussing the differences between ancient and modern sculpture, Flaxman suggested that:

An additional distinction ... is occasioned by parental affection, and domestic charities, being cherished in the Christian dispensation much more powerfully than in the Grecian codes: to these graces of benevolence we owe those lovely groups – the Holy Families of Raffaele and Correggio, and the Charity of Michelangelo, unequalled by any ancient composition of a mother and children, and one of the finest groups in existence.¹⁹

Despite the Catholic nature of the imagery, the Renaissance origins of the theme were stressed by Flaxman and he also presented mother and child groups as a generically Christian subject. The sculptor's lectures were illustrated by plates of Michelangelo's *Charity* and *Holy Family* (fig. 76 and 77). Flaxman praised these works and the 'patriarchal' families of the Sistine Chapel as 'choice selections of

¹⁵ For an examination of Victorian attitudes to death, which includes much discussion of the influence of Evangelicalism upon these, see P. Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, Oxford, 1996 and J.S. Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, Stroud, 2000.

¹⁶ L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, London, 1977.

¹⁷ L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850*, London, 1987 (1994 edition).

¹⁸ For Flaxman's representation of domestic affection in his church monuments see Irwin (1979), pp. 136-155.

¹⁹ Flaxman, *Lectures*, p. 258.

piety and love, in sentiments and forms unknown to the ancients, and unattempted [sic] by the moderns before this time'.²⁰

Flaxman put theory into practice in his later commissions for memorial works. In his *Monument to Viscountess Fitzharris* (fig. 78) (1816-17; Christchurch Priory, Hampshire) the sculptor eschewed all allegorical effects and instead represented the Viscountess in contemporary clothes seated upon a klismos chair reading the bible to her adoring children.²¹ When Flaxman exhibited a model for this monument at the Academy it was under the title *Maternal Love*, making no reference to the group's eventual commemorative function.²² In addition to memorialising individual women in their role as devoted mothers, the sculptor also incorporated the figure of 'Charity' into tomb panels, as with his *Monument to Lady Ann Clark* (fig. 79) (1802-3; St Mary's Great Brighton). In Christian iconography, this theological virtue was personified by a woman embracing or breastfeeding her child; as a result, the sculptor executed several independent mother and child groups. These were exhibited at the Academy with generic titles such as *Maternal Love* or *Charity*.²³ Many other sculptors of this period adopted this strategy.²⁴ The theme of domestic affection thus became increasingly popular in church monuments; at the same time, the use of generic titles encouraged spectators at the Academy to admire these groups as autonomous works of sculpture. These sculptures constitute important precursors to the mother and child groups to be discussed in this chapter. While the representation of maternal affection was important to Flaxman's memorial sculpture, he did not execute any works on this theme for display in a gallery or domestic context. It was the generation of sculptors that followed – namely Baily and his contemporaries – who made this transition, and it is to these works that attention now turns.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 255-6.

²¹ The base of the monument includes a long prose description of the Viscountess, emphasising her maternal virtues: 'the care and education of her children were her darling objects, on them she bestowed the vigilant fondness of a mother'. For a discussion of this work see Irwin (1979), pp. 141-5

²² RA 1817, no. 1007.

²³ Flaxman began using non-specific titles for his domestic-themed figures for church monuments from the 1800s: see *Charity* (RA 1805, no. 766) and *Maternal Affection, a basso-relievo* (RA 1811, no. 929), for example. In earlier monuments, the sculptor had used plainly descriptive titles, as with his monument to Sarah Morley: *Monument to a lady who died a short time before her child* (RA 1784, no. 508).

²⁴ At the 1817 exhibition, John Bacon used the title *Maternal Affection* for one of his monuments (no. 1067) and in 1820 Westmacott exhibited a relief intended for a monument to Charles Garth Colleton under the title *Maternal Affection* (no. 1045).

‘To elicit intellect and awaken sentiment’: the appeal of mothers in sculpture

Westmacott’s *Houseless Traveller* (fig. 71) might be considered the ‘watershed’ work in the development being discussed. This group was originally commissioned as a group for a church monument, but – such was its public popularity at the Academy exhibition in 1822 – it was effectively ‘converted’ from a memorial work into a gallery sculpture in the context of the exhibition space. Westmacott received the commission in 1816, when he was asked to execute a monument to the memory of Mrs Elizabeth Warren (1737-1816), wife of the Bishop of Bangor.²⁵ Mrs Warren had been noted for her charitable work, particularly for her care of migrant workers. Rather than portraying the deceased distributing alms, Westmacott devised a mother and child group, who had come to seek Mrs Warren’s charity, as a tribute to her benevolent virtues. When Westmacott exhibited his group at the Academy, prior to its installation at Westminster Abbey, the sculptor took care to explain the *mis-en-scène* of his sculpture in the exhibition catalogue:

The Houseless Traveller. A group in marble; intended to illustrate the benevolence of a Lady, whose house was an asylum to necessitous travellers. A Distressed Mother with her Infant, in place of the accustomed hospitality she had sought, finds the tomb of her benefactress.²⁶

In describing the subject as a ‘necessitous traveller’ – someone forced to migrate seasonally for work – the sculptor made explicit reference to the social position of the mother. Westmacott later commented that the Bishop and his wife had been particularly concerned with the charitable care of ‘the wayfaring traveller from Ireland’.²⁷ The *Houseless Traveller* was certainly a highly sentimentalised portrayal of a migrant Irish peasant woman, but it nevertheless represented a subject not normally found in British sculpture. Critics of the time acknowledged that the sculpture made reference to the ‘reality of life’, albeit in a manner entirely acceptable within the conventions of sculpture.²⁸

²⁵ For a discussion of this monument see Busco (1994), pp. 167-9 and Penny (1977), pp. 193-5.

²⁶ Quoted from *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCCXXII, the fifty-fourth*, 1822, London, p. 46, no. 989.

²⁷ Busco (1994), p. 167.

²⁸ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 29 June 1822, no. 284, p. 409.

In sculpting the *Houseless Traveller* as a ‘stand-alone’ mourning figure, Westmacott was adopting a strategy he had used in earlier church monuments. These works form an important context to the following discussion. In his *Monument to Lord and Lady Penrhyn* (fig. 80) (1819; Llandegai, nr Bangor), for example, Westmacott executed an independent figure of a mourning peasant girl; for the *Monument to Alexander Colvin* (fig. 81) (1821; St John’s Calcutta) he sculpted the figure of an Indian woman as an attendant at the tomb of the deceased.²⁹ Both of these ‘stand-alone’ figures were exhibited at the Academy under generic titles: the *Peasant Girl* and *Hindoo Girl* respectively.³⁰ Like the *Houseless Traveller*, these were romanticised interpretations but they were also unusual characters to find represented in marble. It is evident that Westmacott’s contemporaries appreciated these sculptures as innovative works, as is demonstrated by an article published in the *Athenaeum* in 1831. Reviewing the sculptor’s career to-date, the writer picked out the *Peasant Girl*, the *Hindoo Girl* and the *Houseless Traveller* (referred to as ‘Charity’) as Westmacott’s most praiseworthy performances.³¹ As church monuments, Westmacott was praised for having abandoned allegory and instead concentrating on a single figure or group to tell the ‘story’ that the monument wished to convey. Quite aside from their memorial function, however, these sculptures were admired on their own terms and the critic of the *Athenaeum* compared them to the more traditional subjects for gallery sculptures, namely characters from classical mythology:

We have no wish to commend the generation of Cupids, Psyches, and Venuses ... We may more safely and consistently admire some of those monumental figures of his such as the ‘Hindoo Maiden’, and the ‘Charity’ ... for they are not only beautifully modelled and elegantly wrought in marble, but they wear the impress of fresh thought, and make the beholder think and look again.³²

²⁹ For an account of the Penrhyn monument see Busco (1994), pp. 164-5 and Penny (1977), pp. 189-192; for the Colvin monument see Busco, pp. 139-141 and B. Groseclose, ‘Imag(in)ing Indians’, *Art History*, (13) December 1990, pp. 488-515.

³⁰ *A Peasant Girl: Part of a Monument to be erected at Llandegai, North Wales, in memory of the late Lord Penrhyn* (RA 1819, no. 1179). *The Hindoo Girl: a statue in marble being part of a monument to be erected in memory of Alexander Colvin* (RA 1821, no. 1085).

³¹ *Athenaeum*, 12 November 1831, no. 211, pp. 737-8. The views expressed in this article are echoed in others of the period; see the *European Magazine and London Review*, December 1822, vol. 82, p. 495.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 737.

One of the great attractions of these ‘new’ subjects was their ability to elicit an emotional response in the spectator, as the writer in the *Athenaeum* continued:

When we see a new Venus or a new Apollo ... we feel no new emotion, because, at best, they can be but dim and imperfect reflections from the sublime originals. But when we see an image of a new race – a *fresh sentiment introduced into art*, we hail it as something original ... It is this excitement which induces us to prefer the poetic works of Westmacott.³³

While the *Hindoo Maiden* and *Peasant Girl* attracted much favourable comment, they were not transformed into gallery figures. The *Houseless Traveller*, as a representation of a mother and child group, caused a minor sensation on its exhibition in 1822. Westmacott is documented as having stated that his ‘precise object’ in his work was to ‘express the pain and sorrow felt by the friendless’, but that he felt:

... feeling would be furthered, and in the mind of the spectator a greater sympathy induced, if a lovely infant were placed in the arms of the distressed mother, – who, it would be, at once, understood, would be [sic] affected by more than a solitary and selfish feeling.³⁴

In a move which might be described as a piece of calculated emotionalism, the sculptor chose a mother and child group specifically to heighten the spectator’s emotional engagement with the sculpture. This was a strategy which proved remarkably successful.

At the Academy, Westmacott’s *Houseless Traveller* was exhibited alongside other free-standing figures on display that year, including the sculptor’s own *Psyche* (fig. 43) and Baily’s *Eve at the Fountain* (fig. 1). The *Houseless Traveller* was thus admired alongside these conventional gallery figures, while losing none of the pathos of its subject matter, as explained in the catalogue. Many critics compared Westmacott’s *Houseless Traveller* and his *Psyche*. The *Literary Gazette* wrote that in the former one finds ‘the reality of life’ while in the latter ‘we have the

³³ Ibid., p. 737-8.

³⁴ Quoted from a letter written by Westmacott to Hervey in Hervey (1832), ‘The Distressed Mother’, unpaginated.

imagination'.³⁵ The extent to which Westmacott's sculpture represented 'the reality of life' will be discussed below, when the representation of 'afflicted' mothers is considered in more detail. The *European Magazine* described Westmacott's *Houseless Traveller* as a work which afforded 'additional proof of the justice of that opinion, which has of late years been slowly gaining ground; the applicability of sculpture to modern and familiar subjects'.³⁶

It was on these terms – that maternal groups were both contemporary and domestic subjects – that Flaxman had recommended the representation of maternal affection in his *Lectures*. The critical responses to the *Houseless Traveller* suggest that many spectators willingly succumbed to the statue's emotional appeal. The *Repository of Arts* noted that: 'The contraction of the figure so resembles the expression of a sigh, or a sob, as to convey *forcibly* the natural feeling of distress.'³⁷ The *Examiner* described it as a work that 'would make sigh-heaving Pity, as it makes Reflection and Taste, stand with folded arm and admiring eye before it'.³⁸ The 'sigh-inducing' nature of the statue testifies to the instinctive emotional response which many felt before it. The only significant criticism which Westmacott received related to the rough texture of the mother's cloak.³⁹ Some critics felt that the sculptor's close attention to surface qualities risked detracting attention from the 'pathos of the story' with spectators simply admiring the 'curiosity' of the marble instead.⁴⁰

That it was the 'pathos of the story' which spectators enjoyed in Westmacott's statue is confirmed by an article published on the *Houseless Traveller* in the *Lady's Magazine*.⁴¹ As a periodical directed primarily towards a female readership, this article is of great interest. It began with a re-print of Westmacott's account of the

³⁵ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 29 June 1822, no. 284, p. 409.

³⁶ *European Magazine and London Review*, July 1822, vol. 82, p. 66.

³⁷ *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, etc.*, 1 June 1822, vol. XIII, 2nd series, p. 356.

³⁸ *The Examiner*, 30 June 1822, no. 753, p. 413.

³⁹ In lavishing too much attention to textural detail Westmacott had 'condescended to be the weaver instead of the sculptor of drapery'; see the *Literary Gazette, or Journal of Belles Lettres, Politics and Fashion*, 29 June 1822, no. 284, p. 409. The critic of the *European Magazine* noted that the cloak's rough surface served to heighten the delicacy of the mother's flesh and this may have been the sculptor's ultimate aim; see the *European Magazine and London Review*, July 1822, vol. 82, p. 67. Penny has also suggested that Westmacott's statue may have been influenced by Canova's *Penitent Magdalene* in the contrast between the rough and smooth textures and in the portrayal of loose hair; see Penny (1977), p. 224.

⁴⁰ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 29 June 1822, no. 284, p. 409

⁴¹ *Lady's Magazine*, January 1823, pp. 48-50.

statue from the 1822 exhibition catalogue. The author then took particular pains to read the expression of the mother and to account for her distress: ‘In contemplating the “Distressed Mother” under the circumstances described’, it began, ‘we perceive that the first shock of surprise has passed away, and that severe and bewildering sorrow has taken possession of the heart’.⁴² The writer suggested that despite great distress, the instinctive tenderness of the woman ‘kept her still alive to the call of duty’ noting that her baby was drawn close to her breast.⁴³ The mother’s physical appearance was also scrutinised:

There is much beauty and fine expression in the features of the female and although the general expression is that of poverty in its lowest form, yet the delicacy of the Houseless Traveller’s foot, and the loveliness of the child, tend to unlock the springs of the imagination and teach us to retrace her through better days and brighter scenes, thence awakening more acutely the tender compassion due to her distress.⁴⁴

The writer in the *Lady’s Magazine* thus encouraged readers to imagine the mother under previous, more favourable, circumstances. Later responses to the statue attempted the same: in 1849 a critic of the *Art Journal* felt certain that Westmacott’s mother represented ‘no common wayside wanderer’: ‘Thoughts travel with such a one, to scenes of comfort – perchance of luxury, she once enjoyed, and to a home of happiness where she was once the day star.’⁴⁵ To suggest that the mother had fallen from a position of social comfort made the spectacle of her distress all the more tragic and pleasing.⁴⁶ This interpretation also allowed spectators to account for the mother’s pleasing physical appearance, at a time when physical and moral beauty were considered inextricable.⁴⁷ Above all, this approach allayed any potential fears that the sculpture might actually represent an itinerant, lowly-born peasant. The *Lady’s Magazine* concluded its review by pronouncing the *Houseless Traveller* a thoroughly successful performance and it defined Westmacott’s achievement in the following terms: ‘Thus to elicit intellect, and awaken sentiment, for the purpose of

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁵ *Art Journal*, 1 December 1849, p. 377.

⁴⁶ As the *Art Journal* noted: ‘hence [arises] a deeper feeling for her present condition, and a more hearty sympathy’; *ibid.*, p. 377.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of this see A. Walker, *Beauty: illustrated chiefly by an analysis and classification of beauty in woman*, London, 1836.

perpetuating our veneration for virtue, is the highest boast of genius and the best province of art.’⁴⁸

In addition to its critical success, the *Houseless Traveller* also attracted some serious commercial interest. Having admired the statue at the Academy exhibition, Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice (1780-1863), 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne, sought permission from the family of Mrs Warren to purchase the *Houseless Traveller* for his sculpture gallery at Bowood. This request was granted and Lansdowne paid £500 for the statue; a second version had to be executed for Mrs Warren’s monument in Westminster Abbey.⁴⁹ Lansdowne was a high-profile member of aristocratic society. Closely associated with his cousin Lord Holland, he was a high-ranking member of the Whig party.⁵⁰ He was also a noted patron of the arts with a large collection spread between Lansdowne House in London and Bowood in Wiltshire.⁵¹ While the bulk of the family’s collection of antique sculpture was displayed in London, the *Houseless Traveller* was intended for Bowood. Lansdowne’s modern sculpture collection included a *Venus* and *Hebe* by Canova.⁵² In the context of these statues, the *Houseless Traveller* marked something of a change of direction for this patron. He later commissioned several other pieces from British sculptors including John Bell’s *Dorothea* (1838; Bowood, Wiltshire).⁵³

Lansdowne was also a close friend and patron of the Irish poet Thomas Moore (1779-1852), who was at Bowood to record the arrival of Westmacott’s statue in 1823.⁵⁴ The poet had admired the *Houseless Traveller* on its exhibition at the

⁴⁸ *Lady’s Magazine*, January 1823, p. 50.

⁴⁹ The nearly identical replica was erected at Westminster Abbey in 1824. A third version was also later produced for a Mrs Ferguson of Raith, Beal, Scotland; see Hervey (1832), ‘The Distressed Mother’, unpaginated.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of the political circle associated with Holland and Lansdowne see C.J. Wright, ‘Holland House set (act. 1797–1845)’, *DNB* [accessed 29 September 2006]. Penny has discussed the representation of Holland’s uncle, Charles James Fox (1749-1806), in sculpture in N. Penny ‘The Whig Cult of Fox in Early Nineteenth-century Sculpture’, *Past and Present*, February 1976, pp. 94-105.

⁵¹ For a discussion of Lansdowne’s art collection see A.B. Jameson, *Companion to the most Celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London*, London, 1844, pp. 332-8 and Greenwood (1998), pp. 253-254.

⁵² See J.D. Passavant, *Tour of a German artist in England: with notices of private galleries, and remarks on the state of art*, London, 1836 (1978 reprint), p. 197.

⁵³ The *Art Union* described Lansdowne’s purchase of *Dorothea* in 1840 as ‘another instance of the enlightened and judicious patronage of the most noble peer’; see *Art Union*, 1 August 1843, p. 223.

⁵⁴ Moore referred to it as ‘the beggar women and child’; see *The Journal of Thomas Moore*, W.S. Dowden, ed., Newark and London, 1983-1991, vol. II, 1 October 1823, p. 678. For more information

Academy the year before, describing it as a work ‘full of sentiment, carrying the art, too, into a new region’.⁵⁵ Moore and Lansdowne shared many political beliefs: both particularly supported the move towards Catholic Emancipation, for example.⁵⁶ Moore was a noted Irish patriot who wrote many fierce indictments of British misgovernment in his country.⁵⁷ It is interesting to recall, therefore, that Westmacott may have intended the *Houseless Traveller* to represent a dispossessed Irish peasant.⁵⁸ While Lansdowne might have indulged in some ‘virtual’ philanthropy by purchasing Westmacott’s sculpture, the statue remained a benign representation of rural poverty, one with great sentimental appeal. Many felt sure the mother represented no ‘common wayside wanderer’ and the group was instead interpreted as the melodramatic spectacle of a decent woman recently fallen on hard times. The maternal theme of the statue was also open to various appropriations. When the German artist J.D. Passavant visited Bowood some years later he mistook Westmacott’s statue to represent ‘Hagar in the Desert with the expiring Ishmael on her lap’.⁵⁹ In *Nollekens and his Times*, J.T. Smith referred to the statue as ‘Charity’ and Hervey in the *Illustrations* used the title the *Distressed Mother* (fig. 82).⁶⁰ As with many ideal figures, if the sculpture was exhibited without a textual accompaniment, the precise definition of the subject remained open to interpretation. This ‘fluidity’ is something which will be considered again when Westmacott’s second maternal-themed work, *Madonna and Child* of 1825, is discussed. As a representation of the Virgin Mary this was an unusual occurrence in British art and some critics preferred to misconstrue the subject, referring to it instead as the *Happy Mother*. This work will be considered below. For the moment, attention turns to Baily’s first mother and child group in sculpture.

Westmacott achieved his success with the *Houseless Traveller* the same year that Baily exhibited *Eve at the Fountain*. Baily submitted a plaster model for his first

on Moore, see T. de Vere White, *Tom Moore the Irish poet*, London, 1977. This poet was very popular during the early 1800s, particularly for his *Irish Melodies* published between 1808 and 1834.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2 May 1822, p. 560.

⁵⁶ See *Political and Historical Writings on Irish and British Affairs by Thomas Moore*, B. Clifford, ed., Belfast, 1993, pp. 230-239. Moore and Lansdowne had visited Ireland together in the 1820s; see G. Carnall, ‘Moore, Thomas’, *DNB* [accessed 8 January 2007].

⁵⁷ See T. Moore, *Odes upon Cash, Corn, Catholics, and other Matters*, London, 1828.

⁵⁸ See p. 111.

⁵⁹ Passavant (1836), p. 313.

⁶⁰ J.T. Smith, *Nollekens and his Times, with an essay on Georgian sculpture*, London, 1828 (1895 reprint), p. 241; Hervey (1832), ‘The Distressed Mother’, unpaginated.

maternal-themed sculpture, *Affection* (fig. 2) to the Academy the following year.⁶¹ In his depiction of a Venus-like, semi-nude mother playfully turning to kiss her baby, Baily's statue represented a very different character from Westmacott's distressed peasant. The sculptor executed this work as a speculation, presumably in the hope that it would attract a similarly sympathetic patron as the Marquess of Lansdowne. In the conception of this group, Baily was clearly indebted to Flaxman's monumental sculpture, to works such as his *Monument to Viscountess Fitzharris* (fig. 78). The composition was also closely related to Michelangelo's figure of *Charity* illustrated in Flaxman's *Lectures* (fig. 77). As with his earlier exhibits for ideal sculptures, Baily exhibited *Affection* with some lines of poetry included in the Academy catalogue:

Affection's spell can charm the human soul,
And bend passions to its kind control:
Innate, and kindled with the breath of life,
The balm of comfort in a world of strife;
In bounty by the great Creator given,
A pledge and foretaste of the joys of Heaven.⁶²

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to trace the origins of this poem. In its emphasis on the redeeming power of maternal affection it is consonant with a common characterisation of the nineteenth-century home, overseen by the loving mother, as a refuge from the hardships of the working world.⁶³ Baily's textual supplement for *Affection* is also typical of the type of poetry published in popular literary annuals and gift books of this period, such as the *Amulet* and the *Literary Souvenir*, and in periodicals like the *Belle Assemblée* and *Repository of Arts*. In a representative edition of the *Belle Assemblée*, for example, poetry on subjects such as a mother nursing her sick child (*The Mother and Child: A Sketch from Life* by Mrs Cornwell Baron Wilson), was to be found alongside those celebrating the joys of the afterlife (*We're no' dead when we are dust* by H.C. Deakin, Esq.) and another

⁶¹ RA 1823, no. 1102. This statue is also known by the title *Maternal Affection*.

⁶² Quoted from *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCCXXIII, the fifty-fifth*, 1823 London, p. 46, no. 1102. The poem is un-referenced (which was unusual for Baily, who usually gave a bibliographic source).

⁶³ For a fuller consideration of the quasi-divine status accorded to the home and the period's cult of domesticity, see E. Trudgill, 'Home, Sweet Home' in *Madonnas and Magdalens: the Origins and Development of Victorian Sexual Attitudes*, London, 1976, pp. 38-64 and Davidoff and Hall (1987), pp. 149-192.

simply called *Home*: ‘Oh! If there be on earth a spot / Where life’s tempestuous waves rage not ... Oh! It is Home ...’.⁶⁴ Although these fashionable literary annuals and magazines were ostensibly secular, they reflected the deeply held religious feelings of the period. In their study *Family Fortunes: men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850*, Davidoff and Hall noted that ‘a religious idiom’ was ‘the cultural norm’ for many during this period.⁶⁵ The suggestion in Baily’s poem that maternal affection was a God-given joy, analogous to the pleasures of Heaven, reflected the belief that the earthly family was an extension of the heavenly one. All of the maternal groups under discussion in this chapter, and contemporary responses to them, reflect many deeply held Christian attitudes. The literary *milieu* represented by fashionable publications such as the *Belle Assemblée* also forms an important cultural context in which to situate these sculptures.

Baily’s statue received a glowing response from the critics on its exhibition at the Academy in 1823. The *Examiner* described *Affection* as ‘the soul of loveliness’ capturing ‘not only the winding graces of animated form and action, but the high cultivations of the heart’.⁶⁶ The *European Magazine* concluded that:

If there is only one warm and human feeling more simple and pure than any other, it is surely the affection of a mother towards her child, and any work of art, in which affection is powerfully exhibited, is valuable, were it only on that account.⁶⁷

Mother and child groups were effectively characterised as definitively the most precious – almost elemental – subject worthy of representation in art. At this exhibition, Baily’s *Affection* was placed alongside Canova’s *Danzatrice* (fig. 83).⁶⁸ The Italian sculptor had recently died and, as a mark of posthumous respect, the Academy placed one of his statues on display. The London critics were quick to promote the interests of native British talent against that of a foreign practitioner, albeit one who no longer posed any active competition. Canova’s sculpture was unanimously dismissed as notably ‘foreign’ in character. The *Repository of Arts*, for

⁶⁴ *La Belle Assemblée, or Court and Fashionable Magazine*, September 1831, vol. XIV, pp. 116-117.

⁶⁵ Davidoff and Hall (1987), p. 25.

⁶⁶ *Examiner*, 6 July 1823, no. 806, p. 443.

⁶⁷ *European Magazine and London Review*, June 1823, vol. 83, p. 525.

⁶⁸ The *Danzatrice* (no. 1101) and Baily’s *Affection* (no. 1102) were listed alongside one another in the catalogue.

example, concluded that it had, ‘the air theatric [sic] ... more suited to the Continental taste, than to that of this country’.⁶⁹ In the eyes of British critics, Baily’s sculptural production triumphed over Canova’s precisely because, in addition to being technically proficient and graceful in form, its subject matter had greater emotional appeal.

Although Baily’s statue received a positive critical reaction on its exhibition in 1823, the sculptor failed to receive an order for its execution in marble.⁷⁰ When Hervey’s *Illustrations* was published in 1832, *Maternal Affection* was still described as a plaster model (fig. 84). Such was Hervey’s disappointment that the work remained suspended at this unresolved stage that much of his discussion of it was taken up with a lamentation for Baily. He described the sculptor as one upon whom the ‘rewards of genius’ had been too long deferred and too sparingly bestowed.⁷¹ Given that in 1831 the sculptor had been declared bankrupt, it is perhaps not surprising that a sympathetic commentator sought to draw attention to Baily’s plight. Hervey felt sure that it was not a lack of talent which hampered the sculptor’s success but rather the absence of patronage. He suggested that all that was required was one encouraging patron who would serve to bring Baily’s talents to light. Baily did bring *Maternal Affection* forward in marble at some point between 1832 and 1837, but this was without a commission and under very difficult circumstances. He exhibited the statue in marble at the Academy in the 1837 and at the Royal Manchester Institution later that year.⁷² By the end of the year Baily had been declared bankrupt again and his creditors demanded that he sell *Maternal Affection* by lottery. This took place in 1839 but insufficient ticket sales meant that the lottery was a failure.⁷³ *Maternal Affection* was eventually purchased by Neeld, who also purchased *Eve Listening to the Voice*. In this gentleman Baily found the one ‘encouraging patron’ for whom Hervey had hoped. Neeld purchased several works from Baily, including two further maternal-themed sculptures, to be discussed shortly.

⁶⁹ *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, etc.*, 1 June 1823, vol. 1, 3rd series, p. 359. Others described it as ‘of that fantastic French school’ and thought it spoilt by its ‘foreign and peculiar’ air; see the *European Magazine and London Review*, June 1823, p. 353.

⁷⁰ Baily exhibited his model again at the British Institution in 1825 (no. 410) and at the Society of British Artists in 1827 (no. 864).

⁷¹ Hervey (1832). ‘Maternal Affection’, unpaginated.

⁷² *Groupe in Marble – maternal affection*, RA 1837, no. 1179 and RMI 1837, no. 565.

⁷³ See p. 96.

While Hervey expressed admiration for *Maternal Affection*, he was somewhat circumspect in his praise of it. Baily's statue was discussed in relation to Westmacott's *Distressed Mother*. Hervey preferred the latter for its representation of 'the deep and concentrated feeling of a mother's love', and he felt that Baily's group suffered by comparison in that it depicted 'merely a mother and child at play'.⁷⁴ As was the convention in the *Illustrations*, Hervey included a poetic accompaniment to both the Baily and Westmacott groups. Unusually, he noted that the poem he was using for *Maternal Affection* was one that he had previously written in relation to another work of art. Hervey's poetic response to Baily's sculpture had originally been published in the gift book the *Literary Souvenir* as 'Lines suggested by a picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence'. The painting was Lawrence's *Portrait of Lady Georgina Agar Ellis and her son, Henry* (fig. 85).⁷⁵

Gift books like the *Literary Souvenir* were a 'publishing phenomenon' of the 1820s and 30s.⁷⁶ Issued at Christmas, they combined popular poetry with steel-plate engravings after contemporary works of art. Bound smartly in leather and gilt, they were intended as gifts and suitable reading matter to adorn the drawing-room tables of well-to-do homes. Editors offered celebrated poets huge sums of money to contribute to their volumes, but many writers worried about tarnishing their reputations by appearing in such a commercial literary product.⁷⁷ For others, including William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the financial rewards were too great to ignore. The gift books thus contained contributions from many British literary giants, alongside a host of once-popular, but now lesser-known names. For the purposes of this study, it is interesting to note that many of the writers to which reference has already been made published widely in the literary

⁷⁴ Hervey (1832), 'Maternal Affection', unpaginated.

⁷⁵ See *The Literary Souvenir or Cabinet of Poetry and Romance*, London, 1831, pp. 103-7. For a discussion of Lawrence's portrait see K. Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence: a complete catalogue of the oil paintings*, Oxford, 1989, cat. no. 14, p. 134. Lawrence's painting had been exhibited at the Academy in 1828 and at the British Institution in 1830.

⁷⁶ For further information on the vogue for gift books see K. Ledbetter, 'Lucrative Requests: British Authors and Gift Book Editors', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 88.2, June 1994, pp. 208-212 and L. Mandell, 'Felicia Hemans and the Gift-Book Aesthetic', *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* (June 2001), accessed online: <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc06_n01.html> [accessed 1 February 2006]. The literary annuals were also extensively reviewed each year in the periodicals; see, for example, *New Monthly Magazine*, December 1829, pp. 478-83.

⁷⁷ See Ledbetter (1994), p. 211. It is not documented whether artists were offered comparably large sums for their contributions.

annuals. Hervey contributed regularly to these publications, as did Henry Neele.⁷⁸ Felicia Hemans' 'The Child and the Dove' (1826) and 'The Sleeping Children' (1829) were first published in gift books, as was William Lisle Bowles' poem 'On Chantrey's Sleeping Children'.⁷⁹ In addition to contributing to gift books, Allan Cunningham even issued his own literary annual, *The Anniversary*, in 1829.⁸⁰ The poems themselves covered a wide range of subjects, but one of the most popular categories was the poetic response 'suggested' by a work of art, as with Hervey's poem on Lawrence's portrait.

Given that Hervey used the same poem for both, it is useful to briefly compare Baily's sculpture with Lawrence's painting. In the latter, Lady Agar-Ellis is shown in close physical engagement with her son, with their interlocking arms wrapped lovingly around one another.⁸¹ The artistic convention of portraying aristocratic women in the role of loving mothers was a relatively recent one in British art. The development had been spearheaded by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in paintings such as *Lady Cockburn and her Children* (fig. 86) (RA 1774; National Gallery, London). Edgar Wind has demonstrated that Reynolds used Renaissance paintings of the Virgin Mary and Michelangelo's *Charity* as the model for his painting.⁸² James Christian Steward has also suggested that in making reference to these characters, Reynolds' portraits ennobled the Georgian mother and the role of motherhood itself.⁸³ This style of portraiture was consonant with the growing awareness of the importance of the mother's function in the care of her children, as exemplified by the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). From the latter half of the

⁷⁸ For Neele see, for example, 'Goodrich Castle', *The Literary Souvenir*, London, 1827, p. 397; for Hervey see 'The Convict Ship', *The Literary Souvenir*, London, 1825, p. 94. Hervey and Neele also contributed several poems to the *Forget-me-not*, *Friendship's Offering* and *The Amulet*.

⁷⁹ See p. 4.

⁸⁰ See Ledbetter (1994), p. 208. For an example of Cunningham's poetic contributions see 'The Poet's Bridal Day Song', *The Literary Souvenir*, 1825, p. 34.

⁸¹ Lady Georgina Agar-Ellis was the daughter of Sir George Howard, the sixth Earl of Carlisle. In 1822 she married George James Welbore Agar-Ellis, first Baron Dover (1797-1833). Today Agar-Ellis is primarily remembered for his role in the purchase to the Angerstein collection for the nation which, together with the works presented by Sir George Beaumont, formed the nucleus of the National Gallery collection.

⁸² E. Wind, 'Charity: The Case History of a Pattern', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, vol. 1, no. 4, April 1938, pp. 322-330.

⁸³ J.C. Steward, *The New Child: British Art and the Origin of Modern Childhood, 1730-1830*, Berkeley, 1995, pp. 103-129. For a discussion of the representation in motherhood in art during the eighteenth century see also K. Retford, "'A Title of so much Tenderness": the Art of Motherhood', *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-century England*, New Haven and London, 2006, pp. 83-114.

eighteenth century, an increasing number of society women chose to be portrayed in the guise of 'loving mothers'. Lawrence's portrait of Lady Agar-Ellis was an early nineteenth century manifestation of a well-established trend. When Flaxman recommended Michelangelo's *Charity* as an example to sculptors, therefore, he was referring to a model which had already been popularised, and to some extent secularised, by fashionable portrait painters such as Reynolds and Lawrence. In the sculptural treatments, however, motherhood was represented in generalised terms. Baily's sculpture did not illustrate a specific mother but the theme of 'maternal affection' itself. As a representation of motherhood in marble, Baily's sculpture also drew upon the conventions of classical sculpture, most notably in the semi-nudity of the mother.

The poem which Hervey used in relation to Lawrence's painting and Baily's sculpture was a panegyric on motherhood and a blissful remembrance of childhood:

Young mother!—Oh! How long they haunt
The after-paths of time,
The mother's low, yet happy chaunt [sic]
Whose memory – like the chime
Of church-bells, consecrates the air,
And calls the spirit home to prayer ...⁸⁴

Hervey described a woman's role as mother as a sacred state and the crowning glory of her life:

And oh! How beautifully bright,
Upon thy glad, young brow, the matron-coronal, whose light
Lies hallowing all things now! – ...

Though fair thy virgin years might be,
How far more fair thou art!⁸⁵

This genre of rather flowery, religious-inspired poetry was, as previously noted, very popular in periodicals and literary annuals of the time. Hervey published widely in

⁸⁴ Hervey (1832), 'Maternal Affection', unpaginated. This 'retrospective fantasy' for childhood correlates well with Trudgill's discussion of 'the angel mother'; see Trudgill (1976), pp. 78-90.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 'Maternal Affection', unpaginated.

these contexts and he wrote exactly the same sort of poetry to accompany the sculptures included in his *Illustrations*.

Hervey's poetic response to Westmacott's *Distressed Mother* was also rather florid – to modern tastes, at least – and of a notably Christian religious tenor. Rather than celebrating the sacred joys of motherhood it concerned the need for faith in God's divine purpose and the prospect of family reunion in heaven. Hervey pondered the deserted mother's predicament and advised her to trust to God: 'Turn to one refuge, yield not to despair / But pour out all thy soul before His throne in prayer.'⁸⁶ Hervey likened the mother's predicament to that of the Virgin Mary:

He, who refused not 'Mary's' mournful plea,
Will shed bright rays of joy and set thy spirit free.⁸⁷

In a rather bleak last couplet, Hervey advised the distressed mother to dry her eyes; her life would soon be over, he anticipated, but at least she could expect salvation in Heaven.

Hervey made only very brief reference to the Virgin Mary in this poem but the allusion is of interest. One could argue that any representation of a mother and child in art implicitly called to mind Marian imagery, although this association usually remained unspoken. In 1825, Westmacott exhibited a work which explicitly represented this subject, *Madonna and Child: a groupe [sic] in marble*.⁸⁸ This would appear to be one of the first sculptures on this subject exhibited at the Academy.⁸⁹ Westmacott's mother wore the loose-fitting gown and head covering traditionally associated with the Virgin Mary, while the Christ child held a lily, a symbol of Mary's purity. As a seemingly bold Catholic subject executed in marble, scholars have struggled to account for this statue. In her monograph on Westmacott, Busco

⁸⁶ Ibid., 'The Distressed Mother', unpaginated.

⁸⁷ Ibid., unpaginated.

⁸⁸ No. 1065. For a full discussion of this statue see Busco (1994), pp. 107-108.

⁸⁹ The only other Madonna statue exhibited at the Academy known to the author is also by Westmacott, his *La Madonna della Gloria; a statue for Fonthill Abbey* (RA 1799; no. 1006). Penny suggested that no sculptures representing the Madonna and Child were erected in English churches during the period 1780-1840; see Penny (1977), p. 60.

felt sure that the work must have been the subject of a commission.⁹⁰ Any commission must have fallen through, however, as Hervey described Westmacott's *Madonna* as unsold in 1832 (fig. 87).⁹¹ The statue was eventually purchased and was later in the collection at Hooton Hall in Chester, before being acquired for the Church of Transfiguration in New York, where it remains today. Although it is not clear whether this work was originally intended for a domestic or ecclesiastical setting, that it is now on display in a church interior emphasises its devotional function.

Hervey made no reference at all to the Marian theme of Westmacott's statue and instead re-titled it the *Happy Mother*; he also stated that the sculptor had conceived of this subject specifically in contrast to his earlier *Distressed Mother*. Penny has queried whether Hervey's altered title was designed to make the statue more attractive to any prospective Protestant buyers.⁹² Questions regarding the extent of Protestant disdain for Marian imagery during this period are complex ones. The Catholic religion was certainly the subject of enormous public debate at this time. Following the Act of Union in 1800, Catholics in Britain and Ireland (and a significant body of Protestant sympathisers) had campaigned for Catholic Emancipation.⁹³ John Wolffe has suggested that during the 1820s this issue was the fundamental question in British politics.⁹⁴ Public anti-Catholic feeling was not as fervent as it had been in the eighteenth century and many were in favour of granting Catholics religious equality as a civil right. It is difficult to assess how these wider political events might have impacted upon attitudes to Madonna imagery in contemporary art. It is notable that the statue attracted no negative comments on its exhibition in 1825. On the whole, it merited brief but favourable notice: the *Literary Gazette* wrote, somewhat confusingly, that Westmacott's *Madonna* was seen 'to great advantage, but least so when viewed in front'.⁹⁵ On the other hand, we can gain some sense of the extent to which images of the Virgin Mary remained a

⁹⁰ Busco referred to an unpublished typescript edition of Gunnis's *Dictionary* held at the National Art Library which referred to this work as having been made for Henry Petre of Dunlenhalgh, Blackburn, Lancashire; see Busco (1994), p. 107.

⁹¹ Hervey (1832), 'The Happy Mother', unpaginated.

⁹² Penny (1977), p. 224, n. 52.

⁹³ See J. Wolffe, *God and greater Britain: religion and national life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945*, London, 1994, pp. 20-47

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁹⁵ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 2 July 1825, no. 441, p. 428.

controversial subject from Anna Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna* (1852).⁹⁶ Jameson's study has been described as the first to mediate Catholic iconography to a Protestant audience.⁹⁷ As Jameson herself noted, it would be impossible to discuss representations of the 'Blessed Virgin without touching on doctrines such as constitute the principal differences between the creeds of Christendom'.⁹⁸ She made an important distinction between the Virgin as an icon 'crowned and enthroned as the sovereign lady of Christendom' and the Virgin as a woman 'bending benignly over us, the impersonation of sympathising womanhood, the emblem of relenting love'.⁹⁹ Of these two, the second personification appealed most powerfully to Jameson. Westmacott's statue, as a representation of a 'Mater Amabilis', was far from offensive to a Protestant audience.

During the early nineteenth century, the Virgin Mary as a symbol of feminine purity and motherly goodness was largely rehabilitated. In her study of Evangelical attitudes to motherhood during the Victorian period, Jacqueline Egerton has noted that, although naturally opposed to Rome, Evangelicals were largely sympathetic to the image of the Madonna as a symbol for goodness, purity and love.¹⁰⁰ Eric Trudgill has also suggested that while many during this period were strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism and its Mariolatry, they were prepared to use the 'Madonna metaphor' as 'shorthand' for an ideal motherly femininity, selflessness and devotion.¹⁰¹ Following the death of George IV's much-loved daughter, Princess Charlotte, in childbirth in 1817, for example, many commemorative prints of the Princess specifically drew on Marian iconography.¹⁰² Although Westmacott's statue was the only explicit representation of a Madonna during this period, all of the sculptures examined in this chapter were informed by a Christian discourse on the sanctity of maternal love. In this context, representations of mother and child groups in sculpture often possessed the aura of a religious icon, in that they presented

⁹⁶ A.B. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna as represented in the fine arts: forming the third series of a Sacred and Legendary art*, London, 1852.

⁹⁷ See A. Holcomb, 'Anna Jameson (1794-1860): Sacred Art and Social Vision' in *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts*, C. Richter Sherman, ed., London, 1981, pp. 91-121.

⁹⁸ Jameson (1852), p. xvi.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁰⁰ Egerton (2003), p. 7.

¹⁰¹ See Trudgill (1976), pp. 248-276.

¹⁰² See S. Behrendt, *Royal mourning and regency culture: elegies and memorials of Princess Charlotte*, Basingstoke, 1997, pp. 195-7.

personifications of motherly perfection. The cultural construction of motherhood at this time also placed upon women the obligation to fulfil an almost saintly ideal.

‘Rather an excess of ‘mother and child’: the trails and errors of placing motherhood on a pedestal

The starting point for this section is a review of the 1830 Academy exhibition published in the *Athenaeum*. The critic began by expressing his exasperation with the ‘vile cell’ in which sculpture was exhibited at Somerset House.¹⁰³ The Academy’s sculpture gallery was often the subject of disapproval from critics who longed for the institution to move to more commodious rooms.¹⁰⁴ The tightly packed display in 1830 afforded the critic some amusement in the close juxtaposition of works: a statue of Bishop Heber appeared about to sit down on two children, while a bust of Colonel Jones looked like it might bite off the ear of the Earl of Stradbroke. Spectators were also described as barely able to move for fear of damaging the works. The critic of the *Athenaeum* particularly remarked upon the ‘innumerable stone mothers’ on display, which appeared to ‘mourn over their children – less from affection than from the fear of broken noses and ankles to their offspring’. ‘By the by,’ the critic remarked, ‘in this exhibition, there is rather an excess of “mother and child”’.¹⁰⁵

There were indeed several maternal-themed works on display and it is testimony to the quick appeal of this subject that, while the statues discussed in the previous section were pioneering productions, by 1830 there was an abundance of maternal gallery figures. It is also notable that these sculptures were the subject of some pointed critiques. The responses elicited by mother and child groups were not simply aesthetic but also informed by the critic’s perception of how motherhood itself should be embodied in marble. In this respect, representations of nursing mothers in sculpture intersected with contemporary debates regarding women in a way that representations of mythological or literary characters did not.

¹⁰³ *Athenaeum*, 12 June 1830, no. 137, p. 363.

¹⁰⁴ The poor conditions of display for sculpture at Somerset House will be discussed in the next chapter, see pp. 156-162.

¹⁰⁵ *Athenaeum*, 12 June 1830, no. 137, p. 364.

Having remarked upon the ‘excess’ of mother and child groups on display at the 1830 exhibition, the critic of the *Athenaeum* began to select some examples for consideration. Partly, there may have been an ‘excess’ of maternal statues because critics were increasingly predisposed to read sculptures in these terms. Rossi’s *Group of a recumbent Venus and sleeping Child* (untraced) was evidently a mythological subject, but it was specifically picked out as a maternal-themed work.¹⁰⁶ Rossi had exhibited his statue with some lines from Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies* beginning, ‘When Love, rocked by his mother, / Lay sleeping ...’, encouraging this interpretation. The critic of the *Athenaeum* was unreserved in his dislike of Rossi’s statue, writing that ‘it ought never to have been admitted for it has neither grace nor beauty to plead for its indelicacy of form and attitude’.¹⁰⁷ As this statue is now lost it is not possible to investigate why it was considered so offensive, but presumably the sensuality and eroticism associated with Venus sat uncomfortably in a work which could also be, indeed was quite deliberately, interpreted as representing a mother and child.¹⁰⁸

A popular ‘sub-genre’ of the mother and child groups at the 1830 exhibition was the representation of mothers in distressed circumstances. Musgrave Lewthwaite Watson had exhibited *Hagar and Ishmael* (untraced) while James Heffernan’s *The Deserted Mother* (untraced) was described as ‘a lady in desperate affliction, suckling’.¹⁰⁹ Joseph Dinham’s *The Forsaken* was also referred to as ‘another sufferer drooping over an unclothed infant’.¹¹⁰ Although these works are currently untraced, they were clearly in the same vein as Westmacott’s heart-rending *Houseless Traveller* exhibited eight years earlier. The representation of ‘afflicted’ mothers was a subject which appeared with some regularity in sculpture during the first decades of the century. The works on this theme at the 1830 exhibition provide an opportunity to explore the appeal of this subject further. In *The Dark Side of the Landscape*, John

¹⁰⁶ No. 1175.

¹⁰⁷ *Athenaeum*, 12 June 1830, no. 137, p. 364.

¹⁰⁸ Questions of propriety were often raised in relation to maternal-themed statues, particularly if the sculpture involved the representation of the nude or semi-nude mother. One critic noted of R.W. Sievier’s *Mother and Child* (RA 1834, no. 1078) (untraced), for example, that ‘we could have wished that it had not been entirely nude’; see the *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 24 May 1834, no 905, p. 361.

¹⁰⁹ *Athenaeum*, 12 June 1830, no. 137, p. 364.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 364. M.L. Watson (1804-1847) and Joseph Dinham (1793-1854) both worked in Baily’s studio. In 1826 the former exhibited a bust of Baily at the Academy (no. 1092). For an earlier reference to Watson see p. 80.

Barrell investigated painted representations of rural poverty during the period 1730 to 1840.¹¹¹ He suggested that many of these images functioned ideologically, in that they expressed a more ‘actualised’ image of rural life while at same time concealing any real social divisions which would have been unpalatable to the art-purchasing public.¹¹² If we examine surviving examples of rural poverty in sculpture – Westmacott’s *Houseless Traveller* and his later *Afflicted Peasants* (fig. 88) (1825; Little Gaddesden Church, Hertfordshire) – it is clear that these sculptural treatments of the theme were also sufficiently idealised as to bear little relation to the actual hardships endured by rural workers.

One could argue that no matter how sentimental the interpretation, the representation of a child-bearing, destitute woman remained a potentially contentious one during this period. One of the most influential socio-economic texts of the day, Thomas Malthus’s *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) brought the subjects of parturition and poverty into sharp focus.¹¹³ Previous to the appearance of this essay, high birth rates had been considered an advantage as a plentiful supply of labour was thought to fuel economic growth.¹¹⁴ Malthus looked at fertility rates from a new angle and predicted that demand for food would outstrip supply as the population grew. Arguing that birth rates needed to be controlled, Malthus advocated ‘moral restraint’ as a means of achieving this, albeit that this regulation of sexuality was directed exclusively at the working- and poverty-stricken classes. Malthus’s views were widely accepted, informing government legislation which culminated in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. This Act was responsible for the nationwide establishment of workhouses, intended to reduce poverty and the cost of looking after the poor by taking those unable to look after themselves off the streets. Although it is rarely possible to neatly correlate cultural productions to social developments, the representation of a fecund, dispossessed woman could be construed as a potentially threatening image, particularly at time when so many advice-book writers were issuing dire warnings to middle-class women that they

¹¹¹ J. Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: the Rural Poor in English Paintings, 1730-1840*, Cambridge, 1980.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹¹³ T.R. Malthus, *An essay on the principle of population, as it affects the future improvement of society*, London, 1798.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of Malthus’s theories, and their application, see D. Winch, *Riches and poverty: an intellectual history of political economy in Britain, 1750-1834*, Cambridge, 1996.

were failing to fulfil their reproductive duties by giving birth to sickly children, while the working classes were characterised as producing robust babies at an alarming rate.¹¹⁵

On further investigation, one can identify certain strategies by which the meanings generated by these sculptural representations of destitute mothers were controlled. Firstly, it is useful to return to Westmacott's *Houseless Traveller*, the pioneering and exemplary treatment of this theme. Many critics refused to countenance that Westmacott's mother was an itinerant peasant. Given her beauty, some suggested that one could trace her back to 'scenes of comfort, perchance of luxury' she had previously enjoyed.¹¹⁶ It is interesting to note that, at the 1830 exhibition, both Dinham and Heffernan selected titles for their sculptures which attempted a similar strategy. Their works were referred to as *The Forsaken* and *The Deserted Mother*: titles which suggested that these mothers were not the authors of their own misfortune.¹¹⁷ In effect, these sculptures represented women who were 'staged' as abandoned mothers and their poverty resulted from their desertion. The spectacle of the abandoned mother invited a chivalrous response from male spectators and served to remind husbands of their social duty.

In addition to the group of 'afflicted' mothers at the 1830 exhibition, there were other sculptures concerned with more cheerful themes. These included Edward Physick's *The Happy Mother*.¹¹⁸ Although it is not possible to trace this work, it seems likely that it was comparable to a marble by this sculptor dated 1837 (fig. 89).¹¹⁹ In this cabinet-sized piece, a semi-nude mother and child play together affectionately while seated upon a *chaise-longue*. Baily had also contributed a maternal-themed work to this exhibition. His *Groupe [sic] in marble, of a mother*

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of this see S. Shuttleworth, 'Demonic mothers: Ideologies of bourgeois motherhood in the mid-Victorian era', in *Re-writing the Victorians*, L. Shires, ed., New York and London, 1992, pp. 31-51.

¹¹⁶ *Art Journal*, 1 December 1849, p. 377.

¹¹⁷ In his poetic response to the Westmacott's sculpture, Hervey also wondered whether she had been abandoned by her husband, or whether he had passed away: 'Hath he, whose name is in thy heart enshrined / Left thee alone to brave the piercing storm and wind? / Or hath Death laid his cold and withering hand on him, / To whom thy plight and troth were given'; see Hervey (1832), 'The Distressed Mother', unpaginated.

¹¹⁸ No. 1201.

¹¹⁹ See Christie's London, 11 November 1990, lot. 52, E.G. Physick, *An English white marble group of a mother and child*. This work was signed and dated 1827 and measured 560mm in height.

and child (fig. 90) represented a fully-clad mother in a classical-style robe gazing at a sleeping child nestled upon her lap. The work was listed in the catalogue with an excerpt from Thomas Campbell's (1777-1844) *The Pleasures of Hope*, a poem of 1799:

She, while the lovely babe unconscious lies,
Smiles on her slumb'ring child with pensive eyes,
And weaves a song of melancholy joy, ---
'Sleep, image of thy father, sleep my boy!'¹²⁰

Baily had exhibited a small-scale model for this work in 1827.¹²¹ Alongside this he had exhibited a bust of the poet himself: *Bust in marble of Thomas Campbell, Esq. the present Lord Rector of Glasgow*. Baily executed several versions of this bust: one is dated 1826 and is in the collection of Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum.¹²² Another is dated 1828 and belongs to Glasgow University, where Campbell was rector between 1826 and 1829.¹²³ The poet must have admired Baily's bust as he used an engraving of it as the frontispiece for his *Poetical Works* published in 1837.¹²⁴ Campbell was a well-known poet and journalist and was then editor of the *New Monthly Magazine*.¹²⁵ *The Pleasures of Hope* had been a hugely popular work when it was first published in 1799 and it remained the poet's best-known production.¹²⁶ In its time, it had been a politically-conscious piece in which Campbell had denounced the partition of Poland and oppression in India, as well as stating his support of the abolition of the slave trade. Published shortly after the French Revolution, the poem had appealed to those in sympathy with political reform but who were despondent over the French bloodshed. In the *Pleasures of Hope*, Campbell had particularly championed the plight of the Polish people and he

¹²⁰ Quoted from *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCCXXX, the sixty-second*, 1830, London, p. 47, no. 1171.

¹²¹ *A small group of a mother and child: to be executed in marble*, no. 1104. It was exhibited with the shorter quote: 'Sleep, image of thy father, sleep my Boy. Vide Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*'.

¹²² This was presented to the museum in 1873 by James McLelland and is inscribed 'E H Baily RA/Sculpt. London/1826'.

¹²³ It was presented to the University in 1831 by J. Thomson of Clitheroe who described himself as a friend of the poet; see J. Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1909, p. 370. A copy dated 1827 was also in the Crystal Palace Portrait Gallery (presumably a version in plaster) and destroyed by the fire of 1936; see R.J.B. Walker, *Regency Portraits*, National Portrait Gallery, London, 1985, p. 92.

¹²⁴ T. Campbell, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell*, London, 1837, frontispiece.

¹²⁵ For information on Campbell see M.R. Miller, *Thomas Campbell*, Boston, 1978.

¹²⁶ When Patrick McDowell exhibited his bust of the poet in 1826, for example, it was under the title *T. Campbell, Esq., author of the Pleasures of Hope* (no. 1021).

was closely associated with this cause.¹²⁷ The *Pleasures of Hope* remained an enormously popular work well into the nineteenth century. By the 1830s its political relevance had no doubt altered but as the poem dealt with the themes of hope, regeneration and the prospect of political improvement, it is tempting to see Baily's use of this poem in the context of early nineteenth-century debates on reform.

The section of the *Pleasures of Hope* which Baily excerpted was a vignette of a mother singing her child to sleep, a scene often illustrated in contemporary editions of the poem (fig. 91). In this passage, the mother expressed her hope for the future and her wish that the fate of the son would not be as sorrowful as that of his parents. Despairing of her own unhappy experiences, the mother wondered if her son would visit her grave to mourn her memory. It was presumably the pathos of this passage which Baily felt to be sympathetic to his statue. This was not the vein in which the critic of the *Athenaeum* responded, however; discussing Baily's statue he remarked:

[this] mother is not inspired by Campbell's poetry or by nature's poetry; she does not smile with pensive eyes or appear to weave a song of melancholy joy; – she looks down like an affected nurse-maid that is thinking of herself and not the child; and is evidently nursing for wages and not for love.¹²⁸

This critic's response registers some of the class-based issues which underpinned childcare during this period. While middle-class culture may have enshrined the sacred role of the mother, many well-to-do women still relied on nursery maids and servants for the day-to-day care of their children. Advice books such as Louisa Barwell's *Nursery Government or Hints addressed to Mothers and Nursery maids* (1836) were evidently directed at both. Barwell noted that although servants were 'lamentably deficient' in education and habits: 'It is, however, certain, that we must call in their services.'¹²⁹ While women who could afford assistance may have devolved childcare to servants, the representation of motherhood in art required that the mother should exhibit incontestable natural and selfless devotion to her child. Baily's statue was criticised because the mother appeared somewhat cold and

¹²⁷ When Poland rebelled against Russia in November 1830 he took a leading role in challenging the British government's indifference, using the *New Monthly Magazine* as his mouthpiece.

¹²⁸ *Athenaeum*, 12 June 1830, no. 137, p. 364.

¹²⁹ L.M. Barwell, 'Introductory Address to Mothers', *Nursery Government or Hints addressed to Mothers and Nursery maids*, London, 1836, p. vii.

unfeeling; as a result, it could not signify natural motherhood and was instead suggestive of a hired-hand. It was evidently harder – not to say risky – to attempt to generate feelings of pathos and melancholy in the representation of mothers which were not staged as ‘afflicted’.

If the reason why Baily’s sculpture excited this critique was the limited physical and emotional interaction between the woman and child, the following year the sculptor exhibited a work which appeared purposively designed to answer the *Athenaeum*’s comments. Baily’s alto-relievo, *Maternal Affection* (fig. 92) (1831; Grittleton House), was exhibited with the following excerpt of poetry:

See a fond mother with her offspring round
Her soft soul melting with maternal love;
One to her breast she clasps,
The other by kisses proves her affection.¹³⁰

As a critic in the *Literary Gazette* observed, the lines attached to ‘this admirable group’ were ‘quite supererogatory’: the sculpture ‘could never have been mistaken for any other subject’.¹³¹ Indeed, every feature of Baily’s relief seemed calculated to confirm the natural maternal instinct of the mother for her children. This is evident, not least, in the representation of the mother in the throes of breastfeeding, cradling her baby in one arm and staring at him adoringly, while also comforting her eldest boy who stares dotingly up at her. The three are interlocked by their mutually-enforcing circle of loving looks and their physical embrace of one another.

Baily’s explicit portrayal of breastfeeding in this sculpture is of interest as many mother and child groups of this period made reference to this subject. Westmacott’s *Houseless Traveller* represented a mother with her child drawn against her exposed breast, while at the 1830 exhibition Heffernan’s *Deserted Mother* was described as ‘a lady in desperate affliction, suckling’.¹³² In 1835 Frederick Thrupp exhibited *A mother bending over her sleeping infant* (untraced) with the following line by Samuel Rogers in the catalogue: ‘To her bosom pressed, He drinks the balm of life

¹³⁰ Quoted from *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCXXXI, the sixty-third*, 1831, London, p. 47, no. 1162.

¹³¹ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 11 June 1831, no. 751, p. 379.

¹³² *Athenaeum*, 12 June 1830, no. 137, p. 364.

and drops to rest'.¹³³ The figure of a mother with her child at her breast was a traditional symbol of Charity. Westmacott's use of this motif in the *Houseless Traveller* was particularly fitting given that the monument was intended as a memorial to Mrs Warren's charitable qualities. Following Westmacott's success with this work, the figure of the nursing mother gained some popularity among sculptors. In these later exhibits, however, the references to breastfeeding functioned less as a symbol for the biblical figure of Charity and rather to indicate more generally that this was a representation of ideal motherhood, as embodied by this intimate act. Another sculpture to make reference to breastfeeding was Chantrey's *Monument to Dorothy Jordan* (fig. 93) (1831-34; Royal Collection).¹³⁴ Begun in 1831, this work bears comparison to Baily's relief of the same date. Dorothy Jordan (1761-1816) had been the long-time partner of the Duke of Clarence, later William IV (1765-1837), and mother to his 10 children. When it became clear that the Duke would succeed to the throne he left Mrs Jordan to pursue a more politically expedient marriage. On his accession in 1830, he commissioned a monument from Chantrey to commemorate Mrs Jordan's memory. When this sculpture was discussed, Chantrey asked the King about the lady's character traits, he wept and replied that: 'she was most distinguished by her maternal affection'.¹³⁵ Chantrey's monument was finished in the summer of 1834. It was never installed in Westminster Abbey and instead remained in Chantrey's studio for many years, a popular attraction to visitors, including the young Queen Victoria in 1839. Presumably the image of Mrs Jordan surrounded by two of William IV's illegitimate children was thought insensitive, despite Chantrey's attempts to rehabilitate the one-time actress as the embodiment of selfless maternal devotion. This life-size statue represented Mrs Jordan with her baby at her exposed breast, and her elder son staring up at her adoringly. As with so many statues of this period, the implication appears to be that she has just finished, or is about to start, breastfeeding.

From the mid-eighteenth century, a vast body of medico-moral literature had advised mothers to breastfeed their children. Rousseau's writings in *Emile* (1762), in which

¹³³ No. 1066.

¹³⁴ For further information on this statue see G. Jones, *Personal Recollections of Sir Francis Chantrey*, London, 1849, pp. 118-9; C. Tomalin, *Mrs Jordan's Profession*, London, 1995 pp. 1-8 and pp. 318-322 and G. Perry, 'Staging Gender and "Hairy Signs": representing Dorothy Jordan's curls', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, Fall 2004, vol. 38, pp. 145-163.

¹³⁵ Jones (1849), p. 119.

the aristocratic habit of using a wet nurse was sharply criticised, were highly influential in this respect.¹³⁶ While in the eighteenth century encouragement of maternal breastfeeding had been a vogue of the aristocracy, associated with the cult of sensibility, by the early nineteenth century the subject had become a central tenet of middle-class culture and a matter of considerable class pride. In Margaret Moore's *Advice to Young Mothers*, a mother's failure to nurse her child was characterised as the very embodiment of wilful neglect:

Though it is not now the custom, as formerly, for every opulent mother to throw her infant on the bosom of a stranger, for that nourishment which nature commands her to administer from her own; yet, it is still far too common for women of a certain rank, and their imitators, to submit to this barbarous refinement, which is often injurious to the health of both mothers and children; and which all, who see it in a just point of view, should use their utmost endeavours to abolish.¹³⁷

Moore stipulated that nothing should deter a mother from her maternal duty: fatigue, pain or physical suffering of any kind was not considered sufficient an excuse to deviate from the dictates of God and nature. While breastfeeding was represented with some regularity in sculpture of the early nineteenth century, few paintings of this period depict the subject. Although the practice was fervently advocated in advice books, it remained a function carried out in private and many women were still in confinement when nursing their children. The only painting known to the author to represent this subject is Charles West Cope's *The Young Mother* (fig. 94) (1846; Victoria & Albert Museum). While it was unusual to exhibit a painting of an individual woman breastfeeding, the representation of this subject in ideal sculpture functioned as an emblem for selfless, natural maternal affection. The implicit association of sculpture with classical precedents also conveyed notions of timelessness and immutability, placing the representation of this subject 'on a pedestal' and beyond the realms of the particular.

¹³⁶ For a discussion of Rousseau's writings in relation to the French context see C. Duncan, 'Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 55, no. 4, December 1973, pp. 570-583.

¹³⁷ M.J. Moore, *Advice to Young Mothers on the Physical Education of Children by a Grandmother*, London, 1823, p. 11.

The market for ‘maternal affection’

Baily's *Mother and Child* of 1830 (fig. 90) and his *Maternal Affection, an alto-relievo* of 1831 (fig. 92) are barely documented in scholarship on British sculpture and little information about them exists in the literature on Baily. An examination of the patronage of these sculptures, and some of the contexts in which they were admired, adds some much-needed detail to our current understanding of the market for early nineteenth-century ideal sculpture. Baily's relief *Maternal Affection* of 1831, for example, provides an opportunity to highlight some of the wider cultural frameworks in which early nineteenth-century sculpture was situated. In 1836 and 1837 Samuel Carter Hall (1800-1889) brought out the gift book, *The Book of Gems: the poets and artists of Great Britain*, in which he illustrated a survey of British poetry with prints after works by contemporary British artists.¹³⁸ The vast majority of the illustrations in this publication were selected from paintings, but six sculptures were included and among these was Baily's *Maternal Affection* relief (fig. 95).¹³⁹ It is interesting to note that most of the other sculptures in this book had a loosely maternal theme: Flaxman's *Monument to Georgiana, Countess Spencer* (RA 1816) and Westmacott's *Nymph and Zephyr*, (RA 1828) (fig. 96), for example. Publications such as the *Book of Gems* – and this editor's later print ventures in the *Art Journal* and the *Gallery of Modern Sculpture* – offered sculptors an alternative means of promoting their sculptures in print form to a wider audience.¹⁴⁰ The practice of sculptors commissioning draughtsmen and printmakers to make prints after their work must have been widespread. Prints could serve many useful functions for both reference and publicity purposes. It is documented that Baily

¹³⁸ S.C. Hall, *The Book of Gems: the poets and artists of Great Britain*, London, 1836-7. Hall was also then editor of the *New Monthly Magazine* (having succeeded Thomas Campbell to this position). He would later become editor of the *Art Union* (later-rechristened the *Art Journal*). For information on this writer and journalist see S.C. Hall, *Retrospect of a long life, from 1815 to 1883*, London, 1883 and H. Morris, *Hand, Head and Heart: Samuel Carter Hall and the Art Journal*, Norwich, 2002.

¹³⁹ Baily's sculpture was used to illustrate the poem 'The Immortality of the Soul' by Sir John Davies (1569-1826); see Hall (1836), p.118.

¹⁴⁰ Hall was later responsible for re-issuing Hervey's plates from the *Illustrations of Modern Sculpture* in the *Art Union/Journal* and in his *Gallery of Modern Sculpture*, London, 1854, which was a larger, improved version of Hervey's earlier publication. For a discussion of his role in issuing prints after sculpture see Hall (1883), vol. 1, pp. 340-342. Hall is also documented as owning a collection of plaster casts after modern sculpture, including Baily's *Eve*, and it would be of interest to pursue this gentleman's sculpture collection (and his role in the promotion of British sculpture) as a line of future research; see the *Builder*, 26 November 1853, no. 564, p. 717.

donated an engraving after *Eve at the Fountain* to the Athenaeum Club in 1829.¹⁴¹ The only other single print after Baily's sculpture known to the author is the one produced after the *Apollo and Minerva* relief for the Bristol Institution, which was used as an illustration on the organisation's subscription ticket (figs 46 and 47).¹⁴² All other prints after Baily's work appear as illustrations to poetry in the context of publications such as the *Book of Gems* and the *Illustrations of Modern Sculpture*, or in periodicals such as the *Art Union* and *Art Journal*. The practice of issuing single prints after sculpture, and how these were circulated, is a subject which requires further investigation.

Previously, it was only through the engraving in the *Book of Gems* that Baily's *Maternal Affection* relief was known to historians. It is now possible to confirm that this sculpture was purchased by Neeld. This work has not previously been documented in literature on Neeld's collection; much of the information about this patron's sculpture collection derives from the Christie's catalogue which accompanied its sale in 1966.¹⁴³ Baily's relief *Maternal Affection* was not included in this event, however, as it was fixed to the wall. It remains at the house to this day, along with its pair, a second relief which will be referred to here as *Mother with Three Children* (fig. 97) (undated; Grittleton House). This sculpture is previously undocumented in literature on Baily and Neeld's collection. There seems little doubt that it is by Baily: it forms a clear pair to the earlier relief of 1831. The mother's hair-style is typical of that used by this sculptor and the composition is a combination of several of Baily's maternal-themed works. It represents a mother with three children, one climbs on her back and another stands at her feet, while the third child is represented with his head playfully inside his mother's dress at her breast.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ See Tait (2000), cat. no. 1401, p. 180. This is described as a stipple engraving by an unknown artist 'from the statue in the Bristol Institution'; see also p. 90, n. 159.

¹⁴² See pp. 84.

¹⁴³ See Christie's (1966) and my earlier discussion, p. 50 and pp. 96-100.

¹⁴⁴ The sculpture also bears some compositional similarity to Michelangelo's *Tondo: the Virgin and Child* (1504-5) brought to London in 1822 by George Beaumont (1753-1827) and later bequeathed to the Royal Academy. This work may have provided further impetus to the execution of maternal-themed works by sculptors at the Academy.

It is also possible to identify the patron of Baily's *Mother and Child* of 1830, exhibited with lines from Campbell's *The Pleasures of Hope*. This work was bought by the poet and dramatist Sir Aubrey de Vere (1788-1864), 2nd baronet of Curragh Chase near Limerick (fig. 98). De Vere is little-known today but during his own lifetime he enjoyed some popularity as a poet and sonneteer.¹⁴⁵ De Vere was from an Irish landowning family. Sent to school at Harrow, he was a contemporary of Byron and Sir Robert Peel. In 1807 he married Mary Spring Rice and in 1818 he succeeded to the baronetcy. He was, by all accounts, a popular landlord, even during the Irish famine. Although an Anglican himself, he was strongly in favour of Catholic Emancipation and was described politically as a 'moderate Tory' and a loyalist.¹⁴⁶ After failing to be elected to parliament in 1820, de Vere began to publish poetry. His works included *The Lamentations of Ireland* (1823) and *A Song of Faith, Devout Exercises and Sonnets* (1842) dedicated to Wordsworth.¹⁴⁷ De Vere also contributed to a number of gift books and literary annuals such as the *Literary Souvenir*.¹⁴⁸

In Riddel's archive on Baily, there is correspondence from de Vere's son, Sir Stephen de Vere (1812-1904), dated 1883 in which he discussed his father's *Mother and Child* group, then still in the family collection.¹⁴⁹ Sir Stephen also sent Riddel a photograph of the work (fig. 99). In the letter he described the statue thus: 'The material is the finest white marble; and the size about that of life. This beautiful statue was bought by my father ... about 50 years ago. My father had the greatest admiration for Mr Baily's genius as an artist, and the most profound respect and esteem for him personally. I can remember him a guest at my father's house in London in 1821.'¹⁵⁰ The de Vere family resided in London for some period of each

¹⁴⁵ See 'Vere, Sir Aubrey De', rev. J. Hinings, *DNB* [accessed 28 October 2006]. Much information on de Vere is also found in literature relating to his son, the Irish poet Aubrey de Vere (1814-1902); see A. de Vere the younger, *Recollections of Aubrey de Vere*, London, 1897; W. Ward, *Aubrey de Vere: a memoir*, London, 1904 and S.M.P. Reilly, *Aubrey de Vere: Victorian observer*, Lincoln (Nebraska), 1953.

¹⁴⁶ See Reilly (1953), p. 7.

¹⁴⁷ De Vere was a close friend of Wordsworth. The poet called de Vere's sonnets in the *Song of Faith*, the 'most perfect of our age'.

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, 'Sonnets on Columbus', *The Literary Souvenir*, London, 1830, pp. 101-2.

¹⁴⁹ See the Baily papers, ff. 95-96. Sir Stephen de Vere was a Latin scholar and poet who distinguished himself as a philanthropist and caring landowner in Ireland.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 95-96. In another letter Sir Stephen noted of Baily's *Mother and Child* s that: 'I have nothing which I value or admire more. I look upon it as one of the best works of our best modern sculptor. My late father, Sir Aubrey de Vere, was full of admiration for Mr Baily's genius and entertained the strongest feelings of personal regard for him. He often lamented to me that an artist of

year during the 1820s and 30s and it was presumably at this time that Baily became associated with de Vere.

De Vere owned other works of sculpture, including a colossal copy of Michelangelo's *Moses*.¹⁵¹ Sir Stephen noted that his father also possessed a *Bust of Flaxman* by Baily and a plaster cast of *Eve at the Fountain*.¹⁵² Baily's *Eve and Mother and Child* can be seen a faded photograph of the entrance hall of Curragh Chase (fig. 100).¹⁵³ Little further information on de Vere's sculpture collection survives and the statue of the *Mother and Child* group of 1830 is currently untraced.¹⁵⁴ Sir Stephen also told Riddel that the family owned a bust by Baily of Sir Aubrey's wife, Mary, commissioned in 1834.¹⁵⁵ De Vere had married the sister of his closest friend, Sir Thomas Spring Rice (1790-1866), later 1st Baron Monteagle of Brandon. While de Vere had failed to be elected to parliament in 1820, Spring Rice had succeeded and he became a member of Whig party, closely associated with the Marquess of Lansdowne.¹⁵⁶ When the Whigs returned to power in 1830 Spring Rice was made Secretary of the Treasury and he worked closely with Lord Althorp, whom he succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1835. In his letter to Riddel, Sir Stephen noted that Spring Rice had also been 'a great personal friend and admirer of Mr Baily and won at a raffle a most beautiful full size statue by Baily, the Sleeping Nymph. This magnificent piece of sculpture is now in the possession of the Dowager Lady Monteagle.'¹⁵⁷

so true genius, of such refined taste, and of such perfect finish, should not have been more universally known. He sold for hundreds what was worth thousands.' *Ibid.*, f. 96.

¹⁵¹ See Reilly (1953), p. 10.

¹⁵² Baily papers, f. 96.

¹⁵³ This was published in Reilly (1953), p. 38ff.

¹⁵⁴ The author has recently discovered that de Vere family papers are currently being catalogued by Limerick Archives (ref. P22). They include an 'inventory of heirlooms at Curragh Chase' compiled by Sir Stephen de Vere (ref. P22/E/1). It is hoped that a visit to Limerick might form the basis of a future research project.

¹⁵⁵ 'I have found in my late father's accounts an entry of a cheque to EHB in Sept 1834 which must be for the bust of Lady de Vere.' See the Baily papers f. 96. This was presumably the *Marble bust of a lady of quality* (RA 1834, 1082).

¹⁵⁶ For information on Spring Rice see E.A. Wasson, 'Rice, Thomas Spring', *DNB* [accessed 29 September 2006] and E.A. Wasson, *Whig renaissance: Lord Althorp and the whig party, 1782-1845*, New York & London, 1987.

¹⁵⁷ Baily papers, f. 95.

Sir Stephen's reference to the *Sleeping Nymph* is an important one, as it has not previously been documented that Spring Rice owned this statue.¹⁵⁸ The only known version was commissioned by the iron manufacturer John Gibson (1777-1851): *Sleeping Nymph* in 1850 (fig. 101) (1850; Bristol City Museum & Art Gallery). Baily first executed this figure as a speculative model in 1832.¹⁵⁹ It was also included in the *Illustrations* that year (fig. 102) and Hervey noted that a plan for its disposal had been suggested by the sculptor's friends.¹⁶⁰ He suggested that the mastermind behind the scheme was de Vere. This patron was described as being 'anxious that [this sculpture] should be worked in marble at the expense of a body of subscribers, for the purpose of being, by them, presented to the National Gallery'.¹⁶¹ Apparently de Vere had put his name down for fifty guineas and procured a number of other subscriptions. Hervey continued: 'We believe [de Vere] reckoned upon the influence of his brother-in-law, Mr. Spring Rice, with Lord Lansdowne and other noblemen and gentlemen of taste, to assist him in the execution of a scheme which ... does him great honour.'¹⁶² Baily's bankruptcy in 1831 had been partly brought about the government's delay in paying for the sculpture executed for Nash's projected Buckingham House arch. An article in the *Literary Gazette* of July 1833 substantiates the proposal discussed by Hervey. It reported that Baily's financial problems had been 'alluded to by Lord Althorp in the House of Commons'.¹⁶³ As a result, the article continued, Spring Rice and 'several other individuals of liberality and taste' had begun a subscription to for Baily's 'exquisite' *Sleeping Nymph* to be executed in marble and to be presented by them to the National Gallery. The writer concluded that this institution would never have 'a purer ornament'.¹⁶⁴ Irrespective of this proposed scheme, in 1833 Baily was still trying to sell the *Sleeping Nymph* and this year he sent it for exhibition to the British Institution and the Royal

¹⁵⁸ There are currently two documented versions of the *Sleeping Nymph* in existence. The version in Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery was previously in the collection of John Gibbons (1777-1851), an iron manufacturer of Bristol. In the museum's 'Historical File' on Baily, there is also some documentation to suggest that another version was previously at Orchard Wyndham, the home of George Francis Wyndham, (1785-1845), 4th Earl of Egremont. The author has written to the current owners of Orchard Wyndham and they have no record of this sculpture ever being at the property.

¹⁵⁹ No. 1214, under the title '*Tis only Nature lulled to sleep*'.

¹⁶⁰ Hervey (1832), 'The Sleeping Nymph', unpaginated.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

¹⁶³ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 27 July 1833, no. 862, p 477.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 477.

Manchester Institution.¹⁶⁵ Three years later the *Sleeping Nymph, in marble* was exhibited at the Academy in London.¹⁶⁶ Sir Stephen's letter would suggest that a lottery did eventually take place for its disposal, although there no other evidence to support this.¹⁶⁷ Presumably Spring Rice won the lottery and kept the prize for himself, or he purchased the work directly from Baily.¹⁶⁸

While patrons such as Neeld purchased a great many sculptures by Baily, Sir Aubrey De Vere and his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Spring Rice, may only have purchased (or won by lottery) one or two works. These two gentlemen nevertheless constituted an important network of support and advocacy for Baily: campaigning for his *Sleeping Nymph* to be executed in marble and for questions to be asked in the House of Commons on the government's delayed payment of the sculptor. It seems highly likely that these two were among those 'friends and supporters' who helped Baily and his family during his 1831 bankruptcy, securing their household effects and continued residence at Percy Street.¹⁶⁹ Although they may have been minor collectors, a fuller picture of the gentlemen who constituted the market for Baily's sculpture emerges. In the next section another important patron of Baily can be added to this previously little-documented picture of sculptural patronage.

¹⁶⁵ BI no. 553. At the Royal Manchester Institution, the work was referred to as *The Sleeping Nymph or Dreamer* (RMI 1833 no. 486). The sculpture must have made some impact as the following year R.T. Lonsdale exhibited the painting: *Sleep – after a figure by E.H. Baily, Esq., R.A.* (no. 378) at this venue. Baily also later exhibited this work at the Westminster Hall exhibition of 1844; see p. 195, n. 187.

¹⁶⁶ No. 1142. The poetic quotation which it was exhibited with this statue will be discussed shortly, see pp. 147-149.

¹⁶⁷ The National Gallery have no record of the *Sleeping Nymph* ever being presented to them. When this statue was illustrated in the *Art Union* in 1847 no reference was made to this lottery; instead the critic stressed that the work had never been commissioned in marble, presumably on the basis of seeing the 'original' plaster model in the sculptor's studio; see the *Art Union*, 1 October 1847, p. 354.

¹⁶⁸ Spring Rice was a Trustee of the National Gallery at this time. It would be of interest to carry out further research into this patron. He evidently had an interest in sculpture; he was instrumental in the purchase of Flaxman's plaster casts for the nation, for example; see M. Denman's correspondence in the Flaxman's papers, British Library, Add. MSS. 39783, vol. IV, ff. 25-70. He also wrote an interesting article on sculpture in a book review of Count Leopold Cicognara's *Biografia di Antonio Canova* and Isabella Albrizzi's *Opere di scultura e di plastica di Antonio Canova*; see *Edinburgh Review*, February 1826, pp. 496-510. The Monteagle family papers are also currently in the process of being catalogued by Limerick Archives (ref. P.14) and it is possible that further information about Spring Rice's sculpture collection will be found in this documentation; see also p. 139, n. 154.

¹⁶⁹ See p. 95. During the 1830s, the sculptor also succeeded in securing a commission to execute the monument to John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick (RA 1836, no. 1060). De Vere and Spring Rice, both important gentlemen hailing from this city, may have promoted the sculptor's interests in securing this commission.

The 'lovely sufferer' in sculpture: Henry McConnel's *Mother and Child*

In this section attention returns to the mother and child statue seen in Henry Childs' watercolour of the Colosseum (fig. 3). This group was commissioned by the Manchester industrialist Henry McConnel. McConnel placed his order for the *Mother and Child* shortly after the death of his wife, Margaret, following childbirth in 1831. The commission was therefore instigated by Margaret's death, but functioned both as a memorial and a statue intended for domestic display. The work itself captured some of this ambivalence as it represented a semi-naked sleeping mother, reclining in a somewhat uncomfortable position upon a sarcophagus-like structure. Baily's statue thus combined conventions associated with both funeral effigies and ideal sculpture. When McConnel's *Mother and Child* was completed in 1835, a remarkable article written about the statue appeared in the *Literary Gazette*.¹⁷⁰ The article took the form of a letter written by a London-based friend of some of McConnel's associates in Manchester, who had asked for a description of the statue. It is a fascinating delineation of an early nineteenth-century spectator's response to viewing sculpture. The letter also allows us to gain access to some of the pleasures and anxieties generated by viewing the maternal body in marble. This section thus explores both the patronage and production of McConnel's *Mother and Child*, as well as providing an opportunity to focus upon some of the complex issues surrounding its visual consumption.

Henry McConnel was a second-generation cotton manufacturer, born into one of Manchester's wealthiest industrial families.¹⁷¹ The family firm, McConnel and Kennedy, had been founded in 1791 by Henry's father, James McConnel (1762-1831), and his partner John Kennedy (1769-1855).¹⁷² The firm specialised in the finer cotton threads used to make luxury textiles such as muslin and lace. In 1797 the partners opened a mill on Union Street in the Ancoats area which was successively enlarged until it became the city's most successful cotton mill. Like many members of the manufacturing classes, McConnel and Kennedy were non-conformists and

¹⁷⁰ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 21 February 1835, no. 944, p. 121.

¹⁷¹ For a history of the McConnel family see D.C. McConnel, *Facts and Traditions collected for a Family Record*, Edinburgh, 1861.

¹⁷² For a history of the firm see McConnel & Co, *A Century of Fine Cotton Spinning*, McConnel & Co. 1791-1906, Manchester, 1906 and *A History of McConnel and Kennedy, Fine Cotton Spinners*, Manchester 1972.

they attended the Upper Brook Street Unitarian Chapel.¹⁷³ They also supported philanthropic ventures such as the Mechanics' Institute, as well as being members of the Royal Manchester Institution.¹⁷⁴ When John Kennedy retired in 1826, Henry and his younger brother James became partners in the firm with their father.¹⁷⁵ Three years later Henry married John Kennedy's eldest daughter, Margaret, thus cementing the two families' business links with a matrimonial one. Their first child, Mary, was born in 1830 and their second, James, in 1831. Tragically, while Henry's son survived, Margaret died a fortnight after the latter's birth on 31 December 1831. The exact cause of death is unknown but it is possible that Margaret contracted puerperal fever. Also known as childbed fever, this infection was a common and painful cause of death among women following childbirth.¹⁷⁶

Although McConnel's sculpture may have been commissioned from Baily as a memorial, its purchase was concurrent with his first efforts to establish a collection of modern British art. Following the death of his father in September 1831, Henry secured the reigns of the family business. The 1830s were boom years for the cotton trade and by 1839 the *Art Union* referred to McConnel as having put together a collection 'unrivalled out of London'.¹⁷⁷ In this respect, it is useful to set McConnel's sculptural patronage in the context of his other purchases. Julian Treuherz has documented the beginnings of McConnel's collection.¹⁷⁸ His first acquisition was a genre painting by William Collins, *The Morning Bath* (RA 1831; untraced) which McConnel bought after admiring the work at the Academy exhibition.¹⁷⁹ He subsequently bought paintings by David Wilkie, Augustus Wall Callcott, Charles Eastlake and Edwin Landseer, among others. In 1834 McConnel purchased his first painting by Turner, *Venice* (RA 1834; National Gallery of Art, Washington) from the Academy, later noting of this work: 'Before it had hung one

¹⁷³ Unitarians were characterised by their anti-dogmatic approach and their belief that Jesus was a religious leader to be followed rather than worshipped. Another of Baily's patrons, Elhanan Bicknell, was also a noted Unitarian; see pp. 100-101.

¹⁷⁴ For the Royal Manchester Institution more generally see J.H.G. Archer, *Art and architecture in Victorian Manchester: ten illustrations of patronage and practice*, Manchester, 1985, pp. 28-45.

¹⁷⁵ James McConnel died in September 1831. A third brother then came into business and the firm became McConnel & Co.

¹⁷⁶ See Jalland (1996), p. 46.

¹⁷⁷ *Art Union*, 15 February 1839, p. 5.

¹⁷⁸ J. Treuherz, 'The Turner Collector: Henry McConnel, Cotton Spinner', *Turner Studies*, Winter 1986, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 37-42.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42, n. 12.

week on the walls of the Academy I paid without the slightest objection or hesitation £350.’¹⁸⁰ McConnel also subsequently placed a commission with Turner for *Keelmen heaving coals by night* (RA 1835; National Gallery of Art, Washington) and he suggested that this subject had been painted at his ‘especial suggestion’.¹⁸¹

McConnel clearly attended the Academy summer exhibitions regularly from 1831 with a view to making purchases, as well as commissioning artists directly. In his active involvement in the conception of *Keelmen heaving coals*, an industrial harbour scene, Dianne Sachko Macleod has described McConnel as initiating rather than imitating existing patterns of art patronage.¹⁸² McConnel purchased his two paintings by Turner at approximately the same time as Baily’s *Mother and Child* was reaching completion. Given the gestation period required for a life-size gallery statue, it seems likely that this sculpture commission was among McConnel’s first forays into the art world. Baily may have come into contact with his new patron in London or Manchester, as Baily had sent his unsold *Sleeping Nymph* to the Royal Manchester Institution in 1833.¹⁸³ McConnel’s *Mother and Child* group bears some comparison to the *Sleeping Nymph* and it is possible that this figure was a starting point for the commission.

McConnel’s *Mother and Child* had been completed by February 1835 as the *Literary Gazette* published its letter describing the recently-finished statue at this time.¹⁸⁴ This article will be investigated in some detail as it offers a first-hand reaction to Baily’s sculpture. In a short introduction to the letter, the editor of the *Literary Gazette* felt duty-bound to explain why this statue was being afforded *a priori* notice before its debut at the Academy. It was the periodical’s usual rule only to discuss works which were already in the public domain, thus avoiding accusations of

¹⁸⁰ Quoted from Treuherz, *ibid.*, p. 38, unreferenced.

¹⁸¹ Letter from McConnel to J. Naylor, *The Times*, 29 January 1887; quoted from Treuherz, *ibid.*, p. 39. McConnel paid £300 for the painting and this was, apparently, ‘a larger sum than Turner had asked’; see McConnel’s letter to the *Athenaeum*, 14 December 1861; quoted from Treuherz, p. 38. McConnel submitted both *Venice* and *Keelmen* to be exhibited at the Royal Manchester Institution’s annual exhibition in the autumn following their purchase at the Academy’s summer exhibition.

¹⁸² See Macleod (1996) p. 92-95 and pp. 446-47.

¹⁸³ See pp. 140-141. There is also some suggestion that Baily resided in Manchester at some point prior to 1838; see *The Times*, 3 March 1838, p. 3. This report described the sculptor as having previously worked as a land agent in Manchester. It has not been possible to find any further evidence to substantiate this claim.

¹⁸⁴ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 21 February 1835, no. 944, p. 121.

‘partiality’.¹⁸⁵ In making this exception, the editor pointed out that Baily’s sculpture was an honour to the British school and that it was the *Literary Gazette*’s duty to call the country’s attention to this ‘exquisite and immortal specimen’.¹⁸⁶ The letter itself had been written by John Rosson, a London-based solicitor, and it was addressed to Lawrence Fort, a Manchester-based calico printer who had requested that his friend visit Baily’s studio to see *Mother and Child* and to report on the sculpture’s progress.¹⁸⁷ Rosson noted that he had first seen the work six months earlier and was now visiting to admire ‘the finishing touches revealed by Nature only to the eye of genius – and giving to the hard substance of marble the appearance of dimpled flesh’.¹⁸⁸ Although McConnel’s name was expunged from Rosson’s letter in the *Literary Gazette*, his identity was not a closely guarded secret as the letter stated that ‘Mr McC_____’s’ patronage had earned him the highest regard in the metropolis.¹⁸⁹ Rosson then moved to the main business of his missive, which was to furnish Fort with a detailed description of Baily’s sculpture:

The group exhibits a mother upon her couch with her infant boy reclining upon her bosom, the size of life. The mother, languishing under the effects of a protracted illness and anxiety, and worn out with loss of rest, has at length sunk into a slumber. Her left arm has slipped down to her side, and rests upon the couch – the natural result of sleep; but the right arm, instinct, even in sleep, with maternal solicitude firmly sustains her infant. The action of the child, in making an effort to regain its place on the bosom of its mother, is most natural and affecting. The mother, though in a state of repose, yet exhibits, by a slight contortion of the body, and uneasiness of position, the painful, yet quiet, endurance of the lovely sufferer.¹⁹⁰

This passage is a perceptive description of Baily’s group. It is also testimony to the palpable feeling of disquietude which the sculpture embodied in its representation of

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 121.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 121.

¹⁸⁷ The letter was headed ‘John Rosson, Esq. Barrister-at Law addressed to Lawrence Fort, Esq. Sedgley, near Manchester’, dated ‘Temple, 31 January 1835’. Manchester Central Library’s ‘Biographical Catalogue’ in the Local Studies Library refers to Fort as a calico printer. Rosson requested that Mr Fort would inform B_____, G_____ and Dr. H_____ of his letter. This was presumably Dr. Hulme, chairman of the Royal Manchester Institution. Fort and McConnel were also members of the Institution. Baily later executed a bust of John Rosson. It was not exhibited at the Academy but it was exhibited at the RMI in 1843: *Bust of John Rosson, Esq., one of the Founders of the Catholic Blind Asylum for the United Kingdom*.

¹⁸⁸ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 21 February 1835, no. 944, p. 121.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 121.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 121.

a mother's unsettled sleep. Rather than detracting from the work, this sense of anxiety would appear to have heightened its appeal.

Having given an overall description of Baily's sculpture, Rosson went on to make a series of literary allusions to 'adequately describe' his response to this 'extraordinary work'.¹⁹¹ Rosson began by noting that the 'angelic countenance' of the mother reminded him of Byron's poetry. He then quoted from an extended passage of Byron's *The Giaour* (1813).¹⁹² The poem's title referred to the Arabic word for 'the infidel', the hero of Byron's narrative, and it told the story of this character's flight from the court of a tyrannical Arabian prince, Hassan. The Giaour had had an affair with Hassan's concubine, a slave girl called Leila. On discovering Leila's infidelity, Hassan meted out the traditional punishment for adultery; he had her sewn into a sack and thrown into the sea. To avenge his lover's death the Giaour ambushed Hassan and killed him. Byron's poem related these rather fantastic and gruesome events in the fashionable literary form of a series of 'fragments' recounted by different narrators.

Rosson quoted from a passage of *The Giaour* which described the experience of gazing at the face of a loved one who had just passed away. The beauty of the deceased was still present – heightened, even, by death – and had not yet been disfigured by decay. This passage expressed a particular rapture with beholding death: the 'loveliness in death, / That parts not quite with parting breath'.¹⁹³ It also described the sense of repose and serenity which characterised the deceased's features:

The fixed, yet tender, traits that streak
The languor of the placid cheek,
And but for that sad, shrouded eye
That fires not, wins not, weeps not now;

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 121.

¹⁹² This poem was the first in a series of immensely popular *Oriental Tales* which Byron published between 1812 and 1816.

¹⁹³ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 21 February 1835, no. 944, p. 121; see also the lines of the poem just preceding those used by Rosson: 'He who hath bent him o'er the dead, / Ere the first day of death is fled; / The first dark day of nothingness, / The last of danger and distress: / (Before Decay's effacing fingers / Have swept the lines where beauty lingers) / And mark'd the mild angelic air -- / The rapture of repose that's there, ...' in *The complete poetical works of Lord Byron*, J. J. McGann, ed., Oxford, 1980, vol. 3, pp. 39-82, lines 68-75, p. 42.

And but for that chill, changeless brow,
 Where cold obstruction's apathy
 Appals the gazing mourner's heart,
 As if to him it could impart
 The doom he dreads yet dwells upon.¹⁹⁴

In Byron's poem, his description of this deathly countenance encouraged the beholder to contemplate their mortality. This description also staged the spectacle of the mourner suspended over the corpse of a loved one, one which echoed the position of the spectator bent over the sculpture.

Moving from the sublime to the ridiculous, Rosson then interceded that he could not continue his account without remarking upon the 'exquisite beauty' of the mother's feet, referring particularly to their 'modest' position on the couch.¹⁹⁵ Having alluded to Byron's poetry, he noted that it was equally essential to make reference to a passage from Shakespeare's tragedy, *Cymbeline*. A précis of this plot demonstrates why this is another remarkable literary selection on Rosson's part. In *Cymbeline*, the banished Posthumous placed a wager with one of his associates, a Roman soldier Iachimo, that his wife, Imogen, was the personification of wifely fidelity and virtue. Iachimo decided to challenge Posthumous's boast by attempting to seduce Imogen. True to her faithful character, Imogen refused Iachimo's advances; rather than accept defeat Iachimo resorted to subterfuge and he sneaked into Imogen's bedroom with the aim of gathering evidence that would convince Posthumous that he had slept with wife.¹⁹⁶ The passage Rosson selected was Iachimo's licentious description of the sleeping Imogen's beauty. The following passage is quoted from Rosson's extract of Iachimo's speech:

Cythera!
 How bravely thou becom'st thy bed! fresh lily!
 And whiter than the sheets!
 * * * * *
 'Tis her breathing that
 Perfumes the chamber thus: the flame of the taper
 Bows towards her; and would under-peep her lids

¹⁹⁴ Quoted from the *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 21 February 1835, no. 944, p. 121, (lines 76-85 of the poem).

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁹⁶ See *The Oxford Shakespeare Cymbeline*, R. Warren, ed., Oxford, 1998, Act II, scene ii, pp. 128-131.

To see the enclosed lights, now canopied
 Under these windows: white and azure, laced
 With blue of Heaven's own tinct.
 O sleep, thou ape of death! lie dull upon her,
 And be her sense, but as a monument
 Thus in a chapel lying.¹⁹⁷

In this speech, Iachimo began by comparing Imogen to Venus, an allusion suggested by her sexual attractiveness, while the reference to the lily evoked both her pallor and moral purity. There was then a hiatus in Rosson's quote; this was because he had excluded several lines from Shakespeare's text. The omitted lines are those in which Iachimo was overwhelmed by Imogen's beauty: he imagined touching Imogen and even ran the risk of waking her by kissing her lips. Earlier in the act, Iachimo also referred to 'Our Tarquin' – the legendary king of Rome who raped Lucretia – before beginning his description of Imogen's body.¹⁹⁸ Shakespeare thus associated Iachimo with a legendary rapist and raised the possibility of his sexual assault of Imogen. Rosson wisely expunged these lines, and those describing Iachimo's kiss, but his selection of this rather lustful speech to 'adequately describe' his experience of viewing McConnel's *Mother and Child* is remarkable. Iachimo's speech described an encounter between an erotically-charged male viewer gazing upon the naked body of a sleeping woman. It was one which effectively dramatised the illicit spectator ogling the naked body of another man's wife: a beautiful, innocent and unconscious woman. Iachimo's description also dwelt upon the lifelessness of Imogen's sleeping body and the whiteness of her hooded eyes. Imogen's sleep was described as a simulation of death and her sleeping body was effectively compared to a funeral effigy. Before further considering the sculpture's representation of sleep, it is worth noting here that in 1836, the year following the exhibition of McConnel's *Mother and Child* at the Academy, Baily exhibited the *Sleeping Nymph* at Somerset House (fig. 101). The sculptor had been trying to sell this work since 1832, with the support of de Vere and Spring Rice.¹⁹⁹ The text which he used to accompany the *Sleeping Nymph* in the Academy catalogue of 1836 was Iachimo's speech from *Cymbeline* – exactly as quoted by Rosson. Either Baily admired Rosson's Shakespearean reference of the year earlier, or Rosson utilised a poem which the sculptor himself

¹⁹⁷ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 21 February 1835, no. 944, p. 121.

¹⁹⁸ Line 14, Act II, scene ii. 'Our Tarquin', because both Tarquin and Iachimo hailed from Rome. Rosson used lines 14-15, 18-23, 31 and 33, excluding the others.

¹⁹⁹ See pp. 140-141.

had in mind for his work. In either respect, Baily evidently did not consider these lines inappropriate as a poetic accompaniment to his sculpture.

In representing the mother in McConnel's statue as sleeping, Baily was adopting a convention explicitly associated with funeral sculpture, whereby the deceased could be imagined as 'not dead but sleeping'. As previously noted, Nicholas Penny has discussed the traditional convention of representing women who had died following childbirth reclining with their baby in their arms.²⁰⁰ Baily's *Mother and Child* certainly bears comparison to church monuments of this period, such as Chantrey's *Monument to Lady Frederica Stanhope* (fig. 103) (1827; Chevening, Kent). Like Margaret McConnel, Lady Stanhope had also died in childbirth and she was represented by Chantrey lying upon a couch, with her head raised on a pillow, holding her baby to her chest.²⁰¹ By presenting the mother in such a way, Penny noted that the mother could be conceived of as sleeping and the monument thus depended for its initial impact on a denial of death. Penny argued that, on one level, Chantrey's monument functioned as a piece of wish-fulfilment:

The beholder, and above all the original bereaved patron, is encouraged to entertain the idea that Lady Stanhope is not dead but simply asleep with her child. But, of course, he is not deceived and such solace could only be partial and bitter. Further reflection, assisted by his faith, might then encourage him to accept the image as a metaphor for the rest he hopes she has attained in Heaven.²⁰²

This account of the Stanhope monument is comparable to Rosson's description of McConnel's *Mother and Child*. Rosson suggested that Baily's statue would offer solace to the 'affectionate husband' who had commissioned this work. He suggested that if he had the disposal of the statue he would place it in a little chapel or oratory:

There the bereaved husband could hoard the memory of her 'who is not lost but gone before' like the benevolent Allworthy, consider himself still married; and bowing with Christian fortitude and submission to the Sovereign Disposer of events, enjoy, at length, the peace – a foretaste of

²⁰⁰ See Penny, (1975), p. 319.

²⁰¹ For a discussion of this statue see Penny (1975), pp. 318-19 and Penny (1977), p. 120.

²⁰² Penny (1975), p. 318.

the happiness received for those who, tried by affliction, as gold in the crucible, are found pure.²⁰³

Here Rosson referred to the Squire Allworthy from *Tom Jones*. In Fielding's novel, this widower bore his bereavement with fortitude but was also predisposed to considering himself still married and his wife 'only a little gone before him'.²⁰⁴ Irrespective of Rosson's interpretation of Baily's statue, this work does not represent a mother on her deathbed as the mother is presented with a wakeful baby on her exposed breast. The nudity of the sculpture also placed it firmly within the conventions of ideal sculpture. This sits somewhat uncomfortably with the palpable sense of anxiety which pervades the work. Rosson's response to McConnel's *Mother and Child* is a register of these ambiguities. Despite evidently admiring the sculpture, his description of it and the literary allusions he used betrayed a sense of unease. The excerpt from Byron's *La Giaour* described the pleasure to be had from viewing a beautiful corpse, while the reference to Imogen staged the illicit gratification to be had in viewing an unconscious woman's naked body. The work itself invited these concerns in representing a beautiful, semi-naked mother evidently ill-at-ease.

While Rosson may have felt that a little chapel or oratory would be the perfect resting place for McConnel's statue, the sculpture was in fact placed in much greater public circulation. Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1835 as *Groupe, in marble, of a mother and child*, the critics who reviewed the work made no reference at all to the sculpture's memorial role.²⁰⁵ The *Athenaeum* described Baily's production as one of the finest of modern times but it could not resist some criticism of the mother's physique: 'The waist is, indeed, too depressed for the form to be perfectly beautiful and the bosom too much exposed for the otherwise modest serenity of the figure, but maternal affection and youthful loveliness triumph over the coldness of criticism, and as we think of the work we almost wish our words of censure unsaid.'²⁰⁶ Another critic praised Baily simply for his representation of the theme of maternal affection in sculpture:

²⁰³ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 21 February 1835, no. 944, p. 121.

²⁰⁴ H. Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones, a foundling*, J. Bender, ed., Oxford, 1998 edition, p. 32.

²⁰⁵ No. 1046.

²⁰⁶ *Athenaeum*, 23 May 1835, no. 395, p. 395.

The *Mother and Child* ... appeals at once to the affectionate feelings of the heart, and in such a manner it cannot fail to awaken them. What can be more pleasing to the sight, or more entrancing to the heart, than a beautiful woman with a lovely infant in her arms? No living object.²⁰⁷

Despite this glowing endorsement of Baily's sculpture, this critic also betrayed a sense of unease. The writer worried that Baily's mother was evidently 'completely exhausted with fatigue', plagued by some 'agonising thought' and her mind 'unquiet and disturbed'.²⁰⁸ Although the mother was resting, she was credited with a 'sleeping watchfulness' and a readiness to resume her waking function at any moment.²⁰⁹ Like Rosson's response, the critic attempted to balance the mother's beauty and maternal affection with the sense of discomfort which was so evident, yet absorbing, in this sculpture: 'A painful interest steals through every feature of her beautiful face, which strikes you the instance you behold it, and absolutely rivets your attention.'²¹⁰

Baily's sculpture calibrated a delicate balance between the representation of beauty and discomfort, as evidenced by descriptions of the mother as the 'lovely sufferer' and her 'painful beauty'.²¹¹ Evidently spectators found this element of the sculpture riveting and, as already discussed, the representation of the mother as sleeping further served to encourage the spectator's engagement. In representing sleep, the sculpture portrayed a motionless body in sculpture – one which was in effect 'naturally' so.²¹² The total stillness of the sculpted object was undeniable but this awareness was fragile due to the spectator's ability to indulge in the imaginative fantasy that the cold stone might be animated by breath or soft to touch. This fantasy was enacted by spectators before Baily's *Mother and Child*: one critic noted of the figures that they, 'almost seem to breathe beneath the folds of drapery'.²¹³ Rosson also praised Baily for 'giving to the hard substance of marble the appearance of

²⁰⁷ Quoted from an unidentified press clipping in the Baily papers, f. 99.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., f. 99.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., f. 99.

²¹⁰ Ibid., f. 99.

²¹¹ Ibid., f. 99.

²¹² For a discussion of sleep in sculpture see B. Fer et al, *Sleep in Sculpture: babies from the Bowes*, (exhib. cat.) Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, 1996. This catalogue was particularly concerned with a group of statues representing sleeping babies but it offers an interesting commentary on sleep in sculpture more generally.

²¹³ Quoted from an unidentified press clipping in the Baily papers, f. 99.

dimpled flesh'.²¹⁴ As discussed in the chapter on *Eve at the Fountain*, the potential illusionism of the life-sized body in sculpture was balanced by the spectator's ultimate awareness of the materiality of the object.²¹⁵ The spectator could indulge in an imaginary oscillation between conceiving of the sculpted figure as breathing or inert, but the illusion was fragile. This uncertainty held the viewer in an equivalent state of tension and served to encourage spectators to dwell upon the sculpture longer.

In addition to being exhibited in London, McConnel's *Mother and Child* was also placed on public display at the Royal Manchester Institution in 1838.²¹⁶ The three year delay from its debut at the Academy was unusual as McConnel normally exhibited any paintings he bought in London at the Manchester exhibition the same year. In May 1837 McConnel had re-married and his new wife, Isabella, was the daughter of one of his business associates, George Murray, Esq. of Ancoats Hall. Their first child, Margaret, was born in March 1838.²¹⁷ At this time McConnel was also building a new home for his family at Cressbrook. In 1835 McConnel & Co had purchased a new mill in this area and Henry took this opportunity to move his family from Ardwick, an industrial suburb of Manchester, to rural Derbyshire.²¹⁸ On a precipice above the mill, McConnel commissioned the architect Thomas Johnson of Lichfield to design a new home for his family (fig. 104). Cressbrook Hall was finished circa 1841 and the McConnells moved there shortly after. In 1870 a correspondent from the *Art Journal* visited the property to give an account of McConnel's art collection. It described the building itself as 'a mansion of no great size but much elegance ... a comparatively unostentatious English home'.²¹⁹ The writer also noted that McConnel did not display his art collection in a purpose-built gallery; instead, 'the pictures are hung on the walls of the "living rooms" – a

²¹⁴ *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 21 February 1835, no. 944, p. 121.

²¹⁵ This was comparable to the experience of spectators such as Henry Neele when admiring *Eve at the Fountain*, see pp. 75-77 and Potts (1992), pp. 38-47.

²¹⁶ RMI 1838, no. 479.

²¹⁷ See McConnel (1861), p. 155. Henry married Isabella on 30 May 1837. Their second daughter, Jane, was born on 23 December 1840. It was one of Henry's daughters (Mrs James Worthington) by his second marriage that donated Baily's statue to Manchester City Art Gallery in 1886.

²¹⁸ The mill had been built in the eighteenth century and was first used by Richard Arkwright; see M. Allen, *Cressbrook*, Manchester, 1996.

²¹⁹ *Art Journal*, 1 September 1870, pp. 286-88.

perpetual feast, to be enjoyed, not at intervals, but during every hour of the day'.²²⁰ As the rooms at Cressbrook were not large apartments, the larger pictures were placed in the inner hall and on the staircase.²²¹ Baily's *Mother and Child* was also displayed in this room (fig. 105) where it formed the sculptural showpiece of McConnel's collection, placed at the heart of the family home.

In its ambivalent status as both a commemorative and ideal work, McConnel's *Mother and Child* group brings together many of the issues discussed in this chapter. Prior to the 1800s, funerary monuments were the primary context for viewing sculpture in which women were idealised as mothers. It is perhaps significant that during the 1820s and 30s there was a notable decline in church burial. As Britain's ever-expanding urban population was buried in cemeteries and elaborate church monuments of the type commissioned in the eighteenth century fell from favour.²²² The 1820s and 30s might be described as a transitional period during which mother and child statues for private display became increasingly popular. McConnel's *Mother and Child* seems to be suspended between these developments. Some of the unease registered in this work, and in the responses to it, indicate some of the anxieties which surrounded the idealisation of motherhood itself, at a time when many women still died in childbirth and the maternal body itself excited strong views. All of the sculptures discussed in this chapter register the deeply held religious beliefs of this period and were underpinned by a Christian conception of the sacred role of the mother. The simple, affecting nature of the imagery also resonated with a particular characterisation of British sculpture then being articulated. Unlike characters from classical history and literature, maternal and domestic subjects were considered 'natural' in their appeal, ones which elicited a heartfelt emotional response in the spectator. In this respect they could also excite censure and criticism, in a way that gallery statues representing remote mythological figures did not.

²²⁰ Ibid., p. 286.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 286.

²²² See C. Brooks, *Mortal Remains: the history and present state of the Victorian Cemetery*, Exeter, 1989, pp. 4-32.

As with his statues of *Eve*, Baily also executed several later versions of his maternal themed works in a variety of sizes.²²³ In addition to the reclining *Mother and Child*, McConnel is also documented as owning a version of Baily's *Mother and Child* of 1830 (fig. 90).²²⁴ In 1843 the sculptor also executed a reduced marble version of this mother figure (fig. 106) and in 1846 he executed its pair (fig. 107).²²⁵ These 'cabinet-sized' objects were well-suited to being displayed in a domestic setting. Many of the collectors who purchased Baily's mother and child groups were relatively small-scale collectors, in that they acquired only a modest number of works. Often it is difficult to trace sale catalogues, making it problematic to investigate collectors about which so little information survives. Nevertheless, a fairly wide network of patronage existed for Baily's mother and child groups, in various scales. This would indicate that although the market forces underpinning ideal sculpture were hazardous, demand for this genre was much richer than has previously been indicated and that sculptors such as Baily were willing and adept at seeking ways to respond to consumer need.

²²³ Of Baily's *Maternal Affection* (RA model 1823), for example, there is a version dated 1841 at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, donated to the museum anonymously in 1974. The *Art Union* suggested that a version of this statue was also in the collection of the Earl of Egremont at Petworth, but the statue is not currently at the house and there is no record of it as ever having been there; see the *Art Union*, 1 April 1847, p. 121. At some point *Maternal Affection* may also have been issued in parianware; see Atterbury (1989), p. 12.

²²⁴ See the Baily papers, f. 95. The author would like to try and research McConnel's sculpture collection further: it was previously thought that this patron only owned one statue by Baily but there may have been a greater range of sculpture at Cressbrook Hall.

²²⁵ These works were on auctioned by Sotheby's London, 29 March 1983, lot 216. The vendor of these items was a Yorkshire art dealer who purchased them at Tennant's Richmond, 1 December 1982, lot 403. Unfortunately, Tennant's were unable to provide any information on the provenance of these items. Riddel noted in his archive on Baily archive that a small marble copy of Baily's *Mother and Child* of 1830 was executed for Samuel Cartwright (1789-1864); see the Baily papers, f. 95. Cartwright was a famous society dentist of the period who was noted for his art collection; see *Art Union*, 15 August 1839, p. 122. Riddel noted that Cartwright's sale took place at Christie's London, 27-28 February 1865 and that this sculpture and its pair were purchased by Agnew's. He also noted that the latter was sold to a 'Mr. G. Smith'; see the Baily papers, f. 95. Agnew's does not hold records for its sculpture sales and it has not proved possible to pursue this reference.

Chapter Four

Charting a topography of sculptural display in London, c.1800-1845

The previous two chapters have functioned as case studies examining specific examples of Baily's poetic sculptures. The aim of this chapter is to provide a broader-based discussion of the public contexts in which these works were viewed. In current scholarship on the display of British sculpture circa 1800 to 1845, much attention has been devoted to aristocratic private sculpture galleries such as those at Woburn Abbey, Chatsworth and Petworth where the optimum viewing conditions for the exhibition of sculpture were achieved. While these venues constitute a fertile area of study, they nevertheless represent only one strand of a much richer story. This thesis has aimed to use the productions of one sculptor as a route into examining some of the relationships which existed between poetry and sculpture. During the course of this project a new set of collectors has emerged and a new set of preferred modes of display. The only patron of Baily to establish a private sculpture gallery was Joseph Neeld. Other collectors of his poetic figures – gentlemen including Elhanan Bicknell and Henry McConnel – preferred not to allocate a distinct domain to sculptural appreciation and instead favoured displaying sculpture alongside painting in the main living spaces of the home. Although some of Baily's patrons placed advance commissions with him, many simply purchased existing pieces from his stock, having admired these works at the various public art exhibitions to which Baily contributed, or at the sculptor's studio. These sites of sculptural spectatorship assume a considerable significance, therefore; one which is not matched by the extent of current scholarship on these venues.¹

Throughout Baily's career, the most prestigious public platform available to artists was the Royal Academy's annual exhibition. Baily first submitted work to this institution in 1810 when its exhibitions were held at Somerset House on the Strand; in 1837 the Academy moved to new premises designed by William Wilkins (1778-1839), at the site later known as Trafalgar Square. Current scholarship on the display of sculpture at the Academy relates only to its earlier venue: Alison Yarrington's

¹ This chapter focuses exclusively on metropolitan spaces of display. Baily's contributions to the exhibitions of the Bristol Institution and Royal Manchester Institution, and the circumstances of display available at these galleries, are not included. The author hopes that these important regional exhibition venues for sculpture will form the basis of future research.

essay ‘Art in the Dark: viewing and exhibiting sculpture at Somerset House’ published in the groundbreaking exhibition catalogue *Art on the Line: the Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*.² While this study is of enormous value, much remains to be investigated to attain a fuller picture of sculptural spectatorship during the early nineteenth century. The Academy’s annual exhibition may have been the most esteemed public showcase for art during the period, but it was only one among a miscellany of venues for display available to artists. Sculpture formed an important part of this rich exhibition culture and it should not be annexed from these contexts to be discussed solely in terms of private sculpture galleries. The following chapter aims to chart a fuller topography of sculptural display in early nineteenth-century London. Our guide throughout will be Baily and his exhibition history provides the focus to this investigation.

Poetic sculpture at Somerset House on the Strand, 1810-1836

George Scharf’s *The Entrance Hall of Somerset House* (fig. 108) (1836; British Museum) illustrates the prospect which faced visitors on their arrival at the Academy during its residence on the Strand. In William Chambers’ classically-inspired entrance vestibule, populated by casts after antique statues, lay the foot of a graceful curved staircase leading to the Great Room upstairs (fig. 109), the magnificent top-lit apartment which was the main gallery for the exhibition of paintings. In describing the architectural experience of Somerset House, John Murdoch has suggested that Chambers’ processional staircase and the iconography of his design constituted an ‘allegory of enlightenment’ for visitors and artists alike who ascended from comparative gloominess at the bottom of the building to an epiphany-like entrance into the spectacle of the exhibition.³ In the literal and metaphorical ascent which Murdoch described, sculpture played no part at all. Throughout the Academy’s residence at Somerset House this medium was displayed separately from painting in a room on the ground floor of the building, one otherwise used for life drawing classes. The doorway to the ‘Life’ or ‘Model’ Academy – the room in which the sculptures were exhibited – can be seen to the right of Scharf’s image, at the

² Yarrington (2001), pp. 173-187. Some of the discussion which follows inevitably draws on similar sources to those used by Yarrington. Although the Somerset House exhibitions have been thoroughly investigated by this author, it is nonetheless important that the viewing conditions for sculpture at this venue are established, so as to provide a foundation for the wider aims of this chapter.

³ J. Murdoch, ‘Architecture and Experience: the Visitor and the Spaces of Somerset House 1780-1796’ in Solkin, ed. (2001), pp. 9-22, p. 14.

threshold of which stands a male spectator. In 1825 the *News of Fashion and Literature* published an article recounting the experiences of a first-time visitor to the exhibition which pithily articulated the problems faced by sculptors in the location of their works. Having paid the shilling entrance fee, the novice exhibition-goer described looking about in confusion to determine which of the two routes into the exhibition a visitor should take:

To your right is a small doorway, beyond which you recognise a regiment of casts, busts and statues, while immediately before you is a dark, gloomy staircase guarded by a colossal figure of Hercules ... What is to be done? ... you abandon yourself to your destiny and, with the aid of your glass ... pick your way upstairs.⁴

Returning downstairs after viewing the Great Room, the correspondent of the *News of Fashion* described himself as ‘infinitely too tired to venture even for five minutes into the little cupboard in which the statuary is deposited’.⁵ It was apparent even to this first-time visitor that sculpture was placed at a disadvantage by this arrangement: ‘How the sculptors and modellers can endure such a system we cannot imagine. Not one visitor in ten sees their productions.’⁶

The inauspicious, ground floor location of the Model Academy was partly determined by practical considerations; as Yarrington has noted, it was simply unfeasible to carry heavy works of sculpture up several flights of stairs. Other than a few small-scale waxes, medallions and intaglios displayed around the fireplace of the Great Room, sculpture was otherwise excluded from the main exhibition space. Yarrington has suggested that this segregation may have worked to the sculptors’ advantage and many may have preferred to exhibit their works separately from the gaudy spectacle of paintings upstairs.⁷ She also noted that for some spectators, sculpture’s position at the end of the exhibition was an advantage, as one critic in the *European Magazine* suggested:

⁴ *News of Fashion and Literature*, 1825; quoted from W.T. Whitley *Art in England 1821-1837*, Cambridge, 1830, pp. 319-21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁷ Yarrington (2001), p. 175.

On a sultry day, the coolness of this room is as refreshing as a glass of ice-cream: - it is like a bath at the end of a journey, on a dusty road. After we have been dazzled by the glare and contrast of the colours, and wearied by the pressure of the throng of gazers in the upper rooms, we are instantly relieved on entering the apartment appropriated to Sculpture, by its comparative solitude, and by the chaste simplicity of the works which are there assembled ... we feel as if, after having run a long career of pleasure and dissipation, we had towards the close of life, withdrawn from the gay illusions of society.⁸

This description of the Model Academy is of interest, but it represents a minority view. The room allocated to the display of the nation's sculpture was generally agreed to be deficient on several fronts. As the *New of Fashion* noted, due to its inauspicious situation, most visitors typically missed it out, or called in hurriedly on their way out of the building. Quite aside from its location, it was the scale, atmosphere and lighting of this room which militated against the appreciation of sculpture. The Model Academy was described by one critic as 'more like a packing case for containing sculpture than a gallery fit for exhibiting it'.⁹ While another simply observed that the room was 'small, close, badly formed for the purpose, and affording but a few corners where the light is calculated to display the statues or busts to advantage'.¹⁰

Although there is no visual record of this room when in use as a sculpture gallery, some indication of its proportions can be ascertained from images of it when in use for the life drawing classes. Thomas Rowlandson's *Drawing from Life* (fig. 110) (1808), for example, illustrates the shelving which remained *in situ* during the exhibitions. These shelves were used to display portrait busts and any productions not large enough to claim a spot on the floor. Having a work displayed 'on the shelf' was comparable to the ignominy of having a painting 'skied' or placed 'above the line'.¹¹ Many promising models for gallery figures executed on a small scale could be overlooked when displayed in these huddled rows. This mode of display also invited unfavourable associations with the manner in which cheap domestic wares

⁸ *European Magazine and London Review*, July 1822, vol. 82, p. 63.

⁹ *Athenaeum*, 30 June 1832, no. 244, p. 419.

¹⁰ Quoted from an article in the *Royal Academy Critiques*, vol. III (1819-1842), annotated to indicate that the source is the *Courier*, 21 May 1827.

¹¹ Yarrington referred to Ebenezer Rhodes' description of being placed 'on the shelf' as 'an emphatic expression, denoting beyond the reach of the eye'; see Yarrington (2001), p. 180 and Rhodes (1824), p. 281.

and plaster figurines were exhibited. Shelving was a practical solution to the accommodation of the great number of portrait busts submitted to the Academy each year, however, and it served the purpose of freeing up space in the middle of the room for the arrangement of the larger, free-standing figures.

When Baily first started exhibiting at the Academy in 1810 works in sculpture were displayed alongside architectural drawings and models. It was not until 1811 that John Soane put forward a proposal to the Academy's Council – seconded by Joseph Nollekens – that architectural drawings might be displayed in the library instead of with sculpture in the Model Academy.¹² This development occurred just a year after the election of Flaxman as the Academy's Professor of Sculpture, an appointment which signalled the rising status of the profession within the Academy.¹³ Following the removal of architectural drawing, the arrangement of sculptures in the Model Academy gradually improved and it became usual for a work of poetic sculpture to be listed first in the catalogue. This development, Yarrington has suggested, 'signalled the serious ambition of sculpture at the Royal Academy, as much as each year the use of quotation on the title page of the exhibition catalogue formed an epigraph to the entire theatre of display'.¹⁴ The comparatively large number of poetic figures exhibited at the Academy – albeit in the form of speculative plaster models rather than commissioned works in marble – added to the impression that the native school was experiencing a period of growth and development. The enhanced positions accorded to poetic figures may have further emboldened the ambitions of British sculptors to execute works in this genre.

Discussing the relationship between the sculpture exhibits and their setting, Yarrington has suggested that: 'Those who did venture into the "dungeon" at Somerset House often found much to admire in the "high" and "distinguished" standard of sculpture on display, and much to lament about the "untoward darkness"

¹² RA, CMB, vol. IV, 18 April 1811, f. 287.

¹³ For Flaxman's election as Professor see p. 25.

¹⁴ Yarrington (2001), p. 178. One could also add here that the use of lengthy poetic quotations in the catalogue listings for gallery figures bestowed further distinction upon these works. If one looks at the exhibition catalogue for 1813, for example, Baily's *Hercules Restoring Alcestis to Admetus* (no. 913) is distinguished on the page by the length of the quotation.

that impeded its wider appreciation.’¹⁵ Certainly in 1824 the *European Magazine* expressed disgust at the ‘dark hole’ which served as the Academy’s sculpture gallery but, having vented this dissatisfaction, the critic went on to praise many individual works, some of which were admired precisely because they attracted attention in such a ‘wretched’ space.¹⁶ It was noted of Richard Sievier’s plaster model for *Sleeping Bacchante*, for example, that, ‘if so much poetry can flutter in a fancy pushed about in a dark and crowded exhibition-room’, it was a work worthy of being carved in marble.¹⁷ By the 1830s it is arguable that many critics expressed with increasing regularity their displeasure at the room in which sculpture was housed in the Model Academy, and that this attitude became markedly less tolerant. By 1832 the *Examiner* simply concluded that, ‘a good place for works of sculpture cannot be afforded at the Academy, for the room to which they are condemned has neither space nor light enough, and is usually crowded like a broker’s shop; so that performances of large dimensions cannot be viewed at a proper distance and most of the smaller ones are in the dark’.¹⁸

The reviews of this period also register a much greater sense of sympathy for the plight of sculptors. Partly this was attributable to the increasing confidence and ability of native practitioners and the recognition that Britain, for the first time, possessed a school which could compete not only with European counterparts, but with the ancients themselves.¹⁹ Publications such as Hervey’s *Illustrations* were important in raising awareness of the difficulties of the sculpture profession. In a review of Hervey’s book, the critic of the *New Monthly Magazine* expressed a new-found compassion for the profession:

... any attempt must fail to measure the feelings of a sculptor when, after many nights and days of toil to bestow a perfecting finish on some choice work, his anxiety for public notice and approbation, constrains him to condemn the cherished offspring of his warm imagination to the

¹⁵ Yarrington (2001), p. 173. Yarrington quoted here from the *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 11 May 1822, no. 277, p. 297.

¹⁶ *European Magazine and London Review*, May 1824, vol. 85, p. 456.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

¹⁸ *Examiner*, 15 July 1832, no. 1276, p. 453.

¹⁹ One critic wrote that: ‘The Sculpture Room (for with such a title this wretched cell is dignified) ... [affords] ample proof that we have in our own country material by means of which we may hereafter contest the palm with ancient Greece and Rome in the days of their highest glory’, see the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, July 1831, p. 316.

two or three months solitary confinement at the 'Public Exhibition', in the gloomy dungeon the Royal Academy has been unavoidably forced hitherto to appropriate for the reception of the productions of this hallowed and venerable art.²⁰

There is a sense here that sculptors were actually unwilling to exhibit at the Academy. It is also noticeable that critics came to appreciate the injustice of the discrepancy between the different exhibition conditions offered to painters and sculptors at Somerset House:

Why is such an undue importance attached to painting, while its sister-art – equally conducive to the preservation of private morals and public virtue – is left to languish in comparative obscurity? Are the busts of Chantrey or the groups of Baily less calculated to refine the manners and improve the tastes of the public, than the portraits of a Lawrence, a Jackson or a Lonsdale? We think not. Yet the gloomiest and most obscure apartment in Somerset-house is appropriated for the exhibition of the works of the former, while those of the latter receive all the advantage of fine positions and beautiful lights. But we trust that this seeming inconsistency will be obviated when the embryo national gallery shall be established.²¹

The conditions of display for sculpture at the Academy's new premises with the National Gallery from 1837 will be discussed shortly. Before embarking on this investigation, it is useful to consider some of the alternative exhibition venues available to sculptors during the early 1800s. While the Academy was by default the most prestigious showcase for sculpture, it was nevertheless just one among a number of public galleries available to the profession. In current scholarship, these venues have as yet merited very little attention. Yarrington, for example, compared the conditions of display at Somerset House to the private galleries established by Thomas Hope at his Duchess Street Gallery (fig. 111) and the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey (fig. 9). Somerset House could not have been more different:

What the Royal Academy exhibitions highlighted for many knowledgeable contemporary observers was a tension between what was understood to be an essentially closed and cultured, epicurean experience – an elite response involving the use of highly developed

²⁰ *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, November 1832, p. 488.

²¹ Quoted from an article in the *Royal Academy Critiques*, vol. III (1819-1842), un-sourced but dated May 1831.

imaginative faculties – and a public domain where the aesthetic lay open to misinterpretation by the undiscerning majority.²²

Although sculptural spectatorship may have been an ‘essentially closed and cultured, epicurean experience’ for some, this argument does not take into account the active participation of early nineteenth-century sculptors in the varied and diverse metropolitan exhibition culture of the day. Certainly the display of sculpture at venues such as Chatsworth was unrivalled, as discussed in the Introduction. Even if sculpture was exhibited at a disadvantage at the Academy, this chapter aims to build on Yarrington’s findings by considering the circumstances of display available at the wider spectrum of exhibition venues used by sculptors during the first half of the nineteenth century. In addition to Somerset House, Baily also submitted works to the British Institution, the Society of British Artists, and – from 1845 – the Colosseum in Regent’s Park, not to mention exhibiting works at his own studio. It is undoubtedly true that the Academy attracted the bulk of his productions: the sculptor exhibited there on an annual basis between 1810 and 1862 and he submitted almost two hundred works over this fifty-four year period. At the British Institution, on the other hand, he exhibited only twelve sculptures, and these on a fairly irregular basis between 1812 and 1840; while at the Society of British Artists he exhibited just ten works between 1827 and 1831, with seven of those being at the 1827 exhibition alone. The commercial underpinning of these venues was also quite different: the Academy preferred not to associate its exhibitions rooms with a saleroom function, whereas the other venues were more openly orientated towards sales. What emerges from considering Baily’s exhibiting history, therefore, is a judicious utilisation of these alternative, more profit-driven exhibition venues. The impression that these galleries served a particular purpose for Baily, at a particular moment in his career, is borne out by further investigation. By including all of these institutions in our discussion, a richer understanding of how one practitioner negotiated this raft of venues emerges.

Alternatives to the Academy: the gallery of British Institution, Pall Mall

While the British Institution has been the subject of several studies, particularly in respect of its relationship to the foundation of the National Gallery, surprisingly little

²² Yarrington (2001), p. 182.

attention has been paid to the actual arrangement of paintings and sculptures at its exhibitions.²³ The circumstances under which modern works of sculpture were exhibited at this gallery were quite different from those adopted at the Academy. At the British Institution, sculptural exhibits were displayed alongside paintings in the main hub of the exhibition space in well-lighted and appointed rooms. The British Institution's home had previously housed John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, designed in 1788 by George Dance the younger. Its three interlinked galleries provided 4,000 square feet of purpose-built exhibition space, all of which was illuminated by skylights, as illustrated in Alfred Woolmer's *Interior of the British Institution* (fig. 112) (1833; Paul Mellon Centre).²⁴ On acquiring the Shakespeare Gallery, the Institution re-styled it the 'British Gallery' and refurbished the rooms in a manner intended to evoke the comfort and splendour of a luxurious home. This effect was fully appreciated by contemporaries; a writer in the *Monthly Magazine* described the newly-decorated rooms hung with crimson wallpaper as 'very splendid in appearance', conveying at once the impression 'of a magnificent suite of rooms in a private mansion'.²⁵ Here the Institution held its two annual exhibitions: a loan exhibition of Old Master paintings in the summer and a selling exhibition of contemporary British art in the following spring. The former was intended to furnish artists with the opportunity to study historic masterpieces.²⁶ The scheme of using Old Master paintings to animate contemporary artistic production was a curriculum oriented exclusively towards painters, yet from its inaugural exhibition of 1806 sculpture was an integral part of the British Institution's modern art exhibitions.

²³ For the history of the British Institution see P. Fullerton, 'Patronage and Pedagogy: the British Institution in the early nineteenth century', *Art History*, vol. 5, no. 1, March 1982, pp. 59-72; J. Pomeroy, 'Creating a national collection: the National Gallery's origins in the British Institution', *Apollo*, August 1998, pp. 41-49; A. Pullan 'Public goods or private interests? The British Institution in the early nineteenth century' in *Art in bourgeois society, 1790-1850*, A. Hemingway and W. Vaughan, eds, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 27-44 and N. Tromans, 'Museum or Market?: the British Institution' in *Governing Cultures: art institutions in Victorian London*, P. Barlow and C. Trodd, eds, Aldershot, 2000, pp. 44-55.

²⁴ The North, Middle and South rooms were situated on the first floor of the building, accessed through a staircase which entered the middle gallery. Woolmer's painting represented the Institution's Old Master Painting exhibition; the sculpture visible in this image is Chantrey's *Bust of the Marquis of Stafford*, which was part of the British Institution's permanent collection. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to find an image showing sculpture on display at this venue's modern art exhibitions.

²⁵ *Monthly Magazine*, April 1806, p. 253.

²⁶ Tromans pointed out that these two events were intended to have a 'symbiotic relationship'. With the Old Masters exhibition held in the summer and the Modern Masters exhibition held the following spring, the benefits of study would be evident in new works created over the winter; see Tromans (2000), p. 47.

Although Baily did not exhibit at the British Institution until 1812, the first exhibition of 1806 serves as a useful case study. At a time when the Academy segregated sculpture from painting (and was still exhibiting it in the company of architecture) this organisation displayed paintings and sculptures together in the main gallery space. The Institution's earliest catalogues provide a full breakdown of the location of exhibits and, as a result, it is possible to be fairly accurate in reconstructing the display in each room. In the North Room, a bas-relief by the late Thomas Banks, *Thetis arising from the Sea to comfort Achilles* was hung alongside paintings on literary and historical themes.²⁷ Displayed 'on the floor' in this gallery were two freestanding figures by Nollekens: *Cupid sharpening his dart (a model)* and *Venus taking off her sandal (in marble)*.²⁸ In the Middle Room the sculptural contributions included a group of waxes by Catherine Andras and engraved gems by Nathaniel Marchant.²⁹ In many respects the arrangement in the South Room was the most interesting: against a backdrop of paintings representing British landscape scenes, the Institution placed John Bacon's *Adam awakening Eve from a distressing dream (a model)* and Rossi's *A recumbent figure of Eve (from Milton) an original model*.³⁰ The conjunction of these two Miltonic sculptures placed in front of canvases representing landscape 'paradises' must have been a remarkable *coup d'oeil*. This sympathetic combination of media also represented an innovation never attempted at the Academy.

The better conditions of display for sculpture at the British Institution were no doubt facilitated by the fact that substantially fewer works in this medium were exhibited there compared to Somerset House.³¹ The smaller number of exhibits may also be attributable to the Institution's refusal to admit works of portraiture. This stricture

²⁷ North Room, north end, no 47. Although it was unusual for the work of a deceased artist to be admitted for exhibition, the presence of this relief was presumably a mark of respect to Banks, who had died the year before.

²⁸ North Room, north end, 'on the floor', nos 52 and 53.

²⁹ These small-scale works included both portraits and mythological subjects, such as Catherine Andras's *Model of the Marquiss of Stafford* (no. 10) and Nathaniel Marchant's *Emblematical figure of the Nile (a model)* (no. 12).

³⁰ South Room, south end, nos 35 and 41. Some of the paintings on display in this area included *A landscape* (no. 34) by W. Reynolds and *View in Somerset* (no. 40) by J. Ward. For Rossi's *Eve* see also p. 60, p. 66 and pp. 68-70.

³¹ In 1817, for example, the British Institution exhibition included 9 sculptures, compared to 70 at the Academy.

reflected this organisation's aim to encourage the higher branches of the arts. In theory, their exhibitions were intended to bring together the high-minded performances of the national school; but, in practice, even the Institution's supporters admitted that the quality of exhibits was mixed.³² The majority of canvases submitted by painters tended to be landscapes, still-life groups and genre paintings, rather than large-scale history paintings. Most of the better exhibits had also previously been shown at the Academy and there was often the sense that many of the most respected artists (namely the Academicians) simply submitted works that had failed to sell the year before at Somerset House. The British Institution consequently acquired the reputation as a 'second chance' or 'second division' gallery.³³

Despite criticism as to the varying quality of the exhibits, the Institution's exhibitions were a success from a commercial point of view. While the Academy professed to dislike the association of Somerset House with a salesroom, the Institution's catalogues clearly indicated that a twenty percent commission was levied on all purchases. The sales records for the Institution suggest that it was very effective in its retail function.³⁴ What its galleries lacked in quality and freshness of exhibits, it arguably compensated for by offering an attractive exhibition space, one attended by visitors who came not simply to look but also to buy:

The especial object of the Institution is the sale of pictures, and it has ever been the great market of works of art. If something of variety is thus sacrificed by a plan which invites the transmission of such productions as have failed to attract purchasers elsewhere, we are amply compensated by the more advantageous positions in which they are placed, in rooms well lighted, and not so crowded as to distract the eye and the mind of the observer.³⁵

Furthermore, many of the arguments relating to the mediocre quality of the exhibits did not apply to sculpture; as already noted, a relatively small number of works in

³² One of the organisation's founders, George Beaumont, acknowledged that 'it would be better to admit not more than a dozen respectable pictures than such a heap of bad ones'; quoted from Tromans (2000), p. 47.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

³⁴ According to most historians, the British Institution's exhibitions were commercial successes, with sales by 1817 exceeding £37,000; see Pullan (1998), p. 36. Unfortunately, there is no breakdown to indicate how sculpture exhibits fared in this market place.

³⁵ *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 1834, p. 390.

this medium were exhibited there compared to painting. The sculpture exhibits typically ranged from intaglios and waxes to ideal gallery figures, including both plaster models and finished works. As all these were for sale, it is not clear if sculptures described as ‘models’ were intended for purchase as autonomous productions, or whether they were to ‘advertise’ plaster casts or commissions for marble statues (presumably any of these scenarios was desirable).

On the whole, the sculptors who contributed to the Institution’s exhibitions tended to be younger and less professionally established: few were Associates or Academicians. Many were employed as assistants in the studios of older sculptors, rather than practitioners at the helm of their own practice.³⁶ Both Nollekens and Flaxman had been early contributors, but the latter only submitted one work in 1807 and never exhibited there again.³⁷ Neither Chantrey nor Westmacott ever contributed any sculptures to the British Institution.³⁸ Other than Baily, the only other Academician to submit works over a regular period was Rossi, whose eleven contributions (between 1806 and 1834) included ideal figures, commemorative works, decorative pieces and genre figures.³⁹ Rossi and Baily both struggled in the competitive market for sculpture, but while these Academician-sculptors judiciously submitted pieces to the British Institution it would seem that they preferred not to appear too regularly in this acknowledged ‘great market’ for art.

It is useful to mesh these considerations against the details of Baily’s contributions to the British Institution. Baily first exhibited there in 1812, having submitted work to Somerset House since 1809.⁴⁰ At first, Baily used the British Institution’s exhibitions as a second chance to exhibit works shown the previous year at Somerset House. In 1814, for example, he exhibited *Hercules restoring Alcestis to Admetus* (RA 1813)

³⁶ John Ely Hinchcliffe was a regular exhibitor, for example, who worked as an assistant for both Flaxman and Baily. He submitted works to the British Institution between 1815 and 1849.

³⁷ Flaxman submitted *Charity* (no. 88) in 1807 and in 1838 his executors exhibited a *Marble Bas-relief from Milton’s Paradise Lost* (no. 499), executed posthumously by T. Denman.

³⁸ Chantrey exhibited a painting in 1809, *A Head, a study* (no. 1).

³⁹ These included *Cupid and Psyche, in terracotta, for a clock* (BI 1808, no. 139), *A design intended for a public memorial in honour of the late Lord Nelson, a model in terracotta* (BI 1809, no. 344) and *Group of a recumbent Venus and sleeping Cupid* (BI 1832, no. 585), which had been exhibited at the Academy in 1830.

⁴⁰ His first exhibit at the British Institution was *A figure of Neptune* (no. 216, previously exhibited at the RA in 1811) and *Hercules rescuing Alcestis* (no. 218) which had won the Academy’s Gold Medal the year before.

and in 1816 he exhibited *Apollo discharging his arrows* (RA 1815).⁴¹ It is not known whether he achieved any commissions or generated any sales as a result of his presence at the British Institution. His early exhibits were predominantly plaster models for ideal gallery figures; for many of these works there is no record they were ever commissioned in marble.

Following the sculptor's election as an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1817 and an Academician in 1821, Baily's submissions to the British Institution gradually waned. This was despite receiving much practical encouragement from the Institution. In 1823 his *Eve at the Fountain* was given the Institution's prize of 100 guineas.⁴² On one or two occasions, Baily's sculptures were also given remarkable pre-eminence in the Institution's galleries. In 1819, the sculptor's *Cupid Disarmed; an anacreontic* (RA 1818) was displayed on its own in the North Room while the other ten sculptural exhibits that year were placed in the South Room.⁴³ This arrangement must have conferred distinction upon Baily, by isolating his figure as the sole sculptural offering in a room otherwise dedicated to paintings. This favourable treatment was repeated in 1827 when Baily's *Painting deriving Inspiration from Poetry* (RA 1826, also later donated to the Athenaeum Club) was again placed on its own in the North Room.⁴⁴ The critic of the *Literary Gazette* admired Baily's contribution, noting that this 'tasteful model gives the room a variety in the *coup d'oeil* which is highly advantageous'.⁴⁵ No other sculptor was accorded this honour during the Institution's early years. Despite this favourable treatment, Baily's subsequent contributions to the Institution were negligible.⁴⁶ Even when the sculptor was experiencing his greatest financial problems between 1831 and 1837 he submitted very little. This may be attributable to the fact that the British

⁴¹ Nos 227 and 264.

⁴² See the *Art Union*, 1 November 1848, p. 320.

⁴³ North Room, no. 1. Baily's *Cupid* also included a lengthy poetic quotation in the catalogue. The sculptor's special treatment by the British Institution followed his election as an Associate in 1817.

⁴⁴ No. 477. By 1827, the British Institution's catalogues had stopped listing the sculptures as they appeared in the exhibition space and instead listed them all at the back of the catalogue. An index of artists at the back of the catalogue continued to give the location of all exhibits, however, and Baily's *Painting deriving Inspiration from Poetry* was the only sculpture in the North Room that year.

⁴⁵ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 27 January 1827, no. 523, p. 58.

⁴⁶ He only exhibited at the British Institution twice again: in 1833 he contributed '*Tis only Nature lulled to sleep*' (no. 553) and in 1840 his *Design for the Nelson Monument* (no. 447).

Institution itself entered a period of decline during this period as it became increasingly recognised as a 'second division' venue.⁴⁷

While the British Institution's reputation as an exhibition venue may have deteriorated during the 1830s, it is important not to overlook the important contribution which this organisation made in breaking the Academy's monopoly on public exhibitions and the innovations in display which it brought about, particularly in relation to sculpture. Above all, the Institution's exhibitions encouraged a change of relationship between artists and patrons; as Ann Pullan has suggested, their exhibitions contributed to the erosion of what had previously been the traditional artist-patron relationship: that of placing an advance commission for a work of art. Instead this was replaced by 'the more impersonal relations of the market-place'.⁴⁸ The modes of display adopted for the exhibition of sculpture at this venue were also highly significant. The British Institution placed works of sculpture alongside paintings in its main exhibition rooms. Its galleries were likened to those of a private mansion; in this respect, they brought together works by modern painters and sculptors in a context which might be described as semi-domestic, albeit on a grand scale.⁴⁹ The majority of canvases exhibited there were also domestically-scaled landscapes and genre pieces: works which were purchasable by well-to-do patrons with smaller purses and living spaces than the aristocratic elite. It also seems likely that many of the sculptures exhibited there were on a relatively small-scale.⁵⁰ The conjunction of painting and sculpture at the British Institution must have been provoking; rather than requiring a purpose-built gallery, groups and figures could be sympathetically displayed alongside contemporary paintings. The modes of display adopted for these objects at the British Institution may also have encouraged spectators to read these works as statuettes easily amenable to being placed in a domestic setting.

⁴⁷ For discussion of decline of British Institution see Fullerton (1982), p. 69 and Tromans (2000), p. 48.

⁴⁸ Pullan (1998), p. 36

⁴⁹ *Monthly Magazine*, April 1806, p. 253; see also Fullerton (1982), p. 63 and Pomeroy (1998), p. 42.

⁵⁰ The sculptures exhibited at the Institution were often described as models and its galleries were also on the first floor, discouraging the submission of large and heavy pieces.

Alternatives to the Academy: the gallery of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk Street

Once the British Institution had broken the Academy's monopoly on exhibitions, a host of exhibiting societies sprang into existence. Of particular concern to this study, is the Society of British Artists, established in 1823.⁵¹ This organisation initially grew out of the frustration felt by the group's founding members at the lack of exhibiting opportunities available to them. In their first exhibition catalogue, they explained that the Academy had been rendered inadequate as a place of exhibition as a result of the disproportion between the ever-increasing number of artists hopeful to exhibit at Somerset House and the finite amount of space available there. Describing the British Institution as 'the only public place of sale' for works of art, its exhibitions were considered ineffective because they took place during the spring, at precisely the time when the most affluent members of society were absent from London.⁵² The Society's aim was thus to erect a gallery to host an annual exhibition for the sale of works by British painters, sculptors, architects and engravers, which would take place during the height of the London season when the 'tasteful and opulent' were in residence.⁵³ The Society sought support from titled patrons and financed itself by soliciting donations and subscriptions.⁵⁴ Once the founders had raised £1,000 they entered into negotiations with John Nash to secure a building as their residence. Nash was then redeveloping the area of London around Pall Mall East and agreed to design and lease a purpose-built gallery to the Society on Suffolk Street. Situated near the Haymarket Theatre and the gallery of the Society of Painters in Watercolour, this venue was both fashionable and convenient for the West End. The building itself was a handsome property fronted by a Doric-columned portico containing a suite of five 'well proportioned' galleries, 'severally adapted to the various departments of art' (fig.113).⁵⁵

⁵¹ For a history of this society see H. Hubbard, *An outline history of the Royal Society of British Artists (part 1) 1823-1840: the foundation and early years*, London, 1937; Whitley (1930), pp. 60-61 and J. Johnson, *Works exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists 1824-1893*, Woodbridge, 1975, pp. iv-vi. See also W.T. Whitley, *Thomas Heaphy*, London, 1933. Thomas Heaphy (1775-1835) was the Society's first President and some useful information about the organisation's foundation is included in this publication. The Society's other instigators included the landscape painters John Glover (1767-1849) and William Linton (1791-1876), and the architect James Elmes (1782-1862).

⁵² *Society of British Artists* (1824), p. iii.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. iii. The society's exhibitions ran from April to July.

⁵⁴ The Society offered a sliding-scale of subscription rates varying from 1 guinea to 100 guineas per annum. For full details see Hubbard (1937), pp. 11-12.

⁵⁵ *Society of British Artists* (1824), p. iii.

On its foundation the Society was at pains to stress that it did not wish to rival the Academy or challenge its authority.⁵⁶ While maintaining a position of deference, it was nevertheless partly the exclusivity of the Academy which had instigated this exhibiting society's foundation. The suggestion was that the Academicians benefited from preferential treatment at the Somerset House exhibitions; many younger and less-established artists felt that this favouritism was suffocating their talents and frustrating their ambitions. Unlike those of the Academy, the Society's exhibitions were open to all, 'upon the most liberal of principals', and they were also explicitly oriented towards the sale of art works.⁵⁷ To this end the Society hired a commission-based 'salesroom attendant' to oversee all transactions and exhibitors were encouraged to price their productions competitively to encourage sales.⁵⁸

Unlike the British Institution, the Society had no high-minded purpose to encourage the higher genres of art and portraits were admitted.⁵⁹ The *European Magazine* reproved the Society for having 'no aim at any nobler purpose than may be supposed to govern an assembly of ware-shewing money-getters, of narrow views'.⁶⁰ This was not the view of all commentators, however; the *New Monthly Magazine* agreed that current exhibition opportunities were 'by no means the best that can be imagined' and admitted that the Academy's exhibitions often functioned simply as a place of fashionable resort attended predominantly by sight-seers rather than 'the purchasing part of the public'.⁶¹ The Society's first exhibition was a great success and sales exceeded £4,000.⁶² The *Literary Chronicle* observed that those buying works were mainly drawn from 'the middle and respectable classes of an opulent and well-educated British public' rather than the 'more polished orders of society'.⁶³ Like the

⁵⁶ See Hubbard (1938), p. 12. Hubbard noted that the Academy was, on the whole, ambivalent to the Society's foundation. Sir Thomas Lawrence is recorded as stating that he could see no reason for its establishment.

⁵⁷ *Society of British Artists* (1824), p. iii.

⁵⁸ See Hubbard (1937), p. 13. The Society's annual catalogues also indicated that a levy of twenty per cent was payable on all purchases.

⁵⁹ This seems surprising, given that the Society's exhibitions were explicitly for the purpose of selling the works on display (and portraits were typically subject to advance commissions); presumably this was in the hope of securing orders for future works.

⁶⁰ *European Magazine and London Review*, April 1824, vol. 85, p. 371.

⁶¹ *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, January 1824, p. 10.

⁶² See *The Exhibition of the Society of British Artists, MDCCCXXIV: the second*, London 1825, p. iii. Each year the Society stated the total sales from the previous year's exhibition.

⁶³ *Literary Chronicle*, no. 275, 21 August 1824, p. 371.

British Institution, the majority of exhibits were landscapes and scenes of ‘domestic’ or ‘humorous’ life. Their first exhibition attracted some high-profile submissions, however, including John Martin’s *The Seventh Plague in Egypt*. The only Academicians to submit works to the Society’s first exhibition in 1824 were the elderly painter James Northcote and Charles Rossi, a sculptor ever-ready to exploit new opportunities for selling sculpture.

Although the Society’s 1824 exhibition was recognised as being less ‘brilliant’ than that of the Academy, the organisation was praised for the ‘elegance and simplicity’ of their new building.⁶⁴ All the galleries were described as light and airy and ‘without those unpleasant things to artists’, namely dark corners.⁶⁵ The exhibition space consisted of five interlinked apartments: the Great Room (60 feet by 40 feet) contained paintings in oil and watercolour, as did one of the smaller galleries. Of the three remaining rooms (all 30 feet by 20 feet), one contained sculpture, another engraving, while architecture, drawings, miniatures and enamels were displayed together. Sculpture was allocated the ‘north east’ room and this appears to have functioned as the antechamber to the Great Room where the paintings were displayed; one reviewer described it as ‘the entering (sculpture) room’ and another referred to it as ‘the passage to the great room’.⁶⁶ Despite this seemingly ancillary position, the Sculpture Room was evidently the same size as the four smaller galleries; it was also well-lighted and, as sculpture was to some extent a minor category at the exhibition, the exhibits would also have had been well spaced.⁶⁷

Despite the commodious room provided for the medium, the contribution of sculptors to the first exhibition at Suffolk Street was inauspicious, as the *European Magazine* commented: the ‘shew [sic] of sculpture is scanty in quantity and no very high quality’.⁶⁸ The majority of works were portrait busts and bas-reliefs. A sizeable proportion had been contributed by John Henning senior, whose fifteen exhibits

⁶⁴ *Examiner*, 18 April 1824, p. 246.

⁶⁵ *European Magazine and London Review*, March 1824, vol. 85, p. 272.

⁶⁶ See the *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 31 March 1827, no. 532, p. 203 and 28 March 1829, no. 636, p. 211.

⁶⁷ One critic noted, for example, that in 1824 there were 39 sculptures on display compared to 173 engravings (in a room of identical size); see the *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, etc.*, 1 May 1824, vol. III, p. 305.

⁶⁸ *European Magazine and London Review*, April 1824, vol. 85, p. 360.

included several miniature bas-reliefs reproductions of the Parthenon marbles and Raphael's cartoons.⁶⁹ John Henning junior was also a contributor; both father and son were among the Society's earliest members. As noted, the only Academician present was Rossi who had submitted two models for portrait statues.⁷⁰ Charles' son, Henry Rossi (1791-1844), was another early sculptor-member of the Society and he had submitted one of the exhibition's few figural groups: *Mary Magdalene anointing Christ's feet*.⁷¹

Most of the other contributors were minor practitioners, including William Scoular, William Pitt and C. Gahagan who all mainly contributed portrait busts. Unlike the Academy, which often gave precedence to a poetic figure by listing it first in the catalogue, no distinction was given to examples of higher genres in 1824.⁷² Given the younger, less-experienced character of many exhibitors, and the fairly conventional nature of their exhibits, this is perhaps understandable. One might also argue that as an explicit 'market place' directed at patrons of comfortable but limited means, many of the submissions were intended to be affordable commodities. Henning's miniature bas-reliefs represented over one quarter of the sculptural exhibits on display in 1824. Robert Hunt writing in the *Examiner* described these works as objects which 'nobody of taste, who had a few guineas, would be without'.⁷³ Observing that the figures in the reliefs were only about two inches in height, he suggested they would form 'very suitable ornaments over the fireplace'.⁷⁴

A greater number of ideal works, or models preparatory to them, were present at the following year's exhibition. These included Scoular's *Adam consoling Eve*, J. Cundy's *Musidora*, W.F. Woodington's *Lavinia* and three figures by Henry Rossi: *The Bowler*, *The Batsman* and *The Shipwrecked Seaman*.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the

⁶⁹ See, for example, Henning's *Restoration of part of the Frieze from the Parthenon* (no. 327) and his *Bas-relief after Raphael* (no. 340).

⁷⁰ Rossi exhibited *Model of the Late Benjamin West, Esq., P.R.A. For a statue in Marble to be placed in St. Paul's Cathedral* (no. 358) and *Sketch of an Equestrian Group of His Grace the Duke of Wellington, accompanied by Victory and Fame* (no. 359).

⁷¹ No. 361. This figure was exhibited with a quotation from *St Luke*, chap. vii., ver. 44. The only other work to include a literary quotation was Henning Junior's *A composition; from the Iliad, lib. I, v. 450* (no. 334).

⁷² The inaugural exhibit was *Bust of J. Saunders, Esq.* by William Scoular (no. 323).

⁷³ *Examiner*, 27 June 1824, no. 856, p. 405.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

⁷⁵ See the *Society of British Artists* (1825), nos 348, 351, 366, 352, 353, and 356 respectively.

catalogue gives no indication as to the scale of these works, the material in which they were executed, or whether they were sketches, models or finished works. All were accompanied by lengthy poetic and literary quotations and thus distinguished themselves on the page of the catalogue, but there is no indication of any being given precedence among the many portrait busts on display or the more portable and affordable genres of bas-reliefs and intaglios.

Baily did not exhibit at the Society of British Artists until 1827, at the fourth exhibition. He was a major contributor this year, however, with seven exhibits listed in the catalogue. In many respects the question is not why it took the sculptor so long to contribute, but why he exhibited there at all. Although the Suffolk Street gallery was entirely respectable, it had nevertheless been founded primarily for artists who had, as the Society put it, 'hitherto been unable to bring their works fairly before the public'.⁷⁶ Neither Chantrey nor Westmacott ever exhibited at Suffolk Street, and some regular exhibitors were Baily's current or former studio assistants.⁷⁷ Baily was only the third sculptor-member of the Academy to submit works to this exhibition society.⁷⁸ All of his contributions had been exhibited previously at the Academy, some also at the British Institution. The sculptor thus had to seek permission from the Society's governing members to submit pieces already exhibited elsewhere.⁷⁹ This request was granted and Baily was a warmly-welcomed contributor, attending the opening dinner before the exhibition's private view.⁸⁰ The works he submitted included three portrait busts: one representing the actor Joseph Munden (RA 1825), another of Lord Byron (RA 1826), and Thomas Stothard (RA 1826).⁸¹ His four other exhibits in 1827 were ideal figures; these included a plaster cast of *Eve at the Fountain* (RA 1822, BI 1823), a figure of *Apollo* (RA 1815, BI 1816), *Maternal Affection* (RA 1823, BI 1825) and *Hercules throwing Lychas into the Sea* (RA 1814). These works received a lukewarm critical response in the

⁷⁶ 'Address to the Public' *ibid.*, p. iii.

⁷⁷ These included, for example, Joseph Dinham who in 1827 had submitted *A bust of E. H. Baily, Esq. R.A.* (no. 848) to the Society's exhibition.

⁷⁸ In addition to Rossi, the only other Academy member to exhibit at the Society in its early years was George Garrard (1760-1826), who was an Associate. In 1826 he exhibited several of his popular animal groups, including *A Group of Pigs* and *Horses Trotting* (no. 719 and 720).

⁷⁹ Victoria and Albert Museum, Society of British Artists archive, AAD/1997/8 1, *General Minutes of the Society of British Artists*, vol. 1, 1823-1827, 12 February 1827, f. 144.

⁸⁰ See *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 7 April 1827, no. 533, p. 219.

⁸¹ Baily had tried to exhibit the bust of Munden at the Bristol Institution in 1824; see p. 85.

periodical press, presumably because they had all been seen before.⁸² The Society nevertheless offered Baily another chance to exhibit these pieces in a gallery which was agreed to be spacious and well-lit. Given that the Society's exhibition was primarily oriented towards sales, it offered Baily a 'last-ditch' attempt to sell some of his unsold, speculative works.⁸³

Baily contributed just one example of his work to the 1828 exhibition. The *Repository of Arts* noted that 'the sculptural part' of the exhibition that year was 'advantageously filled' and it picked out Baily's 'beautiful group' *Painting deriving Inspiration from Poetry* (RA 1826, BI 1827) for special praise.⁸⁴ The correspondent concluded his notice of the sculptural exhibits by praising the proficiency of British artists in this 'elevated walk' and expressed the hope that sales would correspond with the merit of the exhibitors.⁸⁵ Baily did not exhibit with the Society the following year. Prior to the opening of the 1829 exhibition some important alterations to the layout of the Suffolk Street gallery were made which particularly affected the Sculpture Room. Previously this room had functioned as an anteroom the Great Room but following modification the *Literary Gazette* observed that the Sculpture Room no longer needed to be visited 'by those whose fastidious delicacy finds offence in the display of the beautiful forms of the human figure, even when rendered in that cold material marble'.⁸⁶ There is no other evidence to suggest that it was the delicacy of spectators which had necessitated these changes. The Society was having troubles with the roof of Nash's building at this time and this was probably the cause of the alterations. In either respect, the *Literary Gazette* concluded that: 'Of the sculpture-room we can truly say that it is better calculated for the exhibition of works in that class of art than any other in the metropolis.'⁸⁷ The correspondent also later noted that it enjoyed better lighting than any other metropolitan gallery and that the exhibits were well-selected and arranged with much skill and judgement.⁸⁸ Baily exhibited again at the Society in 1830, submitting

⁸² See for example, the *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, etc.*, 1 May 1827, vol. IX, p. 304.

⁸³ It is not recorded whether Baily sold any of his exhibits, or if they were successful in generating future commissions.

⁸⁴ No. 874. *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, etc.*, 1 May 1828, vol. XI, p. 304.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

⁸⁶ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 28 March 1829, no. 636, p. 211.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 2 May 1829, no. 641, p. 289.

*Resurrection: a model for a monument, executed in marble. 'Hark they whisper; angels say, sister spirit come away';*⁸⁹ and in 1831 he exhibited *A bust of the late Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. and his Mother and Child* illustrating the quotation from Thomas Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope* (RA 1830).⁹⁰ These were to be Baily's last contributions to the Society. In November 1831 he was declared bankrupt and continued to struggle financially throughout the decade.⁹¹ Following his financial recovery in the 1840s Baily never returned to the Society of British Artists or the British Institution although, as will be discussed, he did take advantage of the other exhibiting opportunities then available in London.

Alternatives to the Academy: the vogue for one-man sculpture shows

In 1827, for the first and only time in his career, Baily was represented at all three major annual exhibitions. The *Repository of Arts* that year acknowledged that it had become the 'taste and the spirit' of the times to stage exhibitions.⁹² If the Suffolk Street gallery was one manifestation of exhibitors taking matters into their own hands, many individual artists were also taking the initiative. Since the late eighteenth century several painters had staged one-man shows as a means of seeking patronage and publicity outside of the Academy.⁹³ Although Chantrey hired rooms at Spring Gardens in 1812 to show his *Monument to Mariamne Johnes* (formerly at Hafod, destroyed by fire in 1932), there is less evidence to suggest that sculptors attempted the same thing during the first decade of the century. From a survey of fine art advertisements and reviews published in the early 1800s, it is notable that from 1827 something of a watershed occurred in relation to one-man shows staged by sculptors. The great popular and commercial successes of one or two practitioners, most notably John Graham Lough (1798-1876) in 1827, initiated a spate of imitations and for a period each London season brought the latest sculpture exhibition to town. Baily never staged a one-man show. On the whole it was

⁸⁹ No. 859.

⁹⁰ Nos. 891 and 892. With Baily's mother and child groups, it is sometimes difficult to be sure to which work the title refers. Baily first exhibited the *Mother and Child* with Campbell's quotation at the Academy in 1830 (no. 1171), which was bought by Sir Aubrey de Vere; see pp. 138-141. If it was the same work, this is evidence that the sculptor was almost immediately trying to solicit new sales.

⁹¹ For Baily's bankruptcy see pp. 51-55 and pp. 94-96.

⁹² *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, etc.*, 1 May 1827, vol. IX, p. 298.

⁹³ For one-man shows staged by painters such as John Singleton Copley (1738-1815) see, for example, M. Eaves, *Counter-arts conspiracy: art and industry in the age of Blake*, Ithaca, NY and London, 1992, pp. 49-53.

unnecessary for sculptors who had achieved some degree of success to resort to these tactics as their studios fulfilled an effective display function. It is nevertheless useful to consider sculptors' studios in the context of the early nineteenth-century phenomenon of one-man sculpture shows. This will establish the increasingly competitive market for sculpture – and sculpture exhibitions – in which Baily operated.

One of the first one-man sculpture exhibitions was staged by Robert William Sievier (1794-1865). Sievier had originally trained as an engraver; his first exhibited work in sculpture had been submitted to the Academy in 1822.⁹⁴ In 1827, rather than submitting new works at Somerset House, Sievier hired the rooms of a 'Mr Angrezini' on Regent Street.⁹⁵ His exhibits here included *Sleeping Bacchante* (RA 1824; BI 1825) (fig. 114) and a figure called *Pity* illustrating an excerpt of poetry by Anna Laetitia Barbauld (RA 1825; BI 1826). One of the principal attractions of Sievier's exhibition was a new production, a remarkable nine-foot high *Christ on the Cross* executed in marble, known now only through an engraved reproduction (fig. 115).⁹⁶ Other works included portrait busts and some small-scale statues and groups, including a statuette-sized copy of Canova's *Three Graces*.⁹⁷ In addition to charging a shilling entrance fee, a descriptive catalogue written by Mr Angrezini was available for purchase. While Sievier's exhibition received a positive critical notice, the commercial success of the exhibition is not documented.⁹⁸

At the same time as Sievier's show was taking place on Regent Street, events were unfolding which would lead to one of the most sensational and widely-reported

⁹⁴ *Bust of Field Marshal Earl Harcourt* (RA 1822, no. 1036) Sievier later issued a publication which brought together his interests in print and sculpture; see R.W. Sievier, *Sculpture Illustrations: with a dissertation on sculpture and sculptors*, London, 1847. For further biographical information on the sculptor see Gunnis (1968), pp. 351-352.

⁹⁵ Sievier's studio at this time was listed at No. 34 Southampton Row. Presumably this venue was too small, or too inconveniently located, to host an art exhibition. Mr Angrezini held a rolling bill of exhibitions at his premises on Regent Street. One critic recalled that the previous exhibition had been a show of 'ingeniously modelled' battle scenes; see *La Belle Assemblée, or Court and Fashionable Magazine*, May 1827, vol. V, p. 236.

⁹⁶ From 1829 this work was regularly exhibited at the Colosseum; see also p. 194. It was also illustrated and discussed in Sievier (1847), pp. 89-90.

⁹⁷ A statuette by Sievier of the *Three Graces* was acquired by Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery in 1966, having been discovered in the attic of a local resident; see the *Birmingham Mail*, 3 February 1966, unpaginated clipping from the historical file on Sievier at BM&AG.

⁹⁸ In addition to the *La Belle Assemblée* review, see also the *Examiner*, 29 April 1827, no. 1004, p. 262.

sculpture exhibitions of the period. In May 1827 a series of newspaper articles was published describing the scenes witnessed by journalists in a sculptor's workshop above a grocer's shop on Burleigh Street, off the Strand.⁹⁹ The star of the show was John Graham Lough, who had arrived in London from Northumberland in 1825.¹⁰⁰ Lough had enrolled at the Academy Schools in 1826 and submitted his first work for exhibition that year with little critical impact.¹⁰¹ In 1827 the sculptor was working on a larger-than-life model in clay of *Milo attacked by the Wolf* (fig. 116) (1836 version; Blagdon) and a group representing *Samson attacked by the Philistines*. According to tradition, Lough's figure *Milo* was so tall that the sculptor was required to make a hole in the roof of his workshop to accommodate his gargantuan efforts. This story is seemingly apocryphal, but the sight of the young sculptor labouring on a work of heroic proportions was evidently considered a good story at the time by the press.

Most of the newspapers who published articles on Lough claimed to have 'discovered' him first.¹⁰² In fact, the sculptor was fortunate in having friends and supporters – most notably Haydon and the poet Peter Cox (d.1844) – who skilfully orchestrated the interest of journalists.¹⁰³ All published descriptions of the sculptor laid great emphasis on his rural origins and natural genius as a self-taught artist of great youth. This was a carefully-crafted public persona: Lough was described as twenty-four years old in most articles when he was actually thirty. The sculptor had lied about his age since his first arrival in London.¹⁰⁴ One suspects that the scene in Burleigh Street was also stage managed. Many journalists described in picturesque

⁹⁹ See, for example, the *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 12 May 1827, no. 538, pp. 299-300 and the *Examiner*, 13 May 1827, no. 1006, p. 291.

¹⁰⁰ For a full account of this sculptor and his first sensational show see J. Lough and E. Merson (née Lough), *John Graham Lough, 1798-1876: a Northumbrian sculptor*, Woodbridge, 1987, pp. 7-16; see also T.S.R. Boase, 'John Graham Lough: a transitional sculptor', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 23 (1960), pp. 277-90.

¹⁰¹ *The Death of Turnus*, no. 1028.

¹⁰² William Jerdan of the *Literary Gazette* claimed to be the first to break the news; see the *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 12 May 1827, no. 538, pp. 299-300. The periodical's next edition included a poem called 'Genius' by L.E.L. (Letitia Elizabeth Landon) described as 'Lines inspired by a view of the Sculpture designed by Mr Lough'; see *ibid.*, 12 May 1827, no. 538, pp. 317.

¹⁰³ For Haydon's relationship with Lough see Lough and Merson (1987), pp. 7-14 which quotes widely from the painter's *Diary*. Cox was an auctioneer by trade who published *The Social Day* in 1822. Many critics referred to this author's 'zealous exertions' in generating press interest in Lough; see the *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, etc.*, 1 June 1827, vol. IX, p. 362.

¹⁰⁴ Lough was nineteen days short of his twenty-ninth birthday when he joined the Academy Schools in December 1826 but he stated that his age was just twenty-three. It has been suggested that the sculptor wished to make up for his late start as an artist; see Lough and Merson (1987), p. 8.

detail the penniless sculptor labouring intently upon his colossal sculpture in a cramped and dingy garret; they also referred to an attendant conveniently positioned in the corner of the room soliciting subscriptions.¹⁰⁵

By June 1827, Lough had received such press attention that the decision was taken to stage an exhibition of *Milo* and *Sampson* in hired rooms on Maddox Street. Haydon was involved in organising this event and the painter's *Diary* records many important details about it.¹⁰⁶ The private view took place on 11 June and Haydon persuaded the celebrated actress Sarah Siddons to accompany him to the opening. The exhibition room itself was described as 'capitally large and well lighted'.¹⁰⁷ Given that the only works on display were Lough's two statues, the conditions for their appreciation must have been favourable. As regards sales, Haydon records that the sculptor received several commissions for marble versions of his figures as well as orders for new works.¹⁰⁸ An important source of additional revenue was generated by orders for plaster casts. Casts of *Milo* were priced at 80 guineas each while casts of *Samson* were available for 50 guineas. A subscription book placed in the room recorded these orders and the *Examiner* noted that some of the names included the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Lansdowne and the Earl of Egremont.¹⁰⁹

The exhibition on Maddox Street was a considerable success for Lough in generating income and raising his public profile. The few paragraphs describing the sculpture exhibition at Somerset House that year might be compared with the countless articles written about Lough's event. The accepted 'gem' at the Academy was John Gibson's *Psyche born by Zephyrs* (1822-7) but even this received just a few lines in

¹⁰⁵ In an article published in the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1829 a journalist recalled having been among the first to visit Lough's 'humble abode' on Burleigh Street. Having described the sculptor as 'wrapt up entirely in his occupation', Peter Cox was referred to as being 'sat on a stool in the corner of the neglected apartment' collecting subscriptions; see the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 1 January 1829, p. 22-23.

¹⁰⁶ John Lavincourt Anderson (1792-1874), a London businessman, undertook to pay all the opening week expenses, while C.R. Cockerell and the artist William Redmore Bigg, R.A. (1755-1828) helped to secure the rooms. Haydon placed advertisements in the press and advised Lough on the whole affair; see Haydon, *Diary*, vol. III, 11-15 June 1827, pp. 205-7.

¹⁰⁷ *Examiner*, 8 July 1827, no. 1014, p. 419.

¹⁰⁸ Lough and Merson quote from a letter written by Haydon describing some of the orders placed with Lough; see Lough and Merson (1987), p. 13.

¹⁰⁹ *Examiner*, 8 July 1827, no. 1014, p. 419

most reviews.¹¹⁰ Given the tremendous notoriety of Lough's exhibition, many sculptors subsequently attempted to imitate this success, including Lough himself on later occasions.¹¹¹ The public fascination with the notion of the 'self-taught' sculptor stimulated the appearance of a host of similar characters over the coming years. In 1829 the Ayrshire stonemason James Thom (1802-1850) came to London with an exhibition of figures representing characters from Robert Burns's poetry, *Tam O'Shanter* and *Souter Johnny*.¹¹² In 1831, the Scottish stonemason, John Greenshields (1792-1838), visited London with another group of freestone figures representing characters from Burns's poetry. Greenshields exhibited his *Jolly Beggars* at rooms on the Quadrant near Regent Street. These 'rough specimens of untutored art' were widely admired and reported on in the press.¹¹³ *La Belle Assemblée* referred to duplicate and triplicate versions of the originals being exhibited around London.¹¹⁴ The 'sculptor-prodigy' became such a recognisable character on the exhibition circuit that it was even the subject of parody. When the Edinburgh-based sculptor Lawrence MacDonald (1799-1878) came to London in 1831, the critics were quick to point out that this Rome-trained artist was not 'of the class of "self-educated luminaries" who have recently dazzled the eyes and understandings of the Bond-street-loungers or silly strollers in the Egyptian Hall'.¹¹⁵ 'Self-educated luminaries' represented only one element of an increasingly diverse exhibition culture or sculpture. One-man shows were also staged by professionally-trained practitioners. In 1829 J.E. Carew, the favourite sculptor of the Earl of Egremont, also staged a one-man show in London. Having secured the permission of his patron, Carew exhibited three of his latest ideal gallery figures in hired rooms in the capital before their installation at Petworth.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ See, for example, the review of the Academy exhibition in the *Examiner*, 3 June 1827, no. 1009, p. 338.

¹¹¹ The following year Lough held an exhibition in hired rooms on Regent Street. Although this event was well-reported, it was not as successful; see Lough and Merson (1987), pp. 13-14.

¹¹² For a discussion of Thom see Gunnis (1968), pp. 387-388 and M. Greenwood, 'Thom, James', *DNB* [accessed 14 October 2007]. For a review of his exhibition see the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, June 1829, p. 255.

¹¹³ See, for example, the *Examiner*, 19 June 1831, no. 1220, p. 389 and *La Belle Assemblée, or Court and Fashionable Magazine*, June 1831, vol. XIII, p. 293.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

¹¹⁵ *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, April 1831, pp. 172-173. The Egyptian Hall was a popular commercial exhibition venue of the day; see 'William Bullock and the Egyptian Hall' in R.D. Altick, *The Shows of London*, Cambridge, MA and London, 1978, pp. 235-252.

¹¹⁶ See the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, May 1829, pp. 207-9.

By 1834 the busy critic of the *Athenaeum* preceded a review of Lough's latest sculpture exhibition with some remarks on the endless stream of amusements provided each season for 'that restless race, the sight-seers'.¹¹⁷ A few weeks later he observed that, 'this week has been like the last, only more abundant in sight-seeing novelties'.¹¹⁸ He then described a visit to both the 'Cosmorama' on Regent Street and Mr Hollins' 'Gallery of Sculpture' on Old Bond Street.¹¹⁹ Advertised alongside notices for panoramas and dioramas, one-man sculpture shows were an integral feature of the bill of entertainment offered to metropolitan sightseers during the first half of the nineteenth century. Arguably, popular exhibitions of 'sculpture' had always been available in London, in the form of the coloured waxes of Patience Wright and, later, Madame Tussaud.¹²⁰ The Royal Academy's first President, Sir Joshua Reynolds, had abhorred these popular shows. Although coloured waxes were included in some of the earliest Academy exhibitions they were later strictly excluded from the institution's hallowed confines. During the early nineteenth century it would seem that many sculptors were taking their productions out of the Academy and into the fashionable, commercial spaces of London.

Sculptors' studios: the most effective showrooms for sculpture?

The following section will consider the notion of sculptors' studios as one-man sculpture exhibitions. Academicians such as Flaxman, Westmacott, Chantrey and Baily did not stage one-man shows in the same manner as Lough and Sievier; instead, they relied upon their studios as exhibition spaces. While some discussion of these venues is found in monographic literature on sculptors, and in literature on the making of sculpture, there is little scholarship devoted to these locations as exhibition spaces more generally.¹²¹ During the early 1800s artists were not represented by art dealers in the same way as later in the century and visits to

¹¹⁷ *Athenaeum*, 31 May 1834, no. 344, p. 416.

¹¹⁸ *Athenaeum*, 7 June 1834, no. 345, p. 433.

¹¹⁹ For more information on Hollins' sculpture exhibition see *La Belle Assemblée, or Court and Fashionable Magazine*, August 1831, vol. XIV, pp. 86-87.

¹²⁰ For information on these shows see Altick (1978), pp. 332-349. Madame Tussaud attempted to differentiate her exhibition from the popular waxwork shows by creating an aura of respectability around the building itself; see pp. 212-213.

¹²¹ Busco included some information on Westmacott's studio in her monograph, for example; see Busco (1994), p. 23. Read also included an excellent discussion of sculptor's studios as sites of production in Read (1982), pp. 49-65. A useful but short account of sculptors' studios as exhibition spaces is included in N. Penny, 'Chantrey, Westmacott and Casts after the Antique', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 3, no. 2, 1991, pp. 255-264.

sculptors' studios were more of a requirement for prospective patrons. The 'art tourism' of the sculpture workshops in Rome is well documented, but it is less often stated that the studios of London artists were equally accessible to visitors.¹²² In an early edition of a popular tourist guide, W. Carey's *The Stranger's Guide through London*, for example, the addresses for Bacon, Nollekens, Rossi and Westmacott were listed, along with a note that all of these venues were open to tourists for the price of a shilling to the servant.¹²³ A shilling was the standard charge for most art exhibitions and popular entertainments of the period: moderate enough to ensure that the venue was accessible to a wide segment of the public but sufficiently expensive to prohibit the presence of any undesirable elements.

In the previous chapters of this study, reference has been made to the importance of full-size plaster models in the execution of sculpture and in enabling sculptors to exhibit speculative examples of their works at the exhibitions.¹²⁴ In executing a gallery figure in marble, sculptors and their studio assistants relied upon the use of full-size plaster models, from which a design would be transferred to the stone using a pointing machine. When the marble statue was completed and (with any luck) dispatched to the patron, the plaster model remained in the studio as a permanent record of the work produced. Individually, these objects could be used as the basis of future orders for plaster casts or later marble versions. Taken as a whole, these models provided the sculptor with a continuous exhibition of his previous work, a gallery of his own sculpture catalogue, and an effective one-man show. This was a possibility which was not available to artists in other media. Painters such as Benjamin West and J.M.W. Turner may have established galleries of their works but, once a canvas was sold, it left the painter's studio forever.¹²⁵ While prints may have functioned as a painter's 'back catalogue' they did not convey the same impression in the gallery space as an exhibition of full-size plaster casts on plinths.

¹²² The most famous description of the sculpture studios in Rome is H. Le Grice, *Walks through the Studii of the Sculptors at Rome*, Rome, 1841.

¹²³ W. Carey, *The Stranger's Guide through London, or, a view of the British metropolis in 1808*, London, 1808, p. 301.

¹²⁴ See pp. 90-92.

¹²⁵ For a discussion of West's studio and 'personal museum', see O. Bätschmann, *The artist in the modern world: the conflict between market and self-expression*, New Haven, 1997, pp. 81-82.

Many of the most successful sculptors of this period ensured that they had their own exhibitions spaces attached to their studios. Chantrey is documented as having a gallery attached to his studio at Belgrave Square.¹²⁶ Penny has described this space as functioning as a ‘sort of national portrait gallery’, impressing upon all visitors the extent of the eminent patronage the sculptor had received.¹²⁷ This space was evidently well-decorated and appointed; one French visitor described himself as particularly impressed by the ‘immensite, richesse des appartements et des ateliers’.¹²⁸ Westmacott’s premises at No. 14 South Audley Street also included a gallery space.¹²⁹ He moved into this property in 1818 and in 1823 carried out some modifications by enlarging his offices and the stables. Westmacott also added a single-storied room to his workshop which served as his gallery. No view of his purpose-built gallery space exists, but one can imagine that the sculptor ensured it was commodious and well lit.

Information about the various premises inhabited by Baily throughout his career is sketchy. The sculptor did not acquire his own studio until 1824 when, at the age of 36, he took over the lease of No. 8 Percy Street, near Bedford Square.¹³⁰ This location was very popular with artists as it was conveniently situated in the West End, within walking distance of the British Museum.¹³¹ It also benefited from good transport routes to the stone wharves and exhibition venues such as Somerset House. We know from Baily’s bankruptcy records that the sculptor spent £1,200 on ‘Improvements and Alterations of the Premises behind the Dwelling House for the purpose of carrying out Business’ after moving in.¹³² No architectural plans of Baily’s house and studio on Percy Street have yet been found, but one of the few

¹²⁶ See Smith (1828) p. 300 and N. Penny, *Catalogue of Western Sculpture in the Ashmolean Museum 1840 to the Present Day*, Oxford, 1992, vol. III, p. xxvii.

¹²⁷ Penny (1991), p. 255.

¹²⁸ J. Michelet, *Journal*, P. Vaillaneix, ed., Paris, 1959-62, vol. 1, p. 127; quoted from Penny (1991), p. 255.

¹²⁹ See Busco (1994), p. 23.

¹³⁰ When Baily first moved to Percy Street in 1824 his address was listed as No. 8 Percy Street. From 1829 his address in the Academy catalogues changed to No. 10 Percy Street. It is not clear whether Baily moved, if he used additional properties on Percy Street to carry out his business, or if the street was re-numbered. The sculptor’s bankruptcy records note that he carried out alterations for the purposes of work at No. 8 in 1824 so it seems unlikely that he would then re-locate to No. 10, having made No. 8 suitable for the purpose of sculpture.

¹³¹ See *Artists’ London: Holbein to Hirst*, K. Wedd, ed., London, 2001, pp. 68-77 and Hoock (2003), pp. 30-31.

¹³² See the NA, Bankruptcy Proceedings for E.H. Baily, (1831), B3/714, ‘Bankrupt’s Balance Sheet’, f. 6.

architectural plans of a sculptor's house known to the author represents No. 17 Newman Street, a property inhabited by Baily between 1848 and 1855 (fig. 117). The plan itself represented the property when it was the home of John Bacon (1740-1799) in 1769.¹³³ The advantages for Baily in moving into a house already adapted to suit the needs of a sculptor require little explanation. It is possible, therefore, that this property had little changed by the time Baily resided there fifty years later. From the back of the house, a path led towards a gate in the garden wall separating the living and working areas. In the backyard was a striking, octagonal building referred to as the 'modelling room'. Although no elevations of this structure exist, the benefit of an eight-sided apartment for modelling must have been the admission of light from several directions, perhaps from a lantern roof. The unusual shape of this room also signals its importance as a focal point of activities.

Only the barest glimpse of the interior of Baily's studio survives, in an anonymous caricature of the sculptor produced c.1850 (fig. 54). The room's bare floorboards and stove heater, and the sculptor's heavy overcoat and hat, give some indication of its fairly chilly, rudimentary conditions. Hanging on the walls are what appears to be a partial body cast and a cast after an antique statue, testifying to the studio's function as a space of work and study. Despite the impression of a rather basic environment, plaster models of the sculptor's works are decorously displayed on plinths. Visible in this image are *Eve at the Fountain* (1822) and, to the far left, *The Tired Hunter* (1850). The identity of the guests with whom Baily is seen in this print is not known: the sculptor's studio no doubt played host to a wide range of visitors, including potential patrons and critics. A much wider range of visitors could call at the property, however; the article on McConnel's *Mother and Child* published in the *Literary Gazette* in 1835 was written following several visits by the solicitor John Rosson to Baily's studio.¹³⁴ Rosson first saw this work during its early stages and then returned to the studio six months later to see the finishing touches applied to the marble.

¹³³ See Wedd, ed. (2001), pp. 68-77. .

¹³⁴ See the *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 21 February 1835, no. 944, p. 121 and my earlier reference to Rosson, p. 145.

On occasion, sculptors' studios fulfilled the function of showroom under the most difficult of circumstances, when the solicitation of visitors was most desperately needed. When Baily was required to hold a lottery to dispose of *Maternal Affection* and *Eve Listening to the Voice*, these works were advertised as 'to be seen at his Study' at No.10 Percy Street.¹³⁵ A sculptor's studio was often required to serve multiple functions: workspace, showroom, salesroom and, as in this case, the venue for a desperate lottery.¹³⁶ The requirement that a sculptor possessed studio space which could function as an attractive gallery for his productions was all the more pressing during a period when it was widely agreed the Academy failed to provide sculptors with an adequate room in which to exhibit. The lamentable conditions of display available at the Academy following its removal to William Wilkins' new building in 1837 will be the subject of following section.

Poetic sculpture at the Royal Academy, Trafalgar Square, 1837-1845

On 20 July 1836 the Academicians attended the dinner to mark the closure of that year's exhibition and the end of the institution's residence at Somerset House.¹³⁷ In the following spring the Academy would move to its new home alongside the National Gallery. Towards the close of the dinner, Chantrey rose to propose a toast in which he declared, 'however bright the prospects might be of their new quarters [the Academicians] could not leave without deep regret the home, as it were, of their fathers. He therefore gave a toast – 'The Walls of the Academy', within which so much high talent had been nurtured and displayed'.¹³⁸ Although Chantrey's sadness at leaving Somerset House was heartfelt, the 'walls of the Academy' were generally agreed to have contained the productions of sculptors within rather drab quarters. The sculpture profession, in particular, might have hoped for 'brighter prospects' in the new purpose-built galleries designed for them by Wilkins, then also Treasurer of the Royal Academy.¹³⁹ In fact, the location of the Sculpture Room in the new building would be just as remote from the main hub of the Academy's galleries as it

¹³⁵ See Baily's *Solicitation* for this lottery which he sent to the Royal Manchester Institution, discussed on p. 91.

¹³⁶ When Charles Rossi retired from professional life in 1835 he held a sale of his studio contents from what he described as his 'gallery'; see Rossi (1835).

¹³⁷ See Whitley (1930), p. 319.

¹³⁸ Quoted from an un-sourced account in Whitley, *ibid.*, p. 319.

¹³⁹ For an account of this architect and his work see R.W. Liscombe, *William Wilkins 1778-1830*, Cambridge, 1980.

had been in Chambers' layout. The proportions, atmosphere and lighting of this new exhibition space would also be, if anything, worse than those at Somerset House.

To date there has been little investigation of how sculpture was displayed at the Academy's Trafalgar Square home (fig. 118).¹⁴⁰ Most histories of this institution, including James Fenton's recent *School of Genius*, are little concerned with the arrangements of the exhibitions at this venue, least of all in relation to sculpture.¹⁴¹ The aim of the following section is primarily to establish the circumstances of display available to sculptors in their new building and it concentrates on the period 1837 to 1845. Much remains to be done to achieve a fuller picture of the exhibition of sculpture at the Academy during its residence at Trafalgar Square. The time frame under investigation here is predicated on the basis of charting the Academy against some of the innovations in sculptural display made at alternative venues during this period. The latter half of this section utilises a set of articles on sculpture published in the *Athenaeum* between 1840 and 1845. From 1840 the *Athenaeum* began what would become an annual campaign protesting at the conditions under which sculpture was exhibited at the Academy. By 1845, the critic noticed that the Academy's poor treatment of sculptors had led many to desert its exhibitions and, as a result, this institution's galleries were no longer thought to reflect the true state of British sculpture. These preferable venues for sculptural display were the Westminster Hall exhibitions of 1844 and 1845 and the Glyptotheca at the Colosseum from 1845.

The possibility of the Academy moving from Somerset House was first raised in the 1820s. Following the establishment of the National Gallery in 1824, the Academicians anticipated that any government plans for this newly-founded public art collection might affect their own organisation. In 1825 they established a committee consisting of three painters, two sculptors and two architects to 'take into consideration what may be the wants of the Royal Academy in the event of the erection of a new building'.¹⁴² It was not until 1832 that Parliament finally allocated

¹⁴⁰ Yarrington's essay concentrated solely on the display of sculpture at Somerset House; see Yarrington (2001), pp. 174-187.

¹⁴¹ See J. Fenton *School of Genius: a history of the Royal Academy of Arts*, London, 2006, pp. 189-211 and S. Hutchinson, *History of the Royal Academy 1768-1968*, London, 1968, pp. 103-112.

¹⁴² RA, General Assembly Minutes, vol. III, 18 July 1825, f. 439.

funds to build a new home for the National Gallery.¹⁴³ The winning architectural proposal was submitted by Wilkins, who had fought a zealous campaign for the project.¹⁴⁴ Following Wilkins' appointment, the Academy established a committee to confer with the architect to ensure their interests were represented.¹⁴⁵ The exhibition rooms and offices of the Academy were to be entirely separate from the National Gallery, with the former occupying the east half of the building, and the latter the west. The only exception to this symmetrical arrangement was the room allocated for the Academy's exhibition of sculpture. While all of its other exhibition rooms were situated on the first floor of the east wing, the sculpture room was located on the ground floor at the back of the building, in a semi-circular apartment projecting from the middle of the north façade (fig. 119).

Wilkins' plans for the new building were limited by a number of practical stipulations relating to the site.¹⁴⁶ The designs were also subject to continual modification and alteration throughout the building project. When Wilkins' designs were first made public in the *Literary Gazette* in 1833, for example, they were widely criticised in the press.¹⁴⁷ The architect buckled under this pressure and subsequently changed his design. It was at this point that some of the unused sculptures from Nash's aborted Buckingham Palace arch project were incorporated to the new building, including six *Victory* or *Trophy* figures executed by Baily.¹⁴⁸ The sculptor may have considered the incorporation of his sculpture into the very fabric of the Academy building as something of a professional coup. On the other hand, given the great public criticism of the building, it may have been a mixed

¹⁴³ For the establishment of the National Gallery and, specifically, the erection of its new building see Crook and Port, (1973), pp. 293-302; G. Martin, 'Wilkins and the National Gallery', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 113, no. 819, June 1971, pp. 318-329; Liscombe (1980), pp. 180-209; B. Taylor, *Art for the Nation: exhibitions and the London public 1747-2001*, Manchester, 1999, pp. 29-66 and J. Conlin, *The Nation's Mantelpiece: a history of the National Gallery*, London, 2006, pp.47- 120 and pp. 365-422.

¹⁴⁴ For Wilkins' campaign see Liscombe (1980), pp. 180-183.

¹⁴⁵ RA, General Assembly Minutes, vol. IV, 20 June 1932, ff. 144-145. It included four painters, two sculptors (Chantrey and Westmacott) and two architects.

¹⁴⁶ These included maintaining a right of way to the army barracks at the back of the building, preserving the view of St Martin-in-the-Fields from Pall Mall East, and incorporating six columns from the recently demolished Carlton House. For a full account of the vicissitudes of the building project see, Martin (1971), pp. 318-329.

¹⁴⁷ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 23 February 1833, no. 840, p. 122; see also Martin (1971), p. 322 and Conlin (2006), p. 60.

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion of the incorporation of contemporary sculpture into Wilkins' design see Martin (1971), pp. 325-326 and Conlin (2006), pp. 374-375.

blessing.¹⁴⁹ As a result of the many subsequent alterations to Wilkins' design Gregory Martin has suggested that the architect's original plan quickly lost its coherence: 'Conceived as a low-cost, simple building, it was soon subject to spasmodic elaboration abetted by a Government inspired by the popularity of the project in the House of Commons. But this enthusiasm was more than tempered by a fear of a recurrence of the extravagance recently incurred by Nash at Buckingham Palace ... [The building] that resulted was a compromise.'¹⁵⁰

Recent scholars have attempted to rescue Wilkins' reputation by stressing that many of the faults relating to the building were beyond his control.¹⁵¹ These tribulations are only briefly referred to here, suffice to say that if Wilkins' original designs ever met the needs of the Academy, in the end they were sadly deficient on several fronts, particularly in their provision of a gallery for sculpture. The new building was the subject of instant ridicule and derision on its completion in 1837, as illustrated by an article written by Robert Hunt in the *Examiner*: 'The National Gallery is undoubtedly a great triumph of a peculiar kind of art. It is a grand example of how the very worst can be done at the greatest expense ... It is wonderful to reflect that so much ugliness and inconvenience has been created for so small a sum as £100,000. We should have thought that, if Parliament had voted thrice the sum for such a compilation of defects, it could not have been achieved.'¹⁵²

Hunt considered all the Academy's galleries too small but the Sculpture Room was described as the least commodious. He likened the Academy's exhibition rooms to the prison cells at Newgate, with the latter coming off better in the comparison. If a swap were made, the article continued, and the prisoners at Newgate were conveyed to Wilkins' building, the Sculpture Room would be 'too dismal, comfortless and close' even for the condemned cell.¹⁵³ The arrangement of works in Wilkins' 'sculpture closet' was described as having 'the same sort of effect as the images on the trays of the Italian boys'.¹⁵⁴ Referring here to the cheap plaster statuettes hawked

¹⁴⁹ During the 1840s Baily would achieve an additional mark of distinction by sculpting the figure of Nelson for the re-developed Trafalgar Square; see pp. 216-218.

¹⁵⁰ Martin (1971), p. 329.

¹⁵¹ See Liscombe (1980), p. 208.

¹⁵² *Examiner*, 21 May 1837, no. 1529, p. 326

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

around London by peddlers (fig. 120), Hunt made a point which would be reiterated by countless other critics over the following years: no matter how fine the quality of the works on display, sculpture suffered greatly when placed in its gallery at the Academy.

Arrangements for exhibiting works in Wilkins' gallery will be discussed shortly. It is helpful first to contextualise these considerations against events which were then unfolding in Baily's career. By investigating the importance of favourable exhibition space to one practitioner, the problems faced by the profession as a whole come into sharper focus. The Academy's relocation in 1837 coincided with the build up to Baily's second bankruptcy. In December that year he was arrested as an insolvent debtor and incarcerated in Fleet Prison. Before the opening of the Academy's summer exhibition, however, there was still the possibility that the sculptor might satisfy his creditors. A flurry of letters written to the Academy in April 1837 suggests that Baily was working hard to avert disaster.

On 4 April the Academy's Council received a letter from Baily requesting that he might exchange his Diploma Work, *Eve at the Fountain*, for a marble bust of Flaxman, to which the Council agreed.¹⁵⁵ Submitted to the Academy in 1822, this life-size marble gallery figure represented a much greater potential financial asset to the sculptor than the portrait bust.¹⁵⁶ At this time, the Council were busy with preparations for the opening of their first exhibition in Wilkins' building.¹⁵⁷ On 12 April they appointed Chantrey to the Hanging Committee with responsibility for the Sculpture Room.¹⁵⁸ Two days later the Council received another letter from Baily; this time the sculptor was seeking permission to be present at the arrangement of

¹⁵⁵ RA, CMB, vol., VIII, 4 April 1837, f. 303.

¹⁵⁶ Baily sold several later marble versions of *Eve at the Fountain* and the one he recovered from the Academy's Diploma Gallery could have been sold to one of the patrons discussed on p. 97. It is currently untraced.

¹⁵⁷ In early 1837, the Sculpture Room was still unfinished: braziers were introduced to dry out the walls and Wilkins was authorised to 'carry into execution his plan for introducing works of Sculpture into the Exhibition'. An engineer was also requested to address 'such means as he may think best for the introduction of works of Sculpture into the room appropriated for that purpose'; see RA, CMB, vol. VIII, 22 February 1837, f. 285; 28 February 1837, f. 286 and 6 March, ff. 290-291. In March, Chantrey was authorised to give directions for colouring in distemper the walls of the Sculpture Room; see RA, CMB, vol. VIII, 13 March 1837, f. 294. Whitley suggested that gallery was painted a 'fine Spanish brown': see Whitley (1930), p. 332.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 12 April 1837, f. 307.

works.¹⁵⁹ The Council immediately wrote ‘to state to Mr Baily the impossibility of their complying’ with this request.¹⁶⁰ Baily’s letter nevertheless suggests that he was aware of the limitations of Wilkins’ sculpture gallery. It is also an indication of the sculptor’s shrewdness in recognising that, for the best chance of success, he needed to ensure that his works benefited from the most advantageous positions within the exhibition space.

The Academy exhibition that year received mixed reviews. Most journalists devoted as many column inches to Wilkins’ building as to the works it contained. The Sculpture Room was generally agreed to be the least desirable gallery, as the *Athenaeum* noted: ‘Our sculptors ... have not quite so much reason to be contented with the new quarters assigned to them as the painters. The room is small and their works are, therefore, of necessity crowded unpleasantly. We heard, too, many complaints of the manner in which it is lighted.’¹⁶¹ The critic of the *Atlas* observed that while the architect had provided sufficient room for a few busts, statues and groups,

... the idea of these objects being visited does not seem to have occurred to him. There is not room for even one small party so to place themselves as to see each object in the light the sculptor would have chosen for it and it may be readily conceived that in the crowd of visitors it is scarcely possible to catch a glimpse of the most attractive objects ... The sculpture, therefore, must be limited in quantity; let us hope that in future exhibitions it will make up in quality.¹⁶²

Some exhibition reviews this year suggest that critics were actually unsure how to negotiate Wilkins’ dark and over-crowded gallery. One observed that he could do little better than follow the order of the catalogue, and thus gave the first three exhibits his greatest attention while ignoring all the others.¹⁶³ Another critic devoted his entire review to just one exhibit, William Behnes’ statue of the late Dr. Babington (St Paul’s Cathedral).¹⁶⁴ Whatever the intrinsic merits of this sculpture, Behnes was fortunate that his work benefited from one of the prime locations in the

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 14 April 1837, f. 311.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 311.

¹⁶¹ *Athenaeum*, 20 May 1837, no. 499, p. 371.

¹⁶² Quoted from an article in the *Royal Academy Critique*, vol. II, marked ‘1837, Atlas’.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, unsourced article marked ‘May 1837’.

¹⁶⁴ No. 1165.

gallery. It was described as being situated at the very entrance way to the exhibition.¹⁶⁵ If critical interest was partly determined by the location of exhibits, then Baily's productions were inauspiciously situated. His seven exhibits – including *Maternal Affection* and *Head, in marble, of Eve* – made little critical impact and the exhibition was not a success for Baily.¹⁶⁶ In December that year the sculptor's career hit its lowest point with his imprisonment as an insolvent debtor.

Baily's fears regarding the location of his works at the Academy's first exhibition at Trafalgar Square had been well founded. Conditions in the Sculpture Room were such that just a handful of sculptures benefited from sufficient light or space. A print published in the *Illustrated London News* of 1843 provides an important visual record of this space (fig. 121).¹⁶⁷ On entering the gallery, visitors were confronted by a densely-packed display of mainly freestanding figures occupying the centre of the room. These statues were also oriented to face the window (not visible in this print). Given that the gallery was a single-storey annex to the main building, the *Art Journal* expressed surprise that Wilkins had not installed a lantern roof to 'diffuse more advantageous light throughout the room'.¹⁶⁸ This comment was made in an article of 1854; published seventeen years after the Academy moved into Wilkins' building, conditions in the Sculpture Room had not improved in this time. This critic was disparaging of the space generally, particularly the regulation daises upon which the free-standing figures were displayed. These large, 'table-like' structures were thought ill-befitting the dignity of sculpture, as the critic noted: 'The strange fancy of the arrangement of works of Art on a *table* might do well enough for a porcelain exhibition, or an exhibition of *petits objets* in an Art-manufacture shop, but it is widely inappropriate for the display of larger works of sculpture, to each of which a separate base is essential'.¹⁶⁹

The sculptures identifiable in the *Illustrated London News* print suggest that the arrangement of the exhibits broadly followed the numbering in the catalogue and

¹⁶⁵ As one critic observed: 'It fronts the door, and at once commands the first scrutiny of the connoisseur'; see an article in the *Royal Academy Critiques*, vol. II, marked 'May 1837'.

¹⁶⁶ After the Academy exhibition, *Maternal Affection* was exhibited at the Royal Manchester Institution. It did not sell and was later offered as the first prize in Baily's lottery; see p. 96.

¹⁶⁷ *Illustrated London News*, 20 May 1843, no. 55, vol. II, p. 338.

¹⁶⁸ *Art Journal*, 1 July 1854, p. 214.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 212-213.

began with those works placed nearest the window.¹⁷⁰ As a result, any sculptures placed at a distance from the room's only light source were not only remotely situated but also seen in comparative darkness. The critic of the *Athenaeum* observed that the congested arrangement of works deterred most spectators from circulating through the gallery. Only a few visitors were prepared to squeeze through the narrow paths left clear between the sculptures to explore the full range of works on display:

This, in itself, is a great discouragement to the practice of sculpture, – to such of its works particularly which as have their patrons still to seek. To whatever extent the annual exhibition is calculated to be useful to the artist, the arrangement in question is a curtailment of the sculptor's fair rights ... the number of works that can obtain favourable places ... is limited to very few indeed.¹⁷¹

This perceptive account of the difficulties of viewing and exhibiting sculpture at the Academy appeared in the *Athenaeum*. Founded in 1822, as a weekly periodical covering the arts, sciences and literature, the *Athenaeum* prided itself on its impartiality, stating that it excluded all discussion of politics from its pages.¹⁷² During the 1830s this periodical's treatment of sculpture had been attentive, but generally unremarkable: in 1840 it is striking that it suddenly expressed an earnest concern for the progress of the national school and an active desire to represent its interests. Although the journal's articles are not credited, a possible candidate for the author is Thomas Kibble Hervey – he contributed to the *Athenaeum* from 1831 and became its editor in 1846, remaining at the journal until 1853. His association with the periodical from the early 1830s does not account for its distinct change of attitude to sculpture which occurred in 1840. The *Athenaeum* justified the length of its review this year by explaining that it wished to 'give scope and development to a branch of native art which ... has long lain under an unmerited neglect'.¹⁷³ It felt that circumstances were then combining to give a 'new impulse' to the arts, rapid

¹⁷⁰ By comparing the 1843 catalogue with this print it possible that the bust placed on the single plinth to the right could be the first work listed in the catalogue, *Marble bust of HRH the Duchess of Kent* by E.H. Davis (no. 1386). The second work listed in the catalogue is Baily's *Statue in marble, of the late Very Rev. Dr Wood, Master of St. John's College Cambridge, to be erected in his memory in the College Chapel* (no. 1387), the large statue to the left.

¹⁷¹ *Athenaeum*, 21 May 1842, no. 760, p. 456.

¹⁷² For discussion of this publication see L.A. Marchand, *The Athenaeum: a mirror of Victorian culture*, New York, 1941. This periodical was founded by J.S. Buckingham but its most successful editor was Charles Dilke (1789-1864) who was with the magazine between 1830 and 1846.

¹⁷³ *Athenaeum*, 16 May 1840, no. 655, p. 402.

progress was being made on the continent, and the journal was anxious that English sculptors should partake of these.¹⁷⁴

Rather than simply offering a critique of the 1840 exhibition, the author attempted to sum up the strengths and weakness of the British school and it began with the nation's three leading Academician-sculptors. First in precedence, and conspicuous by his absence, was Westmacott, the Academy's Professor of Sculpture. Westmacott was then in his sixties and had submitted little to the Academy since the mid-1830s. Next in line was Chantrey, whose portrait busts were described as setting the standard in British portraiture, although little further praise was bestowed upon him. The *Athenaeum* warmed considerably when it came to discussing Baily: 'Next after Chantrey the name of Baily presents itself – an artist who is at once an honour and a reproach to the British school. It is too often the fate of genius to toil on, with the bitter sense of unappreciated power, for want of the lucky accident which leads the critic's lamp or the patron's carriage to the door.'¹⁷⁵ Baily was characterised as a sculptor who had enjoyed the peculiar misfortune of escaping obscurity by the strong light of the former, and yet to have almost entirely missed the substantial rewards of the latter. The *Athenaeum* was no doubt aware of Baily's financial problems. Fortunately, the year 1840 marked a turning point in the sculptor's fortunes. That year Baily exhibited his first commission from Neeld – his portrait bust of Philip Rundell – and the following year he exhibited *Eve Listening to the Voice* for the same patron.¹⁷⁶

Considering the 1840 exhibition as a reflection of the current state of the British school, the *Athenaeum* felt confident that any visitor who took time to explore the full range of works on display would be satisfied as to the abilities of the nation's sculptors. Portrait busts were thought to predominate and there were lamentably few 'conspicuous performances' representing the ideal in sculpture. This was not considered evidence of a lack of ambition on the part of sculptors, but rather an indication of the limited forms of patronage available to them. Although portrait

¹⁷⁴ For the *Athenaeum*, national rivalry in the arts was an important consideration. The critic regularly invoked the figure of the 'intelligent foreigner' as a means of inciting feelings of national pride, or shame, at the manner in which sculpture was exhibited.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

¹⁷⁶ *Bust of Philip Rundell*, (no. 1174). This was the second version of Baily's first bust for Neeld, dated 1838; see p. 98.

busts were the ‘least interesting form of art’ they at least provided evidence of sound technical ability and promised better things to come. Given this potential, the *Athenaeum* described it as regrettable that the works of British sculptors were displayed in such an inauspicious setting. The critic observed that a foreign visitor to the Academy would no doubt be surprised ‘at the sort of *den* (somewhat on the scale of a first-class coal-hole), in which it is the taste of Englishmen to *stow away*, rather than exhibit the productions of national genius’.¹⁷⁷ This expression of regret was articulated in much stronger terms the following year:

It is impossible to refer to the Exhibition of Sculptures without one more remonstrance, on behalf of the artist and the public, against the *cave* in which these treasures continue to be buried. It really is disgraceful to all parties concerned that England should have to exhibit her national annual collection of marbles to the foreigner, in a cellar; and incredible how an arrangement, implying such glaring mismanagement and disregard of the implied contract with the national expectation, should be, year after year, quietly acquiesced in by the public ... if the Sculptors have not influence enough in the Academy to prevent their works being thus *shelved*, at a time when the school of their art is certainly reviving, and its patrons seem to be increasing, the public, which has the greatest interest in the matter, and all the right, should come to their aid by all its influential organs. A question in the House of Commons, from some patron of the art, at the moment when the abuse is conspicuously felt ... might probably be put with good effect.¹⁷⁸

This was a vehement attack on the Academy: the institution’s treatment of sculpture was characterised as a violation of its responsibilities to the profession and – given the Academy’s role as guardian of the nation’s artistic interests – to the British public itself. For the *Athenaeum*, the issue had assumed a national significance. Matters were all the more imperative because some of the exhibits on display this year provided a tantalising indication of all that might be achieved. The superlative example of sculpture at the 1841 exhibition was *Eve Listening to the Voice*, which was described by the critic of the *Athenaeum* as an exemplary illustration of the ‘appropriate domain of sculpture’.¹⁷⁹ The critic nevertheless continued to complain about the manner in which works were displayed at the venue, but it was supposed that conditions in the Sculpture Room would have to be endured for the present, as

¹⁷⁷ *Athenaeum*, 16 May 1840, no. 655, p. 402.

¹⁷⁸ *Athenaeum*, 22 May 1841, no. 708, p. 406.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

the influence of sculptors at the Academy had recently gone into serious decline. Over the winter of 1841, Chantrey had died and the profession had lost one of its most influential representatives.¹⁸⁰ Westmacott's continued absence from the exhibitions also fuelled rumours of his imminent retirement. If sculptors had not possessed sufficient influence to secure the favourable exhibition of their works when these two luminaries were still active, their cause was even less hopeful now. Baily was one of the few Academician-sculptors active during this period, but he had never been part of the institution's inner circle.¹⁸¹

Albeit that the influence of sculptors was in decline, the *Athenaeum* questioned whether or not Westmacott had done all in his power to improve conditions for his profession: 'It behoves him to show that he has discharged the responsibilities of his station, and the reproach of this arrangement passes from him.'¹⁸² All Academician-sculptors who failed to make a demonstration to the Council were accused of submitting to the subordination of their art. Following this attack, Westmacott subsequently contacted the *Athenaeum*'s critic and the journal later reported that its condemnation of the sculptors had been unjustified. Referring to a visit to Westmacott's studio, the critic noted that it had learned at first hand of the limited influence of the profession at the Academy.¹⁸³ Westmacott was described as having pointed out 'again and again', that the new sculpture gallery 'in England's deliberately-planned National Gallery' was even more impracticable than 'the temporary and accidental closet which the sculptors enjoyed in Somerset House'.¹⁸⁴ This new-found appreciation of the disrespect paid to sculptors at the painter-dominated Academy led to increased condemnation of the institution. Either the painter-Academicians were guilty of ignorance in underrating sculpture's status as the 'solid foundation' of all arts – or their motives were more self-serving:

¹⁸⁰ Chantrey died on 25 November 1841; some of his works were still submitted for exhibition the following year in 1842.

¹⁸¹ Baily had a falling out with the Academy's Council in 1843 over accusations that he had assisted some students with their models in the Life Academy; see RA, CMB, vol. IX, 22 November 1843, f. 336 and 25 November 1843, ff. 337-339; see also two letters written by Baily (undated but with reference to this incidence). RA, Baily/RAA/SEC/2/3, EHB to the Royal Academy.

¹⁸² *Athenaeum*, 1 June 1844, no. 866, p. 503.

¹⁸³ *Athenaeum*, 19 April 1845, no. 912, p. 393. The critic reported visiting Westmacott's studio to see a recently finished work, which the sculptor refused to submit to the Academy because it was unsuitable as a gallery. Evidently Westmacott declined exhibiting at the Academy because he preferred his works to be seen in the conditions of his own studio; for a discussion of the importance of sculptors' studio spaces as showrooms; see pp. 180-184.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

... knowing the high and important place of Sculpture among the arts, they are willing to postpone the general interests of Art to their own, – or even to keep down the expanding spiritualities of the native school of sculpture by jealous interference or affected contempt.¹⁸⁵

While maintaining that the Academy's display of sculpture was a disgrace, the critic indicated that this institution's exhibitions were actually declining in significance for the profession. The latter comment referred to developments such as the establishment of the Fine Arts Committee overseeing the incorporation of works by British artists into the new Palace of Westminster. This scheme provided painters and sculptors with the opportunity to exhibit works representing subjects from British history and literature in a series of open competitions, free to the public, from which commissions would be awarded.¹⁸⁶ The first exhibition of 1843 had included only frescoes but the exhibitions of the next two years incorporated sculpture. At the Academy exhibition of 1844, therefore, several sculptors declined to submit works to the Academy, preferring to send their latest productions to Westminster Hall. Baily submitted seven works to the Academy, however, and only two to the Westminster Hall exhibition of 1844.¹⁸⁷ The *Athenaeum* suggested that there was scarcely a single work of sculpture from the highest genre at the Academy that year and it suggested that a lover of sculpture 'might well bring away a feeling of despondency from a visit to the Sculpture-cupboard and an inspection of the year's produce stowed away upon its shelves'.¹⁸⁸ Fortunately, it observed, the Academy did not accurately reflect that year's production of sculpture.

The lofty setting of the Westminster Hall exhibition, as illustrated in a print of 1844 (fig. 122), might usefully be compared to the dark confines of the Sculpture Room represented in the *Illustrated London News* print of 1843 (fig. 121). Although placed

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 393.

¹⁸⁶ For discussion of the Westminster exhibitions see T.S.R. Boase, 'The Decoration of the New Palace of Westminster, 1841-1863', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 17, 1954, pp. 319-58; Greenwood (1998), pp. 149-165 and pp. 197-212 and B. Read, 'Sculpture and the New Palace of Westminster' in *The Houses of Parliament: History Art and Architecture*, D. Cannadine, ed., London, 2000, pp. 253-268.

¹⁸⁷ Baily's exhibits at the Academy included the two models for *Paris* and *Cupid*, purchased by Bicknell; see p. 101. At Westminster Hall, he submitted *Portrait Statue* (no. 157) and *Nymph Sleeping* (no. 166); see *Catalogue of the Works of Art sent in ... for Exhibition in Westminster Hall*. London, 1844, pp. 20-21. Baily submitted nothing to the 1845 Westminster Hall exhibition.

¹⁸⁸ *Athenaeum*, 1 June 1844, no. 866, p. 503.

upon a shared dais, the effect of the sculptures arranged in a double row along the length of the room was an impressive spectacle. Each statue also benefited from good lighting and could be admired in relative independence of other works. The *Athenaeum* felt sure that any spectators used to viewing sculpture at the Academy would be instantly impressed by the Westminster Hall exhibition:

Sculpture is here raised to her proper place among the Arts; and to eyes long accustomed to see her in disgrace, looks almost as if she were astonished at her own honours. Treated by the Academicians as the Cinderella of the Sisters, she has put on her fairy garments, come out in her coach of state, and foots it, with the best of them, down the grand old hall – and coins, we think, the slipper, on the present occasion.¹⁸⁹

The display of sculpture at Westminster Hall was further improved the following year, as is recorded by a print in the *Illustrated London News* of 1845 (fig. 123).¹⁹⁰ Rather than arranging the sculptures in a double row facing out into the gallery space, the organisers used two daises, thus dividing the exhibition space into three aisles so those spectators admiring the sculptures were separated from those admiring the cartoons. The statues also thus had their backs turned to the wall, allowing for a greater contrast with the white forms of the statuary, and for each work to be viewed quite separately from other sculptures. If conditions at the Westminster Hall exhibitions were considered admirable, 1845 saw the opening of another important venue for the display of sculpture – the Colosseum at Regent's Park – at which new heights in the display of the medium were achieved. With the opening of this venue, the *Athenaeum* felt emboldened to state that the sculpture profession was now, 'passing away from the Academy – refusing the ungracious hospitality which sent it to the lower table'.¹⁹¹

Poetic sculpture at the Colosseum, Regent's Park

Despite repeated protestations, it was not until 1860 that the Academy allocated an improved gallery space to sculpture.¹⁹² The changes brought about by James Pennethorne's alterations to the National Gallery fall outside the remit of this study; instead, this section focuses on a mid-century exhibition venue that triumphed where

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 628; see also pp. 651-652 and p. 675.

¹⁹⁰ *Illustrated London News*, 19 July 1845, no. 168, vol. VII, p. 45.

¹⁹¹ *Athenaeum*, 10 May 1845, no. 915, p. 467.

¹⁹² See Conlin (2006), pp. 380-385.

the Academy failed, providing sculptors with a public gallery space expressly calculated to present sculpture to its best effect. The venue at which this success was achieved was the Colosseum (fig. 124).¹⁹³ First opened to the public in 1829 as home to London's largest panorama, this visitor attraction was a commercial enterprise offering the show-going public a variety of artistic and scenic entertainments. From the first these had included a 'Saloon of Arts' used primarily for the exhibition of sculpture. When in 1845 the Colosseum re-opened after a major renovation, this apartment was subject to a particularly lavish refurbishment. Re-styled the 'Glyptotheca or Museum of Sculpture', almost one hundred works of modern British sculpture available for purchase were placed in a gallery unanimously agreed to provide ideal conditions for sculpture's appreciation. Given that the critic of the *Athenaeum* had spent the previous five years campaigning for improvements at the Academy, a visit to the Colosseum was reported with some delight:

Modern Sculpture has, for the first time in London, an Exhibition-Room worthy of her ... Certainly, we never saw Sculpture shown to more advantage than amidst the soft clear lights and harmonious arrangements of this saloon. The very atmosphere fitted to the exhibition of its cold but dramatic forms is skilfully imparted.¹⁹⁴

The two sculptures positioned as the inaugural works welcoming visitors on their arrival at this gallery were Baily's *Mother and Child* and *Eve Listening to the Voice* (fig. 3). Given this study's concern with public sites of sculptural display, the discovery of this previously unpublished image is of considerable significance. Firstly it is remarkable that such an important exhibition for the display of British sculpture has been excluded from current scholarship. This venue has been typically been associated with sites of popular entertainment rather than the fine arts. Although the display of sculpture at the Colosseum was based on plaster casts rather than finished sculptures, the many positive contemporary responses to this gallery suggest that it was an important exhibition site for sculpture, particularly given the criticism of the Academy's gallery. Secondly, the representation of two sculptures by Baily – those which are the subject of investigation in this thesis – indicate that

¹⁹³ For a full account of the Colosseum's history see H. Honour, 'The Regent's Park Colosseum', *Country Life*, 2 January 1953, pp. 22-32; Altick (1978), pp. 141-162 and R. Hyde, *The Regent's Park Colosseum: or, 'Without hyperbole, the wonder of the world': being an account of a forgotten pleasure dome and its creators*, London, 1982.

¹⁹⁴ *Athenaeum*, 10 May 1845, no. 915, p. 467.

the Colosseum plays an important role in the developments being charted here. This chapter thus offers an opportunity to establish the circumstances surrounding Baily's submission of his Eve and mother and child statues to this very public and commercial entertainment complex. As will be discussed, the display of sculpture in the Glyptotheca of 1845 was in fact based on a longer tradition of exhibiting sculpture at this venue. First opened in 1829, the medium had always formed an integral feature of the artistic attractions offered to the public at this site. The location of this sculpture gallery within the internal geography of the spectacle at the Colosseum also requires investigation.

In the summer of 1829 the print publisher Rudolph Ackermann issued *Graphic Illustrations of the Colosseum, Regent's Park*, a set of lithographs illustrating the scale and variety of the attractions offered at London's latest entertainment venue. In the interior of the building, the Colosseum's panorama covered the entire surface of the building's shell-like interior and a 'tent-like' Saloon of Arts covered the ground floor (fig. 125); outside was a luxuriant pleasure garden planted with exotic species (fig. 126). All these attractions were the creation of Thomas Horner (1785-44), who in the Colosseum conceived of a unique opportunity to combine his talents as a land surveyor, landscape gardener and showman.¹⁹⁵ Horner's primary attraction, and the *raison d'être* of the Colosseum, was the Grand Panorama representing the view of London from the top of St. Paul's Cathedral. When in 1821 restoration work on the dome of St Paul's had been carried out, Horner had used his skills as a land surveyor to execute a set of detailed sketches to form the basis of a spectacular panorama representing the 360 degree view from London's highest summit. Horner had secured financial support from a group of wealthy speculators who sponsored the construction of a purpose-built edifice to house the panorama. Executed to the designs of Decimus Burton, the structure was based on the Pantheon in Rome, and christened the Colosseum in reference to its scale. The building's proportions were determined by Horner's ambitions for his panorama and he hired the artist and engineer, Edmund Thomas Parris (1793-1873), to undertake the gargantuan task of transferring his myriad of sketches to a single canvas. The commission took Parris and a fleet of assistants over six years to complete. It was a costly undertaking and

¹⁹⁵ For a biography of Horner see R. Hyde, 'Thomas Horner: Pictorial Land Surveyor, *Imago Mundi*, vol. 29, 1997, pp. 23-34.

just as the building and its attractions approached completion, its financial foundations began to crumble: Horner's main financial backer absconded to America and a few weeks later Horner also fled the country to avoid imprisonment for debt.¹⁹⁶

The Colosseum thus passed into the hands of a committee of creditors. Despite these financial scandals, the venue was an enormous success on its opening to the public.¹⁹⁷ The writer of *A Picturesque Guide to Regent's Park* described the Colosseum as 'a concentration of every refined amusement and luxurious comfort which the taste of the times can dictate'.¹⁹⁸ The price of admission was set at an astronomical fee of five shillings; partly this was predicated on the venue's debt-ridden balance sheet but this charge also ensured that the Colosseum's attractions were primarily the preserve of the wealthy. On arriving at the venue, guests were conducted to the Saloon of Arts and from here they took the stairs or the passenger lift – London's first, designed by Horner – leading to the panorama's viewing galleries located in the eaves of the building. When visitors stepped out onto the viewing platforms they were confronted by a facsimile view representing all that could be seen for 20 miles in every direction from the top of St Paul's Cathedral (fig. 127). Covering 40,000 square feet of canvas, the Colosseum's panorama was also the largest painting ever executed. A description of it published in the *Literary Gazette* is characteristic in its expressions of amazement:

The effects which [the panorama] produces upon the spectator, when ... it bursts upon his astonished eye, it is impossible to adequately describe. His first impression is that it is nature – that it is the stupendous scene itself – at which he is looking; and some moments of recollection and reflection are necessary to convince him that he is only 'mocked with art'.¹⁹⁹

Viewing the panorama was evidently a bewildering experience and one can imagine that it was with some relief that spectators returned to the ground floor. The next act in the Colosseum's repertoire of visual entertainment was the pleasure gardens

¹⁹⁶ See Altick (1978), pp. 146-147 for a discussion of these events, which were covered in the newspapers and periodicals of the day with much interest.

¹⁹⁷ The Colosseum was officially opened on 10 January 1829. The panorama was still unfinished at this stage but the public were admitted so that the venue could start to generate much-needed funds.

¹⁹⁸ *A Picturesque Guide to Regent's Park with accurate descriptions of the Colosseum, the Diorama and the Zoological Gardens*, London, 1829, p. 38.

¹⁹⁹ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 17 January 1829, no. 626, p. 42.

outside. These had been laid out by Horner who was described as fancying that landscape gardening had something of the ‘necromantic or talismanic’ in its powers.²⁰⁰ Through the use of mirrors and a carefully contrived garden walk, the Colosseum’s grounds were designed to appear much larger than their four acres. Horner had also devised a series of *al fresco* spectacles. One of these, illustrated by Ackermann’s print of 1829 (fig. 128), gives an early indication of the sculptural flavour of Horner’s attractions. In one of the venue’s conservatories was an aquatic-themed *tableau* featuring the sculpture *Undine* by R.W. Sievier. Sievier’s statue was staged in the centre of a pond surrounded by jets of water which raised their streams so as to form a watery cage around the sculpture.²⁰¹ Another of the garden-based attractions included a reproduction of a picturesque Swiss cottage. Fitted up with rustic furniture, visitors could pause here to admire a *trompe l’oeil* view of an Alpine landscape.

In the creative use of space and deployment of scenic effects, the Colosseum’s gardens were comparable to venues such as Vauxhall Gardens.²⁰² This eighteenth-century pleasure garden had included tree-lined promenades terminated by *trompe l’oeil* paintings creating the illusion of a landscape of limitless extent. Like Vauxhall Gardens, the Colosseum’s use of visual trickery lent the venue a theatrical quality. Although Burton’s dome-crowned polygon was enormous in size, it had some of the qualities of a stage set: the fabric of the building was not stone, for example, but a shell of brick, overlaid with stucco which had been painted to imitate ancient

²⁰⁰ *A Brief Account of the Colosseum, in the Regent’s Park, London*, London, 1829, p. 7.

²⁰¹ *Undine* was a water nymph. This subject was possibly taken from a popular novella of the same name published by Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué in 1811 (translated into English in 1818). This figure was not exhibited at the Academy or the British Institution, but it could be the *Reclining Figure, in Marble*, exhibited at the Society of British Artists in 1829 (no. 857). This sculpture was described *in situ* at the Colosseum in January 1829 but it was later removed and replaced by a fountain made from shells; see *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 17 January 1829, no. 626, p. 43 and 21 March 1829, no. 635, p. 197. It is not clear why this original scheme was abandoned. Sievier’s association with the Colosseum merits further investigation. In addition to contributing this outdoor statue (albeit for a short period) he also exhibited regularly in the Saloon of Arts; see p. 202.

²⁰² For a discussion of the theatricality of this venue see D. Solkin, ‘Vauxhall Gardens: or, The Politics of Pleasure’, *Painting for Money*, London, 1980, pp. 106-156. This venue also incorporated the strategic deployment of sculpture, as with Roubiliac’s statue of *George Frederick Handel* (1738; Victoria and Albert Museum); for a discussion of this work see M. Baker, ‘Tyers, Roubiliac and a sculpture’s fame: a poem about the commissioning of the Handel’ *Sculpture Journal*, II, 1998, pp. 41-45.

stone.²⁰³ All of the venue's attractions were based on visual deception and were calculated to test and trick the visual sensibilities of the spectators. The central point between the illusory panoramic view of London upstairs and the deceptively-sized gardens outside was the Saloon of Arts.

Another precedent for the Colosseum might include the Pantheon on Oxford Street, opened in 1772 and designed by James Wyatt (1743-1813).²⁰⁴ This building was once one of London's most fashionable venues for social gatherings. The interior of Wyatt's building – which was based, as the name would suggest on the Pantheon in Rome – included a series of niches housing sculpture, including at least four works by Joseph Nollekens. The establishment of a sculpture gallery at the Colosseum began rather more tentatively. The entire ground floor area of Burton's building was a broad, circular corridor running around its base. Described as the largest indoor public space in London, the room was tent-like in appearance with pink fluted calico covering its curved walls and arched ceilings. Intended as an area of rest and refreshment, sofas were provided in recesses running around the room and ices and confectionery were available for purchase. The Saloon was also referred to as a 'promenade-room', indicating its function as an important site of social display.²⁰⁵ As the name suggests, it was also designed for the reception of works of art. Horner's aim in establishing this exhibition space had been to increase the range of attractions on offer at the Colosseum and, somewhat more philanthropically, to be of 'benefit to the fine and useful arts'.²⁰⁶ The *Times* described Horner's creation of a Saloon of Arts in the following terms:

The want of a place in which artists and mechanists may have opportunity of exhibiting their several productions to public notice has long been very sensibly felt in this metropolis; and to obviate that disadvantage and to aid, as well as he may, his fellow professors of the

²⁰³ When the Colosseum later fell into disrepair, one commentator noted that the peeling plasterwork revealed its 'sham grandeur'; see J. Weale, *The Pictorial Handbook of London*, London, 1854. p. 720.

²⁰⁴ For a description of the interior of the Pantheon see J. Lomax, *Temple Newsam Paintings*, Leeds Museums and Galleries, 2000, cat. no. 39, p. 44; see also W. Wells, 'The Pantheon, Oxford Road', *Leeds Arts Calendar*, no. 17, 1952, pp. 11-20.

²⁰⁵ See the *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 17 January 1829, no. 626, p. 43 and the *Athenaeum*, 21 January 1829, no. 65, p. 45.

²⁰⁶ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 17 January 1829, no. 626, p. 43.

fine and ingenious arts, the proprietor of the Colosseum intends to devote this room to their free and gratuitous use.²⁰⁷

The Saloon of Arts was thus originally intended for the exhibition of modern art and ingenuity; in the event, the room was appropriated almost exclusively to sculpture. In 1829 it was described as housing portrait busts by living artists, a group of ‘admirable bronzes’ and ‘some clever sculptures and models by Mr. Sivar [sic] and Signor San Giovanni’.²⁰⁸ One of these included Sievier’s nine-foot marble statue, *Christ on the Cross* (fig. 115).²⁰⁹ The next year the *Belle Assemblée* referred to ‘many specimens of modern art in sculpture’, among them Sievier’s crucifixion and an ‘exquisite’ copy of Canova’s *Psyche and Cupid*.²¹⁰ Another early exhibit was Francesco Bienamé’s *Innocence* (fig. 129). In the *Illustrations of Modern Sculpture* of 1832, Hervey noted that this statue had been on display at the Colosseum, in the hope of attracting a purchaser, since 1829.²¹¹

Critical opinion on the Saloon and the sculptures it contained was mixed. The *New Monthly Magazine* of 1829 noted that a gallery appropriated to the exhibition of art works available for sale had long been a *desideratum*. Many artists were described as having availed themselves of this new gallery space and the proprietors were congratulated on ‘doing everything to show off their labours’ to the best advantage’.²¹² The *Times* described the Saloon as containing ‘good specimens of sculptures’ and the gallery was thought to give exhibitors ‘a fair opportunity of appealing to public taste for the encouragement they deserve’.²¹³ The critic of the *Athenaeum*, on the other hand, dismissed the Saloon as forming ‘a convenient, if not elegant resting place’ and the exhibits themselves with the comment: ‘we do not feel

²⁰⁷ *The Times*, 13 January 1829, p. 3.

²⁰⁸ *The Times*, 13 August 1829, p. 2 and 2 November 1829, p. 3.

²⁰⁹ This sculpture was referred to repeatedly by critics as on display at the Colosseum between 1829 and 1832; see my discussion p. 169. One critic suggested that it was intended as an altarpiece for the Roman Catholic Chapel in Moorfield; see *La Belle Assemblée, or Court and Fashionable Magazine*, June 1830, vol. XI, p. 278.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 278. This work may also have been by Sievier, who is known to have executed copies after Canova; see p. 176.

²¹¹ Hervey described this work as originally commissioned by the Marquis of Sommariva, who died before the work was completed; see Hervey (1832), ‘Innocence’, unpaginated. It was later bought by Joseph Neeld from a Dr Nevinson and displayed at Grittleton House; see Christie’s (1966), p. 19, lot 22.

²¹² *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 1829, p. 434.

²¹³ *The Times*, 13 August 1829, p. 2.

called upon to pass criticism on these productions'.²¹⁴ The suggestion that the sculptures were unworthy of sustained attention is substantiated by a description of the Colosseum published in Jefferys Taylor's story *A Month in London* (1832). Taylor referred to the Saloon of Arts as 'the model-room' and his characters were not detained there long: 'the [sculptures], as works of art, were generally of an inferior kind' Taylor noted, and were otherwise 'unfit for exhibition'.²¹⁵

In 1832 the nature of the exhibition held in the Saloon of Arts changed somewhat. The critic of the *Examiner* that year declared that among the various entertainments offered at the Colosseum,

there is one which, in the estimation of admirers of arts, is perhaps superior to all the rest. We allude to the Saloon of Arts, a spacious gallery, containing numerous choice works in marble, busts, single figures and groups, antique and modern, with many casts from the celebrated Greek and Italian sculptors.²¹⁶

These casts included the *Spinario*, *Venus de' Medici*, *Apollo Belvedere*, Canova's *Three Graces* and Michelangelo's *Moses* and *Lorenzo de' Medici*. The critic also referred to Sievier's ever-present *Christ on the Cross* before noting that this was still a very incomplete list of the sculptures contained in 'this alluring spot'.²¹⁷

The presence of this classical and Renaissance statuary was not acknowledged by earlier critics and appears to have been a new addition to the Colosseum's attractions. Before 1832 the Saloon was described as an exhibition room available to 'the works of such artists as choose to send them'.²¹⁸ This would suggest that in its earliest displays it had been intended to serve no greater purpose than providing artists with a showcase. It would also indicate that this space was utilised by sculptors mainly because it was this profession that took advantage of it. The exhibition of so many canonical sculptures in 1832 suggests that the Colosseum's

²¹⁴ *Athenaeum*, 21 January 1829, no. 65, p. 45.

²¹⁵ J. Taylor, *A Month in London: or, some of the modern wonders described*, London 1832, p. 79. The visit which Taylor described took place at least one year prior to its publication date as the visitors referred to the expensive five shilling entrance fee. In 1832 the admission charge was reduced to two shillings.

²¹⁶ *Examiner*, 27 May 1832, no. 1269, p. 340.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

²¹⁸ *The Times*, 23 July 1830, p. 5.

management was attempting to assemble an *ad hoc* museum of sculpture. In 1832 the admission charge was reduced from 5 shillings to 2 shillings in an attempt to drum up greater visitor numbers.²¹⁹ The show-going public was notoriously fickle and one of the Colosseum's main problems was that its attractions remained largely unchanged from year to year. The reduced entrance fee thus extended the range of the public who could afford to attend. In 1832 the *Examiner* noted that the Colosseum was 'thronged with visitors', observing with particular satisfaction the presence of so many families able to enjoy its attractions 'without any qualms of extravagance'.²²⁰ In this context, the Saloon of Arts was described as fulfilling an important educational function.

By the mid 1830s the arrangement of sculpture at the Colosseum had extended to new rooms within the complex. When the committee of creditors which had run the business since Horner's departure in 1829 decided to sell the Colosseum, the new purchaser was John Braham (1777-1856), a famous singer and theatrical impresario of the day.²²¹ Braham acquired a potentially lucrative business, but one which required constant improvement each year to draw in new visitors. In 1835 the new proprietor added a ballroom and theatre to the repertoire of entertainment.²²² The *Times* noted that the former room was ornamented with many of the best statues at the Colosseum and the following year the ballroom and its sculptural decoration appeared in a fashion plate published by the tailor-printmaker Benjamin Read (fig. 130).²²³ In this image an assembly of fashionably dressed models are presented striking modish poses in the Colosseum's ballroom, some gesticulating emphatically towards the sculptures on display.

²¹⁹ See Altick (1978), p. 150.

²²⁰ *Examiner*, 29 April 1832, no. 1265, p. 276.

²²¹ The date of this sale is not known; Honour and Altick both suggest that it took place in 1831; see Honour (1953), p. 23 and Altick (1978), p. 150. For a fuller discussion of Braham's management see Altick (1978), pp. 150-154.

²²² One critic described some of the entertainments staged on this theatre. These included a ventriloquist, a young lady performing on musical glasses and a 'Mr. Thomson' who performed a series of *pose plastique*. The latter was described as 'perhaps not the worst thing of the kind ever attempted'; see *The Times*, 16 July 1835, p. 5.

²²³ For a discussion of these prints see R. Hyde, A. Buck and A.L. Saunders, *Benjamin Read's splendid views: six typographical prints showing winter & summer fashions taken from hand-coloured aquatints, 1829-1839*, London, 1984 and R. Hyde and V. Cummings 'The Prints of Benjamin Read, Tailor and Printmaker', *Print Quarterly*, September 2000, pp. 262-284.

Read's advertisement is the earliest illustration of the display of sculpture at the Colosseum. The works included both busts and free-standing statues, all elevated on elegant white plinths in well-spaced positions around the circumference of the room. Unfortunately, it is only possible to identify one or two of the sculptures on display in this space. Busco has suggested that the female figure on the left is a plaster cast of Westmacott's *Euphrosyne* (fig. 131) (1828; formerly East Kenwyns, Sussex).²²⁴ If this was the case, the statue was altered so that drapery concealed the bottom half of the figure. It is impossible to be sure whether the sculpture was censored at the Colosseum, or for the purposes of Read's aquatint. If Westmacott's statue had been altered, it is possible that the statue of the male nude to the right is an altered version of Flaxman's *Pastoral Apollo*.²²⁵ Ralph Hyde and Valerie Cummings have suggested that Read chose the settings for his plates with enormous care, favouring fashionable locations associated with the *beau monde*.²²⁶ Published in the summer of 1836, Read's advertisement represented a high point in the Colosseum's fortunes.

It is sad testimony to the changeable nature of the entertainment business that just a few years later, the Colosseum's good reputation had been lost entirely. Braham's management of the business was disastrous. In an effort to break even an ever-expanding programme of theatrical entertainment was introduced, one which became increasingly tawdry as financial matters became more desperate. By 1838 Braham was offering visitors a free serving of gin with their shilling entrance fee.²²⁷ Unsurprisingly, the Colosseum attracted a seedy reputation and a once 'splendid and aristocratic establishment' was described as having descended to the level of a music-hall tavern.²²⁸ In 1843 Braham placed the Colosseum for sale and by this time the venue was referred to as a 'sink of vice'.²²⁹ Having purchased the business for £40,000, Braham sold it for just 23,000 guineas. The Colosseum was in such a terrible state of repair and its reputation so tarnished, that the new proprietor was required to close the business for two years to undertake a complete and costly

²²⁴ Busco (1994), p. 104, n. 48, p. 186. This sculpture was completed in 1828 for the Duke of Newcastle but not exhibited at the Academy until 1837.

²²⁵ It is also possible that the kneeling, semi-nude female figure is a version of Canova's *Penitent Magdalene*.

²²⁶ Hyde and Cummings (2000), pp. 263-264.

²²⁷ See Altick (1978), p. 152.

²²⁸ Quoted from a clipping in the Enthoven Collection of the Theatre Museum, London, by Altick, *ibid.*, p. 152.

²²⁹ *The Times*, 29 December 1843, p. 6.

refurbishment. The ‘Glyptotheca or Museum of Sculpture’ was established as part of this renovation. The following section seeks to explore why a ‘Museum’ of British sculpture played such an important role in enticing the show-going public back to the Colosseum.

The new proprietor was David Montague, the wealthy owner of a cement manufactory, who presumably discerned that he could turn a profit where Braham had failed.²³⁰ The guidebook published to mark the Colosseum’s reopening under Montague’s management, *A Description of the Colosseum*, took great care to present this acquisition as motivated by far nobler concerns than financial profit. In an introductory address, the ‘spirited’ new proprietor was characterised as regretting that ‘so great an ornament’ to London had fallen into disrepute.²³¹ Braham was described as having introduced alterations ‘which did *not* elevate [the Colosseum’s] character as a place of public amusement’ and Montague’s purchase was portrayed as being based on an earnest desire to restore this once popular exhibition venue to public favour.²³² To succeed in this scheme Montague brought in William Bradwell, then chief machinist at Covent Garden Theatre. Little information regarding Bradwell survives today but during his lifetime he was evidently renowned as an expert in theatrical machinery and special effects. His employment at the Colosseum was something of a *coup* and much emphasis was placed on his supervision of the refurbishment project in the press and in promotional literature.²³³ The campaign to re-instate the Colosseum’s respectability began with a royal visit from Queen Victoria and Prince Albert on 5 May 1845.²³⁴ The public were admitted a few days later and the Colosseum’s refurbishment was described by all the critics as a great success: ‘This building has cast off its “slough of despond” and come forth with wonderful brilliancy’, the *Examiner* declared, ‘Mr Bradwell, so famous for his magical changes at Covent Garden, is the magician of this change’.²³⁵ Even the

²³⁰ Little is known about Montague, but for some more details on his management of the Colosseum see Altick (1978), pp. 154-162.

²³¹ *A Description of the Colosseum as Re-opened in M.DCCC.XLV*, London, 1845, p. 3.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²³³ In the *Description*, Montague was described as having long admired Bradwell’s ‘taste, skill and judgement in decorative art and scenic effect’. Responses to the Colosseum’s refurbishment indicate that Bradwell was famous for the spectacular scenery changes at Covent Garden Theatre; see, for example, the *Examiner*, 10 May 1845, no. 1945, p. 294.

²³⁴ See *The Times* 5 May 1845, p. 5.

²³⁵ *Examiner*, 10 May 1845, no. 1945, p. 294.

notoriously satirical *Punch* praised Montague and Bradwell's alliance of capital and creativity: 'Thanks to the spirited capitalist, who summoned the genius of Bradwell to his aid, the Colosseum has not only been restored to all its original stability, but made to surpass in splendour and taste anything that Eastern and Western magnificence can display.'²³⁶

Most of the Colosseum's original attractions remained in place but all were subjected to restoration and improvements. The Grand Panorama of London was fully repainted and Bradwell created an evening show representing 'London by Night'.²³⁷ In the gardens, Bradwell had retained Horner's original scheme of a deceptively-sized garden filled with horticultural spectacles but these were fashioned into a much more cohesive suite of illusionary *tableaux* which amounted to what might be described as a form of 'virtual' tourism. The Colosseum's new *al fresco* tour began in the conservatories which now featured a Gothic Aviary (fig. 132) decorated in the style of the Alhambra. From southern Spain, visitors were conveyed 'in an instant' to the banks of the Bosphorus, in an area called the Exterior Promenade (fig. 133) which housed a series of plaster-board recreations of antique monuments.²³⁸ Having wandered among artfully crumbling ruins, the Colosseum's 'imaginative tour' turned back towards London and on the return journey visitors travelled via the Alps to the famous Swiss cottage with its sublime *trompe l'oeil* views of Mont Blanc.

The Colosseum's gardens thus invited visitors to partake in a vicarious sightseeing tour, one which traversed a series of expertly-designed stage sets simulating fashionable destinations associated with the Grand Tour. Describing the Colosseum as a venue where 'the delusive arts are everywhere employed', the *Times* assured its readers that 'notwithstanding the astonishing variety of effects crowded into so small a space, in no instance is the strictest and most classical taste violated by tawdriness and vulgar profession'.²³⁹ The *Athenaeum* echoed these sentiments, suggesting that it

²³⁶ *Punch*, 1845, vol. 9, p. 60.

²³⁷ As part of this spectacle, the lights were dimmed in the rotunda and, through the deployment scenic trickery, the panorama's streetlights and windows were made to sparkle in the twilight while strains of street music and chiming clocks were piped into the viewing galleries to complete this multi-sensory, nocturnal illusion.

²³⁸ The guidebook noted that no attempt had been made to rigidly copy any building and the whole was instead intended to be a picturesquely reminiscent of ancient ruins; *Description* (1845), p. 16.

²³⁹ *The Times*, 5 May 1845, p. 5

was difficult to imagine ‘scenic effect’ being carried to a higher point elsewhere; nevertheless, it concluded, ‘leaving all these pictorial attempts to assemble some of the wonders of nature at Regent’s Park, to the many whom they will please more or less, the principle object of interest to ourselves, is the Glyptotheca’.²⁴⁰

It is arguable that the most spectacular transformation at the Colosseum was in the Saloon of Arts, now re-christened the Glyptotheca or Museum of Sculpture (fig. 3). While this gallery had always provided access to the panorama and the pleasure gardens, it had previously occupied a somewhat ancillary position to these attractions. Following the refurbishment, the Glyptotheca was emphatically the Colosseum’s opening visual spectacle, one which fulfilled a crucial function in setting the high social and aesthetic ambitions of this newly-restored show palace. The guidebook stated with confidence that visitors would be ‘struck’ by the Glyptotheca’s new appearance and this was exactly the response which the room succeeded in eliciting, as the *Times* declared: ‘It is scarcely possible to conceive the magnificence, and at the same time the exquisite taste, with which this apartment is laid out’.²⁴¹ Instead of arriving at a dark tent-like interior, visitors now entered a light and lofty gallery defined and formalised by a classical architectural framework and surmounted by a dome of cut glass.²⁴² The structure containing the stairs and lift had been covered in swathes of blue silk and running around its base were sofas raised on daises; in between each seat were statuesque gas-lights designed by Henning junior.²⁴³ These fittings represented Cupid and Psyche holding palm-tree candelabra, as illustrated in a sketch from *Punch* (fig. 134). When illuminated during the Colosseum’s evening assemblies, the Glyptotheca was described as constituting a magnificent and unique *coup d’oeil*.²⁴⁴ The *Times* considered the gallery more beautiful in the evening than by day when its many gilded architectural features were described as adding a lustrous quality to the room, while still ‘blending with the general chaste tone of the scene’.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ *Athenaeum*, 7 June 1845, no. 919, p. 567.

²⁴¹ See *Description* (1845) p. 5 and *The Times*, 5 May 1845, p. 5.

²⁴² The glass dome had been supplied by Mr Richard Turner of Dublin. The *Description* gives a list of all the suppliers who contributed to the Colosseum refurbishment; see *Description* (1845), p. 16.

²⁴³ Henning also provided a 300 foot frieze of the Panathenaic procession which ran around the base of the Colosseum’s glass dome.

²⁴⁴ See ‘The Evening Exhibition at the Colosseum’, *The Times*, 27 May 1845, p. 7.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Around the circumference of the Glyptotheca, ionic columns supported an entablature decorated with a reproduction of the Parthenon frieze, also provided by Henning.²⁴⁶ This colonnade served to create a circular walkway and in between the columns were placed alternately crimson-covered couches or plinths supporting either portrait busts or reclining sculptural figures. Beyond this circle of sculptures, the outer wall contained twenty arched recesses divided by pilasters, in which were placed the larger sculptures. Visitors were thus able to walk in concentric circles either around the colonnaded walkway or in the centre of the room to admire the works on display, as illustrated in a print of 1845 (fig. 135). In its layout and design, the Glyptotheca drew on a host of eminent architectural precedents, such as the Octagonal Court or Belvedere Courtyard of the Vatican. Bradwell's design of the interior was in many respects a fulfilment of the building's original model, the Pantheon in Rome.²⁴⁷ As a commercial and urban site of public entertainment, one which sought to cultivate and ensure an aura of respectability, the proprietors of the Colosseum could do little better than to ape such elite precedents. Rather than using plaster casts after antique statues to decorate this space, Bradwell elected to exhibit the works of living British sculptors. That these works were also available for sale was entirely in-keeping with the enterprising nature of both the sculpture profession and the entertainment business at this time.

The Colosseum's guidebook stated that the Glyptotheca had been expressly designed to accommodate 'works of art from the studios of some of the most eminent British and Foreign sculptors'.²⁴⁸ Sculptors were described as having 'gladly availed themselves of the opportunity, *now the first afforded them in London*, of exhibiting their productions with those advantages of light and space so absolutely requisite for such a purpose'.²⁴⁹ The use of italics and emphatic language here suggests that the Colosseum's management recognised that the Glyptotheca was satisfying a deficiency in the exhibition culture of the day. It also suggests an implicit critique of

²⁴⁶ Henning's father had also supplied a reproduction of the Parthenon frieze for the Athenaeum Club in London, among many other venues; see p. 90.

²⁴⁷ Honour suggests that Burton was also indebted to Canova's *Il Tempio* at Possagno, begun in 1819. No evidence is supplied for this assertion, however, and this building was presumably also inspired by the Pantheon; see Honour (1953), p. 22.

²⁴⁸ *Description* (1845), p. 5.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

the Academy's provision of a gallery characterised by its dark and cramped conditions. The *Times* praised the visual effect of the Glyptotheca and, in particular, that it had been designed with sculpture in mind:

The whole appearance of the room is most imposing, and though rich in the extreme, in its details the general effect is one of sobriety and response, admirably calculated for the effect of sculptural works, an exhibition room for which has so long been a *desideratum* with English sculptors who must now be gratified beyond their hopes.²⁵⁰

The *Athenaeum* was also effusive in its admiration, describing the effect of the Glyptotheca as 'one of great magnificence, yet made of elements so well chosen and perfectly harmonised, that the character of repose essential to the contemplation of sculpture is not disturbed'.²⁵¹ The soft blue-grey colour of the outer wall was thought to contrast admirably with the white forms of the statues, the lighting was considered perfect, and the elegant disposition of the sculptures was also praised. The *Art Union* summed it all up by describing the Glyptotheca as,

A most effectively arranged collection of the works of living sculptors, many of which are productions of very high character, and all of considerable merit. At the end of each season the works will be removed and others sent: thus forming every year a new exhibition. They are seen here to great advantage, every care being exerted to place each bust or composition as favourably as possible. Many of these beautiful busts and compositions we have seen elsewhere but never in positions so well adapted to display their merits.²⁵²

These comments highlight issues which will be of concern to the following section. In the first instance, it is notable that all of these critics praised the spectacle of the Glyptotheca, but few picked out any individual sculptures for attention. Most critics responded to the gallery as a demonstration of what might be achieved in sculptural display: the room was described as 'a very beautiful work of Art in itself', but no specific works were identified.²⁵³

²⁵⁰ *The Times*, 5 May 1845, p. 5.

²⁵¹ *Athenaeum*, 14 June 1845, no. 920, p. 589.

²⁵² *Art Union*, 1 October 1845, p. 322.

²⁵³ *Athenaeum*, 14 June 1845, no. 920, p. 589.

The earliest documented catalogue listing the works on display at the Glyptotheca was included in the Colosseum's guidebook for 1849.²⁵⁴ Although it was proposed that the exhibition of sculpture would change each year, this original intention does not seem to have been carried through. The few individual works which can be identified at the Glyptotheca in 1845 were still on display four years later.²⁵⁵ In 1848 the *Art Union* described the Colosseum's display of sculpture as unaltered simply because 'it left nothing to be desired'.²⁵⁶ An annually changing exhibition staged in a gallery unanimously agreed to provide superlative conditions for the appreciation of sculpture might have constituted a real threat to the Academy. In practice, sculptors continued to submit their latest productions to this august institution, in spite of the reputation of its gallery as a 'coal-hole'.

This would indicate that the Glyptotheca functioned less as an exhibition venue, and more – as the name would suggest – as a museum of sculpture.²⁵⁷ As the critic of the *Art Union* noted, the majority of sculptures exhibited at the Colosseum had been seen elsewhere before, either at the Academy or the Westminster Hall exhibition. In many respects the Glyptotheca constituted an anthology of British sculptural production circa 1845. Although some Italian artists such as Bienamé were present it was very much native sculptors who made use of this venue. Furthermore, the sculptures were assembled by the Colosseum's management primarily to serve one purpose. When the venue re-opened in 1845 after its much-needed refurbishment, the new guidebook spent some time assuring visitors that the new proprietor was motivated by higher-minded considerations than commercial profit. The guidebook confidently declared that: 'The first glance of the visitor will render it unnecessary to

²⁵⁴ 'Catalogue of the Splendid Works, in the Glyptotheca, or Museum of Sculpture at the Royal Colosseum, Regent's Park, 1849', *A Description of the Royal Colosseum: re-opened in M.DCCC.XLV., under the patronage of Her Majesty the Queen and H.R.H. Prince Albert*. London, 1849, p. 4ff. Earlier editions of the guidebook known to the author do not contain this catalogue.

²⁵⁵ The only critic to refer to any individual sculptures on display in 1845 was that of *Punch*, who made reference to a group of portraits representing historical and contemporary characters. These works were still on display in 1849; see *Punch*, 1845, pp. 60-61. Baily's exhibits had altered very slightly, however; Childs' watercolour illustrated Baily's *Eve Listening to the Voice* and *Mother and Child* as on display, but by 1849 Baily's *Caius Marius* had replaced *Eve Listening to the Voice* (McConnel's *Mother and Child* was still listed). Baily's exhibits in 1849 also included two busts representing the pianists Sigismund Thalberg and George Frederick Kiallmark (exhibited at the Academy in 1843, nos 1524 and 1525). Kiallmark was one of Baily's neighbours on Percy Street.

²⁵⁶ *Art Union*, 1 April 1848, p. 130.

²⁵⁷ This title may have brought to mind for some spectators the museum established by Ludwig I to house his collection of ancient Greek and Roman sculptures, including the Aegina marbles, as discussed on p. 84 and p. 87.

assure him that the outlay has been enormous; and that a higher feeling than the mere object of gain must have prompted so lavish an expenditure.'²⁵⁸ The visitors 'first glance' was the Glyptotheca and the sumptuous refurbishment of this gallery was intended to unambiguously proclaim that the venue had cast off the reputation it acquired under Braham. Having fulfilled this function, the display of sculpture in the Glyptotheca was left largely unchanged.

Visual representations of the Glyptotheca suggest that the venue's management was keen to present this space as offering the satisfaction of higher impulses than mere amusement, variety and social display. In Childs' watercolour, for example, the company depicted in the gallery included an officer accompanying a lady and a group of debonair gentlemen in the centre of the room. At a time when military officers were drawn from the upper echelons of society, these groups might be described as representative of the fashionable elite. When this image was engraved for publication in the *Illustrated London News*, the groups represented in the Glyptotheca were changed entirely (fig. 136).²⁵⁹ In the engraved version, the foreground visitors included a gentleman absorbed in admiring *Eve Listening to the Voice* and two ladies accompanying a young boy dressed *à la Fauntleroy*. This print had a wide circulation and it presented the Colosseum less as a site of fashionable assembly and more as a venue suitable for families and would-be connoisseurs. Not simply a place 'to see and be seen', the Glyptotheca and its exhibition of sculpture materially contributed to the Colosseum's efforts to present itself, in the words of the *Examiner*, as a venue 'available for higher purposes than amusement'.²⁶⁰ In its desire to be seen as a place for polite and rational recreation, the Colosseum might be compared to other popular amusements of the period, such as Madame Tussaud's gallery.²⁶¹ During the mid 1800s both sites sought to exploit the growing Victorian demand for respectable family entertainment. Marie Grosholtz (1761-1850), otherwise known as Madame Tussaud, established her first permanent exhibition in

²⁵⁸ *Description* (1849), p. 3.

²⁵⁹ See the *Illustrated London News*, 26 April 1845, no. 156, vol. VI, p. 264. See also the *Illustrated London News*, 3 May 1845, no. 157, vol. VI, pp. 276-277 for a further illustrated article on the venue.

²⁶⁰ *Examiner*, 10 May 1845, no. 1945, pp. 293-4. Whether the changes made to Childs' watercolour were introduced at the suggestion of the Colosseum's proprietors or the *Illustrated London News* (or simply at the whim of the engraver) it is impossible to know.

²⁶¹ For Madame Tussaud see Altick (1978), pp. 332-349; A. Yarrington 'Under the spell of Madame Tussaud: aspects of 'high' and 'low' in nineteenth-century polychromed sculpture' in Blühm, ed. (1996), pp. 83-92 and P. Pilbeam, *Madame Tussaud and the history of waxworks*, London, 2004.

London in 1835 at the Baker Street Bazaar. She quickly sought to differentiate it from the less salubrious waxwork shows then available in the city. One of the ways she achieved this was by adding an air of distinction to the interior decoration of the exhibition. Visitors entered the building through an ornate lobby filled with casts after antique and modern sculptures. The main room – termed the ‘Grand Corinthian Saloon’ – was richly decorated and well lit. Ottomans and sofas were also dispersed around the room as in a private art gallery. The waxwork figures themselves were displayed along two aisles around the exterior of the room with some of the larger groups in the centre. Although both the Colosseum and Madame Tussaud’s wished to give the impression of a respectable ‘museum’ experience, the two venues were nevertheless quite different. The former was a sculpture gallery housing plaster casts after works by British sculptors; the latter offered visitors lifelike tableaux showing realistically painted and dressed wax figures closely imitating famous historical characters and celebrities of the day. The Colosseum may have deployed illusory effects to trick the visual sensibilities of spectators in some of its entertainments but the ‘museum’ of sculpture was designed precisely to provide a substantial artistic attraction, one with classical and academic associations.

Situated at the front line of this ‘Pantheon’ dedicated to the more seemly pleasures of Victorian London were Baily’s *Eve Listening to the Voice* and *Mother and Child*. Baily’s contributions numbered among a considerable quantity of sculpture on display at the Colosseum: the Glyptotheca was just one of three rooms in which the medium was displayed.²⁶² All 206 exhibits on display in 1845 were available for purchase and most were plaster casts.²⁶³ Although a handful of foreign practitioners were included, the vast majority of works were by British sculptors.²⁶⁴ They included William Behnes, William Calder Marshall, John Henry Foley, Thomas Woolner and John Bell, to name a few. The exhibits themselves included portraits and ideal gallery figures. Some of the latter drew on British history and literature –

²⁶² In 1849 the Regent’s Park corridor housed 74 works and the Albany Street corridor contained a further 27 sculptures, in addition to 132 in the Glyptotheca. Sculpture at the Colosseum appears to have been appropriated particularly to routes of thoroughfare and spaces of public promenade.

²⁶³ The 1849 catalogue directed those wishing for particulars on a sculpture to enquire at the North Lodge. Only a handful of exhibits listed in the catalogue were identified as objects in wax or marble.

²⁶⁴ Some pieces by Thorvaldsen and Canova were on display. The works attributed to Canova were all in marble and were presumably copies: *Venus returning from the bath* (no. 13) *Diana* (no. 17) and *Venus awakened by Cupid* (no. 118).

such as Foley's *Canute reproving his followers* and Woolner's *King Lear and his Daughter* – but many others were based on the traditional repertoire of classical mythology, such as John Henry Nelson's *Venus Attiring*.²⁶⁵ With the works on display ranging from small-scale wax portrait medallions to ambitious ideal gallery figures, the nature of the 'museum' established at the Colosseum was miscellaneous in character, but it was an interesting assembly of sculptures which would merit further investigation.

As the only living Academician represented at the Glyptotheca, Baily was the most distinguished contributor.²⁶⁶ The various works he displayed there had all previously been exhibited at the Academy and were far from his most recent productions.²⁶⁷ In addition to being older works, Baily's exhibits in 1845 were also pieces that had been commissioned. The *Mother and Child* group had been commissioned by Henry McConnel and exhibited at Somerset House in 1835, while *Eve Listening to the Voice* had been executed in marble for Neeld and exhibited at the Academy in 1841. One could argue that the sculptures which Baily placed on display at the newly-opened Glyptotheca in 1845 were intended to be a confident demonstration of his strengths and achievements in the field of poetic sculpture. They were certainly displayed in this manner at the Colosseum. That Baily's figure of *Eve* originated as the design for a silver tureen, and that his *Mother* was intended to commemorate the wife of a Manchester cotton-mill owner who had died in childbirth, is indicative of the rich character of early nineteenth-century ideal sculpture. That these works were placed on display in a sculpture gallery designed by an expert in theatrical special effects, situated at the heart of a sprawling 'palace of show-places', is a further illustration of the complex and fascinating field of enquiry represented by nineteenth-century sculpture.

²⁶⁵ The latter sculpture was evidently very popular. The catalogue of 1849 declared in bold letters that visitors would find Nelson's 'celebrated' *Venus* in the Glyptotheca (no. 59a). For information on Nelson see Gunnis (1968), p. 271. The sculptor's *Venus* had previously been exhibited at the Egyptian Hall in 1847; see the *Times* 20 April 1847, p. 3; see also the *Art Union*, 1 February 1848, p. 52.

²⁶⁶ Some works by the late John Bacon, R.A. were on exhibition; see his *Sir W. Jones* (no. 15).

²⁶⁷ Baily's latest ideal figure at the Academy in 1845 was *Statue, Nymph preparing for the Bath* (no. 1327) commissioned by Neeld, for example.

Conclusion

In keeping with its boom-and-bust fortunes, having enjoyed a period of great public popularity the Colosseum subsequently went into decline. Following the success of the Great Exhibition in 1851 and the establishment of the Crystal Place at Sydenham in 1853 the Colosseum was unable to compete with these larger-scale entertainment complexes. Although precipitating its downfall, the Colosseum was still an important precursor to these events. In its gallery of plaster casts decorously displayed in a glass-domed exhibition space, one situated in close proximity to verdant conservatories, the Colosseum introduced many of the distinctive features further developed in Joseph Paxton's 'palace of glass'. The Great Exhibition is undoubtedly a significant site in the history of sculptural display, but it is important not to overstate its role as a pioneering showcase for the medium. It has been suggested that the Great Exhibition was the 'first' large-scale public exhibition of contemporary sculpture, one which was responsible for rousing a 'new' popular interest in the medium.¹ Such statements imply that the early nineteenth-century was a period during which there was little public engagement with sculpture. This thesis has aimed to refute this characterisation: venues such as the Colosseum, the vogue for one-man sculpture shows and the appearance of publications such as Hervey's *Illustrations of Modern Sculpture* are just some indications of the popular presence and public circulation of sculpture in the cultural life of this period.

In this study a selective group of works by Edward Hodges Baily have been used as the basis of investigation. Focus has been given to the sculptor's career during the period 1810 to 1845 so that a detailed examination of the production and reception of Baily's Eve and mother and child sculptures could be carried out. Baily continued to exhibit at the Academy regularly until 1862 and it is worth pausing here to consider some of the later features of his career. The previous chapter concluded with a consideration of George Childs' watercolour of 1845. During the 1840s Baily enjoyed a period of some professional success and stability. He had finally secured patronage for his ideal figures notably in the form of commissions from Elhanan Bicknell and Joseph Neeld. For the former Baily executed statues of *Cupid, Psyche*,

¹ Droth (2004), p. 229.

Helen and *Paris*, while for Neeld his subjects included *Nymph preparing for a bath*, the *Three Graces* and the *Tired Hunter*. It is noticeable, however, that these ideal figures were much more conventional in subject matter than works such as *Eve at the Fountain* and *Maternal Affection*. On the whole, his later commissioned ideal figures were drawn from the traditional repertoire of classical nymphs and goddesses and exhibited without any specific poetic reference. This would suggest that Baily was more innovative earlier in his career when he was executing speculative pieces, rather than when he was meeting the requirements of a patron.

Of course Baily's most prestigious work of the 1840s was the *Statue to Lord Nelson* (fig. 137) (1843; Trafalgar Square, London). It is ironic that having remonstrated with the Academy in 1837 over the placement of his sculptures within their gallery that Baily should have such a significant example of his work displayed so prestigiously on its doorstep. In fact, Baily's practice is very well represented at Trafalgar Square, in both the Nelson monument as well as the sculptor's *Victory* figures incorporated onto the façade of Academy's building. Although Baily's reputation was arguably secured for posterity through his sculptural contribution to the decoration of Trafalgar Square, these commissions were nevertheless the result of haphazard and problematic projects. His *Victory* figures were only installed on Wilkins' building because they were left over from Nash's original Buckingham Palace arch of 1830 which the government refused to fund to its completion. The government's lack of support for this project was also cited as one of the key triggers for Baily's first bankruptcy proceeding of 1831. Baily's award of the commission to execute the Nelson figure was also the result of another highly flawed and parsimonious sculptural project by the government.

The decision in 1838 to initiate a monument to Nelson in Trafalgar Square was mainly brought about as a means of resolving the architectural problems posed by Wilkins' unsuccessful design for the National Gallery.² Many commentators believed that this rather low-lying and unattractive building did not provide a sufficiently magnificent termination to the view from Whitehall. A special sub-committee headed by the Duke of Wellington was formed to address this subject. To

² For a full account of the circumstances behind the project to erect the Nelson monument and the public reception of the finished work see Yarrington (1998), pp. 290-333.

avoid any financial outlay by the government it was decided that the monument would be raised by public subscription and that an open competition would be held to solicit designs. Although funded by a nationwide subscription, the sub-committee retained sole responsibility for selecting the winning scheme. Having judged the entries they awarded first prize to the architect William Railton (c.1801-1877) for his triumphal column design, while Baily was awarded second place. The sub-committee's refusal to allow the public to participate in the allocation of the premiums attracted much condemnation.³ Railton's proposed column was unpopular because it was felt to be insufficiently grand and imaginative for such a prestigious project. Yarrington has noted that newspaper reports from the period suggest that Baily's proposal was among those most admired.⁴ Although the sculptor's drawings for his design have been lost, Baily's written description of it has survived.⁵ From this account it would seem that the sculptor's design was on a grand scale, comprising of a sixty-foot high obelisk reached by circular steps sixty feet in diameter. The obelisk itself was set upon a rocky base and decorated at its base with sculptural figures. The central figure of Nelson was accompanied to his left by 'the Genius of Britain' and to his right by a seated figure of 'Victory'. A statue representing the Nile was placed at the rear of the monument and a relief representing Neptune and his attendants encircled the base. In its iconography and use of traditional allegorical figures such as 'Victory' Baily's proposal appears in the tradition of the Committee of Taste monuments erected some thirty years earlier for St Paul's Cathedral.

Yarrington has noted that from the support of Baily's design in the press it is difficult to understand why it was not awarded the first premium.⁶ Arguably the sub-committee was keen to commission a simpler, less allegorical design. Railton's

³ For criticism of the committee's proposals see, for example, the *Athenaeum*, February 1839, no. 591, p. 155 and the *Literary Gazette*, 8 June 1839, no. 1168, p. 363. As a result of public criticism a second competition was held but, again, the sub-committee made its decision in secret and they awarded exactly same premiums as the first competition. For a discussion of the critical response surrounding both competitions see Yarrington (1988), pp. 293-296.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁵ A collection of the competitors' explanations of their designs are collected in *The Nelson Papers*, B.3.16 (Art), Bodleian Library, Oxford, unpaginated.

⁶ One of the reasons for the committee's prejudice against him may have been because Baily was accused of altering his designs in the exhibition room after seeing the other entries. Although this was never proved against him it may have coloured the sub-committees opinions; see Yarrington (1988), p. 307.

single column had the advantage of creating a focal point above Wilkins' building, while not obscuring it entirely. Nevertheless, as a result of the criticism attracted by Railton's design the sub-committee decided to appoint Baily as the sculptor of the Nelson figure, perhaps as a means of gaining public support for it. The sculptor's progress on the monument was slow, mainly due to problems securing the right kind of stone.⁷ The seventeen-foot high portrait statue of Nelson which resulted was not completed until autumn of 1843, when it was placed on public exhibition at Charing Cross before being hoisted into place in November of that year.⁸ On the whole the public reception to the work was good, although some commentators struggled to accept a work 'exhibiting reality carried to the extreme in the hands of one our most idealised sculptors'.⁹ Despite these comments, the sculptor's interpretation of Nelson's heroic character was praised. The figure was not idealised but was instead a relatively simple portrait figure executed on a grand scale which realistically and effectively captured Nelson's key distinguishing features, most notably his admiralty uniform and empty sleeve. The *Illustrated London News* praised the 'true to nature' features of the statue.¹⁰

At the time that the Nelson monument was erected Baily's reputation was probably at its highest because of the public profile of this scheme. Despite this success, Baily's oeuvre as a whole became somewhat conventional during the later stages of his career. During the 1850s his practice was devoted almost entirely to the execution of portrait statues and busts. These included his *Bust of the late Charles Geach M.P.* (1856; untraced) and his *Statue of Charles James Fox M.P.* (1857; St Stephen's Hall, Westminster). No doubt his involvement in the Nelson monument encouraged commissions for official portraits of this type. Given that portraiture had always been Baily's professional weakness, however, these works lack flair and his reputation has suffered by comparison with other sculptors – such as Behnes and Chantrey – who were more skilful in executing animated portraits in marble.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁸ A collection of contemporary responses to Baily's Nelson figure are collected in the Baily papers, ff. 1-19.

⁹ *Athenaeum*, 21 May 1842, no. 760, p. 457, written in response to Baily's submission of his model for the Nelson monument to the Royal Academy exhibition in 1842 (no. 1273).

¹⁰ See, for example, the *Illustrated London News*, 4 November 1843, p. 289. The main criticism made of the sculpture regarded its execution. As the statue was intended to be seen at a great height, some commentators felt that it was not seen to its best advantage at ground level.

Certainly during the later stages of his career, in spite of a seemingly steady supply of portrait commissions, Baily struggled financially. In 1858 and 1862 he asked the Academy for financial assistance and in 1863 he was awarded a pension of £200 per annum as an honorary retired academician.¹¹ Some of the official marks of distinction that Baily received during this period provide some indication of the professional esteem in which he was held. In 1858, for example, he was elected a member of the Belgium Royal Academy of Arts in Antwerp.¹² Despite this international recognition, during the last years of his life Baily became an increasingly isolated figure. The sculptor submitted his last work to the Academy in 1862, *Statuette of a Clergyman*.¹³ Shortly after he and his family moved to Holloway in north London and, as the *Athenaeum* noted, this rather remote location lay very much ‘beyond the beat of a West-End man’, resulting in Baily fading public memory.¹⁴ The sculptor died in 1867 at his home in Holloway and he is buried in Highgate Cemetery.¹⁵

Throughout his career Baily faced a number of professional challenges which he struggled to overcome. Firstly the dominance of Chantrey and Westmacott was problematic. Although Baily was commonly associated with Chantrey and Westmacott by writers in periodicals such as the *Athenaeum* he never achieved their level of professional standing.¹⁶ From the evidence provided by these reports, however, he was certainly held in much higher esteem than some of his near contemporaries such as John Francis (1780-1861). The London sculpture market was also hugely competitive with new, talented and ambitious practitioners coming to the fore all the time. Portraiture tended to be the mainstay of the business and, as already discussed, Baily’s reputation suffered in this respect. If the sculpture trade in London was almost saturated, Baily faced even tougher competition from those sculptors working in Rome where the profession thrived at an unparalleled level. Baily was keenly aware of the disadvantages he faced financially and professionally by failing

¹¹ See Eustace (2005), unpaginated.

¹² For further information on this award see Knowles (1994), pp. 18-20.

¹³ No. 1047.

¹⁴ It was even suggested that many would be surprised to hear that ‘the Miltonesque sculptor of Eve’ had been alive up until a few days earlier; see the *Athenaeum*, 1 June 1867, no. 2066, p. 727.

¹⁵ Baily was living at 99 Devonshire Road in Holloway. Unfortunately, the location and identity of the grave at Highgate is currently unknown to the cemetery authorities.

¹⁶ For Baily’s association with Chantrey and Westmacott see the *Athenaeum*, 16 May 1840, no. 655, p. 402.

to visit Rome. In his letter to the Academy sent in 1837 he was alert to the fact that sculptors based in Italy were closer to the main international market for sculpture, as well as enjoying the perks of proximity to the marble quarries and lower living costs. Rather than considering relocating to Rome, however, Baily misguidedly hoped that the Royal Academy or the British government would adopt some means of protecting the native sculpture trade.

Although the great success of statues such as *Eve at the Fountain* gave Baily a European reputation, the majority of his patrons were based in Britain. Most collectors of Baily's ideal figures – men such as Bicknell and McConnel – tended only to collect works by British artists and were far from 'international' in their artistic interests. One of the notable features of Baily's career was his failure to secure the patronage of the three major and pioneering collectors of modern ideal sculpture during the early 1800s: the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Egremont and the Duke of Bedford. This failure affected Baily's success during his lifetime, as well his posthumous reputation as there are no examples of the sculptor's work in the important galleries at Petworth, Woburn and Chatsworth. As discussed in the Introduction, these three collectors were primarily active during the 1810s to 30s. Given the positive critical responses Baily garnered for work executed during the 1820s and 30s, he certainly merited their attention. During Chapter One it was suggested that Baily's failure to travel to Rome may have affected Devonshire's estimation of his practice. This patron mainly collected works by sculptors based in Rome such as Canova, Gibson and Wyatt. Bedford's most significant sculpture commissions also went to Canova – most notably in the *Three Graces*. It is much more difficult to explain why Egremont did not encourage Baily. Egremont specifically aimed to patronise British artists. He also favoured subjects drawn from native literary subjects. Baily was perhaps unlucky that at the time when he was achieving a critical reputation for his interpretation of Miltonic subjects Egremont was primarily interested in establishing Carew as his sculptor of choice.¹⁷ Carew argued with Egremont's executors after his patron's death in 1837 and it is notable that the only commission Baily received in relation to this patron was for his tomb monument (1840; St Mary's, Petworth, Sussex).

¹⁷ For Egremont's relationship with Carew see p. 11.

Irrespective of his bad luck in failing to attract patronage early in his career, all of Baily's professional challenges were exacerbated by the fact that he was very poor with money. His bankruptcy proceedings in 1831 and 1837 suggest that he was profligate and prone to building up bad credit. Sympathetic commentators have suggested that he struggled to support a large family, although other sculptors, such as Rossi, faced similar challenges. Rossi attempted to meet his deficit in earnings by diversifying into the artificial stone business. Baily also branched out into other lines of business in his work for the silversmiths. He continued to work for firms such as Mortimer and Hunt, who paid him an annual retainer to 'supervise' their designs in silver until at least the 1850s. Despite seeking these additional means of support, the sculpture trade was a precarious profession, particularly for any practitioner not careful with their money.

A fuller assessment of Baily's career must await a more complete survey of the sculptor's life and practice. This thesis has purposefully focused on a small number of works – Baily's statues of Eve and his mother and child groups – so that these productions could be the subject of detailed investigation. The aim has been to examine, on the one hand, the relationships which existed between poetry and sculpture during early 1800s and, on the other, the importance of the public contexts in which these works were exhibited. In the broadest sense this thesis has been concerned to demonstrate sculpture's power to engage during the early 1800s. The appearance of the term 'poetic sculpture' may have been an attempt to register this quality. This quality was not limited to ideal figures, of course; Chantrey's *Sleeping Children* was arguably the most famous poetic sculpture of the period, irrespective of its original conception as a funerary statue. Innovative commemorative sculptures such as Westmacott's *Houseless Traveller* and Chantrey's group were highly influential to the developments being charted in this study. These monuments were calculated to be emotionally affecting and to inspire a sentimental response in the spectator. Sculptors such as Baily sought to generate this type of engaged response from viewers of their ideal statuary. While the pursuit of faultless form may have been stipulated by Reynolds as the sole purpose of sculpture during the 1780s, by the turn of the century many sculptors were seeking to unite form with sentiment and to execute works which demanded an emotional engagement.

During the early 1800s there was a perceptible debate among critics that characters from classical history and mythology were inappropriate for representation in sculpture because of their failure to connect with the contemporary audience. Such a conception of sculptural reception clearly depended upon an understanding of the medium's audience as being much greater than those wealthy potential patrons who could afford to purchase these works; it also included the full range of spectators who viewed sculpture at the many art exhibitions held in London and in the provinces. Subjects drawn from the antique remained popular throughout this period – Baily himself executed works of this type – but the variety of characters and themes deemed admissible to be represented in marble was considerably extended during the first decades of the century. Baily's *Eve at the Fountain* was the first marble statue to represent a female nude drawn from the British literary canon; his *Affection* of 1823 was the first to represent a mother and child group intended as an autonomous work of art. That Baily brought forward these works as speculations, rather than as the result of any advance commission from a patron, is just some indication that practitioners were just as responsible for breaking new ground as some of the pioneering patrons for modern British gallery figures. The use of British literary texts such as *Paradise Lost* enabled sculptors to execute ideal figures which had the necessary erudite literary context but which also had the advantage of being native to Britain and sympathetic to its religious beliefs. During a period when the cultural construction of motherhood acquired an almost saintly characterisation, the representation of this subject in sculpture led to the production of works which intersected with contemporary debates. These subjects also reflected the deeply held Christian beliefs of the early nineteenth century, at a time when a religious idiom was increasingly the norm, and they indicate the extent to which ideal sculpture was integrated with these wider cultural developments.

Many of these issues are reflected in the poetic responses studied in this thesis. In the chapter on *Eve at the Fountain*, Henry Neele's ekphrastic poem written on seeing Baily's sculpture was predicated on an engagement with both the lustrous, life-like forms of the statue, as well as with the specific character represented. The sculpture's literary context stimulated and encouraged the poet's absorbed encounter. Neele's reverie that the sculpture might be breathing, or warm to touch, was

common to many responses of viewing the body marble. Baily's sculpture the *Mother and Child*, executed for Henry McConnel, almost invited this response in its representation of the mother sleeping. In his response to this statue, Rosson used a range of well-known literary texts to adequately describe his encounter with the statue. Many of these betrayed both the pleasures and anxieties generated by viewing the body in sculpture. Both Neele's poem and Rosson's account of Baily's statue was published in the *Literary Gazette*. Several of the writers discussed in this thesis published widely in the fashionable periodicals and literary annuals of the day. Many sculptors also used poems derived from these sources as textual supplements to their ideal figures. Although writers such as Henry Neele and Thomas Kibble Hervey are little regarded today, they nevertheless provide a very direct route into the cultural milieu in which sculptors such as Baily worked. Additionally, this study has hoped to prove that poetic responses to sculpture were not limited to those inspired by Canova's statuary. The poetic responses of Byron and Foscolo were certainly influential but the practice of writing poetry in response to modern British sculpture was equally widespread and popular.

This study has also aimed to draw attention to some of the wider networks of patronage which existed for ideal sculpture during the early nineteenth century. While aristocratic patrons such as Devonshire, Egremont and Bedford are well documented, by concentrating on these three patrician connoisseurs there is a risk that the full extent of the market for ideal sculpture is obscured. Although some of the collectors studied in this thesis may only have purchased one or two pieces, this in itself indicates a change in the dynamics of the sculpture market during the early 1800s, with a wider range of consumers keen to own works in a medium previously restricted to the elite. Patrons such as Joseph Neeld, Elhanan Bicknell, Wynn Ellis, Robert Vernon, Sir Aubrey de Vere, Sir Thomas Spring Rice and Henry McConnel might be described as representative of a new type of collector for ideal sculpture: businessmen, politicians and entrepreneurs. This study has not sought to establish any standard 'category' of collector or patron for this genre; instead, the aim has been to point to the increasingly diversified market for sculpture, and the increasingly diversified modes of display which these patrons adopted for displaying these works. This included establishing large-scale sculpture galleries, as well as integrating sculpture into more domestic contexts. Although Baily may have initially

struggled to sell some of his speculative poetic figures, over the course of his career the sculptor produced several versions of *Eve at the Fountain* and *Maternal Affection*. Many scholars have focused on the late nineteenth century as the period during which the statuette entered into currency as a sculptural form. Baily executed several 'cabinet-sized' versions of his work in marble; he also issued countless statuettes in plaster which must have been easily purchasable by a wide range of consumers. Equally, his sculptures were reproduced as prints in publications such as the *Book of Gems*, the *Illustrations of Modern Sculpture* and the *Art Union*. It is clear that while sculptors such as Chantrey found ways of incorporating the poetic or the ideal into the more functional genres of church monuments and portrait statues during the early 1800s, sculptors such as Baily were keen to make the poetic and the ideal more commercially viable.

On the whole, this study has been less concerned with how sculpture was displayed in the private homes of patrons, and much more interested in identifying and investigating some of the public and metropolitan showcases for the medium. Many collectors of Baily's ideal figures did not place advance commissions with the sculptor; instead, they purchased works they had admired either at the public exhibitions or at the sculptor's studio. These sites of spectatorship were of crucial importance to sculptors, therefore, and this study has specifically aimed to redress the relative lack of scholarship on the display of sculpture at the galleries of the Royal Academy, the British Institution and the Suffolk Street Gallery. In particular, the discovery of George Childs' watercolour of the Glyptotheca prominently illustrating Baily's *Eve Listening to the Voice* and his *Mother and Child* in the foreground was a catalyst for exploring this hitherto neglected public showcase for sculpture. George Childs' watercolour of the Glyptotheca indicated that an alternative history of sculptural display remained to be charted; one which investigated works of poetic sculpture as a popular feature of the artistic attractions on offer in London during the first half of the nineteenth century. It is hoped that this study has succeeded in giving some indication of the important presence of sculpture generally in the cultural life of this period, and of Baily's practice in particular.

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Illustrations

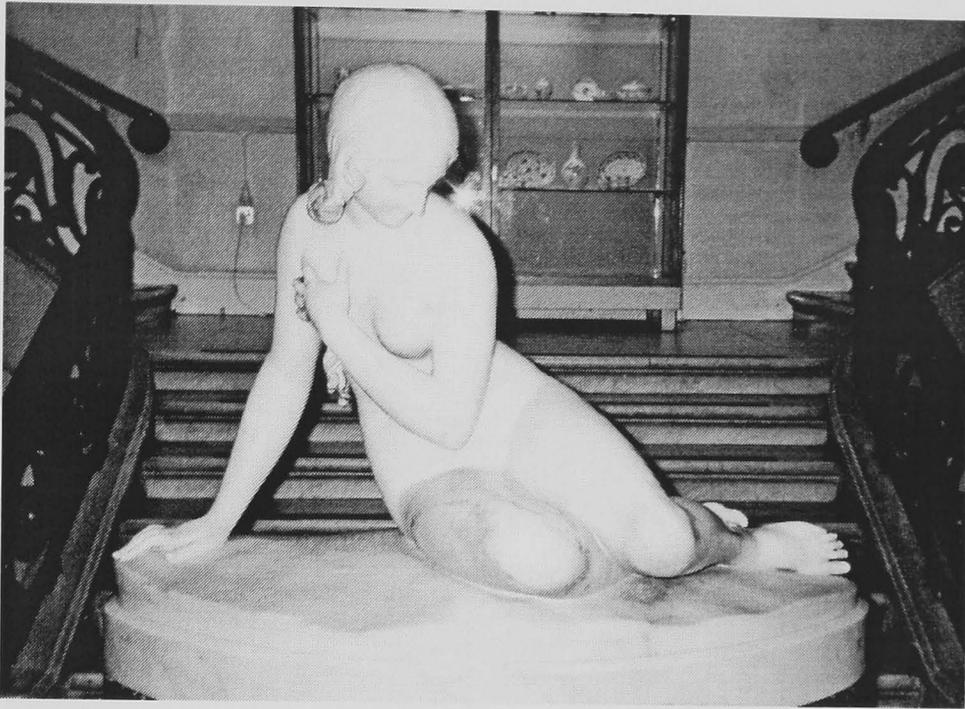


Fig. 1. Edward Hodges Baily, *Eve at the Fountain*, 1822, marble; Bristol City Museum & Art Gallery

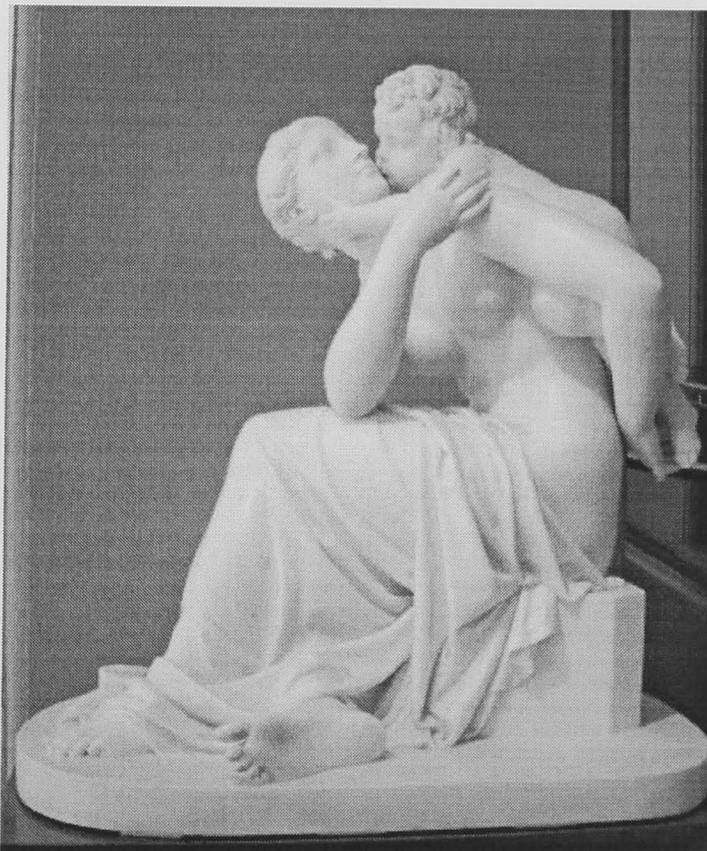


Fig. 2. Edward Hodges Baily, *Maternal Affection*, 1837, marble; Victoria & Albert Museum

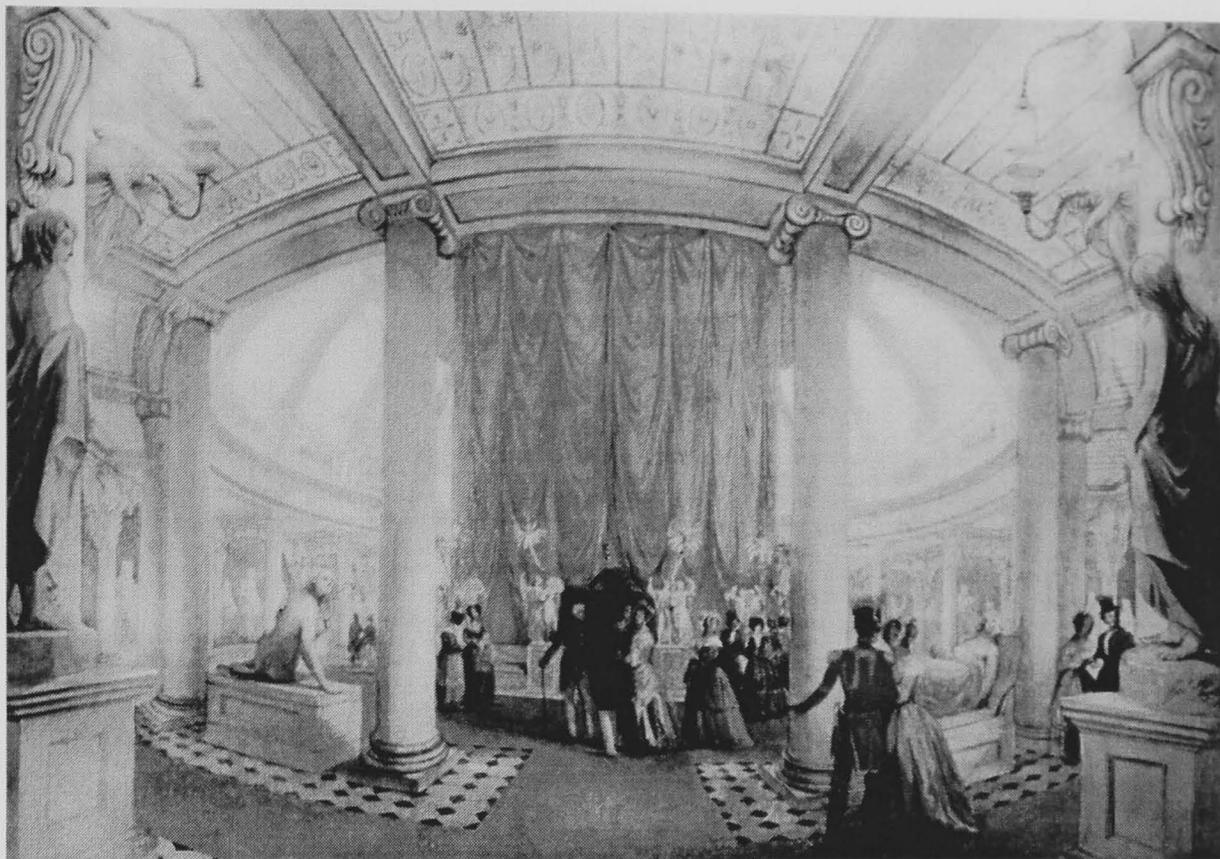


Fig. 3. George Childs, *The Glyptotheca or Museum of Sculpture*, 1845, watercolour on paper; Manchester City Art Gallery

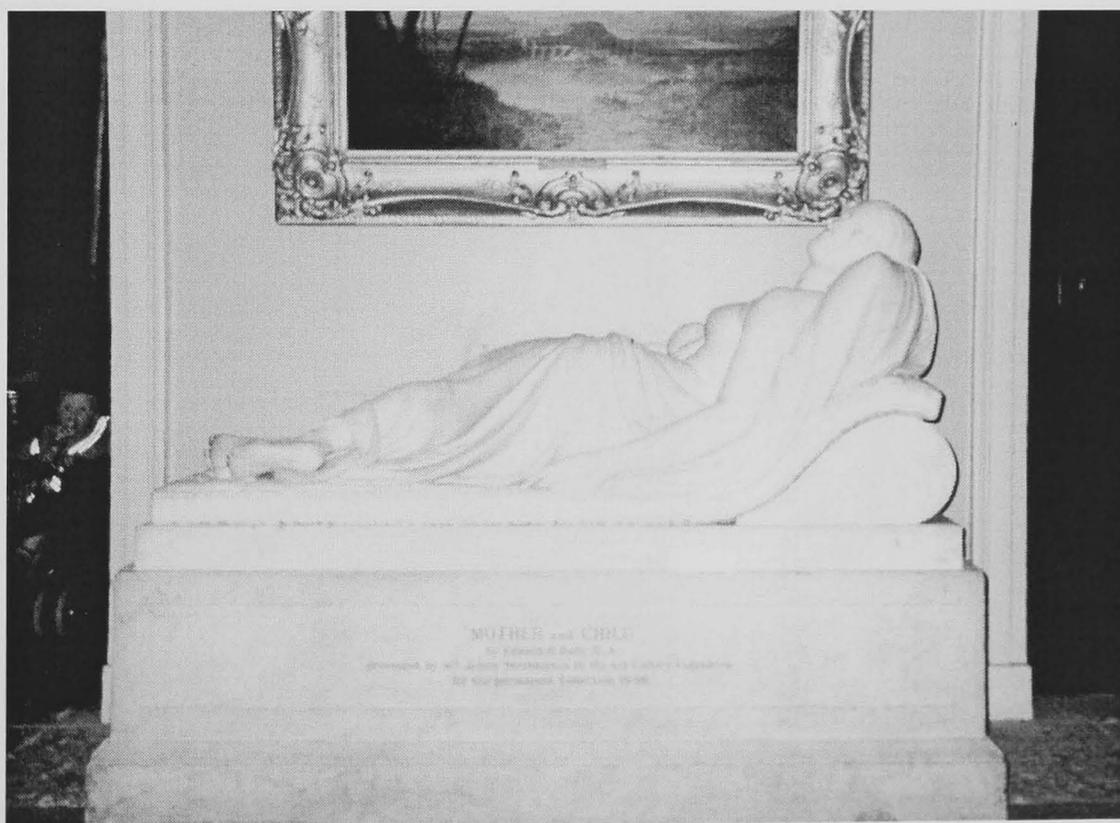


Fig. 4. Edward Hodges Baily, *Mother and Child*, 1835, marble; Heaton Hall, Manchester (collection of Manchester City Art Gallery)



Fig. 5. Edward Hodges Baily, *Eve Listening to the Voice*, 1842, marble; Victoria & Albert Museum

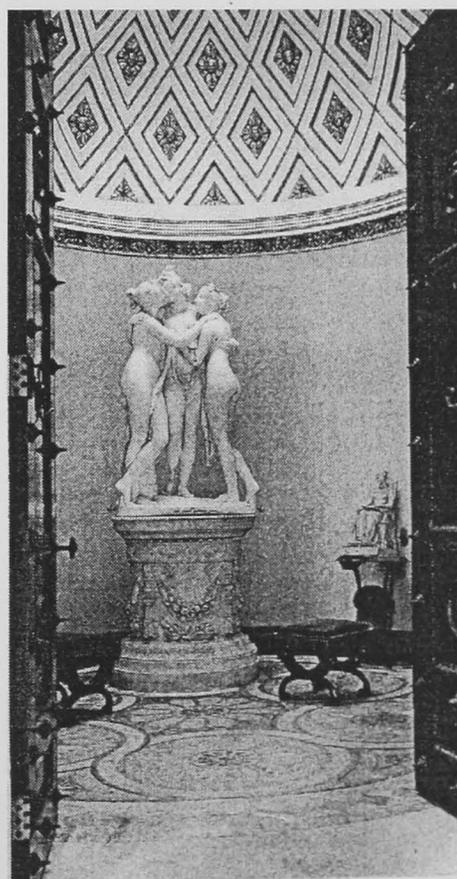


Fig. 6. Antonio Canova, *Three Graces* (in the Temple of the Graces), 1815-1817, marble; formerly Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire (now in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum)

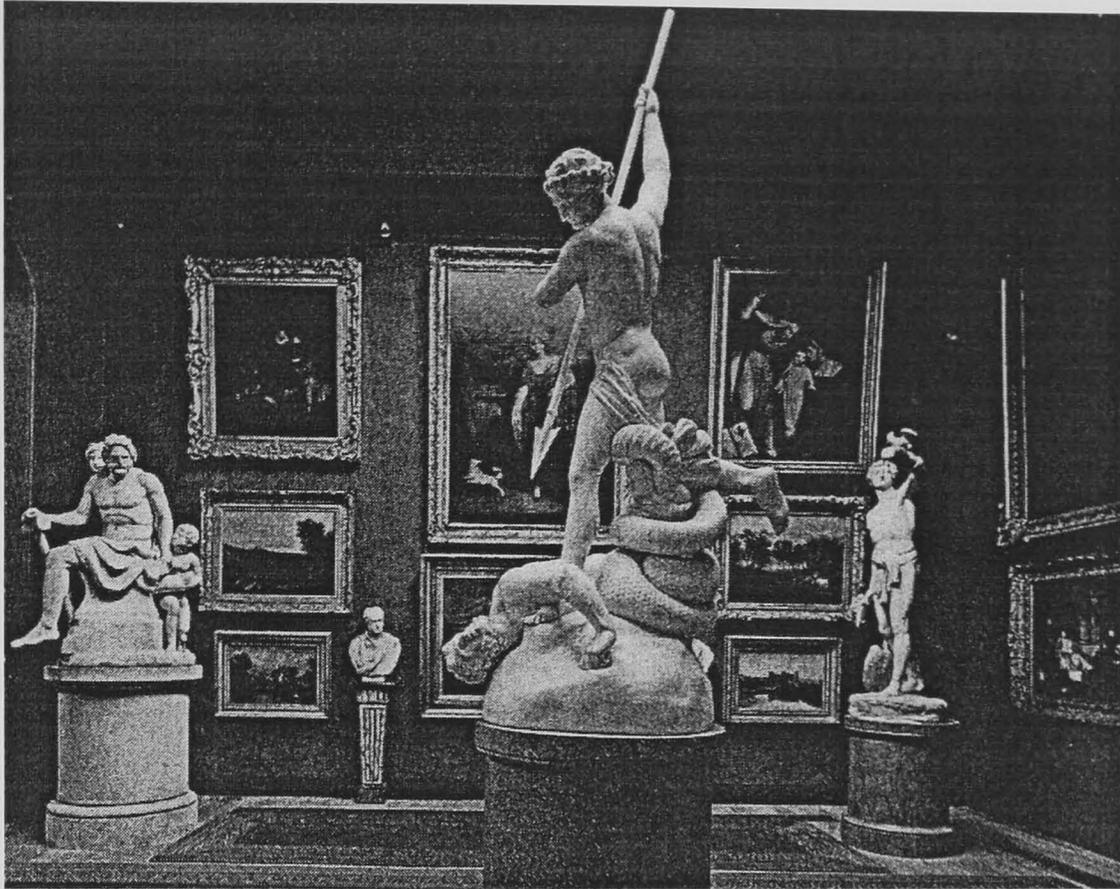


Fig. 7. The Sculpture Gallery (north bay, including John Flaxman, *Satan overcome by St Michael*; 1822, marble) at Petworth House, West Sussex



Fig. 8. The Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth, Derbyshire

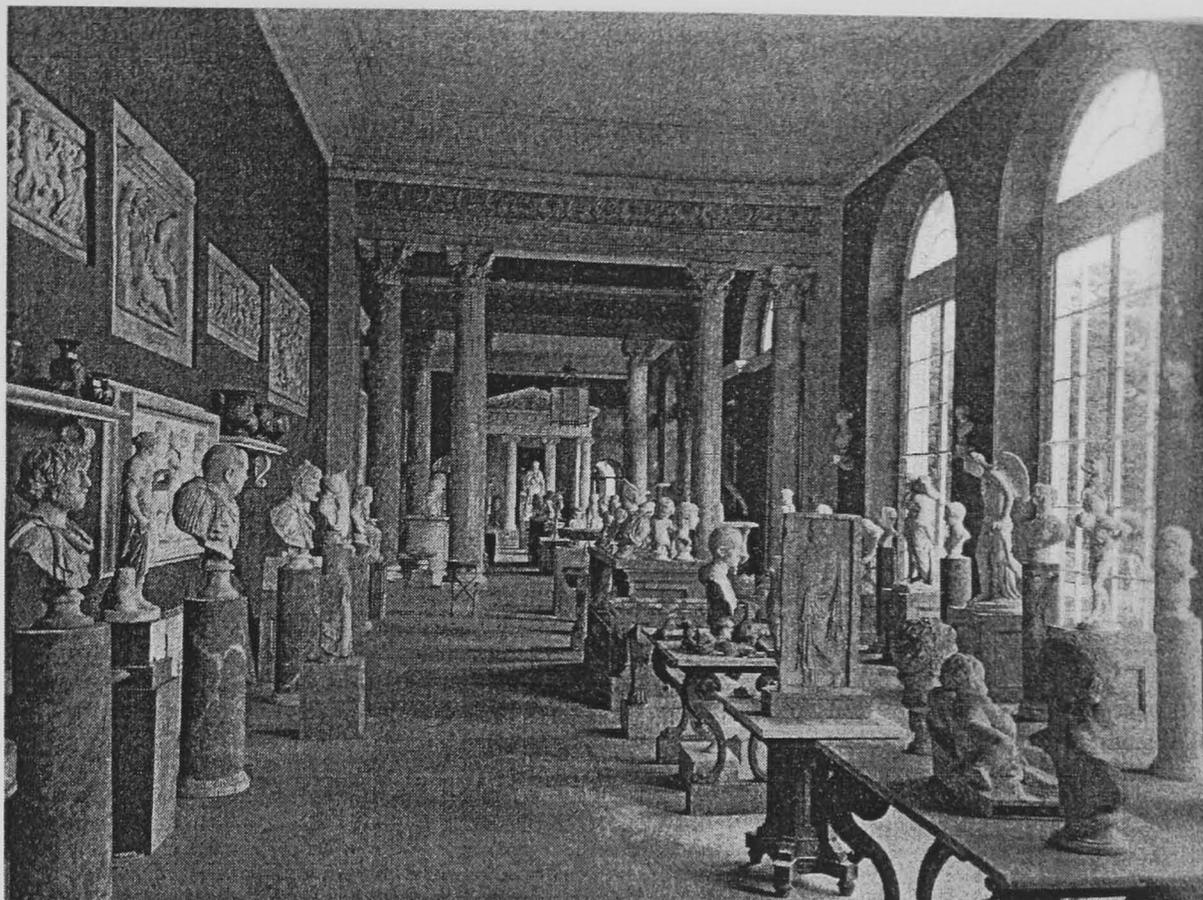


Fig. 9. The Sculpture Gallery at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire (photograph taken by *Country Life*, 1960)

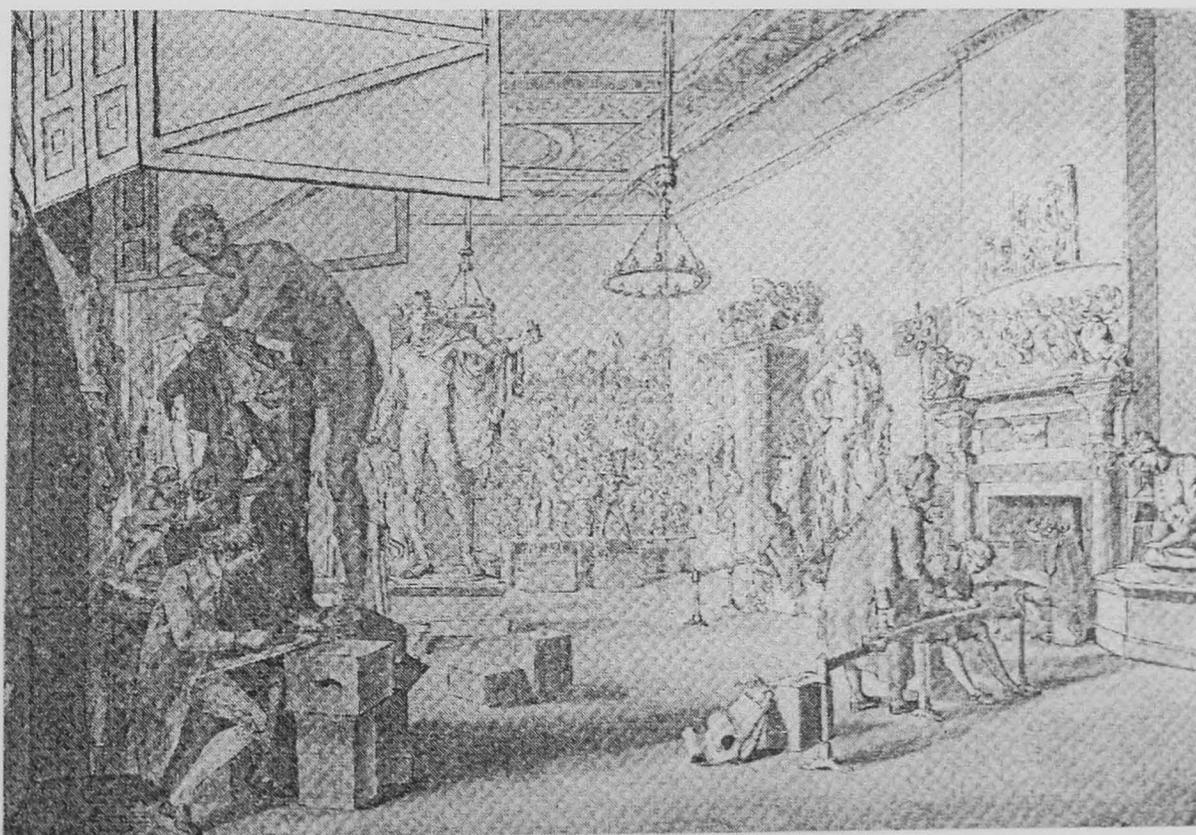


Fig. 10. E.F. Burney, *The Antique School of Somerset House*, 1779, pen and coloured wash on paper; Royal Academy of Arts, London

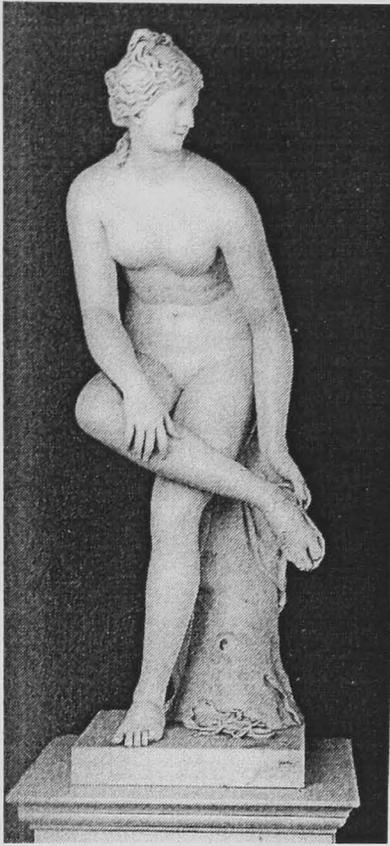


Fig. 11. Joseph Nollekens, *Venus* (1773), *Minerva* (1775), *Juno* (1776), marble; J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

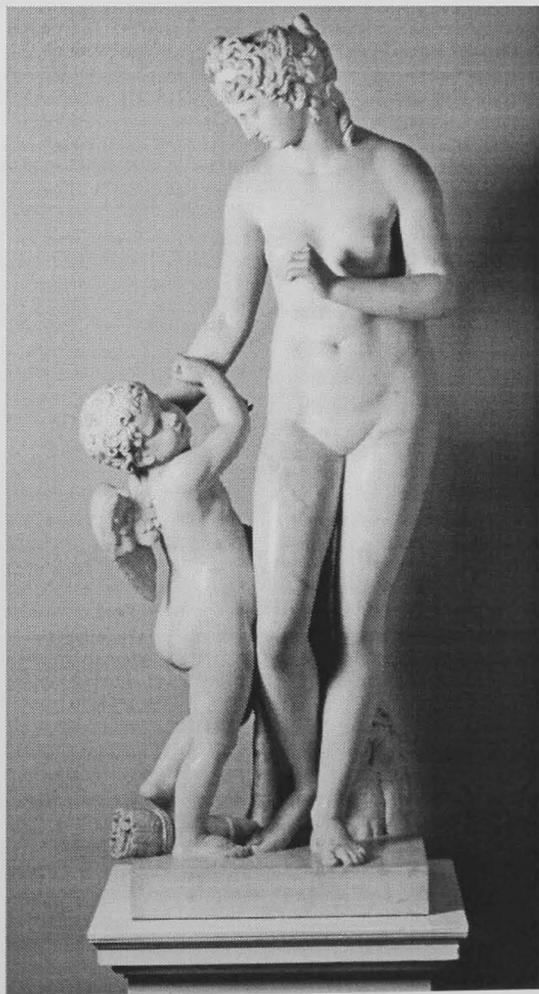


Fig. 12. Joseph Nollekens, *Venus Chiding Cupid*, 1778, marble; The Collection, Lincoln

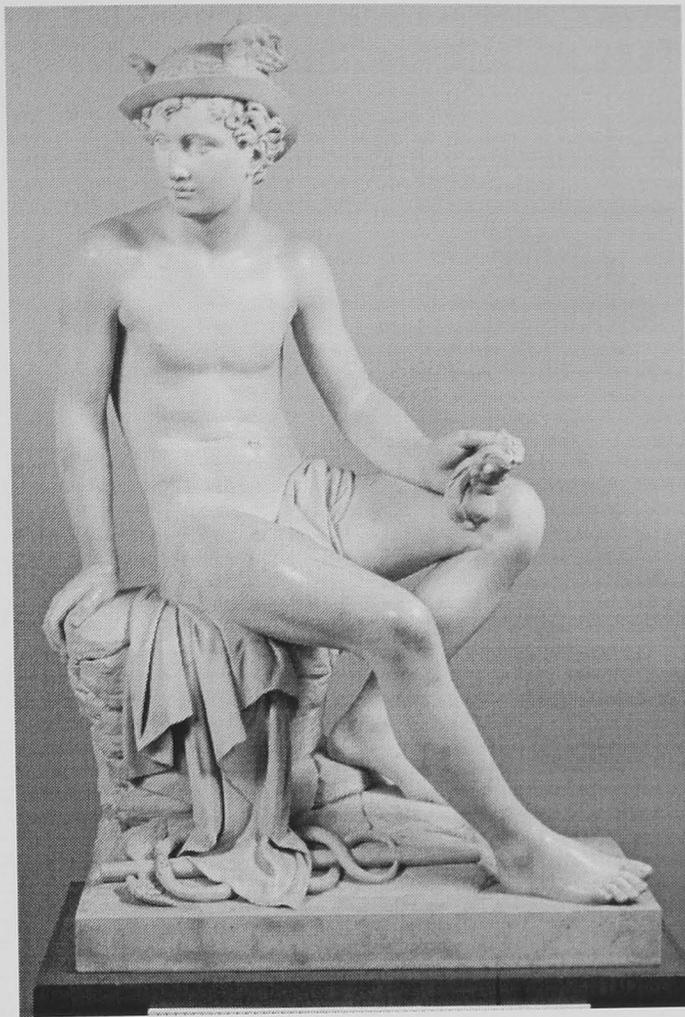


Fig. 13. Joseph Nollekens, *Seated Mercury*, 1783, marble; The Collection, Lincoln

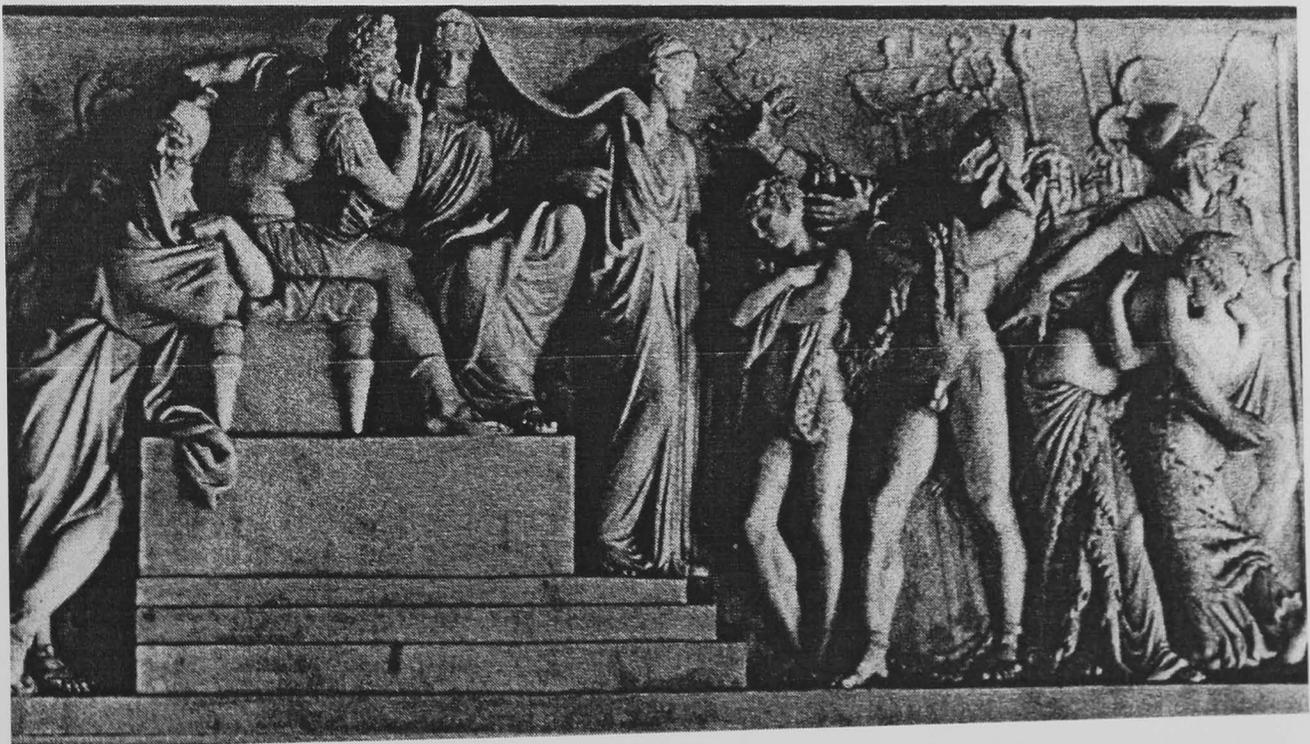


Fig. 14. Thomas Banks, *Caractacus before Claudius*, 1773/4-77, marble; Stowe School, Buckinghamshire

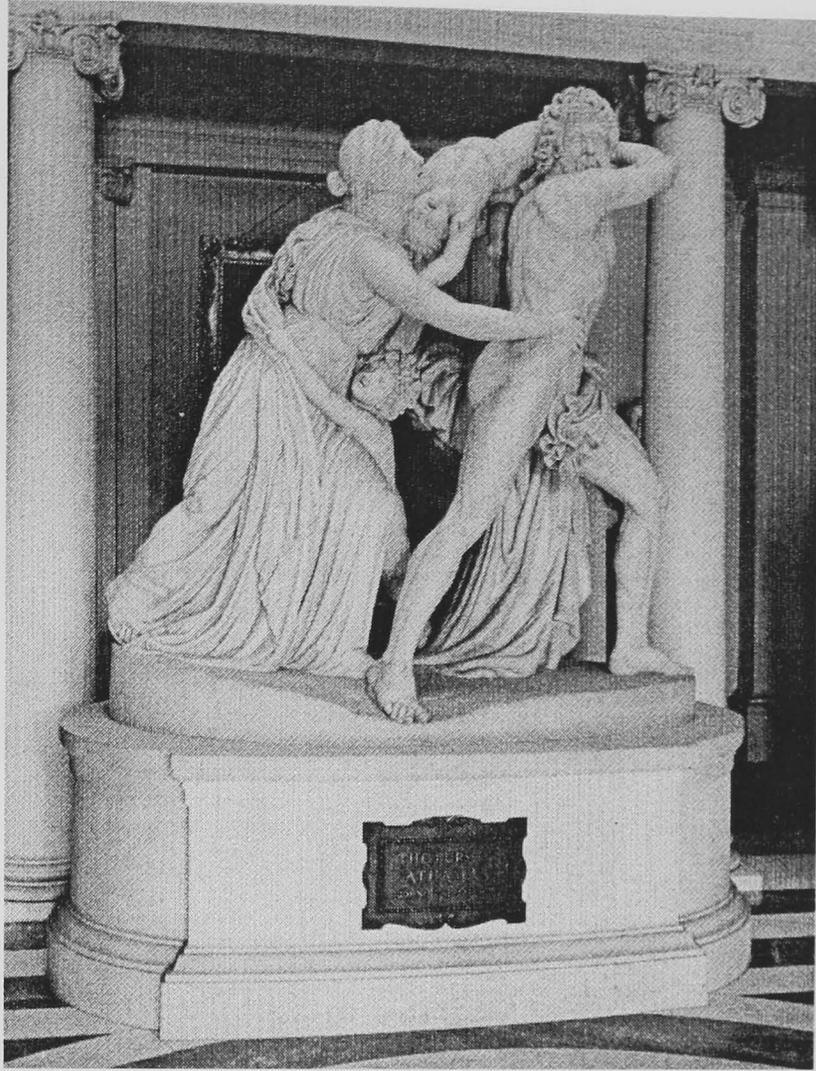


Fig. 15. John Flaxman, *Fury of Athamas*, 1790-94, marble; Ickworth, Suffolk

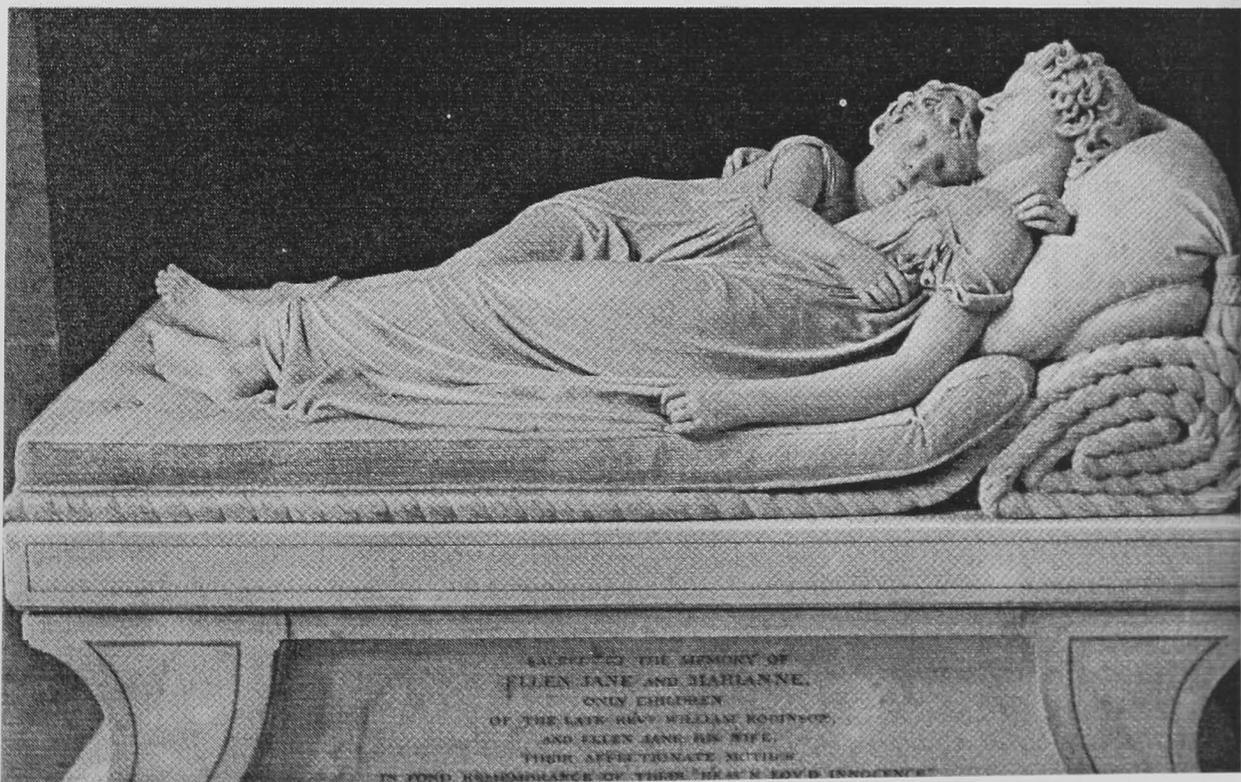


Fig. 16. Francis Chantrey, *Sleeping Children* (monument to Ellen Jane and Marianne Robinson), 1817, marble; Lichfield Cathedral, Staffordshire



Fig. 17. Thomas Banks, *Monument to Penelope Boothby*, 1793, marble; St Oswald's, Ashbourne, Derbyshire



Fig. 18. Antonio Canova, *Terpsichore*, 1814-16, marble; Cleveland Museum of Art

Fig. 19. Antonio Canova, *Hebe*, 1808-14, marble; Chatsworth, Derbyshire



Fig. 20. 'E. H. Baily, Esq. R.A.', engraving, *Art Union*, 1847



Fig. 21. John Bacon, *Monument to Elizabeth Draper*, 1778, marble; Bristol Cathedral



Fig. 22. John Flaxman, *The Shield of Achilles*, 1821, silver; Royal Collection, London



Fig. 23. William Theed and Edward Hodges Baily, *Monument to Major-General Sir William Ponsonby*, 1817-20, marble; St Paul's Cathedral, London

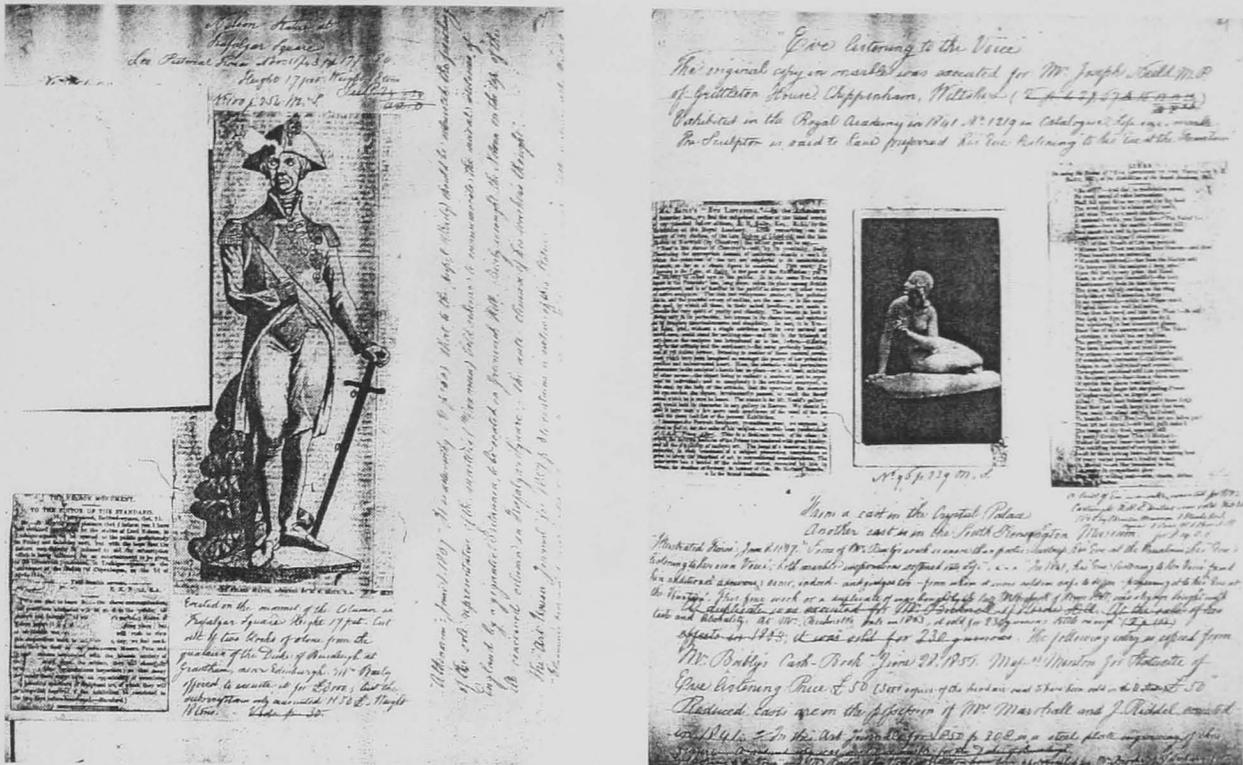


Fig. 24. Collection of notes ... for an intended life of ... Edward Hodges Baily; British Library, Add MSS. 38678, f. 7 and 89



Fig. 25. After Edward Hodges Baily, 'J.M.W. Turner, R.A.' from Collection of notes ... for an intended life of ... Edward Hodges Baily; British Library, Add MSS. 38678, f. 21 (Art Journal, 1858)



Fig. 28. Edward Hodges Baily, *The Graces*, 1849, marble; formerly at Grittleton House, Chippenham

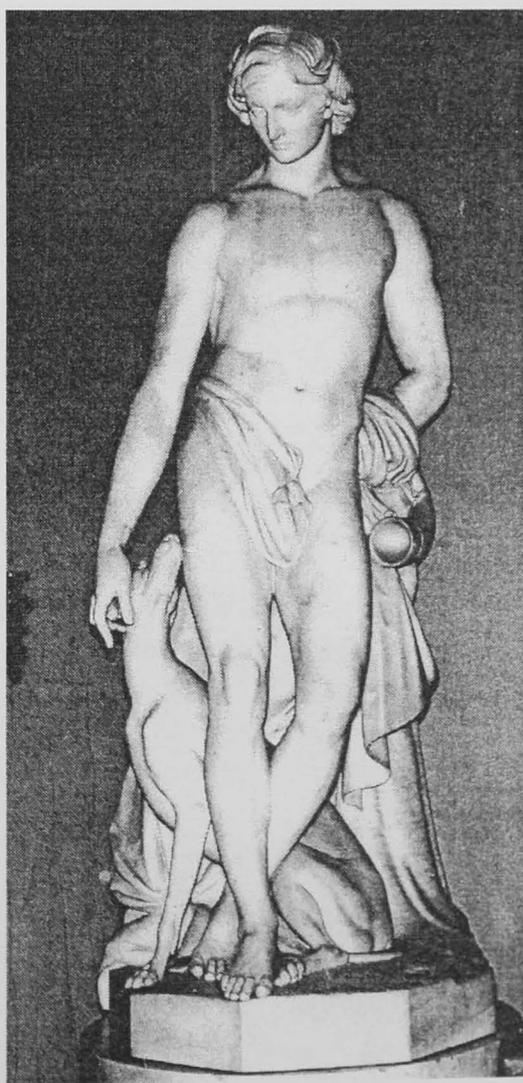


Fig. 29. Edward Hodges Baily, *The Tired Hunter*, 1850, marble; formerly at Grittleton House, Chippenham

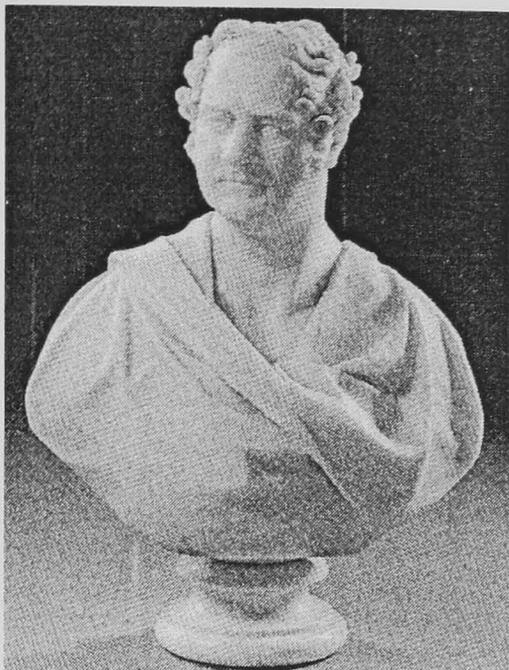


Fig. 30. Francis Chantrey, *Joseph Neeld*, 1841, marble; formerly Grittleton House, Chippenham

Fig. 31. Francis Chantrey, *Preparatory Sketch of Joseph Neeld*, c.1840, pencil on paper; National Portrait Gallery, London

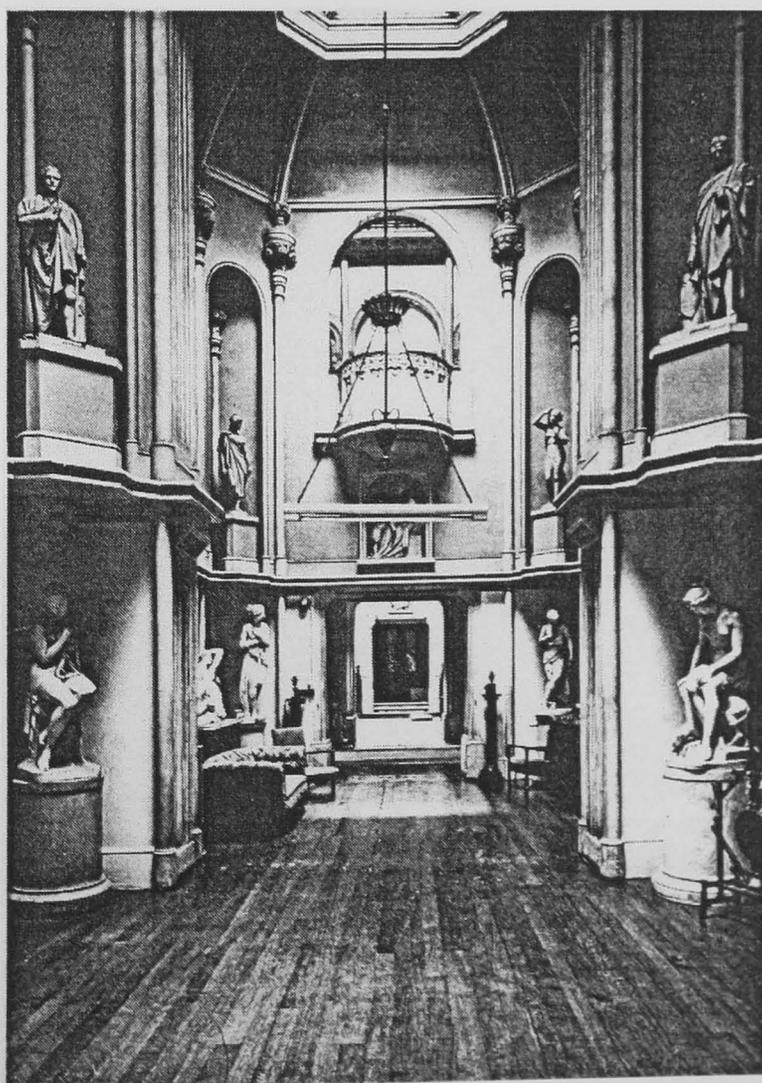


Fig. 32. The Sculpture Gallery at Grittleton House, Chippenham (photograph taken in 1964, National Monuments Record, English Heritage)



Fig. 33. Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, *Bottle Cooler*, 1828 version, silver gilt; Royal Collection, London



Fig. 34. Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, *Triton salt*, c.1813, silver gilt; Royal Collection, London



Fig. 35. William Theed, *Thetis Returning from Vulcan with Arms for Achilles*, 1829, bronze; Royal Collection, London



Fig. 36. Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, *Bottle Cooler*, version 1821-2, silver gilt; private collection (formerly in the collection of Thomas Coutts and Harriet Mellon)



Fig. 37. Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, *Bottle Cooler*, version 1828, silver gilt; Royal Collection, London



Fig. 38. Antique, *Nymph with a Shell*, marble; Louvre



Fig. 39. Edward Hodges Baily, *Maquette for Venus*, c.1815, plaster; Bristol City Museum & Art Gallery

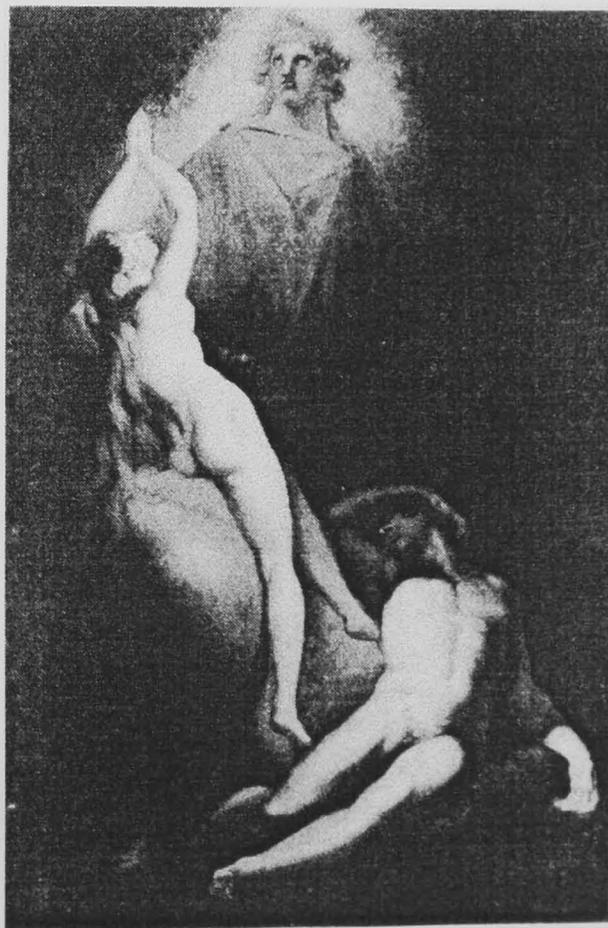


Fig. 40. Henry Fuseli, *The Creation of Eve*, 1793, oil on canvas; Hamburg Kunsthalle



Fig. 41. After John Flaxman, 'John Milton', *The Latin and Italian Poems of John Milton*, London, 1808

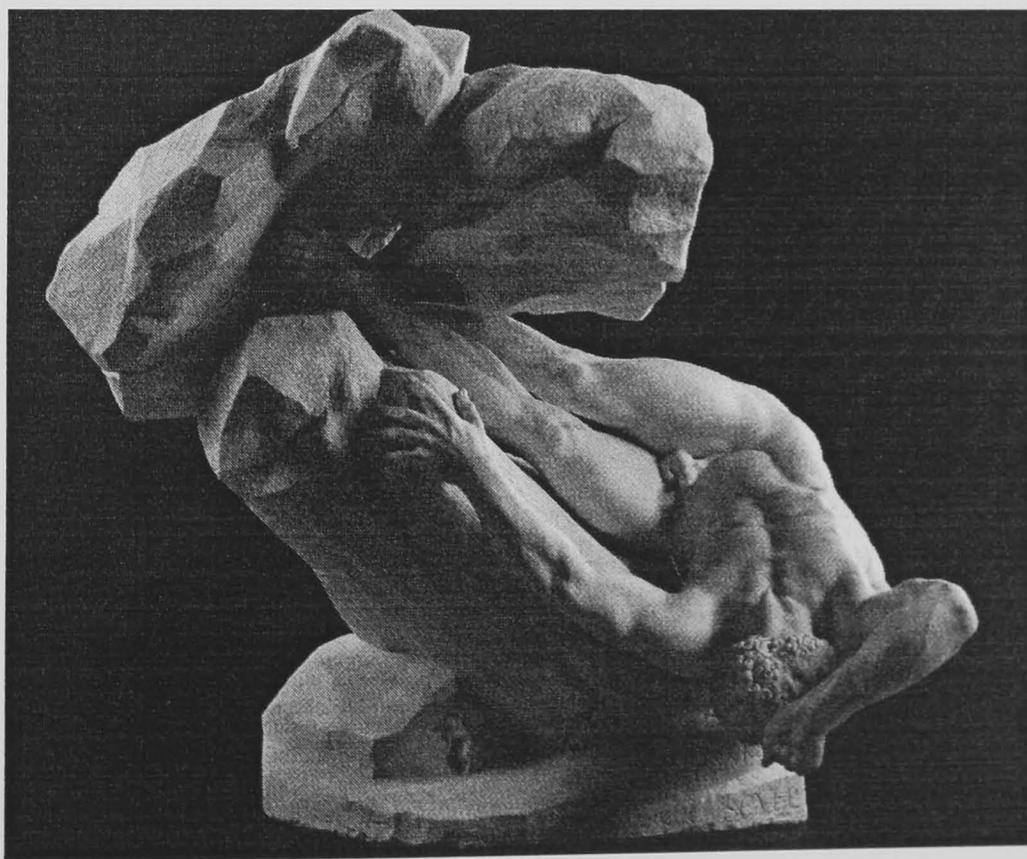


Fig. 42. Thomas Banks, *Falling Titan*, 1786, marble; Tate, London

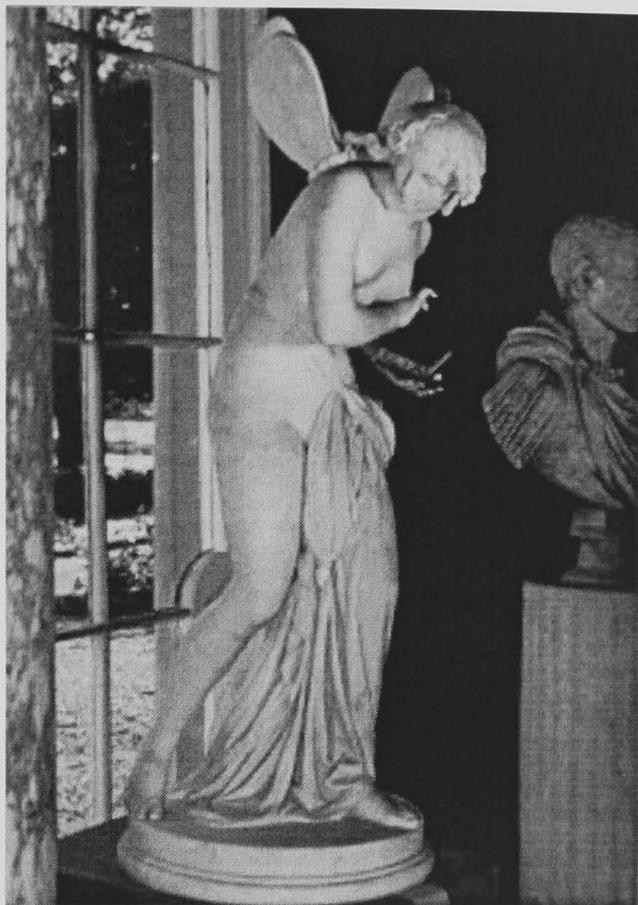


Fig. 43. Richard Westmacott, *Psyche*, 1822, marble; Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire

Fig. 44. After Richard Westmacott, 'Psyche', engraving, *European Magazine*, 1822



Fig. 45. Charles Robert Cockerell, the Bristol Institution (now the Masonic Hall) Park Street, Bristol

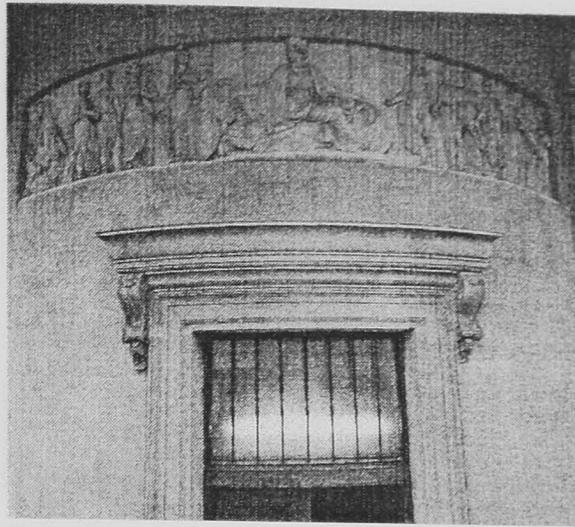


Fig. 46. Edward Hodges Baily, *The Arts and Sciences and Literature are introduced by Apollo and Minerva to Bristol*, 1823, marble; Park Street, Bristol



Fig. 47. After Edward Hodges Baily, *The Arts and Sciences and Literature are introduced by Apollo and Minerva to Bristol*, engraving, 1823; the Collection of the Masonic Hall, Bristol

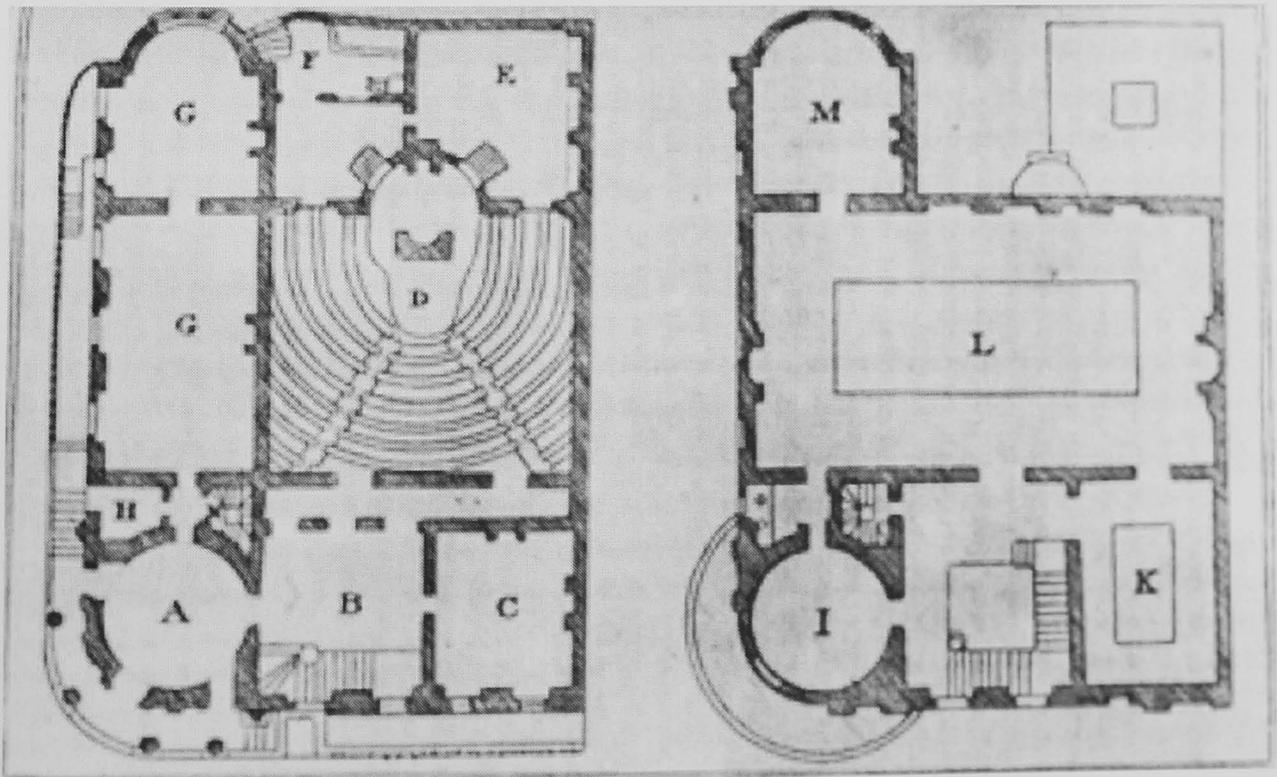


Fig. 48. 'Plan of the Bristol Institution (floors 1 & 2), Park Street', *Matthews's Complete Bristol Guide*, Bristol, 1828

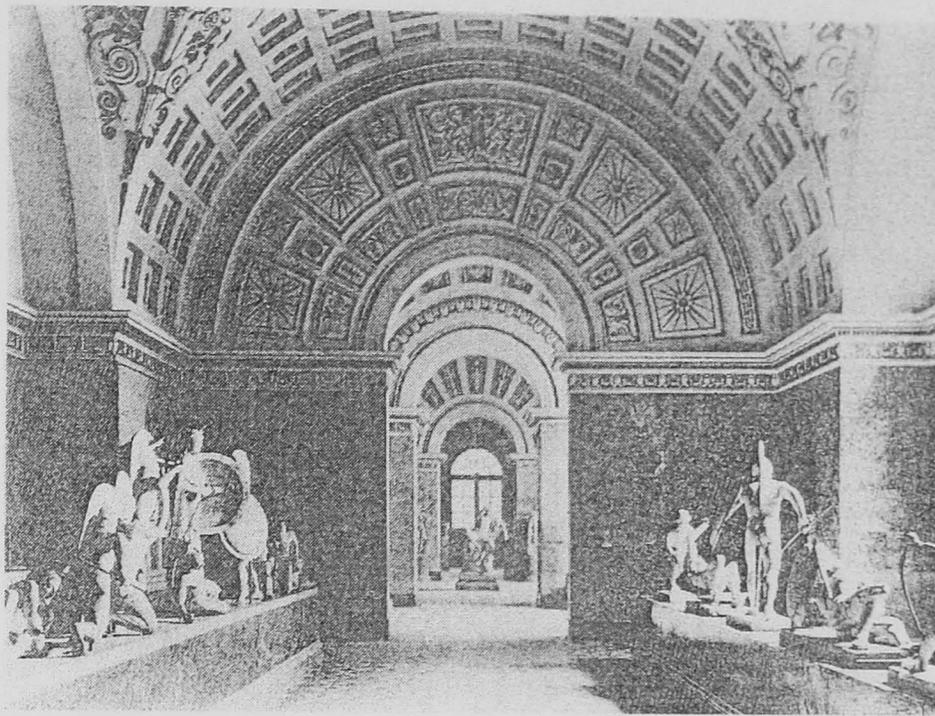


Fig. 49. Leo von Klenze, Aegina Room of the Munich Glyptotek, completed 1829, Glyptotek, Munich



Fig. 50. Edward Hodges Baily, *Athena Belletri*, 1830, marble; Athenaeum Club, London

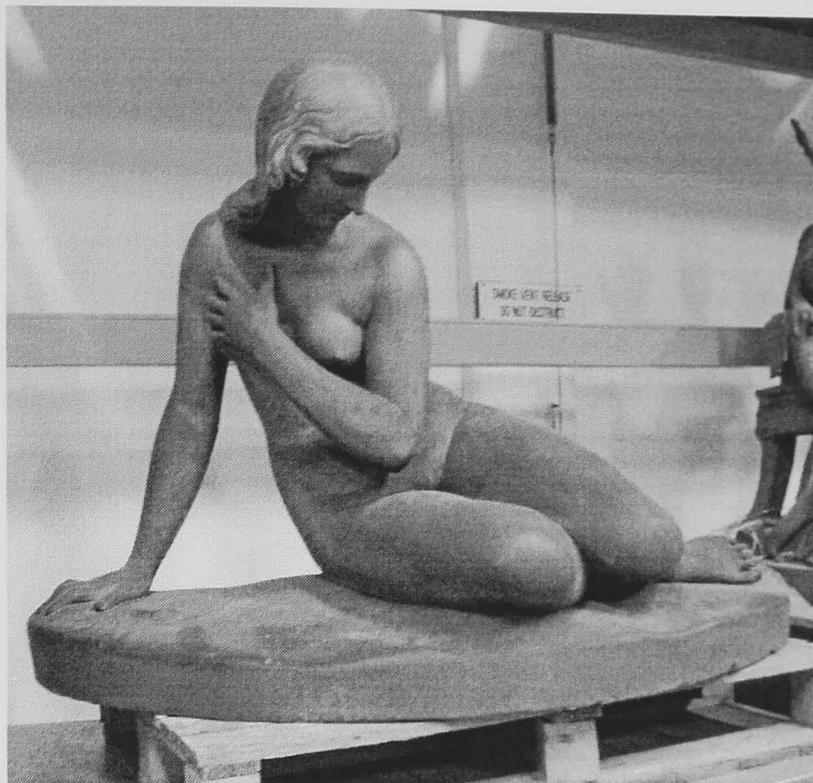


Fig. 51. Edward Hodges Baily, *Eve at the Fountain*, undated, plaster; Victoria & Albert Museum



Fig. 52. James Sant, *The painter in his studio*, undated, oil on canvas; National Portrait Gallery, London



Fig. 53. Thomas Mogford, *E.H. Baily, Esq., R.A.*, 1843, engraving (original painting untraced), *Art Journal*, 1903



Fig. 54. Unknown artist, *E.H. Baily in his studio*, c.1851, watercolour, pen and ink on paper; National Portrait Gallery, London

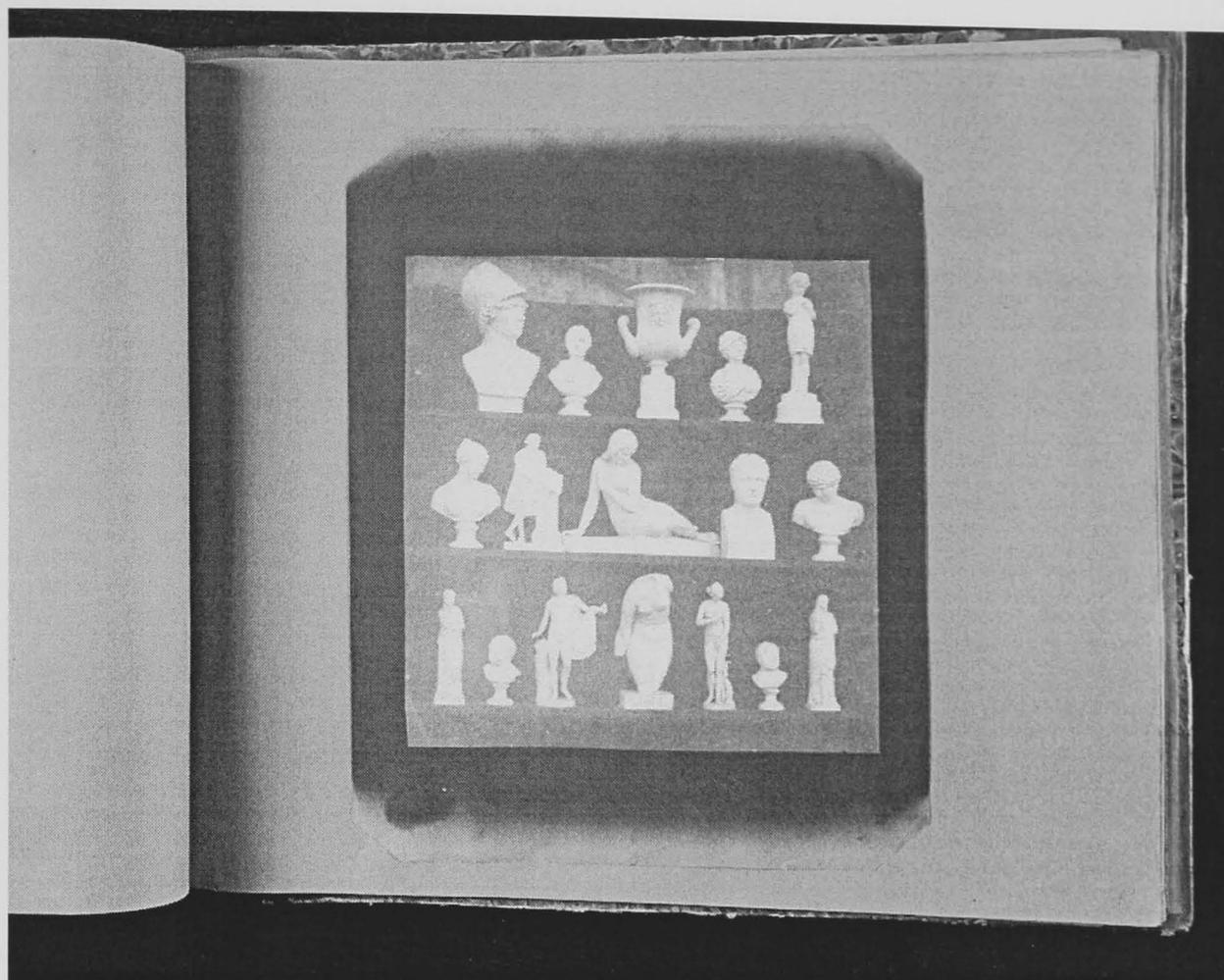


Fig. 55. William Henry Fox Talbot, *Figurines on three shelves*, c.1841, salt print from a calotype negative; National Media Museum, Bradford

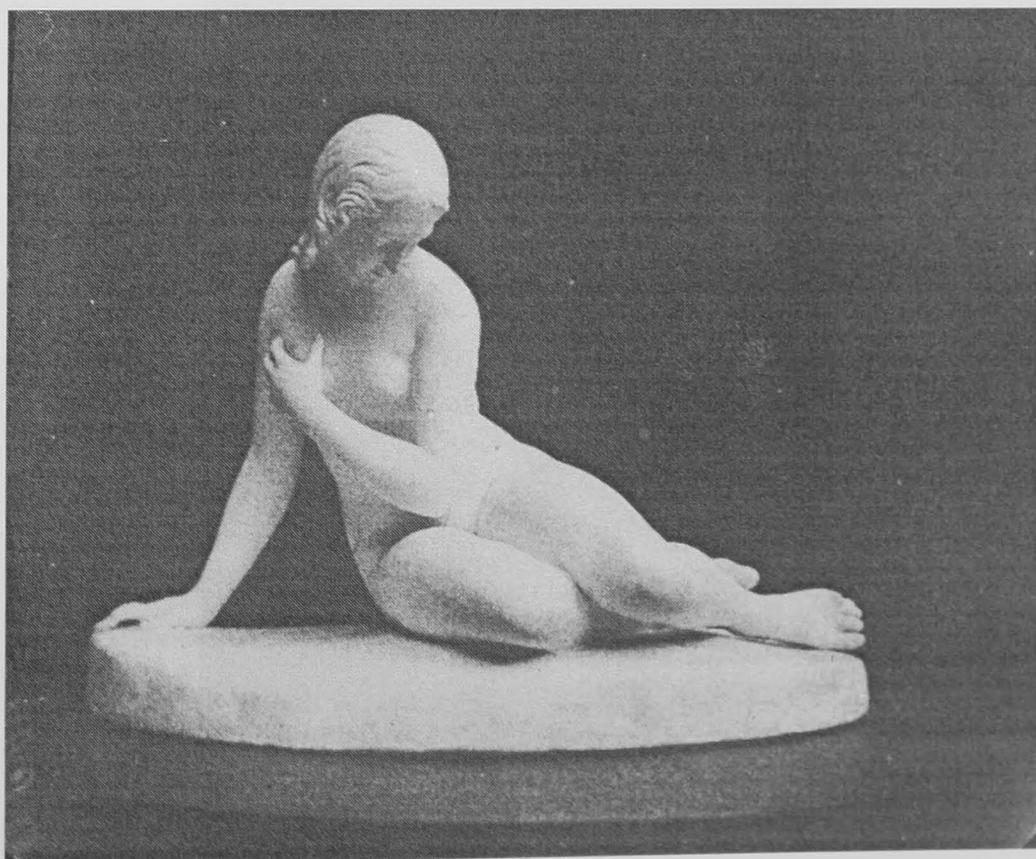


Fig. 56. William Henry Fox Talbot, *Statuette of Eve at the Fountain*, c.1841-2, salt print from a calotype negative; National Media Museum, Bradford



Fig. 57. Hippolyte Bayard, *Man and Statuettes*, photograph, c.1839-1840

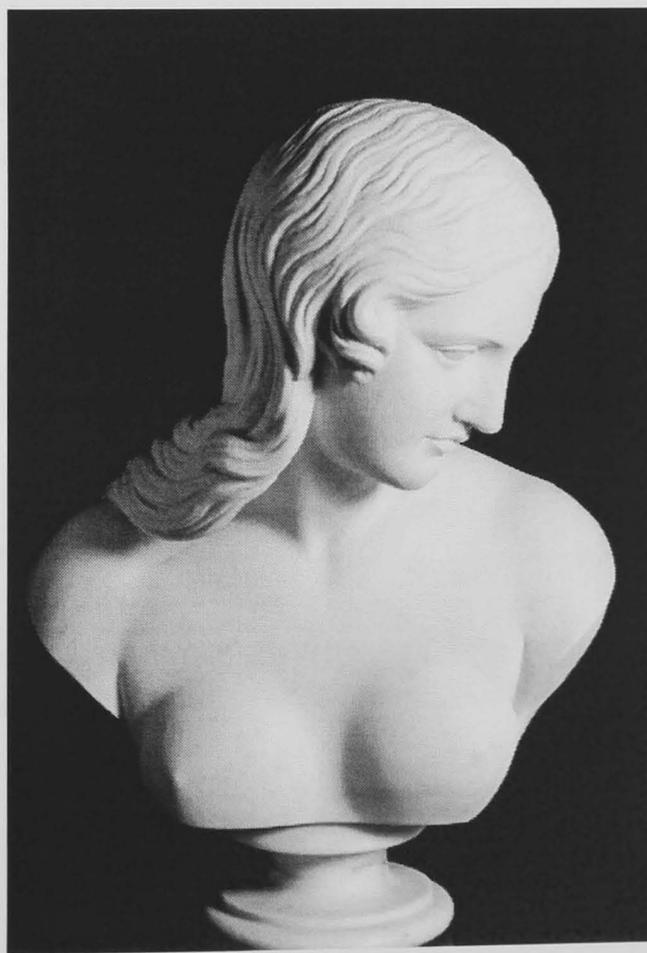


Fig. 58. Edward Hodges Baily, *Head of Eve*, undated, marble; Cragside, Northumberland

First Prize:
The Original Marble Group of
"Maternal Love."

(the size of life)

Exhibited last Year at the Royal Academy, and engraved in "Harvey's Specimens of Modern Sculpture."

Second Prize:
An Original Marble Statue of
"Eve listening to the Voice."

These two works of Art, by E. H. Bailey, Esq., R. A. (to be seen at his Studio, N^o 10, Percy St, Bedford Sq.)
are to be subscribed for in 100 Shares, at 10 Guineas each.

Every Subscriber is to write his Name and Address against the number or numbers he may select, and, on paying his amount, is to receive Tickets bearing the corresponding numbers.

Any Subscriber not having thus taken up his Tickets on or before Thursday, the 23rd of August, will be considered as having declined them, and they will be otherwise disposed of.

A clear week's notice will be given to every Subscriber of the hour and place of drawing, which is fixed for Tuesday, the 28th of August, ~~next~~, but will be postponed until that day, week, should there not be at least Subscribers present within one hour of the time appointed.

The numbers from 1 to 100, are to be written on similar slips of paper, by one of the Subscribers present, to be folded alike by another, and, by a third to be put into a bag. The Gentleman chosen to preside will then draw out two of these, separately, - suppose Nos 28 and 75. - These two (which will be put back into the bag, from whence the whole are then to be drawn one by one,) are merely to determine the winning numbers, which then would be the 28th and 75th numbers drawn. - Thus, in the case above supposed, the Holder of the Ticket corresponding with the number that may come up the 28th in rotation, (that being the first of the two previously drawn), would be entitled to the first Prize, and, of the Ticket corresponding with the 75th number drawn, to the second.

Any difference of opinion which may happen to arise, as to the proceedings, is to be decided by the majority present.

10, Percy Street, Bedford Square,
25th June, 1838.

Fig. 59. Solicitation for Subscribers, First Prize the Original Marble Group of Maternal Love, 25 June 1838; Manchester Central Library

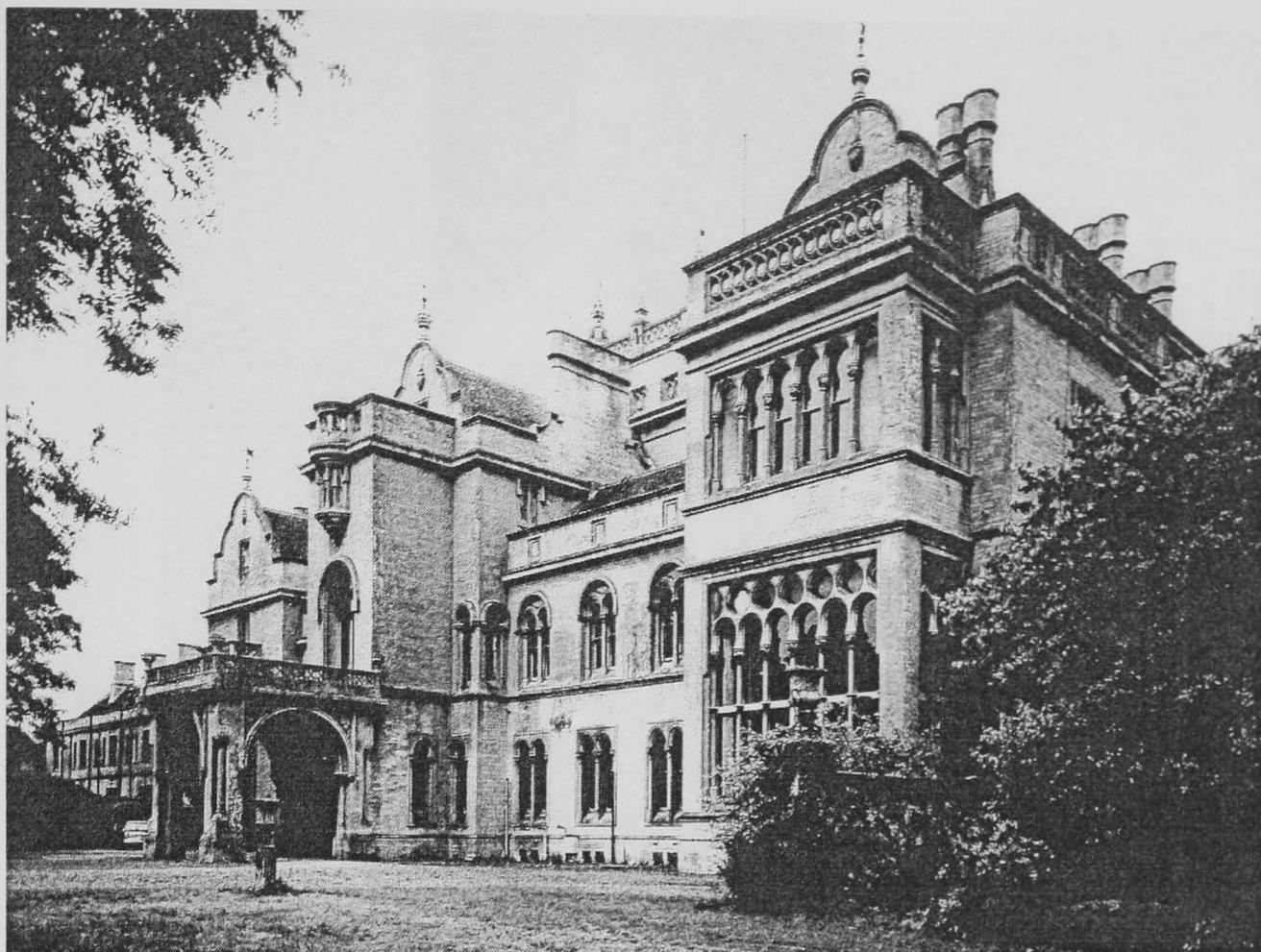


Fig. 60. John Thomson, Grittleton House, Chippenham, completed c.1853
(photograph taken in 1964, the National Monuments Record, English Heritage)



Fig. 61. John Gibson, *Venus Verticordia*, 1839, marble; Fitzwilliam Museum,
Cambridge (formerly Grittleton House, Chippenham)

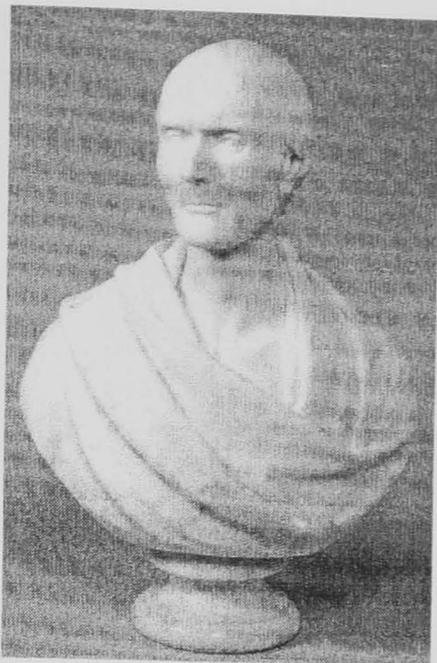


Fig. 62. Edward Hodges Baily, *Philip Rundell*, 1838, marble; National Portrait Gallery

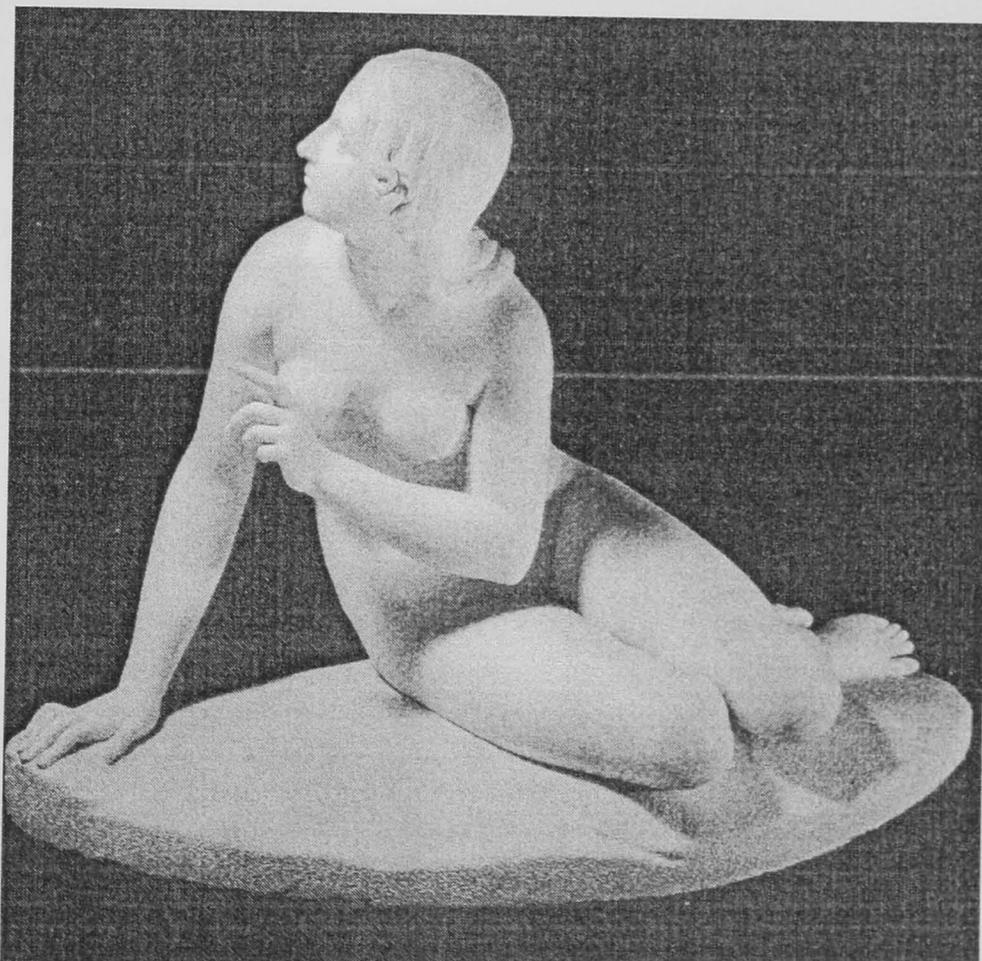


Fig. 63. Edward Hodges Baily, *Eve Listening to the Voice*, 1849, marble; formerly Grittleton House, Chippenham



Fig. 64. The Sculpture Gallery at Grittleton House, Chippenham (photograph taken in 1964, the National Monuments Record, English Heritage)



Fig. 65. Charles Baugniet, *Elhanan Bicknell*, 1864; lithograph; private collection

Fig. 66. The residence of Elhanan Bicknell, Herne Hill, Dulwich



Fig. 67. Edward Hodges Baily, *Psyche*, 1842, marble (Bonham's 7 October 1998, lot 33)



Fig. 68. Stephen Poyntz Denning, *The children of Elhanan and Lucinda Bicknell at home*, 1841, oil on canvas; Victoria & Albert Museum, London



Fig. 69. Ponsbourne Park, Hertfordshire, former home of Wynn Ellis, (the National Monuments Record, English Heritage)



Fig. 70. Edward Hodges Baily, *Eve at the Fountain*, 1849, marble; Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen



Fig. 71. Richard Westmacott, *Houseless Traveller*, 1822, marble; Bowood, Wiltshire



Fig. 72. Thomas Banks, *Thetis and Achilles*, 1790, marble; Victoria & Albert Museum, London



Fig. 73. Richard Westmacott, *Madonna and Child*, 1825, marble; Church of Transfiguration, New York

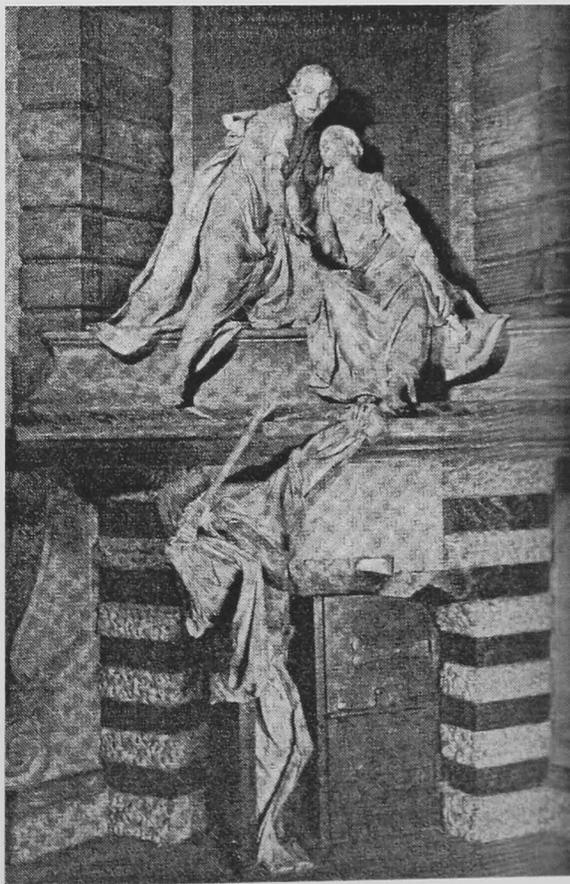


Fig. 74. Louis-François Roubiliac's *Monument to Elizabeth Nightingale*, 1761, marble; Westminster Abbey



Fig. 75. John Flaxman, *Monument to Sarah Morely*, 1784, marble; Gloucester Cathedral



Fig. 76. After John Flaxman, 'Holy Family', *Lectures on Sculpture*, 1828

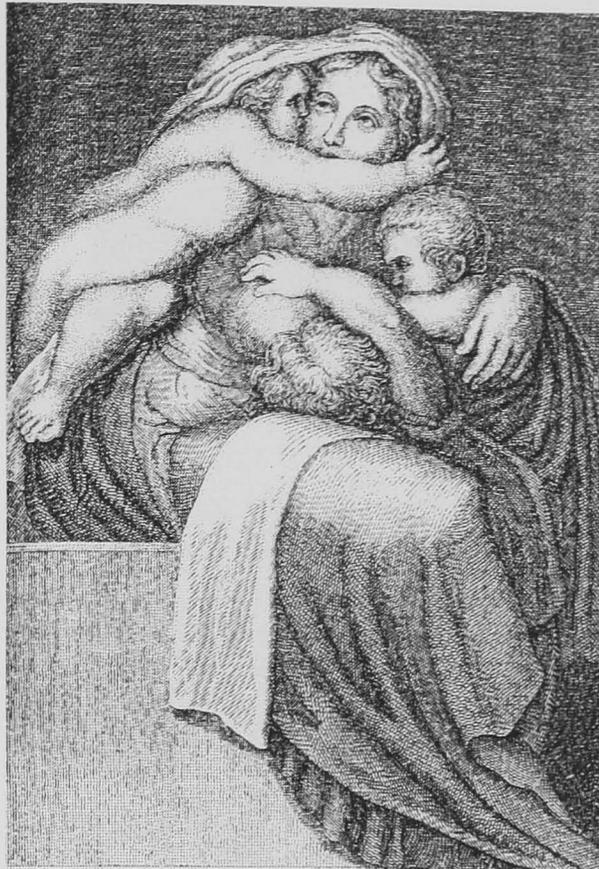


Fig. 77. After John Flaxman, 'Michelangelo's Charity', *Lectures on Sculpture*, 1828



Fig. 78. John Flaxman, *Monument to Viscountess Fitzharris*, 1816-17, marble; Christchurch Priory, Hampshire



Fig. 79. John Flaxman, *Monument to Lady Ann Clark*, 1802-3, marble; St Mary's Great Brighton



Fig. 80. Richard Westmacott, *Monument to Lord and Lady Penrhyn*, 1819, marble; Llandegai, near Bangor

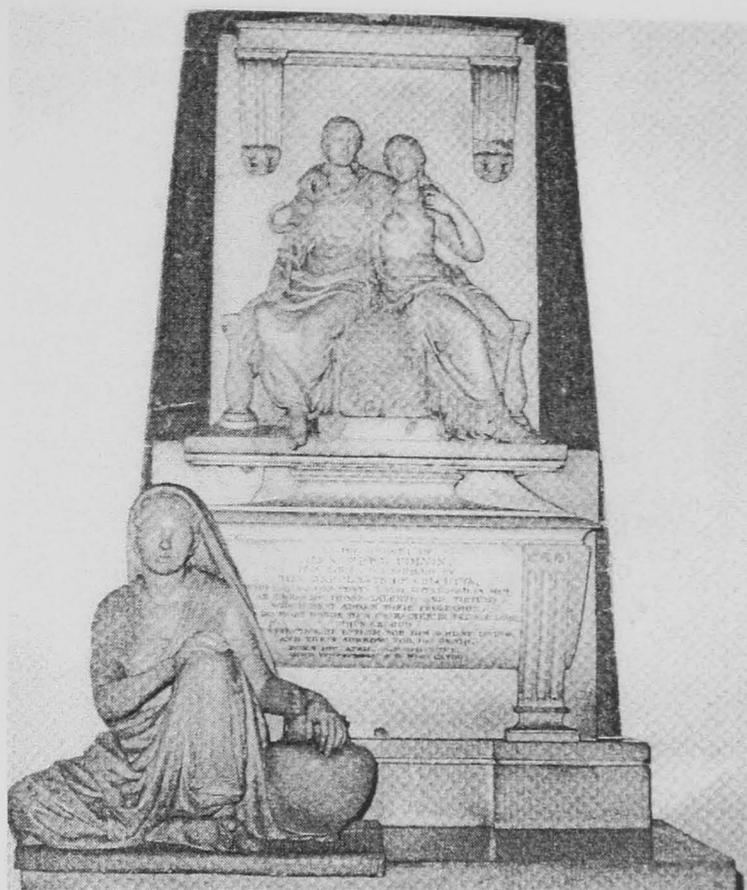


Fig. 81. Richard Westmacott, *Monument to Alexander Colvin*, 1821, marble; St John's Cathedral, Calcutta



The Distressed Mother

WESTMACOTT.

Fig. 82. After Richard Westmacott, 'The Distressed Mother', *The Illustrations of Modern Sculpture*, 1832

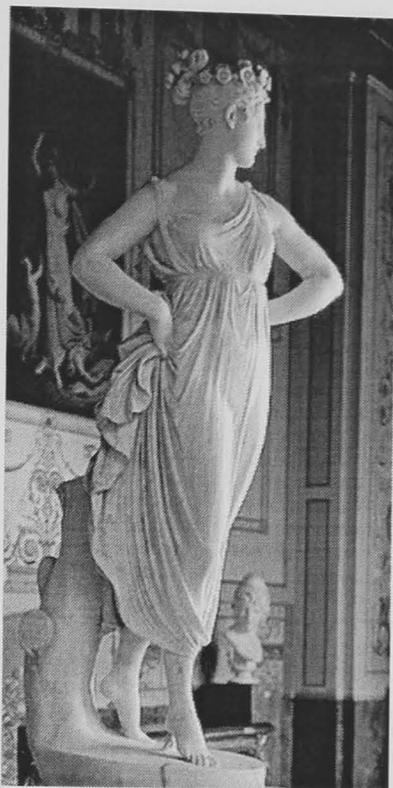


Fig. 83. Antonio Canova, *Danzatrice*, 1812 version, marble; Hermitage, St Petersburg



Maternal Love

Fig. 84. After Edward Hodges Baily, 'Maternal Love', *The Illustrations of Modern Sculpture*, 1832



Fig. 85. After Thomas Lawrence, 'Portrait of Lady Georgina Agar Ellis and her son, Henry', *The Literary Souvenir or Cabinet of Poetry and Romance*, 1831

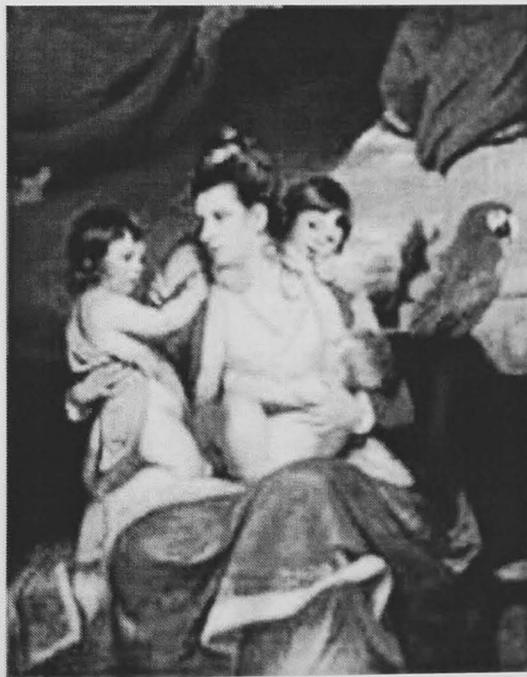


Fig. 86. Joshua Reynolds, *Lady Cockburn and her Children*, 1774, oil on canvas; National Gallery, London



The Happy Mother

Fig. 87. After Richard Westmacott 'The Happy Mother', *The Illustrations of Modern Sculpture*, 1832



Fig. 88. Richard Westmacott, *Monument to John William Egerton, 7th Earl of Bridgewater*, 'The Afflicted Peasant', 1825, marble; Little Gaddesden Church, Hertfordshire



Fig. 89. Edward Physick *The Happy Mother*, 1837, marble; Christie's, 11 November 1990



Fig. 90. Edward Hodge Baily, *Mother and Child*, 1830, marble; formerly in the collection of Curragh Chase, Limerick (photograph c.1883)



Fig. 91. E.F. Burney 'Sleep image of thy father' from Thomas Campbell, *The Pleasures of Hope*, 1807



Fig. 92. Edward Hodges Baily, *Maternal Affection*, 1831, marble; Grittleton House, Chippenham



Fig. 93. Francis Chantrey, *Dorothy Jordan*, 1831-34, marble; Royal Collection, London



Fig. 94. Charles West Cope, *The Young Mother*, 1845, oil on panel; Victoria & Albert Museum

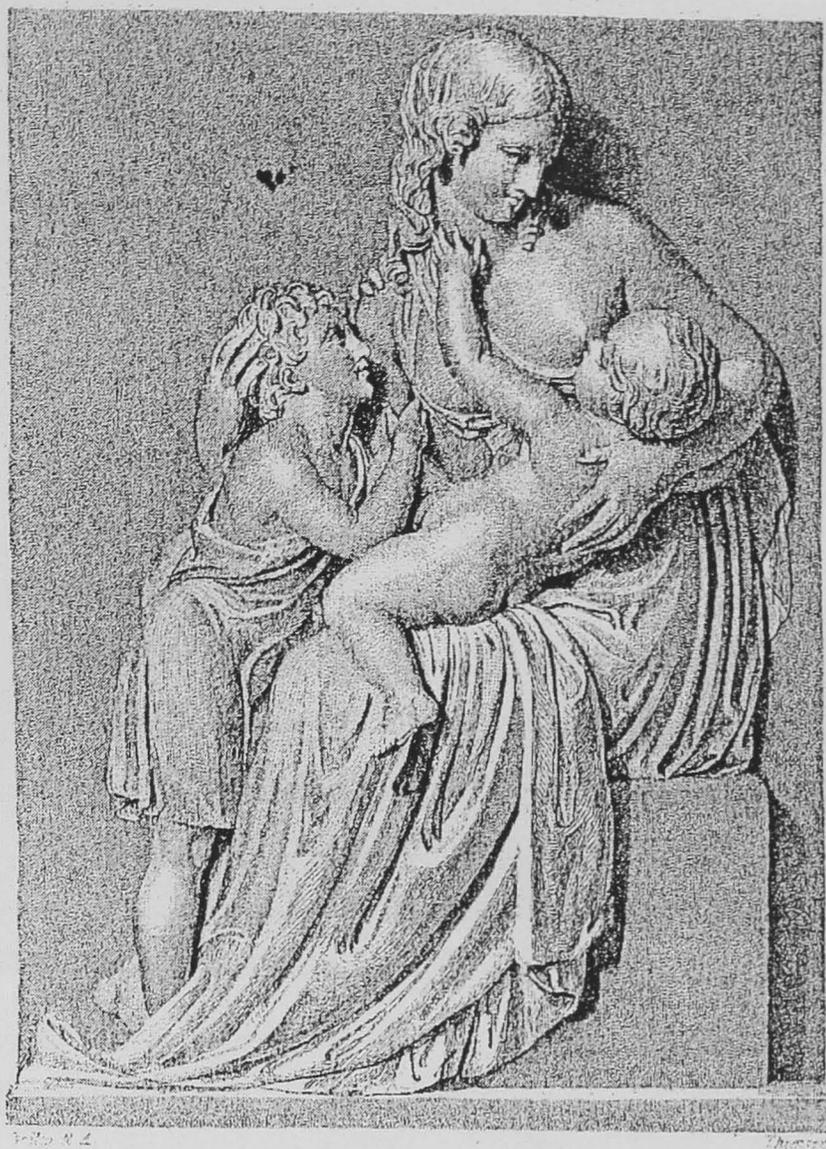


Fig. 95. After Edward Hodges Baily, *The Book of Gems: the poets and artists of Great Britain*, 1836



Fig. 96. After Richard Westmacott and John Flaxman, *The Book of Gems: the poets and artists of Great Britain*, 1836



Fig. 97. Edward Hodges Baily, *Mother with two children*, undated, marble; Grittleton House, Chippenham

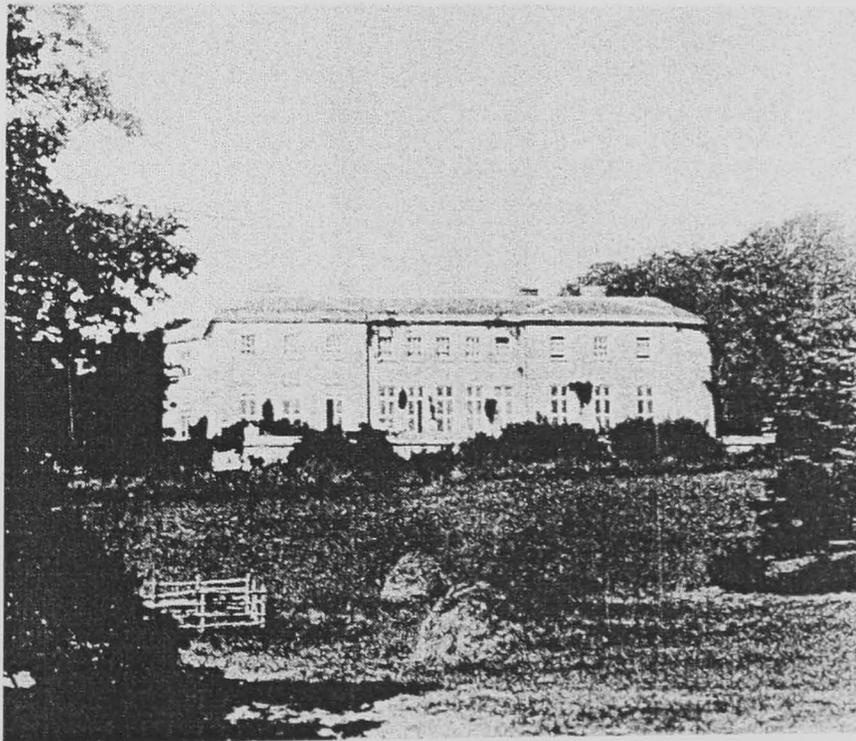


Fig. 98. Curragh Chase, undated photograph, S.M.P. Reilly, *Aubrey de Vere: Victorian observer*, 1953

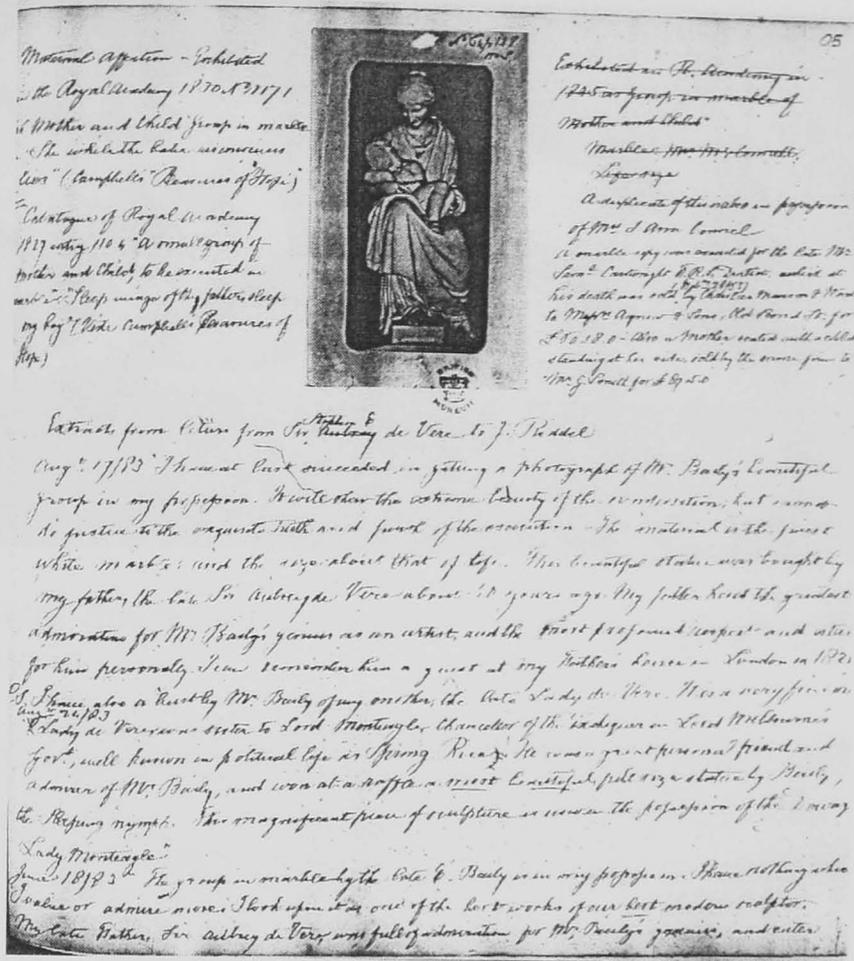


Fig. 99. Collection of notes ... for an intended life of ... Edward Hodges Baily;
British Library, Add MSS. 38678, f. 96

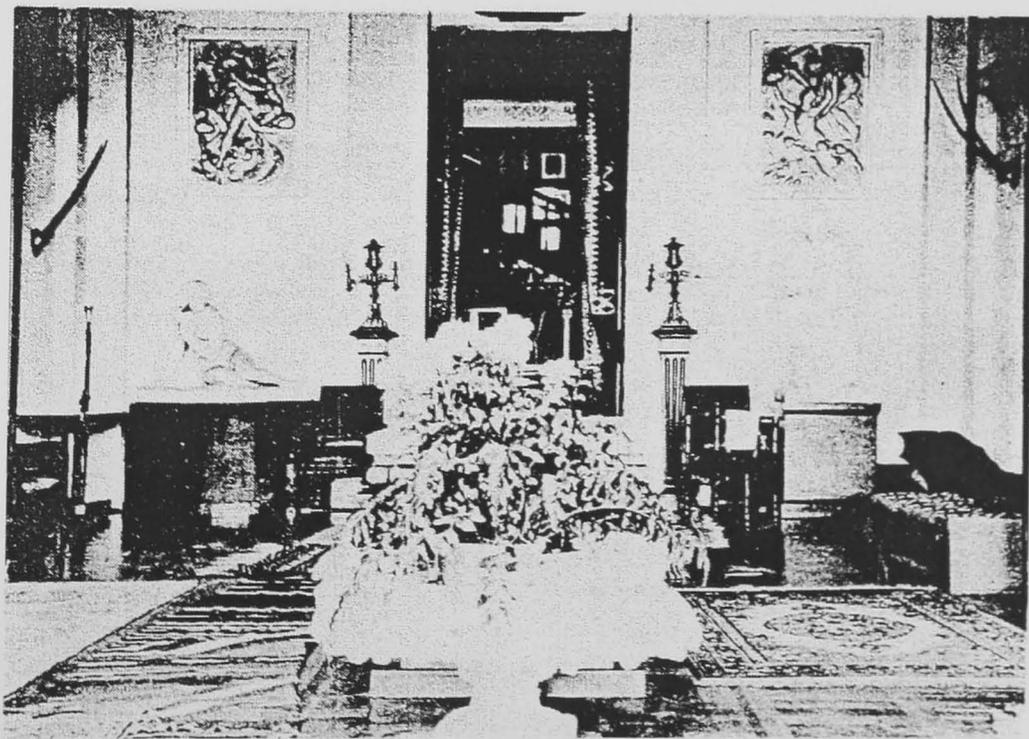


Fig. 100. The Entrance Hall at Curragh Chase, undated photograph, S.M.P. Reilly,
Aubrey de Vere: Victorian observer, 1953



Fig. 101. Edward Hodges Baily, *Sleeping Nymph*, 1850, marble; Bristol City Art Gallery & Museum



Fig. 102. After Edward Hodges Baily, 'Sleeping Nymph', *The Illustrations of Modern Sculpture*, 1832

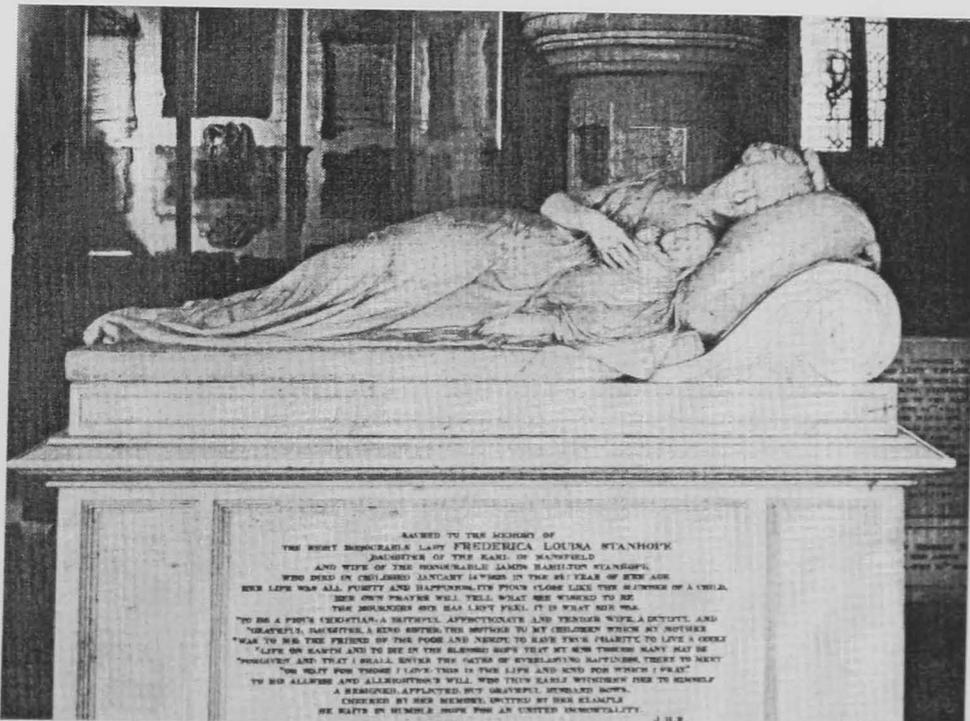


Fig. 103. Francis Chantrey, *Monument to Lady Frederica Stanhope*, 1827, marble; Chevening, Kent



Fig. 104. Thomas Johnson of Lichfield, Cressbrook Hall, 1841, Derbyshire



Fig. 105. The Inner Hall, Cressbrook Hall, Derbyshire (original location of McConnel's *Mother and Child*)

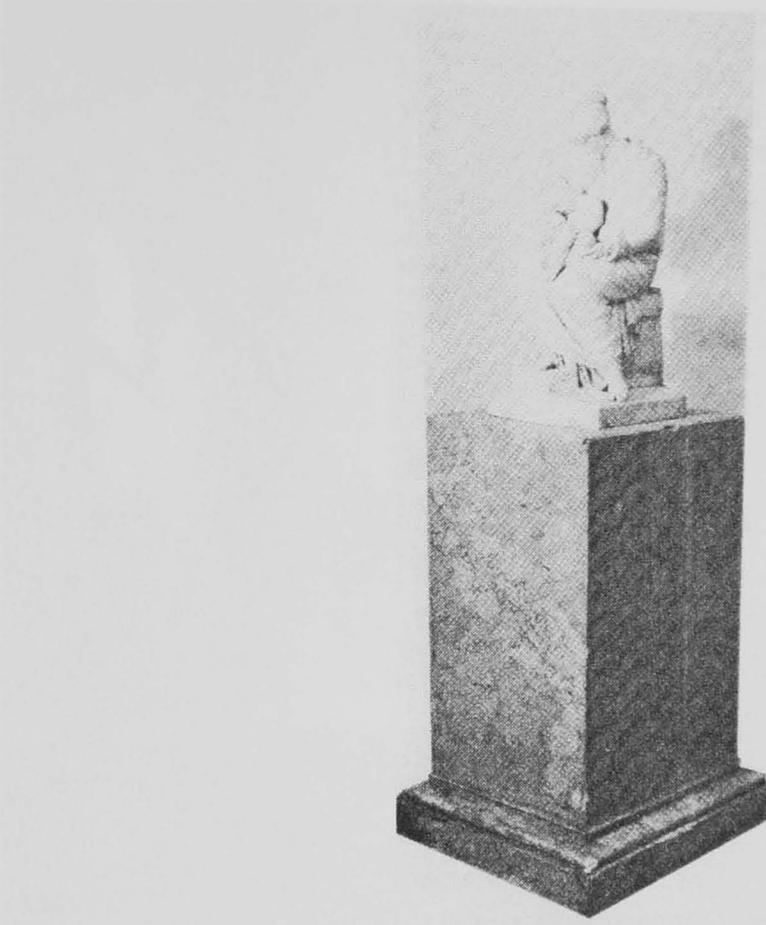


Fig. 106. Edward Hodges Baily, *Reduced Mother and Child with sleeping baby*, 1843, marble (Tennant's, 1 December 1982, 700mm height)

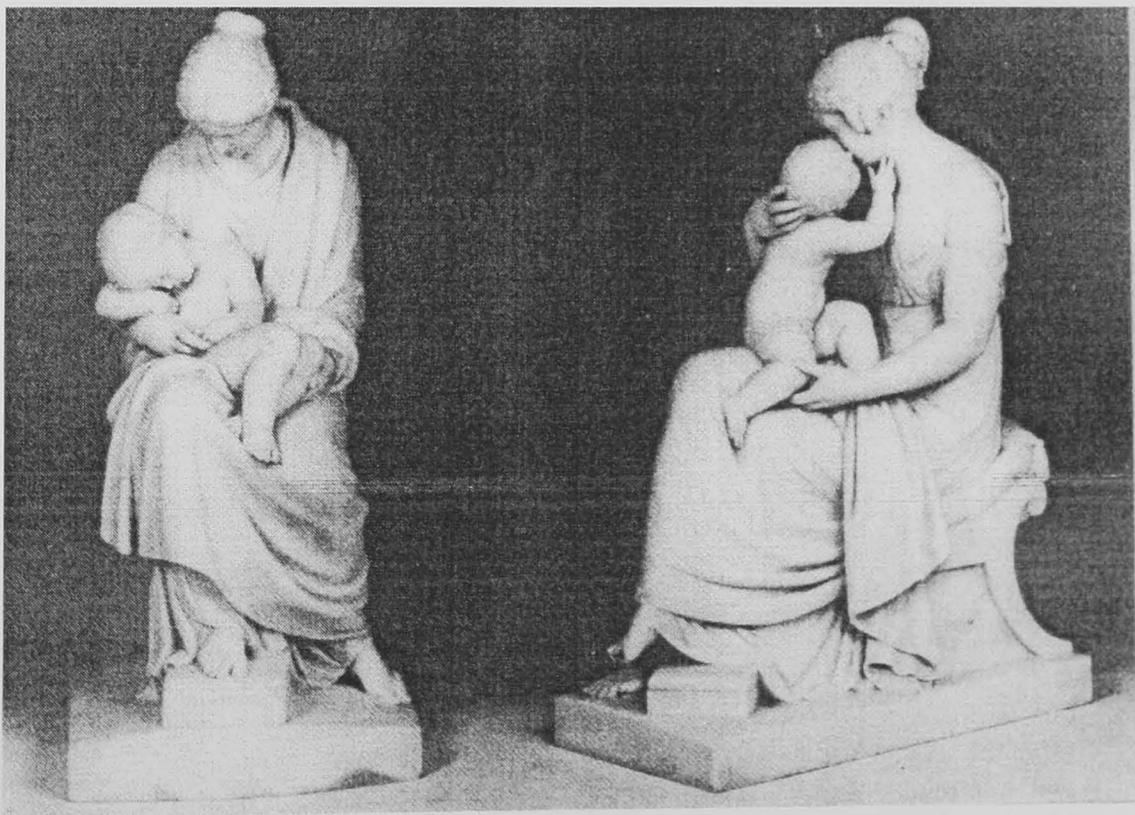


Fig. 107. Edward Hodges Baily, *Reduced Mother and Child: a pair*, 1843 and 1846, marble (Sotheby's, 29 March 1983, 700 mm and 800 mm height)

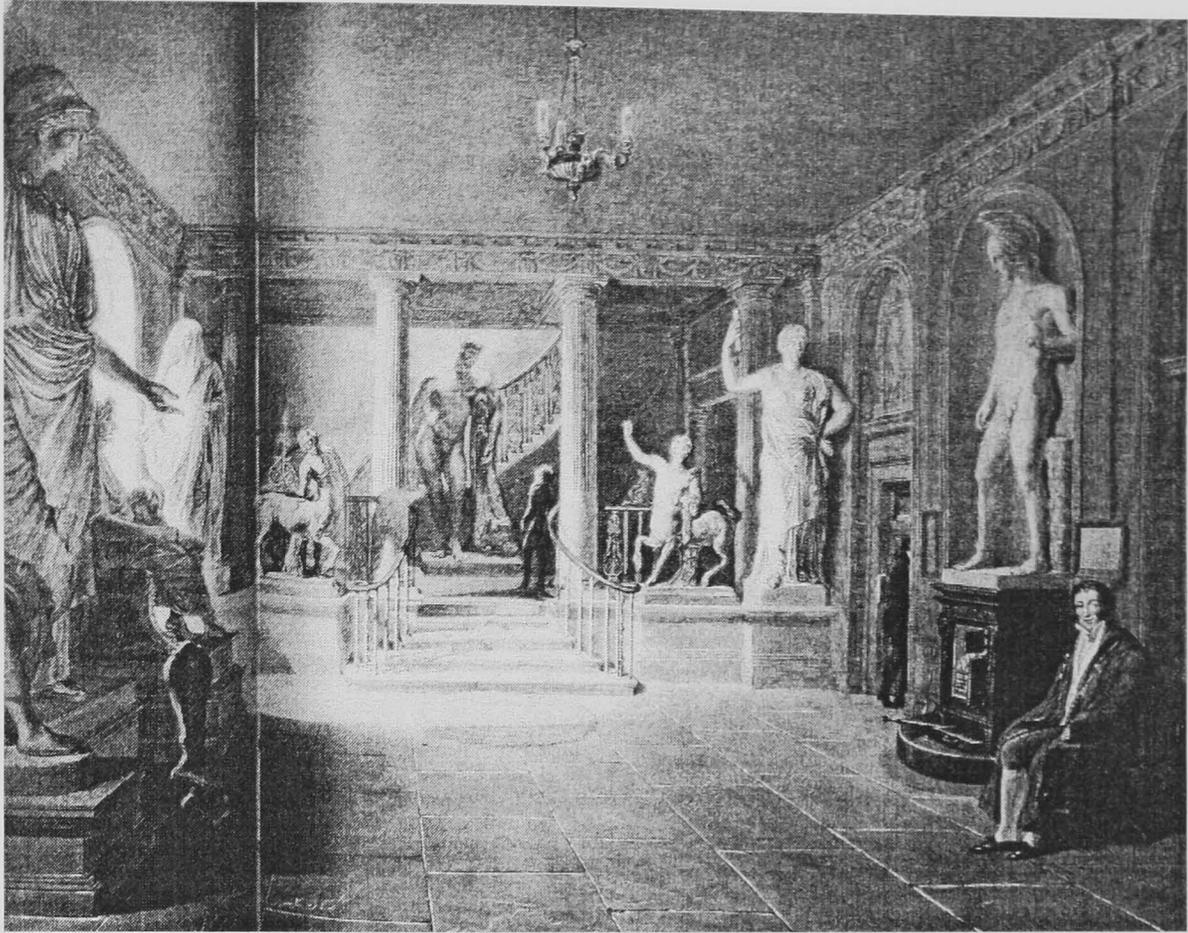


Fig. 108. George Johann Scharf, *The Entrance Hall of the Royal Academy, Somerset House*, 1836, watercolour on paper; British Museum, London

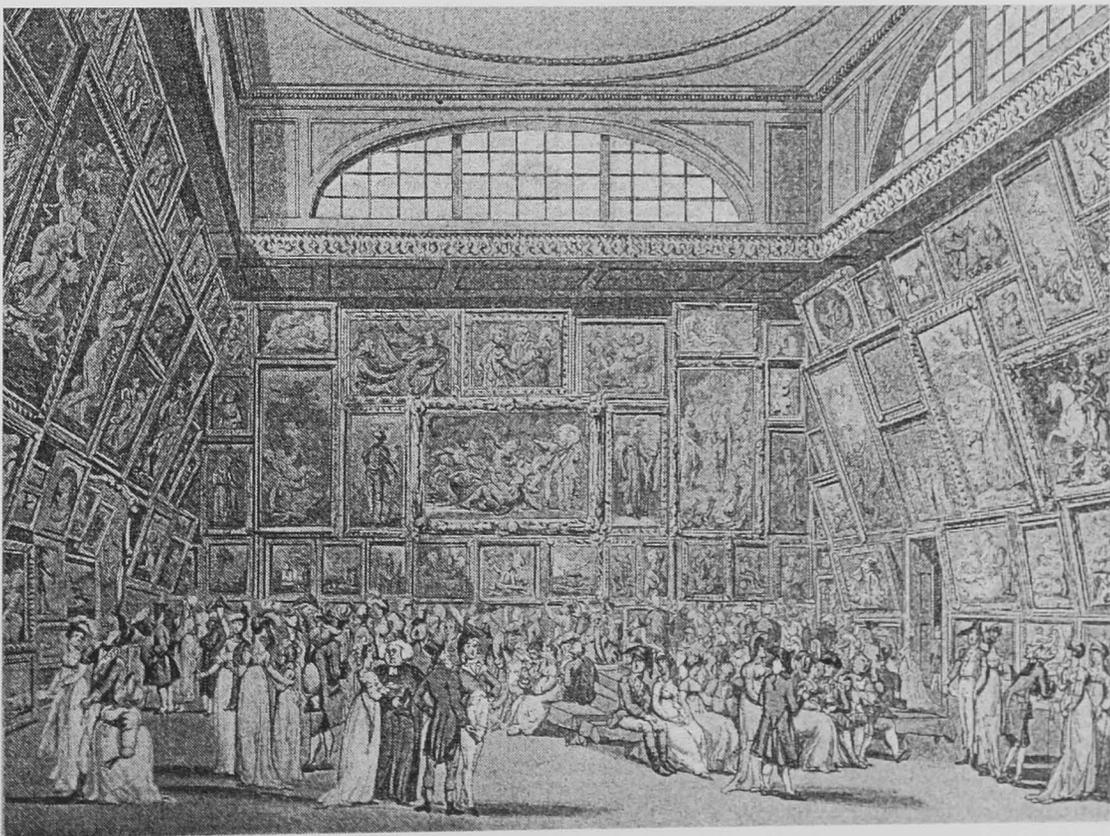


Fig. 109. After Thomas Rowlandson and Augustus Pugin, *The Great Exhibition Room at the Royal Academy, Somerset House*, hand-coloured aquatint, *The Microcosm of London*, 1808

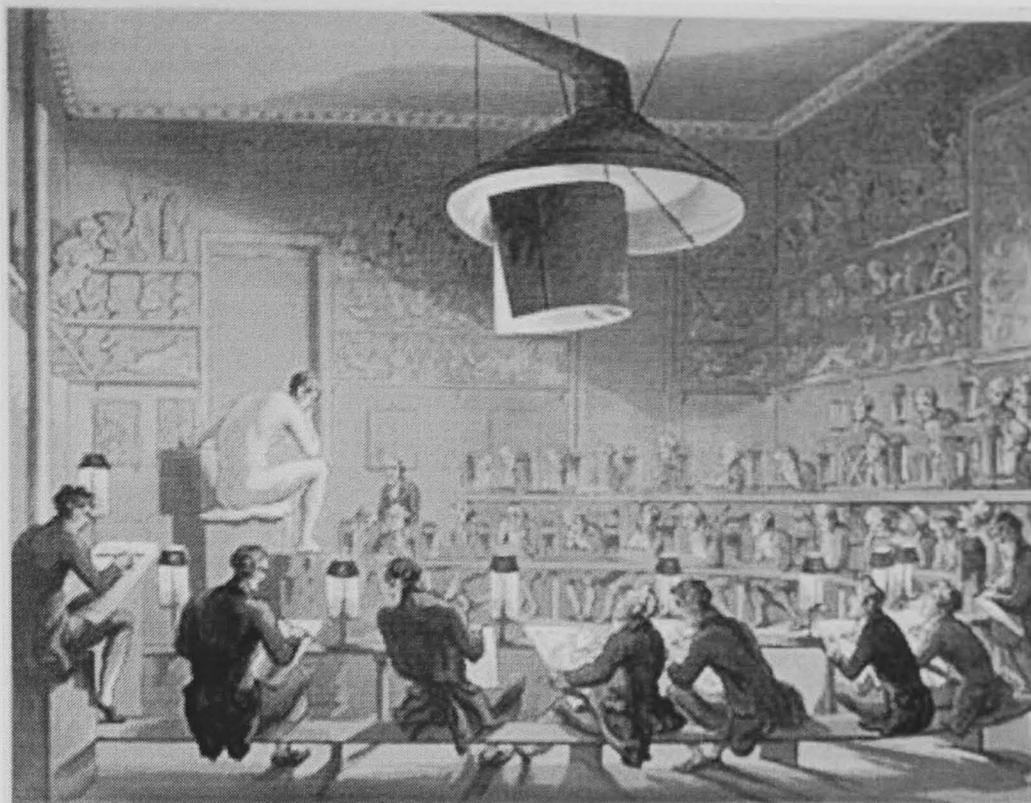


Fig. 110. After Thomas Rowlandson and Augustus Pugin, *Drawing from Life at the Royal Academy, Somerset House*, hand-coloured aquatint, *The Microcosm of London*, 1808

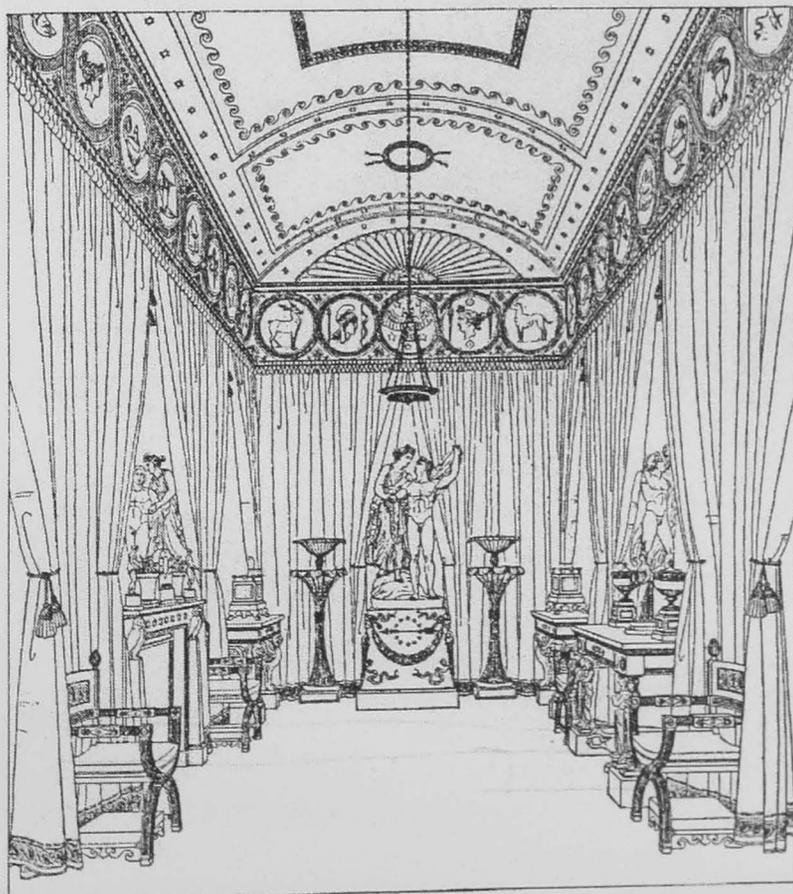


Fig. 111. After Thomas Hope, 'The Flaxman Room, Duchess Street', *Household Furniture and Interior Design executed from designs from Thomas Hope*, 1807



Fig. 112. Alfred Joseph Woolmer, *Interior of the British Institution*, 1833 oil on canvas; Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection



Fig. 113. After Thomas Hosmer Shepherd, *View of Suffolk Street, Pall Mall East*, 1829, engraving; Guildhall Library Print Room, London

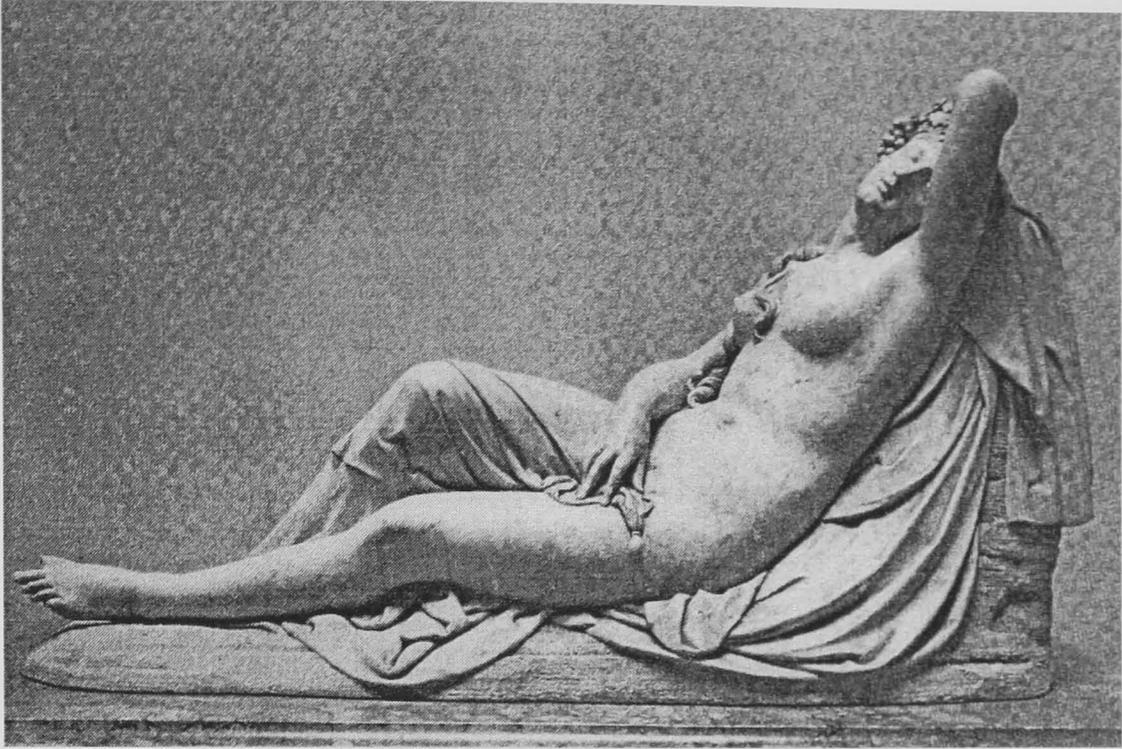


Fig. 114. Richard William Sievier, *Sleeping Bacchante*, 1824, marble; formerly Grittleton House, Chippenham

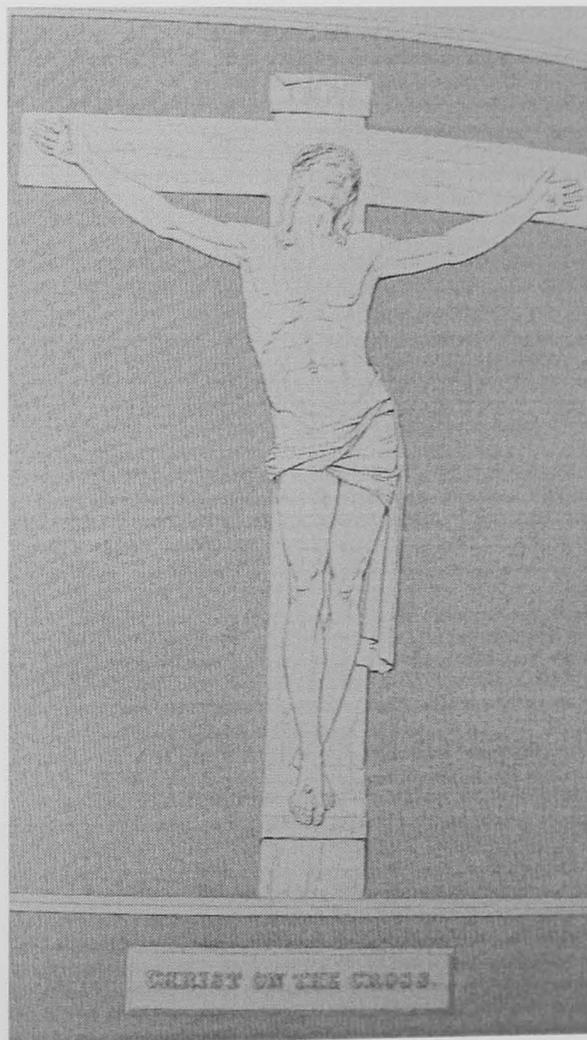


Fig. 115. After Richard William Sievier 'Christ on the Cross', *Sculpture Illustrations*, 1847

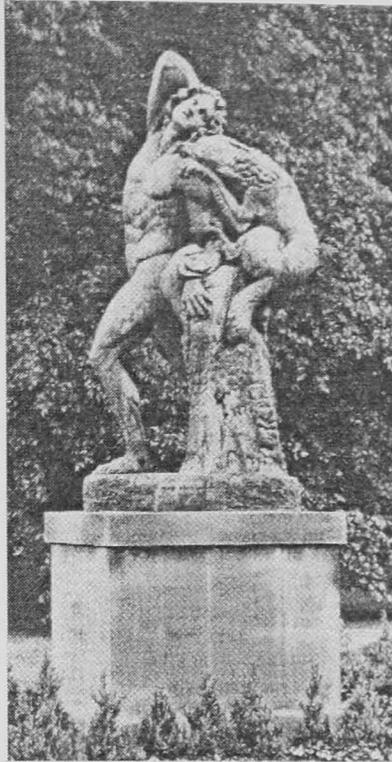


Fig. 116. John Graham Lough, *Milo attacked by the Wolf*, 1863 version; Blagdon, Northumberland

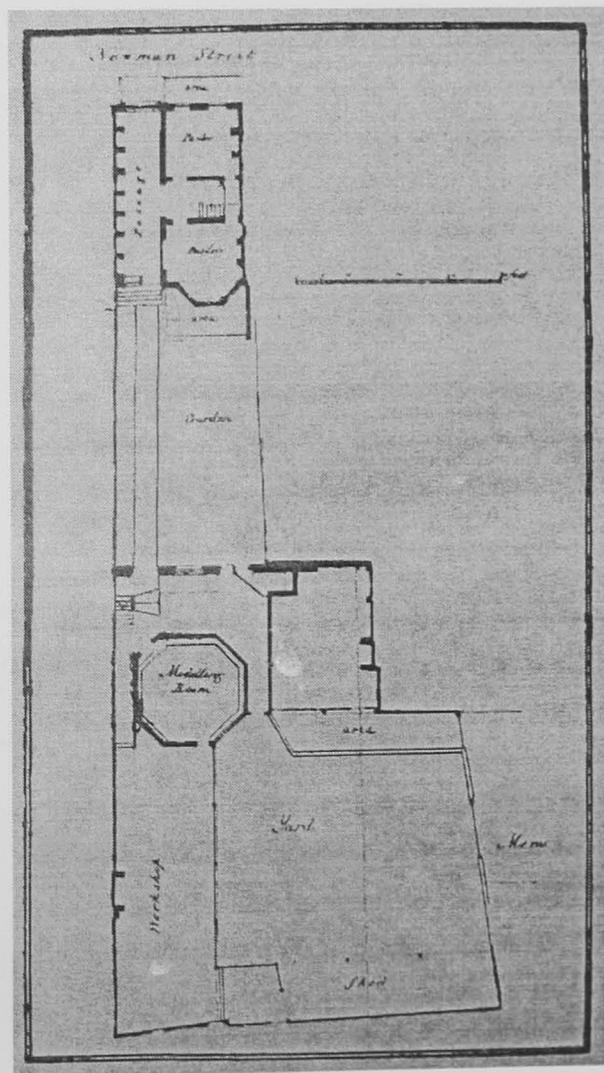


Fig. 117. Plan of No. 17 Newman Street, 1769, London Metropolitan Archives



Fig. 118. Henry Gritten, *The New National Gallery* (south façade) 1837, watercolour on paper; National Gallery, London

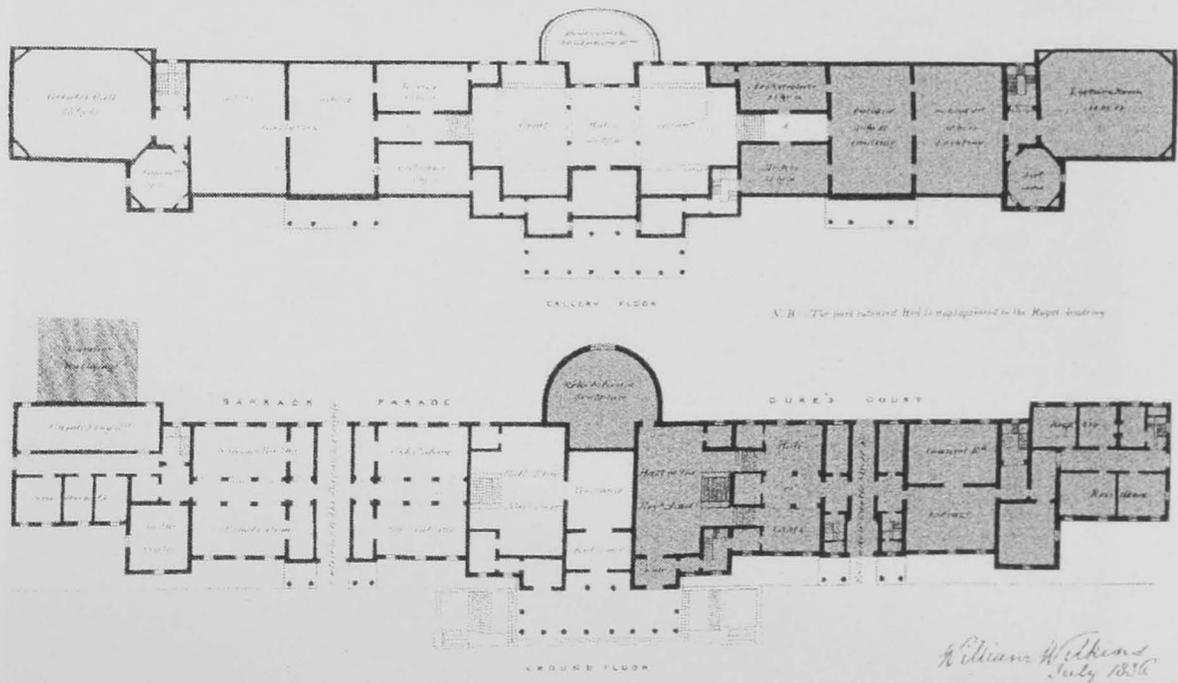


Fig. 119. William Wilkins, *The Galleries and Ground Floor of the National Gallery* (floors 1 & 2) July 1836



Fig. 120. J.T. Smith, 'Very Fine Very Cheap', *Vagabondia; or, Anecdotes of mendicant wanderers through the streets of London*, 1815

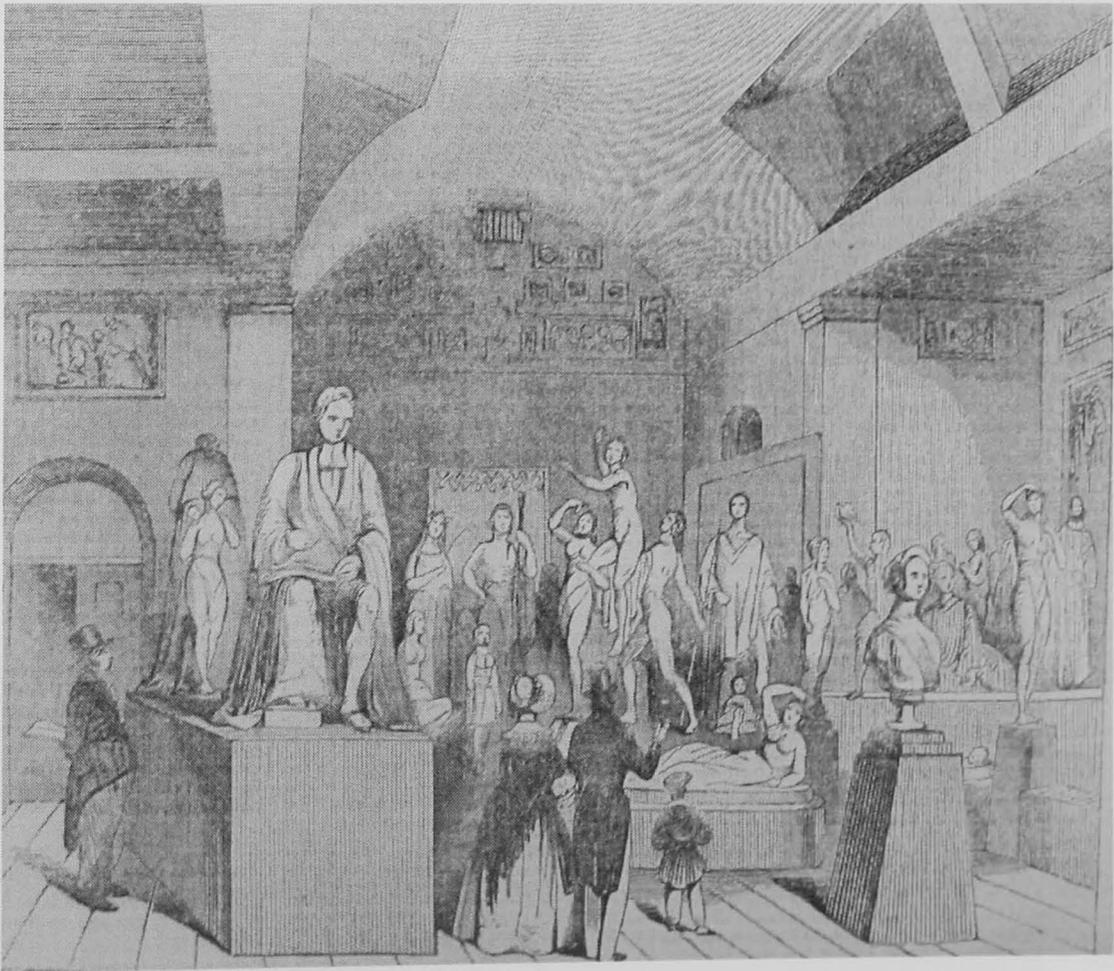


Fig. 121. 'The Sculpture Gallery at the Royal Academy', *Illustrated London News*, 1843



Fig. 122. After Benjamin Sly, 'Public Exhibition of Frescoes and Sculpture, in Westminster Hall', *London Interiors: a grand national exhibition of the religious, regal and civic solemnities, public amusements, etc., of the British Capital*, 1844



Fig. 123. 'Exhibition of Cartoons, Sketches and Frescoes in Westminster Hall', *Illustrated London News*, 1845

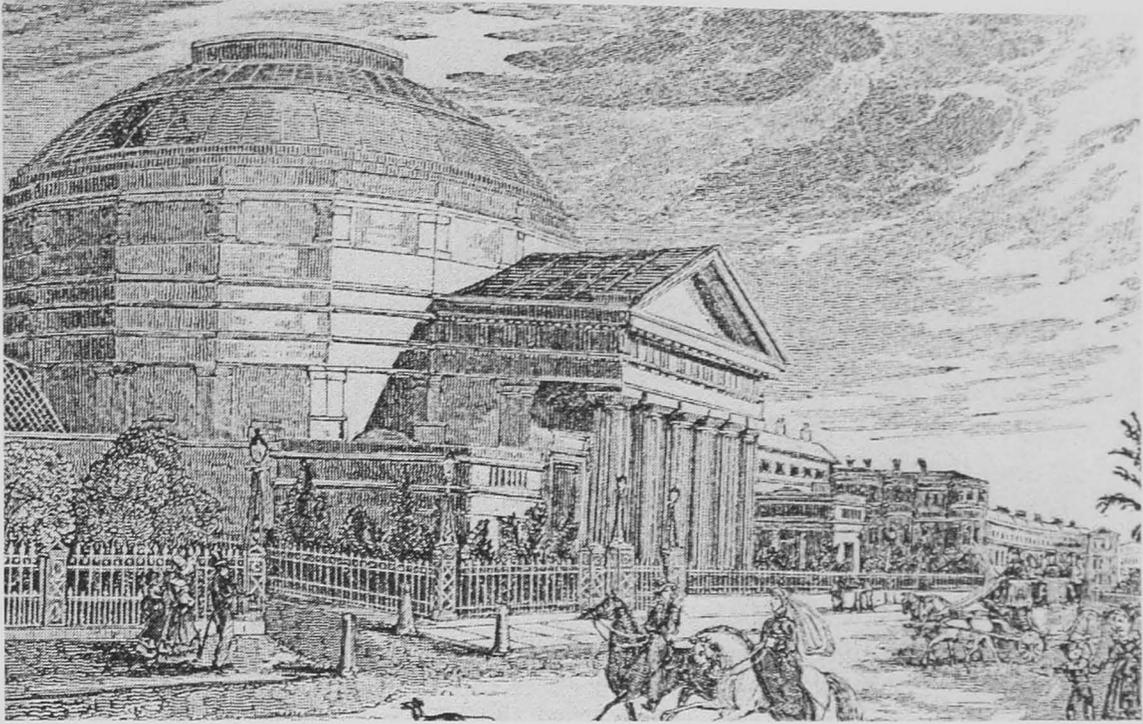


Fig. 124. 'The Colosseum', *A Picturesque Guide to Regent's Park with accurate descriptions of the Colosseum, the Diorama and the Zoological Gardens, London, 1829*

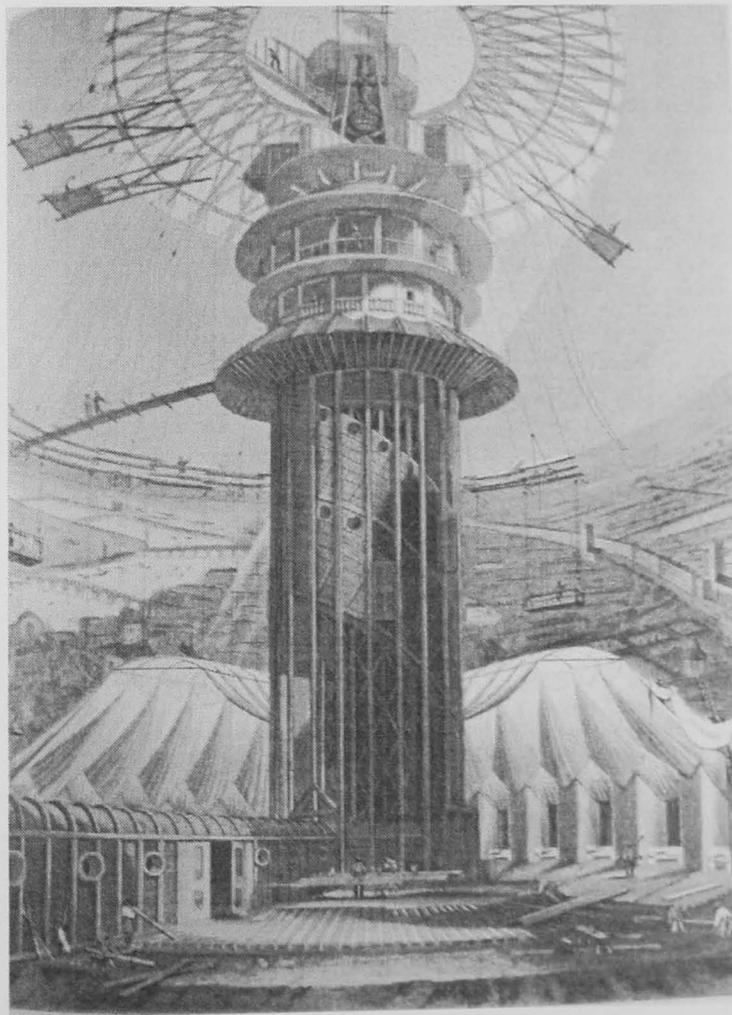


Fig. 125. 'The geometric Ascent to the Galleries in the Colosseum, Regent's Park', *Graphic Illustrations of the Colosseum, Regent's Park, 1829*

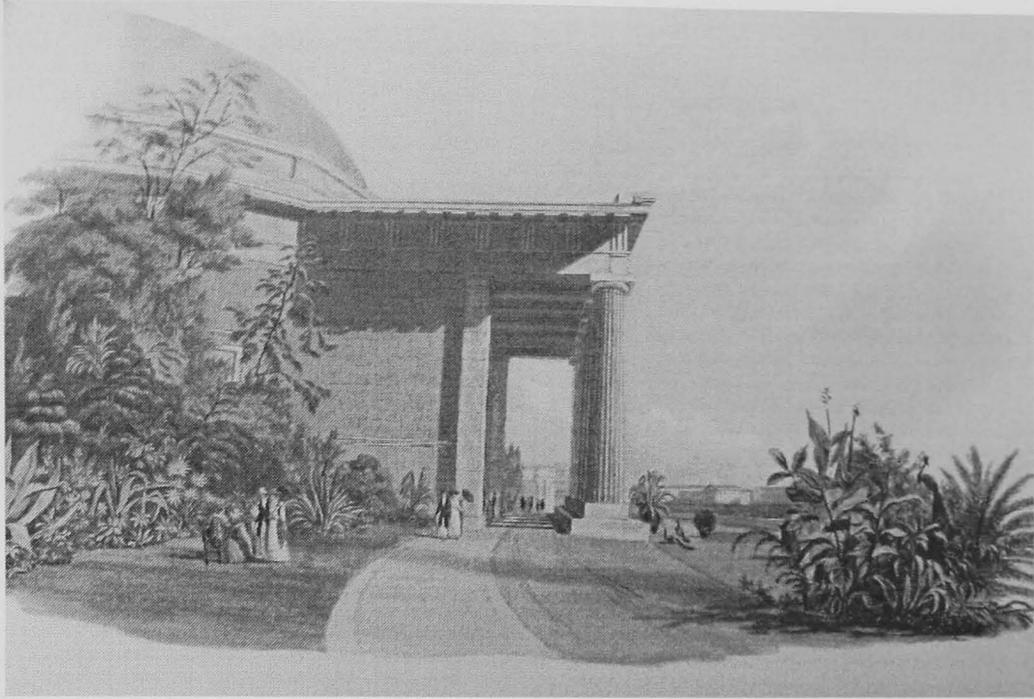


Fig. 126. 'Grand Entrance to the Colosseum, Regent's Park', *Graphic Illustrations of the Colosseum, Regent's Park*, 1829

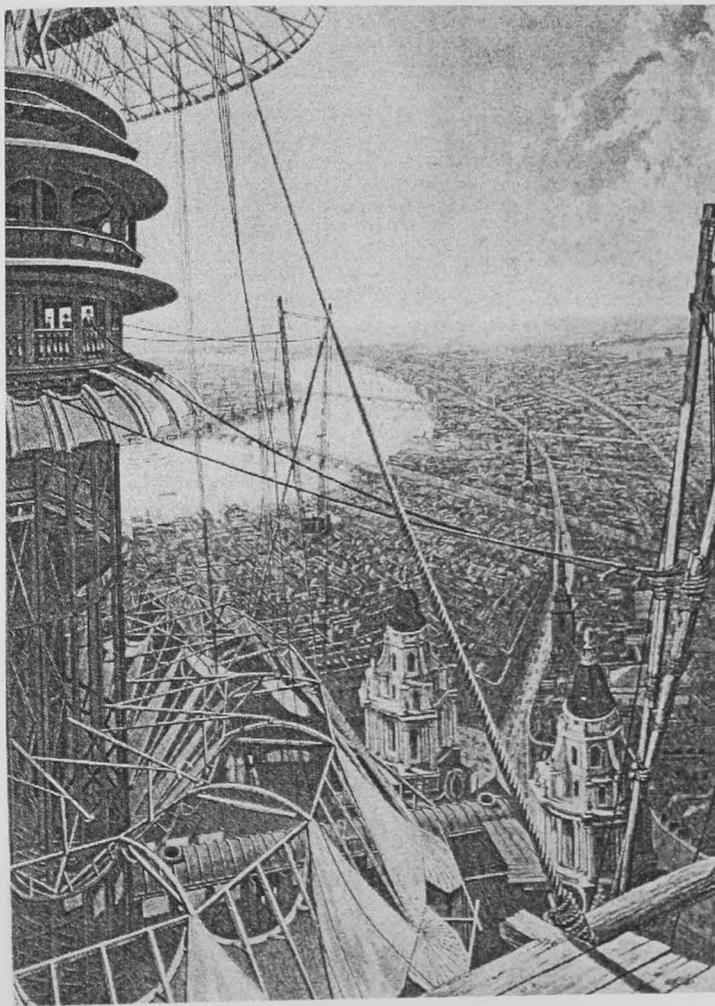


Fig. 127. 'Bird's Eye View from the Staircase and the upper part of the Pavilion', *Graphic Illustrations of the Colosseum, Regent's Park*, 1829



Fig. 128. 'The Fountain surrounding a marble statue at the Colosseum in Regent's Park', *Graphic Illustrations of the Colosseum, Regent's Park*, 1829



Fig. 129. After Francesco Bienamé, 'Innocence', *Illustrations of Modern Sculpture*, 1832



Fig. 130. Benjamin Read's *Summer Fashions for 1836*, 1836, hand-coloured copperplate aquatint; Westminster City Libraries and Archives

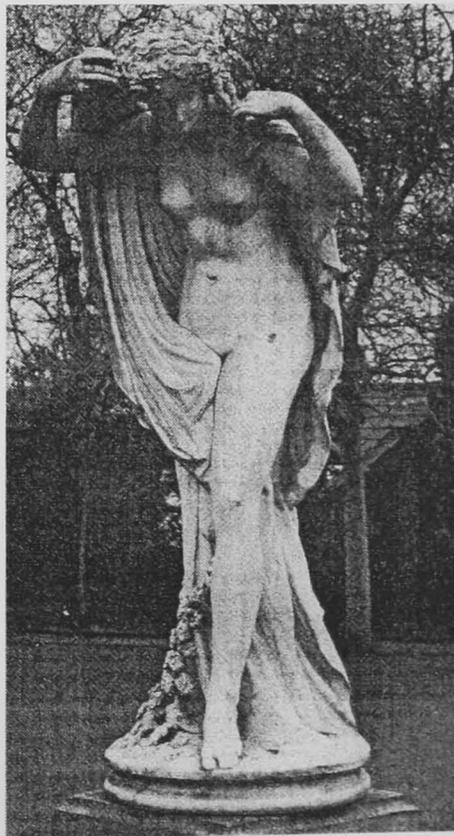


Fig. 131. Richard Westmacott, *Euphrosyne*, 1828, marble; formerly East Kenwyns. Henfield, Sussex



Fig. 132. 'The Colosseum: the gothic aviary', *Illustrated London News*, 1845

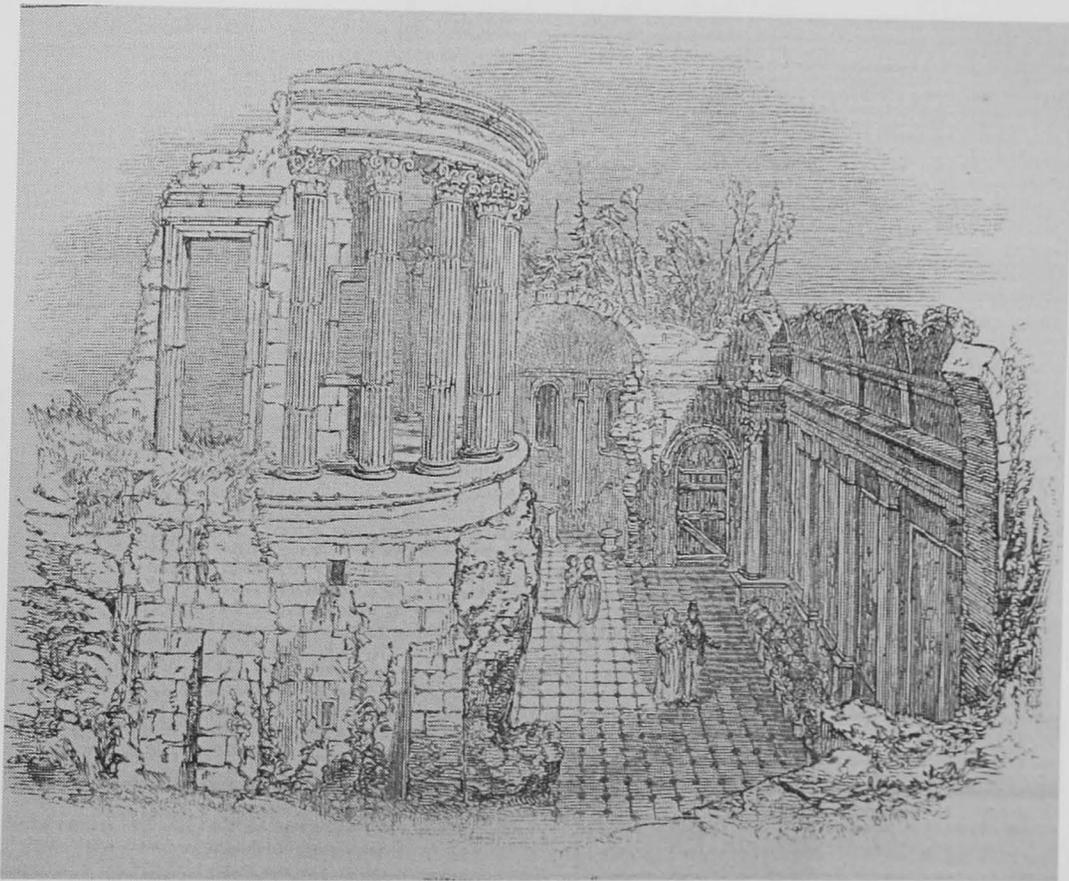


Fig. 133. 'The Colosseum: the exterior promenade', *Illustrated London News*, 1845



Fig. 134. 'The Colosseum', *Punch*, 1845 (illustrating the light fittings by J. Henning junior)

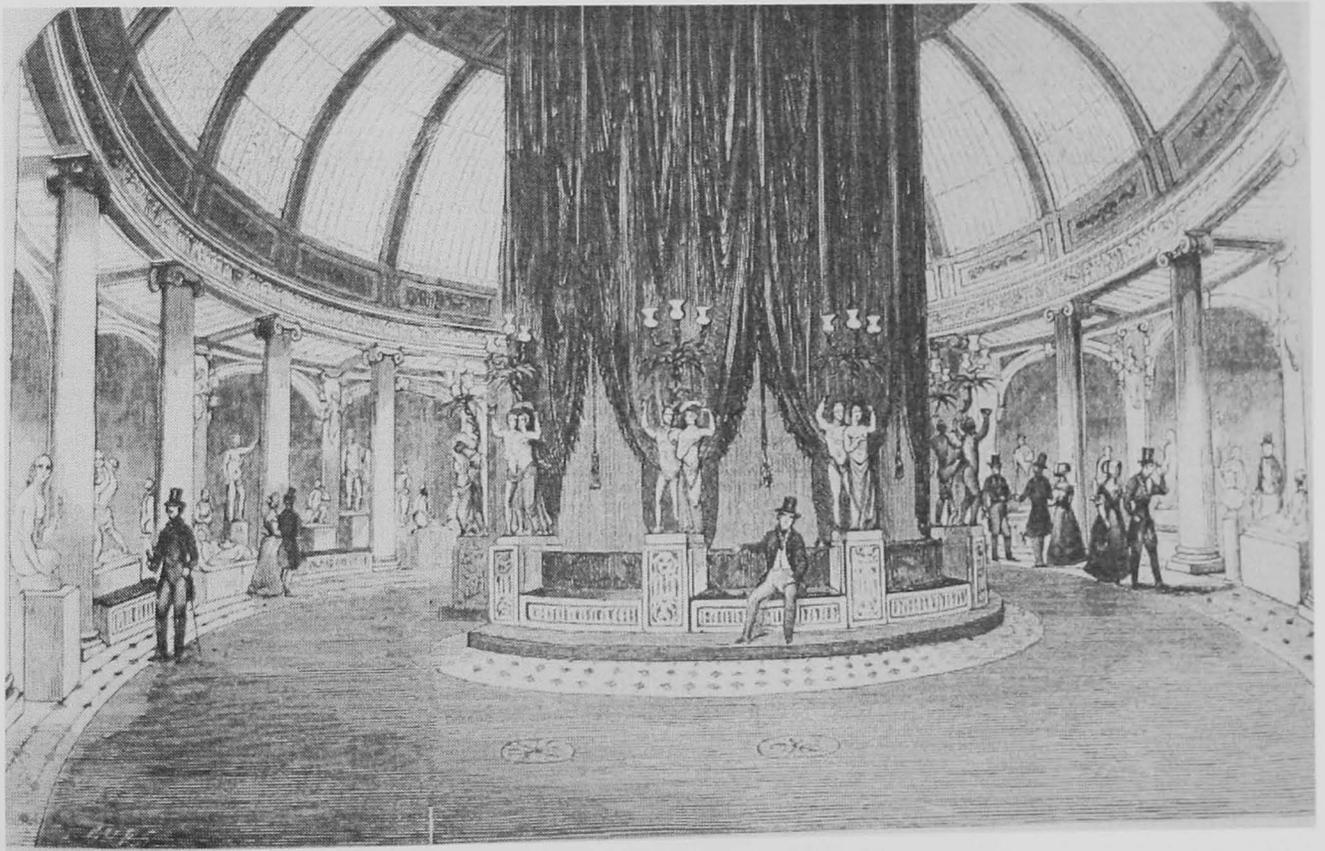


Fig. 135. *The Glyptotheca or Museum of Sculpture*, 1845, wood engraving; Guildhall Library



Fig. 136. 'The Colosseum: the Glyptotheca or Museum of Sculpture', *Illustrated London News*, 1845



Fig. 137. Edward Hodges Baily, *Statue to Lord Nelson*, 1838-1843, Granton stone; Trafalgar Square, London