British Artists in Restoration France: Practices, Presence and Perceptions, 1814-1830.

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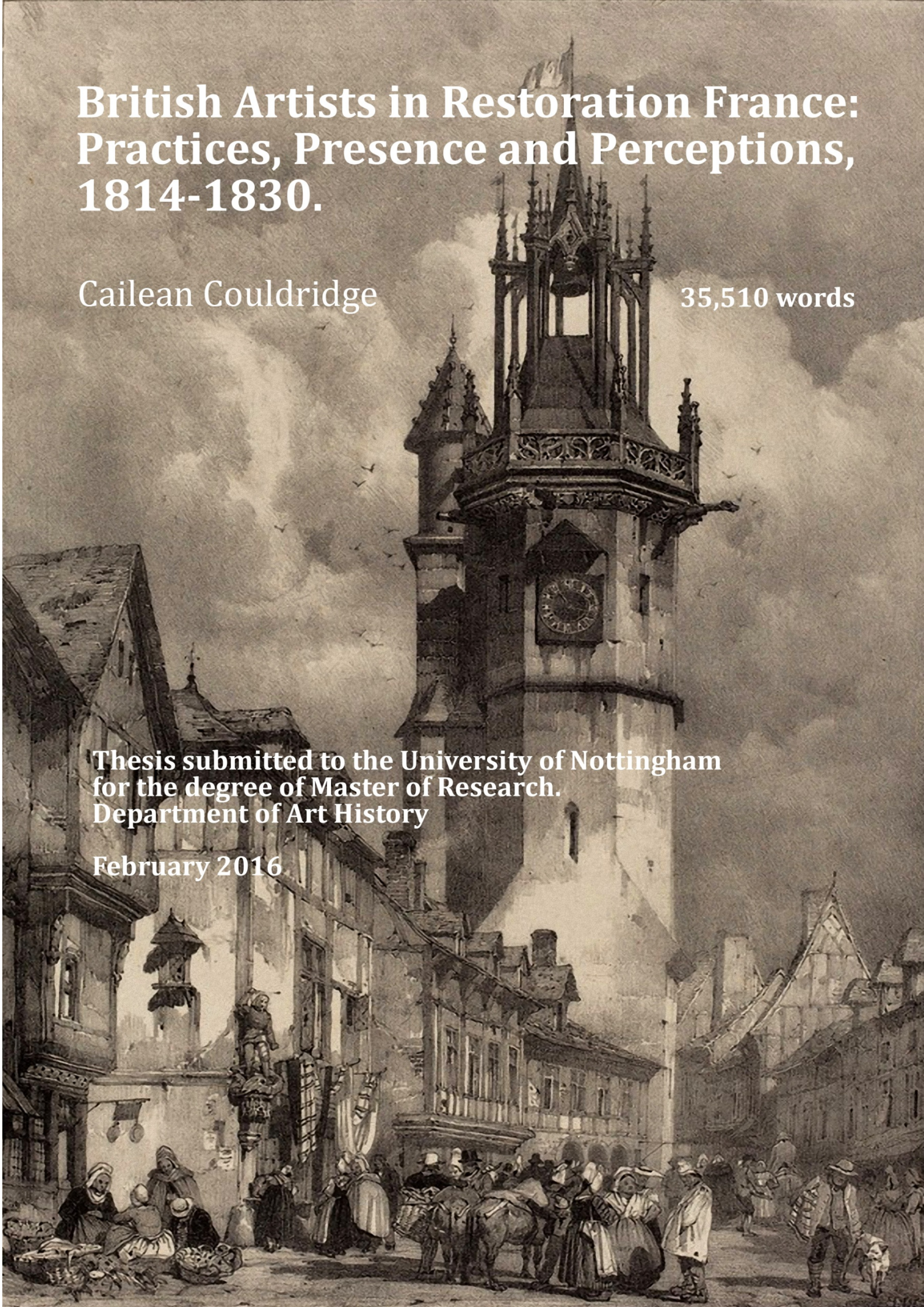

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Master of Research.
Department of Art History

February 2016

With special thanks to my supervisors, Nicholas Alfrey and Richard Wrigley, for their continual advice and encouragement, as well as the support of Ting Chang, Richard Clay, and the entire Art History Department at the University of Nottingham.

I would like also to thank my family and closest friends for their patience and the generosity that they have shown me.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Stephen Bann importantly suggested that Britain in the early nineteenth century was one of the closest nations to France geographically and, in his words, 'by far the most inquisitive about French customs and institutions.'[1] These initially seem to be rather unremarkable observations. While they are certainly true, they only partially explain the immediacy with which many British citizens and artists visited France as relations between the nations settled during the post-Napoleonic period. Perhaps a more substantial way of thinking about this is that the main attractions of Paris and Normandy were the most easily accessible for British travellers. Efficient transport links from London to Paris had already been active for a number of years, and Normandy provided an opportunity for the immediate gratification of overseas travel for many artists.

This aside, the latter part of Bann's remarks contains a crucial indication if we are to understand Franco-British post-war relations in more depth, although Bann himself did not expand upon the following ideas. Fundamentally, the fact that Britain was inquisitive of French 'customs and institutions'[2] serves to summarise a great deal of the working practices of British artists and the nature of their interests within France during the early-to-mid nineteenth century. As will be explained in this thesis, a significant link existed between the cultural and social effects of the Franco-British war and the engagement of British artists in France. Although this is based around the focal

[1] Stephen Bann, 'Print Culture and the Illustration of History: An Anglo-French Perspective', in *Constable to Delacroix: British Art and the French Romantics*, ed. Patrick Noon (London: Tate Publishing, 2003), 28.
[2] Ibid.

points of Bann's statement – French customs and institutions – the connection extends also to British customs and institutions as well as the shared history of both nations.

There is the overwhelming question of what impact the war had on cross-Channel relations and artistic culture in particular. Bann made another important point in his 'Print Culture and the Illustration of History' chapter when he stated that despite the obstructive nature of Napoleon's Franco-British war, it did little to disrupt the 'opportunities for patronage and dealing'.[3] While it is certainly true that Britain and France had begun building a significant artistic relationship prior to the outbreak of war, Bann's opinion views the cultural relationship between the two nations as eventually fruitful *in spite* of many years of conflict. An idea that underlies this thesis proposes rather that the sudden integration and interest between British and French artists during the Restoration period should be viewed as productive *because* of the restrictive barriers that existed during the war. At the crux of this suggestion is the idea that rather than merely passively allowing such opportunities for artists, the years of war acted as a catalyst upon cross-Channel associations which followed 1814. This line of thought is integral to the ideas presented by this thesis.

Before we continue, it is important to provide some grounding in the history of the period in order to afford some context for the Franco-British relationship. In terms of nineteenth century culture, the close associations and correspondence between Britain and France have long been recognised as an important characteristic of a period in which relations and mutual influences reached definite intensities. It is a curious fact that the previous hundred years had been riddled with war and hostility, much of which culminated in Napoleon's European Wars as he attempted to steer his French Empire

[3] Ibid., 29.

into the narratives of history. In 1793 belligerence intensified on both sides and war broke out. It was to be a period of conflict that would continue until 1814, pausing only briefly for the fourteen month Peace of Amiens, between 27 March 1802 and 17 May 1803. The hostilities were not confined to Britain and France, and much of the rest of Europe was involved in Napoleon's wars. Travel to the continent was dangerous and almost impossible for Britons during these years.

Policies such as Napoleon's Continental System served to further isolate Britain. In 1805 Napoleon suffered a resounding defeat at the Battle of Trafalgar. The French and Spanish navies combined lost almost 14,000 men, while Britain's loss was 1,666.[4] Realising his heavy defeat, Napoleon was forced to enact a large-scale trade embargo in order to stand any chance of a long-term win. The Continental System (or Continental Blockade) came to fruition in 1806 with the issue of the Berlin Decree, prohibiting European ports (the majority of which were under French occupation at this stage) from allowing British ships to enter.[5] A year later, the Milan Decree attempted to combat the growing number of neutral ships which had begun to carry British goods. Britain's greatest strengths lay in the sheer supremacy of its naval fleet and a vast wealth accumulated through overseas trade networks. Napoleon sought to cut this off through economic warfare.

Only in 1814, following Napoleon's first abdication and the fall of the French Empire, was it safe for British citizens to voyage across the Channel. Cultural exchange at this time was at its most active, and although there is no exact consensus on the number of British citizens who travelled to France in the post-war period, it is understood that

[4] George F. Nafziger, *Historical Dictionary of the Napoleonic Era* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), 280.
[5] See Katherine B. Aaslestad and Johan Joor, trans. *Revisiting Napoleon's Contintental System: Local, Regional and European Experiences* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

statistically there was a rapid increase of Britons who crossed the Channel. Peter Thorold claimed that in 1815, 8,500 British visitors passed through the two main French ports at Calais and Boulogne, a number which rose to roughly 12,000 in 1820, and 23,000 in 1825.[6] Edward Morris offered alternative statistics, maintaining that Paris alone may have hosted up to 14,000 British citizens in 1815, a figure which he believes to have doubled after just one year.[7] Morris is not clear, however, on the proportion of residents to tourists, perhaps because of difficulties in distinguishing between them in records.[8] The following year in 1817, Morris placed roughly 60,000 Britons in the whole of France.[9] Thorold, on the other hand, wrote that in 1818 France contained 62,000 Britons,[10] but on the whole his figures seem to be rather more conservative than Morris's.

The scholarship that already traces British and French art of the Bourbon Restoration period (1814 – 1830) must be reviewed in order to understand the scope of this thesis. The foremost authorities on the subject include Edward Morris, Patrick Noon, Barthélémy Jobert and Stephen Bann, amongst others. It is important to state from the outset that although each of these historians has contributed to different strands of the discourse on Franco-British art during the early nineteenth century, there are still areas in the historiography which are lacking. Together, the arguments explored in this thesis are by no means intended to undermine or compromise the significant secondary literature on the British presence in France during the years that followed the

[6] Peter Thorold, *The British in France: Visitors and Residents since the Revolution* (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2008), 22, accessed October 22, 2014. http://sire.ebrary.com/lib/uon/detail.action?docID=10427247.
[7] Edward Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 144.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Thorold, *The British in France*, 49.

Napoleonic era, but rather to renew understanding and expand the field of view on the study of this subject.

Edward Morris's book, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain* (2005), provides a comprehensive and valuable source on many of the relationships and influences between French and British art, not just of the Restoration period, but throughout the nineteenth century. Despite the fact that Morris's tome seeks to examine French artists in Britain, rather than the other way around, the cross-disciplinary nature of his research means that the work covers many of the associations of interest to us. As an overview of artistic relations of the period, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain* considers the variety of mediums that were relevant, be they painting, engraving or lithography. Morris does touch several times on the shared historical connections between France and Britain,[11] but often moves away from this topic to provide a broader review of artistic associations and correlations. In terms of his coverage of the Paris Salon exhibitions, he mentions a handful of lesser known artists who are omitted in other literature, such as the Foggo brothers for example.[12] Nevertheless, his treatment of these artists is fairly inconsistent.

Patrick Noon's two most relevant sources (both 2003) are *Constable to Delacroix: British Art and the French Romantics* (as editor) and *Crossing the Channel: British and French Painting in the Age of Romanticism*. The former is rather similar to Morris's in its utility on the period in general, and Noon highlights many of the relationships and mutual influences between British and French artists. In many respects, however, *Constable to Delacroix* is considerably less comprehensive than Morris's *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, and he fails to explore some key aspects regarding the Salon. Often facts

[11] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 162.
[12] Ibid., 13.

are touched upon but hardly explored further. Much of the interest in Noon's publication appears to come from anecdotal narratives, though this can perhaps be recognised as symptomatic of the fact that the book is primarily an exhibition catalogue.

Although all of these major sources of literature discuss the Paris Salon to varying degrees, Barthélémy Jobert is by far the most devoted to the subject. Even considering this, there are significant gaps in his accounts of the Salon displays and the British engagement within these exhibitions. We will take two chapters from Jobert as our sources on the Salon; 'À la recherche de l'école anglaise: Lawrence, Wilkie and Martin, three British artists in Restoration France' (2004),[13] and 'Les artistes anglais au Salon, 1802-1879' (2007).[14] While Jobert discusses a fair amount of British painters at the Salons, his treatment of the many British engravers who displayed work is severely lacking. The majority of these engravers are recorded in Chapter 5 of this thesis. This general omission by Jobert is perhaps surprising considering that he raised an important discussion on reproductive engraving, which we must address as an essential element if we are to consider the culture of printmaking in Paris. Jobert even emphasises the importance of reproductive engraving above the Salon displays.[15]

In playing down the Salon displays of British artists, Jobert failed to acknowledge the many names and the impacts that they had when they exhibited at the Salon. In terms of his general treatment of the Paris Salons during the Restoration period, Jobert has done much to contribute to the established sentiment that the 1824 'English Salon' (as it is often called, on account of the number of British medals won) was the definitive point at

[13] Barthélémy Jobert, 'Á la recherche de l'école anglaise: Lawrence, Wilkie and Martin, three British artists in Restoration France', in *English Accents: Interactions with British Art, c. 1776-1855*, trans. Christophe and Caroline Valia-Kollery, eds. Christiana Payne and William Vaughan (London: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004).
[14] Barthélémy Jobert, 'Les artistes anglais au Salon, 1802-1879', in *Les Artistes Étrangers à Paris: De la Fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Marie-Claude Chaudonneret (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007).
[15] Jobert, 'Á la recherche de l'école anglaise', 125.

which British art in France peaked during the early nineteenth century. While 1824 was supremely important in the history of this cross-Channel connection, particularly in terms of the displays of painters, the rather entrenched focus on it within literature serves only to ignore other Salon exhibitions which featured significant British art during these years. One of the aims of this thesis, through the catalogues (*livrets*), is to document and introduce the vast number of British artists who exhibited at the Salon displays but have since been forgotten. Chapter 2 will comprehensively consider British painters who displayed at the Salon between 1814 and 1827. Appendix A is a complete list of every British name to appear in the *livrets* from these exhibitions, and is designed to accompany Chapter 2, and chapters 3-5 which are also interlaced with records of these displays. Such a list documenting these artists has never been compiled before.

As Chapter 2 deals comprehensively with painters at the Salon, chapters 3, 4 and 5 will all contain underlying discussions on artist influence and the depiction of history, although the focus of each addresses a different strand. Chapter 3 will begin by briefly examining several trips to France made by British artists prior to 1814, as a way of demonstrating that Franco-British artistic connections did not only begin after the conflict had ended. This chapter will then assess several artists and their networks of associations. Crucially, Chapter 3 contains significant elements on Bonington and aims to challenge existing views on his contemporary influence. Chapter 4 turns its attention to the pioneering new medium of lithography, and specifically its use in illustrated topographical books, such as the *Voyages pittoresques*. Appendix B is another collated list which has not been cohesively recorded before, and documents all the British-made lithographs from the first three volumes of the *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, published between 1820 and 1825. Important elements to signpost

within this chapter regard the versatility of lithography as a medium for travelling British artists, as well as the extremely limited display of this type of print in the Salon exhibitions. Following on from this latter point, Chapter 5 will examine engravings at the Salon, as well as the trend for reproductive printmaking as a means of popularising paintings.

While Jobert and Noon tend to focus largely on the well known artists of the early nineteenth century period, the literature from Stephen Bann, such as his chapter titled 'Print Culture and the Illustration of History' from Noon's aforementioned *Constable to Delacroix* catalogue, has proven to be invaluable. Indeed, Bann's scholarship and research perhaps carries the most relevance to this thesis. More than any other piece of literature on the period, his book *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters and Photographers in Nineteenth Century France* (2001) promoted the special significance of British printmaking within Paris during the early nineteenth century. Aspects of Bann's interest lie in the staffage within prints, which alludes to historical connections that inform many of the discussions of this thesis. Something which this thesis will expand upon is the often ambiguous nature between these historical allusions and contemporary details, as well as what interpretations of these elements can tell us about the working practices and interests of the British artists who produced them.

This introduces the most predominant statement of this thesis. The imposed restrictions on travel for British artists had a number of effects during the war as well as after it had come to an end. Confined to their home nation, citizens in Britain began to travel domestically within their own country. Of course, this was by no means a new or novel trend, but with the borders closed domestic travel was the only viable form of tourism. The arbitrary insularity of national culture during the wars influenced its

artists and the British art world in several ways which are important to address as a precursor to the issues that followed. The repressed appetite for travel was born and continued to grow during the years of war, and was to finally have its outlet in the immediate years of the Bourbon Restoration that followed 1814 and Napoleon's defeat.

Deriving from the idea of war as a catalyst for Franco-British relations is the notion of shared historical associations between Britain and France. Using these references to a shared history, this thesis will also aim to connect the domestic interest in national identity that developed in Britain during the war, with the attention and practices of British artists working in France between 1814 and 1830. In simpler terms, the forced insularity during the years of conflict meant that British artists sought these historical associations in post-war France. Although the ideas surrounding the forced insularity of domestic tourism in wartime Britain have not been completely spared in literature, the idea that it greatly affected British artists working in post-war France has remained untouched.

Artistically, the prohibitions on international travel had a profound impact upon national British identity. In its most basic form, the detached and dogmatic nature of British culture during the wars encouraged artists to forge their own 'national school' with an identity largely based around depictions of landscape.[16] The period of the Napoleonic Wars also saw a shift in the institutional authority within the British art world. The Royal Academy, which had dominated the school of British art since its inauguration in 1768, now found itself contending with newer and more progressive

[16] To clarify, the use of the phrase 'national school' with regard to early nineteenth-century British landscape painting and printmaking is intended to invoke the great wealth of literature on the subject. The most comprehensive works on this topic are: Michael Baxandall, *British Landscape Painting* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1982); Katherine Baetjer et al., *Glorious Nature: British Landscape Painting, 1750-1850* (Manchester, Vermont: Hudson Hills Press, 1996), and Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (California: University of California Press, 1989).

establishments around the country. Although the heart of the artistic world in Britain remained centred on London and the Academy, the elite organisation ceased to be viewed as the only standard of excellence for an artist. The Academy's monopoly on the British art world was compromised as a large number of alternative societies were established in London, as well as elsewhere in the country. These included the Society of Painters in Watercolours founded in London in 1804,[17] the British Institution founded in 1805,[18] as well as more provincial societies such as the Norwich School of Artists, established in 1803. This is not to say that these newer institutions set out to directly challenge the Academy, they simply provided broader opportunities for British artists from more diverse regional locations.

There is a feeling that during the wars, British art, in a general sense isolated from international travel and influence, became introverted in its practice. The trend of domestic tourism that grew during these years saw artists exploring more provincial regions of Britain. National art of this period, and particularly 'Romantic art'[19] held at its core a significant degree of nostalgia and pride in Britain's own natural landscape, including rural scenes of picturesque British countryside. The vernacular type of art that was bred in Britain during the war is particularly relevant when we consider the subject matter that many artists found themselves drawn to in France after 1814. British artwork made during period was primarily curious about more native customs

[17] Scott Wilcox and Christopher Newall, *Victorian Landscape Watercolors* (Manchester, Vermont: Hudson Hills Press, 1992), 13.
[18] William Paulet Carey, *Observations on the Primary Object of the British Institution and of the Provincial Institutions for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, etc.* (Newcastle: T. & J. Hodgson, 1829), 21.
[19] This term is footnoted as it can be problematic. The notion of 'Romantic art' is inherently vague and sits uncomfortably over the work that it describes. In this case, it is used as a general term for the art being made in Britain during the period, much as authors in subsequent literature have used it, such as Patrick Noon in his *Constable to Delacroix: British Art and the French Romantics*, for example. It is intended to represent the early nineteenth century zeitgeist more than it represents any formal or stylistic attributes in the artwork of the period.

in France which were often reminiscent of a similar, shared history and imagery in Britain.

Chapter 2

British Painters at the Paris Salon, 1814-1827

Introduction

In the final lines of his essay, 'British Painting in France before 1802', Olivier Meslay wrote that the 1824 Salon had been understood to be the 'official birth of Franco-British artistic relations. Now we must consider this Salon as renewing a tradition rather than initiating one.'[20] With this comment and the rest of his essay, Meslay attempted to take perceptions of British and French artistic association back in time, even further than the Franco-British conflict that formed part of the Napoleonic wars and the Revolutionary hostilities prior to them. While Meslay intended his evaluation for a specific but different purpose, it holds a relevant truth to our argument and offers a view with room to be expanded upon.

British artists who travelled and were successful in France during the 1820s were fortunate to have found a profitable art market abroad, an art market where they could sell and exhibit their work. As we shall see from the numbers of British painters admitted into the Paris Salons during these years, the French art establishment was far from hostile towards them. The study of Franco-British artistic relations has long been centred on the 1824 Salon in Paris, and this exhibition is most often regarded as the defining moment at which British and French interactions converged to create an artistic association that grew into a fundamentally important aspect of nineteenth century art.

[20] Olivier Meslay, 'British Painting in France before 1802', *British Art Journal*, vol. IV, no. 2 (2003): 17.

The purpose and intention of this chapter is to acknowledge those works from British painters displayed in the Paris Salon from 1814 until 1827 (the final Salon exhibition of the Restoration period), documenting both the artists and artwork that are well known now, but particularly those which have been forgotten in literature. I have attempted to fill in the details or attributions, but due to the nature of the records on many of these artists, they do remain somewhat fragmentary. At times this is deeply frustrating, and the *livrets* themselves tend to be especially inconsistent on some of the information (such as medium, ownership, etc.) that they provide between years and even within the single catalogues. However, on the whole, the information available to us on the paintings displayed is significantly better than that of the engravings and lithographs shown. Interlaced throughout this survey we will consider issues such as the inclusivity policies of the Salon, as well as its attitudes as an institution compared to the Royal Academy.

The Salon exhibitions of the Restoration years included several names that are familiar, but also a large number that are less recognisable. All the works from British artists that were exhibited between 1802 and 1827 are shown in Appendix A, which serves to accompany this section. It is essential to state from the outset that we must not completely disregard preconceived notions of the Salons of 1824 and 1827. It is necessary and indeed important to consider why these exhibitions were so significant at the time, and why they have continued to be seen as such. 1824 is, after all, often known as the 'English Salon', on account of the vast number of British works shown and medals won by British artists at the exhibition. For a display with such a vast cultural impact, the traditional view of British art at the 1824 Salon is very much limited, even within the sphere of this single exhibition.

British Painters at the Paris Salon, 1814-1827

The 1814 Paris Salon came at an interesting point in the history of the period, and was the first after the lengthy and prolonged Franco-British war had finally ended. It was also the first Salon to be held under the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. Napoleon's first abdication had recently taken place, and the Continental System's embargo, which prohibited trade with Britain, had by this stage come to an end. 1814 was certainly not the first time that British artists displayed their work at the Salon in Paris. Nevertheless, the discourse of historical study has suggested that 1814 was the first exhibition at which we begin to see the appearance of somewhat more recognisable British artists' names. This is a trend that seemed to develop more with every subsequent Salon exhibition that followed up until 1824, which is seen as the pinnacle of British art, not just in Paris, but in France.

The Salon of 1814 included four British artists, who, although uncommon, have not been totally ignored in literature. These include the fairly well-known John Crome (elder), as well as somewhat more obscure artists such as John Glover and the brothers James and George Foggo.

The Foggo brothers are even less well-known today than their fellow British exhibitors at the 1814 display. James (1789 – 1860) and George (1793 – 1869) were born to a renowned London watchmaker and republican from Fife, and in 1799, when the brothers were young children, the family was forced to move to France.[21] Their father was an active campaigner for the emancipation of black slaves in North and South

[21] Lionel Henry Cust, rev. Lucy Dixon, 'Oxford DNB article: James Foggo', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed November 13, 2014, http://www/oxforddnb.com/view/article/9780?docPos=2.

America, and feared intimidation following his support.[22] In Paris, both James and George studied painting (particularly history painting) under Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754 – 1829) at the École des Beaux-Arts from 1810 onwards.[23] James Foggo eventually returned to London in 1815 in order to establish his own studio, with George only joining him in 1819.[24] For the next forty years the pair worked together on many of their canvases, however both exhibited separately at the 1814 Salon. James displayed two paintings, one an unknown portrait and the other a history painting of the *Mort de Cordélia* (*Death of Cordelia*), a subject from Shakespeare's tragedy, *King Lear*.[25] The younger George Foggo showed just one work, a painting of *Marguerite d'Anjou*[26], the wife of King Henry VI of England, and herself Queen of England from 1445 – 1461 and 1470 – 1471.

Edward Morris acknowledged James and George Foggo's inclusion at the Paris Salon of 1814,[27] but did not appear to recognise or comment on the fact that the name 'Foggo' is present once again in the 1817 Salon *livret*. On page 37 of the catalogue we see a portrait of an unknown child displayed by 'Foggo',[28] yet it is difficult to attribute the painting to one of the brothers, as, unlike the 1814 catalogue, the artist's forename is not specified. There are, nevertheless, a variety of ways that we can attempt to accredit the painting to one of the brothers. We know that James and George Foggo worked on paintings together for much of their life, so was it possible that they worked collectively

[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881: Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (France), Volume 1814*, compiled by H. W. Janson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 40. Accessed November 6, 2014. https://archive.org/details/cataloguesofpari1814acad.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 13.
[28] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881: Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (France), Volume 1817*, compiled by H. W. Janson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 37. Accessed November 6, 2014. https://archive.org/details/cataloguesofpari1814acad.

on this? It seems perhaps a little unlikely that the portrait was a collaborative effort when we consider a few details. Firstly, we do not know the extent of the brothers' collaboration on paintings before the pair had returned to London and shared a studio. They were, after all, both in London only after 1819 when George returned to join James.[29] In other instances of joint collaborations from brothers the Salon catalogues appeared to make this clear with the note of '*frères*'. One such case of this was the Thompson brothers, John and Charles, both of whom were wood engravers. The Thompson brothers did not live or work in the same proximity to one another as the Foggo brothers did during their lifetimes. This makes the fact that John and Charles exhibited together rather interesting as a paradox with James and George Foggo, who worked closely together but do not appear to have exhibited in collaboration at the 1814 or 1817 Paris Salons.

If we look at the detail that the Foggo picture displayed at the 1817 Salon was a small portrait of a child, rather than a large history painting, then it seems somewhat justified to suggest that the work was carried out by one brother and not both. Many of their later collaborative works made in the London studio were vast history paintings which were often deemed to be too large to hang in conventional galleries.[30] Unfortunately we do not know anything about the circumstances that saw the painting included in the Salon display, and therefore do not know why it was included or how it came to be shown. If we are to follow this line of consideration, we cannot be entirely certain as to which brother made the picture. However, while this remains true, we can positively make an assumption that the portrait was carried out by George rather than James, as George was the only brother still in Paris between 1815 and 1819.

[29] Cust, 'Oxford DNB article: James Foggo'.
[30] Ibid.

Barthélémy Jobert has written much on the topic of the nineteenth century Salons and the British involvement within them in particular. Rather than contest the accepted and somewhat restrictive view of the 1824 Salon as the definitive exhibition for the Franco-British artistic relationship, he has contributed to it. There are brief moments where Jobert has attempted to acknowledge other slightly lesser known British artists at the Salon, but the majority of his focus is on the most popular names that have survived since 1824.

In his essay '*À la recherche de l'école anglaise*', Jobert mentioned a number of artists from this exhibition, other than Constable and Thomas Lawrence. Among them were 'Bonington, Copley and Thales Fielding, Gastineau, J. D. Harding, James Roberts, John Varley and William Wyld',[31] and he reiterates these very same names in another essay titled '*Les artistes anglais au Salon, 1802-1879*'.[32] Some of these artists (aside from Bonington, the Fielding brothers , Lawrence and Constable) are not commonly known and rarely seen at all, let alone with regard to the 1824 Salon. Henry Gastineau, James Duffield Harding and James Roberts were all rather prominent British artists who spent much of their working lives in active interaction with the French art world. William Wyld is an interesting attribution, which will be discussed in more depth as I believe it to be a mistake. Jobert is by no means comprehensive, and in fact omits most of the British artists' names that appear in the 1824 *livret*. In total, fourteen British artists were represented at the 'English Salon', some of whom had displayed their work at previous Salon exhibitions, but the majority of whose reputations have not endured.

[31] Jobert, 'À la recherche de l'école anglaise', 127.
[32] Barthélémy Jobert, 'Les artistes anglais au Salon, 1802-1879', 206.

Bonington, Constable, Lawrence, and Copley Fielding, are usually recognised as the pivotal figures of British art and its circulation in France. This idea is always centred on the 1824 Salon and is partially justifiable, as Bonington, Constable and Fielding were all awarded gold medals for their paintings from the new King Charles X.[33] The wood engraver Charles Thompson was also awarded a gold medal, though this fact has been largely forgotten and only appears in literature from Edward Morris.[34] This was one of the highest accolades that any artist could achieve at the Paris Salon, let alone a foreign artist.

Constable exhibited three paintings to great acclaim, which appear in the catalogue as '*Une charrette à foin traversant un gué au pied d'une ferme; paysage*', '*Un canal en Angleterre; paysage*', and '*Vue près de Londres; Hampstead-Heath*'.[35] Today, they are better known as *The Hay Wain* (1821), *View on the Stour near Dedham* (1822), and *A View of Hampstead Heath, London* (early 1820s), and represent three of the artist's most celebrated and familiar landscape paintings. There is a much used claim in literature that Delacroix, upon observing the freshness of Constable's colours first-hand, returned to his studio and repainted much of his *Massacre at Chios*, which he felt was inadequate after viewing the English painter's technique.[36] This anecdote, however interesting, is ultimately overused in historiographies. More interesting to us is the effect of Bonington and Delacroix's mutual influence upon Bonington's subject matter, which will be discussed when we consider his work at the 1827 Salon. The nineteenth century writer Stendhal (1783 – 1842), who it could be said was something of an artistic Anglophobe,

[33] Noon, 'Colour and Effect', 22.
[34] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 42.
[35] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881: Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (France), Volume 1824*, compiled by H. W. Janson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 43. Accessed November 6, 2014. https://archive.org/details/cataloguesofpari1824acad.
[36] Paul Johnson, *The Birth Of The Modern: World Society, 1815-1830* (London: Hachette UK, 2013), n.p.

rather uncharacteristically praised Constable's paintings when viewing them in 1824. To the Frenchman, Constable's vision was 'as truthful as a mirror.'[37] He wrote:

> '… the English have sent us some magnificent landscapes this year by *M. Constable*. I doubt if we have anything to compare with them. The *truth* of these charming works instantly strikes and delights us. *M. Constable's* brushwork is excessively free, and the planes of his pictures are carelessly observed. Moreover there is no ideal in his work; but his delightful landscape with a dog on the left is a mirror of nature, and it completely outshines a large landscape by *M. Watelet* hanging next to it in the main gallery.'[38]

This opinion is unusual when we consider Stendhal himself. His attitudes are often curious for their subjectivity and vested interests, and as we will observe shortly, Edward Morris suggested a valuable assessment of the reason for Stendhal's views, offering that the French writer often knowingly made claims that would be seen as eccentric and unorthodox.[39] His admiration for Constable is largely at odds with this idea, and the implication is that Stendhal was genuinely impressed with the work. Though Morris's suggestion seems to be unfounded by this example, we should not dispense of the notion yet. As we shall see, there are many examples in which it appears to be true, particularly concerning Thomas Lawrence and Thales Fielding.

Bonington exhibited a total of five pictures in 1824. Among them were three certain seascapes, as well as an unknown study made in Flanders, and a view of Abbeville, although it is not known whether this picture was a marine painting or an architectural

[37] Stendhal, *Stendhal and the Arts*, ed. David Wakefield (London: Phaidon Press, 1973), 111.
[38] Ibid., 109-10.
[39] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 48.

scene.[40] The last picture of the five that appear in the catalogue, '*Une plage sablonneuse*' (*A sandy beach*), is noted as having been owned by Alexandre du Sommerard (1779 – 1842), a renowned archaeologist and art collector.[41] This ownership, no doubt, was a defining factor in the display of the work. Another of the paintings, possibly the fourth entry, '*Marine (Des pêcheurs débarquent leur poisson)*' (*Seascape with Fishermen landing their fish*), is thought to have been the oil painting now known as *A Fish-Market near Boulogne* (Fig. 1) (1824), which is today one of Bonington's best-loved seascapes. The Tate Britain proudly claims that one of the Bonington oil paintings in its own collection, titled *French Coast with Fishermen* (Fig. 2), was 'almost certainly' exhibited at the 1824 Paris Salon.[42] However, they date the execution of their picture to 1825.[43] This error does not mean that the Tate oil painting was not exhibited at the 1824 Salon. There is every possibility that it may have been one of the other marine seascapes, although in the *livret* one work was listed as a watercolour, which narrows the field for the claim that it featured at the Salon.

Copley Fielding contributed a surprisingly large number of paintings to the 1824 exhibition. There were nine in total; six of which were watercolour, the other three being oil on canvas.[44] Six of the paintings were picturesque views of Britain, two were coastal scenes and one a more ambiguous depiction of a road. The catalogue entry carefully highlights the fact that four of the watercolours, among them scenes of Chepstow Castle (misspelled 'Chepstor' in the *livret*) and Harlech Castle in Wales, were owned by 'M[onsieur]. Schroth',[45] the prominent Paris art dealer Claude Schroth, who,

[40] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1824*. 26
[41] Ibid.
[42] "'French Coast with Fishermen', Richard Parkes Bonington | Tate", accessed February 24, 2015, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/bonington-french-coast-with-fishermen-t11900.
[43] Ibid.
[44] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1824*, 43.
[45] Ibid.

along with John Arrowsmith, also possessed a number of commissions from Constable and Bonington.

Beyond a mere handful of names, the topic of contemporary Paris art collectors and dealers reveals itself to be a rather malnourished source of literature and understanding. Easily the best known Paris dealer of this period was John Arrowsmith (1790 – 1849). Despite his name (he was of English descent), Arrowsmith was French, and although he is often recalled with regard to patronage in the early nineteenth century Paris art world, very little is known of the man himself. Nevertheless, he appears to have been instrumental in gaining patronage for a number of British artists across the Channel. Despite the dearth of information on Arrowsmith, it does not seem far-fetched to suggest that he was likely to have been on the Salon selection committee, given his integral nature to the market and the number of works that appear to have been displayed thanks to his influence.

The brother-in-law of Louis Daguerre (1787 – 1851),[46] Arrowsmith was indeed well connected through his father William Arrowsmith, who worked as a diplomat for members of the Orléans Royal family in France.[47] With the aid of Daguerre, John played an fundamental part in the 1823 installation of the London Diorama in Park Square East, Regent's Park.[48] He was a great advocate of a number of living British landscape painters, particularly John Constable, and it is estimated that during the period between the two Paris Salons of 1824 and 1827, when English art was at the peak of its popularity across the Channel, Arrowsmith ensured the French acquisition of 22

[46] Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters and Photographers in Nineteenth Century France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 133.
[47] Linda Whiteley, 'Arrowsmith, John in Oxford Art Online', Oxford Art Online, accessed May 27, 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T004261.
[48] Ibid.

paintings by Constable alone.[49] Constable himself appears to have been somewhat more ambivalent over his popularity in France, having never physically crossed the Channel to travel there, not even to receive in person the gold medal he was awarded by Charles X in 1824. Other English artists that Arrowsmith dealt with included Samuel William Reynolds (who we shall discuss later), from whom he commissioned an engraving of Paul Delaroche's *Joan of Arc in Prison*.[50] The original was also owned by him.[51]

Arrowsmith was by no means the only prominent Paris art dealer of this period, particularly where Franco-British artistic relations were concerned, and Claude Schroth (1815 – 1850s) deserves a mention. After Arrowsmith had bought *The Hay Wain* and *View on the Stour near Dedham*, he introduced Schroth to Constable in 1824. Schroth was so impressed by the English painter that he immediately commissioned three landscapes.[52] Constable, with his reputedly cynical outlook towards France in general, produced three almost identical paintings, two of which depicted scenes of Hampstead.[53] Schroth's name, like Arrowsmith's, seems almost exclusively attached to that of Constable, Bonington and Samuel William Reynolds. His interest in literary themes led him to open a print shop in the Rue de la Paix, before a financial crash forced Schroth and many other Parisian art dealers to sell many of their works.[54]

Thomas Lawrence exhibited two important portraits in 1824: one of a female sitter, Mrs. John Scandrett Harford, wife of the well-known British banker and staunch abolitionist, and another of Armand Emmanuel de Vignerot du Plessis, Duke of Richelieu

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[49] Ibid.
[50] DeCourcy and McIntosh, 'The Origins of the Maison Goupil in the age of Romanticism', *The British Art Journal*, Vol. 5 No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2004), 68.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Graham Reynolds, *Constable's England* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), 128.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Linda Whiteley, 'Schroth, Claude in Oxford Art Journal', Oxford Art Journal, accessed May 27, 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T076831?q=schrtoh&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.

(1766 – 1822).[55] The latter picture was a smaller copy of a previous portrait of the Duke of Richelieu for George IV, painted in 1818, which Jobert noted was owned by the Richelieu family.[56] Stendhal looked at Lawrence's portrait unfavourably, as he tended to with the vast majority of British art that did not come from the hand of Constable. He described the picture of Richelieu as undeniably 'bad' and damningly called Lawrence's style a 'caricature of the carelessness of genius'.[57] He went on in disbelief: 'And a talent of this order wins men a top place in the arts in England! Either M. Lawrence must have considerable social know-how, or else our neighbours in London know very little about art.'[58] Michael Levey agreed with elements of this sentiment, and has called Lawrence's choice to exhibit this painting 'strangely muted artistically and somewhat misjudged.'[59] On the contrary, the decision of Lawrence to depict the deceased royalist and French statesman was a shrewd selection on his part. Evidence of this is apparent in the fact that he was made a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur at the Salon.[60]

Two years previously, Thales Fielding had exhibited a small engraving under an entry from Jean-Frédéric d'Ostervald, editor of the *Voyage pittoresques en Sicile*, at the Salon of 1822. Primarily known as a watercolour painter, Thales's contribution in 1824 was a somewhat more distinctive representation of his work in general. He showed three works from no. 20 rue Jacob, among them a scene of an Italian mill ('*Moulin prés la barrier d'Italie'*) and '*Un cadre contenant des aquarelles'*.[61] These pictures were less significant, however, and the work that garnered the most attention was his depiction of a Shakespearean subject, '*Macbeth rencontrant les sorcières sur la bruyère*' (*Macbeth*

[55] Ibid., 114.
[56] Jobert, 'À la recherche de l'école anglaise', 127.
[57] Stendhal, *Stendhal and the Arts*, 109.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Michael Levey, *Sir Thomas Lawrence* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2005), 259.
[60] Noon, 'Colour and Effect', 22.
[61] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1824*, 72.

Meeting the Witches on the Heath).[62] This watercolour was highly praised, and special mention is made of it by Barthélémy Jobert.[63] Edward Morris also noted that the French were struck by the painting and held it in high esteem, despite the unfavourable factors concerning its display at the Salon, such as its small size and apparently poor hanging position.[64] Even the antipathetic Stendhal commended the watercolour in an extensive description, paying tribute to Fielding's 'poetic imagination' in rendering Shakespeare's supernatural characters[65]. Elsewhere he wrote, 'in a year's time I will still remember this poor little watercolour – two feet square – and I will have forgotten, as will the public, those oil paintings which plaster the grand salon'.[66] Morris importantly offers a brief but significant explanation of Stendhal's opinion. Stendhal was, after all, so full of aversion to any outlook held by more traditional and conservative French reviewers, that the unusual figures in a painting such as Fielding's appealed to his nonconformist sense of resistance to establishment critics.[67]

Some of the other less well-known names that Jobert cited played important roles at the 1824 Paris Salon. Aside from those discussed in the previous pages, Jobert very briefly mentioned Henry Gastineau, James Duffield Harding, James Roberts, John Varley and William Wyld, although he did not go into detail on any of them. It would be easy to mistakenly ignore the name of Henry Gastineau (1791 – 1876) in the catalogue, as despite the French surname owing to his family's Huguenot lineage, Gastineau was indeed a British landscape painter. He played a prominent part in British artistic establishments, including the Society of Painters in Water Colours, becoming a prolific

[62] Ibid.
[63] Jobert, 'Les artistes anglais au Salon', 206.
[64] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 48.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Stendhal, 'Salon de 1824; Des beaux-arts et du caractère français; Les tombeaux de Corneto / Stendhal; établissement du texte et prefaces par Henri Martineau', *Mélanges d'Art* (1824): 114-5, accessed February 28, 2015. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6911z/f131.image.r=salon%20stendhal.langFR.
[67] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 48.

member and exhibitor with the Society in his later years.[68] In the 1824 Paris catalogue, '*M. Gastineau, de Londres*' is shown to have exhibited several pictures from no. 25, quai des Augustins, on the left bank near Saint Michel.[69] Considering his productive artistic output, it is perhaps little surprise that he displayed a relatively large number of pictures. In all, Gastineau contributed eight paintings in 1824, including three views of Scotland, three of York, and a scene each of Cambridge and Southampton.[70] We cannot be completely certain which paintings these were and although they are likely to have been mostly, if not all, watercolours, they are not specifically listed as such.

Barthélémy Jobert gives the name of James Roberts as also having exhibited in 1824.[71] Roberts has now become an elusive figure. Fortunately, we cannot fault Jobert's attribution, as the Paris catalogue of 1824 includes Roberts's forename within its entry: '*ROBERTS, (James) rue de Braque, no. 6.*'[72] This is rather unusual, as the vast majority of names in the catalogues do not include such specificity and those that do appear to be rather random. Even still this attribution can be confusing, as there did exist another slightly earlier British artist named James Roberts (1753 – 1809), who primarily practiced portraiture, but died too early to contend for the attribution. As Jobert does not expand upon any other details of this artist, we have no concrete evidence as to who the James Roberts of the Salon was. Nevertheless, we do know of a James Roberts who likely studied with Bonington and was familiar with the atelier of Baron Jean-Antoine Gros,[73] but has since slipped into complete obscurity. There is a candidate for the attribution who comes via the archives of the current Royal Collection. In the collection

[68] Oxford University Press, *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators, Volume 1*, 443.
[69] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1824*, 79-80.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Jobert, 'Les artistes anglais au Salon, 1802-1879', 206.
[72] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1824*, 159.
[73] Malcolm Cormack, *Bonington* (London: Phaidon Press, 1989), 26.

there is a large body of work by an artist named James Roberts, who is noted as having lived from 1800 – 1867.[74] Almost all of these pictures are rather distinctive watercolours of Royal interiors. Both the paintings by James Roberts that were exhibited at the 1824 Salon were watercolours, and it would be fair to assume that this was the same artist whose work is held in the Royal Collection, although his two scenes of Rouen and Beauvais remain as untraceable as his biography.

John Varley (1778 – 1842) is a somewhat better-known artist than several of the names that we have come across. Again, the Salon catalogue gives us a first name, which saves confusion between John and his younger brothers, Cornelius (1781 – 1873) and the lesser known William Fleetwood Varley (1785 – 1856), both of whom were also painters. John, predominantly a watercolourist, began producing work at an early age. As a young teenager he was apprenticed as a student to Joseph Charles Barrow in London.[75] Whilst training as an assistant under Barrow, he met the young François Louis Thomas Francia, a fellow student a few years older than himself.[76] The Paris Salon catalogue records Varley as having exhibited two unknown works, most probably both watercolours, from no. 25 quai des Grands-Augustins (along with a number of the other previously mentioned British artists).[77] They appear as '*Montagne de Morne, en Irlande*', and simply '*Une composition*'; respectively, the *Mourne Mountains, Ireland*, and an unnamed picture, vague in its general and ubiquitous catalogue title.[78]

[74] 'Explore the Collection#/page/1', The Royal Collection, accessed March 4, 2015. http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search#/page/1. (James Roberts and his dates can be found by searching his name under the 'Explore the Collection' section.)
[75] O'Neill, ed., *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century European Drawings*, 58.
[76] C. M. Kauffmann, 'Oxford DNB article: Varley, John', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed February 21, 2015. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28115?docPos=1.
[77] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1824*, 180.
[78] Ibid.

The final name that Jobert acknowledges, William Wyld, is a particularly curious inclusion. I find this attribution problematic for a number of reasons. The first and most discernible reason is that no 'Wyld' appears at all in the 1824 Salon *livret*. Indeed, there did exist a nineteenth century British painter named William Wyld, who was born in London in 1806 and died in 1889 in Paris. Rather interestingly, Wyld had a strong artistic association with France and French art during his life. Aged just twenty years old, he relocated from London to Calais around 1826 in order to take up a position as secretary to the British Consulate.[79] It was here that he too became acquainted under the tutelage of Louis Francia, who had long been associated with watercolour painting and by this stage counted Bonington among his previous pupils.[80] However, Wyld's career as a painter does not appear to have been readily forthcoming. After a year, he began working as a wine merchant, shipping champagne from Épernay in the northern Marne region of France.[81] He continued to do this for several years from 1827 into the next decade. It was only during the latter half of the 1830s and early 1840s that Wyld became well-known as a rather more renowned British painter in France.

If Wyld had in reality exhibited at the 1824 Salon, he would have been just eighteen years old, which, although not completely implausible, is highly unlikely when we examine alternative options. Jobert gives no indication as to the pictures that *his* William Wyld may have exhibited. Although no 'Wyld' appears in the 1824 *livret*, it does feature a 'Wild' from London, who exhibited from the popular address at no. 25 quai de Grands-Augustins.[82] This artist is shown to have displayed four pictures in total, all architectural studies, including scenes of the cathedrals at Amiens, Reims, St. Ouen and

[79] Marcia Pointon, *The Bonington Circle: English Watercolour and Anglo-French Landscape, 1790-1855* (Brighton: Hendon Press, 1985), 40.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid., 26.
[82] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1824*, 187.

Chartres.[83] There is no record of William Wyld ever having travelled to France before he moved there in 1826, two years after the Paris Salon exhibition of 1824. However, studies of these cathedrals do appear in the work of Charles Wild, another British artist who had a close association with France. Charles Wild (1781 – 1835), although an unfamiliar artist to us now, was revered in his day as a watercolour painter whose talents lay in architectural subjects. He was a prominent member of the Society of Painters in Water Colours and regularly exhibited interior, as well as exterior views of English, French, Belgian and German cathedrals.[84] Wild is known to have been travelling and making architectural studies around France and the rest of the continent during the early 1820s, several years before William Wyld.[85] These journeys undoubtedly contributed to his 1826 publication of *Twelve select examples of the ecclesiastical architecture of the middle ages, chiefly in France*,[86] and the four pictures that hung in the 1824 Salon are also likely to be products of these travels. For these reasons, Charles Wild seems a much more feasible candidate for the attribution.

To get a sense of the sheer number of British artists at the 1824 Salon, the names that we have discussed by no means exhaust those included in the *livret*. Jobert and others have omitted several names from their accounts of the exhibition, but that is not to say that these artists were less important. The other British names that feature in the catalogue include an extensive number of engravers, as well as two painters that were new to the Paris Salon, William Linton and Samuel Prout, none of whom Jobert even mentioned. Why these two artists have been omitted from narratives of the exhibition remains curiously unknown. Linton and Prout were prominent British painters during

[83] Ibid.
[84] Greg Smith, 'Oxford DNB article: Wild, Charles', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed December 2, 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29391?docPos=1.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.

the early to mid-nineteenth century, and it is unusual that they have been overlooked. Samuel Prout in particular held a significant position with regard to Franco-British artistic relations in the years following the Napoleonic Wars. The inspiration and influence that he found on his tours of Normandy are often documented, although his display at the 1824 Paris Salon is significantly less so.

William Linton (1791 – 1876) is listed as having exhibited just a single painting.[87] His picture, a seascape, was given the nonspecific title of '*Une Marine*' and we do not know if the medium was watercolour or oil paint, although it may have been the latter as watercolours are generally specified as such in the *livrets*. Samuel Prout exhibited a rather more substantial collection than Linton. The Salon *livret* includes four watercolours, listed as '*Vue de Cologne*', '*Vue d'Augsbourg*', '*Vue d'Utrecht*' and '*Une marine*'.[88] The display of these four European landscape scenes marks a crucial point in Prout's significant career within France. We cannot say with any certainty which paintings were the views of Cologne, Utrecht or the seascape. The city subject of the other watercolour appears less frequently as a location in Prout's work, and we may reasonably accredit the picture as one of the most typical (in terms of style alone) works that feature in his oeuvre. '*Vue d'Augsburg'* may have been the watercolour as seen in Fig. 3. Prout was a pivotal name in cross-Channel artistic relations, often at the centre of influential networks. He toured France, mostly Normandy, and the rest of Europe extensively during the early nineteenth century after travel to the continent was re-permitted. Although he is frequently regarded as one of the most unique and important British artists of this period, his inclusion at the Salon of 1824 is a heavily overlooked aspect of his career, but one which should be acknowledged.

[87] Ibid., 126.
[88] Ibid., 151

Staggeringly, almost twenty British artists presented their work at the Paris Salon of 1827, the majority of whom were engravers. The exact figure is difficult to establish as attributions for some names that appear in the catalogue remain unattainable, particularly in the more vague sections of the *livret* devoted to engravers. Six artists from the previous Salon of 1824 returned to the 1827 exhibition. These names included Bonington, Constable and Lawrence, all of whom Jobert mentioned again,[89] as well as Harding and the engravers Wedgwood and Thompson. Interestingly, six is not a particularly large number of artists to return to the Paris Salon, but this is indicative of the fact that there were many significant new British artists who received exposure and recognition at the 1827 exhibition. Several of these artists were, and still are, considered to be fairly well established and celebrated names. Despite this, their Salon displays remain largely forgotten.

After a triumphant exhibition at the 1824 Salon, Bonington returned three years later with a display of seven pictures in total.[90] Two of these were watercolours, but it was his oil paintings that were met with the greatest response. Among the five oils was '*Vue du palais à Venise*'. Now known as *Venice: Ducal Palace with a Religious Procession* (Fig. 4), the picture is held in the Tate collection, and Jobert made special mention of the work's success among French observers.[91] As well as this, the Salon display included *Henri IV and the Spanish Ambassador* (Fig. 5) and *François I and Marguerite de Navarre* (Fig. 6), both executed in 1827.

There is a contrast apparent in the catalogues which we must pay attention to; the main difference between Bonington's works at the 1824 and 1827 Salons was the subject

[89] Jobert, 'Les artistes anglais au Salon', 209.
[90] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881: Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (France), Volume 1827*, compiled by H. W. Janson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 40 and 230. Accessed November 11, 2014. https://archive.org/details/cataloguesofpari1827acad.
[91] Jobert, 'Les artistes anglais au Salon', 209.

matter. In 1824 he had exhibited five landscapes, a number of which are now thought to be some of his most distinctive marine paintings.[92] His display in 1827 included some landscape and architectural pictures, but these were fairly unassuming.[93] More interesting is that in this latter exhibition we see a significant shift away from landscape scenes towards history painting, albeit sometimes retaining a landscape component. This is an essential point. Edward Morris highlighted this shift, not in Bonington's Salon displays, but more generally in his work towards the final years of his life. In particular, Morris seemed to acknowledge the fact that Bonington and Delacroix, having been close friends for a number of years, had travelled together in Britain and shared a studio in Paris during the winter of 1825-6.[94] The two artists had a profound influence on each other's work, and Morris noted that Bonington aspired towards history painting in his final years.[95]

Although he was one of the most accomplished watercolour and landscape painters in both Britain and France, landscape as a genre was still seen as subsidiary to history painting. The display of Bonington's history paintings, therefore, was significant. The development in his subject matter can be seen as characteristic of British art made in response to France during this period. Historical connection heavily informed this later work, and *Henri IV and the Spanish Ambassador* and *François I and Marguerite de Navarre* contain strong elements of popular contemporary 'Troubadour' painting, both in terms of their medieval subject matter and aesthetic style.

Venice: Ducal Palace with a Religious Procession represents an altogether different type of history painting, and is important as a symbol of how the focus of Bonington's work

[92] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1824*, 26.
[93] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 40 and 230.
[94] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 48.
[95] Ibid.

progress. The painting seems to bridge both the landscape and historical genres, being a type of historical scene set within a highly picturesque urban Venetian landscape. The development in Bonington's subject matter, of which this painting is a prime example, can be seen as directly representative of the wider trend of British art made in relation to France during the post-war period, and his Salon displays of 1824 and 1827 aptly reflect the developing interest in historical connections.

Constable's return to the Salon was somewhat less emphatic than his display at the previous Salon in 1824. He did, nevertheless, display one work, named in the *livret* as '*Paysage avec figures et animaux*' (Fig. 7).[96] The 1826 work, now better known as *The Cornfield*, is currently held at the National Gallery in London, having been acquired in 1837, shortly after Constable's death that same year.[97]

Of the other most commonly noted British painters who returned to the 1827 Paris Salon, Thomas Lawrence is the final name. Lawrence exhibited three portraits in total, including one of Marie-Caroline de Bourbon-Sicile, the duchess de Berry,[98] and one of the young Master Charles William Lambton (now better known as *The Red Boy* [Fig. 8]).[99] The final picture was an unknown portrait which is curiously named in the Salon catalogue only as '*Portrait de Mademoiselle ***, dessin aux trois crayons*'.[100] Despite this indefinite entry, Jobert attempted to identify the painting, believing it most probably to have been his pencil portrait of *Madame Ducrest de Villeneuve, née Antoinette Duvaucel* now in the Louvre.[101] However, it was Lawrence's well-known portrait of Charles William Lambton, painted for his father John George Lambton the 1st Earl of Durham,

[96] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 50.
[97] Reynolds, *Constable's England*, 76.
[98] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 214.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid., 242.
[101] Jobert, 'À la recherche de l'école anglais', 128.

which attracted the most critical attention. Stendhal again provided a particularly intriguing analysis of Lawrence after seeing his pictures again in 1827. At the Salon three years previously, the writer had harshly condemned Lawrence and ruthlessly undermined the basis of his reputation: 'M. Lawrence's manner has the force of the negligent genius. I must confess that I cannot understand this painter's reputation.'[102] In 1827 Stendhal was somewhat less dismissive. His opinion had changed somewhat, and he wrote of Lawrence in terms of the wider 'school' of English art:

> 'To-day the English manner enjoys a triumph in Paris. This manner is but an imitation of van Dyck and Rembrandt, at times rather an awkward one, but one that has made awkwardness very fashionable… The character of the painter, his way of feeling the events of life shows despite the somewhat unsightly painting manner of his country; and that is why Mr. Lawrence's name is immortal.'[103]

Though Stendhal perhaps betrayed a faintly new-found appreciation of Lawrence's work, it was unfair of him to classify the portrait painter's art as inherently representative of British art as a whole. The vast majority of British pictures at the Salons during this post-war period were, after all, landscape works or historical scenes of architecture, rather than portraits. Many of the landscape and architectural paintings shown in 1827 came from artists not necessarily new to the French art world, but certainly new to the Paris Salon exhibitions. Aside from a small number of engravers who also returned after having displayed at previous Salons, the remaining British artists at the 1827 exhibition were greeted favourably.

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[102] Stendhal, 'Salon de 1824', 79-80.
[103] Stendhal, 'Des Beaux-Arts et du caractère français' (published in *La Revue trimestielle*, July-October 1828), in *Mélanges d'art* (Paris: Le Divan, 1932): 158-9. Jobert, 'À la recherche de l'école anglais', 129.

An appearance worth briefly mentioning in the 1827 catalogue is Newton Smith Fielding. Having previously exhibited a small engraving in 1822 under Ostervald's display of work for the *Voyage pittoresques en Sicile*, Newton was the only Fielding brother to be included in 1827. His entry consisted of multiple works featured within two entries, ambiguous in their catalogue titles and lack of descriptions. Shown from an address at no. 17, rue du Bac, they appear merely as '*Paysages. Même numêro'*, and '*Un cadre de dessins à l'aquarelle*'.[104] The latter entry includes the detail '*Ces dessins appartiennent à M. Leblond*.'[105] Unfortunately, the Monsieur Leblond who owned these drawings remains anonymous. Despite being a well known and prominent British artist, Fielding's display has been ignored in literature on the Salon, probably due to the fragmentary evidence that the *livret* regrettably contains.

Perhaps one of the most unexpected and unusual names that we encounter in the 1827 *livret* is that of William Daniell (1769 – 1837). The unique nature of Daniell's life and work makes him a particularly interesting early nineteenth century British painter, and his affiliation with France is probably less prominent than any of the other British artists that exhibited in Paris at the Salon. He travelled extensively all over the world, producing paintings and engravings primarily. Despite this, as Jobert acknowledges, Daniell was already familiar to the French public through his volume of aquatints titled *Oriental Scenery*.[106] Published in six parts between 1795 and 1808, *Oriental Scenery* featured some of the most original depictions of India and the Far East which had been seen to date. Daniell's travels fed into all aspects of his art, and some of these oriental scenes can be found in his display at the 1827 Salon, which no doubt became an

[104] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 73.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Jobert, 'Les artistes anglais au Salon', 209.

attraction. In Paris he exhibited five paintings, two of which were scenes of Windsor.[107] The other three works all showed scenes from the Far East. They appear in the catalogue as: '*Combat de matelots Lascars contre un serpent Boa'* (*Lascar Sailors Fighting a Boa Constrictor*), '*L'éléphant mort, scène de l'île de Ceylan*d' (*The Dead Elephant, Scene in Ceylon*), and '*Vue de la residence de Rajah Ruvee Varma à Baleapatane, sur la côte de Malabar*' (*View of the Residence of Raja Varma Ruvee of Baleapatane, on the Malabar Coast*).[108] These three paintings stood out against the milieu of historical works and landscape views that were on display. *The Dead Elephant, Scene in Ceylon*, which appears to have been owned (along with the original *Lascar Sailors Fighting a Boa Constrictor*[109]) by the patron Baron de Noual de la Loyrie, seems to have attracted special attention over the other four paintings from Daniell. [110] A particularly fascinating account of the episode that inspired the picture survives in *The Oriental Annual: Or Scenes in India*, a book produced by Daniell along with Hobart Caunter and Thomas Bacon.[111] Daniell also displayed *The Dead Elephant* and *Lascar Sailors Fighting a Boa Constrictor*, among other works, at the Royal Academy in London at this time. One viewer who saw them in London found the two paintings to be too far removed from reality.[112] Of *The Dead Elephant* he wrote of his disappointment, saying that Daniell 'seems to have failed in his intention of impressing the beholder with an idea of an "elephant of enormous size".'[113] Recognising *Lascar Sailors Fighting a Boa Constrictor* as the companion piece, the same writer noted that 'the head of the serpent, according to

[107] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 55.
[108] Ibid.
[109] William Daniell, Hobart Caunter, and Thomas Bacon, *Lives of the Moghul Emperors* (London: Edward Bull, originally published 1835), 262.
[110] William Daniell, Hobart Caunter, and Thomas Bacon, *The Oriental Annual: Or, Scenes in India* (London: C. Tilt, originally published 1834), 90.
[111] Daniell, Caunter, and Bacon, *The Oriental Annual*, 81-3.
[112] *Belle Assemblée: Or, Court and Fashionable Magazine; Containing Interesting and Original Literature, and Record of the Beaumonde* (London: J. Bell, 1827), 277.
[113] Ibid.

the specimens that we have seen of the boa, appears too slight and small for its other proportions.'[114]

Conclusion

In 1791 the first article of the National Assembly's decree promulgated the notion that all Salon exhibitions shall include 'all artists, French or foreign', and that they be established on the basis that all artists 'shall be equally allowed to exhibit'.[115] Prior to this, foreign art was prohibited from being displayed at the Salon.

A remarkable truth of the early nineteenth century exhibitions is simply the fact that there was so much British art admitted for exhibition, particularly when we look at the 'equivalent' exhibitions of the Royal Academy in London, which largely failed to consider French and foreign art in general. As Edward Morris affirmed, 'French artists had no reciprocal welcome at the Royal Academy.'[116] He highlighted the case of Constable, who provides an example of the Academy's approach in comparison to the internationally inclusive nature of the Salon. After the artist's triumphant display in Paris in 1824, he applied for membership of the Academy in 1826, but received just one ignoble vote in the final ballot.[117] The implication is that Constable's dealings with Paris were met with some degree of hostility at home, but in reality we do not know if this idea was in fact a genuinely founded reaction. Nevertheless, it is an engaging notion.

[114] Ibid.
[115] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 136.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.

For British and other foreign artists, the Paris Salon held many advantages over the Royal Academy in London, providing a valuable market and very much more inclusive display space.[118] The general lack of French art in Royal Academy exhibitions during this early nineteenth century period is indicative of wider contemporary attitudes concerning art and national identity. An interesting point worth regarding is that although individual pockets of British artists chose to integrate and immerse themselves within French art and society, British art institutions did not. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, even beyond the 1820s and 1830s towards the mid-century, there existed a strong insularity in British art. We might even call it a 'resistance' towards outside influence. Though this was not visibly true of many individual artists, it certainly became more prevalent in British art as a whole, especially around the 1840s and 1850s, with the advent of highly provincial and competitive movements such as the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

As shall be discussed in Chapter 5, many English works, particularly the engravings, found their way into French displays because their makers lived and worked across the Channel. Many of the more prominent paintings, however, were exhibited at the Salons because their owners were French. It should be no surprise that some artists chose to show their work at the Salons. For those that lived in France themselves, but did not quite have the support of such renowned and influential patrons as Arrowsmith or Schroth, the Salon was a principal channel for the promotion of their reputation and the garnering of clients.

[118] Ibid.

Chapter 3

Artist Networks and the British Interest in Post-war Normandy

Introduction

This chapter will seek to address several areas of the Franco-British artistic relationship, mostly by looking at a handful of individual British artists and their associations. In response to Olivier Meslay's earlier remarks which opened the previous chapter,[119] we will begin by briefly considering the period of the Peace of Amiens and the subsequent years of war from 1803-1814. Although the focus of this thesis is on the Restoration era that followed this, it is important to discuss these precursory years as there was some valuable British engagement with France at this time. Central to this is the trip that Thomas Girtin took in 1801/1802, as well as the attempts that Robert and Richard Smirke made to cross the Channel shortly before the Peace of Amiens. Although we think of the Franco-British relationship as having begun after the Napoleonic Wars, the Paris Salons prior to 1814 also featured a small amount of British artwork.

Following from this we will consider some of the early artist's trips to France after Franco-British borders reopened, particularly those made by John Glover and John Crome, as well as slightly later tours made by John Sell Cotman and Dawson Turner. The experience of post-war France, and particularly Normandy, did much to inform these artists' work, and frequently we recognise an ongoing fascination with medieval Norman architecture and landscape. In this regard, Samuel Prout is perhaps the most important artist to the entire study of historical architecture and the British interest in

[119] Meslay, 'British Painting in France before 1802', 17.

France. Although he is recognised in literature, his reputation is still significantly underestimated by many historians.

Certainly one of the more substantial elements of this chapter is the discussion on Bonington, his legacy, and subsequent perceptions of him in literature. By looking at the claims of Marcia Pointon,[120] some of Bonington's personal associations and the circumstantial effects of his early death, we will rebut the almost universally accepted view of him as a wholly independent artist. His untimely death, like Girtin's, has certainly contributed significantly to his legacy and actively seems to have overshadowed other artists in the process, one example being Thomas Shotter Boys.

Artist Networks and the British Interest in Post-war Normandy

A small number of Britons appear to have remained in France throughout the years of war from 1803 to 1814, having travelled there during the Peace of Amiens. While we do not know how many exactly, the figure is small, and those who were confined to France during the war would likely have found themselves in a hostile environment. An anecdote regarding the British architect Robert Smirke (1780 – 1867) and his brother Richard (1778 – 1815) serves to illustrate the difficulties that British citizens found in attempting to visit Paris while the two nations were at war. Around 1800/1801, the two brothers had planned a visit to Paris, disguised as Americans in order to avoid suspicion.[121] However, the journey was ultimately abandoned as they deemed it to be too dangerous. They did, nevertheless, manage to travel to Paris during the Peace of

[120] Marcia Pointon, *Bonington, Francia and Wyld* (London: B T Batsford, 1985), 33.
[121] Giles Worsley, *Architectural Drawings of the Regency Period, 1790-1837: From the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (London: A. Deutsch, 1991), 13.

Amiens soon after, embarking on an extended tour throughout the rest of Europe which would last for four years.[122]

Thomas Girtin (1775 – 1802) was one of the most noteworthy British artists who spent time in France during the six months of peace negotiations prior to the signing of the Treaty of Amiens during late 1801 and early 1802. Many of the sketches and watercolours that Girtin made on his tour were to culminate in a series of engravings titled, *A Selection of twenty of the most picturesque views in Paris and its environs*, published posthumously in 1803. Girtin's decision to travel to Paris in November 1801 was a particularly unusual choice given his ill health and asthma at this stage.[123] Despite his popularity, he had just been unanimously rejected for a position as an associate member of the Royal Academy, based upon the fact that he was a watercolour painter.[124] Girtin also left his wife, who was eight months pregnant at the time, in London.[125] The reasons for Girtin's extended trip seem curious and are indeed enveloped in speculation, but we should not allow his biographical circumstances to provide explanations. There is a degree of thought which suggests that at least part of his visit to Paris was to gauge the viability for potentially displaying his London panorama there.[126] Unfortunately, it appears that he found this to be infeasible, writing to his brother in April 1802, 'the Panorama here does not answer'.[127] It is also possible that in his pursuit, Girtin was making sketches for a potential panorama of Paris.

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[122] Ibid.
[123] Matthew Hargraves, *Great British Watercolours: From the Paul Mellon Collection at the Yale Center for British Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 98.
[124] *Exhibition of the Works of Thomas Girtin, Born 1773* [sic: 1775]*: Died 1802* (London: Spottiswoode & Company, 1875), 7. The Royal Academy largely failed to acknowledge the popularity of watercolour, refusing associate membership to any artists specialising in the medium. Only in 1843 was the first associate membership awarded based upon the strength of an artist's watercolours.
[125] Susan Morris, *Thomas Girtin, 1775 – 1802* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Center for British Art, 1986), 25.
[126] Jonathan Mayne, *Thomas Girtin* (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1949), 59.
[127] Greg Smith, *Thomas Girtin: The Art of Watercolour* (London: Tate Publishing, 2002), 191.

Travel for artists during the atypical fourteen month period of the Peace of Amiens was not wholly difficult, and the *Diligence* coach from London to Paris was already in operation by this time.[128] Touring France was already rather more convenient by this stage than it had previously been before the wars, and the later introduction of steamship travel around 1816 continued such progress after the wars.

It is believed by Edward Morris that some 6,000 Britons travelled to Paris during 1802.[129] Aside from Girtin, a number of other British artists of significance had visited Paris during the Peace of Amiens. The sculptor Thomas Banks noted the sparse nature of the Royal Academy members who had remained in London during the summer of 1802. He wrote in a letter to George Cumberland on 23rd September that year:

> 'Many of the Artists have Visited Paris this summer, the National Gallery and the Exhibition are very properly the attraction – Mr President West and his son, Mr and Mrs Flaxman, Mr and Mrs Opie, Mr Farington, Mr Daniel, Mr Girtin, Mr Turner, Mr Hoppner and Mr Fuseli are some the Principals inferior[sic] Artists out of Number.'[130]

Of particular interest are some of the Paris Salon exhibitions from 1803 – 1814, which featured a small handful of exhibited works from British artists. How these artists came to be shown is unfortunately unknown, and we can only wonder whether it is because the artists themselves were residents of Paris, or whether their work simply had influential French owners. Regardless of this, these displays have been completely ignored in all literature on British art in the Salon. Notably, one of these was a female artist; Elisabeth Harvey (dates unknown), who appears several times in the catalogues

[128] William Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy, made in 1824-5* (London: Hunt and Clarke, 1826), 12.
[129] Morris, *Thomas Girtin*, 25.
[130] Ibid.

for the 1804, 1806, 1808 and 1812 Salons. The paintings she exhibited were mostly general portraits and studies, but little is known today of her life. In 1812 the *livret* lists another interesting entry by a 'Hutchinson'. We can only speculate as to whom Hutchinson was, but there is reason to believe that it may have been the now unknown artist, Samuel Hutchinson (dates unknown). At the 1812 Salon he showed two drawings, one view of Walmer Castle in Kent, and one of the port at Helvoetsluys (or Hellevoetsluis) in Holland.[131] The only indication that this may have been the artist in question is the fact that around this time, Samuel Hutchinson made a number of small drawings and watercolours known as *Shipping off Helvoetsluys, Holland*. It seems likely that this was the same artist, and current online archives from Bonhams auction house show that two works by this name were made around 1801/1802, and sold at auction on February 7th and April 11th 2006. Sadly nothing is known of Hutchinson's life beyond this.[132]

J. M. W. Turner was one of the only British artists to travel to France both during the period of peace and again after the end of the Napoleonic Wars (several times before 1830, in fact). Turner's engagement with France has been very well documented among the extensive literature on the artist, particularly by Ian Warrell,[133] and so does not need to be discussed in depth. The diary of Joseph Farington, despite himself not venturing to France after 1814, contains a great many thoughts on French politics and society during the post war period. His notes on the physical and social state of France seem to come largely from the accounts given to him by friends and acquaintances. In a

[131] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881: Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (France), Volume 1812*, compiled by H. W. Janson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 53. Accessed November 6, 2014. https://archive.org/details/cataloguesofpari1810acad.
[132] 'Prices and estimates of works Samuel Hutchinson', Arcadja Auctions Results, accessed January 28, 2016. http://www.arcadja.com/auctions/en/hutchinson_samuel/artist/152523/.
[133] Ian Warrell, *Turner on the Loire* (London: Tate Gallery, 1997), and Ian Warrel, *Turner on the Seine* (London: Tate Gallery, 1999).

diary entry for 28th October 1814, Farington recalls a friend of his, the painter William Owen, who called on him for dinner and gave his early impressions of France from a recent visit. In Farington's words:

> 'Owen made many remarks on Paris and its inhabitants; of the miserable state of the streets – narrow, – dirty, – and no convenient walk for foot passengers; and [in] general a Union of display and filth. The dislike of the *English* appeared manifest, for to them the degradation to which France had been subjected was attributed.'[134]

Farington's account of Owen's words is likely dramatised for his own purpose, but his description of the animosity that British visitors faced appears to reiterate the idea of French hostility towards tourists from across the Channel. In another entry two years later on 2nd February 1816, Farington notes a remark that was passed on to him from Sir Neil Campbell (1776 – 1827), one of the British Army officers who had personally escorted Napoleon to Elba. Campbell told Farington in 1816:

> 'there will be a Civil War in France ere long, and the English who may be in the country will be the first sacrificed. The hatred of the French towards the English is extreme … They consider England to have caused all their disgrace and subjection.'[135]

If French popular hostility was indeed just as Farington recalled it in these diary entries, then it seems not to have wavered after two years of free travel between Britain and France. Campbell's military position means that we must remain hesitant about the

[134] Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. XIII, ed. Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1978-1998), 4599.
[135] Ibid., Vol. XIV, 4774.

reliability of his statement. We must not place too much emphasis on this idea, and instead consider to what degree this acrimonious attitude extended into the artistic world. British artists flocked to France after the wars, but in general, was their arrival received so bitterly?

Among the first British artists to arrive in France following the years of war was John Glover (1767 – 1849). Glover travelled to Paris in 1814 and exhibited a painting at the Salon that year. The *livret* lists the work merely as a large single painting of a landscape with shepherds resting.[136] Although he did make a number of landscape compositions featuring such details, the painting that is thought to have been exhibited in 1814 is now more commonly known as *The Bay of Naples* (Fig. 9) (1814), currently held in the Cardiff City Hall collection. Although Patrick Noon did briefly mention Glover's display,[137] a remarkable fact that Noon failed to discuss is that the painting was extremely popular, attracting the attention and admiration of King Louis XVIII who awarded the artist a gold medal for the single artwork.[138] Little is known of Glover's trip to France in 1814, other than the exhibition of this work, but if there was indeed any feeling of French hostility towards the British, Glover did not experience it at the hands of the Salon Committee.

Noon also briefly mentioned John Crome (1768 – 1821; referred to as 'Old Crome', so as to distinguish him from his son John Berney Crome),[139] another prominent artist to visit Paris in 1814. This trip was to be Crome's only journey abroad, and he travelled with fellow Norwich painters, William Freeman and Daniel Coppin.[140] Despite having

[136] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1814*, 45.
[137] Noon, 'Colour and Effect', 21-2.
[138] Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 263.
[139] Noon, 'Colour and Effect', 21-2.
[140] Huon Mallalieu, *The Norwich School: Crome, Cotman and Their Followers* (London: Academy Editions, 1974), 13.

exhibited a view of Norwich and its surrounding area at the Paris Salon earlier that year,[141] the foremost reason for Crome's (and many other artists') journey was to see the new treasures which had been accumulated by Napoleon and were displayed in a monumental exhibition named the *Conquis par la grande Armée*.[142] The only real account of the journey is some brief correspondence with his wife. In a letter Crome detailed a diverse multicultural society, with 'people of all nations going to and fro', as well as his intended trip to see artworks in the Tuileries.[143] Here, he had been told, he would find John Glover: 'I believe he has not been copying, but looking and painting one of his own compositions.'[144] In his final lines, Crome hurriedly mentioned that he intended to call upon Jacques-Louis David the next day.[145] The fleeting nature of this statement is somewhat surprising considering David's artistic stature and reputation. However, it serves to illustrate that Crome was indeed well connected in the network of Franco-British artists, better than is often imagined.

While the trip lasted only three weeks, it had a profound impact on Crome's work during the remaining years of his life. Two of his most highly regarded paintings were made after sketches from the tour, *Boulevard des Italiens* (1815), and *The Fishmarket at Boulogne* (Fig. 10) (1820), both of which contain strong social details. Edward Morris was eager to point this out in the latter, highlighting the fact that Crome was 'careful to contrast the elegantly dressed middle-class woman in the foreground with the fishwives in their characteristic local costume'.[146] The sight of these local women, he claims, became something of a spectacle for artists.[147] Indeed, Crome's picture is significant due

[141] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881, Volume 1814*, 24.
[142] Norman Goldberg, *John Crome the Elder*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1978), 60.
[143] Derek Clifford and Timothy Clifford, *John Crome* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), 85.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 170.
[147] Ibid.

the fact that it features this contrast of social class. Similar depictions by other artists include only working class characters, such as Bonington's *Fish-market near Boulogne* (Fig. 1) and *French Coast with Fishermen* (Fig. 2). These works are also unusual in that the majority of other marine paintings, while certainly incorporating local figures, tended not to use such densely populated scenes.

The mention of David Wilkie's visit to Paris in 1814 is fairly sparse in literature, and aside from Allan and Peter Cunningham's comprehensive two-volume publication, many biographies of the artist merely state his trip as a fact. One reason for his journey was to gauge the French art market and find sellers for the prints of his paintings. Evidence of this is detailed in a letter dated from the 5th June 1814,[148] and is discussed in depth in Chapter 5. In another letter to his sister from 13th June 1814, Wilkie wrote that he had spent his time exploring exhibitions and learning to speak French sufficiently well enough to converse with people, something which he noted had caused him particular anxiety prior to his arrival.[149] He wrote also of a trip to see the King that was made with the painter Benjamin Robert Haydon.[150] Unfortunately no details of the visit were divulged. Wilkie returned once more to Paris in 1825 (although his journal reveals that he hardly seemed physically well enough to travel) with the ambition of continuing to Italy to see Rome, Florence and Venice.[151] Joining him on the journey was a small company, which notably included Dawson Turner.[152]

[148] David Wilkie, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie: With His Journals, Tours, and Critical Remarks on Works of Art; and a Selection from His Correspondence*, Vol. 1, eds. Allan Cunningham and Peter Cunningham (London: John Murray, 1843), 414-416.
[149] Wilkie, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, 411.
[150] Ibid., 412.
[151] David Wilkie, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie: With His Journals, Tours, and Critical Remarks on Works of Art; and a Selection from His Correspondence,* Vol. 2, eds. Allan Cunningham and Peter Cunningham (London: John Murray, 1843), 152.
[152] Ibid.

As a well known antiquarian and banker, Dawson Turner's greatest tie to the art market was undoubtedly through his having been a close friend and primary patron to John Sell Cotman since 1812.[153] Turner (no relation to J. M. W. Turner) was also among the numbers of curious Britons to proceed across the Channel early in June 1814, whereas Cotman would only tour Normandy three years later, during the summer of 1817. For Cotman it was to be the first of many visits as he returned again in 1818 and 1820. The culmination of these tours was the *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*, two volumes published between 1820 and 1822, which featured ninety-seven etchings by Cotman and letterpress by Dawson Turner. Although Normandy played a significant role in his life and work, Cotman's popularity and general reception in France appears to have been somewhat lukewarm when compared with the success that he enjoyed in Britain. He never showed at the Paris Salon, for example. Although the Salon was by no means a comprehensive measure of an artist's success in France, it was, nevertheless, an indication of popularity abroad. In any case, Cotman has never been recognised as having a considerable number of reproductions of his pictures circulating in France.

With this in mind it seems fair to say that Cotman's pictures and publications of Normandy and its architecture, such as the *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*, seem to be more domestically aimed at British audiences in London and Norwich. Evidence of this can be found in the preface of the first volume of the *Architectural Antiquities*. In its opening Turner states, 'An artist… of England, could scarcely do otherwise than often cast a wistful look towards the opposite shores of Normandy.'[154] The publication was very much created on these terms for a British audience, and as such, adopts this perspective. A little later in the preface, Turner continues:

[153] Timothy Wilcox, *Cotman in Normandy* (London: Lewis Hallam Design, 2012), 9.
[154] Dawson Turner, *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*, Volume I (London: John and Arthur Arch of Cornhill, 1820), preface, iii.

> 'Those who find pleasure in inquiries of this description, will join in the regret, that an undertaking like the present was so long delayed. Incalculable had been the advantages, had it but commenced previously to the period of the French revolution.'[155]

Apart from lamenting the violence and damage to Normandy's 'castles of barons, palaces of kings, and temples of religion',[156] Turner's statement contains within it the implication that the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars brought about the admiration of such architecture, which previously had not been addressed. This supports the notion that the wars acted as a catalyst upon British and French interest in their shared historical associations.

Samuel Prout was one British artist whose watercolours and lithographs of architecture in Normandy made an important impact in both Britain and France. Often Prout's significance in Franco-British artistic relations, although recognised, can be underestimated, and he is regularly overshadowed by names such as Bonington. His first tour of Normandy came in 1819, and a year later he exhibited a number of his watercolours of Rouen, Fécamp and other parts of Normandy at the 1820 exhibition for the Society of Painters in Watercolours in London.[157] Edward Morris has called Prout's arrival in Normandy, 'by far the most significant … for the future of British watercolour painting.'[158] Prout's engagement was less purely focused on the British market than Cotmans, for example, and he appears to have immersed himself within French artistic networks. Although he maintained strong connections in London, such as with the well known printer Charles Hullmandell (1789 – 1850, Hullmandell published his

[155] Ibid., iv.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Richard Lockett, *Samuel Prout, 1783 – 1852* (London: Batsford, in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985), 47-50.
[158] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 162.

Picturesque Buildings in Normandy in 1821), Prout did also build a valuable network of associations within Paris. Bonington was certainly part of his network (likely introduced to Prout by Jean-Frédéric d'Ostervald), and the pair sketched together at St. Omer in 1822.[159] On this trip, Bonington may well have made sketches for one of the works which now resides in the collection at Nottingham Castle, an architectural scene of the *Ruins of the Abbey St. Bertin, St. Omer*, which can be seen in Fig. 11. Three of Prout's own drawings of the abbey from St. Omer survive in the Victoria & Albert collection (see Fig. 12).

It was not only other artists in France that Prout was closely affiliated with, but also some of the leading Paris art dealers, John Arrowsmith and Claude Schroth being the most noteworthy. Baron Taylor was another connection, and Prout contributed a number of lithographs to the publication of his 1835 volume of the *Voyages pittoresques dans l'ancienne France*. Perhaps more than any other British artist, Prout's unique style of work consistently embodied the evocations of British medieval architecture and society that could be found in Normandy during this early nineteenth century period. Timothy Wilcox wrote that 'His vision of the cramped streets and slightly crumbling buildings captured the imagination of the English, and set a benchmark for images of Continental travel that endured for decades.'[160] Prout's manner of imbuing the draughtsmanship of ancient stonework and buildings with an expressive vitality seems to have been what made him popular and seduced John Ruskin later in the nineteenth century. In his *Notes by Mr. Ruskin on Samuel Prout and William Hunt* (1880), Ruskin wrote of a Prout drawing of an English cottage which had hung in the family home when he was a boy. He recalled: 'it taught me generally to like ruggedness; and the conditions

[159] Pointon, *The Bonington Circle'*, 71.
[160] Wilcox, *Cotman in Normandy*, 17.

of joint in moulding, and fitting of stones in walls which were most weather-worn, and like the grey dykes of a Cumberland hill-side.'[161] Prout gave a picturesque character and charm to the aged ruins of Normandy's medieval architecture. Ruskin praised the quality and creativity of his rich observation, in which he found 'picturesque delight' in the 'busy shadows and sculptured gables of the Continental street'.[162] The 'rusticity'[163] of Prout's pictures of Britain and Normandy contained imagery and similarities that seemed to quintessentially belong to the shared history of both regions.

The artist who perhaps exemplifies Franco-British connections during the post-war period is Bonington, and no discourse on the artistic relations between the two nations fails to mention his name. Having grown up in Arnold, Nottingham, the Bonington family relocated to Calais in the autumn of 1817 when Richard was fourteen years old, possibly for financial reasons. A year later the family moved to Paris, and while his father established a lace business, the young Richard enrolled at the studio of François Louis Thomas Francia.[164] Shortly afterwards, James Roberts recommended that Bonington study under the highly esteemed Baron Jean-Antoine Gros, which he pursued in April 1819.[165] It was in Gros's studio he befriended a number of prominent French artists such as Eugène Lami, Camille Roqueplan, Paul Huet and Henri Monnier.[166]

Bonington made his first tour of Normandy in 1821, travelling through Rouen and along the coast from Caen to Abbeville.[167] There is a possibility that his works of Normandy

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[161] John Ruskin, *Notes by Mr. Ruskin on Samuel Prout and William Hunt: Illustrated by a Loan Collection of Drawings Exhibited at the Fine Art Society's Galleries, 148 New Bond Street, 1879-80* (London: Fine Art Society, 1880), 21.
[162] John Ruskin, *On the Old Road*, Vol. I (London: George Allen, 1905), 222.
[163] Ibid., 221.
[164] John P. O'Neill, ed., *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century European Drawings: Volume 9 of Robert Lehman Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: 2002), 54.
[165] Cormack, *Bonington*, 26.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Stephen Duffy, *Richard Parkes Bonington* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 2003), 11.

may have been at least partially informed by Cotman's early images of the same region, and it is likely that Bonington would already have seen the initial publication of *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*. Two watercolours that were made on this tour of Normandy went on to be displayed at the Salon in 1822.[168] They consisted of a view of Lillebonne and another scene of Le Havre, both in Upper Normandy[169]. Landscape watercolour painting at this time was largely admired as a practice that was cultivated in Britain around the turn of the century, even spawning the Society of Painters in Water Colours in London in 1804. Bonington received plenty of attention and admiration for his displays in France. He toured Normandy again in 1823,[170] and in 1824 visited Dunkirk with the artist Alexandre-Marie Colin on a trip that was intended to last several weeks but extended into many months.[171] During this latter tour, Bonington made a number of the works which he exhibited at the 1824 Salon, including *A Fishmarket near Boulogne* (Fig. 1), for which he won a gold medal.[172]

Despite the fact that he is the most widely discussed artist involved in the Franco-British association during the Restoration period, it is for this reason that we should question certain preconceived notions on Bonington. The enormous legacy that he left means that we must interrogate this reputation, rather than simply take it at face value. In particular, Marcia Pointon has attempted to undermine the idea of Bonington as a wholly independent artist living and working in Paris, choosing to link him to other artists and patrons through his correspondence and networks within French culture and society. These interactions were abundant, although there is an overwhelming

[168] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881: Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (France), Volume 1822*, compiled by H. W. Janson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 21, accessed November 6, 2014. https://archive.org/details/cataloguesofpari1819acad.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Matt Cambridge, *Richard Parkes Bonington: Young and Romantic* (Nottingham: Nottingham Castle, 2002), 16.
[171] Cormack, *Bonington*, 63.
[172] Noon, 'Colour and Effect', 22.

trend in literature which prefers to adopt the point of view that he succeeded without such a network of associations. Pointon suggests that Bonington's early death at the age of just twenty-six contributed to his reputation as the archetypal Romantic painter, as well as the idea that he worked largely in isolation from other artists.[173] In her words, while he was undoubtedly one of Europe's 'most dazzling young talents', his premature death granted him an 'exaggerated popularity'.[174] The same could certainly be said of Thomas Girtin, who died towards the end of 1802, aged only twenty-seven.

This is a notion that is prevalent in studies on Bonington, and he was also something of an anomaly regarding his origins. The fact that he had been a resident of Paris since the age of fourteen, but was primarily British, served to place him somewhere between the two nationalities. The majority of other artists active in France and Britain during this period did not identify so ambiguously with both nations. Pointon also draws attention to the fact that Bonington was largely unrivalled in the medium of watercolour in Paris.[175] As a medium practiced largely in Britain, he may have found it more difficult to prosper within the art market had he been active exclusively in London.[176] Nevertheless, Bonington was popular in Paris and the rest of France, particularly with his marine paintings and coastal scenes. These, Pointon argues, 'answered a demand for peaceful, picturesque views of the French coastline and French monuments'.[177] Such demand came after a long and turbulent period of war and military occupation centred on the French coastline, as well as severe political unrest within France.

The general sense that Bonington worked in isolation within Paris is a curious one, and seems to have been an arbitrary creation in literature since his death. His relationships

[173] Pointon, *Bonington, Francia and Wyld*, 33.
[174] Ibid., 16.
[175] Ibid., 41.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid., 44.

with other artists, especially French painters, have certainly not remained out of sight. Delacroix was perhaps the most significant of these, and the two men were close friends for a number of years, sharing a studio together during the winter of 1825/6.[178] This fact is stated time and time again, but what is more interesting is the noticeable effect of Delacroix upon Bonington's choice of subject matter. Delacroix's influence can certainly be seen in Bonington's later years as he pursued subjects more commonly in line with history and 'Troubadour' painting. Prime examples of this can be seen in *Venice: Ducal Palace with a Religious Procession* (Fig. 4), as well as more historical subjects such as *François I and Marguerite of Navarre* (Fig. 6), *Charles V visits François I after the Battle of Pavia* (1827), and *Henri III* (1828). He painted mainly in oil and watercolour, and although he was considered one of the best watercolourists, this medium, along with landscape in general, was still seen as subsidiary to history painting. James Roberts indicated that Bonington already held interests in historical motifs, writing of the latter's views of Normandy: 'He always showed a strong liking to historical traces. He loved to study the transitions from one style to another. He was fascinated with the works of Walter Scott, especially those with an architectural bent.'[179]

An important name which is often attached to Bonington's is that of Thomas Shotter Boys (1803 – 1874). Perhaps the best way to discuss Boys is through his association in France with Bonington, although this common preconception does come under strain, as we shall see. Boys moved to Paris in 1823, where he is often thought to have come into close contact with the more esteemed Bonington, who introduced him to a variety of French artists.[180] Boys's sole purpose and intention was to produce mainly engravings in Paris, although he quickly turned his hand to watercolour and

[178] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 48.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Hargraves, *Great British Watercolours*, 74.

lithography. James Roundell has written by far the most comprehensive monograph on Boys to date, and he challenges several notions on the relationship between the two artists, many of which have persisted since the death of Bonington. Boys has been curiously neglected by art historians, despite forming an integral part of the Franco-British art world in Paris, and even displaying pictures at the 1827 Salon (see Appendix A). From no. 15 rue de la Rochefoucauld, Boys showed four works, and although he was better known for his watercolours, all four were engravings.[181] They included one reproduced print of a storm, after Horace Vernet,[182] as well as three original scenes; views of the Temple of Apollo near Phigalia, the Kea island in the Aegean Sea, and an unusual depiction of a Peruvian vase.[183] It is likely that Boys was fairly well received at the 1827 Salon, though he is hardly mentioned as having exhibited in Paris that year. His case is somewhat similar to that of Samuel Prout at the 1824 Salon. Both men were highly regarded British artists who worked in France, finding great success and popularity across the Channel. However, just as with Prout, the fact that Boys displayed at the Salon in these years is curiously withdrawn, although not totally absent from much of the literature on him.

By pure coincidence, as Roundell points out, the Boys family originated from a small village in Kent called Bonnington.[184] There is a certain implication in Roundell's tone that Bonington has been both helpful and harmful to the career and residual reputation of Boys. For example, it is often claimed that he had been a pupil of Bonington's in Paris.[185] However, there is no evidence to substantiate this and it seems simply to have been a myth that has been promulgated over the years. William Callow (1812 – 1908)

[181] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 173.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid., 225.
[184] James Roundell, *Thomas Shotter Boys, 1803 – 1874* (London: Octopus Books, 1974), 20.
[185] Hargraves, *Great British Watercolours*, 74.

was active as an engraver in Paris from 1829 and shared a studio with Boys, later writing in his 1891 autobiography: 'I have seen it stated that Boys was a pupil of Bonington, but if that had been the case I certainly should have known of it. Boys never spoke to me of having other than a mere acquaintanceship with Bonington.'[186]

The artistic elevation of Bonington is an arbitrary creation under these terms. As has been previously mentioned, his premature death at the age of twenty six established a form of cult adoration concerning his name. The obsession that surrounded him served to overshadow other artists, of which Boys is a primary example. This also had a very physical impact on the art market in the years that followed, and there came a great surge in art collectors who sought his coveted works in France. This of course led to the production of numerous fakes. In 1833, *The Magazine of Fine Arts* urged its readership to err on the side of caution when purchasing what they believed to be a genuine work, also recognising the parallel with Girtin: 'The cupidity of dealers has been so great that caution and perception are now necessary in buying a Bonington. As in the case of Girtin, imitation is daily at work to ensnare the collector.'[187] Roundell makes another important observation regarding authorship and attribution, suggesting that many of Boys's works may have been lost as a result of impulsive and rudimentary attributions to Bonington during the nineteenth century.[188] As an institution, Bonington's oeuvre is difficult now to challenge. Unsurprisingly, owners of his work are unwilling to offer their collections for such scrutiny.

Conclusion

[186] William Callow, *William Callow, R. W. S., F. R. G. S.: An Autobiography* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908), 18.
[187] Roundell, *Thomas Shotter Boys*, 20.
[188] Ibid.

The question of what the experience of post-war France was like for many British artists is perhaps too varied to answer, but we can be certain that the preceding period of revolution and war enormously affected these artists and the way that they engaged with Paris and Normandy during the Restoration period. The early visits across the Channel by Girtin and the Smirke brothers, as well as the Salon displays from Harvey and Hutchinson, serve to illustrate that the opportunities for Franco-British artistic connections did not only begin after 1814, but were actively developing under the surface of the Napoleonic War's hostilities. The first important visits from British artists after 1814, such as those made by John Glover and John Crome, represent the long awaited expansion of such opportunities for Franco-British travel and exploration. Both John Glover and John Crome's associations and dealings in France demonstrate that they were very much more integrated into French art circles than they are given credit for.

We also touched on some of the Salon displays from important British painters which have been surprisingly omitted from literature, such as that of Samuel Prout. Importantly, we also challenged existing notions on Bonington and his reputation in relation to Boys. Prout, Cotman and Bonington are essential to the discussion of this chapter, and introduce us to the most significant points to take regarding the British preoccupation with the medieval architecture and landscape of Normandy.

It is a contentious issue as to whether the war halted the Franco-British interest in medieval history. In terms of the physical practice of British artists, the prohibitions on travel between Britain and France did interrupt many cross-Channel relations that were developing prior to the war. However, the particular interest in provincial French architecture largely came about *because* of the war. As we saw from Dawson Turner's

statement in the preface to the *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*, the severe period of hostility appears to have actively spurred British interest in this historical landscape. The surviving medieval architecture of Normandy and other regions also lent itself suitably to topographical works, which, as the next chapter will address, came at a time when developments in tourism and printmaking converged to specialise in this subject matter.

Chapter 4

Lithography and Engraving in Illustrated Topographical Books

Introduction

A study of the culture of printmaking in France during the Restoration period reveals a crucial avenue through which we can examine the practices of British artists across the Channel. The early nineteenth century demand and subsequent development of tourism and travel was inherent to the emergence and growth of the medium of lithography. Lithography featured heavily in illustrated travel books, such as the *Voyages pittoresques*, the predominant publication which this chapter will address. The advent of lithography and the resurgence of wood engraving gave rise to illustrated books, which both influenced and responded to the new demands of modern European tourism. Literary works also drove a significant portion of the market for illustrated books, owing to the intense interest in Romantic writers such as Byron and Scott. This trend, however, was further removed from the thirst for travel that we have encountered, but it is important to mention that there is scope for study within that realm.

The primary focus of this chapter is on lithography and its use in illustrated topographical books of the Restoration period. This may be seen as inevitable, just as the growth of tourism was after the years of travel prohibitions due to the Napoleonic Wars. Much of this chapter will examine the British involvement in the most well known French topographical books of the nineteenth century; Baron Taylor's *Voyages pittoresques*, whose prevalent use of lithography greatly influenced the medium's standing within the art world and even contributed to some of the Paris Salon displays

during the 1820s. As well as this, we will consider the significance of the subject matter that informed many of these architectural landscapes and the associations that made them popular.

Lithography and Engraving in Illustrated Topographical Books

In terms of early nineteenth century British and French lithography, topographical works of art dominated the market, providing some of the most refreshing examples of this type of printing method. The lithographic process was first invented in 1796 by Alois Senefelder (1771 – 1834) in Germany. The technique involved drawing an image in a greasy substance, usually oil or wax, onto a flat stone or metal plate which was then treated. The process relied largely on the immiscibility of grease and water. In 1970 Michael Twyman published what was, and still is, one of the most formative monographs on the practice of lithography, and certainly the most comprehensive on the British and French handling of the medium in the nineteenth century. Twyman wrote of the inevitability of lithography's popularity during this time: 'It is no accident that the sudden revival of lithography in 1818, after it had been dormant since the beginning of the century, should have coincided with this era of travel.'[189] 1818 marked a particularly significant moment in the development of the medium as it was also the year in which Senefelder published his *Vollständiges Lehrbuch der Steindruckerei* (*A Complete Course of Lithography*), although Twyman did not acknowledge this link. The treatise was translated into French and English the following year, making it instantly more accessible to a greater number of artists from 1819. As the process of lithography

[189] Michael Twyman, *Lithography, 1800 – 1850: The Techniques of Drawing on Stone in England and France and their Application in Works of Topography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 172.

itself needed no engraving as such, it was an inexpensive and more immediate method of printing. Edward Morris also underlined its ease of use as artists later began to replicate their own pictures, recognising that it 'permitted a painter to reproduce his work himself without a long apprenticeship and without the intervention of a specialist engraver.'[190]

The most prolific of the French illustrated topographical travel books were undoubtedly the many volumes of Baron Taylor's (1789 - 1879) *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, which used lithography exclusively and came to be characterised by the medium. In all, the *Voyages pittoresques* consisted of twenty four volumes, published between 1820 and 1878. The first of these was based upon *l'Ancienne Normandie*, edited by Taylor, Alphonse de Cailleux (1788 – 1876) and Charles Nodier (1780 – 1844).

The works that the *Voyages pittoresques* presented were noteworthy for their ambition and prevalent use of lithography as a modern technique. An introduction to the initial volume by Nodier shows the exciting status of this type of print. In the preface, he wrote: 'More free, more original, more rapid than the burin, the bold crayon of the lithographer seems to have been invented for the fixing of the free, original and rapid inspirations of the traveller who gives an account of his sensations.'[191] A strong sense of the adventure and exploration of these artists pervades Nodier's statement; lithography was heralded as the great new tool of the voyaging modern explorer, and the artists themselves as pioneers. This was an intrinsically Romantic notion, and one which goes

[190] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 46.
[191] Charles Nodier, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, Vol. I, ed. Baron Taylor, Alexandre de Cailleux and Charles Nodier (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1820), preface, 10.

some way to explaining the spur in popularity of travel and tourism around 1820 which built upon a tradition of antiquarian topography.

Although this was undoubtedly the vision that the *Voyages pittoresques* sought to purvey, it stands in contrast to the edifice of the volumes as a whole. As topographical works of art themselves, the *Voyages pittoresques* were highly ambitious and thorough volumes, which contradicts Nodier's sensational claims on lithography. The artworks presented in the books were far from 'free, original and rapid inspirations', although this was certainly the impression of the romantic traveller that they sought to evoke.

We must also discuss the significance of Charles Nodier and Alphonse de Cailleux's participation in the production of these publications. Nodier was widely regarded as one of the most prolific Romantic French writers of his generation, and provided the texts to the volumes, many of which are regrettably overlooked now. Alphonse de Cailleux was recognised predominantly as a painter and architect. There is no doubt that the *Voyages pittoresques* benefitted from his expertise, particularly on the latter; the topographical books did feature predominantly architectural subjects and scenes, after all. We must also acknowledge the elaborate and comprehensive nature of their creation. It is interesting that if we consider the ambitious aesthetic that they project, the volumes as works of art themselves reflect the architectural qualities that their images depict.

The first two volumes of the *Voyages pittoresques* were devoted to images of *Ancienne Normandie*. The first volume, interestingly, featured only work from French lithographers. The second volume published in 1825 contained four plates by Bonington that were printed by Godefroy Engelmann, with *Rue du Gros-Horloge,*

Rouen[192] (Fig. 13) and *Tour du Gros-Horloge, Évreux* (Fig. 14)[193] among them. Also in 1825 appeared a third volume based on images of the *Franche-Comté* region in eastern France. It is easy to overlook regions such as Franche-Comté because so much emphasis is normally placed on the architecture and depictions of Normandy during this period, particularly with regard to the *Voyages pittoresques* and other contemporary topographical studies. With this third volume, the number of British lithographs rapidly rose to twenty-four. These works came from four artists, including nine from Bonington, twelve from James Duffield Harding, one from Louis Haghe, and two from Newton Smith Fielding (all of which are listed in Appendix B).

When we revisit the discussion from Chapter 3 in which Marcia Pointon considered Bonington and his extensive network of artistic associations,[194] we learn that he was far from immune to the rapidly growing print culture that existed among both British and French artists in Paris. As Pointon remarked, Bonington was part of a 'generation that discovered the delights and immediacy of the lithographic medium'.[195] The 'immediacy' that she describes is vital if we are to understand Charles Nodier's earlier statement from the preface to the first *Voyages pittoresques* volume. For Bonington, lithography was a medium to which he could transfer his watercolour skills in order to portray ancient architectural scenes. In this fact, we are presented with an interesting play of the old and the new, or the historical and the modern. This is an essential point to take, and came to exemplify the work of many British artists and their working practices in

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[192] *Voyage pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France. Ancienne Normandie*, Vol. 2, eds. Charles Nodier, Baron Taylor and Alphonse de Cailleux (Paris: Didot Family, 1825), plate CLXXII, accessed July 2, 2015, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1040443d.r=+Voyages+pittoresques+et+romantiques+dans+1825.langEN. Bonington's works from this volume are discussed in Chapter Two, and a complete list can be seen in Appendix B.
[193] Ibid., plate CCXXVI.
[194] Pointon, *Bonington, Francia and Wyld*, 33.
[195] Ibid., 15.

France. To an extent, the same idea can also be recognised in the way that British artists travelled domestically and developed watercolour painting in their own country during the Napoleonic era. Despite the fact that watercolour was not a newly invented form of painting, the burgeoning identity of British art of this period largely adopted the method as its own.

Bonington's lithographic ability was notably displayed in *Restes et Fragments d'Architecture au Moyen Age* (*Remnants and Fragments of Architecture in the Middle Ages*), which was published in 1824, featuring ten lithographs produced from the tour of Normandy that he undertook that year with the French painter Alexandre-Marie Colin.[196] However, his most renowned lithographs appear in the *Voyages pittoresques*, and he was certainly the best known British artist to have contributed to these publications, especially the *Ancienne France* volumes on Normandy and Franche-Comté in the publication's early years. Along with the aforementioned *Rue du Gros-Horloge, Rouen*[197] (Fig. 13) and *Tour du Gros-Horloge, Évreux*[198] (Fig. 14), were two other lithographs: *Vue générale de l'English de St. Gervais et St. Protais, à Gisors*,[199] and *Tour aux archives à Vernon.*[200] The publication also included a small vignette by Bonington on page 171 in the chapter on Évreux, which can be seen in Fig. 15.[201] Although the List of Artists towards the end of the volume confuses this vignette with another (making it a little problematic to refer to), Bonington's scene depicts three small and ambiguous figures in front of a curious piece of architecture. A short text does nothing to inform us of the characters or their meaning, but does tell us that the fragment of building

[196] Cormack, *Bonington*, 63.
[197] *Voyage pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France. Ancienne Normandie*, Vol. 2, plate CLXXII.
[198] Ibid., plate CCXXVI.
[199] Ibid., plate CCIII.
[200] Ibid., plate CCXIV.
[201] Ibid., page 171.

represents the oldest part of the Abbey of Saint-Taurin, in Évreux. The church dated back to the Lombards of the eighth century, and shows the coloured stones which created a chessboard effect, a popular design of sixth and seventh century Italian churches.

The third *Voyages pittoresques* volume presented lithographs and texts on the *Franche-Comté* region, and features many more contributions from Bonington. Of his nine lithographs, three works were interestingly created in collaboration with other French names, including one each with Pierre Luc Charles Ciceri (1782 – 1868), Jean Lubin Vauzelle (1776 – 1837), and Baron Taylor himself. This is a testament to Bonington's integrated nature within the French art market, and supports Marcia Pointon's opinion that he was not at all as independent as he is frequently made out to be. In fact, he is the only British artist in this volume to have produced lithographs in collaboration with other artists, all three of whom were French. The other three British names to appear in this volume (Harding, Fielding and Haghe) all produced their lithographs as independent artists. While these artists were rather well affiliated with the French art world and market (Harding perhaps more so), none appear to have been as well connected as Bonington.

Harding (1797 – 1863) was perhaps the most prolific British lithographer active in Paris towards the end of the Restoration period and the decades that followed, and must be recognised as one of the most important names of post-war Franco-British art. Emphasis is often placed upon his nature as a teacher, particularly in later years when he taught John Ruskin and published popular works such as *Drawing Models and Their*

Intelligent and Effective Use (1854).[202] Early in Harding's life he was taught by Samuel Prout and became a renowned member of the Society of Painters in Watercolours in Britain.[203] In his time he was less well known for his paintings, but was highly regarded as a pioneering name in British lithography in Paris. Although Harding, like many other British artists, was so prominent within the French art world, he spent the 1820s touring Europe extensively, without settling permanently in France. His association with the country never extended to living there, but it was significantly more than merely a passing interest and his twelve lithographs in the *Voyages pittoresques dans Franche-Comté* are just a small indication of the productive nature of his work.

Among Harding's lithographs from the *Franche-Comté* volume are two that were displayed at the 1827 Paris Salon two years after the publication, accompanied also by a single Bonington under an entry from Baron Taylor, Nodier and de Cailleux (listed in Appendix A).[204] The exhibition of these particular works by the *Voyages pittoresques* editors is evidence of the value that they placed on the two British artists. Within Taylor's complete Salon entry were a total of nine lithographs collected from the second (*Ancienne Normandie*) and third (*Franche-Comté*) volumes of the *Voyages pittoresques*. While three of the contributions were by Harding and Bonington, the other six images came courtesy of French lithographers. Just one of the British works was Bonington's, a view of a church in Brou, which is likely to have been the work seen in Fig. 16.[205] Harding created the remaining two British works, one a scene of the castle ruins of Pont-Saint, and the other of Baume Abbey (Fig. 17) in the village of Baume-les-

[202] James Duffield Harding, *Drawing Models and Their Intelligent and Effective Use* (London: Windsor and Newton, 1854).
[203] Champlin, *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings, Volume 2*, 210.
[204] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881, Volume 1827*, 196.
[205] Ibid., 188-9.

Messieurs, Jura.[206] All three of these lithographs were included in the *Franche-Comté* section of the *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, published two years previously in 1825.

It is worth mentioning at this stage that these were the only British-made lithographs that were featured at the entire Salon exhibitions of the 1820s. This is certainly an unusual fact, given the importance of lithography as a new printing medium in both British and French work during this decade. Lithography was particularly prevalent in publications of illustrated books, of which the *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'Ancienne France* were simply the most significant examples. This prompts the question of whether the Salon exhibitions were lagging somewhat in relevancy, or whether lithography was simply not yet seen as substantial enough to be displayed alongside wood engraving, steel engraving and painting. The vast numbers of engraved works at the Salons, in comparison to lithographs, suggests that the more modern method may have been perceived to be a less established form of printing, although there is no indication that it was much less well respected.

Despite this fact, Harding found exposure and a great deal of success at the exhibitions, having displayed a single painting of Aysgarth, a small Yorkshire village, at the previous 'English Salon' in 1824.[207] Although the work is now unknown, the *livret* informs us that the picture was a painting rather than a lithograph.[208] The *livret* also reveals that Harding's painting was displayed at no. 25 quai des Augustins.[209] This address is particularly important as it belonged to Jean-Frédéric d'Ostervald, who edited several volumes of the *Voyages pittoresques* that dealt with other international countries.

[206] Ibid.
[207] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881: Volume 1824*, 95.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.

Harding's display from Ostervald's address serves to show that he was undoubtedly integrated within an influential network of lithographers and printmakers in Paris from a relatively early point in his career. He also exhibited as part of the Salon shows in 1834, 1835 and 1836, and received two gold medals from the Academie des Beaux Arts for lithographs displayed at the Louvre.[210] H. Ottley put much of Harding's success abroad down to the popularity of his teaching books, noting: 'In the schools of Paris especially, which he often visited, he had always an enthusiastic reception from professors and students'.[211]

If we return to the British involvement in Baron Taylor's publications, the inclusion of Louis Haghe (1806 – 1885) and his single lithograph in the *Voyages pittoresques dans Franche-Comté* is particularly curious. Born in Belgium, Haghe settled in England in 1823, focusing on lithographic work at the beginning of his career, before gravitating towards watercolour around the middle of the century.[212] Although he featured in this volume (which in the wider context was early in the publication's life), Haghe was most productive in his lithographic contributions to the *Voyages pittoresques* after 1830. Despite having relatively little connection with France at this stage in his life, his invitation to include a work in the 1825 volume can likely be traced back to William Day (1797 – 1845). On the plate for Haghe's lithograph (Fig. 18) we see that it was printed by 'W. Day'.[213] This undermines a claim by Charles Newton that Haghe and Day only met at the end of 1825 and produced their first work, *Three Views of Hereford*, together in

[210] John Dennis Champlin, *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings, Volume 2* (New York: Scribner, 1887), 210.
[211] H. Ottley, *Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, Vol. 1, ed. Michael Bryan (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1886-89), 626.
[212] Michael Twyman, 'Oxford DNB article: Haghe, Louis', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed January 26, 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11866.
[213] *Voyage pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France. Franche-Comté*. Vol. 3, eds., Charles Nodier, Baron Taylor and Alphonse de Cailleux (Paris: Didot Family, 1825), plate CIX, accessed July 2, 2015, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452147t.r=Voyages+pittoresques+et+romantiques+dans+franche+comte.langEN.

1826.[214] In 1830, the pair founded their own lithographic printing firm in London, named Day & Haghe.[215] The business quickly became one of the most well established lithographic printers in Britain, after that of Charles Hullmandel. Hullmandel's was certainly the most important printing firm of the early nineteenth century, rivalling Godefroy Engelmann's in Paris. The *Franche-Comté* volume, although not the first to feature British lithographers, was the first to use British printers, and most of the work from artists this side of the Channel (excluding Haghe's lithograph) were produced by Hullmandel. As Michael Twyman noted, all were printed in England, before being sent to Paris to be compiled and published.[216]

Hullmandel's geographically distanced, but significant influence over the culture of French print lithography demonstrates that one did not necessarily have to reside in Paris in order to produce work for that market. Several printmakers did live in France, but this was not an essential attribute. Likewise, many British lithographers did not settle abroad, nor were they tied to Britain. Haghe, Harding and Prout, among others, are good examples of this, and spent more of their time during the 1820s travelling on the Continent than they did settled in Britain.

Hullmandel did much to exert the influence of British lithography during these years. Lithography of the early nineteenth century period was, and still is, predominantly viewed as a practice of the French school. In terms of lithographical topography, it is likely that French publications outnumbered those produced in England.[217] This fact cannot be certain, however, as even the most comprehensive collections, such as the J.

[214] Charles Newton, 'Oxford DNB article: Day, William', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed August 6, 2015, http://www/oxforddnb.com/view/article/63102?docPos=3.
[215] Twyman *Lithography*, 209.
[216] Ibid., 234-5.
[217] Ibid., 169.

R. Abbey collection, are not complete.[218] However, the view that the French school dominated the lithographic market has certainly been challenged. Twyman emphasised the quality of British landscape lithography above all else. He suggested that the reason many British printmakers were invited to produce works for Baron Taylor's *Voyages pittoresques* was that the lithographic work from this side of the Channel was much more focused on the creation of landscapes than other subjects, thus making it suitable for the publications.[219] Hullmandel testified to this fact: 'The great superiority conceded to the French is granted, as far as concerns figures and heads; for in landscape, I think every unprejudiced observer will say, that we can produce finer lithographic specimens than they.'[220] It is also interesting to note certain similarities between the lithographic practice and the medium of watercolour, another English speciality of the era. The two techniques shared qualities concerning their versatility and ease of use, and many of the printers who were most productive in their practice of lithography, such as Harding, Bonington and Haghe, also used watercolour as a primary medium. J. M. W. Turner is intriguing as the only notable anomaly to this pattern. It is unusual that despite being such a prolific painter of watercolours, he was curiously unenthusiastic about lithography.

Bonington, Harding, Haghe and Fielding were the only British artists to contribute to the initial volumes of the *Voyages pittoresques dans l'ancienne France*, and the only ones to have their lithographs featured in the publications before 1830. As more volumes were published after 1830, the involvement of British printmakers greatly expanded, along with the increased variety of foreign scenery that they depicted. A larger number of British artists were enlisted by Baron Taylor, accompanied by additional editors who

[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Charles Hullmandel, *The Art of Drawing on Stone* (London: C. Hullmandel, 1824), footnote, xiii.

quickly recognised the supposed superiority of British lithographers with regard to landscape. Exactly how many British names worked on the *Voyages pittoresques dans l'ancienne France* up until the final volume in 1878 is contentious, but many studies place the number of lithographers at fifteen.[221] While the volumes based on France were to feature only lithography, the volumes depicting other foreign locations largely used engraving techniques. Although these works still made use of a large number of British artists, they are much less well known.

An early example of this was the *Voyage pittoresques en Sicile*, published in two volumes between 1822 and 1826. Three of the well known Fielding brothers contributed engravings to the initial volume, four of which were displayed at the 1822 Salon.[222] The fact that Thales (1793 – 1837), Newton Smith (1799 – 1856) and Theodore Henry Adolphus Fielding (1781 – 1851) displayed work at the Salon is not mentioned anywhere in literature on the Salon. It can certainly be forgiven if the three brothers are mistakenly overlooked in the catalogue. All the Fielding brothers are more commonly considered to have been painters, but it is in a rather inconspicuous entry embedded within the engraving section of the *livret* that they appear.[223] Under '*gravures noires*', is the entry from the editor of the *Voyage pittoresques en Sicile*, Jean-Frédéric d'Ostervald, featuring a two volume compilation of images of Sicily, published between 1822 and 1826. The three Fielding brothers contributed engravings to these volumes, and between them exhibited four pictures at the 1822 Salon under Ostervald's name. Thales (or 'Tholes' as he is mistakenly recorded in the catalogue) displayed a view of ruins in Tindari (also known as Tyndaris or Tyndarion).[224] Newton Smith Fielding's picture was

[221] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 46; Twyman, *Lithography*, 234.
[222] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881, Volume 1822*, 176.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid.

a view of the river Ciane in southern Sicily, and the final two by Theodore Fielding included a scene of the coastal rocks known as the isles of the Cyclops and a view depicting the ruins of the Temple of Olympian Zeus (which was never completed and fell into ruin).[225]

Another early example of the publication which used engraving for other foreign scenery was the *Voyage pittoresque en Espagne, en Portugal et sur la côte d'Afrique* (published in 1826). The vast majority of images for this volume were provided by British engravers, which Morris concludes was roughly thirty in total.[226] Under two catalogue entries as part of the 1827 Salon, Baron Taylor showcased the work of eight British printmakers who had contributed engravings to the *Voyage pittoresque en Espagne, en Portugal et sur la côte d'Afrique* (see Appendix A).[227]. In fact, Taylor's exhibit featured only the work of British engravers, with not a single artist from France or elsewhere. These eight British engravers were not particularly well-known artists, and by including their work to show to the Parisian public, Taylor offered an opportunity for valuable exposure. As they were lesser-known names even within their field, many are difficult to research and identify today.

The first entry, '*Cadre de gravures du voyage pittoresque en Espagne, en Portugal et sur la côte d'Afrique de Tanger à Tétouan*', contained four engravings.[228] These included three views of the Alhambra Palace of the Moorish Kings of Granada, one being a picture of the Palace's Court of Lions by 'Hawell', one of the Comares Tower (spelled '*Gomarès*' in the catalogue) by 'Redoway', and one of the Palace walls by 'Barber'. The fourth work was a picture of a window at the Alcazar Palace in Seville by 'Lekeux'. In terms of the

[225] Ibid.
[226] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Cnetury Britain*, 45.
[227] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881, Volume 1827*, 188-9.
[228] Ibid.

identities of these artists, 'Hawell', 'Redoway' and 'Barber' remain unknown today. 'Lekeux', on the other hand, may be attributed to one of two artists. The Le Keux family (as it is correctly spelled) were recognised as prominent engravers during the early to mid-nineteenth century.[229] The two brothers, John Le Keux (1783 – 1846) and Henry Le Keux (1787 – 1868), both provide viable attributions due to their dates, although unfortunately we cannot say with certainty which of the brothers' work was shown under Baron Taylor's name.

The work that forms the second of Baron Taylor's Salon entry are introduced as: '*Cadre de gravures du même voyage*'.[230] The engravers' names that are included are different from those that we see in the first entry, yet they are equally as elusive. Contained within the display was a view of Barcelona from the Tarragona shore by a 'V. R. Smith', a view of Tolosa in Guipuzcoa (spelled 'Guipuscoa' in the catalogue) by 'Wallis', a scene of the Strait of Gibraltar by 'G. Cook', and finally a depiction of a mill near Vila Nova de Milfontes in Portugal, by 'Goodhall'.[231] These engravers are difficult to locate, and just as three of the artists from the first entry remain largely unidentifiable, we cannot say with absolute certainty who Smith, Wallis, Cook and Goodhall were. Nevertheless, the 'Wallis' in the *livret* may have been the engraver Robert William Wallis (1794 – 1878), an artist who became well-known as a skilled landscape engraver, working on reproductions of paintings by Turner.[232] 'Goodhall' may also be an interesting character within the catalogue. A British engraver named Edward Goodall (sometimes spelled 'Goodhall'; 1795 – 1870), did exist during the early nineteenth century.[233] Initially a landscape

[229] David Wootten, 'Oxford DNB article: Le Keux family', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed December 17, 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64148?docPos=1.
[230] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 188-9.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Anita McConnell, 'Oxford DNB article: Wallis, Robert William', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed April 2, 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28577?docPos=8.
[233] Oxford University Press, *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators, Volume 1*, 468.

painter, Goodall gravitated towards engraving as a profession around 1824, also producing works after J.M.W. Turner, who was a close acquaintance of the family.[234] Although do we know not whether Edward Goodall was the 'Goodhall' who exhibited under Baron Taylor's name in the 1827 Salon *livret*, he is an interesting figure in that he was related to another prominent British engraver, James Thomson.[235] The two men were grandfathers to the brothers Frederick Trevelyan Goodall (*bap.* 1840, *d.* 1871) and Howard Goodall (*bap.* 1850, *d.* 1874), both of whom were painters that sadly died at a very young age.[236]

As an important side-note, the many volumes of the *Voyages pittoresques dan l'ancienne France* are remarkable for the consistency and quality of their imagery, particularly when we consider the sheer range and variety of lithographers who contributed to them. Although they were extraordinarily comprehensive and ambitious works, they remained highly focused on the specificity of the medieval architectural subject matter that they depicted.

Edward Morris emphasised the element of historical curiosity that seemed to be innate within many British prints related to France during this period. There is something of an antiquarian interest to them, which, as he noted, could be seen in the illustrated books as reflecting a 'nationalist interest in the early history of France and England' and their 'close artistic links during the Middle Ages.'[237] The aesthetic of French medieval history was certainly prevalent in many British prints, and fed into much of the 'Troubadour' style which was so prevalent in French painting during the early nineteenth century. It is also evident in certain watercolour works which perhaps

[234] Ibid.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 45.

provide more readily accessible examples than engravings and lithographs, as generally they can be more easily seen and studied today. The most direct type of imagery in which this can be found is through architectural studies of the period.

This interest in cultural and historical architecture is largely based around representations not of Paris, but of other French provinces and regions. British medieval architecture lay at the core of this interest, and certain figures in France were also intrigued by this period of British history. Printed topographical volumes by French artists with a particular focus on medieval architecture only began to appear some years after a number of British works had already been in print. One such example was Augustus Pugin's *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*, published in 1827.[238] The close attention that British artists devoted to this history in Normandy appears to have precipitated a form of French interest in its own medieval architecture. A decade earlier, Auguste Le Prévost (1787 – 1859) had sought to learn more about British medieval architecture in order to better understand the landscape of Normandy. On November 15th 1816 he wrote to Dawson Turner (as an authority figure on the subject) of the necessity for some comprehensive French study in this vein:

> 'When you grant me the honour of a reply, would you be so kind as to suggest the best works in English on Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages and the means of recognising the date of a building of this period purely by inspecting its manner of construction? This type of research has not really been done in France at all, and we have nothing reliable. In England, on the other hand, this has been much

[238] Wilcox, *Cotman in Normandy*, 17.

studied and the results of this research would be especially apt when looking at buildings in Normandy which are so comparable to ones in Great Britain.'[239]

Many images from the *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* contained impressions of the 'richness of French local customs and traditions',[240] and the views that they depicted were not simply illustrations of architecture, but also incorporated elements often not dissimilar from genre scenes. Such colourful impressions and features usually came in the form of figures and characters. Morris summarised this use of staffage, saying that, 'Churches had praying monks and castles had jousting knights.'[241] There are also examples to be found that did not assume medieval evocations, preferring to show more contemporary social and cultural circumstances.

Stephen Bann briefly describes a work to which we can apply this idea.[242] The picture is a small etching from John Sell Cotman's *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* (1820-22), which shows the structural interior of the Knight's Hall of Mont St. Michel (Cotman's preparatory drawing is shown in Fig. 19). Instead of depicting a historical fantasy of the scene, Cotman included a contemporary detail in the small group of uniformed soldiers. Bann believes that these soldiers are most probably British.[243] This is highly feasible as Wellington's troops remained in occupation in France up until 1818, some years after the Franco-British wars had come to an end. Indeed, this level of social detail exists in a number of Cotman's watercolours. Another example that I would like to draw attention to is also an image of Mont St. Michel, incidentally. The composition, which can be seen in Fig. 20, was one that Cotman returned to at least five times during

[239] Ibid., 11.
[240] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 45.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Bann, 'Print Culture and the Illustration of History', 31.
[243] Ibid.

his life. Aside from the arresting location and various types of weather and dramatic skies under which Cotman painted it, the pictures are striking for their repetitive use of figural elements. In the foreground we see a small congregation of horses and characters, two of whom are in uniform. Cotman's repeated devotion to these specific figures was methodical, and thus should not be ignored. Interestingly, Mont St. Michel was used as a prison during these years. Considering this, it seems that the two uniformed figures may be guards who are greeting or else interrogating visitors to the prison. If this is indeed the case, then Cotman chose not to imbue his depictions with architectural qualities of the purely picturesque. The guards and contemporary characters give the pictures a modern and somewhat documentary undertone.

Conclusion

The seeming paradox between history and modernity is one which astutely reflects the use of lithography in illustrated topographical works which had a significant medieval aesthetic. Yet as a thoroughly modern medium, lithography provided arguably the most appropriate method of depicting the ancient French landscape for British artists. The development of the printing technique rose rapidly after the English and French translations of Alois Senefelder's treatise on lithography in 1819, a moment which expanded the possibilities for artists eager to take on the new medium. If we refer back to Charles Nodier's opening statement for the inaugural volume of the *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, he described lithography as 'More free, more original, more rapid'.[244] While this certainly contradicted the edifice of the

[244] Nodier, *Voyages pittoresques, l'ancienne France*, Vol. I, 10.

Voyages pittoresques volumes as manifest objects, it is true that lithography was very much more convenient and versatile for travelling artists than wood or steel engraving.

The practice of lithography of the early nineteenth century seems intrinsically attached to the creation of illustrated travel books. It also had a significant connection with the interest in subject matter and the compositional use of staffage in the form of characters and their customs. As we have seen in this chapter, the British preoccupation with medieval history and its vernacular residues encouraged French intrigue in its own landscape and traditions; after all, this was a shared interest and a shared history.

As a distinctly modern medium, it may be surprising to learn that lithography rather failed to infiltrate the Paris Salon during the 1820s. Although lithography dominated the market for illustrated travel books and topography, its display at the Salon was slight in comparison, especially for British artists. Had it not been for Baron Taylor, it is unlikely that British lithographs would have been exhibited at all during these years. The next chapter will more closely examine engraving and some of the many forgotten British printmakers who featured in the Salon during the Restoration years, as well as the trend for reproductive printmaking and the popularisation of paintings.

Chapter 5

Reproductive Printmaking and the Popularisation of Paintings

Introduction

A large number of British engravers were active in France during the years of the Bourbon Restoration that followed the Napoleonic Wars. Many of these were wood engravers, and this cultural strand was in most cases completely distinct from that of Franco-British lithographic circles. There is a constant sense that the network of engraving in Paris existed a little deeper beneath the surface of the French art world which largely celebrated painters within its establishment. Nevertheless, engraving formed an integral part of many of the Salon displays of the Restoration period. Historians such as Stephen Bann have worked hard to elevate the stature and reputation of early nineteenth century printmaking, and it has since been recognised as an important aspect within the artistic culture of Franco-British relations. In fact, reproductive printmaking was so prevalent that an assessment of cross-Channel culture would be incomplete without acknowledging it.

This chapter will chart the emergence of wood engraving in Paris, and explore the culture of reproductive engraving and some of the many British printmakers at the Salon, all of whom are recorded in Appendix A. We will also assess the British and French interest in genre-like scenes of contemporary customs and characters, and how this related to French tastes with regard to David Wilkie and his efforts to find a seller for the reproductive prints of his paintings in Paris.

Unlike the lithographic prints of the previous chapter, reproductive engravers specialised in creating works after better known artists, rather than creating evocative and nostalgic landscape images for touristic consumption. In this sense, engravers largely popularised many painters and their work, the originals of which were less available to the public. This propelled the commercial viability of many paintings and the artists who created them. This factor, along with the developing desire for tourism, is closely associated with the practical connotations involved with printmaking, namely, the production of images *en masse*.

Reproductive Printmaking and the Popularisation of Paintings

Estimations at exactly how many engravers were working in Paris during this period have proved interesting but somewhat futile. Edward Morris signposted some of these approximations in his *French Artists in Nineteenth Century Britain*, writing, 'One historian [George Cambridge Johnson] has counted twenty-five British wood engravers working on French books while Charles Thompson was in Paris, and another has arrived at a figure of thirty.'[245] In reality, we simply do not know how many British engravers were active in France during these years and any attempt to put a figure to it is little more than speculative. In any case, the level of artistic activity carried out by some of these printers varied a great deal, and cannot be accounted for with a single figure.

The important name to take from Morris's comment is that of Charles Thompson (1791 – 1843). Although the exact date that wood engraving was imported from Britain to

[245] George Cambridge Johnson, 'English Wood Engravers and French Illustrated Books', in *French Nineteenth Century Painting and Literature*, ed. Ulrich Finke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 326-8. Cited in Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 42.

France remains an unsettled issue, the arrival of Charles Thompson in Paris in 1816/17 is widely regarded as the moment in which this form of printmaking was introduced to France. British wood engraving in Paris may be seen as functioning to fill a role that had previously been neglected across the Channel. Revolutionised through the practices of Thomas Bewick (1753 – 1828), wood engraving in its modern sense was a medium almost exclusively practiced in Britain. Interestingly, the cultural exchange that brought British engravers to France was a rather one-sided affair, with no visible reciprocation in which French engravers boldly inhabited the graphic art scene in London.

As a cultivated British practice, modern wood engraving in Paris during the 1820s was still in its early stages and seems to have thrived during these years and subsequent decades, with a number of physical factors enabling it to do so. Rapid developments in paper production were largely responsible for the facilitation of engraving and other types of printmaking, such as lithography.[246] In turn, experience and demand for such engravings rose. As we have seen, illustrated books, both travel and literary, were also rapidly growing in popularity. Many previous books of this kind had relied on copper printing plates, which were more expensive than printed wood engravings and more difficult to produce in large numbers.[247] The process of wood engraving was somewhat simpler in general, using a relief rather than an intaglio print, although wood cuts deteriorated more quickly than the longer-lasting copper and steel plates.[248]

Though the lives and works of many British engravers who were active in Paris during this period are not known today, there are a handful of these artists whose names have endured. Several of these exhibited at the Paris Salon exhibitions at one stage or

[246] Ibid., 328.
[247] Ibid., 328-9.
[248] Basil Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel: The History of Picture Production using Steel Plates* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 13.

another. The brothers Charles and John Thompson (1785 – 1866) were two of the most significant engravers actively immersed within the Franco-British interchange, and consistently exhibited their reproductive engravings at the Salon in collaboration with each other. Although neither of the brothers is particularly well known now, John is perhaps more widely acknowledged than Charles. John, however, did not engage or interact with France as directly as his brother. Charles trained with his brother in London under the teaching of Robert Branston,[249] but left for Paris around 1816/17. It is thought that he first visited Paris with an invitation from Ambroise Firmin-Didot to explore the commercial viability for his wood engravings across the Channel.[250] He remained in Paris until his death in 1843, working predominantly as a wood engraver for French printing firms that provided book illustrations.

The fact that John Thompson was better known during the nineteenth century is somewhat misleading. It may be more reasonable to state that John was better known in Britain, where he lived and worked, whereas the younger Charles Thompson was better known in France, where he was just as successful as an end grain wood engraver. In an 1839 book, *Treatise on Wood Engraving*, William Andrew Chatto and John Jackson, writing from a British perspective, paid a great deal more attention to the talent and work of John Thompson. They did, however, mention Charles's own fame in France, though their acknowledgement of him was made only in a footnote.[251] George Cambridge Johnson also briefly discussed the frequent confusion between the two brothers, highlighting the fact that Charles is often mistaken for John: 'I have found

[249] William Andrew Chatto and John Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving, Historical and Practical: With Upwards of Three Hundred Illustrations, Engraved on Wood, by John Jackson* (London: Charles Knight Publishing, 1839), 632, accessed on March 18, 2015, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=oDtQAAAAcAAJ&dq=john+thompson+paris+engraver&source=gbs_navlinks_s.
[250] Johnson, 'English Wood Engravers and French Illustrated Books', 331.
[251] Chatto and Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*, 632.

more engravings in French books by John than by Charles, although John never worked in France.'[252]

The first time that the Thompson brothers appear in the Salon *livrets* is in 1817. Exhibiting from no. 3 rue des Brodeurs, in the Saint-Germain suburb of Paris, John and Charles Thompson exhibited a number of subjects engraved on wood, recorded in the catalogue as: '*Plusieurs Sujets graves sur bois, d'après les dessins de Thurston, l'Honnaud, etc*.'[253] The Thurston that some of these engravings were produced after is likely to have been the artist John Thurston (1774 – 1822), an English draughtsman, wood engraver and book illustrator, who was particularly active in the early nineteenth century and closely affiliated with the Thompson family.[254] Such is the nature of the catalogue entry that we unfortunately have no details at all regarding the individual engravings that the '*Thompson, frères*'[255] exhibited at the Paris Salon, nor do we know exactly how many works were displayed.

The 1819 Salon saw John and Charles Thompson exhibit in a similar manner to the way that they had in 1817. The brothers displayed a number of works together, which this time appear in the *livret* as '*Gravures sur bois, d'après les dessins de J. Stothard, R. A. Thurston, Corbould et Deveria*'.[256] Here we see John Thurston's name once again, as well as another British artist, Thomas Stothard (1755 – 1834). Stothard, primarily a painter and book illustrator, was a distinguished artist in the latter part of the eighteenth and

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[252] Johnson, 'English Wood Engravers and French Illustrated Books', 331.
[253] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1817*, 116.
[254] As an intriguing side note, John Thompson's second son was named Charles Thurston Thompson (1816 – 1868), and went on to become a renowned nineteenth century photographer. The fact that John Thompson named his son after Thurston provides an interesting aspect to the narrative of these artists, and indicates their close affiliation to each other.
[255] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1817*, 116.
[256] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673 – 1881: Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (France), Volume 1819*, compiled by H. W. Janson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 164. Accessed November 6, 2014. https://archive.org/details/cataloguesofpari1819acad.

early nineteenth centuries, frequently displaying work at the Royal Academy. It is quite possible that the initials given to Thurston and Stothard in the original Salon catalogue entry are mistakes. The two artists are noted as 'J. Stothard' and 'R. A. Thurston',[257] though it would make sense that they should read 'R. A. Stothard' and 'J. [John] Thurston'. The 'R. A.' could very well signify a member of the Royal Academy, which Stothard was, yet Thurston was not. In 1822 the Thompson *frères* exhibited collaboratively once again, this time with a number of woodcut engravings, or simply, '*Un cadre de gravures sur bois'*, as it appears in the *livret*.[258] Unfortunately the *livret* title gives even less information about the specific pictures than in previous Salon displays.

After having exhibited at the previous three Salons as a collaborative effort, the 1824 Salon was the first anomaly for the Thompson brothers. We do not know which artist was selected to display his work as the *livret* does not divulge this information, and contains only the surname and the address at which they were shown: 'THOMPSON, *rue des Noyers, no. 33*.'[259] Although this is ambiguous, we can make an educated guess as to which brother it refers to. Charles Thompson seems the more likely of the two, as he remained in Paris, living and working as an engraver from 1816 until his death on 19 May 1843.[260] John, on the other hand, did not enjoy the same general exposure or popularity in France. Edward Morris has suggested that it was Charles who exhibited, but offers no indication of how this conclusion has been arrived at.[261] Incidentally, Thompson was awarded a gold medal for his display, although this fact has been largely forgotten and only appears in literature from Edward Morris.[262] To receive a gold medal

[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid., 179.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Chatto and Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*', 632.
[261] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 42.
[262] Ibid.

was one of the highest accolades that any artist could achieve at the Paris Salon, let alone a foreign artist. Considering that Charles Thompson was an engraver rather than a celebrated painter, and is by no means considered to have been one of the greater names of British art at the Salon, the fact that he won a gold medal places him alongside Constable, Bonington and Copley Fielding. This is quite astonishing, and was a remarkable feat for an artist unheard of today. We know little about the entry that won him such praise, unfortunately. Thompson's catalogue entry contains only a generic title indicating a number of reproductive woodcuts after the popular drawings of Alexandre-Joseph Desenne (1785 - 1827) and Achille Devéria (1800 – 1857): '*Cadre de gravures sur bois, d'après les dessins de M M. Desenne et Devéria*'.[263] Aside from the standard title of the works in the *livret*, no details are given about the prints. Charles is also highly likely to have been the 'Thompson' who exhibited at the following Salon of 1827 from no. 33 rue des Noyers. Again, the work shown, like so many other engraved entries to the Salon during these years, is given only the ambiguous and general title of '*Un cadre de gravures sur bois*.'[264]

Another name which appears consistently in the Salon *livrets* of these years is John Taylor Wedgwood (1782 – 1856). Although he is very much unknown today, Edward Morris briefly mentioned him, noting that he almost certainly studied under Antoine-Jean Gros in Paris.[265] Wedgwood, a cousin of the distinguished potter Josiah Wedgwood, was well known by his contemporaries for his use of the burin and worked for a number of years in Paris making reproductive engravings after celebrated British and French artists. At the Salon of 1822 Wedgwood showed several works, including a number of unknown portraits, as well as one of his better known engravings, a portrait

[263] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1824*, 219.
[264] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 190.
[265] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 43.

of Princess Charlotte Augusta of Saxe-Coburg (1796 – 1817) (Fig. 21).[266] Versions of the latter work, reproduced from an earlier portrait by Sir George Hayter (1792 - 1871), are currently held both in the Royal Collection and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The subject, Princess Charlotte, died in 1817 at the age of just twenty-one following the birth of her child. This, incidentally, was the same year that Wedgwood made his engraving of the Princess. It is worth commenting on this date and the picture may easily be seen as a respectful remembrance of the Princess; a sort of visual obituary. Wedgwood may also be seen as rather astute in making his portrait at the time when the Princess's untimely death was of topical relevance, but we must be wary of reading too much into this idea. Princess Charlotte died on November 6th of that year, and, although we have no way of knowing whether the engraved portrait was made before or after her death, it seems somewhat unlikely (although not wholly impossible) that Wedgwood would have been capable of producing the work before the end of the year as a tribute to the Princess's life. It seems more likely, therefore, that the correlation between the timing of Wedgwood's engraving and Princess Charlotte's death was simply a coincidence. Nevertheless, this is an intriguing notion to consider.

Wedgwood's later appearance at the 1824 Salon was substantially more ambiguous, and the *livret* lists a series of historical reproductive portraits: '*Cadre de portraits, d'après le Titien, Porbus, Van Dyck et Reynolds*'.[267] At the following Salon in 1827, Wedgwood displayed just one work from no. 46 rue de Seine, a popular portrait of Lord Byron (Fig. 22).[268] Byron was very much in vogue, having died in 1824, and Wedgwood was not the only artist to have found inspiration in him. The 1827 Salon also saw the

[266] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1822*, 179.
[267] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1824*, 219.
[268] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 190.

unveiling of the first version of Delacroix's painting, *The Death of Sardanapalus*,[269] inspired by Byron's 1821 play *Sardanapalus*, which certainly would have overshadowed Wedgwood's work.

Samuel William Reynolds (1773 – 1835) was one of the most significant engravers involved in the 1827 Salon and the Franco-British printmaking culture in Paris. Generally speaking, he is probably the most written about and well remembered of all the British engravers working in France during the period.[270] In 1820 Reynolds was appointed portrait engraver to George IV,[271] and moved to Paris in 1824, the year of the 'English Salon', where he established an engraving workshop at no. 43 rue de Batailles, Chaillot (now replaced by Avenue d'Iéna) the following year.[272] Reynolds was held in high esteem by many of his contemporaries, and the engraver William Walker (1791 – 1867) especially praised his work.[273] In Henri Delaborde's (1811 – 1899) 1886 book, *Engraving: Its Origin, Processes, and History*, Walker contributed a final chapter on English engraving. He commented a little on the nature of English printmaking and in general claimed it to be superior to French printmaking of the same period. Walker's highest tributes were granted to Reynolds, although he mistakenly claims that the artist only arrived in France in 1826.[274] He did, however, recount some intriguing details about Reynolds's network as an engraver in Paris. Walker tells us, for example, that '[Alexandre Vincent] Sixdeniers and [George] Maile studied with him, and several plates

[269] Ibid., 234.
[270] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 44.
[271] Felicity Owen, 'Oxford DNB article: Reynolds, Samuel William', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed April 2, 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23438?docPos=1.
[272] Owen, 'Oxford DNB article: Reynolds, Samuel William'.
[273] William Walker, 'A Chapter on English Engraving', in *Engraving: Its Origin, Processes, and History*, ed. Henri Delaborde, trans. R. A. M. Stevenson (London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1886), 319, accessed May 5, 2015. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/42936/42936-h/42936-h.htm.
[274] Ibid.

bear their combined names'.[275] This is just a slight indication of Reynolds's place within Paris engraving circles. Walker also offered more opinionated impressions of Reynolds and his acquaintances, but these anecdotes are often so wildly subjective that they are hardly worth discussing.

The address at no. 43 rue de Batailles, Chaillot, where Reynolds housed his engraving workshop was also where he exhibited at the 1827 Salon, as indicated in the *livret*.[276] Interestingly, he was the British artist at the Salon with the largest number of works on show; more, even, than any of the British painters on exhibition. There were ten works in total, all engraved mezzotints after the paintings of French artists Géricault, Forbin, Vernet, Mme. Haudebourt-Lescot and Charlet.[277] Reynolds was certainly popular in France during this period of production in Paris in the 1820s, and Edward Morris emphasised the value of his political beliefs in his reputation, claiming that Reynolds clutched to fervent Bonapartist ideals.[278] Morris suggests that this, at least in part, may have contributed to Reynolds's success in Paris.[279] Paul Huet in particular was a great admirer of the English artist's paintings rather than his engravings. He described Reynolds's paintings as 'extremely remarkable for a profound poetry and a strong and mysterious colouration'.[280] In correspondence with Constable, Huet also called him a 'greater landscape painter perhaps than engraver', with 'something of the intelligence and elevation of Poussin, with a more Rembrandtesque hand and more modern feeling'.[281] Reynolds himself found success in France relatively easily and appears to have been well acquainted with the most prominent art dealers in Paris, including

[275] Ibid.
[276] *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 187-8.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 44.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Owen, 'Oxford DNB Article: Reynolds, Samuel William'.

Claude Schroth and John Arrowsmith, both of whom were pivotal in the promotion of artists such as Constable and Bonington in France.[282] It is highly probable that it is through Arrowsmith that Reynolds came to display so many works at the Salon exhibition of 1827.

Reynolds's oeuvre appears to have bridged an important gap between reproductive engraving and touristic printmaking, perhaps more so than many of the other artists making reproductive work. Much of his work consisted of landscape and architectural depictions, yet he was most well known in his time for his engravings such as Nicolas Toussaint Charlet's (1792 – 1845) character studies of the *Rag Picker* and the *Village Barber*.[283] These Charlet works and their subjects in particular provide another example of the popularity of depictions of local French figures and their contemporary customs. David Wilkie picked up on these vernacular subjects and scenes, providing a British perspective in his genre-like images, and he will be discussed a little later in this chapter. Reynolds's reproductions of Gericault's *The Raft of the Medusa* and *Mazeppa* by Horace Vernet were two of his other most popular prints.[284] Stephen Bann focused much of his attention on historical and literary influences within the French engraving community. He cited Lord Byron's 1819 poem *Mazeppa* and Gericault's *The Wounded Cuirassier* (1814) as particularly significant motifs.[285] On *Mazeppa*, Bann asserted that in his young and heroic protagonists, Byron had conjured a mythic representation of the rebellious outlaw, which French artists found very appealing for its 'heady notions of liberty and destiny'.[286] Of course the same could be said of *The Raft of the Medusa* and

[282] Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 44.
[283] Walker, 'A Chapter on English Engraving', 319.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Bann, 'Print Culture and the Illustration of History', 33.
[286] Ibid.

many of Gericault's other subjects, as well as those of Delacroix and alternative 'Romantic' artists.

Barthélémy Jobert boldly emphasised that the influence of reproductive prints cannot be underestimated, and placed its significance above the Salon in terms of the way that artists gained exposure. The wide circulation of printing, he said, had a 'much more important medium- and long-term impact.'[287] The reproductive work of engravers such as Samuel Cousins (1801 – 1887) and Abraham Raimbach (1776 – 1843) formed a fundamental part in the process of creating a market for the work of certain artists who they popularised. Even an artist with a reputation such as Thomas Lawrence benefitted significantly from this. We often consider Lawrence to have been one of the most revered and respected British artists in France during this time, the evidence of which is available if we look at the Paris Salon exhibitions and contemporary accounts of his reception. Jobert attests that even an artist like Lawrence profited from the support of engravers. A British artist's reputation in France was built on the wide dissemination of images and prints created *en masse*, and Samuel Cousins's mezzotints especially are seen as essential to the success that Lawrence enjoyed overseas.[288] Indeed, Cousins is rarely mentioned in literature without reference to Lawrence and was well known as a pupil of Samuel William Reynolds, who was impressed by the young artist after seeing him win the silver Isis medal for drawing in 1814.[289] Throughout much of his artistic life, Cousins specialised in engravings after Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Lawrence, who, although already widely admired, he served to popularise even further. At the

[287] Jobert, 'À la recherche de l'école anglaise', 125.
[288] Ibid., 133.
[289] L. A. Fagan, *rev.* Donato Esposito, 'Oxford DNB article: Cousins, Samuel', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed April 2, 2015. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article//6466.

Salon of 1827, Cousins exhibited a single reproduced work, a mezzotint titled '*La Surprise*' after the portrait by Claude-Marie Dubufe.[290]

The French painter and art critic, Henri Delaborde, was somewhat critical of English engraving. Writing in the latter part of the nineteenth century, he looked back on its influence in France during the early 1800s. Delaborde recalled: 'The novelty of their appearance might at first impart a certain charm to English engravings; but the unending repetition of the same effect has destroyed their principal merit, and it is difficult to regard them with attention or interest.'[291] Delaborde preferred to speak of the talents of individual English artists and printmakers, rather than that of a national school. He praised Reynolds and Samuel Cousins, as well as Abraham Raimbach's engravings after the genre paintings of David Wilkie.[292]

Jobert provides a special focus on David Wilkie, an unusual artist in the sense that he did not fit the typical genre of 'Romantic' art, and his work rather resembled Dutch and Flemish genre painting. Wilkie enjoyed great success in France and the visible impact of the reproductive prints after his paintings seems to be somewhat more tangible than that of Lawrence's. Wilkie himself visited Paris only in 1814 and 1825, although he never displayed his paintings in France during his life. Despite this, his images proved to be popular, and were met with a positive response from French observers. William Etty, who so often found reason to criticise the French school of art, wrote to Thomas Lawrence in 1823 acknowledging the Paris print culture and the mass of Wilkie pictures that were in distribution. He said: 'They [the French] seem beginning to think *we can paint a little*. Numerous English engravings are everywhere met with… Wilkie is very

[290] *Catalogue of the Paris Salon, Volume 1827*, 261.
[291] Delaborde, *Engraving: Its Origin, Processes, and History*, 266.
[292] Ibid.

much in request.'[293] Significantly, Etty's words reveal the art market's reliance on the dissemination of prints. Jobert also draws attention to the French catalogues of print sales, featuring Abraham Raimbach's Wilkie prints. In 1819 an unspecified Raimbach engraving appears, and in 1821 another Raimbach of *Le Doigt Coupé* (The Cut Finger).[294]

As Wilkie never exhibited his own work in France there may be a feeling that he himself was somewhat more disengaged from his French audience, yet this would contradict his popularity across the Channel. This was not the case, however, and the apparent difficulty with which Wilkie appeared to find a print-seller for his work in Paris testifies to the efforts he made in attempting to move his business across the Channel. His journal entry of the 5 June 1814 tells of his search for a shop willing to distribute reproductions of *The Village Politicians* (Raimbach's engraving is seen in Fig. 23), an immensely popular work in England.[295] Stopping by at least four or five print-sellers that day alone, he recalls being warmly received by all, but ultimately being turned down as most found the subject matter of his print to be 'not historical enough for the Parisian market'.[296] These words come from Wilkie himself, and we do not know whether they were spoken to him by the print-sellers or whether this was his own perception of why his work was not accepted and distributed.

Although we do not know exactly when *The Village Politicians* was painted, the work was unveiled at the Royal Academy in 1806 and was Wilkie's first major picture to be shown in London.[297] We must be careful of using this date to read too much into the

[293] Noon, *Constable to Delacroix*, 22.
[294] Jobert, 'À la recherche de l'école anglaise', 135-6.
[295] Wilkie, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, Vol. 1, 414-416.
[296] Ibid., 415.
[297] Martin Meisel, *Realisations: Narrative, Pictorial, and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 160.

narrative of its subject. The critic Richard Dorment very nearly fell into this trap when, in 2002, he described the picture's figures as 'drunkenly discussing newspaper reports in the aftermath of the battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz.'[298] He was, however, careful not to make an outright claim. If indeed the painting's subjects are discussing topical international politics and warfare, as the picture's title suggests, then this contemporary allusion would at least partially explain the opinion that the print was 'not historical enough for the Parisian market'. The notion that Trafalgar and Austerlitz formed the underlying focus of the work is somewhat undermined by information given by Wilkie's biographers, Allan and Peter Cunningham. Having apparently conceived of the picture in 1803, they wrote that Wilkie:

> 'meditated on the subject for some time, filled his mind with the political ferment of his youth, when every smithy had its evening group of agitators, and every change-house its club of orators, who discussed the merits of ale, and descanted on the rights of man.'[299]

These comments challenge any certainty on the topic of discussion amongst the characters of *The Village Politicians*. There is certainly no detail within the painting which explicitly ties it to Trafalgar or Austerlitz. The date of 1803 (as given by Allan and Peter Cunningham), when Wilkie is said to have first envisaged the work, would place the topic of conversation closer to the moment that the Peace of Amiens came to an end and war between Britain and France resumed.

It may be fair to assume that Wilkie's figures are discussing the more general politics of the period rather than any particular event or episode, although this reading would

[298] Richard Dorment, 'Loudmouths, yokels and drunks', *Telegraph*, September 25, 2002, accessed December 17, 2015, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/3583119/Loudmouths-yokels-and-drunks.html.
[299] Allan Cunningham and Peter Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, 48.

have little effect on the aforementioned assertion that the work was 'not historical enough for the Parisian market'. More curious still are the humorous and familiar allusions to provincial customs within England that are inherent to the painting and its conception. These captured the imagination of observers in London at the Royal Academy in 1806, but do not appear to have intrigued the French art market in the wake of war in 1814. The market appears to have favoured works with a significant historical association, and this was true also of the landscape and architectural pictures which appeared in studies, lithographs and watercolours. Even the popular works with modern and contemporary details contained historical evocations and allusions.

It is important to examine other works by Wilkie and assess their subject matter in terms of their historical connections (or lack thereof) and relevancy to the Parisian art market. At odds with the judgement of *The Village Politicians* is Marcia Pointon's explanation for the reception of Wilkie's *Blind Man's Buff*,[300] (1812) (Fig. 24) a work which was particularly successful in France. Pointon argued that this was due to 'the appropriateness of Wilkie's subjects to French taste and to the sensibilities of the time.'[301]

The subject of Blind Man's Bluff was popularised in Britain particularly towards the end of the 1700s and the turn of the century by artists such as George Morland, who painted the subject in 1788. Reproductions of Wilkie's depiction also appeared from Paul Jarrard & Sons and a number of other London printmakers. Wilkie's *Blind Man's Buff* appeared to be met with a positive response from the Parisian art market, which

[300] Please note that the spelling of 'Buff' is not a typographical error. The game was always traditionally called 'Blind Man's Buff', and etymologically this is derived from 'buffet', meaning a blow or a push. The game is more commonly called 'Bluff' today, but this is a more recently developed variation on the name, probably arising from mispronunciation.
[301] Marcia Pointon, 'From Blind Man's Buff to Le Colin-Maillard: Wilkie and his French Audience', *Oxford Art Journal*, 7 (1984): 15-25.

directly contradicted the lack of enthusiasm for his *The Village Politicians*. The subject matter of *Blind Man's Buff* played a significant role in its reception. The game featured fairly prominently in French art of the previous century, having been popularised by painters and engravers such as Charles-Nicholas Cochin (the Elder), Philippe Mercier, Nicolas Lancret and Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater. Perhaps most significant were those painted by Jean-Honoré Fragonard, who revisited the subject five times over the course of thirty years.[302] The evidence of these previous French depictions of the game suggests that it was indeed the subject matter that ensured the appeal for Wilkie's picture that Marcia Pointon indicated,[303] rather than because of any abrupt changes to French tastes.

Conclusion

Just like lithographers, British engravers working in France represented a remarkably modern culture which provided for the mass market. This, Bann declared, 'differentiated the Romantic epoch from all its predecessors.'[304] The actual extent of reproductive wood engraving circles in Paris is a particularly elusive topic, and the work on them is so obscure that most literature tends to skirt the topic.

The Salon *livret* is where we see some more tangible, albeit limited, evidence. A huge number of wood engravers and mezzotinters exhibited their work at the Salon between 1814 and 1827 – twenty-one in total, with sixteen at the 1827 Salon alone. This chapter,

[302] Jennifer Milam, 'Fragonard and the Blindman's Game: Interpreting representations of Blindman's Buff', *Art History*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (March 1998): 1.
[303] Pointon, 'From Blind Man's Buff to Le Colin-Maillard', 15-25.
[304] Bann, 'Print Culture and the Illustration of History', 28-9.

along with Appendix A, has made the first attempt to chart all of these printmakers, the vast majority of whom have never been acknowledged in literature on the subject.

Charles Thompson's arrival in Paris in 1816 was significant as it marked the birth of wood engraving in France. This was a medium almost exclusively practiced in Britain until Thompson was invited to Paris by Firmin-Didot. An artist such as Thompson has significant uncertainties regarding attribution that cannot be rectified, even though we place so much reliance upon him for the import of wood engraving into France.

Discussions of contemporary French tastes and subject matter are at the centre of our discourse on Wilkie and the popularisation of prints of his work. It is important to recognise that despite the fact that Wilkie was such a unique artist during this period of typical 'Romantic' art, the historical elements and sensibilities within his work which made him popular and relevant in France can be likened to the historical associations in the form of provincial architecture, which dominated British watercolours and lithographs of the era.

There are definite distinctions in Wilkie's subject matter which need to be highlighted in relation to their popularity. The work which contained contemporary vernacular imagery, such as *The Village Politicians*, failed to galvanise the French market. This was because the figures were not simply staffage to provide local impressions, but were the focus of the work. Wilkie owed a lot of his success with *Blind Man's Buff* to the voguish subject matter and French artists who had previously popularised the topic. In this sense, Wilkie's work renewed a popular tradition that was already well within French tastes.

Wilkie is an interesting artist to consider as his work does not contain the same historical associations for which landscape artists such as Bonington, Cotman, Prout or Harding were admired. His work sits more comfortably with depictions of contemporary characters and local customs, while differing greatly from the more common landscape and architectural images which featured these impressions in the form of staffage.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This thesis primarily seeks to do two things. The first of these, evident in Chapter 2 and throughout Chapters 3-5, is to vastly expand the field of acknowledgement of British artists and their presence within the Paris Salon displays between 1814 and 1827. The culmination of this is Appendix A, a comprehensive list of all British painters, engravers and lithographers who showed their work at the Salon during these years. This provides a tangible contribution to historiography, and has never before been systematically and methodically recorded by Jobert, Morris, Noon, or any other historian of the period.

In expanding upon Olivier Meslay's assertion that we must view the 1824 Salon as 'renewing a tradition rather than initiating one',[305] this thesis reflects upon the vast number of British artists at the 1814, 1817, 1819, 1822, and 1827 Salons, and challenges the entrenched tendency within literature to focus upon 1824 as the singular exhibition at which British art prospered. Chapter 5 also addresses reproductive printmaking in Paris, as well as the many engraved British contributions to the Salon, referring again to Appendix A. The role of reproductive printmaking was highlighted by Jobert, but he did not mention the vast inclusion of British engravers at the Salon. From my research inevitably comes a discussion of issues concerning the attitudes of the Salon as an institution. The distinctive inclusivity policy from the 1791 decree of the National Assembly and the Salon selection committee serves to highlight and emphasise

[305] Meslay, 'British Painting in France before 1802', 17.

the parochial perspective of the Royal Academy, which largely failed to acknowledge foreign art.

The second main discussion of this thesis relates to the insular nature of British art during the period of the Franco-British wars. Previous literature has not linked this insularity to the types of images and subject matter made by British artists in France during the post-war Restoration period. The majority of British-made work from this period – particularly many watercolours, lithographs and engravings – shares the over-arching content of picturesque landscape and medieval representation. While this subject matter is commonly recognised, the use of staffage within these images is rarely acknowledged. If we consider that very often many of these figural elements were contemporary, then it points us to the ambiguity of whether these images were primarily depictions of history or modernity.

Innate within this concept, the interesting paradox between history and modernity sits remarkably comfortably when we observe the practice of lithography. As Chapter 4 addresses, lithography was not widely recognised in the Salon but it dominated illustrated travel books and topographical works such as the *Voyages pittoresques*. The British contribution to these ambitious volumes was enormous, and Appendix B collects together all the works from British lithographers from the first three volumes on *Ancienne France* which were published before 1830. Just as in the case of the Salon list, Appendix B is a palpable contribution to literature and no historian has previously compiled a list of this sort. As a decidedly modern medium, the technique of lithography was versatile enough to be essentially adopted by illustrated topographical books. As we saw in the case of Charles Nodier's preface statement,[306] the *Voyages pittoresques*

[306] Nodier, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, Vol. I, preface, 10.

recognised this, and sought to purvey within these volumes the sense of a lithographer's flexibility, resourcefulness and exploration, above all else.

The essential point to take from this thesis is that the forced insularity during the years of war meant that British artists sought these historical associations in post-war France. The detached and dogmatic nature of British culture during the Franco-British wars influenced artists to forge their own identity, which largely consisted of depictions of landscape which were closely related to the proposed threat of the wars. The rejuvenation of watercolour, renewal of wood engraving, and the progressive practices of lithography were particularly significant in this respect, and images which combined historical architecture with contemporary vernacular staffage and local customs prospered within a new period of Franco-British art after 1814. In Normandy and other regions of France, British artists found the imagery that was most evocative of their own domestic British landscape. The British preoccupation with landscape during this period stems from familiarity and a sense of nostalgia, and when British artists travelled to France they sought out the 'familiar' within the 'unfamiliarity' of the foreign landscape.

Illustrations

Fig. 1 – Richard Parkes Bonington, *A Fish-Market near Boulogne* (1824), Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Fig. 2 – Richard Parkes Bonington, *French Coast with Fishermen* (1824 [1825 on Tate website]), oil on canvas, Tate Collection, London.

Fig. 3 – Samuel Prout, *Augsburg* (1824?), watercolour, location unknown.

Fig. 4 – Richard Parkes Bonington, *Venice: Ducal Palace with a Religious Procession* (1827), oil on canvas, Tate Collection, London.

Fig. 5 – Richard Parkes Bonington, *Henri IV and the Spanish Ambassador* (1827), oil on canvas, The Wallace Collection.

Fig. 6 – Richard Parkes Bonington, *François I and Marguerite de Navarre* (1827), oil on canvas, The Wallace Collection.

Fig. 7 – John Constable, *The Cornfield* (1826), oil on canvas, The National Gallery, London.

Fig. 8 – Thomas Lawrence, *The Red Boy* (1825), oil on canvas, Private collection.

Fig. 9 – John Glover, *The Bay of Naples* (1814), oil on canvas, Cardiff City Hall, Cardiff.

Fig. 10 – John Crome, *The Fishmarket at Boulogne* (1820), oil on canvas, Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

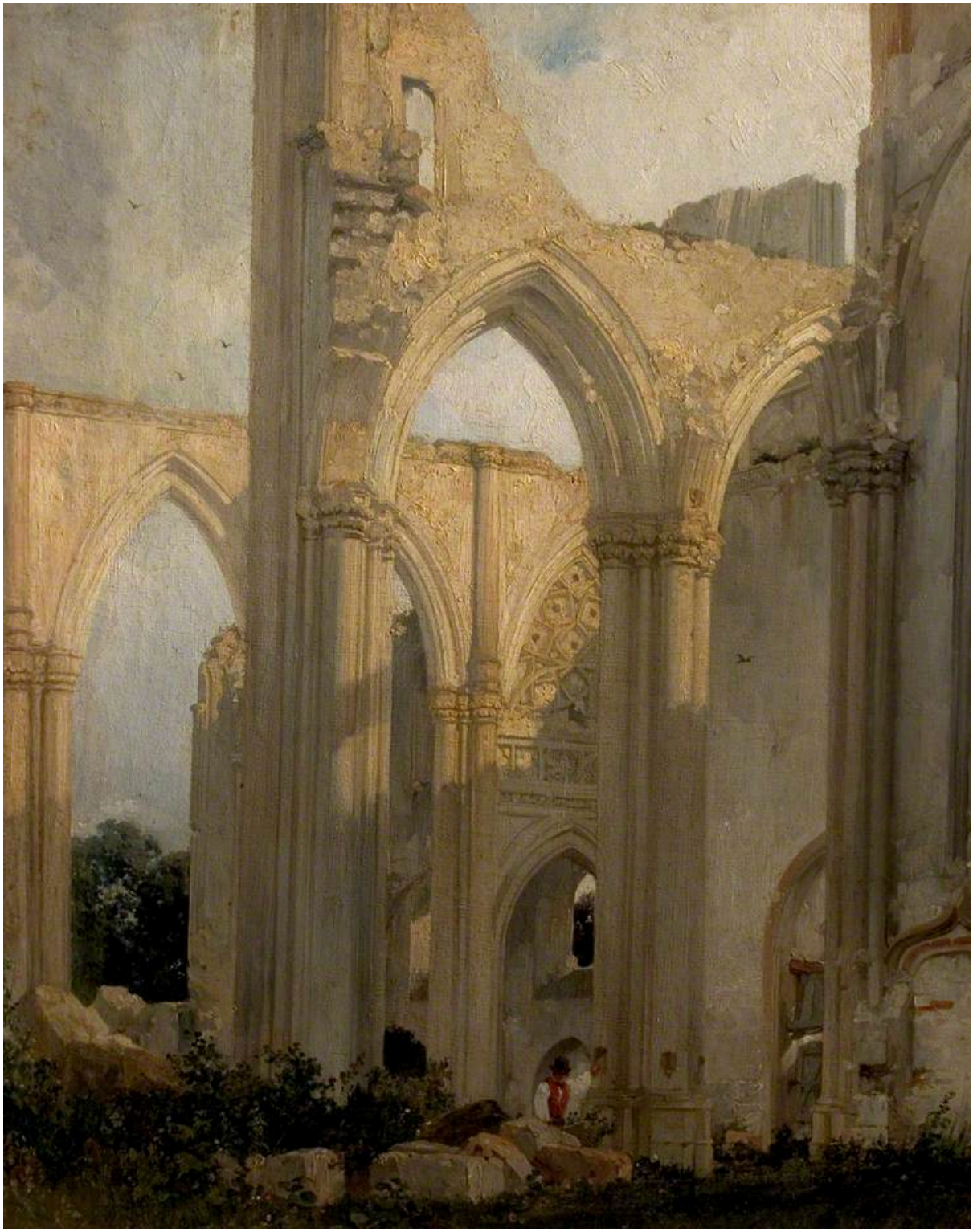

Fig. 11 – Richard Parkes Bonington, *Ruins of the Abbey St. Bertin, St. Omer* (1824), oil on canvas, Nottingham Castle Museum and Art Gallery, Nottingham.

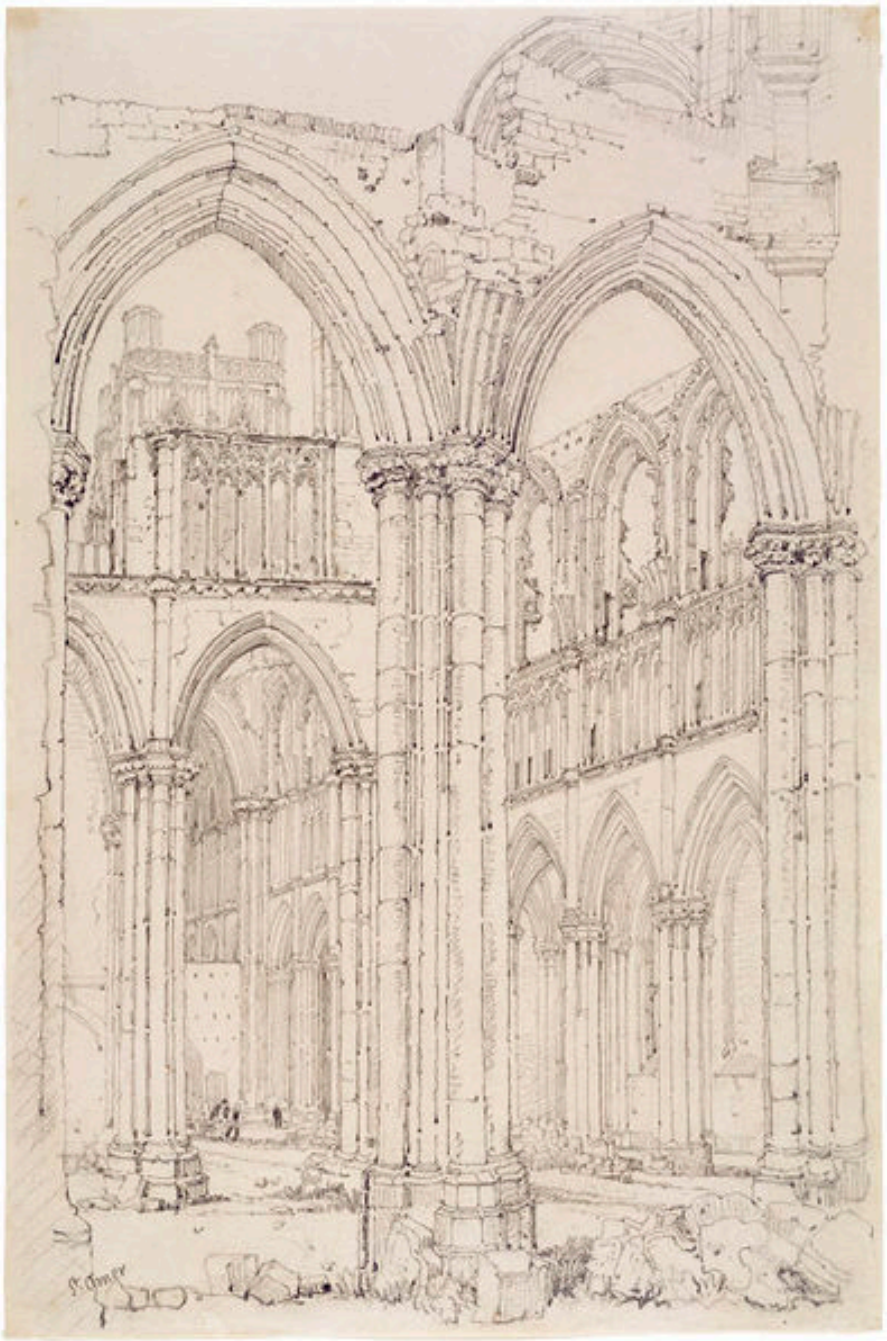

Fig. 12 – Samuel Prout, *The Nave of St. Bertin, St. Omer* (1822), graphite on paper, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 13 – Richard Parkes Bonington, *Rue du Gros Horloge, Rouen* (1824), lithograph, from *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'Ancienne France, Vol. II: Ancienne Normandie* (1825).

Fig. 14 – Richard Parkes Bonington, *Tour du Gros-Horloge, bâtie sous la domination des Anglais en 1417, Évreux* (1824), lithograph, from *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'Ancienne France, Vol. II: Ancienne Normandie* (1825).

Fig. 15 – Richard Parkes Bonington, *Vignette for Évreux Chapter* (1824?), lithograph, from *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'Ancienne France, Vol. II: Ancienne Normandie* (1825).

Fig. 16 – Richard Parkes Bonington, *Façade de l'Église de Brou* (1825), lithograph, The British Museum, London. From *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'Ancienne France, Vol. III: Franche-Comté* (1825).

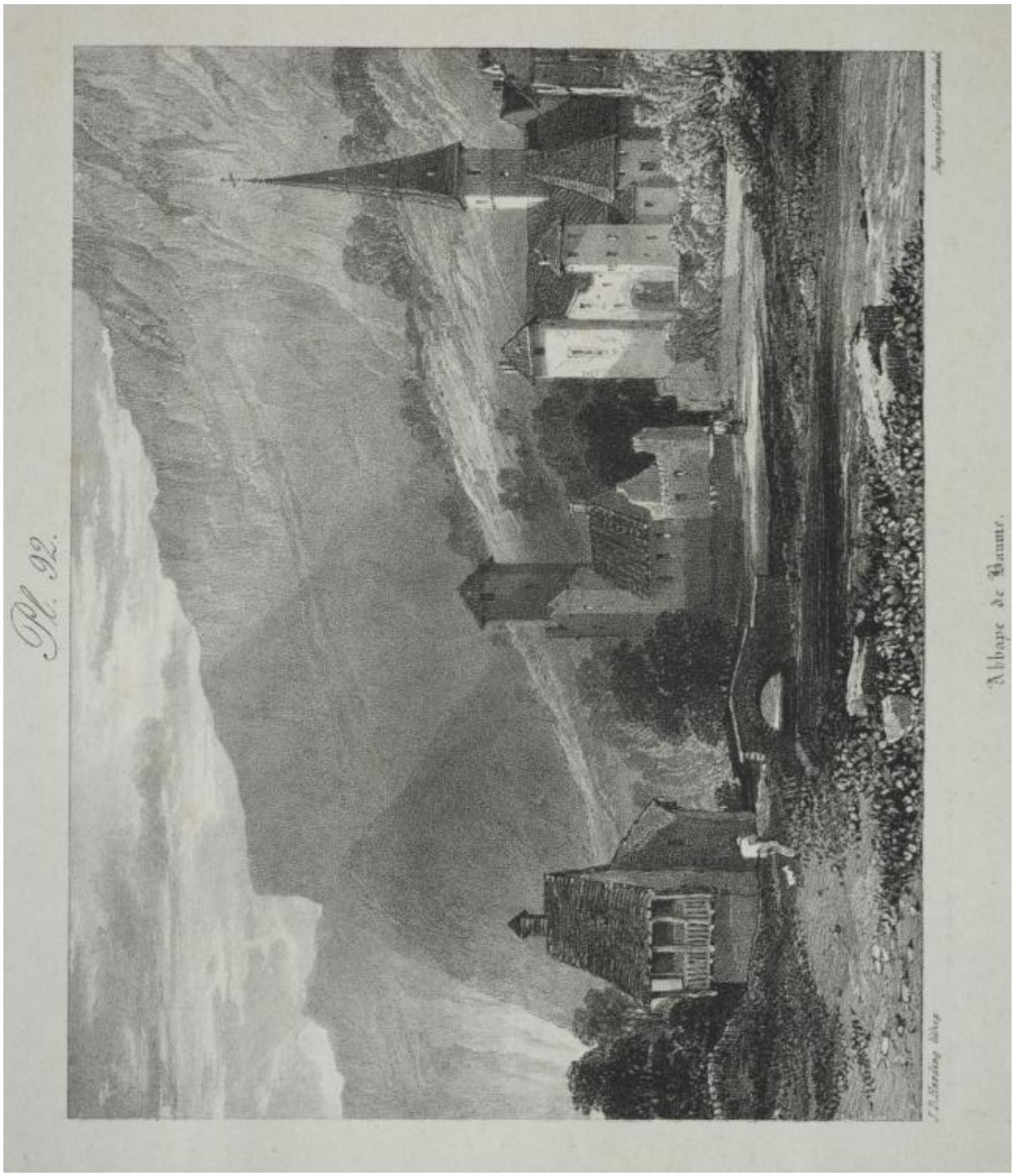

Fig. 17 – James Duffield Harding, *Abbaye de Baume* (1825), lithograph, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. From *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'Ancienne France, Vol. III: Franche-Comté* (1825).

Fig. 18 – Louis Haghe, *Ruines du château de Vaire* (1825), lithograph, from , *Vol. III: Franche-Comté* (1825).

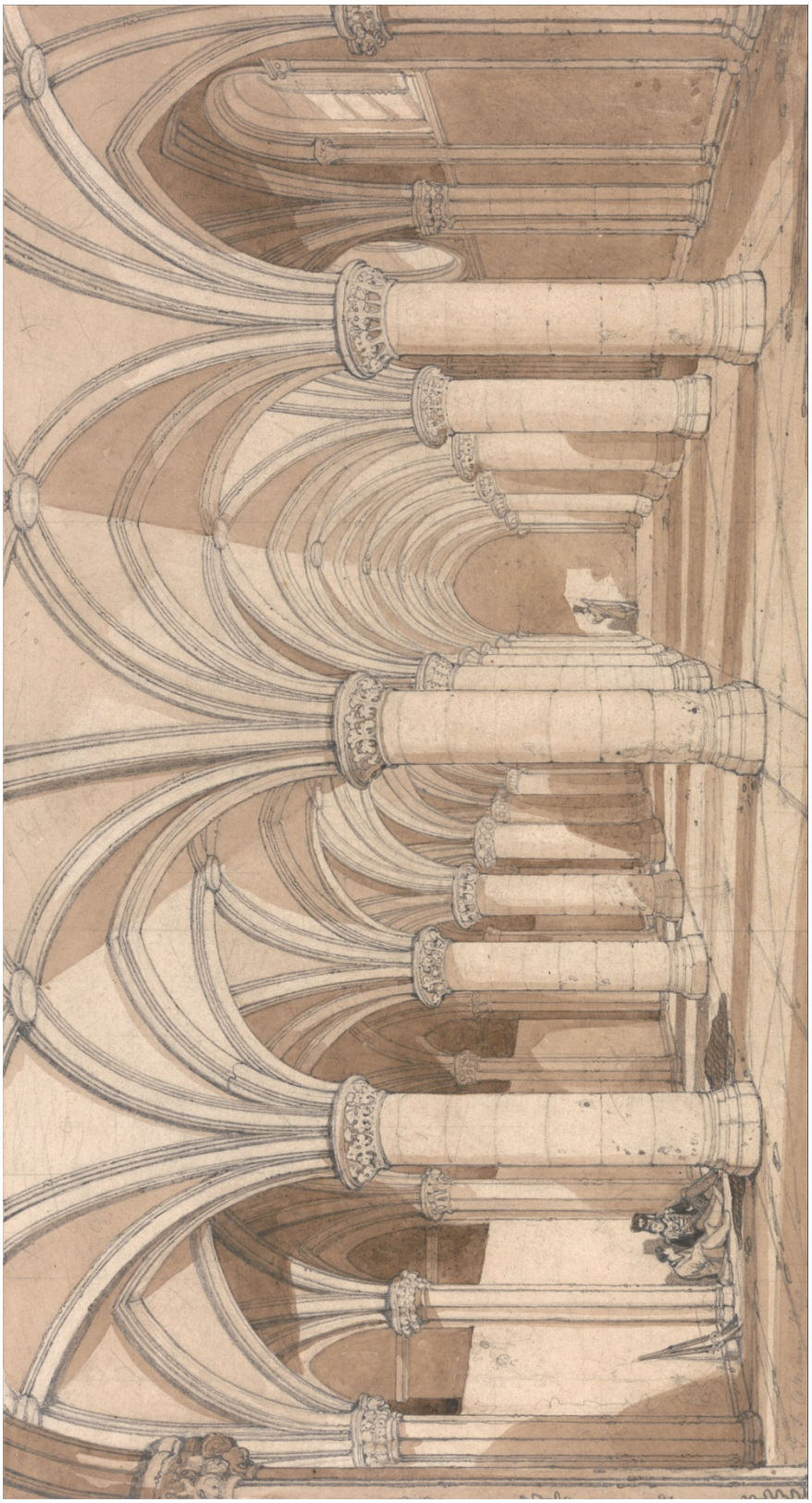

Fig. 19 – John Sell Cotman, *Mont St. Michel, Interior of the Knight's Hall* (1822), drawing (possibly preparatory) of etching, from *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* (1819-1822).

Fig. 20 – John Sell Cotman, *Mont St. Michel* (1818), graphite and watercolour, Keepers and Governers of Harrow School.

Fig. 21 – John Taylor Wedgwood, *Princess Charlotte of Saxe-Coburg* (1827?), after George Hayter, engraving, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and The Royal Collection Trust.

Fig. 22 – John Taylor Wedgwood, *Lord Byron* (1827?), after Benjamin West, engraving, Fogg Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Fig. 23 – Abraham Raimbach, *The Village Politicians* (1813), after David Wilkie, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 24 – David Wilkie, *Blind Man's Buff* (1812), oil on panel, The Royal Collection Trust.

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Appendix A

British artworks exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1802 – 1827.

Note: All engravings and lithographs are identified as having hung in such sections. All unspecified works were either oil or watercolour paintings.

1802

ELISABETH HARVEY [page 93].

715 – Plusieurs têtes d'étude. Portraits *sous le même numéro.*

BENJAMIN WEST, *Président de l'Académie royale de Londres.* [page 101].

756 – Esquisse représentant la Mort sur le cheval pale.

1804

ELISABETH HARVEY, *rue Guénégaud, no. 17.* [page 41].

227 – Portrait de Bernardin de St-Pierre entouré de sa famille.

1806

ELISABETH HARVEY, *rue Pavée, n. 18, près celle St.-André-des-Ares.* [page 46].

247 – Malvina pleure la mort d'Oscar; ses compagnes cherchent à la consoler.
248 – Un portrait d'Homme.
249 – Deux études.

1808

ELISABETH HARVEY [page 42].

283 – Trois portraits. *Même numéro.*

WILLIAM DICKINSON, *rue du Bac, n. 69.* [page 114, Engravings section].

791 – Portrait du general Sébastiani, d'après le tableau de *Gérard*.

1810

WILLIAM DICKINSON, *rue du Bac, n. 69.* [page 130, Engravings section].

1138 – Portrait de femme en pied.
1139 – Portrait de la comtesse Zamoiska.
1140 – Malvina, d'après *Mad. Hervey.*

1812

ELISABETH HARVEY [page 50].

468 – Edwy et Elgiva.

SAMUEL HUTCHINSON, *rue Culture-Ste-Catherine, n. 52.* [page 53].

495 – Vue des Dunes en Angleterre, et le château de Walmer. Dessin.
496 – Vue du port d'Helvoët-Sluys en Hollande. Dessin.

WILLIAM DICKINSON, *rue Wirtingham, n. 3, ter.* [page 126, Engravings section].

1228 – Frédéric-Auguste, roi de Saxe, d'Apres *M. Gérard*.

1814

JOHN CROME, *rue Vivienne, n. 17.* [page 23].

225 – Vue des environs de Norwich.

JAMES FOGGO, *rue de l'Université, n. 12.* [page 40].

394 – Mort de Cordélia.

395 – Un portrait.

GEORGE FOGGO, *rue de l'Université, n. 12.* [page 40].

396 – Marguerite d'Anjou.

JOHN GLOVER, *à Londres, place Montaigu, n. 61.* [page 45].

451 – Paysage compose, représentant des bergers en repos.

1817

JAMES or GEORGE FOGGO, *rue de l'Université, n. 12.* [page 37]

332 – Un Portrait d'enfant.

THOMPSON brothers, JOHN and CHARLES, *rue des Brodeurs, faubourg Saint-Germain, n. 3.* [page 116, Engravers section].

1032 – Plusieurs Sujets gravés sur bois, d'après les dessins de Thurston, l'Honnaud, etc.

1819

THOMPSON brothers, JOHN AND CHARLES *rue des Noyers, n. 33.* [page 164-5, Engravers section].

1559 – Gravures sur bois, d'après les dessins de J. Stothard, R. A. Thurston, Corbould et Deveria.

1822

RICHARD PARKES BONINGTON, *rue Michel-le-Comte, n. 27.* [page 21].

123 – Vue prise à Lillebonne (Seine inférieure), aquarelle.
124 – Vue prise au Hâvre (Idem) aquarelle.

Three FIELDING brothers appear under 'OSTERVALD, éditeur du *Voyage pittoresque en Sicile, quai des Grands-Augustins, n. 5.*' [page 176, Engravers section].

1635 – Vue de ruines, à Tyndare, gravée à Paris, par Thales Fielding. [Mistakenly spelled 'Thales' in the catalogue].
1637 – Vue de la fontaine Cyane, gravée à Paris, par Newton Fielding.
1638 – Vue des écueils des Cyclopes, gravée à Paris par Théodore Fielding.
1639 – Vue des ruines du temple de Jupiter Olympien, â Syracuse, gravée par le même.

THOMPSON brothers, JOHN and CHARLES, *rue des Noyers, n. 33.* [page 179, Engravers section].

1671– Un cadre de gravures sur bois.

JOHN TAYLOR WEDGWOOD, *rue du Petit-Pont, n. 26.* [page 179, Engravers section].

1673 – Portrait de A. A. R. la princesse Charlotte de Saxe-Cobours, d'après Hayter.
1674– Plusiers portraits pour divers ouvrages.

JOSEPH WEST, *rue de Seine, n. 46.* [page 179, Engravers section].

1675 – Une femme venant du marché, d'après M. Westall.

1824

RICHARD PARKES BONINGTON, *rue des Mauvaises-Paroles, n. 16.* [page 26].

188 – Etude en Flandre.
189 – Marine.
190 – Vue d'Abbeville; aquarelle.
191 – Marine. (Des pêcheurs débarquent leur poisson.)
192 – Une plage sablonneuse. (Ce tableau appartient à M. Du Sommerard.)

JOHN CONSTABLE [page 43].

358 – Une charrette à foin traversant un gué au pied d'une ferme; paysage.
359 – Un canal en Angleterre; paysage.
360 – Vue près de Londres; Hampstead-Heath.

ANTONY VANDYKE COPLEY FIELDING, *de Londres, quai des Grands-Augustins, n. 25.* [page 43].

361 – Vue de Hastings, sur les côtes de Sussex.
362 – Vue de Hythe et des marais de Romney.
363 – Vue sur la Tamise, à Deptford, près de Londres.
364 – Vue d'après nature, en Angleterre; aquarelle.
365 – Une petite marine; aquarelle.
366 – Vue du château de Chepstor; aquarelle.
367 – Vue du château d'Harlech; aquarelle.
368 – Route dans une plaine; aquarelle.
369 – Pleine mer avec embarkation; aquarelle. (Ces quatre dernières aquarelles appartiennent à M. Schroth.)

THALES FIELDING, *rue Jacob, n. 20, faubourg Saint-Germain.* [page 72].

647 – Macbeth rencontrant les sorcières sur la bruyère: aquarelle.
648 – Moulin près la barrier d'Italie.
649 – Un cadre contenant des aquarelles.

HENRY GASTINEAU, *de Londres, quai des Augustins, n. 25.* [page 79-80].

724 – Château de Saint André, en Ecosse.
725 – Passage de Kirkotall, dans le comté d'Yorck.
726 – Preston, dans le comté d'Yorck.
727 – Lock-Lomond, en Ecosse.
728 – Lock-Long, en Ecosse.
729 – Vue de Southampton.
730 – Vue de Arrington, dans le comté de Cambridge.
731 – Vue de Burstwick, comté d'Yorck.

JAMES DUFFIELD HARDING, *de Londres, quai des Grands-Augustins, n. 25.* [page 95].

865 – Vue d'Aysgarth, dans le comté d'Yorck.

Sir THOMAS LAWRENCE, *président de l'Académie de peinture , à Londres.* [page 114].

1053– Portrait de feu M. le duc de Richelieu.
–––– – [Lawrence's other portrait, of Mrs. John Scandrett Harford, is not mentioned anywhere in the catalogue, but we know from contemporary reviews and accounts that it was exhibited at the Salon.]

WILLIAM LINTON [page 126].

1164 – Une Marine.

SAMUEL PROUT [page 151].

1379– Vue de Cologne; aquarelle.
1380 – Vue d'Augsbourg; aquarelle.
1381 – Vue d'Utrecht; aquarelle.
1382 – Une marine; aquarelle.

JAMES ROBERTS, *rue de Braque, n. 6.* [page 159].

1454 – Vue de Rouen, avant l'incendie de 1822, aquarelle.
1455 – Vue de Beauvais; idem.

JOHN VARLEY, *de Londres, quai des Grands-Augustins, n. 25.* [page 180].

1687 – Montagne de Morne, en Irlande.
1689 – Une composition.

CHARLES WILD, *de Londres, quai des Grands-Augustins, n. 25.* [page 187].

1753 – Vue prise de l'intérieur de la cathédrale d'Amiens.
1754 – Nef de la cathédrale de Reims.
1755 – Vue prise dans l'intérieur de l'église de Saint-Ouen, à Rouen.
1756 – Portrail du midi de la cathédrale de Chartres.

THOMPSON [probably CHARLES], *rue des Noyers, n. 33.* [page 219, Engravers Section].

2062 – Cadre de gravures sur bois, d'après les dessins de M M. Desenne et Devéria.

JOHN TAYLOR WEDGWOOD, *rue de Seine, n. 46.* [page 219, Engravers section].

2066 – Cadre de portraits, d'après le Titien, Porbus, Van-Dyck et Reynolds.

1827

RICHARD PARKES BONINGTON, *rue des Martyrs, n. 11.* [page 40].

123 – Vue du palais ducal à Venise.
124 – Vue de la cathédrale de Rouen.
125 – Tombeau de saint Omer, dans l'église cathédrale de Saint-Omer; aquarelle

[page 230]

1604 – François I, et la reine de Navarre.
1605 – Henri IV et l'ambassadeur d'Espagne.
1606 – Vue de l'entrée du grand canal à Venise.
1607 – Une aquarelle.

JOHN CONSTABLE, *à Londres* [page 50].

219 – Paysage avec figures et animaux.

WILLIAM DANIELL, *à Londres* [page 55].

250 – Combat de matelots Lascars contre un serpent Boa.
251 – L'éléphant mort, scène de l'île de Ceylan.
252 – Vue de la residence de Rajah Ruvee Varma à Baleapatane, sur la côte de Malabar.
253 – Vue du château de Windsor.
254 – Vue de Windsor et du college d'Eton; aquarelles.

NEWTON SMITH FIELDING, *de Londres, rue du Bac, n. 17.* [page 73].

392 – Paysages. *Même numêro.*
393 – Un cadre de dessins à l'aquarelle. (Ces dessins appartiennent à M. Leblond.)

GEORGE or HENRY CORBOULD, *rue des Trois-Frères, n. 3.* [page 174-5, Engravers section).

1218 – Un cadre de vignettes gravées sur acier; d'après MM. Desenne, R. Westall, R. A. etc.
1219 – Paysages, vues d'Italie.
1220 – Têtes de chevaux; d'après les marbres d'Elgin du Musée britannique.

SAMUEL WILLIAM REYNOLDS, *rue des Batailles, à Chaillot* [page 187-8, Engravers section].

1307 – Les naufragés de la Méduse d'après Géricault.
1308 – La bataille de Sedinam; d'après le même.
1309 – Une scène de l'inquisition; d'après M. le comte de Forbin.
1310 – L'évasion; d'après M. Horace Vernet.
1311 – La chasse au marais; d'après le même.
1312 – La chasse au chevreuil; d'après le même.
1313 – La bonne fille; d'après Mme. Haudebourt-Lescot.
1314 – La preface de Gilblas; d'après Mme. Haudebourt.
1315 – Les joueurs; d'après M.Charlet.
1316 – Les querelleurs; d'après le même.

Several British engravers exhibited work under BARON TAYLOR [page 188-9, Engravers section].

1322 – Cadre de gravures du voyage pittoresque en Espagne, en Portugal et sur la côte d'Afrique de Tanger à Tétouan; il contient:

1. Cour des lions de l'Alhambra, palais des rois maures à Grenade, par HAWELL.
2. Tour de Comarès, extérieur du palais de l'Alhambra et vue de Grenade, par REDOWAY.
3. L'une des fenêtres de l'Alcazar de Séville, par LEKEUX.
4. Murs de l'Alhambra, par BARBER.

1323 – Cadre de gravures du même voyage, contenant, savoir:

1. Vue de Barcelonne prise sur les bords de la mer en venant de Tarragone, par V. R. SMITH.
2. Vue de Tolosa, dans la province de Guipuscoa [supposed to read 'Guipuzcoa], par WALLIS.
3. Pointe d'Europe au rocher de Gibraltar et vue du Detroit, par G. COOK.
4. Moulin dans les environs de Villanova de Millefontes, en Portugal, par GOODHALL.

JAMES THOMSON, *à Londres* [page 189, Engravers section].

1325 – Portraits de lady Bagot, de la vicomtesse Burghershh et de lady Fitzroy-Somerset; d'après sir T. Lawrence.

THOMPSON [probably CHARLES], *rue des Noyers, n. 33.* [page 190, Engravers section].

1326 – Un cadre de gravures sur bois.

JOHN TAYLOR WEDGWOOD, *rue de Seine, n. 46.* [page 190, Engravers section).

1331 – Portrait de lord Byron.

JAMES DUFFIELD HARDING and RICHARD PARKES BONINGTON exhibited under: 'Charles NODIER, Baron TAYLOR, and Alphonse de CAILLEUX. Voyages pittoresques dans l'ancienne France: province de Normandie (vol. 2); province de Franche-Comté (vol. 3).' [page 196, Lithography section].

1376 – Ruines du château de Pont-Saint, par Harding.
1377 – Abbaye de Baume, par le même.
1382 – Façade de l'église de Brou, par M. Bonington.

THOMAS LAWRENCE, *à Londres* [page 214].

1503 – Portrait de S. A. R. Madame, duchesse de Berri.
1504 – Portrait du fils de M. J.-J. Lambton.

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1683 – Portrait de Mademoiselle ***; dessin aux trios crayons.

JOHN ANDREW [likely to be], *rue de Cloître Saint-Benoît, n. 12.* [page 225, Engravers section].

1575 – Vignettes gravées sur bois à la manière anglaise.

THOMAS SHOTTER BOYS, *rue de la Rochefoucauld, n. 15.* [page 173, Engravers section].

1209 – Une tempête; d'après Vernet.

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1577 – Vue du temple de Phigalie.
1578 – Vue de l'île de Zéa et vase péruvien.

SAMUEL COUSINS, *à Londres* [page 261, Engravers section.]

1806 – La surprise, d'après M Dubufe.

Appendix B

Works by British Artists in the *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, pre-1830

Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France (1825)

Volume II: *Ancienne Normandie*

- Bonington, *Rue du Gros-Horloge, Rouen*, plate CLXXII.
- Bonington, *Vue Générale de l'Eglise de St. Gervais et St. Protais, à Gisors*, plate CCIII.
- Bonington, *Tour aux archives à Vernon*, plate CCXIV.
- Bonington, *Tour du Gros-Horloge, bâtie sous la domination des Anglais en 1417, Évreux*, plate CCXXVI.

Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France (1825)

Volume III: *Franche-Comte*

- Bonington and Ciceri, *Une vue prise dans la petite ville de Pesmes*, plate IX.
- Bonington, *Vue générale de l'église de l'abbaye de Tournus, prise à l'extérieur*, plate XIII.
- Bonington, *Façade de l'église de Brou*, plate XXV.
- Bonington and Vauzelle, *Tombeau de Marguerite de Bourbon. Eglise de Brou*, plate XXIX.

- Harding, *Route de Cerdon à Maillac*, plate XXXVIII.
- Harding, *Route du château de Pont-Saint. Chapitre de Cerdon*, plate XXXIX.
- Bonington and Taylor, *Pierre de Vaivre*, plate LXXV.
- Harding, *Château d'Oliferne*, plate LXXVI.
- Bonington, *Croix de Moulin-les-Planches*, plate LXXVII.
- Bonington, *Vue générale des ruines du château d'Arlay*, plate LXXXIV.
- Bonington, *Ruines du château d'Arlay*, plate LXXXV.
- Harding, *L'une des entrées du château d'Arlay*, plate LXXXV *bis.* [This work is wrongly listed in the publication as by 'Proust', though the actual plate says 'Harding']
- Harding, *Abbaye de Baume*, plate XCII.
- Harding, *Château Vilain, sur la rivière Dain. Chapitre de Lons-le-Saulnier*, plate XCVIII.
- Bonington, *Vue d'une rue des faubourges de Besançon*, plate CII.
- Haghe, *Ruines du château de Vaire*, plate CIX.
- Harding, *Gorge du Mont-Terrible*, plate CXXIX.
- Harding, *Le château de la Roche, à une dem-lieue de Saint-Hippolyte*, plate CXXX.
- Harding, *Vue du château de Frasne*, plate CXXXV.
- Newton Fielding, *Ruines du château de Richecourt*, plate CXXXVI.
- Harding, *Château de Yerce*, plate CXL.
- Newton Fielding, *Ruines du château de Passavant*, plate CXLII.
- Harding, *Château de Montaigu*, plate CXLIII.
- Harding, *Ruines du château de Rupt*, plate CXLVI.