

**SAMUEL LINES AND SONS:
REDISCOVERING BIRMINGHAM'S ARTISTIC DYNASTY 1794 – 1898
THROUGH WORKS ON PAPER AT
THE ROYAL BIRMINGHAM SOCIETY OF ARTISTS**

VOLUME I: TEXT

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first academic study of nineteenth-century artist and drawing master Samuel Lines (1778-1863) and his five sons: Henry Harris Lines (1800-1889), William Rostill Lines (1802-1846), Samuel Rostill Lines (1804-1833), Edward Ashcroft Lines (1807-1875) and Frederick Thomas Lines (1809-1898). The thesis, with its catalogue, has been a result of a collaborative study focusing on a collection of works on paper by the sons of Samuel Lines, from the Permanent Collection of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists (RBSA). Both the thesis and catalogue aim to re-instate the family's position as one of Birmingham's most prominent and distinguished artistic dynasties.

The thesis is divided into three chapters and includes a complete and comprehensive catalogue of 56 works on paper by the Lines family in the RBSA Permanent Collection. The catalogue also includes discursive information on the family's careers otherwise not mentioned in the main thesis itself. The first chapter explores the family's role in the establishment of the Birmingham Society of Arts (later the RBSA). It also explores the influence of art institutions and industry on the production of the fine and manufactured arts in Birmingham during the nineteenth century. The second chapter discusses the Lines family's landscape imagery, in relation to prevailing landscape aesthetics and the physically changing landscape of the Midlands. Henry Harris Lines is the main focus of the last chapter which reveals the extent of his skills as archaeologist, antiquarian and artist.

For my grandparents and my parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My search for Samuel Lines and his sons has fetched far and wide, and I am indebted to many researchers and staff from galleries, museums, archives and libraries world-wide who have helped me in my pursuit. I am also thankful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for funding this PhD.

I owe my deepest gratitude to my academic supervisor Dr Paul Spencer-Longhurst for his guidance, patience and wisdom throughout this PhD. His passion and knowledge of art history has been a constant source of inspiration, without which this PhD would not have been possible. His encouragement has helped me develop my confidence as a researcher and scholar, which continues to grow day by day.

I am thankful to all the staff and members at the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists (RBSA) for giving me the freedom to pursue my course of research that have formed this thesis and catalogue. I would like to acknowledge Marie Considine, RBSA Gallery Director and my non-academic supervisor, in particular for her part in the exhibition *Rediscovering the Lines Family: Drawings of Birmingham and Beyond in the Nineteenth Century* (May 2009). Her professional aptitude is something that I aspire to.

From Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum I would like to thank David Nash, Garston Phillips and Phillipa Tinsley who have been extremely generous with their time and resources in helping me to sift through their fascinating collection of Lines family ephemera. Jo-Ann Curtis and Victoria Osborne from Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery have also been extremely accommodating in allowing me access to their collections, and sharing their knowledge on Birmingham's diverse social and artistic history.

In 2009, I was fortunate to have been invited to undertake a fellowship as a Curatorial Scholar at the Yale Center for British Art (YCBA). Therefore, I would like to thank Lisa Ford (Associate Head of Research) and Martina Droth (Head of Research) for giving me the opportunity. Having the chance to study in such a positive working environment with exceptional facilities and staff has made a significant contribution to my research.

Whilst researching Samuel Lines I have been lucky enough to meet several of his living descendants. In particular, Maureen and Brian Lawrence have been kind enough to share

their family tree with me. Always glad to hear about my research and keen to share theirs, they have kept my enthusiasm alive.

Of the many archives and libraries, museums and galleries that I have visited, I would especially like to thank the kind and efficient staff at: Barber Institute of Fine Arts Library, Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, Cadbury Research Library, National Maritime Museum, Royal Armouries (Leeds), Shropshire Archives, Staffordshire Archives, Victoria and Albert Museum and Worcester History Centre.

At every step of this journey I was fortunate enough to have the support of a wonderfully encouraging, caring and, more often than not, sympathetic party of friends and colleagues. I would like to thank my friends Dr. Laura MacCulloch, Dr. Jenny Powell, Dr. Camilla Smith, Dr. Elisa Korb, Dr. Sue Tungate, Aileen Naylor, Dr. Val Loggie and Elaine Williams for sharing their experiences (good and bad) with me. Also, Andrew Chim M.Sc. for helping me keep this PhD in perspective, despite being on the other side of the globe. To Amy Dean, Ema Spry, Rachel and Neil Webber and all my other close friends who have been there to offer welcome distractions from my thesis.

I am indebted to my mum, dad and sister, to whom this thesis is dedicated, for their enduring patience whilst I finished the PhD. Thank you for believing in me.

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ABBREVIATIONS

RBSA – Royal Birmingham Society of Artists

BMAG – Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery

Cat. – Catalogue Entry (referring to works within the catalogue)

Cat. no. – Catalogue Number (referring to images within the catalogue)

Fig. – Figure

No. – Catalogue Number (referring to works exhibited at the Birmingham Society of Arts)

YCBA – Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.

V&A – Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

WCAGM – Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum

All museum or accession numbers are given in square brackets, as are author's comments.

It should be noted that authors referenced in the bibliographic footnotes are mentioned by initial(s) and surname to provide consistency. This is followed by the title of their work, place of publication and year published. For a full reference please see the Bibliography on page 241 in Volume II.

INTRODUCTION

Contextual notes on this thesis and its Collaborative Doctoral Award

This thesis and catalogue have been compiled as part of a Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA) which began in 2007, instigated and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). The CDA scheme (devised in 2005) is now in its sixth year and has helped to foster doctoral research projects between higher education institutions (HEIs) and non-HEIs with the aim of developing the student's professional understanding of working in a museum environment, whilst encouraging original research into its collection. In this instance the participating authorities have been the University of Birmingham and the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists (RBSA). Encouraging a more vocational approach to doctoral study by involving participation from a non-HEI, the project has involved writing a thesis and the compilation of an academic catalogue. There was also the opportunity to curate and coordinate an exhibition which took place in 2009, showing works and themes featured in this thesis and catalogue.

This thesis includes *The Lines Family: A Catalogue of Drawings at the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists*, which documents 56 works on paper by the sons of Samuel Lines (1778-1863), from the permanent collection of the RBSA.¹ Samuel's five sons were: Henry Harris Lines (1800/1801-1889), William Rostill Lines (1802-1846), Samuel Rostill Lines (1804-1833), Edward Ashcroft Lines (1806-1875) and Frederick Thomas Lines (1807-1898). Before the start of this doctoral project, virtually nothing was known about the drawings from which this thesis and catalogue have derived. The drawings were purchased by the RBSA with the intention of expanding the historical scope of their permanent collection, however no one had yet researched them thoroughly. Acquired by the organisation in 2005, a selection of the

¹ *The Lines Family: A Catalogue of Drawings at the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists* also includes a detailed biography of the family to date, based on original research made for this CDA project. Thus their biographies are not mentioned here in the introduction, nor in the main body of the thesis.

works have been the focus of the exhibition *Rediscovering the Lines Family: Drawings of Birmingham and Beyond in the Nineteenth Century*. The information drawn from the academic catalogue and exhibition has been re-worked into this thesis that examines certain themes in greater detail. In particular, it focuses upon the family's drawing academy, established by Samuel Lines in 1817, which grew into one of Birmingham's most reputable institutions for the tuition of art and design.

The 56 drawings by the sons of Samuel from the RBSA permanent collection were originally mounted and pasted into a sketchbook.² They have since been removed from the sketchbook and individually mounted and framed for the purpose of displaying and studying them separately. Although at the time of purchase the drawings were known to be by the sons of Samuel, there had not been an attempt to date or attribute them more specifically. Thus, part of this project has been to date and assign individual drawings to Samuel's sons. This has been achieved partly by cross-referencing them with Henry Harris's Exhibition Ledger Book and records of works exhibited by the family at the Birmingham Society of Arts, Birmingham Society of Artists and Royal Birmingham Society of Artists. Intended for use as a reference tool suited for both academics and the general public, the catalogue also includes new research into the subjects depicted. The drawings, when combined, demonstrate the family's technical abilities as draughtsmen and their capabilities at executing a range of varied subjects.

Research for the academic catalogue has helped to shape this thesis into a detailed and critical analysis of the Lines family's activities. It discusses their work in a historical and cultural context that further explains the significance of their work and the social and artistic environment in which it was drawn or painted. Ideas from Janet Wolff's *Social Production of Art* are incorporated to develop an argument that demonstrates the extent to which the family's production of works was influenced by contemporary social thought and

² *The Lines Family: A Catalogue of Drawings at the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists* discusses the provenance of the sketchbook in detail, therefore such details have not been included here.

phenomena.³ Introducing the family's involvement in the establishment of the Birmingham Society of Arts in 1821, the thesis demonstrates their life-long dedication to art and art tuition in the town.⁴ The works they exhibited at the Birmingham Society of Arts (and later Birmingham Society of Artists) from 1821 through to 1887 show the range of artistic genres in which the family worked, and are discussed together with surviving works from archives and museum collections outside the RBSA's permanent collection.

Another integral part of this CDA project has been the opportunity to curate and coordinate an exhibition, expanding themes arisen from research for the thesis and academic catalogue. The exhibition *Rediscovering the Lines Family: Drawings of Birmingham and Beyond in the Nineteenth Century* was held at the RBSA Gallery from 30 April – 29 May 2009, to which there is an accompanying exhibition catalogue of the same title.⁵ This was the first time that the Lines family's drawings were displayed to the general public, promoting the rich history of the RBSA and its first generation of members. Like the thesis, *Rediscovering the Lines Family* aimed to demonstrate the diversity of the family's works on paper, including their topographical views and architectural studies as well as their studies from nature. Furthermore, the exhibition was an opportunity to explain why these themes dominated the family's works, relating them to prevailing landscape theory, the growth of domestic tourism and rise of architectural historicism that occurred during the nineteenth century. The exhibition's emphasis on how the family made use of their local surroundings as inspiration for their art also encouraged visitors to reconnect with their environs. *Rediscovering the Lines Family* brought together works from outside the RBSA permanent collection, including a travel journal written by Samuel Lines from the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (BMAG), as well as paintings and ephemera from Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum (WCAGM).

³ J. Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 2nd ed., London, 1993.

⁴ Birmingham received its charter in 1838, when it became an incorporated borough. It was not technically a city until 1889, J.V. Beckett, *City Status in the British Isles, 1830-2002*, Aldershot, 2005, 52.

⁵ The illustrated exhibition catalogue was printed but not published. Copies of the catalogue *Rediscovering the Lines Family: Drawings of Birmingham and Beyond in the Nineteenth Century* can be accessed from the RBSA Gallery.

To demonstrate further the collaborative nature of this CDA project, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum held a sister exhibition entitled *Family Lines* (2 May – 2 June 2009) dedicated to Henry Harris Lines in conjunction with the exhibition held at the RBSA Gallery. Henry Harris relocated to Worcester in the early 1832, and spent the remainder of his life and career working in the city.⁶ WCAGM currently hold an extensive collection of his watercolours, oil paintings and family ephemera. Worcester's exhibition was initiated as a result of research made into the Lines family for *Rediscovering the Lines Family*, although *Family Lines* focused specifically on WCAGM collection of works by Henry Harris and explored instead his archaeological interests in the Herefordshire Beacons and ancient Welsh stone monuments. It also displayed letters and photographs from the Museum's collection of Lines family ephemera, that had never been seen by the general public before. The exhibition also included drawings from the RBSA permanent collection. *Family Lines* demonstrated the potentials of a CDA in initiating and developing joint projects with external organisations, in addition to those required for the award.

It has also been a requirement to record in full the 56 Lines family drawings on the RBSA collections database (using MODES). This has involved condensing the information written for the academic catalogue so that it can be transferred onto the MODES collections database system, which documents key information regarding each drawing, including attributions of artists and dates. This ensures that the drawings are documented in line with current museum practice, and that information in the academic catalogue and database is consistent. This information can now be accessed via the RBSA archives.

⁶ G. Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham: Some Account of the Life and Times of H.H. Lines, Artist and Archaeologist*, Worcester, 1969, 16.

Samuel Lines and Sons

The first scholarly study into the prolific Lines family of Birmingham, this thesis reveals their artistic and personal accomplishments that spanned the period from the late eighteenth century, to the beginning of the twentieth century. Samuel Lines (1778-1863), the head of the family, was born in Coventry in 1778.⁷ At the age of 16, he travelled to Birmingham to pursue a career as an artist and having gained his initial artistic training through an apprenticeship with clock dial enameller Thomas Keeling, he went on to work for other reputable companies such as Henry Clay, manufacturer of Japanned ware to the Royal family, and sword blade manufacturers Osborne and Gunby.⁸ At the age of 29, he established his first drawing academy on Newhall Street. In 1809 he assisted in the founding of the Life Academy, the forerunner to the Birmingham Academy of Art (in 1814) and later the Birmingham Society of Arts (in 1821) which went on to form the Birmingham Society of Artists (1842).

Samuel's five sons, Henry Harris Lines (1800/1801-1889), William Rostill Lines (1802-1846), Samuel Rostill Lines (1804-1833), Edward Ashcroft Lines (1806-1875) and Frederick Thomas Lines (1807-1898) all excelled in their own specialist areas.⁹ Samuel did not have any daughters, and although this thesis does not apply a feminist perspective to his tuition methods or students, further research into his female students and their backgrounds would be timely and welcome. Close examination of the Birmingham Society of Arts exhibition catalogues (and those from the Birmingham Society of Artists) from 1827-1887 shows that Henry Harris and Samuel Rostill were known for their landscapes and tree studies, whereas

⁷ S. Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, Birmingham, 1862, 1. Samuel mentions that the death of his mother took place in 1787, when he was nine years of age. His death certificate confirms that he was 85 years old at the time of his death, which took place in 1863. The family's biography to date can be found in the Introductory Essay to the catalogue *The Lines Family: A Catalogue of Drawings at the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists*.

⁸ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 10-11, 13. An advertisement for Henry Clay, 'Japanner in Ordinary to his Majesty and his Royal Highness The Prince of Wales' can be found in *Bisset's Poetic Survey Round Birmingham*, Birmingham, 1800, (unpaginated).

⁹ The birth certificate for Henry Harris Lines cannot be found, thus his date of birth is either 1800 or 1801 as suggested by various sources such as the Worcester 1851 Census, Tything of Whistones (Claines) from 1851, which states his age as 51 but John Slim's article 'Lines of Midland History make a 12,000-mile trip home' (*The Birmingham Post Saturday Magazine*, May 8, 1971) states that his year of birth was 1801. Throughout the rest of the thesis they will be referred to by their first and middle names.

William Rostill worked as a modeller.¹⁰ Edward Ashcroft exhibited both two and three-dimensional works at the Birmingham Society of Arts and Frederick Thomas made his living as a portraitist.¹¹ It is highly likely that they all learnt from their father at home in his busy studio at 3 Temple Row West, where he taught students who included landscape artist Thomas Creswick RA (1811-1869, RA 1851) as well as engraver to the Royal Mint William Wyon RA (1795-1851, RA 1838).¹² Samuel's own artistic talents were vast and varied, as this thesis goes to demonstrate.

The family produced a large quantity of work throughout their lifetimes, predominantly landscapes and topographical views which document the growth of Birmingham and its environs towards the metropolitan city that it is today. However, their contribution to Birmingham's artistic development has so far been largely overlooked by art history, as have the family's involvement in art tuition (and art production), and their support for the local artistic community. As a result of these outstanding issues, research undertaken for this thesis focuses on Samuel's activities within his art academy and also the contribution made by his sons to the family business, with the aim of bringing together their activities and placing them in the context of Birmingham in the nineteenth century. Revealing that all sons were active and professional artists, the following chapters are intended to secure the family's reputation as one of Birmingham's most successful artistic dynasties. Their influence upon local artists and art institutions has also been largely ignored, despite Samuel's instigation of the establishment of the Birmingham Society of Arts.

No extensive research has been made to substantiate Samuel's professional achievements, nor his private life. His own autobiography *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines* was written as a result of a request from John Thackray Bunce (1828-1899),

¹⁰ William Rostill Lines's death certificate from 1846 states his occupation as 'Modeller'.

¹¹ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 11, 39.

¹² Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 14. Information concerning Creswick and Wyon's Royal Academician status can be found at:

http://www.racollection.org.uk/ixbin/indexplus?_IXACTION_=file&_IXFILE_=templates/full/person.html&_IXTRAIL_=Academicians&person=5601 and

http://www.racollection.org.uk/ixbin/indexplus?_IXACTION_=file&_IXFILE_=templates/full/person.html&_IXTRAIL_=Academicians&person=5999, respectively. Websites last accessed 15 February 2011.

editor of the *Birmingham Daily Post* and chairman of the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, in 1862 (the year before Samuel's death) as Samuel's opening paragraph suggests:

'Dear Sir [John Thackray Bunce],

Having been requested by you to give some account of my early life, and having also promised to a certain extent to comply with your wishes, I now hand you what in my opinion cannot possibly be either interesting or instructive to any one who may chance to see it.'¹³

Despite the modesty expressed here by Samuel, the autobiography revealed a long and distinguished career documenting his life from working on his uncle's farm after the death of his mother, to his retirement from the Birmingham Society of Artists at the age of 84.¹⁴ The autobiography was published for private circulation (most likely amongst his peers and professional contacts) and makes considerable reference to his contemporaries such as artist and drawing master Joseph Barber (1757-1811) and important patrons who helped to fund the establishment of the Birmingham Society of Arts including gun manufacturer Samuel Galton and politician Sir Robert Lawley.¹⁵ However, Samuel mentions very little about his sons and the day-to-day running of his own drawing academy on 3 Temple Row West.

Samuel's mention of his own artistic education was also brief and there are no surviving records that reveal his early training. His employment with various reputable employers suggest that he showed artistic potential from a young age, but Samuel never described the type of work he undertook as a trainee and as a result, much of his earlier career remains unknown. His position as a sword blade designer for Osborn and Gunby and Richard Teed, is particularly interesting as it was in this position that Mr Gunby suggested to Samuel that he

¹³ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 11-12, 18. Joseph Barber was one of the leading artists and drawing masters in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Birmingham.

open his first drawing school.¹⁶ Thus, research by Philip Lankester, former Senior Curator of Edged Weapons at the Royal Armouries, has been included to support the activities undertaken by Samuel in the earlier part of his career. Lankester published an article concerning an album of 71 inscriptions sent to Samuel in the period 1804-1805 and 1811 from Osborn and Gunby who were based in Bordesley, as well as Richard Teed in London.¹⁷ Lankester suggested that Samuel was possibly more 'hands on' with the application of the sword blade designs than would be expected from a designer which alludes to a blurring of boundaries between the role of artist and artisan.¹⁸ This aspect of Samuel's career is discussed in greater depth in the first chapter, charting his development from artisan to drawing master and fine artist which further supports his qualifications to teach similar subjects to his own students.

Although Samuel's autobiography is a sound and reliable source, its contents are brief and modest for such an accomplished artist whose career extended from 1794 until 1863. In the light of this, this thesis aims to reveal and explore his contribution to the artistic development of Birmingham and its community of artisans and fine artists through the curriculum of his drawing school, which promoted an extensive variety of skills including landscape drawing as well figure and still life drawing.¹⁹

Existing Literature on the Lines family

An essential source on which this thesis has relied concerning the family's activities is Geoffrey Potter's *A Provincial from Birmingham: Some Account of the Life and Times of H.H. Lines, Artist and Archaeologist*.²⁰ Written in 1969, Potter's biography focuses on Henry

¹⁶ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 13. Samuel's involvement with Osborn and Gunby, and Richard Teed are discussed in greater depth in the Introductory Essay to the accompanying catalogue.

¹⁷ P.J. Lankester, 'Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Decoration of Sword Blades', *Arms and Armour*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2008, 7-68.

¹⁸ Lankester, 'Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Decoration of Sword Blades', 32.

¹⁹ According to an advertisement made by Samuel in *Aris's Gazette* on 7 September 1807.

²⁰ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*.

Harris's career, as both artist and archaeologist, the latter an occupation that he began at the age of 60.²¹ Potter compiled a chronological record of Henry Harris's life and documents his career from his relocation to Worcester with his wife and daughter in 1832, to his involvement with the Worcester Archaeological Club to whom he gave a tour of the Malvern Hills in 1870.²²

A Provincial from Birmingham reveals the reception of Henry Harris's work when he exhibited at the Worcester Literary and Scientific Society in 1834 by the response of William Paulet Carey (under the pseudonym 'Lorenzo'), one of the leading art critics and champions of the British school of painting during the nineteenth century. However, Potter rarely points to Henry Harris's artworks and makes very few visual references to his works. Developing this, the thesis highlights Henry Harris's surviving artworks with the aim to piece together an accurate account of his career and the prevailing social attitudes and developments that influenced his art.

Henry Harris's studies of ancient British and Roman hill fort camps such as the British Camp on the Herefordshire Beacon also feature prominently in *A Provincial from Birmingham*. This has helped shape chapter three that investigates the extent of Henry Harris's involvement with archaeology and antiquarianism as a result of the professionalisation of history and archaeology. Expanding from Potter's observations of Henry Harris's activities, and those of groups and institutions such as the Worcester Archaeological Club and Malvern Field Club, chapter three aims to link Henry Harris's pursuits to the growing national interest in history.

²¹ Lines, H.H., 'Breidden Hill Camp, and other Camps in the Vicinity', (This work was published after Henry Harris's death, thus the preliminary notes are written by an anonymous author), *The Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. 23, 1889, 321.

²² Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 4.

Primary Sources Relating to the Lines Family

The RBSA holds a significant number of primary source material from which this thesis and catalogue have been drawn including Books of Minutes and exhibition catalogues. Catalogues of exhibitions held by the Birmingham Society of Arts and the Birmingham Society of Artists have enabled analysis of the work the Lines family produced and thus the places to which they travelled. They also show how frequently they exhibited, as well as their involvement and official roles within the societies. Furthermore, the catalogues also record their places of abode, tracking their movement within and outside of Birmingham. However, they provide little information regarding the family's artistic training and motivation. Books of Minutes substantiate their professional roles in the Societies but reveal little about their personal lives or individual achievements outside of the institution.

The main themes of this thesis have also been drawn from research made into the Lines family from museum collections outside the RBSA. These sources have been included as supporting evidence to show the family's artistic development, the variety of media in which they worked, as well as the subjects they depicted, contributing to an overall picture of their activities within the Lines and Sons' drawing academy, and their roles as individual artists.

There are two main external sites that hold many examples of works by the Lines family. Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum and Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery hold unique ephemera relating to the family, as well as a number of oil paintings, watercolours and works on paper. The ephemera collection at WCAGM is particularly revealing and includes rare letters, newspaper cuttings, journals and photographs which all belonged to the Lines family. The last known 'Lines' to have had this collection in his possession was Frederick Joseph Butler Lines (F.J.B. Lines) (b. 1844), the son of Frederick Thomas Lines, whose handwritten notes appear on several of the documents.²³ This collection of personal

²³ For example a notebook containing a listing of drawings of ancient buildings in Worcester by Henry Harris Lines has inscribed on the inside front cover: 'List of drawings of ancient buildings now destroyed in the city of Worcester and now

records and manuscripts remained in possession of Frederick Joseph's descendants until they were sold at auction in 2005. It should be noted that the sketchbook of drawings by the Lines family in the RBSA collection was also part of this ephemera collection until it was separated when purchased at the auction.

One of the most important findings at WCAGM has been a series of letters written by Edward Ashcroft Lines. These were sent from New Zealand where he, his daughter and son-in-law emigrated in 1864, the year after Samuel's death.²⁴ Previous to finding these letters, Edward Ashcroft's whereabouts after his father's death was unknown, and therefore this is an extremely significant find. These letters reveal the family's struggle to support each other financially, and Edward Ashcroft's aspiration of opening an art academy like his father's. However, Edward Ashcroft died in New Zealand in 1875 without ever realising his dream.

The collection of teaching materials belonging to Edward Ashcroft (previously owned by Samuel before his death), were kept by the family in New Zealand. The teaching materials that consisted of portraits, floral and architectural studies were later purchased by Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (BMAG), where they are located today. These examples have also played an integral part in adding to research on what the Lines family taught in their drawing academy, and how. Furthermore, a series of varnished drawings from BMAG (although not from Edward Ashcroft's personal collection) depicting topographical views and architectural studies from the family's own academy confirm that their tuition was extensive and diverse.

However, these works have been stored in near obscurity since their purchase by WCAGM and BMAG. So far, only Stephen Wildman has made an attempt at drawing attention to their importance in *The Birmingham School*, a catalogue accompanying the

hanging in the Art Gallery of this city by [the] late H.H. Lines in this book memorandum F.J.B. Lines'.
[WOSMG:2006.22.67]

²⁴ Edward Ashcroft's correspondence is treated in greater depth in the Introductory Essay in the accompanying academic catalogue that discusses in full his activities in New Zealand. This section is only a summary of his activities.

exhibition of the same title, which took place at BMAG in 1990.²⁵ The catalogue enlightens the reader on prominent Birmingham artists dating from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, and proposes the idea of a 'Birmingham School' through identifying artists who lived and worked in Birmingham and contributed to its artistic growth and output. This exhibition displayed three significant works by Samuel, Henry Harris and Samuel Rostill, including *View from No. 3 Temple Row West, Birmingham* (1821) by Samuel senior.²⁶ The Lines drawings that were displayed showed only a minute portion of the BMAG's large collection of works by the family, and so it is the aim of this thesis to make known those that have been in storage for several decades.

This rich variety of source material relating to the Lines family has here become a subject of investigation, revealing some fascinating revelations including their acquaintance with royalty and travels abroad. Drawing upon other sources that are not referred to elsewhere in this thesis or catalogue, this introduction aims to provide a personal backdrop to the family's professional and artistic accomplishments which have so far been overlooked. In particular, referring to the vast collection of ephemera relating to the Lines family, from Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum.

Samuel Lines (fig. 1) was one of Birmingham's most prolific artists, known for his landscapes of North Wales and townscapes depicting Birmingham. Alongside his career as an artist, Samuel also ran a successful art academy with his five sons. At the academy, later called 'Lines and Sons', they taught elements of both art and design to artists and artisans.²⁷ Samuel also became one of the founder members of the Birmingham Academy of Arts (1814) the forerunner to the Birmingham Society of Arts (founded 1821), which separated to form the Birmingham Society of Artists (established in 1842) where he held the position of

²⁵ S. Wildman, *The Birmingham School*, Birmingham, 1990.

²⁶ *View from No. 3 Temple Row West, Birmingham*, BMAG, [31'93].

²⁷ The name of their business can be traced in local trade directories, such as *Wrightson's Triennial Directory of Birmingham*, Birmingham, 1823, 87 where it is listed as 'Lines and Sons'.

Treasurer.²⁸ The family produced a large quantity of work throughout their lifetimes, predominantly landscapes and topographical views, which document the growth of Birmingham and its environs into a metropolitan city.

Samuel wrote his autobiography *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines* in 1862, one year before his death.²⁹ This was a limited publication and was only circulated amongst his close acquaintances.³⁰ It is a useful reference for outlining significant events in his life and also in identifying his peers and students. However, he says little about his personal life and only mentions his sons very briefly, despite their involvement in his business at the art academy.³¹ It is obvious from the introduction of *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines* that his intentions for the biography were not for academic study, but rather for the amusement of his personal and professional friendship circle. The opening page begins: 'To John Thackray Bunce, Esq.', as it was friend and fellow artist Bunce who had requested Samuel to write the autobiography.³² As a result, the information disclosed by Samuel is aimed at a readership that is already familiar with him, therefore details concerning his family may not have seemed relevant and were excluded. Moreover, Samuel discusses in great detail the key figures who aided the establishment of the Birmingham Society of Arts, especially those who financed it, giving the autobiography a leaning towards those professional acquaintances, to whom he intended to present a copy.

Samuel was born to Mary (née Rostill) and John Lines in the small village of Allesley, near Coventry in 1778. Samuel had three siblings, a sister named Susannah, and two younger brothers, William and John.³³ His mother Mary was a school mistress at the local

²⁸ Samuel was listed as Treasurer in the Birmingham Society of Artists' catalogue for their *Exhibition of Modern Works of Art* in 1842. He was last mentioned as Treasurer in the Society's *Exhibition of Modern Works of Art* in 1855 (see Appendix 1).

²⁹ Samuel died 22 November 1863 from 'natural decay' according to his death certificate.

³⁰ The title page reads 'printed for private circulation' and therefore it can be assumed that it was distributed only amongst Samuel's circle of professional and personal acquaintances.

³¹ The sons are mentioned on page 21, regarding the total number of works they contributed to the Birmingham Society of Arts first exhibition in 1827.

³² Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 1.

³³ L.C. Philpott, *Allesley Lands and People Being a Brief History of Some Properties and Their Owners*, Vol. II, unpublished typescript, 1970, 326. Philpott states that Susannah was the eldest of the children, however Samuel's *A Short Account of Mrs*

girl's boarding school.³⁴ However, she died in 1787 when Samuel was just nine years of age.³⁵ Samuel's father was thought unfit to bring up his own children although the reason for this has never been fully explained.³⁶ John Lines (senior) died at the age of 84 at Cone Lane, Coventry.³⁷ In consequence of their mother's premature death and his father's inadequacies, the siblings were left in the care of their maternal uncle William Rostill who owned a cattle farm nearby.³⁸ William was later noted to have made a living as a butcher, (as suggested by Philpott) who, despite being the owner of four separate properties, was declared bankrupt in 1815.³⁹

Two drawings of Allesley from the RBSA permanent collection and BMAG can be seen as cat. no. 39 and fig. 2. Both views show a proportion of the main road that runs through Allesley Village. The drawings are here attributed to Samuel Rostill Lines who exhibited several scenes of Coventry at the Birmingham Society of Arts in the late 1820s, including views of Allesley, and it is likely that these drawings were preparatory studies made on one of his visits.⁴⁰ A sentimental attachment to the birthplace of his father can also be sensed. Family connections are further highlighted by the inscription of 'W Turner' to the lower right of the cat. no. 39, which makes reference to William Turner who was also a resident of the village.⁴¹ However, it is uncertain as to whether this refers to William Turner Senior, or Junior

Susannah Lines (unpublished manuscript, undated, transcribed by Mike Billington, private collection) indicates that Susannah was seven years old when their mother died (in 1787) thus suggesting that her date of birth was 1780.

³⁴ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 2.

³⁵ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 1.

³⁶ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 2 and L.C. Philpott, *Allesley Lands and People being a Brief History of some Properties and their Owners*, Vol. II, unpublished manuscript, 1970, 326.

³⁷ Various births and deaths, including that of John Lines (the elder) are recorded in the notebook: *Memoir of Samuel Lines*, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006:22:38:5]. Although it was originally thought to be written by Samuel, an inscription also suggests it may have been written by his brother, John Lines (the younger): 'a memorial of the last hours of my lamented nephew – S.R. Lines, copy'd from my own Brothers handwriting'.

³⁸ This is mentioned by Samuel, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 2. The name of Samuel's uncle is mentioned by Philpott in *Allesley Lands and People being a Brief History of some Properties and their Owners*, Vol. II, 326.

³⁹ Philpott, *Allesley Lands and People being a Brief History of some Properties and their Owners*, Vol. I, unpublished manuscript, 1870, 122a.

⁴⁰ See Appendix 1.

⁴¹ L.C. Philpott, *Allesley Lands and People being a Brief History of some Properties and their Owners*, Vol. III, unpublished manuscript, 1974, 492-493. Initially, it was thought there was a possibility that 'William Turner' was a reference to William Turner (1789-1862) father of Joseph Mallord William Turner. However, having studied Philpott's research, it is more likely to be one of the William Turners who originated from Allesley.

(1788-1873), or even the son of William Junior (b.1811).⁴² According to Philpott, the daughter of William Turner Junior (Caroline) married Samuel Bindley Lines who was a nephew of Samuel's.⁴³

Although little is known about Samuel's brothers, his sister Susanna held an important position as the Housekeeper of Devonshire House, London, the residence of the Dukes of Devonshire.⁴⁴ She is also listed in the household accounts at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire (the main family seat), between 1824-1846 and in the volume for 1851.⁴⁵ Samuel wrote a short biography of his sister's life, explaining how she was initially 'sent out as a little nurse and being naturally tidy and industrious, she afterwards filled several situations as housemaid'.⁴⁶ Her prospects changed dramatically in 1810 when she was employed as dresser to Mrs Udnay who was the subgoverness to Princess Charlotte. Susannah later worked as a dresser and housekeeper to the elderly Miss Galsworthy, who held the position of first Maid of Honour to Queen Charlotte (Princess Charlotte's grandmother and wife of King George III). It was whilst working for Miss Galsworthy that Susannah was noticed by the family of King George III. She eventually gained a position as Housekeeper at Devonshire House, having worked as a dresser to Lady Georgina Morpeth, later Lady Carlisle (and sister of the Duke of Devonshire) who recommended her for the job:

'The housekeeper's situation, becoming vacant at Devonshire House, Lady Carlisle used her influence with the Duke of Devonshire (who was her brother) in obtaining it for my sister, His Grace wrote a note (which I have by me now) requesting a reply to his steward's note which accompanied his, the purport of which was to engage her as housekeeper at

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ L.C. Philpott, *Allesley Lands and People being a Brief History of some Properties and their Owners*, Vol. III, unpublished manuscript, 1974, 492-493. Philpott identifies several William Turners in *Allesley Lands and People*, one of whom was married to Elizabeth Lines (or 'Loyns' – an eighteenth-century variation of the name 'Lines').

⁴⁴ Email correspondence from Andrew Peppitt, Archivist of the Devonshire Collection, stated that although Susannah's job description is not specified in the household accounts, her name is 'at the head of the list of wages' for every quarter. Further to this, Peppitt also mentions that she is listed as the Housekeeper in the 1851 census.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ S. Lines, *A Short Account of Mrs Susannah Lines by Samuel Lines*, unpublished manuscript, undated, transcribed by Mike Billington, private collection. See Appendix 7.

Devonshire House in Piccadilly. She entered in the service of the Duke in the beginning of the year 1821, and such was her value there that on making a request to be removed to a quieter situation at Chatsworth, his Grace said “I cannot spare you from Devonshire House”, and here she continued until removed by death on April 1st 1855.⁴⁷

Through her position at Devonshire house and her relationship with the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, she became acquainted with the Duchess of Kent (Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld), mother to the young Princess Victoria. Susannah’s association with the family would have been useful for instigating patronage, although there is no evidence that the Duke of Devonshire or the Duke or Duchess of Kent ever commissioned the Lines family for paintings. However, a newspaper article, ‘Portrait is a Link with the Past’, originating from the *Auckland Weekly News*, New Zealand, discusses a watercolour portrait of Princess Victoria at the age of nine, painted by Edward Ashcroft when he was 22.⁴⁸ The article alludes to Susannah’s position in the Devonshire household and suggests that her friendship with the Duchess of Kent allowed her access to the Princess Victoria, the future queen.⁴⁹ The circumstances in which the portrait was made remain uncertain, but it becomes evident that Susannah’s position at Devonshire House created opportunities for potential patronage. A letter was sent to Frederick Thomas Lines from his father Samuel dated 1839, addressed to Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London, which would suggest that Frederick Thomas was residing there with his Aunt Susannah at the time.⁵⁰ The duration of his stay is uncertain, as Frederick Thomas had travelled to London at an earlier date to work with Shrewsbury-born portraitist Richard Evans (1784-1871), in the studio of Sir Thomas

⁴⁷ Lines, A Short Account of Mrs Susannah Lines by Samuel Lines, unpublished manuscript, undated, transcription kindly provided by Mike Billington, private collection. See Appendix 7.

⁴⁸ D. Wiseman, ‘Portrait is a Link with the Past’, *Auckland Weekly News*, January 30th 1963. This article has been cut out from the original newspaper and therefore a page number cannot be given.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Letter dated 5 July 1839, was addressed to Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London. Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006:134:1]. This suggests that he resided there for a period, possibly for professional purposes. However, there are no records that Frederick Thomas worked in Devonshire House or painted any of the Devonshire household.

Lawrence (1769-1830).⁵¹ Frederick Thomas also held a post as drawing master at Edwin Hill's Bruce Castle School in Tottenham (the latter was the son of Thomas Wright Hill and brother to Rowland Hill).⁵² However, Potter points out that Frederick Thomas returned to Birmingham after the death of Samuel Rostill Lines in 1833, thus it is unknown why he was residing in London in 1839 but it is possible he was still undertaking commissions in the city.⁵³

Of the five brothers, Henry Harris Lines (fig. 3) was possibly the most prolific and the extent of his works is evident from the number stored in the permanent collections of various provincial museums and art galleries today.⁵⁴ As well as at the Birmingham Society of Arts, Henry Harris also exhibited at the Royal Academy, British Institution and Society of British Artists.⁵⁵ An attempt to document his life has been made by Geoffrey Potter in *A Provincial from Birmingham* but Potter failed to deliver any personal details of Henry Harris' life, and focused instead on those within his social and artistic circle.⁵⁶ The extent of Henry Harris's art education is uncertain, but it is highly likely that he was taught to draw by his father. This was common during the early 1800s where artistic education often began in the home.⁵⁷ Henry Harris also attended Thomas Wright Hill's Hilltop School, which was located in central Birmingham, a short distance from the family's home on Temple Row West.⁵⁸ Thomas Wright Hill was one of the nineteenth century's important education reformers who recognised changes in education were needed as a result of the Industrial Revolution.⁵⁹ The Hilltop

⁵¹ Frederick Thomas's acquaintance with Richard Evans is described on a handwritten note (possibly written by Frederick Joseph Butler Lines, Frederick Thomas's son) currently stored at Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum [WOSMG:2006:22:101]. There are several similar short extracts and handwritten notes in Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum's collection, all relating to Lines family members.

⁵² Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 11.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ The majority can be found at BMAG, RBSA and Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum.

⁵⁵ S. Morris and K. Morris, *A Catalogue of Birmingham and West Midlands Painters of the Nineteenth Century*, Warwickshire, 1985. (unpaginated).

⁵⁶ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*.

⁵⁷ Fawcett, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 39.

⁵⁸ Anonymous, 'Death of Mr H.H. Lines', *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, February 23 1889 and *Aris's Gazette*, January 13 1806 and C.G. Hey, *Rowland Hill and Hazelwood School, Birmingham*, 1957, 1. The school's location is described by Hey as on the 'corner of Gough Street and Blucher Street on Singer's Hill, off Suffolk Street...', which was to the north east of St Philip's Church (now Cathedral) and to the East of St. Martin's Church.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

School was established in 1803 by Hill with the objective of implementing new educational aims emphasizing the importance of voluntary application by the student and the value of exploiting each pupil's particular interests.⁶⁰ According to Colin G. Hey, Hill: 'sought, above all, to teach his pupils the arts of self-government and self-education, for he realised the shallowness and impermanence of traditional schooling'.⁶¹ It was at this school that Rowland Hill, the son of Thomas, was educated and where he later became a teacher from approximately the age of twelve.⁶² Rowland was later responsible for the postal reforms and the introduction of the postage stamp and Samuel was given the honour of delivering the first letter ever sent from Birmingham by the penny post.⁶³ Rowland was known to own several works by the pupils of Samuel's art academy, which he displayed at Hazelwood School, including *A View of Conway Castle* (after Lines), *Maxtoke* [sic] *Priory* and *Buildwas Abbey*.⁶⁴ However, these paintings were destroyed in a fire at the school in 1820.⁶⁵ The Wright family's patronage of the Lines family is also evident in William Rostill Lines's sculpture *Bust of Mr. Thomas Wright Hill* that was exhibited at the Birmingham Society of Arts Exhibition in 1829 (no. 498).⁶⁶

Henry Harris' artistic skills were recognised at an early age when he exhibited *Caesar's Tower, Kenilworth Castle* at the Royal Academy in 1818.⁶⁷ In total, between 1818 and 1846, he exhibited eighteen works at the Royal Academy, exceeding in number those of Samuel and Frederick Thomas Lines combined.⁶⁸ All works were landscapes, spanning the Midlands to Cornwall and Yorkshire. To a great extent, this shows how dedicated Henry Harris was to

⁶⁰ Hey, *Rowland Hill and Hazelwood School*, 8.

⁶¹ Hey, *Rowland Hill and Hazelwood School*, 25.

⁶² Hey, *Rowland Hill and Hazelwood School*, 9.

⁶³ Anonymous, 'Birmingham of our Grandfathers. Mr. Samuel Lines's Sketches', (newspaper unknown), June 1903, newspaper cutting, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006:22:115].

⁶⁴ Hey, *Rowland Hill and Hazelwood School*, 9. Other works by the Lines family, also owned by Rowland Hill included *Edgbaston Hall*. Tracing these works from the Birmingham Society of Arts exhibition catalogues has been problematic. For example, there are two works exhibited depicting Buildwas Abbey - by Samuel Rostill Lines (*Buildwas Abbey*, no. 262) at the Birmingham Society of Arts Exhibition of 1830 and Henry Harris Lines (*Buildwas Abbey, Shropshire*, no. 238) in 1838. Furthermore, Hey does not state which member of the family was responsible for each work.

⁶⁵ Hey, *Rowland Hill and Hazelwood School*, 9.

⁶⁶ See Appendix 1.

⁶⁷ A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, Vol. V Lawrence to Nye, London, 1906, 63-64.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

his art and the fascination that he developed for nature and landscapes that would be evident in his later works. His acquaintance with celebrated landscapists such as the Birmingham artist David Cox, can only have encouraged his endeavours. It is suggested in Cox's letters that they had visited Yorkshire together.⁶⁹ In a letter to William Roberts, dated 28 August 1831, Cox wrote:

'I shall expect when I have the pleasure of seeing you in Birmingham to find that you have begun several pictures of your sketches. Begin while the scenes are fresh in your memory. I shall expect to see that Mr Lines has several on the easel. Pray make my respects to him.'⁷⁰

This is probably referring to one of the first trips to Yorkshire that Cox had made, earlier in 1830. The friendship with Henry Harris may have been formed as Cox was acquainted with Charles Barber (1783-1854) (who together with his brother Joseph Vincent Barber (1788-1838) and Samuel set up the Life Academy) and Richard Evans who also knew Samuel well. It seems likely that Henry Harris went to Yorkshire again with Cox in 1844 with the intention of sketching Bolton Abbey.⁷¹

Henry exhibited at the Birmingham Society of Arts in their first Exhibition of Modern Works in 1827.⁷² He became part of the Committee of Artists at the Society in 1828, and became a full member in 1830. He remained a member until approximately 1856, and was listed as an annual subscriber from 1858 onwards, alongside his younger brothers, Frederick Thomas and Edward Ashcroft. He had sixteen works accepted in the first exhibition – all landscapes and topographical views of Yorkshire, North Wales and the Midlands. He later travelled to Switzerland in approximately 1846, returning to exhibit in Birmingham a series of

⁶⁹ N. N. Solly, *Memoir of the Life of David Cox*, London, 1875, 69.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* William Roberts later became a patron of Henry Harris.

⁷¹ Solly, *Memoir of the Life of David Cox*, 129 and also suggested by anonymous author of 'Death of Mr. H.H. Lines', *Berrows Journal*, 23 February 1889, 3.

⁷² See Appendix 1.

Swiss-inspired landscapes.⁷³ It seems that such destinations remained popular at the time as these areas recur throughout his career, demonstrating his fidelity to the genre. An announcement of Henry Harris' death in *Berrow's Journal* stated: 'Mr Lines has rarely if ever been surpassed: he had made them the study of a lifetime, and to such students Nature, little by little, opens out her mysteries, but to no others'.⁷⁴ An example of Henry Harris' tree studies can be seen in cat. no. 5: *Worcester Beacon, Colwall Oaks* which shows particular emphasis on the oaks in the foreground with heavy markings to highlight the outline and detailing of the tree. The figure of a man has been inserted next to the tree as a method of emphasizing the size differential between the two and also as a generic motif, popular with landscapists of the day.

Henry Harris's Exhibition Ledger Book (see Appendix 3 for a full transcription), at Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, reveals the extent of his work as an artist. In the Book, he lists (from memory at a later date) all the works he exhibited at different exhibitions throughout the country including Worcester, Manchester, Liverpool and Norwich.⁷⁵ Henry Harris also records the names and occasionally, locations of his patrons, the majority of whom bought his work from the Birmingham exhibitions. Next to his entry for the Worcester Exhibition in 1861, Henry Harris wrote:

'Memo. There were 7 exhibitions in Worcester from 1838, in 48, in 50, in 55, in 59, in 60, in 61 covering a period of 23 years in which I sold only 2 pictures one to E Webb Esq and another to Sheriffe Esq so much for 23 years experience of the liberality of the faithful city.'⁷⁶

⁷³ See Appendix 1. Henry Harris began to exhibit his Swiss landscapes at the Birmingham Society of Artists in 1847, therefore it can be assumed that he had travelled there the year before. He did not document his time there, and there are no records to indicate the financing of his trip. However, this would make an interesting follow-up research project.

⁷⁴ Anonymous, 'Death of Mr. H.H. Lines', *Berrows Journal*, 23 February 1889, 3.

⁷⁵ See Appendix 3. It is here suggested that the Book was written from memory because of some discrepancies between the entries written by Henry Harris and the exhibition catalogues from the Birmingham Society of Arts, Birmingham Society of Artists and Royal Birmingham Society of Artists. Furthermore, large sections of the Exhibition Ledger Book are written in the same pen, in the same handwriting, suggesting that they were written during one sitting.

⁷⁶ See Appendix 3.

This was the only occasion in which Henry Harris's reveals his discontent with the lack of sales at the Worcester exhibitions.

Henry Harris had moved to Worcester in 1832 because of the cholera epidemic that was spreading across the Midlands.⁷⁷ He settled into a new address at Bath Road but seemed to retain two addresses until 1838. From that year onwards, his addresses remained in the Worcester area.⁷⁸ Worcester was previously seen as lacking in intellectual activity, as highlighted by Henry Harris' school friend Edwin Lees who originally trained as a printer and stationer but later turned to the sciences and natural history.⁷⁹ Potter notes in Henry Harris' biography that Lees, upon visiting Worcester in 1828, noticed 'Worcester's lack of the societies and institutions necessary for a man of refined intellect.', which 'was remedied by a Mr. Jackson, who delivered a course of lectures on the subject of Natural Philosophy'.⁸⁰ From this emerged the Worcester Literary and Scientific Society, which became the exemplar for other societies within the region, such as the Worcestershire Natural Society and the Worcester Archaeological Club. Henry Harris thrived in this hub of activity and it was here that his work as both archaeologist and artist excelled.

Henry Harris married Emma Lacey and had three daughters: Elizabeth (b.1825), Emma (b. 1828) and Catherine (b. 1829).⁸¹ It seems that all his daughters were given the opportunity to study art, with Elizabeth and Catherine being the two strongest contenders. Elizabeth was noted to have 'a good knowledge of both art and music' but Catherine was the only daughter to exhibit alongside her father at the Birmingham Society of Arts in 1860 and 1862, during a period where very few female artists exhibited their works. An example of Catherine's work, depicting a lake scene with trees in the foreground can be seen in fig. 4.⁸² The prominence of the trees in the foreground is reminiscent of Samuel Rostill's tree

⁷⁷ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 16.

⁷⁸ According to Birmingham Society of Arts, *Exhibition of Modern Works of Art*, catalogue, 1838 where his address was simply listed as 'Bath-Road, Worcester' rather than 'Bath-Road, Worcester and Temple Row West' as it was in 1837.

⁷⁹ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 12-13.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Their ages are listed in the Worcester 1851 Census, Tything of Whistones (Claines) from 1851.

⁸² 'Miss Lines, Some Links with the Past' from unknown newspaper article at Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, date unknown. WOSMG:2006:22:98

‘portraits’, and also of the work by her own father, who had a penchant for studies of this kind. However, before her artistic career could be fulfilled, Catherine died shortly after her exhibition at the Birmingham Society of Artists in 1863, from a ‘visitation of God’ at her grandfather’s home.⁸³

In Worcester, Henry Harris was also able to embark upon a new career as an amateur archaeologist and antiquarian. He spent much of his later years surveying his local Malvern Hills, meticulously taking measurements and visually recording the ancient and physical features.⁸⁴ An example of his visual documents of the area can be seen in fig. 5 showing an aerial perspective of the Herefordshire Beacon. The map shows not only the shape and physical layout of the Iron Age hill-fort camp, but also measurements relating to its size. The accuracy of this map that has been made to scale, is demonstrative of Henry Harris’ scientific and artistic capabilities. Besides his surveys of the Malvern Hills, he was also known to travel alone to North Wales every summer to explore the ancient stone monuments. This was a practice that he continued throughout his seventies, relenting only in his early eighties because of his failing eyesight.⁸⁵ His antiquarian interests are also seen in his architectural studies of church interiors that feature in this catalogue. These were made during a period when there was a rising concern for ecclesiastical architecture – both its origins and ability to embody Christian morals. Henry Harris’s archaeological and antiquarian pursuits are discussed at length in Chapter Three. He died in Worcester on 20 February 1889, having suffered a ‘paralytic stroke’ in December 1887 which left him ‘confined to his bed’.⁸⁶

The works of Samuel Lines’ second son, William Rostill Lines (1804-1846) remain obscure as there are none known to survive. However, he did exhibit at the Birmingham Society of Arts intermittently between 1827-1835, mainly three-dimensional works such as a *Statue of Belisarius* (no. 224) (in 1827, present location unknown) and wax models of

⁸³ According to her death certificate – a ‘visitation of God’ would denote a sudden death by natural causes.

⁸⁴ Anonymous, introduction to ‘Breidden Hill Camp, and Other Camps in the Vicinity’, *Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. XXIII, 1889, 321.

⁸⁵ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 33.

⁸⁶ Anonymous, ‘Death of Mr H.H. Lines’, *Berrows Worcester Journal*, 23 February 1889 and a draft letter written by Frederick Thomas Lines to Mr Bunce in Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006:126:3].

prominent figures such as the Duke of Wellington (no. 538) (1829, present location unknown).⁸⁷ He was also on the Committee of Artists, alongside Samuel senior, Henry Harris and Samuel Rostill from 1828-1829.⁸⁸ Little is recorded about his professional career, and he was not known to have exhibited anywhere else outside Birmingham. Unlike Henry Harris, Samuel Rostill and Frederick Thomas, William Rostill was not a Member of or Subscriber to the Birmingham Society of Arts. However, his vocation as a modeller would have added another dimension to art tuition at Samuel's academy.⁸⁹ It was reported in his daughter's obituary that he was also a 'designer for Mr Messenger and Sons and Mr Elkington and Co.'. ⁹⁰ William later died at the age of 44 from an abscess in the neck.⁹¹ He had married and had two children: Frederick Samuel (dates unknown, also known as 'Wilfred' Lines) and Rosa J. Lines (d.1916).⁹²

Samuel's third son was Samuel Rostill Lines (mistakenly spelt 'Restell' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*), often referred to as 'Samuel Junior'.⁹³ Much like his elder brother Henry Harris, he was also an accomplished landscapist and draughtsman.⁹⁴ Both had very similar drawing styles and were particularly skilled at architectural studies and studies from nature. This has made the attribution of their works especially difficult and it is only due to Samuel Rostill's early death, that drawings made by the family after 1833, can be attributed to his eldest brother. Samuel Rostill exhibited various works including studies from nature and landscape compositions alongside his brothers and was a member of the Royal Birmingham Society of Arts up until the year prior to his premature death in 1833. Little is known about his career as an artist and the main source for revealing his activities has been

⁸⁷ See Appendix 1.

⁸⁸ See Appendix 1.

⁸⁹ William Rostill's death certificate confirms his vocation as a 'Modeller'.

⁹⁰ Anonymous, 'The Death of Mrs R.J. Hollis', *Handsworth Herald*, 18 March 1916, page number unknown, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG: 2006:22:40:7]. 'Mr Elkington & Co.' refers to the renowned silversmiths established in Birmingham during the early nineteenth century.

⁹¹ As stated on William Rostill's death certificate.

⁹² Anonymous, 'The Death of Mrs R.J. Hollis', *Handsworth Herald*, 18 March 1916, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006:22:40:7].

⁹³ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed through:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16724/16725?docPos=2>. Samuel Rostill is buried with Samuel Senior at St. Philip's Cathedral where his headstone reads 'Rostill'.

⁹⁴ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, found at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16724/16725?docPos=2>

the catalogues of exhibitions at the Royal Birmingham Society of Arts. However, Stephen Wildman notes in *The Birmingham School* that Samuel Rostill 'is said to have made (?softground) etchings and lithographs for drawing books' examples of which have here been found in *S & J Fuller's Book of Progressive Drawings, Tree Studies* (figs. 6 and 7) published in approximately 1831 and printed by 'W. Day, Lithographer to the King' (fig. 8).⁹⁵ *S & J Fuller's Progressive Book of Drawings, Tree Studies* contains various illustrations depicting common species of trees, representing their distinctive features and characteristics. The illustrations alone are telling of Samuel Rostill's capabilities as an artist, demonstrating his ability to capture their likeness and form. They uphold his reputation as one of the leading 'tree portraitists' of his era.⁹⁶

Involved in the production of *S & J Fuller's Progressive Book of Drawings* were two very reputable London-based companies: the publishers S & J Fuller and also the lithographic printers W. Day and Son. S & J Fuller were one of the leading publishers of the first half of the nineteenth century, a partnership between Samuel Williams Fuller (1777-1857) and his brother Joseph Carr Fuller (1783-1863). Their business was established in 1809 at the 'Temple of Fancy', in Rathbone Place, London. The brothers specialised in print publishing but 'also sold books of instruction in Landscape, Flowers, and figures; and every requisite for drawing.'⁹⁷ They were known for producing print catalogues and also paper doll toy books such as *The History and Adventures of Little Henry* (1810) and *The History of Little Fanny* (1810) in which a paper doll's head, along with its series of interchangeable costumes, could be switched in progression with the story. The Fullers also hired out drawings for students to practise at home. S & J Fuller were best known for publishing a series of progressive drawing books during the nineteenth century by selected artists including Birmingham's David Cox. Cox's *The Young Artist's Companion; or, Drawing-Book of Studies and*

⁹⁵ Wildman, *The Birmingham School*, 43. It is Wildman's suggestion that the etchings were softground. Samuel Rostill also self-published a series of drawing books entitled 'Sketches from Nature', the third series of which appeared in 1828. The cover page for this book is at Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006.22.114].

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/f.php> accessed on 2/12/09 and on cover of D. Cox, *Progressive Lesson on Landscape for Young Beginners*, London, 1816.

Landscape Embellishments : Comprising a Great Variety of the Most Picturesque Objects Required in the Various Compositions of Landscape Scenery, Arranged as Progressive Lessons (1825) and *A Treatise on Landscape Painting and Effect in Water Colours* (1814) were both published by S & J Fuller.

William Day (senior, d. 1845) (fig. 8) was one of the leading lithographic printers of the period who was based at 17 Gate Street, London.⁹⁸ Declaring himself as 'Lithographer to the King' and later the Queen, Day was most certainly one of the more successful printers in the business. Day initially worked with lithographic artist Louis Hague (1806-1885) and together they were known as 'Day & Hague'. However, since Hague had little financial interest in this business, the company was also referred to as 'W. Day' or 'Day & Son' despite Hague's affiliation with their work.⁹⁹ After the departure of Hague from the company (to pursue a career as a watercolour painter) and William Day senior's death in 1845, the company continued trading under the same name under his son, William.¹⁰⁰

The capacity in which Samuel Rostill was employed by W. Day and Son is uncertain to a degree, but it is here proposed that he was hired on a freelance basis as there are no other known publications of works attributed directly to Samuel Rostill and printed by Day, suggesting that *S & J Fuller's Book of Progressive Drawings* was a unique sample.¹⁰¹ As the publisher of the book, it is likely that S & J Fuller had instructed W. Day and Son to complete the drawings for *S & J Fuller's Progressive Book of Drawings, Tree Studies*. However, it is not known whether the Fullers had specifically requested for Samuel Rostill or whether W. Day and Son assigned the task to him.¹⁰²

The illustrations in *S & J Fuller's Book of Progressive Drawings* are inscribed with 'On Stone by S.R. Lines' (fig. 9) which confirms that Samuel Rostill applied the design onto the stone directly. His original drawings were not copied by another artist onto the stone printing

⁹⁸ As inscribed on the works in this publication.

⁹⁹ M. Twyman, *Lithography 1800-1850*, London, 1970, 207.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ It is also uncertain whether the Fullers had approached Samuel Rostill to illustrate the publication or *vice versa*.

¹⁰² How Samuel Rostill became involved with the Fullers and Day and whether he resided in London for the duration of his employment or worked from Birmingham is uncertain, but his employment by them is indicative of his talent as an artist.

surface. The process of drawing onto stone required a skilled hand as the execution of the drawing using either a lithographic ink pen or chalk was much less forgiving than pencil onto paper. The manner of the illustrations would suggest that Samuel Rostill drew with lithographic chalk rather than ink, as it was more suited towards reproducing drawings due to its resemblance to pencil markings.¹⁰³ Ink pens were more often used for reproducing text or for ink drawings, which required a finer tool. Drawing with a lithographic chalk was considered to require 'more care and attention' than the other methods of applying the design.¹⁰⁴ This can be seen as a testimonial to Samuel Rostill's proficiency as a lithographic artist.

Samuel Rostill's use of lithographic chalk rather than ink seems borne out by William Simpson (1823-1899), an employee of Day & Son who wrote in his autobiography:

'The work [at Day & Sons] was confined to "chalk"; that meant the lithographic crayon, and it also meant exclusively pictorial work...In Day's everything was so different, and theirs being the first house in London for Pictorial lithography, a high style was the rule.'¹⁰⁵

Simpson also highlighted the 'tendency for lithographers to become artists or painters' whereas engravers 'never become artists, or I should say painters, because the work was mechanical, and merely copying. But in lithography, at least in the class of subjects I had to do, we had to work out rough material into pictures...'¹⁰⁶ This is revealing in that it shows Simpson's attitude towards different forms of print-making; that lithography was more suited towards the independent artist/painter, whereas the engraver is a copyist with little artistic autonomy. To what extent this attitude applied to other print artists of the nineteenth century is unknown, but Samuel Rostill's skills as a talented lithographer and fine artist support

¹⁰³ Although Michael Twyman suggests that: 'Chalk lithographs were much more difficult to print, especially in large numbers, and it is possible for this reason that they are rarely found amongst the incunabula of English lithography', *Lithography 1800-1850*, 27.

¹⁰⁴ C. Straker, *Instructions in the Art of Lithography*, London, 1867, 68.

¹⁰⁵ W. Simpson, G. Eyre-Todd, (eds), *The Autobiography of William Simpson*, London, 1903, 13.

¹⁰⁶ Simpson, Eyre-Todd, (eds), *The Autobiography of William Simpson*, 14-15.

Simpson's claim that the aptitude of painters was more suited towards lithography, such as would meet the expectations of Day and Sons.

A further example of Samuel Rostill's work can be seen in *Dickinson's Advanced Drawing Book* published in 1828.¹⁰⁷ The volume contains at least four compositions depicting Samuel Rostill's tree studies.¹⁰⁸ However, although he was responsible for the initial execution of these scenes, this time it is unknown whether he was involved in the lithographic printing process itself. Fig. 10 shows a page from *Dickinson's Advanced Drawing Book*. The inscription on the lower left attributes the work to Samuel Lines Junior. Furthermore, the inscription 'printed by C. Hullmandel' confirms that the work was printed by Charles Hullmandel (1789-1850), another leading lithographer of the early nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Much of lithography's practical development can be credited to him.¹¹⁰ Hullmandel was originally a landscape artist who saw the potential of lithography as a medium for reproducing, and thus circulating, art – especially topographical views and landscapes.¹¹¹ His practical interest in the process led him to write and publish 'the most important English treatise on lithography', *The Art of Drawing on Stone* (1824).¹¹² A letter from Hullmandel to 'Mr Lines' (assumed to be Samuel Rostill Lines because it is not known that any of the other brothers had contact with Hullmandel) is in the collection of Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum [WOSMG:2006:22:82]. The letter is extremely faded and nearly illegible.¹¹³ However, the subject of the letter seems to be instructions from Hullmandel regarding the size of the drawings he requires from Samuel Rostill. The reason for these instructions is unknown, but it could have possibly been for *Dickinson's Advanced Drawing Book* or a similar publication. Again demonstrating Samuel Rostill's reputation as a renowned

¹⁰⁷ *Dickinson's Advanced Drawing Book*, London, 1828.

¹⁰⁸ It may be that more illustrations were included but the one surviving, accessible copy at the Yale Center for British Art only contains four images.

¹⁰⁹ Twyman, *Lithography 1800-1850*, 364.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Twyman, *Lithography 1800-1850*, 40.

¹¹² Twyman, *Lithography 1800-1850*, 114-115. C. Hullmandel, *The Art of Drawing on Stone*, London, 1824.

¹¹³ There is no transcription of this letter because of this.

lithographer and draughtsman, his early death at the age of 33 was a significant loss to the Lines family, but also to the lithographic industry.¹¹⁴

Samuel's fourth son was Edward Ashcroft Lines (fig. 11), who although possibly the least professionally accomplished of the brothers, set sail for New Zealand in 1864 with the intention of establishing his own art academy.¹¹⁵ Having exhibited at the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists only four times between the years 1827-1839, he has left few examples of his work to refer to today. He never became a Member of the Society, but was listed as a Subscriber to the Birmingham Society of Artists in 1859-1863.¹¹⁶ He is not known to have exhibited anywhere else in the country or gained any medals or awards for his work. Unlike his brothers who worked beyond their father's art academy, Edward Ashcroft seemed content with teaching at home. He married Matilda Marston (the daughter of General Marston) and they had a daughter whom they called Mary (1836-1913).¹¹⁷ However, Matilda died whilst Mary was young. Edward Ashcroft later married her sister, Lavinia.¹¹⁸ A portrait of either Matilda or Lavinia by Edward Ashcroft can be seen as fig. 12. Although the standard of the portrait is not high, it demonstrates his artistic capabilities, which probably leaned more towards floral still-life studies such as fig. 28.

A letter written by Edward Ashcroft's son-in-law, William Henry Elmore (1839-1926) to Frederick Thomas, announces the family's arrival in Auckland in 1864.¹¹⁹ Edward's departure from Birmingham so soon after his father's death (Samuel died in November 1863) is unexplained, but it is assumed that the sons no longer wished to continue with running the family's art academy. Edward Ashcroft travelled with Elmore and daughter Mary, who gave

¹¹⁴ Samuel Rostill's death is recorded in a notebook at Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum [WOSMG:2006:22:38:5] and documents the events leading up to his death.

¹¹⁵ See Appendix 6.

¹¹⁶ See Appendix 1.

¹¹⁷ This is stated in a letter from Mr C.W. Bruce, New Zealand, who previously owned a large collection of Edward Ashcroft's teaching materials. The correspondence was between Bruce and BMAG regarding the provenance of the works (which he offered to sell to BMAG). The letter in question was dated 15 June 1971, and filed in the BMAG curatorial file.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ See Appendix 6.

birth on the ship after a 'severe fall'.¹²⁰ The four initially settled in Auckland, before relocating to Coromandel on the north east coast.¹²¹

Edward Ashcroft's second wife Lavinia did not accompany Elmore and Mary to New Zealand. For reasons which are unclear, Edward Ashcroft later wrote:

'I said in the letter with the document that when you got the money to send all but £70 to keep that for the present and that I would inform you as to the character of Joseph Marston and also of Lavinia Marston. You may give Lavinia £20 if you like but she is not worthy of a fraction. Beware of Joseph Marston for he is an hypocrit [sic].'¹²²

What Lavinia did to upset Edward Ashcroft to this extent is uncertain, and also his relationship with Joseph Marston. However, his unhappy marriage to Lavinia may contribute to the reasons why he decided to emigrate. The letter continued:

'It was my intention some time ago to commence teaching drawing in Auckland hence the reserve of £70 as I intended to send for some of the copies of my late father's and my own stock and for materials also and although I have not abandoned the idea yet and so keep £70 for that purpose and give Lavinia £20 and you may tell her that she may thank you for it. Joseph Marston's character I will give you shortly.'¹²³

Six years after arriving in New Zealand, his ambition of opening an art academy on the other side of the world was still strong. However, his intention never came to fruition and Edward Ashcroft died in 1875, eleven years after he emigrated.¹²⁴ Mary and Elmore

¹²⁰ See Appendix 6.

¹²¹ See Appendix 6, a letter from Edward Ashcroft Lines to Frederick Thomas Lines.

¹²² See Appendix 6.

¹²³ See Appendix 6.

¹²⁴ Edward Ashcroft's death certificate states that he died on 13 December 1875 from general debility.

continued living in Coromandel, where both are buried.¹²⁵ Edward Ashcroft's collection of tuition materials was kept in the family and was eventually passed down to Blanche D'Ath Weston, his youngest grand-daughter.¹²⁶ She lived in the Mount Roskill area of Auckland and sold this collection of work to Mr C.W. Bruce in the 1950s.¹²⁷ These works were sold in turn to BMAG in 1971.¹²⁸

Samuel's youngest son, Frederick Thomas Lines, was born in Birmingham in 1807 and it is assumed that he was trained artistically alongside his older brothers. However, he later travelled to London to train under Richard Evans.¹²⁹ Both later worked in the studio of Sir Thomas Lawrence, whose portrait of King George III had initially inspired Samuel to pursue a career in art.¹³⁰ Frederick Thomas also taught art at Bruce Castle School in Tottenham, London before returning to Birmingham to help Samuel in his art academy after the death of Samuel Rostill.¹³¹ Frederick Thomas married Sarah Breedon Butler, the daughter of a wealthy metal manufacturer, Samuel Butler. Together, they had two children: Frederick Joseph Butler Lines (b. 1844) and Frances Elizabeth Lines (b.1848).¹³²

Frederick Thomas exhibited frequently alongside his brothers at the Birmingham Society of Arts from 1827 to 1848, where he was a member from 1836 until approximately 1856.¹³³ Following in the footsteps of his father and eldest brother, he also exhibited at the Royal

¹²⁵ Their burial plots can be found through searching the Thames Coromandel District Council website: <http://web.tcd.c.govt.nz/cemeprod/>. Elmore and Mary are both buried at Buffalo Cemetery in Coromandel.

¹²⁶ Wiseman, 'Portrait is a Link with the Past'.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Although the 306 works were purchased in 1971, they were not catalogued until approximately 1976 (as suggested by the prefix '1976' in the accession numbers). However, it is uncertain how long this process took and in what order these works, along with other Lines family works acquired by the BMAG during the period, were catalogued. Thus, a conclusive list of accession numbers of the Lines family's works originally purchased from Mr Bruce cannot be given. However, the individual works discussed from Bruce's collection are known to be so because he annotated them, often using a red pen.

¹²⁹ A handwritten note, possibly by Frederick Joseph Butler Lines, states that Frederick Thomas studied under Richard Evans and both later went to London and worked in Sir Thomas Lawrence's studio. Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum [WOSMG:2006:22:101]. This is also mentioned in Morris & Morris, *A Catalogue of Birmingham and West Midlands Painters*.

¹³⁰ Morris & Morris, *A Catalogue of Birmingham and West Midlands Painters*.

¹³¹ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 11.

¹³² Their children's birth dates are handwritten by Frederick Joseph Butler Lines in an almanack at Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum [WOSMG:2006:22:120:2].

¹³³ Frederick Thomas was listed as a Member in the exhibition catalogue for 1856, but there is not a list of Members in the 1857 exhibition catalogue. Frederick Thomas does not appear as a Member after 1857, but as a Subscriber instead. See Appendix 1.

Academy in London as well as the Society of British Artists.¹³⁴ He showed a variety of subjects including church interiors, despite his skills in portraiture. His ability to capture likeness and personality can be seen in his own self-portrait (fig. 13). This painting was made sometime between 1820 and 1830, whilst Frederick Thomas was still relatively young. The portrait is particularly interesting because of its simplicity. Unlike W.T. Roden's portrait of Samuel (fig. 1) that depicts him sitting on a chair, holding his spectacles and surrounded by folios (possibly containing art work) that allude to his profession and status as a gentleman, Frederick Thomas has chosen to depict only his head and shoulders. The self-portrait does not reveal artistic tools or implements related to his occupation, and only his clothing would distinguish him as a moderately successful young man.

Although there are no surviving records that document the patronage of Frederick Thomas, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum hold a series of letters written by Louisa Ann Ryland (1814-1889) to Samuel Lines.¹³⁵ The letters reveal that the Ryland family had commissioned Frederick Thomas to produce at least one portrait of Samuel Ryland, Louisa's father. Louisa's letter, that was written to Samuel Lines shortly after her father's death in 1843, suggests that the family had this portrait in their possession:

'You have I am sure been much concerned at the great affliction with which we have been visited and will be gratified by learning how very great a comfort I have found in possessing the likeness of my dear father taken by Mr Frederick Lines.'¹³⁶

However, the letter continues and Louisa makes an unusual request from Frederick Thomas:

¹³⁴ Morris & Morris, *A Catalogue of Birmingham and West Midlands Painters*.

¹³⁵ Louisa Ann's relationship with the family and the Birmingham Society of Arts is discussed at greater length in chapter one.

¹³⁶ See Appendix 6 for a full transcription of this letter.

‘I am most anxious to possess a copy of the original likeness as I should be indeed disturbed if any unfortunate accident or injury were [?]ever to occur to it and my object in troubling you with a note is to enquire whether Mr Frederick Lines could kindly do this for me.’¹³⁷

This request demonstrates the professional and personal relationships that Frederick Thomas enjoyed with at least one of his clients. Frederick Thomas agreed to fulfill this personal request as a matter of duty as a friend and employee of the Rylands.¹³⁸

Frederick Thomas was last listed as a Member of the Birmingham Society of Artists in 1856 but had stopped exhibiting at the Society in 1847.¹³⁹ It is not known what path he pursued afterwards. However, another handwritten note at Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, suggests that he may have made a successful living as a landlord as the note lists the sale of several properties and loans.¹⁴⁰ This is further supported by the properties listed in his will, including two freehold properties in Finch Street, Handsworth and leasehold properties on William Street and Bishopsgate Street.¹⁴¹ Frederick Thomas died in 1898 and was buried at Key Hill Cemetery, in Birmingham’s Jewellery Quarter. Frederick Thomas’s son, Frederick Joseph Butler Lines (F.J.B.) (see fig. 14) was the last member of the Lines family to demonstrate artistic talent. An example of his work can be seen as fig. 15, *Stile and Trees* which again shows the family’s affinity with studies from nature. His careful rendering of the tree in the background recalls the studies made by his uncles half a decade earlier. However, it is not known whether F.J.B. taught art, like his father and uncles. Upon his death in 1921, the Lines dynasty of practising artists came to an end.

¹³⁷ See Appendix 6.

¹³⁸ Frederick Thomas’s agreement to undertake this commission is suggested in Louisa Ann’s letter dated 2nd June 1843, Appendix 6.

¹³⁹ See Appendix 1.

¹⁴⁰ Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006:22:120:2].

¹⁴¹ Frederick Thomas’s will is kept at Worcester City art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006:22:41].

Regional Art Institutions and Nineteenth Century Art in Birmingham

Few studies have been published on the development of Birmingham's art institutions, such as Samuel Lines and Sons and the Birmingham Society of Arts, and the most comprehensive source remains Trevor Fawcett's *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons, and Institutions Outside London, 1800-1830*, published in 1974.¹⁴² Although the research is now over 35 years old, Fawcett's thorough and methodical approach produced a detailed study of provincial institutions, and is a suitable foundation from which further research can be made. The book discusses the development of art and art institutions throughout large nineteenth-century provincial towns in England such as Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool as well as Birmingham. Fawcett reveals the activities and motives of artists, patrons and institutions and in doing so, he analyses the effects they had upon the development and reception of art together with the influence of politics and society. Fawcett's extensive use of primary source material is evident and this has allowed him thoroughly to explore each institution and location discussed in the book. Luke Herrmann praised Fawcett for using such an extensive range of sources, totalling seventeen pages of bibliography.¹⁴³ These sources ranged from newspapers to records from institutions, giving Fawcett an abundance of primary material from which he was able to compose his argument. Although Fawcett was able to cover several provincial towns and cities in his book with a good degree of detail, his was by no means an exhaustive account of each area.¹⁴⁴ Herrmann added that,

¹⁴² T. Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons, and Institutions Outside London, 1800-1830*, Oxford, 1974.

¹⁴³ L. Herrmann, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 118, No. 880 (July, 1976), pp. 527-528. Herrmann was already an established academic who published several books on eighteenth and nineteenth-century art. He was Professor of Art History at the University of Leicester having previously worked in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

¹⁴⁴ Herrmann supports this approach, *The Burlington Magazine*, 527.

at the time, further research was already being carried out on 'Bristol, Derby, Norwich and York', but he made no mention of studies into Birmingham.¹⁴⁵

Fawcett's in-depth study of provincial art revealed that in 1800 there were 'no art institutions anywhere in the British Isles outside London and Dublin' but the following decades saw the establishment of institutions throughout the country from Manchester to Plymouth and including Birmingham.¹⁴⁶ London was the main hub in which many institutions had thrived, including one of the first art societies in England established by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723) in 1711.¹⁴⁷ This school was the precursor to England's most reputable and respected art institution: the Royal Academy'.¹⁴⁸ The Royal Academy (RA) was founded in 1768 with Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) as its first president. The Academy was a meeting point for artists and enabled them to share practical and theoretical knowledge through various forms of art training, thus developing the professional aspect of their vocation. It also aimed to cultivate a larger market of buyers looking to invest in works of art by living artists and so acting as a system to establish patronage. The RA's influence and artistic vigour infiltrated the provinces, and set the precedent from which provincial institutions, such as the Birmingham Academy of Arts (later Birmingham Society of Arts) were formed. The first exhibition held by the Birmingham Academy of Arts in 1814 acknowledged the importance of the RA in instigating a programme for developing and improving the arts in England:

'The Institution of the Royal Academy was the commencement of a new and auspicious era to the British Artist; and the progressive improvement of the Arts of Design in this country, from that period to the present, is principally ascribed to the annual Assemblage and Exhibition of the master compositions of British Artists. To places, however, far distant from

¹⁴⁵ Herrmann, *The Burlington Magazine*, 527.

¹⁴⁶ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 1.

¹⁴⁷ All information concerning Sir Godfrey Kneller's academy and the Royal Academy is cited from Sidney C. Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy 1768 – 1968*, 1968, 7-14 unless otherwise stated.

¹⁴⁸ Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy*, 10.

the Capital, these genial influences do but feebly extend. Sources of knowledge and improvement so remote, are in vain opened to a numerous and ingenious class in this neighbourhood, debarred of travelling far from the scene of their employment, yet possessed of great natural talents, which, from being unassisted and unpatronised, are lost to themselves and to society...'¹⁴⁹

Fawcett's research also identifies how the opening years of the nineteenth century saw the creation of further similar societies in provincial towns and cities including Norwich (1803), Edinburgh (1808) and Liverpool (1810).¹⁵⁰ The Birmingham Academy of Arts, and later the more established Birmingham Society of Arts, was founded partly from necessity to support the local supply of artists by offering them the opportunity to take drawing instruction and exhibit.¹⁵¹ The creation of these societies saw the state of the fine arts change dramatically in the nineteenth century, with increasing exhibitions for the public to view and a new understanding of art:

'The growth of radicalism, the spread of education, and the increasing accessibility of art to an expanding number of people, both through illustrations and public galleries and exhibitions emphasized the democratisation of visual culture.'¹⁵²

The Birmingham Society of Arts was one of many societies throughout the country that encouraged the public to view exhibitions (both by living and deceased artists) and it was instrumental in establishing a place for exhibition of works by local artists. In the light of this

¹⁴⁹ *Birmingham Academy of Arts First Exhibition of the Works of Artists Permanently Resident within Thirty Miles of Birmingham, 1814*, Birmingham, 1814, 3.

¹⁵⁰ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 1.

¹⁵¹ The Birmingham Academy of Arts was the precursor to the Birmingham Society of Arts and ran for seven years from 1814-1821. The Birmingham Society of Arts was established in 1821. In 1842, the 'professional' contingency of the Society removed themselves and formed the Birmingham Society of Artists. The exact date when the Birmingham Society of Arts dissolved is uncertain. The history of the Society is discussed in greater depth later in this chapter.

¹⁵² This extract has been taken from 'Douglas Jerrold's Penny Magazine', 31 July 1847, cited in B. Denvir, *The Early Nineteenth Century: Art, Design and Society 1789 – 1852*, New York, 1984, 62.

phenomenon, the influence of Birmingham's art institutions, including Samuel's own, on the development and the production of art in the town is here explored. The extent to which they were able to support Birmingham's diverse community of artists also forms part of the discussion in chapter one.

Art and Industry

The development of the fine arts was vital to the growth of Britain's manufacturing industry, as discussed by Fawcett, who also explores the growth of fine art institutions in provincial towns between 1800-1830.¹⁵³ He supports this idea by quoting the British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom (founded in 1805) and its intentions to:

'encourage and reward the talents of the Artists of the United Kingdom; so as to improve and extend our manufactures, by that degree of taste and elegance of design, which are to be exclusively derived from the cultivation of the Fine Arts and thereby to increase the general prosperity and resources of the Empire.'¹⁵⁴

The 'cultivation of the Fine Arts' was instrumental in creating good artists, enabling the manufactured arts to thrive and contribute to the nation's economy and pride.

Specialising in the manufacture of textile goods such as leather and wool in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Birmingham's reputation as one of Britain's foremost industrial towns was firmly established before Samuel's arrival, as identified by J.B. Smith the chapter

¹⁵³ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*.

¹⁵⁴ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 1-2, quoting from *An Account of the British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom*, London, 1805.

‘The Economic History of Birmingham’, featured in *Birmingham: Bibliography of a City*.¹⁵⁵

Furthermore, Eric Hopkins’ thorough investigation into Birmingham’s industrial history highlights how the 1750s had shown a steady rise in the levels of industrial activity and the town’s production shifted from textile manufacture to that of steel and iron, and also the manufacture of metal products such as ship parts, swords and blades and later guns and brass.¹⁵⁶ Birmingham’s geographical location restricted its agricultural development and so it relied upon resources that encouraged it to expand into an industrial town.¹⁵⁷ It was especially suited for the manufacture of metals because of the close proximity of the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire coalfields, coupled with the abundant supply of wood for conversion into charcoal.¹⁵⁸ The canal routes that were introduced to Birmingham from 1767, spread to the west of the town a distance of nearly seventy miles as well as passing through parts of the West Midlands such as Wednesbury, Walsall, Tipton and beyond, allowing easy transportation of coal, iron and building materials to manufacturers in the town.¹⁵⁹ The combination of these factors made Birmingham the ideal location for the metal industry to develop. With this in mind, the first chapter further explores the influence of industry on the development of the arts, and especially on the career of Samuel Lines.

Academies and Teaching Establishments

The importance of drawing academies is emphasised further by Robert Catterson-Smith in his essay *Birmingham Municipal School of Art*. Catterson-Smith refers to a ‘Well Wisher’, who wrote to the *Birmingham Gazette* in 1754, stating that the craftsmen of Birmingham were deficient in the art of drawing and designing (in particular), and suggested an academy

¹⁵⁵ J.B. Smith, ‘The Economic History of Birmingham’, pp157-180, *Birmingham: Bibliography of a City*, C. Chinn (Ed.), 2003, 157.

¹⁵⁶ E. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town: Birmingham and the Industrial Revolution*, 1998, 3.

¹⁵⁷ K. Jenks, ‘Work and Employment in Birmingham’, 200-222, *Birmingham: Bibliography of a City*, C. Chinn (Ed.), 2003, 200.

¹⁵⁸ W. Barrow, ‘The Town and its Industries’, *Birmingham Institutions: Lectures give at the University*, J.H. Muirhead (Ed.), Birmingham, 1911, 4.

¹⁵⁹ West, *The History, Topography and Directory of Warwickshire*.

be established to instruct 'young people'.¹⁶⁰ Smith considered this comment and explained that although the technical skills of the craftsmen were adequate, 'the power of design – the expression of ideas on paper, in other words drawing - was seriously deficient'.¹⁶¹ It was therefore appropriate for Samuel's academy to meet the needs of the artisans by offering creative solutions to their design requirements. By doing so, he also created a market for his academy, not limiting it to those who wished to become artisans. Although Catterson-Smith's essay discusses the social, artistic and educational climate in which the Birmingham Municipal School of Art was founded in the late nineteenth century, he fails to fully recognise the role of Samuel and his sons (and the Birmingham Society of Arts) in establishing the foundation from which it was built.

Art tuition, both professional and amateur, was extensive by the turn of the nineteenth century, and Fawcett describes it as 'pervasive' by 1820.¹⁶² Essentially, there were two main routes for receiving artistic training: through undertaking an apprenticeship or via tuition with a drawing master. This often depended upon whether the student intended to work as a professional artist or in an artistic trade. Often, those wanting to become professional artists would undertake an apprenticeship with an established artist, but as Fawcett points out - little is known about this system of tuition.¹⁶³ Although there is little evidence in relation to the Lines family to examine the apprentice system, surviving teaching materials from Samuel's academy shed light on the types of subjects taught and allude to his teaching methods. Therefore, chapter one uses sources including his teaching books, sample drawings for students to copy and exhibition catalogues to further explore nineteenth-century art tuition in Birmingham.

The Impact of Tourism on Landscape Art

¹⁶⁰ R. Catterson-Smith, 'Birmingham Municipal School of Art', *Birmingham Institutions: Lectures given at the University*, J.H. Muirhead (Ed.), Birmingham, 1911, 274.

¹⁶¹ Catterson-Smith, 'Birmingham Municipal School of Art', 274-275.

¹⁶² Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 25.

¹⁶³ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 50.

William Gilpin's (1724-1804) essays changed the course of landscape painting, emphasising the role of nature in landscape composition. He stressed the importance of incorporating its variety of features: rough textures, variation of species and contrast (that can be achieved through experimenting with light and shade).¹⁶⁴ Although modern interpretations of the term 'picturesque' can suggest a variety of definitions, Gilpin's use of the term 'picturesque' gave a very specific meaning: 'It was in Gilpin's picturesque travels...that the picturesque of roughness and intricacy was defined and popularized...'.¹⁶⁵ His influence encouraged tourists and artists alike to travel the length and breadth of Britain, to discover its natural beauty and variety. There is no evidence of a direct link between the Lines family and Gilpin but it is plausible that the family had sound knowledge of his works.¹⁶⁶ The impact that the latter had on the development of English landscape painting, and in particular how it infiltrated the works of the Lines family, is explored later in chapter two.

Gilpin's essays offered a contrast to the works of Edmund Burke (1729-1797) who had been a pioneer of landscape aesthetics with his essay: *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1759) linking the concepts of the Beautiful and Sublime with ideas of pleasure and discomfort experienced in viewing certain landscapes. His use of the term Sublime was no longer restricted to a particular style of writing, but extended to an 'aesthetic experience found in literature and far beyond'.¹⁶⁷ Through his essay, he explained the range of human responses derived from seeing certain types of images and how these feelings can categorise the images as being beautiful or

¹⁶⁴ W. Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and, On Sketching Landscape*, London, 1792, 25-28.

¹⁶⁵ C. P. Barbier, *William Gilpin: His Drawings, Teaching and Theory of the Picturesque*, Oxford, 1963, 1 and W. J. Hipple, *The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory*, Carbondale, 1957, 193. Although Hipple's publication is somewhat dated, it has been used as an example here to demonstrate the variety of definitions concerning the term 'picturesque' and how the term has evolved.

¹⁶⁶ The architect Henry Hutchison had donated a copy of 'Gilpin on Prints' to the Birmingham Society of Arts in 1828, assumed to be *An Essay on Prints* by Gilpin, published originally in 1768. Hutchison's donation is listed in *Birmingham Society of Arts, Established 1821, Catalogue of Pictures, Chiefly by the Ancient Masters of the Italian, Spanish and Flemish Schools, 1828*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 1828, unpaginated. Therefore Members and students of the Society, including the Lines family, had access to this publication.

¹⁶⁷ E. Burke, J. T. Boulton (ed), *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, (2nd ed.), London, 1987, xviii.

sublime. In brief, the sublime landscape aimed to evoke a sense of fear in the viewer, who should experience the need for self-preservation. It is also associated with those things that are fearful and threatening.

The rise of tourism in Britain, prevalent throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, inspired artists to travel. The Lines family were keen travellers to North Wales, Samuel and Henry Harris Lines in particular, and they painted and sketched the area extensively. It has been noted by David H. Solkin in *Richard Wilson*, that the 1750s 'witnessed the first major signs of an intellectual rediscovery of the history and culture of ancient Wales' that was achieved through the rise in Welsh tourism, and awareness of Welsh history and literature.¹⁶⁸ This influenced poets such as Thomas Gray (*The Bard*, 1757). The efforts of scholars such as Lewis Morris in enthusing over and promoting Welsh culture through his poetry which focused on Welsh history and mythology including *Songs of Two Worlds* (1872-75).¹⁶⁹ The Celtic Revival, according to Solkin: 'sparked an upsurge of self-awareness and self-confidence within the Welsh community in London' which in effect caused the establishment of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion that sought to preserve the Welsh language and customs.¹⁷⁰ The geography of Wales was interesting because of its two opposing qualities: the North was considered sublime because of its craggy terrain and imposing mountains. The South on the other hand was thought of as beautiful due to its undulating valleys and gentle slopes. These themes are discussed in chapter two, looking specifically at the Lines family's production of landscapes of the Midlands and North Wales. The production and consumption of their depictions of local rural scenes are compared and contrasted to their grander landscapes.

The Impact of Amateur Archaeologists and Antiquarians

¹⁶⁸ D. H. Solkin, *Richard Wilson*, London, 1982, 86.

¹⁶⁹ *The Houghton Mifflin Dictionary of Biography*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 2003, 1008.

¹⁷⁰ Solkin, *Richard Wilson*, 87.

Amateur archaeologists and antiquarians played an integral role in forming the foundations for future generations of historians is discussed by Philippa Levine and Sam Smiles.¹⁷¹ Both offer explanations for the rise of history as an academic discipline, with Levine particularly showing how this was derived from the amateur groups. Smiles extends his argument to romanticised imagery of ancient Britain depicted by artists during the period 1750-1850, as a result of a greater understanding of history, and the shift in the perception of time by society. Complementing these main texts, Janet Wolff's emphasis on the importance of the social context in which art was produced will aid the exploration of how the intellectual climate enabled Henry Harris to pursue his archaeological research and how this impacted on his career as an artist.

Levine's approach to explaining the rise of history as a professional subject helps to explore Henry Harris's involvement with the various intellectual groups in Worcester. Levine focuses on the social and institutional factors affecting the creation and development of intellectual ideology during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that, she argues, enabled the amateur antiquarians, historians and archaeologists to emerge. These 'devotees' committed themselves to the study of the various branches of history, which went fundamentally to change and define Britain's approach to the study of history as a result.¹⁷² It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that a new class of professional historians came to light.¹⁷³ Levine's argument provides a social and ideological background for the discussion of Henry Harris's historical pursuits that also asserts the importance of archaeology in questioning the perception of time, as new findings would relate to a period

¹⁷¹ P. Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886*, Cambridge, 1985 and S. Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination*, New Haven and London, 1994. Although the enthusiasts were called 'amateurs', this was because their research was yet to be recognised by institutions such as universities during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and their work was by no means 'amateur' in the modern sense.

¹⁷² Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 7.

¹⁷³ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 2.

far back beyond what had previously been understood, thus creating a new concept of history.¹⁷⁴

Smiles has researched in depth the representation and cultural value of imagery depicting ancient Britain and its sites in the period 1750-1850.¹⁷⁵ His publication suggests that imagery of ancient Britain was processed and romanticised through the eyes of artists and poets, supporting a new approach to and understanding of history during a period when branches of science, such as technology and engineering, were moving fast into the future.¹⁷⁶ Smiles's use of the term 'romantic' encompasses that of the intellectual and artistic movement, but he also broadens its use to describe an approach that differed from the "scientific" methodologies of archaeology and historiography and the professionalism of their research as those disciplines developed in the later nineteenth century', thus describing the 'imaginative approach' undertaken by artists such as Henry Harris in their depictions of ancient sites.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, romanticised imagery of ancient Britain is seen as a construct of the nineteenth-century ideologies based around the growing culture of historical thought and intellectual knowledge.

In its practical application, Smiles's methodology opens up the intellectual and artistic climate in which Henry Harris's archaeological findings were made, and the role of the artist in interpreting historic subjects. The romantic aspect of Smiles's argument is applied to Henry Harris's artistic representations of his archaeological subjects, mainly his painting *The British Camp and Herefordshire Beacon, Worcestershire* (1872) (fig. 38), in chapter three. This approach argues the significance of the artist in the representation of imagery of historic sites and its features, as it is the artist who removes the subject from its scientific/historic realm to the romantic. The imaginative discovery of the Malvern Hills by artists, poets and

¹⁷⁴ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 40.

¹⁷⁵ Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*.

¹⁷⁶ Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, ix. This agrees with Levine who also contends that historical and scientific discoveries during the nineteenth century enabled a reassessment of the position of the present within what was previously a fixed and permanent historical timeline.

¹⁷⁷ Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, ix. Smiles's 'imaginative' approach is discussed in his chapter 'The Megalithic Landscape', 165-193.

composers is used as supporting evidence to show how others extracted the romantic from the historical. Where Levine explores the intellectual and social environment in which the study of the various branches of history was able to evolve, Smiles looks into the production and reception of imagery by these amateurs. Their depictions of historical and ancient sites and monuments he considers a mode of communicating a romanticised vision of the past.

Social Production of Art

Janet Wolff's *The Social Production of Art* is referenced throughout this thesis to enable investigation into the factors that affected the Lines family's production of art.¹⁷⁸ In particular, analysis of the institutional factors that affected the production of art in Birmingham and beyond by the family. Wolff's argument is based on Marxist theory, which considers art as a product of society, rather than an individual.¹⁷⁹ Reference is made to Wolff regarding the social nature of art and in particular how the Lines family influenced its production, distribution and also the conditions of its reception (or consumption) by their patrons.¹⁸⁰ Arguing against the idea that art is a product of a solitary artist, or the idea of 'art as the creation of 'genius'', Wolff states that art is a consequence of both social and economic factors.¹⁸¹ Social institutions, she argues, enabled the recruitment and training of artists, a position which is here supported by examples such as Samuel's drawing academy as well as the Birmingham Society of Arts (and Artists) that were both active in teaching and training artists from fine and manufactured arts backgrounds.¹⁸² The recruitment and training of artists is a structured system where only those with the appropriate social and economical tools

¹⁷⁸ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*.

¹⁷⁹ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 1.

¹⁸⁰ Wolff, Preface to *The Social Production of Art*.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 41. However, Wolff states that the role of a social institution is not always clear-cut, using the dealer-critic system that emerged in the nineteenth century as an example. This new system replaced the earlier forms of direct patronage, but mediators took the place of patrons rather there being a new market of patrons available to the artists.

required to study art can become artists.¹⁸³ For example, in order to become a full-time writer, a person must be literate – and therefore have access to education, which was not available to all in the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, they must also have leisure time in which to write, thus have an income or financial support.¹⁸⁵ Wolff concludes that this was the reason why the majority of writers in the nineteenth century were from professional middle class families or women of leisure.¹⁸⁶ Wolff's assertions cannot be fully applied to Samuel's background as he was left in the care of his uncle from an early age after the death of his mother. However, Wolff's theory can be demonstrated by Samuel's sons who all became distinguished drawing masters and artists in their own right. Therefore, this chapter shows how they used their social and economic background to aid their professional development by discussing their own independent careers.

However, there is a degree of generality to Wolff's theory. For example, she does not discuss the significance of industry on art production specifically and thus overlooking the effect of increased industrial activity that was taking place noticeably in areas like Birmingham and the Midlands. Instead she discusses the influence of broader technological factors such as the significance of the printed book on literary and artistic progress.¹⁸⁷ The intrinsic relationship between industrial activity and the growth of Birmingham's artistic trades makes industry an essential part of this argument. Therefore, it forms the backdrop from which the main discussion of this thesis is drawn.

Landscape and Ideology

Landscapes feature heavily in the Lines family's repertoire and like many of their works, have not been investigated until now. Ann Bermingham offers an approach that aims to be a

¹⁸³ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 41-2.

¹⁸⁴ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 41.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 35-40.

‘critical investigation of the ideological significance of certain formal and aesthetic movements within it [landscape imagery]’ in *Landscape and Ideology: the English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (1986), from which derive parts of the argument in chapter two.¹⁸⁸ Her approach is less a survey of the development of landscape painting, than an exploration of the cultural meaning of such developments which involves opening landscape imagery up to the effects of social, economical and political changes and how these ultimately affected artists’ depictions of landscapes and also the demand for such imagery.¹⁸⁹ Bermingham’s approach allows further examination of the relationship between landscape imagery and ideology that she believes to be intrinsically linked:

‘The emergence of rustic landscape painting as a major genre in England at the end of the eighteenth century coincided with the accelerated enclosure of the English countryside. Beginning with the assumption that the parallelism of these events is not an accident but rather a manifestation of profound social change, this [Bermingham’s] study attempts to illuminate the relationship between the aesthetics of the painted landscape and the economics of the enclosed one.’¹⁹⁰

Bermingham’s approach makes direct parallels between the ideological values during the agrarian revolution and landscape painting, whereas Wolff makes the link with landscape painting only once.¹⁹¹ Instead, Wolff discusses ideology in a wider context questioning how it affects the output of not only art, but also literature. Her method is a useful tool for developing the main concepts of this chapter relating the diminishing landscape of the Midlands and the production of landscape imagery. Bermingham however, stresses the idea that the rise of English rustic landscape painting was not a disconnected phenomenon, but

¹⁸⁸ Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860*, California, 2.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 1.

¹⁹¹ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 55-56.

was a result of new values placed on the countryside that was changing through the acts of enclosure. During this period when enclosure was changing the physical state of the English countryside, imagery of rural land showed it in a state of economic and social stability.¹⁹² She describes the altered state of the English landscape that resulted from the acts of enclosure as an 'actual loss' and the only way that this could be overcome was through the creation of images depicting an economically secure countryside through 'imaginative recovery'.¹⁹³ Through the course of her argument, Bermingham ultimately aims to establish the contradictory relationship between the realities of the activities in the countryside and the idealised representations of it seen in the works of artists such as Gainsborough and Constable (1776-1837). Bermingham's argument is considered in chapter two, highlighting the relationship between the Lines family's production of landscape imagery and their consumption.

Content of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into three chapters, each focusing on a specific aspect of the Lines family's work. Bringing together sources from museum, archive and library collections, it is the first comprehensive document to record the family's endeavours, together with a critical analysis of their work that explores the influences on their artistic production. The first part of the thesis expands on themes identified in the academic catalogue, and concentrates on aspects of the family's work not explored in existing literature. This has aided the formation of each chapter which is supported by new, original research in association with the Lines family. The first chapter explores Samuel's involvement with art tuition, including the establishment of the Birmingham Society of Arts, which promoted exhibitions of works by local artists as well as works by deceased Old Masters from private collections. The second

¹⁹² Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 9. The period this refers to is 1740-1860. These dates are specified by Bermingham in the outline of her research.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

focuses on the family's topographical views and landscapes and the associated ideological implications. The third and final chapter discusses Henry Harris Lines and his archaeological and antiquarian pursuits, and the wider professionalisation of these subjects during the nineteenth century.

The first chapter, *The Development and Production of the Fine and Manufactured Arts in Birmingham: the Effects of Industry and Art Institutions 1794-1898* sets the scene for the thesis, describing the artistic environment in which Samuel trained and worked during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. As a town that was still experiencing the prosperity brought on by the success of Matthew Boulton's much-celebrated Soho Manufactory, Birmingham housed a diverse community of artists working in both the fine and manufactured arts. It reveals Samuel's life-long dedication to art tuition that has already been mentioned in part by Fawcett.¹⁹⁴ However, this chapter places special emphasis on how Samuel taught, and the materials he used as these aspects of his drawing school have not been discussed previously. Relating this to the artistic diversity of Birmingham's workforce during the nineteenth century, it demonstrates how his training in various trades including sword design, contributed to his ability to teach both artisans and fine artists. This aims to show how the fine and manufactured arts were able to co-exist in Birmingham.¹⁹⁵

Janet Wolff's *The Social Production of Art* is heavily referenced in this first chapter, providing the opportunity to analyse critically the role of institutions on the production of art in Birmingham.¹⁹⁶ In particular, her argument is used in explaining how social institutions such as Samuel's drawing academy and the Birmingham Society of Arts and Birmingham Society of Artists, affected:

¹⁹⁴ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*.

¹⁹⁵ In this thesis, the 'manufactured arts' are considered as those related to industry and commerce, as defined by Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 2.

¹⁹⁶ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*.

‘who becomes an artist, *how* they become an artist, how they are then able to *practise* their art, and how they can ensure that their work is produced...and *made available* to a public.’¹⁹⁷

These considerations are applied to Birmingham’s own art institutions, to evaluate their role in teaching artists from both fine and manufactured arts backgrounds, and by providing them with the training and tools necessary for the production and creation of art works. Moreover, this chapter expresses how these institutions enabled the reception of artists’ work through their exhibitions, thus financially sustaining and supporting the artistic community.

The second chapter, *The Lines Family’s Landscapes of the Midlands and North Wales*, sheds light on a selection of the family’s depictions of local rural scenes and picturesque and sublime landscapes. Demonstrating that these images alluded to prevailing landscape theories from the period, the family’s works are discussed in response to William Gilpin’s pivotal essays from *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and, On Sketching Landscape* and Edmund Burke’s *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*.¹⁹⁸ Introducing the family’s drawings of Edgbaston from 1830, this second chapter also investigates the extent to which they were depicting a true representation of the area during a period of urban growth, and the implications of their doing so.

This chapter cites Ann Bermingham, and in particular her argument in *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Landscape Tradition, 1740-1860* where she examines the effect of enclosure on the production and reception of landscape paintings.¹⁹⁹ Bermingham posited the idea that:

¹⁹⁷ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 40.

¹⁹⁸ W. Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and, On Sketching Landscape*, London, 1792.
E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, London, 1759.

¹⁹⁹ A. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986.

‘there is an ideology of landscape and that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a class view of landscape embodied a set of socially and, finally, economically determined values to which the painted image gave cultural expression.’²⁰⁰

Bermingham here suggests that landscape ideology is intrinsically linked with values derived from economic change, specific to the period of her discussion. In doing so, she notes the effect of enclosure and its economic implications on the depiction of rustic landscape especially its production and consumption by a growing market of middle class patrons. According to Bermingham, rustic landscape is ideological ‘in that it presents an illusionary account of the real landscape whilst alluding to the actual conditions existing in it.’²⁰¹ This is considered alongside Wolff’s argument that works of art are not ‘transcendent’ but are products of ‘specific historical practices on the part of identifiable social groups in given conditions’, thus arguing that society’s values and beliefs are linked to the works of art produced during a specific period.²⁰² Bermingham’s and Wolff’s approaches are here applied to the Lines family’s depictions of Edgbaston and North Wales, highlighting how certain landscape imagery appealed to a specific class of patron.

The works of Samuel’s eldest son, Henry Harris Lines are the sole focus of the third and final chapter *Depictions of the Ancient and the Antique: The Impact of Historical Thought on the Works of Henry Harris Lines*. The extent of his archaeological and antiquarian pursuits that he combined with his ability as a skilled draughtsman, called for a chapter dedicated specifically to his depictions of Iron-Age hill fort camps in the Malvern area, and also his detailed studies of church interiors. These aspects of Henry Harris’s long and eminent career were explored only in part by Potter. However, Potter’s account is lengthy, lacks clarity and does not explain what encouraged Henry Harris to pursue these historical interests, nor the impact of this on his art. Moreover, Potter fails to mention Henry Harris’s depictions of church

²⁰⁰ Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 3.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 49.

interiors, and the possible influence of growing ecclesiastical concerns linking religion and architecture during the middle part of the nineteenth century. In light of this, the third chapter resumes research into Henry Harris's historical studies (both artistic and scholarly), placing them in a social and art historical context.

To demonstrate that Henry Harris's depictions of historical sites were significant in supporting the idea of a growing sense of professionalisation in historical and archaeological research, Philippa Levine's *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* is introduced.²⁰³ Having shown that 'Antiquarian, historical and archaeological studies of the past attracted a body of enthusiastic and committed devotees throughout the nineteenth century...', Levine analyses their chosen paths of research (archaeology, history or antiquities) in relation to their 'education, their employment, their religion.'²⁰⁴ This idea is applied to Henry Harris who mixed in both archaeological and antiquarian circles, which suggests that the boundaries between the two professions, and those who practised them, were not so clearly defined.

By concentrating on the Lines family's production of art, especially the influence of institutions, prevailing ideologies concerned with aesthetic conventions and the development of historic thought, this thesis evaluates the family's works and artistic output so as to re-instate them as one of Birmingham's most important artistic dynasties. It elaborates Birmingham's rich art history, which has been overshadowed and under-researched. The past two years have seen two other major exhibitions take place in Birmingham that have focused on the city's most influential artists and art producers: *Sun, Wind and Rain: The Art of David Cox* (BMAG 2009) and *Matthew Boulton: Selling What All the World Desires* (BMAG 2010). These exhibitions demonstrated the impact that local artists could and did have on a national and international scale, and this thesis aims to do the same.

²⁰³ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*.

²⁰⁴ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 7, 6 (respectively).

This thesis brings together the family's endeavours over a 150-year period, highlighting their professional achievements as well as new biographical information. It lends credence to the Lines family's existing reputation as one of the leading artistic dynasties in nineteenth-century Birmingham by demonstrating their diversity through an art academy, with each son contributing a different skill to the family business. This thesis and catalogue are the definitive record of their personal and professional lives to date.

CHAPTER 1

THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF THE FINE AND MANUFACTURED ARTS IN BIRMINGHAM: THE EFFECTS OF INDUSTRY AND ART INSTITUTIONS 1794-1898

Art institutions were integral to the professional development of an artist in the nineteenth century. They had the power to determine who became an artist and how, and were responsible for enabling artists to practise their skills.¹ Most importantly, institutions instigated exhibitions where art could be viewed and purchased by the general public.² Samuel Lines (fig. 1) established his first drawing academy in 1807 on Newhall Street, in the centre of Birmingham, where he provided an important service to the artists and artisans of the town by offering art tuition that was tailored to their professional needs.³ Many of his students would attend classes early in the morning, before the start of their working day.⁴ These students ranged from fine artists, notably the landscapist Thomas Creswick (1811-1869, R.A. 1851), to local artisans including Josiah Allen Senior (dates unknown) who later opened his own printing press that produced the exhibition catalogues for the Birmingham Society of Arts and Birmingham Society of Artists.⁵ Samuel was also jointly responsible for founding the Life Academy in 1809, which later became the Birmingham Society of Arts (in 1821), the forerunner to the Birmingham Society of Artists (in 1842, gaining Royal patronage in 1868).⁶ Art institutions were particularly important to Birmingham, which was one of the main artistic centres outside London in the nineteenth century and home to the toy and trinket trades.

¹ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 40.

² *Ibid.*

³ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See Appendix 1.

⁶ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 15. The Royal Birmingham Society of Artists (RBSA), as it is known today, has had several name changes throughout its history, and was originally established at the Birmingham Academy of Arts. Please note that throughout this chapter, I will refer to the Society according to its name during the period in which I am discussing. Thus the Birmingham Academy of Arts, Birmingham Society of Artists, Birmingham Society of Arts and Royal Birmingham Society of Artists are essentially the same group, under different titles.

Samuel's passion for art and promoting art education in Birmingham is evident through his role as artist, drawing master and as a Member of the Birmingham Society of Arts (and later Birmingham Society of Artists), but the specifics and influence of his activities have been relatively unexplored until now. To demonstrate the variety of trades in which an artist could work, Samuel's own pursuit of art is looked at in greater detail; beginning with his initial apprenticeship to a clock-dial enameller and focusing on his later work as a sword designer with Osborn and Gunby. The curriculum offered at his drawing school is also studied critically by revealing some of his personal teaching materials that have never been mentioned by scholars previously. Furthermore, this chapter also discusses the exhibition catalogues from Samuel's own drawing academy (see fig. 16), which list the names of his students alongside work that they exhibited. Although the personal backgrounds and achievements of his students are beyond the scope of this study, the catalogues themselves demonstrate the extent of the Lines family's curriculum. The art tuition offered by the Birmingham Society of Arts (and Artists) is explored alongside. The institutions are here considered as major contributing factors to the production of both the fine and manufactured arts in Birmingham.⁷

The period chosen for discussion begins in 1794, when Samuel relocated to Birmingham and entered into his first known artistic occupation as an apprentice to the clock-dial enameller called Mr. Keeling.⁸ The year 1898 marked the end of the Lines artistic dynasty with the death of Frederick Thomas Lines who was the last member of the family known to have made a living as an artist. William Rostill Lines has been omitted from this chapter, because there are no written records or surviving works that support his role at the family's academy, other than that he worked as a modeller.⁹

Eighteenth-century Birmingham was a thriving town with much artistic activity as a result of Matthew Boulton's (1728-1809) celebrated Soho Manufactory. Boulton was (and still is) highly regarded as one of the leading industrialists of the Industrial Revolution, producing art

⁷ Manufactured arts are here considered as those relating to trade or commerce,

⁸ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 10

⁹ William Rostill's occupation was confirmed on his death certificate.

objects *en masse* including coins, medals, ormolu and even making an attempt at creating mechanical paintings.¹⁰ Situated within his manufactory was also an in-house art and design department where workers would learn design techniques.¹¹ Boulton's Soho Manufactory had therefore already laid the foundations for Samuel and his peers to establish their own drawing academies and art institutions:

'The Soho Manufactory...is considered, and justly, the *chef d'oeuvre* of English progress in arts and manufacture...When the trophies of war shall fade – when animosities between contending parties shall cease – when the arts of peace shall be patronized and flourish, Soho shall be regarded as a signal monument of the power of the arts, and the extent of genius, fostered and patronized by an enlightened nation.'¹²

The manufactured arts are here defined as those associated with trade and commerce, as opposed to unique works of fine art.¹³

The population also had a significant effect on Birmingham's industrial development. When the first census was taken in 1801, Birmingham's population totalled 73,670, but by 1901 the figure increased more than seven-fold to 522,182, demonstrating how industry within the area offered attractive job prospects that encouraged thousands of outsiders to migrate over the one hundred-year period.¹⁴ Birmingham was also attractive to religious dissenters. Unlike the case in most major towns, the Corporation Act that introduced better government of working conditions and public health, was not applied to Birmingham in

¹⁰ More information on Matthew Boulton's industrial achievements can be found in S. Mason, (ed), *Matthew Boulton: Selling What the World Desires*, Birmingham, New Haven and London, 2009.

¹¹ H.W. Dickenson, *Matthew Boulton*, Cambridge, 1937, 60-64. Dickenson discusses a letter written by Matthew Boulton to James Adam (October 1, 1770), where Boulton states: 'I have traind [sic] up many and am training up more young plain Country Lads, all of which that betray any genius are taught to draw...', thus suggesting that he held drawing classes in his own manufactory.

¹² W. West, *The History, Topography and Directory of Warwickshire*, Birmingham, 1830, 8.

¹³ Fawcett makes the association between the manufactured arts and commerce, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 2.

¹⁴ J.P. Lethbridge, *Victorian Birmingham*, Birmingham, 3.

1665.¹⁵ This act did not affect Birmingham until 1838, when the government eventually recognized the need for a 'highly progressive system of government', resulting from the town's rapidly growing population of workers.¹⁶ This led to the incorporation of Birmingham with its surrounding boroughs; Bordesley, Deritend and Duddeston-cum-Nechells.¹⁷ The lack of Corporation status prior to 1838 meant that many of the related acts passed, did not apply to Birmingham, including the 'Five Mile Act' that prevented any dissenting preacher from living within five miles of a corporate town.¹⁸ Since Birmingham was exempt from this law, it became a 'haven of refuge for Non-conformists'.¹⁹ This allowed dissenters to integrate and find work in the town without much interference from political parties.²⁰ Walter Barrow maintained:

'Our town seemed to have the power of attracting with its boundaries artisans of every trade and every degree of skill... It awarded almost perfect freedom to all who chose to come. Dissenters and Quakers and heretics of all sorts were welcomed and undisturbed so far as their religious observances were concerned. No trade unions, no trade guilds, no companies existed, and every man was free to come and go, to found or to follow, or to leave a trade just as he chose.'²¹

Little interference from governing bodies resulted in Birmingham becoming an attractive place to establish a business or trade. However, Barrow also highlighted how the local residents did not always welcome the dissidents.²² The Toleration Act that was passed in 1689 overtly opened up the town to dissenters, allowing them to set up meeting houses

¹⁵ Barrow, 'The Town and its Industries', 32.

¹⁶ T.C. Renshaw, *Birmingham its Rise and Progress: A Short History*, Birmingham, 1932, 110.

¹⁷ Renshaw, *Birmingham its Rise and Progress*, 112.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, 4.

²¹ Barrow, 'The Town and its Industries', 31, Barrow quoting Samuel Timmins.

²² Barrow, 'The Town and its Industries', 32.

which were, nevertheless, along with Roman Catholic churches, vandalised and burnt down by the 'Birmingham lower classes' on occasions.²³ However, this did little to discourage migrants to the town.

Samuel Lines

Samuel had been inspired by Sir Thomas Lawrence's (1769-1830) portrait of King George III that was presented to the town of Coventry in 1792. He was one of the many migrant workers who moved to Birmingham to make a living. Samuel was just sixteen years old when he relocated to Birmingham, with the specific intention to pursue a career as an artist.²⁴ Having had no experience of life in a workshop, he was apprenticed to Keeling, the clock dial enameller and decorator where he stayed until 1799. The workshop was situated in what is now Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter where Samuel recalled seeing portraits by James Millar (active 1763-1805) hanging at the portraitist's Warstone Lane studio.²⁵ At the time, James Millar was one of a handful of professional painters working and living in Birmingham. Despite Wolff's argument that artists were able to follow their career paths as a result of the social and economic background, this was not the case for Samuel.²⁶ Although his mother was a respected school mistress (his father's occupation is unknown), she died when he was nine years old and he, along with his three siblings, was left in the care of his uncle, William Rostill. Samuel worked on his uncle's farm, although his employment 'was anything but what my gentle mother would have chosen for me...'.²⁷ His family did not have any artistic ability or connections and therefore did not have the obvious economic, or social

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ All information in this paragraph is taken from Samuel's autobiography, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 1862 unless otherwise stated Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 10.

²⁵ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 12. Millar's dates acquired from National Portrait Gallery <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp07317/james-millar?search=sas&sText=james+millar&OOnly=true>, accessed 10 June 2011.

²⁶ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 41-3.

²⁷ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 3.

background that would be considered typical for an aspiring artist. This demonstrates that the recruitment and training of artists was not necessarily the structured affair that Wolff claims.

In Birmingham, Samuel was keen to expand his repertoire of skills, having become discontented with the 'regular routine business of a manufactory'.²⁸ The variety of trades in which an artist could work is here demonstrated by Samuel's own experiences. With Mr Keeling, he had acquired basic skills in design that enabled him to undertake 'a variety of little matters which required extra ingenuity'.²⁹ This led to his next employment as a designer for papier mâché producer and japanner, Henry Clay (see figs. 17 and 18) whose workshop was situated on Newhall Street.³⁰ The popularity of japanned ware grew in the eighteenth century after the process was introduced to Britain in the late seventeenth century.³¹ The first workshop in Britain known to produce japanned ware on a commercial scale was located in Pontypool, Monmouthshire but it was not until 1720 that the industry was established in the Midlands.³² Workshops producing japanned ware products were located notably in Wolverhampton and Birmingham.³³ In the style of the Japanese and Chinese, japanned ware was made from ready-moulded tin plate or papier mâché 'blanks' (the moulded piece that would later be dipped into the lacquer) that was coated in a lacquer made from a mixture of different resins, oils and waxes.³⁴ This not only preserved and protected the material from which the blank was made, but it also provided a surface for decoration.³⁵ Papier mâché was a process that originated from Paris.³⁶ Resembling a primitive form of recycling, old street posters were pulped and reformed into various objects.³⁷ It later became the preferred

²⁸ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 11.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Pye's Directory 1785*, Birmingham, 1785, 16.

³¹ W.H.B. Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries 1600-1838*, London, 1938, 232.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries*, 233.

³⁴ Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries*, 234.

³⁵ S. Timmins., *Birmingham and Midland Hardware District*, 2nd ed., London, 1967, 119.

³⁶ Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries*, 233.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

material for making the blanks.³⁸ In 1772, Clay developed and patented a new method of producing papier mâché that involved layering and bonding sheets of paper, much like the method used in craft today.³⁹ The layers of paper would be pasted over a 'core' that acted like a mould.⁴⁰ This new form of papier mâché was renamed 'paper ware' by Clay and its versatility meant that it could also be sawn or turned and treated much like wood itself.⁴¹ Clay's workshop produced panels for items such as bookcases, tea trays, sedan chairs and roofs for coaches.⁴² By 1799, Clay was already an established businessman due to the demand for his goods and also high profit margins.⁴³ He later became 'japanner to his Majesty', having produced panels for the Royal coach.⁴⁴ Clay traded until 1802 but the demand for japanned ware trade remained stable until the later nineteenth century.⁴⁵

It was not uncommon for the different stages in the japanning process to be broken up and distributed amongst different workshops. However, Clay's workshop seemed to house all of the processes under one roof.⁴⁶ It would therefore be unlikely that, considering his previous design experience with Mr. Keeling, Samuel was involved in the paper ware or lacquering processes, but instead in the decoration of the lacquered objects. However, Samuel is vague when describing his role at Clay's by stating that he 'made decorative designs for Mr. Clay', not specifying whether he applied them to the japanned ware directly, or passed the designs on to the artists to apply in Clay's workshop.⁴⁷ The application of the design onto the lacquered object required the hand of an experienced artist who would occasionally be permitted to work independently or under the supervision of the studio artist

³⁸ Timmins, *Birmingham and Midland Hardware District*, 119.

³⁹ Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries*, 235.

⁴⁰ Timmins, *Birmingham and Midland Hardware District*, 566.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, 52.

⁴³ Timmins, *Birmingham and Midland Hardware District*, 567.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries*, 235-6.

⁴⁶ This is assumed from the fact that he was responsible for the production of the 'paper ware', and also because he employed artists such as Samuel to design and decorate the ornaments. According to Court, (*The Rise of the Midland Industries*, 236), Clay employed up to 300 people in his workshop.

⁴⁷ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 11.

who would design the master copy. This method of training, although highly informal, provided experience for many who wished to pursue a career in art. Wolverhampton-born artist Edward Bird (1772-1819, RA 1815) was an example of one such artist who began his career as a painter of japanned ware at the age of thirteen, when he was apprenticed to a local workshop (see fig. 19).⁴⁸ This demonstrates the value of artistic apprenticeships in the eighteenth century that often rivalled more formal methods of artistic education such as lessons with a private drawing master. Samuel's and Bird's successes straddled the worlds of the artisan and fine artist.

Samuel's involvement with the local artistic trades was not limited to the decoration of japanned ware. He was also occupied with designing for die engravers to make medals as they 'always had a medal ready to commemorate some one or other of our victories over the French army or navy'.⁴⁹ In his autobiography, he further mentions later working as a designer, decorating ornamental sword blades: 'Manufactured by Mr. Teede [sic.] of London and Messrs. Osborn and Gunby of Bordesley' for the Lloyds Patriotic Fund.⁵⁰ These ornamental swords were presented to officers who had made significant contributions to the Napoleonic Wars.⁵¹ An example of an ornamental sword from the workshop of Mr (Richard) Teed can be seen in fig. 20, along with an example of the inscription and decoration in figs. 21a and 21b. Figure 22 shows the original handwritten instruction from Teed. An example of a sword from the workshop of Osborn and Gunby can be seen in fig. 23. 'Mr Teed', whom Samuel mentions in his autobiography, has been identified by Philip Lankester as Richard Teed of 3 Lancaster Court, London who was a sword cutler employed by the Patriotic Fund to make the presentation swords.⁵²

⁴⁸ Timmins, *Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District*, 34.

⁴⁹ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 11.

⁵⁰ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 13 and Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 10.

⁵¹ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 13 and Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 10.

⁵² Lankester, 'Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Design of Sword Blades', 8.

An album containing sword inscriptions and instructions (dated from 1798-1811) that were sent to Samuel is currently in the collection of the Royal Armouries in Leeds.⁵³ This album was acquired in 2005 and features 71 slips of hand-written inscriptions for presentation swords (not exclusively for the Lloyds' Patriotic Fund) that were awarded to individuals as a commemoration of their achievements in the army or navy.⁵⁴ The contents of this album contribute further to Samuel's artistic repertoire and also the variety of artist trades in nineteenth-century Birmingham. Teed was hired by the Patriotic Fund at Lloyds to design and make these presentation swords. However, the role of Osborn and Gunby is somewhat confused, as Samuel seems to suggest that they were also responsible for manufacturing swords for the Patriotic Fund.⁵⁵ Lankester has found no evidence that Osborn and Gunby were being paid by the Patriotic Fund directly, thus he suggests that they were perhaps sub-contracted by Richard Teed.⁵⁶ Osborn and Gunby then also subcontracted the designs to independent artists such as Samuel.⁵⁷ In his autobiography, Samuel fails to mention other designs that he carried out for other presentation swords that are included in the album at the Royal Armouries, as only the first 44 slips are for the Patriotic Fund at Lloyds.⁵⁸ The remaining 27 are an assortment of inscriptions for swords awarded to various officers by other officers or men under their command.⁵⁹

Samuel's remark explaining that he was 'much employed in making designs for decorating blades', leads to the assumption that he was responsible for arranging the design of the inscription (for example the size and general lay out of the text) and also for the decorative patterns that he describes here:

⁵³ Royal Armouries, Leeds, [RAR.47].

⁵⁴ All information concerning sword blade design in this paragraph has been cited from Lankester, 'Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Design of Sword Blades', 7-68 unless otherwise stated.

⁵⁵ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 13.

⁵⁶ Lankester, 'Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Design of Sword Blades', 27.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Lankester, 'Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Design of Sword Blades', 17.

⁵⁹ For more specific details on these miscellaneous swords, see Lankester, 'Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Design of Sword Blades', 20-27.

‘They [the sword inscriptions] would be written in gold on the off side of the blade, the opposite side being richly decorated with an appropriate design in gold also.’⁶⁰

Since creating the design and engraving it onto the sword require such different skills, it would not necessarily be expected for the designer to carry out both processes. However, Lankester has postulated that Samuel was involved in part of the etching process. The reverse of slip no. 31 reads:

‘Mr Lines will particularly oblige by [being?]
particularly attentive to this Blade — M[r Lines?]
will introduce the respective forces d[istinct?]
from each other and write the inscription a[s?]
well as possible on a good defence — This Blad[e]
must be finished on Wednesday certain —’⁶¹

The sentence that interests Lankester in particular reads: ‘M[r Lines?]/ will introduce the respective forces d[istinct?]/ from each other and write the inscription a[s?]/ well as possible on a good defence’.⁶² Lankester highlights the mention of a ‘defence’ in this instruction that may actually refer to the resist, a substance used to protect areas of the blade from coming into contact with the etching acid.⁶³ Only the areas that were exposed would be dissolved by the acid solution. If his interpretation is correct, Samuel did not simply design the inscriptions, but was also responsible for applying them directly onto the blades themselves. Although today it may be considered unusual for a designer or artist to be carrying out this process, it would have been a more time-efficient and cost-effective method of producing the blade.

⁶⁰ Both quotes are taken from Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 13.

⁶¹ Lankester, ‘Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Design of Sword Blades’, 14. The additional words/letters written in square brackets are included and suggested by Lankester.

⁶² Lankester, ‘Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Design of Sword Blades’, 14.

⁶³ Lankester, ‘Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Design of Sword Blades’, 32.

Furthermore, it demonstrates the versatility of Birmingham artists and artisans. This observation, if correct, is a highly revealing insight into the process of sword blade design, and again, the extent of Samuel's talents. Moreover, this further blurs the boundaries of the artist and artisan, with Samuel engaging in both the design of the blades and its execution.

During the period in which Samuel was working for Teed, and Osborn and Gunby (1798-1811 approximately), the nation experienced an overall growth in its population. Thus the availability of labour further contributed to the expansion of industry.⁶⁴ A large number of Birmingham's population was employed in the metal trades but there was also an influx of 'a bewildering variety of new manufacturing processes' that required a workforce of engravers, modellers and japanners etc.⁶⁵ From the demand of these trades and the town's pro-entrepreneurial attitudes, Birmingham's reputation as one of the country's leading centres for art production began to flourish. The workshops were dependent upon 'short-term economic change' and thrived upon short production cycles that allowed them to generate fast turnovers to satisfy the changing demands of the consumer.⁶⁶ Some jobs were skill-intensive and required the worker to be 'visually literate' in order to execute a range of intricate designs efficiently so as to satisfy the demands of a fast-growing and creatively diverse market place.⁶⁷ This was further supported by the town's lack of distinction between the fine and applied arts as many of the products had a functional and/or decorative quality.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the applied and the manufactured arts were strongly connected, as the former were the method by which the latter were given form. Therefore, the idea that there was little distinction between the fine and applied arts, also applies to the lack of distinction between the fine and manufactured arts.

⁶⁴ Lankester, 'Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Design of Sword Blades' and Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, 31.

⁶⁵ Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, 10.

⁶⁶ D. S. Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity*, Cambridge, 1996, 89.

⁶⁷ R. Hartnell, *Pre-Raphaelite Birmingham*, Warwickshire, 1996, 9.

⁶⁸ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 15.

‘To enter into a detail of the several productions of this great assemblage of manufactories, would require a volume; it will be sufficient to remark, that whatever can be declared, either for utility or ornament, in the various branches of hardware, the endless variety of buttons, buckles, plated articles, toys, trinkets, and jewellery; also fire-arms, and the ponderous productions of the casting furnace, rolling mill and smelting of work, are abundantly supplied by Birmingham.’⁶⁹

This extract from *The New Birmingham Directory for the Year 1798* demonstrates the vast variety of goods produced by Birmingham manufacturers, ranging from small, delicate buttons to weapons such as guns and swords. The production of so many different types of goods, as well as their quantity, helped the town further develop into one of Britain’s industrial epicentres. Birmingham’s workforce thrived upon this success and specialised in producing metal products as well as toys and trinkets (small metal goods including buttons and jewellery). It is here suggested that the demand for an artistic labour force stimulated the demand for tuition in art and design, which led to the establishment of art academies and societies such as the Birmingham Society of Arts (now the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists).

Birmingham’s artistic development contributed greatly to its diverse artistic workforce. Fawcett discusses the exhibitors in the Birmingham Society of Arts first exhibition of 1827 where he examines the professional vocations of the artists who entered their work. Noting that the exhibitors had various backgrounds as portraitists, miniaturists, engravers and architects etc., he concluded that ‘Birmingham was able to support so many professional artists not only because of the peculiar demands of its manufacturing industries, but also because of specialisation among the artists themselves’.⁷⁰ This suggests that the artists were flexible within their field, often offering more than one specific service to their customers and

⁶⁹ *The New Birmingham Directory for the Year 1798*, Birmingham, 1798, 6.

⁷⁰ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 15.

for this reason, Fawcett explains that: 'The line between fine art and applied arts could not readily be drawn'.⁷¹ Furthermore, this diversification also meant that there was less direct competition between the artists themselves, with drawing masters in particular able to offer 'distinctive services and tend to appeal to differing, if related, clienteles'.⁷² The artists had to be prepared to undertake jobs not always expected of them as Fawcett states: 'The house painter might be called on to design an ornamental ceiling'.⁷³ Moreover, this flexibility was beneficial for the consumer, because the artist was able to offer a creative solution to a practical problem (in terms of design), as well as the ability to complete the physical aspect of the task.

Study of the trade directories of the late eighteenth century demonstrates further the lack of distinction between the fine and applied arts, through their categorisation of 'painters' and 'artists'. In 1785, there were a total of fourteen painters (of various skills including portraitists and miniature painters) listed in *Pye's Directory* with the number dropping to just ten in 1798.⁷⁴ The directory of 1785, did not use the term 'artist' and opted for the plainer expression 'painter' or on occasion more specifically a 'miniature painter' and therefore alludes to the artist/painter's ability to paint physically. In 1798, there was only one person listed as an artist, J.G. Hancock who worked at Snow Hill.⁷⁵ It is likely that this was John Gregory Hancock (1750-1805) who was a designer of medals and stamps in Birmingham.⁷⁶ Hancock had been apprenticed to Matthew Boulton in 1763 where he specialised in making medals.⁷⁷ He was previously listed more specifically as a 'Modeller, Dye Sinker [sic] and

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 16.

⁷³ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 15.

⁷⁴ The author counted the total number of artists featured in *Pye's Directory* 1785, Birmingham, 1785 and *The New Birmingham Directory for the Year 1798*, Birmingham, 1798.

⁷⁵ *The New Birmingham Directory for the Year 1798*, Birmingham, 1798, 25.

⁷⁶ John Gregory Hancock can be found on the British Museum collection database:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx. Accessed on 26 November 2010. A special debt of gratitude is owed to Sue Tungate for sharing her research on John Gregory Hancock, which forms a large part of this paragraph.

⁷⁷ Agreements from the Matthew Boulton Archives of Soho, [MS 3782-12-95]. Also L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists In 6 Volumes plus 2 volumes of Addenda Coin- Gem- and Seal Engravers, Mint Master, Ancient and Modern with References to their Works B.C. 500 to AD 1900*, Vol. II E-H, London, 1904, 410-412.

Cha[s]er' in *Pye's Directory 1785*.⁷⁸ His skills as a designer of medals and stamps were strongly linked with the applied and manufactured arts, rather than the fine arts, as ultimately the majority of his medals and stamps were likely to have been made in multiples on a commercial scale, especially if he was working for Matthew Boulton. However, his categorisation as an 'artist' may have been used to demonstrate the broad variety of his skills, which spanned both the fine and applied art categories, thus supporting the idea that the two could not be separated easily.

The use of the expression 'painter' continued through to *The Commercial Directory 1818-1820* and it is not until much later in 1831, that we see a permanent change to 'artist'. However, there was one exception: *Bisset's Magnificent Directory 1808*, an illustrated version of a trade directory that combined the list of trades with decorative illustrations. Bisset, himself an artist, picture dealer and seller, listed his name amongst other artists such as James Millar under the category of 'Artists of Birmingham'. However, it is highly likely that Bisset's involvement with the art scene in Birmingham, contributed to his choice of expression for the profession. Furthermore, it shows that Bisset had an understanding of the difference between someone who merely paints (e.g. houses etc.) and someone who is skilled at painting (e.g. likenesses), such as those artists he lists in his directory of 1808.

Bisset also applied a new format to his directory, where names were listed according a trade category, rather than alphabetically. However, this format was not permanently used until after the printing of *Wrightson's 1831 Directory* when the separate term 'artist' was introduced permanently. A 'painter', was listed under the new category: 'Painters, house, sign', thus separating the profession from that of a fine art painter.

The use of the term 'artist' at such a relatively late date is unusual since the Birmingham Society of Arts had already been established for a decade, and therefore Birmingham was already familiar with its pool of fine artists. Bath, on the other hand, in the *Original Bath*

⁷⁸ *Pye's Directory 1785*, 33.

Guide of 1811 was already familiar with the use of the term 'artist'.⁷⁹ This therefore suggests that up to the 1830s, the idea of an artist in Birmingham began to shift towards associations with the fine arts, rather than the applied, suggesting that an fine artist's role had become more refined towards the middle of the nineteenth century. Although Birmingham's community of artists remained diverse from the variety of trades, it is here asserted that there developed a distinction between the fine artist and applied artist after 1830.

In his autobiography, Samuel recalled:

'That employment [designing sword blades with Osborn and Gunby] gave me experience in decorative art, and in drawing the figure in effective outline. While thus occupied, my friend Mr. Gunby advised me to turn my attention to teaching drawing, especially the human figure from the round; observing to me that there was a great want of such teaching in Birmingham, and that it was pretty certain I should find a number of young men and youths glad to avail themselves of an opportunity to get such information as their various professions required, especially engravers, die sinkers, japanners, and others, whose employment depended upon their knowledge of ornamental art.'⁸⁰

This extract reveals how Samuel was able to continue his artistic training after leaving Henry Clay, choosing to pursue his career through a series of apprenticeships and jobs rather than undertaking private tuition with a drawing master. It also demonstrates how his artistic skills were recognised by Mr Gunby in particular, who encouraged Samuel to set up his own drawing academy. More importantly, it also highlights how Gunby was aware of the growing demand for drawing masters to teach current and future generations of designers. The range of potential students that Samuel mentions further emphasises the need for his services.

⁷⁹ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 27.

⁸⁰ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 13.

Samuel set up his own drawing academy in 1807, which was comparable to that of Joseph Barber on Great Charles Street.⁸¹ It has been suggested that Samuel was a pupil of Joseph Barber at the academy and it was Barber who suggested that he took his artistic skills more seriously.⁸² Barber's tuition was very much based upon 'a rather more traditional mode of drawing that emphasised the careful picturesque values of the eighteenth century' and was aimed at those wishing to become professional fine artists.⁸³ In contrast to this, Samuel's curriculum was considered more tailored for the manufacturing trades, although it is known that he also taught fine artists.⁸⁴ According to Samuel's autobiography, his academy was first set up in a room previously used by the Repository of Arts that had disintegrated due to the lack of funds.⁸⁵ The room was situated on Newhall Street and lessons from Samuel began at the school in 1807 with students who included Thomas Creswick (1811–1869, RA 1851). Samuel outlined his intentions in an advertisement placed in the *Aris's Gazette*:

'S.L. considers the Dignity of Art consists in correctly delineating the Human Form, and to that particular Branch he will direct the Attention of those committed to his Care, at the same Time keeping in View Landscape and Ornament, in short, it will be his Pride and Pleasure to exert his utmost Endeavours for the Accomplishment of the desired Purpose.'⁸⁶

Samuel covered the main aspects of art practice of the era: the human figure, landscapes and still life studies. It was expected that this would provide some general practice for the

⁸¹ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 30.

⁸² J. Hill and W. Midgley, *The History of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists*, Birmingham, 1928 states that Samuel was a pupil at Barber's school but Samuel does not confirm this in his autobiography. Samuel only says of Joseph Barber: 'He was a very talented artist of the old school. He drew the figure and painted landscape well. Most of his time was employed in teaching drawing, chiefly in Indian ink and tinted with colours – such was at the time the manner of making water-colour drawings. He died in 1811 aged fifty-three.', Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 12.

⁸³ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 30. Most notably, Samuel's pupil Thomas Creswick R.A. (mentioned on page 1) went to pursue a career as a landscape painter.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* However, Samuel's academy was less specific than Fawcett suggests and this will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁸⁵ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 14.

⁸⁶ *Aris's Gazette*, 7 September, 1807.

tradesmen to apply the skills in their daily jobs. Furthermore, at this school, Samuel encouraged the students to exhibit their work at the end of each year and he would personally present a silver medal to a student 'for the best drawing made from the round'.⁸⁷ Samuel recalls that he did this 'until the establishment of the Antique Academy at the Society of Arts'.⁸⁸ This shows him as a teacher who cared and understood the motivations of his students but also a drawing master with an entrepreneurial flair. The art school eventually needed larger rooms and so they moved to 3 Temple Row West where the academy went from strength to strength. As late as December, 1861 (2 years before Samuel's death) refurbishments were made to the studios to improve facilities and a circular was sent out that stated: 'The alterations making in Temple Row West having led to a belief that my Academy is discontinued, I beg respectfully to inform my numerous friends that I have built a much more convenient Studio, where I continue my instruction in every department of the Arts...'.⁸⁹ Temple Row West became his home and teaching studio and the school was listed as 'Samuel Lines and Sons' in various directories.⁹⁰

The Establishment of the Birmingham Society of Arts

Samuel had also jointly founded the Life Academy on Peck Lane (that ran alongside his own drawing academy) in 1809.⁹¹ This was achieved with a group of other artists including: 'Matthew Haughton, George Heap, John Gunby, George Walker and Messrs Charles and J.V. Barber'.⁹² This Life Academy was the beginning of today's Royal Birmingham Society of Artists (RBSA). In 1814, a Mr Beswick was able to secure larger premises for the academy to

⁸⁷ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 15.

⁸⁸ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 15.

⁸⁹ Circular dated 17 December 1861, at Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG: 2006.22.167].

⁹⁰ Such as *Pigot's Commercial Directory of Birmingham and Worcester 1830*.

⁹¹ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 15.

⁹² *Ibid.* Note that John Gunby was part of the partnership Osborn and Gunby who employed Samuel to design sword blades, as highlighted by Lankester, 'Samuel Lines of Birmingham and the Decoration of Sword Blades', 13.

pursue its artistic intentions.⁹³ These new rooms were situated on Union Street, near the present Gas Hall and they were also the premises of Everett and Son who were suppliers of artist's materials.⁹⁴ This proved a convenient location for the academy, and the first register of 1814 had over 13 members and associates.⁹⁵ It was there that on 25 July 1814 the society expressed a wish to exhibit their works and so the conditions of the exhibition were advertised in the *Birmingham Gazette*. In the advertisement the academy acquired itself a new title as the 'Birmingham Academy of Arts'.⁹⁶ The academy even boasted patronage from distinguished artists including Benjamin West P.R.A. (1738-1820, P.R.A. 1792-1805, 1806-1820) and Joseph Mallord William Turner R.A. (1775-1851, R.A. 1802) who were both listed as Honorary Members.⁹⁷ When the exhibition opened on Monday 12 September, 118 works were on display from a total of 38 contributors.⁹⁸ In fact, the exhibition was so successful that a month into the show, the Academy began to raise funds for a permanent location for their collection of work.⁹⁹

The Birmingham Academy of Arts continued with its programme of art classes and lectures by Professor of Anatomy, Mr Russell, amongst others.¹⁰⁰ However, Robert Catterson-Smith comments that the academy was short-lived partly because it was created to aid the town's poor reception of art and artists, rather than to stimulate and develop art that was already flourishing.¹⁰¹ Smith adds that it also: 'confined itself too exclusively to the higher arts' for it to support the variety of artists in the town.¹⁰² The seven-year lease on the

⁹³ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 16.

⁹⁴ Hill and Midgley, *The History of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists*, 3.

⁹⁵ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 16. Samuel listed thirteen of them here.

⁹⁶ Hill and Midgley, *The History of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists*, 4. This section of the thesis aims to outline the basic history of the Birmingham Society of Arts in order to keep relevant to this chapter's argument. Hill and Midgley's publication gives further details, but there are some areas of inaccuracy.

⁹⁷ *Birmingham Academy of Arts First Exhibition of the Works of Artists Permanently Resident within Thirty Miles of Birmingham*, 1814, 6.

⁹⁸ According to Hill and Midgley, *The History of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists*, 6. However, Samuel recalls there being only 30 contributors: Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 17.

⁹⁹ *Birmingham Gazette*, 1814.

¹⁰⁰ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 17.

¹⁰¹ Catterson-Smith, 'Birmingham Municipal School of Art', 273-315, 280.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

rooms ended in 1821 and Samuel then stated that 'an institution on a more extensive scale was by this time much wanted'.¹⁰³ Thus he and his colleagues went in pursuit of new premises again.

Samuel approached Archibald Kenrick (1760-1835, a manufacturer of hardware) whose daughters he had in his classes, who then obtained the help of Sir Robert Lawley (1768-1834, 6th Baronet, a prominent landowner in Staffordshire, Shropshire and Warwickshire and politician), J. W. Unett (1770-1856, a solicitor and later Honorary Secretary for the Birmingham Society of Arts) and several other wealthy gentlemen.¹⁰⁴ They were able to raise a total of £1350 for the Society's expansion and they also acquired a significant collection of models and casts from Sir Robert Lawley and his elder brother, Lord Wenlock.¹⁰⁵ Here started a new era for the Birmingham Society of Arts with a committee of 27 patrons and artists including Samuel himself.¹⁰⁶ The Birmingham Society of Arts had two specific agendas: to act as 'Encouragement for arts and manufactures' and that 'a museum be formed for the reception of casts and models'.¹⁰⁷ The Society also offered art tuition, with many of those attending being Samuel's own students.¹⁰⁸ Others transferred from the Life Academy and Charles and Joseph Vincent Barber's academy.¹⁰⁹ This demonstrates the Society's awareness for promoting both the fine and manufactured arts.

In 1821, the Society moved premises to the Panorama Building on New Street that had been opened by Robert Barker in 1802.¹¹⁰ One of the first major panoramic exhibitions opened there in 1807, showing views of Edinburgh, but there was little other activity in the

¹⁰³ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 17.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* Also, R.A. Church, *Kenricks in Hardware: a Family Business, 1791-1966*, New York, 1969, 18. R.G. Thorne, *The House of Commons 1790-1820 Vol. I*, London, 1986, 393. E. Walford, *Hardwicke's Annual Biography for 1857*, London, 1857, 140.

¹⁰⁵ Hill and Midgley estimated £1500 was raised, *The History of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists*, 10.

¹⁰⁶ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 18.

¹⁰⁷ Birmingham Society of Arts, Book of Minutes 1821-27, 9 February 1821, manuscript, Birmingham City University Art and Design Archives.

¹⁰⁸ Samuel often encouraged his students to pursue other artistic activities outside of his classes. Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 19.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Robert Barker's Panorama building was built in 1802, according to Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 154-155.

building until the Society showed their interest.¹¹¹ Samuel Tertious Galton (1783-1844), John Badams (dates unknown, a chemist and friend of poet Thomas Carlyle) and J.W. Unett were given the task of inspecting the building for suitability in February 1821.¹¹² The building was impressive and stood out from the rest of those on New Street and Galton, Badams and Unett thought the space adequate for the needs of the Society and so it was agreed that they pay £30 per annum in rent.¹¹³

The Birmingham Society of Arts comprised artists and patrons, more often referred to as the professionals and unprofessionals, respectively.¹¹⁴ The structure of the Society comprised three main tiers; Patrons, Proprietors and Governors.¹¹⁵ The tiers were distinguished by the amount the individual was able to contribute financially. Those who contributed £100 or more were given the title of 'Patron' but this amount also allowed the contributor a transferable share in the property (in proportion to his subscription) and 2 votes at all general meetings.¹¹⁶ They could attend all committee meetings and were eligible to be trustees. The sum of £50 was sufficient for a contributor to become a 'Proprietor' who also had a transferable share in the property but was given only one vote at the general meetings. Subscribers of 2 guineas would become 'Governors' who were allowed to attend and vote at all general meetings. Finally, there were subscribers of one guinea who were admitted into the society to draw or model.

The first exhibition held in 1827 by the Birmingham Society of Arts displayed examples of both the fine and manufactured arts, showing oil paintings alongside architectural drawings,

¹¹¹ The advert for the exhibition can be found in the *Aris's Gazette*, March 23 1807, 1.

¹¹² *Society of Arts Book of Minutes 1821-27*, 9 February 1821. Also, B. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1858, 426. D.A. Wilson, *Carlyle Till Marriage 1795-1826*, 2nd. ed, Montana, 2004, 340-345.

¹¹³ *Birmingham Society of Arts Book of Minutes 1821-27*, 26 April 1821, manuscript, Birmingham City University Art and Design Archives.

¹¹⁴ Terms used by Hill and Midgley, *The History of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists*, for example on page 26.

¹¹⁵ *Society of Arts Book of Minutes 1821-27*, 9 February 1821.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* The information contained in the remainder of this paragraph is taken from the same source unless stated otherwise.

engravings and miniature paintings.¹¹⁷ This emphasised the institution's awareness of the importance of manufactured arts to the economic and cultural development of Birmingham. The British Institution's sentiments were echoed by the Birmingham Society of Arts, whose 1827 catalogue address announced:

'Inhabitants of Birmingham will naturally feel a peculiar interest in whatever may encourage and improve the Artists connected with its various and important manufactures. These have long been honourably distinguished by the mechanical skill displayed in the workmanship; but their celebrity would no doubt be greatly increased if they should receive, wherever they admit of it, improved beauty in form, or more chaste or more striking elegance in the decorations, and such improvements will necessarily result from every improvement in the taste and talents of the Artists.'¹¹⁸

Through exhibiting works by both living and deceased artists, and thus displaying art that was considered of a high standard, the Birmingham Society of Arts, like the British Institution, believed that the quality of the manufactured arts in the town could be greatly improved.

Art Tuition at 'Samuel Lines and Sons'

Samuel was one of many artists who established themselves as drawing masters, as a method of supplementing their income.¹¹⁹ The increase in the awareness of art, partly due to the rise of landscape as a genre and the development of watercolours, contributed to the

¹¹⁷ A full list of works exhibited are found in the exhibition catalogue *Birmingham Society of Arts First Exhibition 1827*, Birmingham, 1827.

¹¹⁸ *Birmingham Society of Arts First Exhibition 1827*, Birmingham, 1827, 3. Fawcett also uses parts of this extract in his supporting statement, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 3.

¹¹⁹ Artists supplementing their income as drawing masters is discussed by Bicknell & Munro, *Gilpin to Ruskin: Drawing Masters and their Manuals, 1800 - 1850*, 1988, 8.

popularity of private lessons with a drawing master.¹²⁰ This, coupled with the increase in industrial activity, caused Samuel's academy to flourish. He was later joined by his sons, who all helped to teach and thus, the Lines artistic dynasty began. All five sons inherited their father's natural artistic talent, which allowed them to pursue careers as artists and drawing masters. This also supports the idea posited by Wolff, that people who became artists often had the social and economical structure prepared for them.¹²¹ This academy ran alongside Samuel's duties at the Life Academy and later, the Birmingham Society of Arts.

This section of the chapter focuses on the subjects taught at the Lines's academy, and how they were suited to artists from both fine and applied arts backgrounds. Samuel's first academy was established on Newhall Street, near Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter. It seems that he later moved to Caroline Street, off St. Paul's Square where he taught for a period with Henry Harris, before relocating permanently to 3 Temple Row West where he ran his business until the year of his death.¹²² Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum holds twelve of Samuel's personal exhibition catalogue of works from students of his academy dated from 1815 to 1861.¹²³ The first of these catalogues (1815) listed fifty-five students who exhibited a total of 91 works. It can be assumed that this early catalogue listed only his male students.¹²⁴ The last of the catalogues (1861) listed approximately 49 students and a total of 131 works, this time including works from 22 of his female students.¹²⁵ This demonstrates the changing demographic of Samuel's students during the fifty years his academy was open. It also

¹²⁰ A. Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, New Haven and London, 2000, 77.

¹²¹ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 41-42. Wolff discusses this in relation to the recruitment and training of artists.

¹²² Samuel states in his autobiography that his first academy was established on Newhall Street (Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 14). Samuel's drawing instruction manual *Lines's Anatomy of the Human Figure, Selected from the Works of Albinus and Adapted to the use in Drawing Academies*, 1821, prints his address as 'No. 11, Caroline Street, St Paul's Square', this suggesting that he was yet to move to 3 Temple Row West.

¹²³ Catalogues for the years 1815, 1819, 1821, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1850, 1852, 1854, 1856, 1858 and 1861, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006.22.120.5].

¹²⁴ It is uncertain when Samuel began teaching female students, but they do appear in his 1819 catalogue. Samuel's later catalogues distinguish females with the prefix 'Miss'.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, The number of students here can only be approximated as it is uncertain whether some of the names listed are duplicated in different formats (for example, it is uncertain whether 'Sampson Webb' is also 'S. Webb').

further highlights how he and his sons were able to fulfil the professional, and later amateur, requirements of his students.

The exhibition catalogues from his private academy support the idea that he and his sons taught a variety of skills, in order to satisfy the needs of their students. The catalogue from 1815 lists works including: *Ancient English Hall* (J. Jukes, no. 3), *Design for a Vase* (J. Holmes, no. 9), *Academy Figure* (H. Malins, no. 29), *Belisarius* (J. Empson, no. 46) and *Landscape and Cattle* (E. Piercy, no. 69).¹²⁶ Subjects covered by Samuel's students therefore included: architectural drawings, designs, figure drawing, classical subjects and conventional landscapes. This repertoire extended to portraits as well as floral studies and designs in 1819, when works by his female students were also listed.¹²⁷ It is also important to highlight Samuel's tuition of design. In the catalogue of work exhibited by his students at the Lines family's academy he wrote:

'By reference to the Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851, in London, it may be seen that upwards of forty-two of the most distinguished manufacturers of Birmingham received the rudiments of their artistic acquirements at their [Samuel and sons] academy.'¹²⁸

Again, this demonstrates Samuel's support for the artisans of Birmingham.

Samuel was a much respected drawing master, whose academy grew ever more popular as a result of his professional yet nurturing demeanour. He published *Lines's Anatomy of the Human Figure, Selected from the Works of Albinus and Adapted to the use in Drawing Academies* in 1821 (see example in fig. 24). The introduction outlined the aims of this book:

'The business of Anatomy as relates to the arts, is principally to teach the form, situation, action and use of the Muscles, so that in design and composition, the artist may be able to

¹²⁶ Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006.22.120.5].

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* Floral studies were restricted to female students only, however they did also pursue other subjects.

¹²⁸ 1852, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006.22.120.5].

work accurately the swellings of those which appear to be in action, and to give the proper degree of flatness to those which are unemployed...To the student in Art, a knowledge of Anatomy is obviously indispensable, and the admirer of the productions of Genius will perceive that it increases the satisfaction he derives from contemplating the finest specimens, by enabling him to account for what he sees - to distinguish beauties from defects in the object before him.¹²⁹

Samuel's purpose for publishing *Lines's Anatomy of the Human Figure* is predominantly for the instruction of drawing the human anatomy, specifically 'adapted to the use of drawing academies'.¹³⁰ However, his manual is more than a series of illustrations for students to copy, and attempts to instil an understanding of basic human anatomy by describing how and why muscles move and the effect this would have upon the composition of the human figure. This does not differ far from Albinus' original publication, which also aimed to promote anatomical knowledge to those studying the subject and also those who were responsible for copying its likeness.

It is likely that Henry Harris was responsible for the illustrations in this instruction book, being the eldest of the sons and therefore the most experienced. This is also supported in the artist's credits underneath each illustration which stated 'Imitation of Reed Pen Drawing by S. Lines & Son.'. *Lines's Anatomy of the Human Figure* illustrates the bone and muscle structures of the human anatomy, after diagrams that appeared in *Tabulae Sceleti et Musculorum Corporis Humani* published by Bernhard Siegfried Albinus (1697-1770) in 1747. Albinus was a German-born Dutch anatomist who was lecturer of anatomy and surgery at Leiden University from 1721 until his death in 1770.¹³¹ He was known for his work on the *Tabulae Sceleti et Musculorum Corporis Humani* that was created with the skills of artist and

¹²⁹ S. Lines, *Lines's Anatomy of the Human Figure, Selected from the Works of Albinus and Adapted to the use in Drawing Academies*, Birmingham, 1821, 1.

¹³⁰ As suggested by the title.

¹³¹ L. Choulant, *History and Bibliography of Anatomic Illustration in Relation to Anatomic Science and the Graphic Arts*, M. Frank (trans.), Chicago, 1920 (originally published in German, 1852), 276.

engraver Jan Wandelaar (1690-1759), with whom Albinus worked closely in the composition of the anatomical illustrations.¹³² However, the illustrations were criticised by his peers because of the elaborate backgrounds in which his figures were placed (fig. 25).¹³³ This ultimately distracted from the anatomical details in the drawings.

However, *Lines's Anatomy* breaks down the human figure to its bare essentials, removing Wandelaar's fanciful backgrounds and focusing on the bone and muscle structures only. Each bone and muscle is named and its uses explained, to give the artist a better understanding of how it should be drawn or painted, how each muscle interacts with another and what effect this would have upon the figure's expression or physical shape. For example:

'1 **Platysma Myoides** – Arises from the deltoide and pectoral muscles, spreads over the sides of the neck, is *inserted* into the margin of the lower jaw, and lower part of the skin of the face.'¹³⁴

Here, Samuel's drawing manual expresses the necessity for artists to understand the fundamental aspects of the human anatomy, and anatomical drawing, in order to be able to compose the human figure realistically.

Samuel was not alone in using Albinus' works in teaching drawing. John Brisbane had also published a manual in 1769, entitled *The Anatomy of Painting: or, a Short and Easy Introduction to Anatomy*.¹³⁵ Brisbane, a medical doctor, also included a translated version of Albinus's *Tabulae Sceleti et Musculorum Corporis Humani*, originally written in Latin. The publication aimed to simplify Albinus's original text (which is also included translated for

¹³² Choulant, *History and Bibliography of Anatomic Illustration*, 278.

¹³³ Choulant, *History and Bibliography of Anatomic Illustration*, 279.

¹³⁴ Lines, *Lines's Anatomy of the Human Figure*, 2.

¹³⁵ J. Brisbane, *The Anatomy of Painting: or. A Short and Easy Introduction to Anatomy: being a New Edition on a Smaller Scale, of Six Tables of Albinus, with their Linear Figures: also, a New Translation of Albinus's History of that Work, and of his Index to the Six Tables: to which are added, the Anatomy of Celsus, with notes, and the Physiology of Cicero: with an Introduction, giving a Short View of Picturesque Anatomy*, London, 1769.

reference), and to spare the squeamish who are unable to study real human bodies.¹³⁶

Although Brisbane's manual was primarily aimed at those with a medical/scientific background, he stressed how anatomical study should not be confined to the sciences and that artists should be encouraged to teach anatomy as appropriate to their needs.¹³⁷ He highlighted the need for artists to understand basic human anatomy, in order to develop an understanding of its surface and structure.¹³⁸ Learning about the skeletal structure was essential for an artist to know where to place muscle, in order to represent anatomically correct movement and expression.¹³⁹ Like Samuel, Brisbane had omitted Wanderlaer's decorative backgrounds:

'not only to save labour and expence [sic], but as tables of so small a form did not so much require these ornaments; and by want of them, the figures seemed to appeal with more distinctness and perspicuity, and to be fitter for the use of science.'¹⁴⁰

The quantity of Samuel's *Lines's Anatomy of the Human Figure* that circulated is uncertain, but considering that there are only two copies easily accessible today, it is likely that only a small run was printed.¹⁴¹ However, it is highly likely that Samuel employed the use of this manual at his own drawing academy, thus revealing that anatomical drawing was part of his curriculum. Furthermore, its significance lies in demonstrating the awareness and concern for depicting the human figure correctly. Samuel also included his students' anatomical drawings in the exhibitions held by his academy, such as *Anatomical Figure, from the round* (no. 1) exhibited by W. Bardell in 1845.¹⁴² Although 'from the round' suggests that

¹³⁶ Brisbane, *The Anatomy of Painting*, preface & 1.

¹³⁷ Brisbane, *The Anatomy of Painting*, 1.

¹³⁸ Brisbane, *The Anatomy of Painting*, 11.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Brisbane, *The Anatomy of Painting*, 4.

¹⁴¹ The two copies are stored at Heritage and Archive Service at Birmingham Central Library and the Museums Collections Centre (Birmingham Museums and Gallery).

¹⁴² Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006.22.120.5].

the drawing was made from a free-standing statuary figure, it is highly likely that Samuel had introduced his students to the fundamental elements of anatomy before allowing him to copy from a statue.

Samuel's earlier advertisement in *Aris's Gazette* (page 67), further revealed that landscape played a prominent role in his personal curriculum and was a subject to which he was obviously dedicated. He was also able to instill this talent into at least two of his five sons.¹⁴³ Unfortunately, from what remains of his drawing academy, little demonstrates exactly how Samuel taught this subject to his students and it is necessary to refer to other sources for an overall understanding of how the basic principles of landscape drawing and painting were taught in nineteenth-century Birmingham. These sources also help explore the professional development of Samuel's sons Henry Harris and Samuel Rostill who both specialised in landscapes and topographical views.

S & J Fuller's Book of Progressive Drawings, Tree Studies published in approximately 1831 includes lithographic drawings by Samuel Rostill Lines (fig. 26).¹⁴⁴ An extremely rare copy of this publication can be found at Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum. One of the few surviving examples of Samuel Rostill's work, it is here used to suggest how landscape drawing was taught at the Lines academy because there are few written sources that refer to their teaching methods.

Drawing manuals had been in use during the eighteenth century, but were prone to being monotonous, containing examples from which the student could only copy with little or no interpretation.¹⁴⁵ The nineteenth century brought about a new enthusiasm for such drawing books and they now included instructions and illustrations dedicated to painting landscapes in watercolours.¹⁴⁶ The majority (if not all) of writers contributing to these drawing manuals

¹⁴³ Henry Harris Lines and Samuel Rostill Lines.

¹⁴⁴ S.R. Lines, *S&J Fuller's Progressive Drawing Book, Studies of Trees*, London, 1831 (written in pencil on the inside of the front cover), Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006.22.70]. For further discussion on the significance of this drawing book, refer to the Introductory Essay in the accompanying catalogue.

¹⁴⁵ Bicknell & Munro, *Gilpin to Ruskin*, 7.

¹⁴⁶ Bicknell & Munro, *Gilpin to Ruskin*, 8.

were drawing masters themselves and so were already familiar with teaching aspects of drawing and painting. Drawing masters were also in demand as art classes increasingly became the genteel hobby for children and young ladies of wealthy middle and upper class families.¹⁴⁷ For the drawing master, the publications also brought an extra source of income and with that, a greater degree of respectability.

Books of progressive drawings of this kind acted as guides that students (taught or self-taught) were able to copy directly from the illustrations themselves, but they were also valuable reference tools for identifying different species of trees. In focusing on individual species of trees in detail, it was possible to understand their formal qualities and attributes through the act of copying. Helpfully, Samuel Rostill also includes a selection of more close-up studies, allowing the greater exploration of branches and leaves. Furthermore, in the instance where a student should wish to travel outdoors to sketch or draw, they would have already developed a familiarity with the drawing methods associated with depicting trees. These progressive drawing books were suited to art students at different levels of study; the beginner could copy directly while the more advanced student might wish to experiment with different compositional structures using the trees featured in the book.¹⁴⁸ However, in view of how little written guidance accompanies this book, it is likely that it was aimed towards a more intermediate student. Many drawing books of the nineteenth century feature 'Progressive' in the title, which could mean one of two things: either it is a progression from easy line drawings to more complex coloured watercolours or it could mean progress through a series of successive stages in order to complete one drawing.¹⁴⁹ Despite the use of the word 'progressive' in the title of this book, there does not appear to be a great degree of progression throughout as each drawing seems as detailed as the next, varying only by size. This lack of development through the studies may have caused the book to be less popular,

¹⁴⁷ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 77.

¹⁴⁸ Although Bermingham implies in *Learning to Draw*, that such progressive drawing books were mainly used by amateur artists, it is here suggested that it is possible the same books were used by professional artists whilst learning the art of drawing.

¹⁴⁹ Bicknell & Munro, *Gilpin to Ruskin*, 12.

which is likely as there are now very few left in public collections in comparison to the more popular titles of the day.¹⁵⁰

An earlier example of Samuel Rostill's work can be seen in *Dickinson's Advanced Drawing Book* published in 1828 - another very rare volume that contains at least four compositions depicting Samuel Rostill's tree studies.¹⁵¹ However, although he was responsible for the initial execution of these scenes, this time it is unknown whether he was involved in the lithographic printing process itself. Figure 27 shows an illustration from *Dickinson's Advanced Drawing Book*. The inscription on the lower left attributes the work to Samuel Lines Junior. Furthermore, the inscription 'printed by C. Hullmandel' confirms that the work was printed by Charles Hullmandel (1789-1850), one of the leading lithographers of the early nineteenth century who was responsible for much of its practical development. This book is very similar to *S&J Fuller's Book of Progressive Drawings*, and offers no written instruction or explanation. However, the focus of *Dickinson's Advanced Drawing Book* concentrates on general scenes and topographical views, rather than specific species of trees. The title of Dickinson's book also indicates its suitability to the more advanced student, which is evident through the size and amount of detail included in each drawing, in comparison to *S&J Fuller's Book of Progressive Drawings* which mainly focuses on individual trees. It is likely that similar examples of tree studies or landscape compositions were offered to students to copy at the Lines family's academy. This is supported by works that were both exhibited at the Lines family academy exhibition of drawings and studies from the antique in 1845 such as *Study of an Oak* (no. 99) by H. Iddins and *Landscape* (no. 130) by Miss Ward.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ There is currently only one known copy in existence at the Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum [WOSMG:2006.22.70].

¹⁵¹ *Dickinson's Advanced Drawing Book*, London, 1828. It may be possible that more illustrations were included but the one surviving accessible copy at the Yale Center for British Art contains only four images.

¹⁵² *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings and Studies from the Antique, by Pupils under the Direction of Messrs Lines*, 1845, unpaginated, from a folio of exhibition catalogues from the Drawing Academy of Samuel Lines and Sons, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006.22.120.5].

The Lines academy's exhibition of 1850 displayed both drawings and paintings.¹⁵³ Works on display in watercolour included *Windermere Lake* (no. 8) by Miss Law and *Cottages at Allesley* (no. 20) by Miss Matilda Smith.¹⁵⁴ This demonstrates that other media were also taught in the academy. Again, there are no written records to suggest how watercolour painting was taught, so it is necessary to examine David Cox's contemporary *A Series of Progressive Lessons, intended to Elucidate the Art of Landscape Painting in Watercolours* that alludes to the teaching of the practice.¹⁵⁵

The second edition of David Cox's *A Series of Progressive Lessons, intended to Elucidate the Art of Landscape Painting in Watercolours* was released in 1812. Cox was an acquaintance of the Lines family, and it is suggested in Cox's letters that he had gone on a sketching trip to Yorkshire with Henry Harris. In a letter to William Roberts of Worcester (whom the Lines family also knew), dated 28 August 1831, Cox wrote:

'I shall expect when I have the pleasure of seeing you in Birmingham to find that you have begun several pictures of your sketches. Begin while the scenes are fresh in your memory. I shall expect to see that Mr Lines has several on the easel. Pray make my respects to him.'¹⁵⁶

This is probably referring to one of the first trips to Yorkshire that Cox had made, earlier in 1830. The association may have been formed as Cox was friends with Charles Barber (who together with his brother and Samuel set up the Life Academy) and Richard Evans who also knew Samuel well. It also seems likely that Henry Harris went to Yorkshire again with Cox in

¹⁵³ The exhibition catalogues prior to 1850 listed only drawings and 'other works of art'. The 1850 catalogue is possibly the first occasion where the title indicates an exhibition of both paintings and drawings. However, this is speculative because there are catalogues prior to 1850 that cannot be traced.

¹⁵⁴ *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings, Paintings, and Studies from the Antique, by Pupils under the Direction of Messrs Lines*, 1850, unpaginated, from a folio of exhibition catalogues from the Drawing Academy of Samuel Lines and Sons, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006.22.120.5]. It should also be noted that only one of the exhibitors in watercolour was male.

¹⁵⁵ D. Cox, *A Series of Progressive Lessons, intended to Elucidate the Art of Landscape Painting in Watercolours*, London, 1812.

¹⁵⁶ Solly, *Memoir of the Life of David Cox*, 69. William Roberts later became a patron of Henry Harris Lines.

1844 with the intention of sketching Bolton Abbey.¹⁵⁷ Most importantly, Cox also trained in Birmingham like Samuel, and therefore the similarities in their artistic background would suggest that their teaching methods would be comparable.

Cox's *Series of Progressive Lessons* is a comprehensive guide suitable for a complete beginner to art, providing clear instructions and illustrations with advice on the execution of landscape drawing, and later painting. His first edition was extremely popular and this spurred the revised second edition.¹⁵⁸ The manual begins with basic instructions, introducing a range of suitable artists' materials including 'a drawing board, a T square, Indian rubber...etc.'¹⁵⁹ Within the manual, Cox divides up the different steps in creating a watercolour painting beginning with outlining, shading and finally, the act of tinting and colouring. Cox's guidelines start in almost a mathematical manner, giving direction through a series of lines related to the horizon line, in order to demonstrate the concept of perspective. Only once these lines have been implemented can the drawing proceed, using the lines as perspectival guides. The student is further encouraged to draw the outline of their chosen subject, before adding in the minutiae such as the marking of stonework or the curving on the road.¹⁶⁰ This attention to detail, even before the drawing has begun, demonstrates why Birmingham artists were regarded as such skilled draughtsmen. The emphasis placed on preparation stresses Cox's methodical approach to landscape composition, enabling the student to have a solid foundation from which they can work.

Once the outline has been introduced, Cox instructs how to shade with Indian ink, before the use of coloured paint. His advice here is more practical, and he suggests ways in which the shading should be approached through the use of three different shades of tint. Finally, once those skills have been mastered, the student is encouraged to apply colour using

¹⁵⁷ Solly, *Memoir of the Life of David Cox*, 129 and also suggested by anonymous author of 'Death of Mr. H.H. Lines', *Berrows Journal*, 23 February 1889, 3.

¹⁵⁸ Cox's dedication in the second edition points out that 'The rapid sale of the First Edition of this Work induces a presumption it has so far been acceptable and useful.' Cox, *A Series of Progressive Lessons*, 1.

¹⁵⁹ Cox, *A Series of Progressive Lessons*, 5

¹⁶⁰ Cox, *A Series of Progressive Lessons*, 9. The description of Cox's instructions for the remainder of this section is all cited from the same source unless stated otherwise.

simple tints. With the use of flat ‘pencils’ (brushes) he guides the student through colour theory (the difference between primitive and derivative colours) and how physically to apply the tint onto the drawing. Again, Cox offers a very methodical approach to the addition of tints, which is known to be difficult when using watercolour. The fluid nature of watercolour makes its physical application more challenging, especially when attempting to create tone.

Cox’s manual is highly similar to various other publications of that era, such as *Progressive Lessons Tending to Elucidate the Character of Trees* (1813) by François Thomas Louis Francia.¹⁶¹ Although it is not certain that Samuel followed these specific instructions, it would be plausible that he too would have separated the process into several stages not dissimilar from Cox’s. However, Scott Wilcox asserts that ‘We cannot be certain to what extent Cox was responsible for the text and how accurately it reflects his practice either as a teacher or as a professional watercolour artist’.¹⁶² In spite of this, the teaching methods demonstrated are plausible and valid since the results produce landscapes that are visually agreeable.

Samuel’s eldest son, Henry Harris Lines began his career working in his father’s academy, before embarking on his own at Worcester, where he established himself as a landscape painter and archaeologist.¹⁶³ It is therefore important to examine the influence of Worcester’s institutions upon Henry Harris’s artistic development and production of art. This will also highlight the influence of mediators, in this case the art critic, as discussed by Wolff.¹⁶⁴ In Worcester, Henry Harris befriended Edward Leader Williams (1802-1879) and Henry Whiting (dates unknown) whom Potter describes as being the ‘Chief patrons of art’ in Worcester at the time’.¹⁶⁵ Williams was the father of celebrated Worcester landscape artist Benjamin Williams Leader (1831-1923). Henry Whiting was the Honorary Secretary of the

¹⁶¹ F.T.L. Francia, *Progressive Lessons Tending to Elucidate the Character of Trees*, London, 1813.

¹⁶² S. Wilcox, ‘David Cox. Birmingham’ (exhibition review), *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol 125, No. 967, October 1983, pp. 638 - 645. The extent to which artists contributed to the written text in their drawing manuals is also discussed by Bicknell & Munro, *Gilpin to Ruskin*, 31.

¹⁶³ For greater discussion on Henry Harris’s work as an archaeologist, see chapter 3.

¹⁶⁴ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 40-46.

¹⁶⁵ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 16.

Worcester branch of the Literary and Scientific Society and also Williams' brother-in-law and so the two had a close relationship. Williams was also an amateur artist and believed strongly in promoting the cause in Worcester and together with the Literary and Scientific Society, he 'announced an important exhibition of modern British art' that was to promote living artists.¹⁶⁶ On 5 April 1834, the Worcester Institution for the Promotion of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts announced:

'The first annual exhibition connected with this Institution, will be opened the first week in June next, with works of living artists. Exhibitors are requested to send their productions to the Athæneum, Foregate-Street, by the second week in May, directed to the Secretary. Carriage (by water where practicable) will be defrayed by the Institution. No copy of any work of Art can be admitted excepting enamels. Edward L. Williams, Honorary Secretary'.¹⁶⁷

This initiative was met with great enthusiasm by artists who felt that there was finally an outlet for their work in Worcester. It was also met with great interest by William Paulet Carey (1759 – 1839), an art dealer and critic who wrote under the pseudonym of 'Lorenzo' in the *Worcester Herald*.¹⁶⁸ He was a strong supporter of the British School of painting and argued that patronage of British artists would promote manufactures in the country.¹⁶⁹ Carey wrote an extensive commentary on the 1834 exhibition, analysing the progression of fine arts in the town through a series of reviews of specific artists and their works. His reaction to reading the advert for the Institution's first exhibition was:

¹⁶⁶ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 18.

¹⁶⁷ *Worcester Herald*, Saturday 5 April 1834, 4.

¹⁶⁸ Carey wrote under the pseudonym of 'Lorenzo' in the *Worcester Herald*. His pseudonym was revealed in Henry Harris Lines' biography by Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 20.

¹⁶⁹ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4659>, accessed on 4 December 2009.

‘Mr Editor – I read, with great satisfaction, in your publication of this day, that the Exhibition to be opened next June, in this city, will be composed of works of *living British Artists*, and not of the *Old Masters*.’¹⁷⁰

This statement highlights one of the growing trends of exhibitions held in provincial towns in favour of the exhibition of works by *living* British artists, rather than works by deceased European artists.

Carey’s reaction to Henry Harris’s paintings was extremely positive, if a little excessive, dedicating a poem to his achievements which included the following verse:

‘Imagine then – no sooner said than done –
The thousand paid down – the prize is won.
Some friend officious, whispers in his ear,
“not *Hobbema* you’ve got – but *Lines* is here;–
You made a grand mistake – *his touch* I know –
His broken grounds – his trees – his evening glow –
All Connoisseurs will now condemn your taste,
I would not, for the world, be so disgraced.’¹⁷¹

The exhibition opened in the first week of June and Henry Harris exhibited nine works in total, including *The Pine Tree Terrace*, *Haddon Hall* and *Interior of Upton Cressett Church*. A possible sketch for the latter can be seen as cat. no. 20, a drawing entitled *Upton Cressett*. Currently in the RBSA collection, it is a study for the interior of a church with some interesting annotations describing colours and textures. Special attention has been given to the details

¹⁷⁰ William Carey under the pseudonym of ‘Lorenzo’, ‘Fine Arts, Letter IX’, *Worcester Herald*, 19 April 1834, 4.

¹⁷¹ From Fine Arts, Letter XIX’, *Worcester Herald*, 12 July 1834, 4. The full poem can be read in Appendix 2.

on the arch and also the area of the pulpit. In Henry Harris's own Exhibition Ledger, he notes that three works were sold including: *The Pine Tree Terrace*, *Haddon Hall*, *View at Monks Upton* and *Trees from Nature*. However, despite the enthusiastic reception that the exhibition received, general sales were disappointing.¹⁷² This disappointment was expressed by Henry Harris in his personal Exhibition Ledger Book, in which he wrote:

'Memo. There were 7 exhibitions in Worcester from 1838, in 48, in 50, in 55, in 59, in 60, in 61 covering a period of 23 years in which I sold only 2 pictures one to E Webb Esq and another to Sheriffe Esq so much for 23 years experience of the liberality of the faithful city.'¹⁷³

Despite Carey's fervent support of Henry Harris and his art, this demonstrates how the art critic may not necessarily be responsible for influencing the reception of art in the provinces. Although there are no written responses to Carey's comments to suggest whether his influence was positive or negative, it can be surmised that he did not have any great effect on Henry Harris's career.

Little is known about the career of Samuel's fourth son, Edward Ashcroft Lines, other than that he worked at his father's drawing academy. However, his aspirations took him overseas where he intended to open an art academy like his father's. Shortly after Samuel's death in 1863, Edward Ashcroft emigrated to New Zealand, together with his daughter Mary and her husband, W.H. Elmore, an engineer and possibly amateur artist.¹⁷⁴ Edward Ashcroft saw new opportunities with the country opening up to outsiders after the gold rush and had the intention of starting an art school there.¹⁷⁵ The family arrived in New Zealand in 1864, initially settling on Wellington Street in Auckland, where they had planned to remain and establish an

¹⁷² Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 22.

¹⁷³ This was written next to his entries for the year 1861, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006:22:77].

¹⁷⁴ W.H. Elmore is listed as an engineer on Edward Ashcroft's death certificate.

¹⁷⁵ Further details of Edward Ashcroft's journey to New Zealand can be found in the introduction to this thesis.

art school.¹⁷⁶ There have been suggestions that Edward Ashcroft did in fact open an art school on Queen Street, however no records survive to prove this.¹⁷⁷ Edward Ashcroft and his family later relocated to Coromandel, but again, it is uncertain whether he succeeded in opening an art school.

The collection of tuition material including the floral studies etc. taken to New Zealand by Edward Ashcroft from Birmingham further reveals the teaching methods of the Lines family's academy. The tuition material was kept in the family after his death, and an example of this can be seen as fig. 28, a floral study or design, after Mary Gartside's, 'Groups' from *Ornamental Groups, Descriptive of Flowers, Birds, Shells, Fruit, Insects &c.*, (1808). It is highly likely that this watercolour was used as a template for students to copy, and was especially suited to female students. Floral designs were an important element in various forms of design work – including jappanned ware as previously discussed. The black background given to this particular work would strongly suggest that it was a design conceived for decorative purposes.

Mary Gartside was a notable artist, an exhibitor at the Royal Academy and she made a niche for herself in flower painting.¹⁷⁸ The genre, according to Bermingham, was marginalised and taken up by marginalised women artists.¹⁷⁹ However, it also allowed them to specialise in a subject that 'provided them with a form of artistic expression that they could call their own'.¹⁸⁰ Echoing Samuel's approach in *Lines's Anatomy of the Human Figure*, Gartside also considered drawing flowers a form of education.¹⁸¹ Where Samuel was encouraging the study of human anatomy through drawing, Gartside was doing the same for the study of

¹⁷⁶ Letters addressed to Frederick Thomas Lines stated 'Wellington Street, Auckland' as Edward Ashcroft's address.

¹⁷⁷ Suggested in a note written to A.J.H. Gunstone (previous Keeper at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery) by Mr C.W. Bruce, the previous owner of Edward Ashcroft's art materials which he took to New Zealand, now owned by Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery.

¹⁷⁸ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 215. Bermingham gives a thorough examination of Gartside's career and other publications 215-224.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 217.

botany. For women, the pursuit of flower painting was considered an 'avenue of serious scientific study and self-instruction'.¹⁸²

The exhibition catalogues from the Lines family's academy reveal that in 1819 and 1821, flower studies featured extensively – 20 were listed in the 1819 catalogue alone.¹⁸³ However, few floral studies were exhibited from 1844 onwards with female students opting to depict topographical views and architectural ruins, much like their male counterparts.¹⁸⁴ However, the catalogues between 1822 -1843 are missing, thus it is difficult to distinguish when or why the exhibition of floral studies went into decline. In spite of this, the Lines family's inclusion of these floral studies in their curriculum assisted the artistic (and perhaps scientific) education of women in Birmingham as well as professional artists.

Frederick Thomas Lines added another dimension to the Lines family's academy. Making a considerable living from painting portraits he had a good relationship with the local gentry and it is noted that he made portraits of Mr. Clifton, a former mayor of Worcester (exhibited at the Birmingham Society of Arts in 1832, no. 226) and also Samuel Ryland, one of the patrons of the Birmingham Society of Arts.¹⁸⁵ It is highly likely that Ryland had met Frederick Thomas Lines through meetings at the Society, (where Frederick Thomas was a Member until 1856) thus demonstrating how the institution acted as a system of patronage in itself. Although it is uncertain whether Ryland knew of Samuel and his sons before the establishment of the Society, at the time of Ryland's death it seemed that they had been friends for many years.¹⁸⁶ Ryland's death in 1843 affected Louisa Ann greatly and in a letter to Samuel, she expressed her wishes to acquire a copy of a portrait previously painted by

¹⁸² Birmingham, *Learning to Draw*, 215.

¹⁸³ *Catalogue of the Tenth Annual Exhibition of Drawings by S. Lines's Pupils*, 1819, unpaginated, and *Catalogue of the Eleventh Annual Exhibition of Drawings, by S. Lines's Pupils*, 1821, unpaginated. Both catalogues from a folio of exhibition catalogues from the Drawing Academy of Samuel Lines and Sons, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006.22.120.5].

¹⁸⁴ The exhibition catalogues from 1844 onwards are found in the folio of exhibition catalogues from the Drawing Academy of Samuel Lines and Sons, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006.22.120.5].

¹⁸⁵ Frederick Thomas's portrait of Samuel Ryland is alluded to in the following paragraphs.

¹⁸⁶ 'Knowing my dead father as you have done for many years...', Letter from Louisa Ann Ryland to Samuel Lines, 22 May 1843, Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum, [WOSMG:2006:173]. Extracts from this letter are included in the Introductory Essay to the catalogue.

Frederick Thomas.¹⁸⁷ Samuel's response can be assumed to have confirmed Louisa Ann's wishes as she later replied: 'It is a satisfaction to us to find that Mr. Frederick Lines will kindly arrange to come over to the Priory to copy there the likeness he took of my dear father'.¹⁸⁸ Such an intimate request from a patron suggests that Frederick was not simply a talented portraitist, but was also considered a close acquaintance of the family.

The Lines' relationship with the Rylands no doubt had an effect on Louisa Ann's later actions. Bequeathed a large estate by her father, she invested much of this in Birmingham, where she donated several parklands, including Cannon Hill Park (in 1873).¹⁸⁹ In 1877, she also donated £10,000 to the building of the Municipal School of Art.¹⁹⁰ The Lines family thus did not only encourage the artistic developments of their students, but also laid foundations from which later art institutions were formed.

Conclusion

This chapter has brought to light the family's involvement with educating Birmingham's artists through their art academy. It was an academy that embraced the skills and abilities of local artisans and artists, thus supporting Birmingham's artistic community as a whole. The family's capabilities as artists and how between them, they were all able to contribute a specific skill to their academy have been shown through various examples. Their teaching methods, which were previously unknown, have been discussed in depth and prove that their academy was as artistically diverse as the city in which they lived. The spectrum of artistic subjects on offer at 'Samuel Lines and Sons' was broad and this is further evident in the exhibition catalogue of 1844 (see fig. 29), which shows that art tuition was no longer restricted to landscape, still life studies and figure drawing, as stated in Samuel's original

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Samuel's reply cannot be traced. Worcester's collection contains only letters received by the Lines family.

¹⁸⁹ R.K. Dent, *Public Parks, Gardens of Birmingham*, Birmingham, 1916, 17.

¹⁹⁰ Catterson-Smith, 'Birmingham Municipal School of Art', 289.

advert in 1807. By 1844, the family had extended their curriculum to cover designs for vases and trophies, as well as the architectural studies. Students no longer consisted mainly of local artisans and artists, but also included daughters and sons from wealthy families who wished to become proficient in a respectable skill.

The Birmingham Society of Artists was formed in 1842, marking the separation of the professional and unprofessional parties, which had formed the Birmingham Society of Arts.¹⁹¹ At this new Society, Samuel held official positions as Curator and Treasurer for a further sixteen years.¹⁹² This Society continues to thrive today, as the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists, having gained Royal patronage in 1868. Although the Lines' artistic dynasty ended with the death of Frederick Thomas Lines in 1898, Samuel's family created a tradition of promoting good art practice that lives on through the RBSA, which continues to nurture artists and promote contemporary art in the West Midlands. Samuel's legacy extends even further as the Birmingham Society of Arts, after the split that created the Birmingham Society of Artists, became the 'Birmingham Society of Arts and School of Design' (in 1843) that relocated from the Society's rooms on New Street, to the Birmingham and Midland Institute in 1858.¹⁹³ This in turn was the forerunner to the Birmingham Municipal School of Art (established in 1885), now the Birmingham Institute of Art and Design.¹⁹⁴

There is no doubt that the Birmingham Society of Arts (and later, Artists), together with 'Samuel Lines and Sons' greatly influenced Birmingham's artistic development and production of art. This chapter has demonstrated how these two institutions determined who became an artist and how, proving that artists and artisans were able to learn their skills together. Furthermore, it also showed how they were able to practise their art through the exhibitions instigated by the institutions. Through their combined programme of art classes

¹⁹¹ Lines, *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines*, 23.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ Catterson-Smith, 'Birmingham Municipal School of Art', 283. R.E. Waterhouse, *The Birmingham Midland Institute 1854-1854*, Birmingham, 1954, 15. Hill and Midgley, *The History of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists*, 46.

¹⁹⁴ J. Barrie Hall, A Review of the RBSA, unpublished manuscript, 2002, chapter 1, 5.

and exhibitions, the Lines family were responsible not only for teaching artists, but also for establishing and maintaining a standard of art tuition that is still present in Birmingham today.

CHAPTER 2

THE LINES FAMILY'S LANDSCAPES OF THE MIDLANDS AND NORTH WALES

As a professional artist Samuel Lines was best known for his paintings of Birmingham and Welsh landscapes.¹ Samuel exhibited these scenes at the Birmingham Society of Arts, the Royal Academy and the New Water-colour Society from 1817 until the year of his death in 1863.² His sons followed in his footsteps and Henry Harris, Samuel Rostill and Frederick Thomas in particular, all painted and studied the same artistic themes, exhibiting works such as *The Pass of Llanberris* [sic] (Henry Harris Lines, Birmingham Society of Arts 1827, no. 60) and *Forest Scenery, Packington* (Frederick Thomas Lines, Birmingham Society of Arts 1827, no. 156).³ The RBSA's collection of landscapes by the family supports this chapter. Existing accounts of the family's work (mainly that of Samuel and Henry Harris) offer a commentary rather than a critical analysis or even an overview of the importance and effectiveness of Samuel and his sons' work, especially in their depictions of the changing landscape of the Midlands.⁴ Thus, this topic has remained relatively unexplored until now and the significance of their images unrecognised as important visual records during a period of industrial and urban expansion.

Although born and raised in Allesley, Coventry, Samuel's sentiments towards his adopted town can be seen in his townscapes of Birmingham, including works such as *View from No. 3 Temple Row West, Birmingham* (1821) (fig. 30) – drawn from a precarious position on the

¹ Wildman, *The Birmingham School*, 41.

² There are no records of Samuel having exhibited anywhere other than at the Royal Academy, London and the New Water-colour Society, London (later the Royal Institute). See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its Foundation in 1769-1904*, Volume V, London, 1906, 64 and A. Graves, *A Dictionary of Artists who have Exhibited Works in the Principal London Exhibitions from 1760 to 1893*, 3rd ed., London, 1901, 172.

³ See Appendix 1 for a list of all works exhibited by the Lines family at the Birmingham Society of Arts, Birmingham Society of Artists and Royal Birmingham Society of Artists from 1827-1887. This was achieved through examining the exhibition catalogues dating from 1827-1885, accessed from the permanent collection of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists and was compiled by the author in the October of 2007. The works exhibited confirm that Samuel Lines' sons exhibited works similar to those of their father.

⁴ Little space has been dedicated to Samuel's topographical views, however they are briefly mentioned in Stephen Wildman's *The Birmingham School*.

roof of his very own home.⁵ Amongst Samuel's surviving works is a sketchbook containing views of Birmingham as it was in the early nineteenth century, showing a town undergoing dramatic physical change through the demolition of the old and the construction of the new.⁶ The drawings depict the 'new' Birmingham but are annotated with descriptions of buildings that had been torn down previously. These images are detailed depictions of a Birmingham before its transformation into the bustling metropolitan city that it is today.

Landscape imagery made during the nineteenth century offers an opportunity to explore the developing relationship between the production of such images and its consumption. The growth of industry and urbanisation in England coincided with an increased demand for English landscape painting, which enables an investigation into the motivation of landscape patrons.⁷ Janet Wolff asserts that works of art are not 'transcendent' but are products of 'specific historical practices on the part of identifiable social groups in given conditions', thus society's values and ideas are ingrained into them.⁸ This suggests that the production of landscape imagery was intrinsically linked to society's notions and beliefs concerning the English landscape. It is reflected in the decline of the rural landscape in the Midlands as a result of industrialisation, together with the growing population of the urban middle-class, and the exhibition of landscapes paintings and watercolours at the Birmingham Society of Arts.⁹ This invites an analysis of the types of landscape imagery that the Lines family produced, in contrast to the types they exhibited and sold to their patrons. The exhibition catalogues of the Birmingham Society of Arts (1827 onwards) are here used as evidence that there was a market for paintings, watercolours and prints of landscape imagery in Birmingham during the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Therefore the surviving collection of the family's drawings and paintings

⁵ *View from No. 3 Temple Row West, Birmingham*, 1821, BMAG [31'93].

⁶ *Sketchbook of Samuel Lines Senior containing Pencil Drawings of Birmingham*, currently at Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, [IIR21 416119]. BMAG also hold a facsimile in their collection.

⁷ Birmingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 9.

⁸ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 49.

⁹ The exhibition catalogues of the Birmingham Society of Arts from 1827 to the end of the nineteenth century show that landscapes were exhibited consistently throughout that period.

¹⁰ All of the exhibition catalogues dating back to 1827 are in the permanent collection of the RBSA. The catalogues

invites analysis of their pursuits as artists, as well as the ideological implications of their chosen sites that embody a concern for the diminishing countryside.¹¹

Landscape Painting and Aesthetic Theory in the Midlands during the Nineteenth Century

Knowledge and concern for landscape painting and aesthetic theory were widespread in the nineteenth century, and especially within the Membership of the Birmingham Society of Arts. The Society held exhibitions of works by Old Masters intermittently with the exhibitions of modern works by living artists from 1828 until 1836.¹² The works by Old Masters were lent for display at the Society's rooms on New Street from distinguished private collectors. Works on show included paintings by Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), Richard Wilson (1714-1782) and Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792).¹³ Old Master works were also loaned by the Society's own Membership (which at the time included both patrons and artists), including the Earl of Dudley (Vice President) who displayed notably *A Landscape* by Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788) (no. 116).¹⁴ This painting in particular was accompanied by the following description in the exhibition catalogue:

'Thomas Gainsborough was born in 1727, at Sudbury; Nature was his teacher, and the woods of Suffolk his academy. Although he painted many portraits, he rested his fame on the faithful and picturesque delineation of English scenery, exquisitely embellished with groups of cottage children and peasants. In the charming rusticity of his husbandmen, their horses

reveal that the family exhibited topographical views of Birmingham, Shropshire and Yorkshire.

¹¹ Throughout this chapter the term 'topographical view' will be used interchangeably with 'topographical landscape'. Further to this, the phrase 'picturesque' refers to the nineteenth-century concept of landscape's 'fitness to make a picture...' and 'the fidelity with which they [the painting] copied the picturesque landscape.' Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 57. William Gilpin's notion of the picturesque also applies and is discussed later in this chapter.

¹² This is evident from the Society's exhibition catalogues.

¹³ For example, the exhibition displayed works from the collections of the Earl of Dartmouth, *Birmingham Society of Arts, established 1821, Catalogue of Pictures, chiefly by the Ancient Masters of the Italian, Spanish, and Flemish Schools*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 1828, 11 & 12.

¹⁴ *Birmingham Society of Arts, established 1821, Catalogue of Pictures, chiefly by the Ancient Masters of the Italian, Spanish, and Flemish Schools*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 1828, 18.

and cattle, and in the characteristic simplicity of the whole, his transcendent merits were peculiarly conspicuous. He died in 1788.¹⁵

This short summary of Gainsborough's life and artistic merits is significant because it acknowledges landscape painting as an important art genre. Describing the artist's 'faithful and picturesque delineation of the English scenery' emphasises that there was an understanding of landscape aesthetics but that there was also an increasing awareness of an English national identity within the Birmingham community of patrons and artists.

Exhibited alongside Gainsborough's *A Landscape*, were works by other acclaimed landscape artists including Nicolas Poussin's (1594-1665) *A Landscape, with Waterfall* by (no. 35) and Jacob van Ruysdael's (1628-1682) *Waterfall* (no. 26).¹⁶

Similar sentiments were felt in Worcester. William Paulet Carey, the prominent art critic and champion for British art, wrote lengthy weekly commentaries in the *Worcester Herald* of the first exhibition of art held by the Worcester Institution for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in 1834.¹⁷ His reviews of paintings exhibited by Henry Harris Lines demonstrate that the artist himself and his audience had an awareness of landscape aesthetics, which was revealed in Carey's assessment of Henry Harris's *A Floodgate at Perry Barr* (no. 184):

'His [the artist's] touch is broad, firm, and full of characteristic truth. The massive trunk, branches, and foliage of the aged oak, near the foreground, are admirably painted...The breadth of warm light on the clay bank from which the oak rises, and the warm gleam on the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Birmingham Society of Arts, established 1821, Catalogue of Pictures, chiefly by the Ancient Masters of the Italian, Spanish, and Flemish Schools*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 1828, 12 & 11 respectively.

¹⁷ Carey was also known to the Birmingham Society of Arts, having donated a copy of 'His works on the Arts' which is mentioned in *Birmingham Society of Arts, Established 1821, Exhibition, 1832. Modern Works of Art*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 1832, unpaginated. This was possibly Carey's *Observations on the Primary Object of the British Institution and of the Provincial Institutions for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, etc.*, Newcastle, 1829.

corn field, set off the woody verdure; and the airy floating clouds and clear tone of the sky, are in cheerful harmony with the very picturesque and pleasing style of the scenery.’¹⁸

Carey’s observations revealed that there was a concern for contemporary landscape aesthetics during the nineteenth century, which focused on quality of execution as well as the artist’s ability to depict nature in her vastness. Therefore, it is necessary that this chapter examines the role of landscape aesthetic theory in the works of the Lines family and how their works relate to prevailing aesthetics such as the picturesque and the sublime. This exposes the conditions under which these landscapes were produced and consumed, and whether the family’s patrons had preferences towards imagery following these aesthetic conventions. This chapter also aims to show the extent to which the Lines family’s depictions of local rural scenes reflect ideas of urban expansion and the nostalgic regret for loss of the countryside. This approach has so far been unexplored outside this chapter, as have the factors affecting the Lines’ production of picturesque and sublime landscape imagery and the ways in which they were consumed (for instance through exhibitions or private commissions).

The popularity of North Wales as a leisure destination rose towards the late eighteenth century, attracting tourists and artists alike. This was caused partly by an improved road network to the area and also because of a general increase in British tourism as an alternative to European travel due to the dangers posed by European Wars.¹⁹ This enabled artists to engage with nature, in an environment where there was little industry to distract. The Lines family were frequent visitors to North Wales - notably Samuel, Henry Harris and Frederick Thomas. Their visits were fruitful, as demonstrated for instance by works exhibited in 1827 at the Birmingham Society of Arts including: *Vale of Llugwy, near Capel Cerrig* [sic], *on the Holyhead Road* (no. 50) by Samuel senior, *The Pass of Llanberris* [sic] (no. 60) by

¹⁸ ‘Fine Arts, Letter XVI’, *Worcester Herald*, July 7, 1834. This newspaper is unpaginated.

¹⁹ This is not a comprehensive account of contributing events; the point is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Henry Harris Lines, *Carnarvon* [sic] (no. 123) by Samuel Rostill Lines.²⁰ The family also painted views of Yorkshire, such as *The Strid, Yorkshire* (no. 20) by Henry Harris. However, the scope of research is here restricted to the study of North Wales because this area inspired the majority of their picturesque and sublime landscape paintings and drawings.²¹ Samuel senior's travel journal from his trip in 1825 survives at Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery.²² The journal reveals the long and arduous journeys undertaken by artists and tourists in pursuit of the picturesque, as well as a detailed series of observations on the surrounding landscape. Henry Harris Lines also made annual trips to the area until he reached his seventies. In North Wales he was able to marry his interest in landscape painting with his passion for Welsh stone monuments.²³ North Wales played an important part in the artistic education of other landscape artists from Birmingham, including David Cox, who was partly responsible for making the valleys of Bettws-y-Coed popular amongst nineteenth-century artists.²⁴ For this reason it has been chosen as one of the main areas of study in this chapter.

The watercolour *Rhinog Fach* by Henry Harris Lines (fig. 31) features a prominent mountain in the far distance, surrounded by three smaller peaks. They are significant in their large scale in comparison to the two figures sitting to the far left. In this watercolour, nature reigns supreme and the specific location seems almost insignificant in comparison. Attention has been paid to capturing the ways in which nature is manifested in the rocky moss-covered mountains, the lush green grass and the break in the storm clouds allowing the sun to radiate onto the ground in the middle distance. Such depictions are representative of characteristics intrinsic to North Wales.

²⁰ *Birmingham Society of Arts, First Exhibition, 1827*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 1827. See Appendix 1.

²¹ *Ibid.* Proportionately, the majority of works that Samuel exhibited at the Birmingham Society of Artists were landscapes of North Wales including areas such as Capel Curig and Conway. In the period 1827-1863 he exhibited a total of 40 works, 22 of which were scenes of North Wales; the rest included topographical views including scenes of Birmingham and the Midlands, as well as figure studies.

²² Accession number: [1988P54]. A transcription of the travel journal, made by the author, forms Appendix 5 of this thesis.

²³ Henry Harris' archaeological pursuits are discussed separately in the chapter 3.

²⁴ Solly, 'Chapter XI: Bettws-Y-Coed', *Memoir of the Life of David Cox*, 158-180.

Rhinog Fach also features pictorial elements that echo eighteenth-century landscape theories concerning the aesthetic categories of the picturesque and the sublime that were still prevalent in the works of nineteenth-century landscapists such as Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851). The ideas of linking picturesque landscapes to picturesque travel were made popular by William Gilpin who published *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and, On Sketching Landscape* in 1792. In executing picturesque compositions, Gilpin highlights the importance of studying 'real' objects that exist in nature to capture picturesque qualities that are in a sense imperfect to the point that they are perfect: '...the picturesque eye abhors art; and delights solely in nature: and that as art abounds with *regularity*, which is only another name for *smoothness*; and the images of nature with irregularity, which is only another name for roughness, we have a solution to our question'.²⁵ Nature is therefore the most important consideration in the execution of picturesque landscapes as Hipple notes: "[“the real object”] suggests that Gilpin’s theory deals not with art itself but with nature considered as a subject for art; and this is, indeed, an obvious consequence of the general sense Gilpin assigns to the “picturesque”'.²⁶

Edmund Burke’s essay *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* was equally important in changing the course of landscape aesthetics. An example of a sublime work would be Samuel’s depiction of the lake *Llyn Idwal* (fig. 32) in Snowdonia. In this magnificent painting, the viewer is faced with the tall, imposing peaks of the Cwm Idwal valley, and a cluster of storm clouds sweeping overhead. Here, Samuel captures the moment before the storm clouds engulf the valley, leaving to the viewer’s imagination the effects of nature’s power. In contrast, Burke’s idea of the beautiful is concerned with society and the care for others suggesting ideas of pleasure and procreation and therefore relating to things that are peaceful and nurturing. Features of beauty in works of art oppose the large, spectacular and awe-inspiring compositions of the sublime, instead

²⁵ Gilpin, *Three Essays*, 26-27.

²⁶ Hipple, *The Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque*, 193-194.

focusing on the smaller, more delicate and intricate aspects of nature. *A Brook at Warfield*, (exhibited at the Birmingham Society of Arts in 1840) (no. 292) and *The Trout Stream* (exhibited at the Birmingham Society of Artists in 1852) (no. 48), both by Henry Harris Lines, are likely to have been scenes of beauty as defined by Burke.²⁷ Although the whereabouts of these works are unknown, their titles suggest they depict river scenes that bring about a sense of peace and rest to the viewer, in contrast to the feelings of fear and anxiety in *Llyn Idwal*.

The Lines' depictions of the Midlands and landscapes of North Wales appear in abundance among the family's traceable works. These landscapes represent opposing themes relating to loss and sentimentality, and prevailing landscape conventions and aesthetic theories. Here, a best attempt has been made to distinguish the family's depictions of local areas that are considered sentimental, from those that are picturesque and sublime. However, inevitably, there are some works by the family that cannot be readily identified and thus categorized because there are no visual records to assess and their titles in catalogues are not detailed enough for further analysis. This is not treated as a hindrance to this argument as it emphasizes the family's ability to create works that combined different types of landscape aesthetic categories.

This chapter makes reference to Henry Harris's Exhibition Ledger Book (Appendix 3) because it reveals his patrons and the works that they purchased (Appendix 4).²⁸ Although the whereabouts of these works are unknown at present, and there are no visual references to them, their titles often suggest the type of landscape imagery depicted. For example, *Among the Rocks, Cader Idris* is highly likely to be a picturesque landscape because the location was a popular 'picturesque' location frequented by artists and tourists in the nineteenth century. In contrast, *A Floodgate, Halesowen* suggests a sentimental or nostalgic

²⁷ The locations of these works are not known, and it is assumed that they have been destroyed or are in private collections.

²⁸ Appendix 3 is a transcription of Henry Harris's Exhibition Ledger Book. Appendix 4 is a separate list of Henry Harris's patrons extracted by the author from his original Exhibition Ledger Book.

local rural scene, depicting a floodgate to the south west of Birmingham, a town known for its growing industry.

However, Henry Harris was inconsistent in recording information regarding his patrons, often listing just their name and not their residence (which could have been an indication of their wealth, and possibly class). Although research into those listed with addresses has been made, the patrons' wealth and social status are here assumed through their occupation. This restricts the opportunity for further investigation into his patrons' social and even intellectual status and therefore it has been necessary to make use of other sources that may offer a similar mode of inquiry, such as the better-documented list of David Cox's works owned by various art collectors and patrons.²⁹ Cox has been chosen, as one of Samuel's contemporaries, with whom he was also acquainted through the Birmingham Society of Arts. The intention here is to explore the environment in which the works were produced where it can be determined whether patrons were responsible for affecting the production of certain types of landscapes. Here, there is also an opportunity to speculate whether the different types of landscape appealed to different social classes. The relationship between visual representations of local rural areas and grand picturesque or sublime landscapes, and their consumers is examined here.

The Effects of Industrial Growth on the Landscape of the Midlands

Samuel senior's depictions of Birmingham are particularly revealing. The majority were made within a two-mile radius from his home at 3 Temple Row West. *Birmingham from the Dome of St Philip's Church* (see fig. 33) is a typical example of such views, occasionally made from a hazardously high perspective.³⁰ This panoramic townscape looks in a south-westerly direction from the dome of St. Philip's Church (now Cathedral) towards New Street,

²⁹ Solly, *Memoir of the Life of David Cox*.

³⁰ Scenes were occasionally depicted from either from the top of St. Philip's dome which can only be accessed by a steep and narrow spiral staircase, or from the top of Samuel's own roof which was five stories high.

where the Panorama Building designed by Robert Barker can be seen.³¹ More importantly, the main focus of this scene seems to be the area of green land in the centre that is brightly lit by the afternoon sun. Surrounding the area is an expanse of industrial and residential property, whose chimneys can be seen smoking, especially to the left of the painting, in stark contrast to the rural activities occurring in the central green space where hay wagons are clearly visible. The green land remained thus until the 1820s, after a clause linked with the lease on the land (which began in 1698) eventually expired. The 120-year lease had previously preserved the space by prohibiting the construction of permanent buildings.³² Samuel's painting was made in 1821, shortly after the expiration of the lease when the threat of urban development was at its greatest:

'The buildings on the corner of Upper Temple Street as far as the bend in Temple Row were demolished in 1823 for the opening up of Waterloo Street, which was driven through the middle of this open land towards Christ Church. Waterloo Street was crossed slightly later by Bennett's Hill, a street linking New Street with Colmore Row.'³³

Samuel's panoramic view captures the town's physical state at a specific point in time, a situation that seems to recur in the images made by the Lines family. Many of their drawings as well as paintings were known to have been made either during a threat of change, or shortly after. Their studies therefore need to be regarded as purposeful images that represent the evolution of a town that was becoming increasingly industrialized.

Henry Harris and his brothers were born into a century of dramatic agricultural and industrial change as described by G.E. Mingay:

³¹ Information concerning *Birmingham from the Dome of St. Philip's Church* has been taken from <http://www.bmagic.org.uk/objects/1893P72>, November 2007. The Panorama Building is the round, redbrick building with a funnel-shaped roof. The building housed exhibitions held by the Birmingham Society of Arts before they built their own premises.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

‘The sixty-four years of Victoria’s reign saw industrial growth, imperial expansion, and domestic reform. It saw, too, a far-reaching change in the way of life of the English people. They became urban rather than a rural people. The towns grew and the countryside shrank. The very face of the country was changed as the fields and pastures succumbed to invasion by bricks and mortar.’³⁴

Mingay’s discourse emphasizes the dynamic change in Britain’s physical landscape, as a result of the Industrial Revolution that introduced factories and housing to the countryside, encouraging the expansion of city boundaries caused by the demand for housing and land for manufacture. As a result of growing industry, the countryside was encroached upon by factories and housing for workers who often migrated from surrounding towns and villages. Despite the number of those employed in agriculture, horticulture and forestry peaking in 1851, these occupations soon suffered a rapid decline which saw the number of workers drop from over 2 million to under 1.5 million by the time of Queen Victoria’s death in 1901.³⁵ Through looking at the works by the Lines family, the effects of the changing landscape in the Midlands upon artists is examined in greater detail.

During the 1820s-30s, the industrial cities of the North (such as Glasgow and Manchester) experienced a population growth rate of 3.2-5.9% per annum with the overall average rate of growth for Britain at 2.5% per annum.³⁶ Not coincidentally, these decades also saw Britain experience great industrial expansion, especially towards the northern borders of England. This growth is significant from a historical perspective because it was the first time that Britain experienced such a rapid rate. Williamson emphasised that this was even more significant for contemporary observers of the Industrial Revolution, who had no other records

³⁴ G.E. Mingay, ‘Introduction: Rural England in the Industrial Age’, *The Victorian Countryside Volume I*, G.E. Mingay (ed), 1981, 3-6, 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ J.G. Williamson, *Coping with City Growth During the British Industrial Revolution*, 1990, 2-3.

or documentation to compare with this phenomenon of city growth.³⁷ These comparisons are essential in understanding the significance this had upon industry, housing and the topography of Britain. With areas of countryside rapidly disappearing, artists created new conventions through their depictions of the British landscape.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the acceleration of enclosure changed the physical landscape of the English countryside, where common land was acquired by landowners and subsequently divided up into separate fields.³⁸ Enclosure meant the segregation of land and therefore, large expanses of land that were set apart with the use of hedges. By distributing the smaller sections of land for cultivation, and implementing new technological advancements, the country's agricultural yield increased dramatically, 'making England the most agriculturally productive country in the world'.³⁹ During the period 1750-1815 specifically, when enclosure was at its peak, Ann Bermingham acknowledges that 'there fell the dramatic aesthetic and cultural discovery of the countryside on the part of the middle class'.⁴⁰ It was after this period that landscape art and imagery found a purpose in portraying what was left of the idyllic countryside. Whilst enclosure took place at a rapid pace, there developed a cultural and aesthetic revival of interest in nature, encompassing all things that were natural.⁴¹ This took place not only in visual aesthetics, but also in literature and poetry such as works by Thomas Gray and William Wordsworth.⁴²

The countryside surrounding the parish of Birmingham was also rapidly changing during the nineteenth century. One particular area where this was noticeable was the Calthorpe estate in Edgbaston, to the south. For the first half of the nineteenth century, Edgbaston retained much of its green pasture that was used for agricultural purposes

³⁷ Williamson, *Coping with City Growth*, 3.

³⁸ Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 9. Bermingham also explains that although enclosure was initially enforced in the late fifteenth century, it became more prevalent between 1750-1815.

³⁹ Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 10.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Bermingham suggests that a 'period of accelerated enclosure' took place between 1750-1815, *Landscape and Ideology*, 10.

⁴² *Ibid.*

including the grazing of livestock.⁴³ The area was also littered with mills that ran alongside the River Rea and Bourn Brook that flowed from north to south through the estate on its eastern border. Edgbaston Mill was used to grind corn (up until the 1880s), whereas others were involved in various metal trades which were very much in keeping with the industrialisation of rural resources typical of the period.

The Lines Family and their Depictions of Birmingham

Cat. no. 45 shows two small pencil drawings: *Moseley Park/Edgbaston*, attributed to Henry Harris, Samuel Rostill or Frederick Thomas Lines.⁴⁴ The drawing above depicts Moseley Park and the one below, Edgbaston. The drawing of Moseley Park depicts three prominent trees that are central in the composition, forming the main focal point. The trees were probably drawn on a sunny day, as the trunks and branches are heavily shaded. In the distance behind the trees, a cottage or house can be seen as well as livestock (possibly cows), perhaps to represent farming activity. The use of line in this particular image has been carefully considered by the artist, resulting in a neat and precise drawing. The visual content of *Edgbaston* is greater than that of *Moseley Park*. A winding stream runs through the centre of this composition, leading the viewer's eye into the distance. The central focal point here is again a tree, but this time it is positioned far in the middle ground. To the right of the foreground is a relatively small tree (or trees) with awkwardly twisted branches. Its crooked and distorted style is distinctive and differs greatly from the tree that is positioned in the centre. Furthermore, in the background there seems to be a dense cluster of trees possibly a small wooded area. On the whole, this drawing has been made with more expressive pencil marks (in comparison to *Moseley Park*) causing the overall tone of the image to be lighter and the execution less precise. This is particularly evident to the right of the foreground

⁴³ T. Slater, *Edgbaston: A History*, West Sussex, 2002, 16.

⁴⁴ See cat. 45.

where the artist has applied shading using broad and loose 'zig zag' strokes. However, in common with the drawing of Moseley Park, the artist has also added cows in the field to the left along with a small figure (stood next to the central tree), again possibly to suggest farming activity.

A similar drawing to *Moseley Park/Edgbaston* can be seen in cat. no. 44, *Near Edgbaston*, also attributed to Henry Harris, Samuel Rostill or Frederick Thomas Lines, and made on the same expedition as the previous two images.⁴⁵ Compositionally, it is similar to the drawing of Edgbaston, featuring a stream running through the centre with two banks on either side. Again, it seems that the artist has taken time to execute the composition carefully, resulting in a tidier, more detailed finish, than *Edgbaston*. For the third occasion, cows feature on the left bank. All three drawings focus on rural activity in the country and do not allude to any form of industry that was taking place nearby.

Although the exact locations where *Moseley Park/Edgbaston* were drawn is uncertain, they were made within the vicinity of Edgbaston or a short distance away from its boundary, as alluded to by the titles. They both consciously depict the area in a rural state, with cows grazing and buildings in the far distance. The third drawing, *Near Edgbaston* may not have been made actually on the estate, but its title and similarity in composition to *Edgbaston*, suggest that the two were made not far from each other. It is possible that *Near Edgbaston* may show parts of the estate.

These drawings of rural scenes here map the features of a specific location by depicting rivers, streams and buildings and an inscription goes to confirm their location. Although these drawings aim to represent a specific local area, they are not strictly topographical because the features within the drawings are not distinct enough for them to be identified without the inscriptions. The images seem to represent a sentimental, rather than topographical, view of the area focusing on the overall composition as opposed to specific physical features of the

⁴⁵ *Rediscovering the Lines Family: Drawings of Birmingham and Beyond in the Nineteenth Century*, exhibition catalogue, 2009, RBSA Gallery, 10. Also see cat. 44.

landscape. This contrasts to the organised grandeur that a picturesque landscape would possess. Although the drawings include detailed studies of the trees and surrounding river banks, and care has been taken in balancing certain compositional structures (for instance the river running through the centre of the drawings that leads the eye into the distance), ultimately, their main aim is to represent Edgbaston and Moseley at a specific point in time. This is indicated by the dates that have been inscribed in the bottom right in *Near Edgbaston* and also on *Moseley*. Why the artist decided to date the drawings so precisely is unknown, but similar annotations appear on several of the family's works on paper from the permanent collection of the RBSA such as *Woodland Track*, dated December 29, 1852 (cat. 54). However, the events that occurred on the estate shortly after 1830, strongly suggest that the artist was making a visual record of the area. Whether this was for personal, artistic or historical reasons is debatable but it is highly plausible that there was an element of all three in the artist's intentions. Henry Harris in particular had an interest in history (specifically archaeological but this was by no means restrictive) and Samuel senior had previously compiled a sketchbook of images depicting old Birmingham.⁴⁶

If *Near Edgbaston* and *Moseley Park/Edgbaston* were intended for sale, and thus to echo landscape theorists such as Gilpin, they would most certainly be grander in scale and in subject matter. At present, the family's drawings are informal sketches of the local countryside, which is implied by their size and lack of attribution. It can be argued that their compositional structure agrees with Gilpin's preference of: 'winding rivers like the Wye [...] composed of four grand parts: the area, which is the river itself; the two side screens, which are the opposite banks, and mark the perspective; the front-screen, which points out the winding of the river'.⁴⁷ This can clearly be seen in the drawing, with the addition of cows that add extra variety to the image.⁴⁸ However, Edgbaston itself was not recommended as a picturesque site by Gilpin, probably because of its close proximity to Birmingham. Gilpin does

⁴⁶ Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, [416119].

⁶⁹ Gilpin, *Three Essays*, 18.

⁴⁸ As suggested by Gilpin, *Three Essays*, 43.

briefly mention Birmingham in *Observations, on Several Parts of England, particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (published in 1786), a guide for the aspiring picturesque tourist.⁴⁹ His journey through the counties led him to Birmingham, via Coventry, a journey that he described:

‘The rest of the road to Birmingham leads, at first, through an open country; which afterwards becomes woody and close; and more pleasant, as we approach the town.’⁵⁰

However, he also commented on the growing population and how it disrupted his view:

‘The buildings, which you see scattered about the landscape, near Birmingham, are in great profusion, and generally of a reddish hue. For the country is populous; and the houses are built of a kind of brick, which has a peculiar red cast. Where this tint predominates, as it does here, it is very unpleasing.’⁵¹

Gilpin preferred areas of vast fields or mountains and this infuses his numerous publications including: *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, etc. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty Made in the Summer of the Year 1770* (1782) and *Observations on the Coasts of Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty Made in the Summer of the Year 1774* (1804). Although Edgbaston is not specifically mentioned in any of these publications, its location on the boundaries of a provincial town where red-brick houses predominate, may not have rendered it a ‘picturesque’ subject.

⁴⁹ W. Gilpin, *Observations, on Several Parts of England, particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1786*, London, 1808.

⁵⁰ Gilpin, *Observations, on Several Parts of England*, 56-57.

⁵¹ Gilpin, *Observations, on Several Parts of England*, 57.

Birmingham as a city technically did not exist until as late as 1889.⁵² Edgbaston, up until 1838, was considered a parish within the county of Warwickshire, as was the ancient parish of Birmingham.⁵³ The migration of workers into Birmingham and their settling to the east of Birmingham caused the boundaries of the parliamentary borough later to include Duddeston (with Nechells), Deritend and Bordesley as well as the whole parish of Edgbaston.⁵⁴ In 1838, the parliamentary borough of Birmingham was granted a charter and therefore became an incorporated borough and the boundaries laid previously were applied and used for this new municipality.⁵⁵ However, Birmingham did not gain its status as a city until 1889, with further extensions to the boundaries made in 1891 when half of Harborne was added (but omitting Smethwick) together with Balsall Heath, Saltley and Ward End.⁵⁶ Reference made to 'Birmingham' in this section relates to the ancient parish of Birmingham (i.e. before it gained its charter in 1838), unless otherwise stated.

Sir Richard Gough purchased the estate of Edgbaston in 1717. He had the area surveyed in 1718, and the results showed that there were a total of 64 houses scattered across the land.⁵⁷ He gradually developed the estate into residential properties. He instigated a 'minimum value for the houses to be built' on the estate (with the initial value set at £400); it was obvious that Gough intended only tenants of a certain calibre to live in the area.⁵⁸ In addition to this, Gough also had the plans for new houses inspected by the agent of the estate, a demonstration of his insistence upon creating and controlling a micro class structure within the boundaries of Edgbaston.⁵⁹ After his death in 1774, the land and title were inherited by his son, Henry Gough who, despite allowing the Worcester and Birmingham Canal to cut through the estate in the late eighteenth century, prohibited the

⁵² W.B. Stephens (ed), *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Warwickshire Vol VII: The City of Birmingham*, London, 1964, 2.

⁵³ Stephens (ed), *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Warwickshire*, 1.

⁵⁴ Stephens (ed), *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Warwickshire*, 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ P.B. Chatwin, *A History of Edgbaston*, Birmingham, 1914, 13.

⁵⁸ Slater, *Edgbaston: A History*, 25.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

building of warehouses or factories, so retaining its integrity as an area of rural character.⁶⁰ At the dawn of the new century, census reports revealed that in 1801, 1155 people were resident in Edgbaston but by 1821, this number increased by 75 percent.⁶¹ Although Henry Gough seemed to oppose the growth of industrial establishments on his land, he actively encouraged private individuals who were wealthy enough to settle within the area. Gough was also far-sighted in granting large and spacious building leases that were to later benefit the area by reducing the risk of overcrowding that was experienced in central Birmingham, in places such as Deritend.⁶²

In spite of Henry Gough's attempt to create an idealised suburban setting in Edgbaston, the Napoleonic Wars caused many to reconsider their financial positions, as Slater asserts: 'in times of depression there was little construction.' and growth was considered as relatively slow during this period.⁶³ It was not until George Gough-Calthorpe (1787-1851) acceded to the title of 3rd Baron Calthorpe in 1807 (after the death of his unmarried brother Charles), that the land began to flourish into an attractive residential area that was marketed to prosperous businessmen who were previously living in the densely populated centre of Birmingham.⁶⁴ Gough-Calthorpe offered his new residents large detached or semi-detached homes as an alternative to the more cramped living conditions in the town centre, only a mile away. By 1842, just twelve years after the Lines drawings were made, 342 building leases had been completed, mainly towards the eastern area of the parish, which enabled the estate rental to more than double.⁶⁵ In the late nineteenth century, even larger properties were introduced, some with approximately two and a half acres of grounds that accompanied the house.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ http://www.calthorpe.co.uk/pages/about_us/history.aspx, accessed on January 24, 2010.

⁶¹ Slater, *Edgbaston: A History*, 26.

⁶² Stephens (ed), *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Warwickshire*, 13.

⁶³ Slater, *Edgbaston: A History*, 26.

⁶⁴ Slater, *Edgbaston: A History*, 25.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ M. Hampson, *Images of England: Edgbaston*, Gloucestershire, 7.

It was not surprising that Edgbaston was able to develop into a desirable, wealthy residential suburb since its location (towards south west Birmingham) meant that winds would blow away the smog and pollution.⁶⁷ Slater also adds:

'In an industrial town such as Birmingham it was inevitable that building new houses closely followed the economic cycle; if business was flourishing businessmen built themselves fashionable new houses...'⁶⁸

To make way for these new housing developments, farming activity was relocated and restricted to the western side of the Edgbaston parish.⁶⁹ However, this is contradicted in the Lines family's drawings of the area, which show cattle grazing on the eastern borders of Edgbaston. This is indicated by the water source featured in the family's drawings which is extremely likely to be the River Rea or Bourn Brook. Furthermore, the accompanying study of Moseley Park suggests that the artist was travelling into Edgbaston from Moseley (or *vice versa*), which is located on the eastern border of the former. The drawings suggest that farming was still taking place on the land in 1830 and that it was still very much a rural idyll, despite the imminent expansion of the Gough-Calthorpe housing development.

The eastern border of Edgbaston was in the process of being developed into a respectable housing area and post-1838, this also spread to the Ladywood and Rotton Park vicinities to the west of the ancient parish of Birmingham, where the development of industrial sites took place, alongside housing and hospitals for the increasing number of workers migrating to the area.⁷⁰ In view of this, it seems that the drawings are idealising an

⁶⁷ Hampson *Images of England*, 25.

⁶⁸ Hampson, *Images of England*, 26.

⁶⁹ Hampson, *Images of England*, 25. Farming activity was probably moved to the western side of the parish because this was furthest from what is now considered the centre of Birmingham. The area towards the north-eastern region of Edgbaston had better road networks and was therefore more accessible to potential residents.

⁷⁰ Stephens (ed), *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Warwickshire*, 14.

area that was rapidly diminishing and grasping onto what little was left of truly rural Edgbaston.

The Lines Family's Drawings as 'Coded' Images

Roland Barthes' *Mythologies* is cited by Bermingham, concerning the 'naturalisation' of certain signs or codes within landscape imagery.⁷¹ Barthes is mainly concerned with the idea of reality and how it is portrayed in the media and through art as being 'natural' when in fact, he believes certain ideas to be myths.⁷² Such can be applied to the notion of 'reading' landscape imagery, for example the Lines family's depiction of Edgbaston which shows a series of semiotic signs, such as cattle grazing on a field, during a period where it was becoming rapidly suburbanized. The family's depictions can therefore be considered as representing and upholding a 'myth'; that Edgbaston was still thriving as farmland in 1830.

In understanding these drawings as coded images, containing signs that are understood as 'natural', may be a method of determining the artist's motives. The drawings themselves appear natural, in the artist's approach to depicting nature. The trees resemble trees, and the streams running in both foregrounds look very much like water running between two banks. The drawings have also been given titles, which suggest that the artist had a personal attachment to the area. This contrasts with Gainsborough's detachment from his landscapes that were often ambiguous: 'Gainsborough's landscapes are often anonymous, devoid of the usual topographical landscapes (villages, churches and so forth) that help identify the view'.⁷³ This is not the case of this particular member of the Lines family who has specified that the drawings were made in Edgbaston and near Edgbaston, even going as far as writing a specific date. It could be argued that the Lines family's depictions demonstrate 'naturalisation', where the scenes are viewed as natural, when they are not. Naturalisation is

⁷¹ R. Barthes, *Mythologies*, translated by Annette Lavers (1972), New York, 1957 and cited by Bermingham, *op. cit.*, 4.

⁷² Barthes, *Mythologies*, 10.

⁷³ Bermingham, *Mythologies*, 40.

evident here because the artist is representing an area that was being built on with houses, as a rural idyll. The population of Edgbaston rose from 1155 in 1801 to 3954 in 1831 and although there was rural land still in existence up until as late as the 1880s, there was very little remaining by the turn of the twentieth century.⁷⁴ The artist has therefore employed a series of objects that allows the viewer to understand it as farmland. Firstly, there is the cottage seen in the distance (*Near Edgbaston*), accompanied by a group of grazing cows (both drawings). To the viewer, these are classic signs of rural life, insinuating a farmer and his family living in the cottage, grazing the cows that are used for milking. The farmer will then sell the milk in order to make his living. In addition to this, a contraption resembling a floodgate can be seen in the distance of *Edgbaston*, which implies that there was a mill nearby.⁷⁵ These are yet further signs that affirm the image as representative of farming and agriculture. Potentially, these drawings could be the artist's construction of the myth that Edgbaston was still very much used for agriculture. The artist has put forward images of Edgbaston that may not be true to his own eyes. Despite the certainty that these drawings were made *in situ*, it is not certain whether there were actually cows in the field or that there was a cottage in the distance.

The drawings discussed are representative of the Lines family's studies of local rural scenes in the RBSA's permanent collection, showing fields and farmland. The subject matter is also typical of other nineteenth-century artists such as David Cox, John Ruskin and later artists such as Samuel Henry Baker (1824-1909). Making use of their local surroundings, they sketched the landscape that was readily available, focusing on rural scenes depicting the countryside. However, despite Edgbaston being such a desirable and affluent area, after the succession of George Gough-Calthorpe, the Lines family did not exhibit any views of the

⁷⁴ Stephens (ed), *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Warwickshire*, 13.

⁷⁵ Floodgates were devices used to divert water (usually from a stream) to a waterwheel that was attached to a mill. They were also popular motifs for many nineteenth-century artists such as John Constable.

locality at the Birmingham Society of Arts until as late as 1868.⁷⁶ With a growing market of potential patrons moving to the area, it is surprising that there was not a market for paintings or watercolours depicting their local environs. This queries whether there was a lack of demand for images of the area, or whether Edgbaston was not a subject that artists desired to paint and draw. In consideration of the declining rural countryside that was so near to their homes, there seemed to be little sentimentality for the 'actual loss' that was experienced, as suggested by Bermingham who refers to the reality of the shrinking countryside as a result of enclosure, and taken over by either industry or urbanisation.⁷⁷ However, the exhibition catalogues of the Birmingham Society of Arts (and later Artists) reveal that there seemed to be very little visual representation of Edgbaston as a rural idyll that would aid an 'imaginary recovery', whereby depictions of the countryside replace the actual loss incurred.⁷⁸ Although Bermingham argues specifically from the perspective of enclosure, and this chapter focuses on urban growth, both arguments highlight the physical loss of rural land. However, where Bermingham identified the positive effects that the physical change in the rural landscape during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century had on the rise of English landscape painting, it has here been recognised that on a provincial scale, there was a lack of artists attempting to recreate their local rural idylls through landscape painting.

The Popularity of Local Rural Scenes with Birmingham Patrons

The 1827 Birmingham Society of Arts exhibition catalogue of Modern Works of Art refers to twelve views of areas now considered to lie within modern Birmingham.⁷⁹ However, the majority favoured Aston as their subject, with the exception of a Miss S.R. Buckton, the only

⁷⁶ See author's transcript of Henry Harris Lines' Exhibition Ledger Book, Appendix 3. The 1868 exhibition refers to the Birmingham Society of Artists, Third Spring Exhibition of Paintings in Watercolour.

⁷⁷ Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 9.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Birmingham Society of Arts Exhibition Catalogue*, 1827. Titles of works that refer to a parish now within Birmingham have been included, such as Aston, Saltley and Witton Slade.

artist to depict Edgbaston, who won a silver medal for her watercolour entitled: *View at Edgbaston*.⁸⁰ The Lines family are not known to have exhibited any works depicting to Edgbaston until 1868 when Henry Harris Lined exhibited *In Edgbaston Park* (no. 566). However, the title of the work indicates an area of land in use as a gentleman's park, rather than for agriculture. The purpose of the land is therefore for leisure and recreation, not farming. The painting was not listed by Henry Harris as having been sold and so questions arise as to whether scenes of Edgbaston were popular for the buying public. This is contrary to Rosemary Treble, in her essay *The Victorian Picture of the Country*, which mentions the demand for nostalgic scenes of the British countryside amongst urban patrons.⁸¹ Further investigation into the Birmingham Society of Arts exhibition catalogues reveals that the numbers of works displayed relating to Edgbaston did not increase in relation to the expansion of housing developments on the estate. Even during the period of the 'second phase of development' between 1842 and 1880 where the population grew from 6600 (in 1841) to 22700 (in 1881), the numbers of such scenes exhibited did not increase.⁸²

The only full reference to a patron of Henry Harris's, who purchased a view of a local area, was to Mr W. I. Morley, who purchased *In Oakley Park, Shropshire* (no. 525) at the Birmingham Society of Artists exhibition in 1876. His address is listed at '86 New street, Town Hall Chambers, Birmingham' in Henry Harris's Exhibition Ledger Book. *Hulley's Birmingham Directory* for 1876-77 lists an accountant, John Morley at this address under the business name of 'J Morley & Son', suggesting that W.I. Morley was John's son.⁸³ Their home address is also listed as '24 Sherbourne Road' which is located in the present-day Acock's Green.⁸⁴ In the *Post Office Directory of Birmingham with its Suburbs 1875*, the address belonged to the Birmingham Building Society, with John Morley as the main contact,

⁸⁰ No. 148, Birmingham Society of Arts exhibition catalogue, 1827, 10. Henry Harris Lines exhibited *Watering Place, near Aston Hall* (no. 61, 7), *Witton Slade near Aston* (no. 78, 7) as well as *View at Aston* (no. 67, 7) in this particular exhibition.

⁸¹ R. Treble, 'The Victorian Picture of the Country', *The Victorian Countryside*, Volume I, G.E. Mingay (ed), 1981, 166-175.

⁸² Slater, *Edgbaston: A History*, 26.

⁸³ *Hulley's Birmingham Directory*, Birmingham, 1876-77, 288.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

thus it is possible that John worked for the building society or was its mortgagee before establishing his own business with his son.⁸⁵ Both factors would suggest that the family were affluent and well-respected, but there is a lack of further information concerning their support of the arts, and especially Henry Harris. However, this falls outside the scope of this thesis as it requires further, extensive research into local patronage.

Since a full analysis of Henry Harris's own patrons cannot be made in this instance, other sources need to be called upon to demonstrate that there were in fact patrons of the fine arts living within Edgbaston. David Cox's biographer Nathaniel Neal Solly compiled lists in Cox's biography, in order to locate existing works by the artist owned by patrons and other private collectors.⁸⁶ This list not only reveals some of Cox's patrons but also where they lived.⁸⁷ Furthermore, Cox had personal connections to the Lines family, as Solly states that Cox and Samuel senior had both been taught by Joseph Barber and therefore it could be that their works were thematically similar.⁸⁸ Henry Harris Lines was also known to have travelled with Cox, on a sketching trip to Yorkshire in 1830 and Cox seemed to have had some stylistic influence upon the young artist.⁸⁹ This does not imply that the Lines' patrons were the same, or demanded the same subjects, but Solly's compilation gives an indication of the types of subjects some patrons in Edgbaston purchased.⁹⁰

Landscapes of North Wales

Solly revealed that a Miss Phipson purchased Cox's *Carreg-Cennen Castle, South Wales* (1844). She lived in Edgbaston and bought the painting during Cox's 'early period in oils' and

⁸⁵ *The Post Office Directory of Birmingham with its Suburbs 1875*, London, 1875, 98.

⁸⁶ Solly, *Memoir of the Life of David Cox*.

⁸⁷ Some are owners of Cox's works, rather than patrons, having bought his work from a previous patron.

⁸⁸ Although this fact was not substantiated by Samuel himself, it was suggested by Solly, *op. cit.*, 5.

⁸⁹ Henry Harris Lines made studies after works of David Cox, such as *Crowhurst, Sussex (After David Cox)*, currently in a private collection. Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 12.

⁹⁰ Although it is highly likely that the family did share one patron with Cox, amateur artist William Roberts. Cox exchanged letters frequently with Roberts, whom he also considered a personal friend.

it was still in her collection at the time the biography was written in 1873.⁹¹ A similar painting can be seen as fig. 34, also entitled *Carreg-Cennen Castle* and dated 1844.⁹² Although it is not known whether this painting was the one previously owned by Miss Phipson, Solly's description of the one in her possession is also dated 1844, and therefore it is likely that they are the same.⁹³

In the *Carreg-Cennen Castle*, Cox has positioned the castle on a hill in the far distance. There is textural variety in this painting that features trees, rocks, a country path and the hill on which the castle sits. The tall trees to the left and right of the painting form two screens that frame the composition. This compositional formula is reminiscent of Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye* where he stated:

'winding rivers like the Wye is [*sic*] composed of four grand parts: the area, which is the river itself; the two side screens, which are the opposite banks, and mark the perspective; the front-screen, which points out the winding of the river'.⁹⁴

This compositional layout can be seen here; the trees replace the riverbanks, and the country track that leads into the woods takes the place of the river. Further activity can be seen here with a figure sitting on a horse facing the woods and a female with a dog stood nearby. The occupation of the figure sitting on the horse is uncertain, but the casual dress of the woman suggests that she is a local inhabitant. A herd of sheep can be seen coming out of the trees followed by another figure on horseback. This activity informs the viewer of rural activity and possibly tourism taking place in North Wales. Therefore, this suggests that Miss Phipson's painting is not specifically a picturesque landscape, nor a sentimental view of an

⁹¹ Possibly the period round 1842 as this was when Cox began to paint in oil at a higher standard. (Solly, *Memoir of the Life of David Cox*, 214).

⁹² Glynn Vivian Art Gallery, Swansea. It is uncertain whether this was the painting originally owned by Miss Phipson, but Solly's description of her version (*op. cit.*, 214) sounds extremely similar.

⁹³ The description can be found in Solly, *Memoir of the Life of David Cox*, 214.

⁹⁴ Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye*, 18.

area in her locality. However, the image does offer a sense of escape from the suburbs of Birmingham where she was living. This hints that those living in areas such as Edgbaston, actually desired images with a higher level of intellectual content or cultural value, images that were not just simple representations of a rural scene. *Carreg-Cennen Castle* demonstrates Cox's ability to incorporate aspects of Gilpin's picturesque and Burke's sublime and beautiful into a romantic scene; perhaps Miss Phipson was not just captured by the subject matter, but the way in which Cox had executed it.

In order to understand how picturesque or sublime landscapes came to be intellectually and culturally stimulating, it is necessary to put landscape painting as a genre into a nineteenth-century perspective. Landscape did not receive any sustained interest until the eighteenth century when it was viewed as an inferior, less profitable art in comparison with other genres such as history painting and portraiture.⁹⁵ Christopher Hussey states that the notion of a landscape in its own right was not even considered until the introduction into England of works by Claude Lorrain (1600-1682), Jacob van Ruysdael and others as a result of the French Revolution.⁹⁶ Yet there was an increase in sales of Old Master landscapes from the 1720s onwards which suggests a rise in the popularity of their work.⁹⁷ Great influence was found in the works of artists from the seventeenth century, namely: Claude, Salvator Rosa and Nicolas Poussin. Their paintings often featured classical or biblical stories told through figures set within a fictitious landscape. Claude's landscapes were especially popular, often combining a small series of figures with a magnificent landscape as the backdrop (see fig. 35). Claude's ability lay in combining a narrative at the height of its development with the magnificent landscape. Malcolm Andrews surmises that Claude's paintings: 'were (just) classifiable as history paintings'.⁹⁸ Running alongside the Italian School

⁹⁵For example, Richard Wilson was able to charge more than double if he added figures to his landscapes, Solkin, *Richard Wilson*, 26.

⁹⁶C. Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View*, 2nd ed., 1967, 2.

⁹⁷According to sales as stated by L. Parris, *Landscape in Britain c. 1750-1850*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Britain, London, 1973, 15.

⁹⁸M. Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque – Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1760 – 1800*, 26.

were the Netherlandish schools including works by Adam Elsheimer (1578-1610) and Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640).⁹⁹ Rubens' *The Château de Steen*, (fig. 36) for example, proved an influence on developments in the landscapes of both Turner and John Constable.¹⁰⁰ Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788) was particularly influenced by such works and although he preferred to paint landscapes in the Dutch or Flemish style to anything else, economically, portraits were much more profitable for him. It was generally conceived that seventeenth-century Dutch landscapes were too faithful in their representations and so provided little imagination in the compositions.¹⁰¹

The emergence of landscape aesthetics also promoted a greater sense of English national identity in the mid-eighteenth century through the rediscovery of the country by tourists and artists. This revived feeling of national identity promoted and encouraged arts of a more genteel nature such as landscape gardening and poetry and art began to have a focus upon the senses and the imagination rather than 'reason'.¹⁰² This heightened sense of national identity resulted in the desire to travel Britain to experience locations including secluded areas of North Wales such as Bettws-y-Coed. Tours around Britain were also considered as an alternative for those who could not afford to travel as Grand Tourists around Italy and Europe. This increased interest in British travel affected how the national landscape was perceived through art, poetry and philosophy.

North Wales, unlike the Midlands, was not experiencing dramatic physical (industrial) change. Although there were road developments, and later the construction of railways, this did little to affect the remoteness of the Welsh countryside. There is little sentimentality felt in the Lines' images of North Wales, as there were yet to be memories for viewers to reminisce upon. Instead, imagery of North Wales seemed concerned with literary influences such as

⁹⁹ Elsheimer was German but his landscape paintings went to influence distinguished artists of the Netherlandish school including Rubens and Rembrandt. Further information can be found at <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/artists/adam-elsheimer>, accessed 13 June 2011.

¹⁰⁰ According to Hussey, *The Picturesque*, 11 and others.

¹⁰¹ Hussey, *The Picturesque*, 28.

¹⁰² Hussey, *The Picturesque*, 4.

Gilpin's series of *Picturesque Tours*, which directed tourists to specific areas where they could see views that Gilpin considered 'picturesque'.¹⁰³ Cultural influences also played a significant part in raising the profile of Wales as a whole.¹⁰⁴

Travellers usually followed specific roads such as the route from Llangollen to Corwen and through the Vale of Clwyd that captured the imagination of several artists including Richard Wilson (1713-1782). This can be seen in Wilson's *Dinas Bran from Llangollen* (fig. 37) - a short journey upstream from the estate of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn who had commissioned Wilson to complete this painting as part of a pair.¹⁰⁵ The medieval castle can be seen high up on the hill with figures working in the foreground. Williams-Wynn was himself a Welshman so it could be said that these landscapes act partly as early souvenirs from the tours and at the same time are a way of relating to national identity. Therefore, images such as Wilson's could be considered as a symptom of this 'nationalistic fervour' particularly as it was commissioned by someone who had a personal connection with the area.¹⁰⁶

Samuel Lines and his sons admired the wilderness of North Wales and frequently visited the area to paint and sketch.¹⁰⁷ Samuel's travel journal dated 1825 reveals a long and sometimes treacherous journey there, but the descriptions of what he saw made the trip worthwhile:

'(In the Lugway) 12 miles forward brings us to the Conway
which crosses the road at this point about 1 mile forward

¹⁰³ For example, *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of Wales etc. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, 1782.

¹⁰⁴ Solkin, *Richard Wilson*, 86.

¹⁰⁵ Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn had also conducted a picturesque tour of North Wales took place in 1771. On this trip he employed the artist Paul Sandby to accompany him on the journey in order to record the scenery that they encountered on the trip. Aquatints were later made of several of Sandby's pieces.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ It is likely that they visited every summer, like other artists such as Samuel Henry Baker (1824-1909) who travelled to North Wales every summer and documented his visits in his diaries which are located at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-Upon-Avon, [DR142/1-DR142/5].

[a] river the beauty of which is lost for want
of Rain the imagination may however
add this to the surrounding scenery and
nothing more can be wanting to render a
ride of 14 hours less tiresome than it
would be in a less beautiful part of the
country the landscape scenery beyond here
is beautiful being made up of Bridges, Waterfalls
clumps of trees at various distances from the
eye distributed over an extreme undulating
surface, in colour graduating from the Brown
green finely varied and melting into the
dappled sides and purple grey of the
distant mountains.¹⁰⁸

An example of Samuel's more formal depictions of North Wales can be seen in fig. 32, entitled *Llyn Idwal*. The landscape depicts the lake of *Llyn Idwal* in the foreground, with the mountain of Cwm Idwal as the backdrop. The lake is named after Idwal, the son of the Welsh Prince Owain (c.1100-1170) who had the misfortune of drowning in the lake. The painting is over a metre wide and nearly a metre tall and presents to the viewer a magnificent awe-inspiring scene. The craggy mountain in the far distance towers over the cattle that are walking towards the lake to quench their thirst, leaving the viewer to wonder whether they will meet the same fate as Idwal. The small circle of blue sky above the peak of Cwm Idwal offers hope that the storm is clearing. However, it may also be that the blue sky is fast being engulfed by the impending storm. Furthermore, the damp moss growing to the right of the shadowy foreground adds to the cold, damp atmosphere. The cold blues and grays of the

¹⁰⁸ See author's transcription of Samuel's travel journal, Appendix 5.

brewing or fading storm gives the painting an unsettling feeling, in contrast to the warm browns and ochre in the middle ground.

It is not simply the size of the mountain behind the lake that makes this painting imposing, but also the latent fear that the same fate may overtake the viewer. The painting was purchased from the Council of the Birmingham Institute in 1978.¹⁰⁹ It had previously been on loan to Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery since the nineteenth century. It is highly likely that it was purchased by the Birmingham Institute, possibly from the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists exhibition of 1861, when Samuel displayed *Llyn Idwal, Vale of Nant Francon, North Wales* (value of £40, no. 188).¹¹⁰ The catalogues do not indicate whether the painting was sold or otherwise, but it seems that it was acquired by the Institute, which also purchased Henry Harris Lines' *Vaughton Hole, now Vaughton St. Birmingham as it appeared in 1835* later in 1875 (value of £15).¹¹¹

The face of the cwm evokes a sense of fear in the viewer, which is an essential sensation for experiencing the sublime as defined by Burke:

'Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects...'¹¹²

Burke argues that such terrible feelings are the result of emotions related to ideas of self-preservation, to which are opposed feelings towards society. This argument is derived from his analysis of emotions such as pain and pleasure, from which he concludes that pain and danger are the 'most powerful of all passions' and that feelings of pain have greater power.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ According to Samuel Lines' curatorial file at BMAG.

¹¹⁰ See further this author's transcribed list of works exhibited by the Lines family at the Birmingham Society of Arts (and Artists), Appendix 1.

¹¹¹ See Appendix 3.

¹¹² Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 39.

¹¹³ Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 38.

The sublime should therefore excite feelings of horror when provoked by viewing awe-inspiring scenes, such as *Llyn Idwal*.

The practical application of Burke's discourse can be used to describe Samuel's painting as sublime. The painting itself is relatively large in size (1272mm x 943mm) and complements the magnitude of the subject matter. The height of the cwm is also emphasised by the heron to the bottom right of the landscape, and the small line of cattle heading towards the lake, all of which are dwarfed by the scenery. To evoke further ideas of fear, the dark grey clouds create sinister shadows in the foreground, and those in the sky look ominous, covering up the last area of clear blue. An eerie mist is also shown creeping down the ridge on the far left, as if it were to slowly suffocate those who fall into its path. These elements combine to create an atmosphere of terror and dread as the viewer anticipates the imminent arrival of darkness and a possible storm. In addition to this, the lake's association with Idwal's death causes further discomfort to the viewer.

Although Burke's enquiry was written a century before Samuel painted *Llyn Idwal*, the painting demonstrates the impression his ideas made upon aesthetic theory that prevailed through to the early nineteenth century. To understand this painting as 'sublime' the viewer would be required to have prior knowledge of Burke's treatise. As importantly, it was essential that the artist had an understanding of Burke's work in order to apply it practically to art. This reflects a relationship between the influence of landscape aesthetic theory and the production of landscape art. That is to say that landscape aesthetic theory both influenced and was influenced by landscape art, thus demonstrating the importance of intellectual developments on the production and consumption of art. This idea can be explored through examining the establishment of intellectual societies in Worcester (as mentioned on page 82).

According to Henry Harris's biographer, Geoffrey Potter, Worcester was previously seen as lacking in intellectual activity.¹¹⁴ Potter noted that Edwin Lees had noticed 'Worcester's lack of the societies and institutions necessary for a man of refined intellect' during a visit in

¹¹⁴ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 12-13.

1828.¹¹⁵ However, this ‘was remedied by a Mr. Jackson’, who delivered a course of lectures on the subject of Natural Philosophy.¹¹⁶ From this emerged the Worcester Literary and Scientific Society, which became the exemplar for other societies within the region such as the Worcestershire Natural Society and the Worcester Archaeological Club. Henry Harris thrived in this community of intellectual activity and it was in Worcester that his work as both archaeologist and artist culminated.¹¹⁷

Edward Leader Williams, with whom Henry Harris was acquainted, had invited Constable to lecture at Worcester earlier in 1833 after the success of his talk at the Hampstead branch of the Literary and Scientific Society.¹¹⁸ Constable gave a series of three lectures on the theme: ‘An Outline of the History of Landscape Painting’, the third in the series took place in Worcester during October 1835.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, the Worcester lectures were never written down as he chose instead to work from notes to aid his thought process. A summary of his lectures was published in the *Worcester Guardian* but Constable had to tell the editor: ‘how sadly he had mangled and mixed up and contradicted all I had to say about painting...’.¹²⁰ Constable’s lecture confirms further that there was still a developing concern for landscape painting and aesthetic theory in the nineteenth century that responded to academic progress in the subjects. Constable remained close friends with the Williams and Henry Harris was also acquainted with Constable but the extent of their relationship is uncertain.¹²¹ However, Henry Harris was certainly affected by his fellow artist’s death and donated money to purchase *The Cornfield* that was presented to the National Gallery in 1837.¹²²

¹¹⁵ Edwin Lees was a school friend of Henry Harris. Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 13.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Henry Harris’ career as an archaeologist is discussed further in chapter three.

¹¹⁸ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 27-28.

¹¹⁹ Lord Windsor, *John Constable R.A.*, London, 1903, 130.

¹²⁰ Lord Windsor, *John Constable R.A.*, 136.

¹²¹ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 28.

¹²² *The Cornfield* was previously exhibited at the second Worcester Exhibition in 1835. No catalogues survive, therefore a catalogue number cannot be given. Henry Harris exhibited 11 works at this exhibition, as listed in his Exhibition Ledger Book, Appendix 3.

Conclusion

Through the case-study of the Lines family, this chapter has aimed to highlight the issues concerned with the production and consumption of landscape imagery, looking specifically at the family's representations of the Midlands and North Wales. Critical analysis of a selection of the family's imagery of local areas and picturesque landscapes has revealed how the images and their producers and consumers engaged with each other. In doing so, the effect of the changing geographical and social landscape in Edgbaston upon the consumption of images depicting the area has been explored, revealing that it was not a popular subject for either patron or artist. However, this implied that the potential patrons living in Edgbaston may have desired art of a higher intellectual content that made references to landscape aesthetic theory. The family's landscapes of North Wales have been discussed in relation to prevailing landscape aesthetic theory, suggesting how works such as *Rhinog Fach* and *Llyn Idwal* uphold Gilpin and Burke's ideas of the picturesque and sublime and in so demonstrating that these aesthetic theories were still relevant in the nineteenth century.

Industrial, scientific and academic progress in the nineteenth century contributed to the Lines family's production of landscape imagery, both of local rural scenes and picturesque or sublime. This shows how intellectual progress in the nineteenth century led to further enquiries into landscape aesthetic theory, such as the lectures and essays by Constable. The establishment of art and philosophical societies, and the instigation of art exhibitions by living artists is evidence to prove that both Birmingham and Worcester were at the forefront of a social intellectual revolution. Henry Harris' role as a landscape artist helped sustain and build upon prevalent landscape aesthetic theories in this hub of intellectual activity.

The following chapter explores these themes further, looking specifically at Henry Harris's historical forays into archaeology. His involvement with institutions such as the Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts in Worcester and also the Worcester Archaeological Club will probe the role of ideology in his depictions of antiquarian themes.

CHAPTER 3

DEPICTIONS OF THE ANCIENT AND THE ANTIQUE: THE IMPACT OF HISTORICAL THOUGHT ON THE WORKS OF HENRY HARRIS LINES

The large oil painting *The British Camp and Herefordshire Beacon, Worcestershire* (fig. 38) by Henry Harris Lines culminates his archaeological interests and artistic ability. The central focus of this landscape painting is the British Camp, an Iron Age hill fort camp on the Herefordshire Beacon, seen in the far distance. The British Camp is surrounded by the ancient Malvern Hills. Although a significant painting in itself in terms of its size and quality, the subject matter is also of great interest here. Where chapter two discussed in detail the Lines family's landscape depictions, this chapter reveals how Henry Harris Lines was able to marry his skills as an amateur archaeologist and antiquarian with his artistic knowledge and expertise. Exploration of the British Camp and Midsummer Hill has been fairly extensive in recent years, with the latest major study made in 2005, in collaboration with English Heritage.¹ Many of the early explorations were made in the nineteenth century, with Henry Harris's own research making up most of the scholarship on the subject from that period. Several nineteenth-century sources make reference to his research, notably James McKay (1875), F.G. Hilton Price (1881) and Stanley C. Stanford (1981).² However, the most recent significant publication by Bowden, *et al*, (2005) failed to acknowledge the significance of Henry Harris's surveys and plans of the area, (they fail to mention any of them) that Stanford referred to so extensively.³

¹ Bowden, *et al.*, *The Malvern Hills*.

² J. McKay, *The British Camp on the Herefordshire Beacon*, Malvern, 1875. F.G. Hilton Price, 'Camps on the Malvern Hills', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. X, 1881, 319-331. S. C. Stanford, *Midsummer Hill: An Iron Age Hillfort on the Malverns*, Leominster, 1981.

³ There is no obvious reason for Bowden *et. al.* to omit Henry Harris's research. However, the publication may have considered his findings too academic for its popular audience.

Henry Harris Lines belonged to the generation of British amateur archaeologists prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century who helped spur national interest in the country's ancient past. His endeavours were noted in the *Berrow's Worcester Journal* shortly after his death:

'In his rambles on the lonely hill sides of Western England and Wales Mr. Lines came across many old earthworks and other relics of the former inhabitants of the land, which roused his interest. He made careful drawings of many camps; and the vast earthworks on the Herefordshire Beacon were foot by foot measured by him three times over.'⁴

After relocating to Worcester in 1832, Henry Harris became ever more involved with pursuits of an archaeological nature, although not fully committing to the subject until he reached the age of sixty.⁵ As an artist he was better known for his landscapes, but as an archaeologist he had a special interest in the earthworks of ancient Roman and British Camps, as supported by the passage quoted above. He spent a good part of his later years surveying the Malvern Hills and also travelled to North Wales where he would sketch and study ancient Welsh stone monuments alongside his artistic pursuits.⁶ Therefore, his involvement with the various branches of history and depictions of historical subjects form much of the visual and written evidence given in this chapter.

It was also evident from the exhibition *Rediscovering the Lines Family: Drawings of Birmingham and Beyond in the Nineteenth Century* (curated by the author) that Henry Harris and his family had a natural affinity with imagery of historical subjects, especially church interiors and buildings or sites of historical significance. This includes studies of architecture, which featured in their drawings, watercolours and oil paintings, depicting buildings such as

⁴ 'Death of Mr. H. H. Lines', *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, February 23, 1889. The newspaper is unpaginated.

⁵ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 16 and Introduction written by anonymous contributor in 'Breidden Hill Camp, and other Camps in the Vicinity', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. XXIII, London, 1889, 321.

⁶ The Malvern Hills is a collective term that includes the Herefordshire Beacon (also known as the British Camp), Midsummer Hill and Hollybush Hill amongst others, which were of particular interest to Henry Harris.

Holt Church in Worcestershire and Buildwas Abbey in Shropshire.⁷ Many of these drawings are here attributed to Henry Harris and contribute greatly to the family's known repertoire of scenes depicting the Midlands and beyond.⁸ History is a theme that recurs in the family's works, inviting further exploration. Thus, this chapter examines the social and intellectual climate in which they were made, on both a local and national scale.

The family's architectural drawings represent a developing awareness of architectural historicism that became prevalent in the first half of the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century had a contradictory fascination with scientific and historical scholarship.⁹ Ground-breaking scientific and technological advances, such as the building and growth of the rail network, were made alongside historical discoveries. Furthermore, the antiquarian rediscovery of prehistoric and Iron Age Britain in the late eighteenth century spurred on the development of archaeology throughout the nineteenth century that became a recognised form of historical scholarship in its own right.¹⁰ History had been considered fixed and static until the growth and development of science, which ultimately challenged and directed existing historical scholarship and the nineteenth-century perception of time.¹¹ Thus, the desire to pursue history was juxtaposed with scientific innovations.¹² As a result, the approaches to historical scholarship shifted into the three distinct branches, as identified by Philippa Levine: antiquarianism, history and archaeology.¹³ This contributed to the establishment of intellectual groups consisting of amateur clubs and institutions creating what

⁷ See catalogue entries 1, 18 and 40.

⁸ The architectural imagery referred to in this chapter includes Henry Harris's architectural drawings that are historically significant or have an ecclesiastical resonance but excludes depictions of buildings as motifs, such as cottages and barns as these objects represent an alternative rural tradition which is discussed in chapter 2.

⁹ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 1.

¹⁰ Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, 8.

¹¹ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 2.

has been called a significant community of practice, defined by the collective endeavour of a group engaged in a pursuit of knowledge.¹⁴

The professionalisation of the study of history that resulted in the formation of amateur groups, clubs and institutions that promoted and encouraged the study of antiquities, archaeology and the sciences was prevalent in many provincial towns and cities, including Worcester and Birmingham. For example, Worcester saw the establishment of the Worcester Institution for the Promotion of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts in 1834. These groups had multiple aims, but usually they promoted various branches of science, history and natural history by instigating programmes that included lectures by researchers and visits to historical or ancient sites, as well as stately homes. For example, the Malvern Naturalists' Field Club (also known as the Malvern Field Club) held a series of five outdoor field visits during the summer, and five lectures during the winter in its first year of establishment.¹⁵ This chapter argues that since the first half of the nineteenth century had yet to recognise and distinguish these subjects as separate disciplines, they were able to thrive together in amateur organisations. Worcester was not unique in its encouragement of these branches of knowledge, as Birmingham was also home to the Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society (founded in 1859), the Midland Institute (which had an archaeology section) as well as the Dudley and Midland Geological and Scientific Society and Field Club (founded 1862).¹⁶ Several groups, such as the Worcester Naturalists' Club and the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, are still very active today.¹⁷

¹⁴ For further ideas associated with the concept of 'communities of practice', refer to E. Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*, Cambridge, 1998. Etienne Wenger is the key figure in the development of this idea.

¹⁵ M. C. Hodgetts, *Malvern Naturalists Field Club Founded 1852: The Early History*, unpublished pamphlet, 1986, 3. The club is referred to as the 'Malvern Field Club' for the continuation of this chapter.

¹⁶ 'Newspaper Cuttings relating to excursions of Birmingham and Midland Natural History and Archaeological Societies c. 1860-1877', scrapbook, Birmingham Archives and Heritage, [458171]. Also, *Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society, Annual Report and List of Members for the Year 1877*, printed in Birmingham, 1878. This was the Society's nineteenth annual report, thus indicating that the Society was established in 1859. Furthermore, the Report also reveals (on the last page of the unpaginated booklet) that the Society was originally founded as 'The Birmingham Natural History Association', later changing its title to 'Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society' in 1864. In addition, *Transactions of the Dudley and Midland Geological and Scientific Society, and Field Club*, printed in Birmingham, 1862, states that a meeting was held in the July of the same year whereby the decision was made to establish the Society.

Sam Smiles introduces an alternative perspective on the rise of the archaeologist, differing from that of Levine's well-supported argument. Rather than considering history, antiquarianism and archaeology as three separate branches, Smiles argues that in fact antiquarianism and archaeology were thought of as the same until the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁸ The separation between the two took place because of 'the growth of more rigorous archaeology'.¹⁹ Although both arguments recognise a change in the middle of the nineteenth century towards a greater distinction between the disciplines, Levine identifies the existence of archaeologists and antiquarians interacting in the same social and intellectual spheres (therefore making them harder to distinguish), whereas Smiles detects that archaeologists were a subsidiary category within antiquarianism that managed to break away due to the growing extent of their activity. Both points of view are feasible, but this chapter challenges these ideas, suggesting that they do not necessarily apply to the intellectual community in which Henry Harris established himself. The examples which follow are used to demonstrate the diversity of amateur communities in Worcester and Malvern, which made it more difficult to identify the emergence of the individual disciplines.

The names of the intellectual groups reveal the extent of their interests. For example, 'The Worcester Institution for the Promotion of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts' encompasses three very different subject areas. This suggests that it was possible to pursue more than one, with interdisciplinary study accepted and quite possibly the norm. Moreover, this point can be taken further by The Natural History Society's lecture on experimental chemistry by Dr Thomson in 1834.²⁰ Chemistry is not necessarily considered a branch of natural history today, although it would probably be considered as a bioscience by university institutions. 'Experimental' chemistry especially reveals the new and novel nature of the subject to its audience and presupposes a willingness on their part to participate in what

¹⁷ For more information concerning the current activities of these clubs, see their websites: Worcester Naturalists' Club: <http://www.wnc.org.uk/> and Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club: <http://www.woolhopeclub.org.uk/Library.shtml>.

¹⁸ Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, 166.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Worcester Herald*, 19 April 1834, unpaginated.

would have been upcoming and innovative scientific research. Geology, botany, archaeology were amongst the broad interests of the Naturalists' Field Club (with branches in Malvern as well as Worcestershire, the village of Woolhope (Herefordshire), the Cotswolds and Warwickshire).²¹ Their activities mainly consisted of outdoor excursions during the summer months when the weather was finer (although it is often reported that the group suffered inclement weather), followed by a series of lectures during the winter when outdoor pursuits were less practical.²²

The first half of the nineteenth century saw Worcester flourish as a centre for the study of natural history, with the further establishments of the Worcester Naturalists' Club, (established by Edwin Lees and two friends in 1847) as well as the Malvern Naturalists Field Club (also known as the 'Malvern Field Club', established 1852), in which Henry Harris was an active member.²³ Moreover, Potter's account of Henry Harris's life also reveals the influence of Edward Leader Williams (the father of artist Benjamin Williams Leader) and his brother-in-law, Henry Whiting upon his career.²⁴ Both were 'chief patrons of art' in the city and were also active members of the Scientific and Literary Society whose intentions were to promote a 'library of useful knowledge' by offering lectures amongst their programme of events on subjects such as electricity and pneumatics.²⁵ However, the Society was not for endorsing 'works of the imagination such as novels, romances, plays...etc.'²⁶ Whiting in particular was a patron of Henry Harris, as was Benjamin Williams Leader.²⁷ Lees was

²¹ These are just a few examples of where branches were.

²² The lectures were not listed in the *Malvern Naturalists' Field Club, Minutes (no.2)*, unpublished transcript, 1859-1869, Malvern Library, [Local History 506]. However, Hodgetts suggests that the Club originally held 5 visits in the summer and 5 lectures in the winter. See M. C. Hodgetts, *Malvern Naturalists Field Club Founded 1852: The Early History*, unpublished pamphlet, 1986, 3.

²³ As discussed by M. M. Jones, *The Lookers-Out of Worcestershire: A Memoir of Edwin Lees, Worcester Naturalist, and the History of the First Hundred Years of the Worcester Naturalists Club, which he founded with two friends in 1847*, Worcester, 1980 and Hodgetts, *Malvern Naturalists Field Club Founded 1852*.

²⁴ See Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*.

²⁵ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 16 and Jones, *The Lookers-Out of Worcestershire*, 14-15.

²⁶ Jones, *The Lookers-Out of Worcestershire*, 14.

²⁷ See Appendix 4.

extremely proactive in the Worcester circle of intellectual institutions, holding official posts in at least three.

Malvern and Worcester were not exclusive in their rediscovery of the Iron Age hillfort camps on the nearby hills, as it has been recorded that The Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society also made a visit to Oldbury Camp, whilst travelling to Atherstone, Mancetter and Nuneaton. Oldbury Camp was known in the nineteenth century as a summer camp for the Romans. A report of the visit was published in *The Birmingham Daily Gazette*, April 4 1877.²⁸ The report reveals the extent and scope of study undertaken by these enthusiastic groups of amateurs, taking note of the archaeological and historical aspects surrounding them:

'[there were] numerous *tumuli*, supposed to be barrows, on the way. The camp is upon very high ground, and from whence a lovely view over Leicestershire is obtained. About a century ago a mansion was built in the centre of the encampment, and in order to make ornamental grounds to it some of the earthworks were partially destroyed. Oldbury was a summer camp of the Romans, but it is evident that before the Romans occupied it it was made and held by ancient Britons.'²⁹

The use of the technical term '*tumuli*', to describe ancient burial mounds (or quite correctly, 'barrows'), implies that the group were knowledgeable about these specific features of the camp, which is also stated to be originally British and not Roman, thus demonstrating a greater depth of knowledge than perhaps the average traveller or tourist. Appreciation of their surroundings also features in the comment '...from whence a lovely view over Leicestershire is obtained', which can be argued as illustrating their amateur status, through

²⁸ *The Birmingham Daily Gazette*, April 4 1877 from 'Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Excursions of Birmingham and Midland Natural History and Archaeological Societies c. 1860-1877', Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, [458171].

²⁹ *Ibid.*

this touristic approach to the environs.³⁰ Concern for the destruction of ancient earthworks is also evident, suggesting a respect towards the ancient sites and the value of their study. It is therefore evident that visits of this nature held by amateur groups were important for the amateur historian, archaeologist and scientist, as they provided an opportunity to learn and experience knowledge through using primary evidence.

This chapter introduces the architectural studies that were used as teaching aids in the Lines family's drawing academy, alluding to their significance in demonstrating an increasing artistic and social awareness for architectural styles and design. Also focusing on the architectural elements of the family's work, the chapter discusses the influence of the rising concern for architectural historicism that emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century, strongly linked to antiquarian studies of the period.³¹ Playing a pivotal part in instigating the ecclesiological movement, the antiquarians were also the cultural force that helped shape the nation's attitude to religion and its moral function.³² Ecclesiology was later incorporated into its agenda, adopting new attitudes towards church architecture, focusing on its function and symbolism. The re-evaluation of the nation's religious attitudes created a dominant ideology that concerned itself with the re-instigation of morality at the forefront of society. This notion is explored in greater depth, in relation to Henry Harris's church interiors, which feature prominently in the catalogue. The importance of the drawings as visual historical documents is examined, as is their purpose, both themes that have not been discussed in detail elsewhere. The chapter suggests the influence of antiquarianism, which had strong ties with the development of ecclesiology, upon Henry Harris's depictions of church interiors by revealing the pursuits of influential groups such as the Cambridge Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society in 1845) on the reception of ecclesiastical architecture. In doing so, the ideological nature of Henry Harris's drawings is assessed.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ The term 'architectural historicism' was first used in this context by C. Dellheim, *The Face of the Past: Preservation of the Medieval Inheritance in Victorian England*, Cambridge, 1982.

³² Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 12.

The previous theme leads into a discussion concerning the rise of historical study and research, using Henry Harris's artistic and archaeological depictions as evidence. The latter part of the chapter explores in greater depth Henry Harris's archaeological endeavours, aiming to support further the idea that intellectual institutions and groups facilitated artists to produce works that had a scientific and historically relevant purpose. In addition to this, the chapter draws attention to the unique nature of Henry Harris's archaeological surveys which marry his skills as artist and archaeologist.

This chapter takes into account the research made for and evidence found in the accompanying catalogue entries to situate the family's architectural imagery in a wider, social context. Whereas the aim of the catalogue has been to provide detailed and specific information regarding the subject, attribution and dating, this chapter relates the undivided works to movements and events occurring during the nineteenth century. Documenting Henry Harris's accomplishments and pursuits is key in this chapter, and also the role of nineteenth-century institutions upon the production of his work. In *The Social Production of Art*, Wolff argues that the exploration of the ideological nature of art, and its production, has often omitted the influence of institutional factors.³³ In examining such institutional factors, Wolff herself aims to look at the determinants that enabled art production, and also those that affected art consumption including the role of the art critic and publisher.³⁴ Thus the Birmingham Society of Arts and also the Lines family's own private academy, which were integral in artistically educating Samuel's sons, are here discussed. However, this chapter extends Wolff's argument to examine the impact of local and national intellectual groups on Henry Harris's historical imagery. This includes those with which Henry Harris had direct involvement as well as those who had a national agenda such as the Worcester Archaeological Club, to which he gave a guided tour of the Malvern Hills and the Oxford Movement and Cambridge Camden Society who were the forerunners of the Christian

³³ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 29.

³⁴ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 40-46.

Revival in the mid-nineteenth century that encouraged studies into ecclesiastical architecture.³⁵ Despite the emphasis on the role of intellectual institutions, this chapter does not seek to document their establishment and growth, referring instead to their development as evidence for prevailing attitudes towards the pursuit of knowledge.

The Influence of Ideology on the Production of Historical Imagery

The application of ideology here enables this chapter to explore the practices of these intellectual groups and their influence on Henry Harris's production of historical imagery. Acknowledging that the concept of 'ideology' can be problematic, this chapter focuses specifically on how Henry Harris's work was produced during a period when history and antiquarian scholarship were at their peak, so demonstrating how art is affected by, and intrinsically linked to, the social conditions in which the artist creates. This idea is derived from Wolff's notion that works of art are products of society's customs and beliefs.³⁶ Highlighted in this chapter are the various amateur societies and clubs in which Henry Harris was involved, making reference to Wolff's statement concerning the importance of 'identifiable social groups' to the formation of ideology.³⁷ Henry Harris's involvement with these societies and their practices is supporting evidence for the reasons behind his artistic and archaeological endeavours, applying Wolff's idea that Henry Harris's work was influenced by the intellectual community in which he worked and socialised.

A Marxist approach to art enables analysis of the interaction between the social classes. Although class structure is not the key issue here, this chapter suggests how intellectual groups, such as the Malvern Naturalists' Field Club, were able to enforce a dominant-class ideology, and how their ideas, values and beliefs consequently affected Henry Harris's production of historical imagery. In viewing art as ideological, it suggests that art can visually

³⁵ *The Worcester Herald*, May 21, 1870, unpaginated.

³⁶ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 49.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

support the beliefs and values of the dominant classes. It can also be argued that these dominant ideas can be challenged, again through art, by the subservient classes. However, it is with the former that this chapter is concerned. This is demonstrated by discussing a national and local awareness of history, science and Christian morals.

Understandably, the use of ideology can be problematic as Wolff argues: 'there is unfortunately a good deal of disagreement about what 'ideology' is'.³⁸ Ideology is a tool originally used by Marxists and sociologists to reveal the relationship between humans and their material existence, thus implying that all objects that are created are somehow intrinsic to society's system of beliefs and values.³⁹ Opposing the idea that art and literature are detached from social thought 'outside of the aesthetic sphere', in claiming that art is ideological, Wolff argues that the production of art is inherently linked to occurrences in society, at a given time in history.⁴⁰ However, the concept of ideology does not indicate how ideas are created from the material conditions of existence, or the form that the relationship takes.⁴¹ Furthermore, it does not specify how to distinguish groups or individuals, or rather it does not consider the fluidity of society which in reality is not formed in a rigid class structure.⁴² Laurence Grossberg (*New Keywords*, 2005) also points to the problem that 'A text does not wear its ideological position on its back for all to see', as further explained by theorists such as Antonio Gramsci, Ernesto Laclau and Stuart Hall.⁴³ The same notion can be applied to art, which also does not make obvious its ideological position. These three problems are those which are most relevant to this chapter, and like Wolff who employs a concept that she considers has 'the best analytical value', this chapter applies an approach

³⁸ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 50.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ T. Bennett, L. Grossberg, et. al., *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, Oxford, 2005, 176.

that most appropriately reveals how ideologies of the nineteenth-century and the intellectual groups went to affect the type of historical imagery produced by the Henry Harris.⁴⁴

In consideration that ideology does not reveal how ideas are created from the material conditions of existence, this chapter does not aim to identify the exact causes for the rise in social consciousness regarding the study of antiquities, archaeology or ecclesiology. However, it is here suggested that the scientific developments in the eighteenth century, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, encouraged England to reassess its historic past. Identifying the form which the relationship between the creation of ideas and society's material conditions takes is more problematic. It is therefore considered that the intellectual groups themselves are a form from which ideas are created, as well as being ideological forms themselves.⁴⁵ To explore this relationship, this chapter focuses mainly on the intellectual groups in Worcester and Henry Harris Lines, revealing their activities and influences.

As this is the first piece of academic research undertaken on the Lines family it is important first to engage with their work and contexts. The methodological approach used here alludes to wider enquiries that could extend this project further in the future. Like Wolff, this chapter does not intend to analyse Marx's texts, but to engage with a methodology that is able to explore the relationship between the ideas and values of the intellectual groups and societies in which Henry Harris was involved.

Exhibition of Architectural Studies in Birmingham

The Birmingham Society of Arts first exhibition of modern works, which took place in 1827, incorporated art in the broadest sense. Amongst the paintings and watercolour drawings on

⁴⁴ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 50.

⁴⁵ Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, 54.

display were also engravings, miniatures, models and statues, and architectural studies.⁴⁶ These architectural studies were by reputable architects such as William Hollins senior (1763-1843) (he was also a sculptor), Thomas Rickman (1776-1841) and Henry Hutchison (1800-1831). Hollins, as well as being a Member of the Society, was also responsible for the alterations made to the Panorama Building in which this exhibition was held.⁴⁷ Hutchison and Rickman (Hutchison was Rickman's pupil) also played an important role in designing and building the Society's new rooms on New Street.⁴⁸ The works they exhibited included a mixture of general designs, as well as plans that had already been commissioned and were in the process of being built. For example, Hutchison and Rickman exhibited a design for the *Elevation of the principal Front of the New Buildings erecting at St. John's College, Cambridge* (no. 104) and Hollins displayed an ambiguously titled *Architectural Design* (no. 97).⁴⁹ Other designs in this category included *Design for a National Trophy in honour of his late Royal Highness Frederick Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief* (no. 100) by Peter Hollins (1800-1886) (son of William) and *Design for a Chair of State* (no. 95) by W.L. Matthews (deceased at the time of exhibition).⁵⁰ This inclusion of architects and their designs in the exhibition evidences the Society's all-inclusive agenda for the development of the fine arts in Birmingham.

Noticeably, half of the architectural designs in the Society's first Exhibition of Modern Works were plans for ecclesiastical buildings, thus drawing attention to the increasing demand for and awareness of ecclesiastical architecture. This is also suggestive of the general growing demand for architectural designs taking place in the late 1820s. The demand for churches and church restorations became more prevalent a little later between

⁴⁶ See further *Birmingham Society of Arts First Exhibition 1827*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 1827.

⁴⁷ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 117. These alterations, according to Fawcett, included the addition of extra skylights to the exhibition room and the erection of a screen to obscure the Society's casts (displayed normally in their museum) from view during the exhibition of modern works.

⁴⁸ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 117 and 181 (footnote no. 83).

⁴⁹ *Birmingham Society of Arts First Exhibition 1827*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham, 1827.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

1840 and 1875, when over 7000 medieval churches were restored, rebuilt or enlarged.⁵¹ This number 'represented nearly 80 per cent of all old parish churches in England and Wales, and is more than double the number of new churches built over the same period.' according to the parliamentary *Survey of Church Building and Church Restoration*, first published in 1874 (Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, 1876).⁵² The Survey was originally initiated by Anglican Members of Parliament to prove that large church expenditures were financed by private donations rather than church rates paid by the congregation.⁵³

The Growing Concern for Ecclesiastical Architecture

The mid-nineteenth century saw a development in religious ideology concerning the embodiment of religious and social morality in ecclesiastical architecture. This growing concern for a spiritual connection through architecture gained momentum in the 1830s and 1840s, and culminated in the establishment of the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society, and the publication of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's (1812-1852) book *Contrasts* (1836) in which he illustrated comparisons between architectural landmarks dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, with those constructed in the Middle Ages.⁵⁴ In *Contrasts*, Pugin blamed Protestantism and a revival in Paganism for the decline of Christianity's faith and morals.⁵⁵ He also disapproved of the declining state of architecture during the period, which was poorly restored or neglected.⁵⁶ Pugin's discourse was greatly to influence the Gothic Revival in that he referred to medieval architecture as being 'true' and 'honest' to the Christian faith.

⁵¹ C. Miele, 'Their Interest and Habit': Professionalism and the Restoration of Medieval Churches, 1837-77', C. Brooks & A. Saint (eds), *The Victorian Church, Architecture and Society*, Manchester, 1995, 151-172, 156.

⁵² Cited by Miele, 'Their Interest and Habit', 156.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ A.W. Pugin, *Contrasts: or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing [sic] the Present Decay of Taste*, 2nd ed., London, 1841, 1.

⁵⁵ Pugin, *Contrasts*, 13.

⁵⁶ Pugin, *Contrasts*, 35.

‘Pointed or Christian Architecture has far higher claims on our admiration than mere beauty or antiquity; the former may be regarded as a matter of opinion, - the latter, in abstract, is no proof of excellence, but in it alone we find *the faith of Christianity embodied, and its practices illustrated.*’⁵⁷

Although a Roman Catholic convert himself, Pugin’s architectural and religious theories were employed not only by the Roman Catholics, but also by the Church of England.⁵⁸ To Pugin, Gothic architecture was a principle and not a style, thus it was able to uphold the moral values of Christianity.⁵⁹ Pugin believed that Gothic architecture was the physical embodiment of the faith, representing the ‘three great doctrines’ which were the fundamental principles of Christianity, but also of Christian architecture.⁶⁰ The three doctrines were man’s redemption by the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross, the union of God, Jesus and the Holy Ghost into one Godhead, and the resurrection of the dead.⁶¹ These doctrinal beliefs were symbolised in church architecture firstly through its plan, which formed the shape of a cross, with additional crosses placed on the tips of spires and gables.⁶² Secondly, the union of the three elements that formed the Godhead was present in the arches and windows that were shaped ‘in the triangular form’, each corner representing one of the key elements.⁶³ The resurrection of the dead was visualised in the height of the structure, emphasised by tall columns decorated with vertical lines.⁶⁴ Most importantly for Pugin, the Gothic style symbolised the Catholic revival and re-cohesion of the faith. This was especially significant

⁵⁷ Pugin, *Contrasts*, 2-3.

⁵⁸ D. Watkin, *English Architecture: A Concise History*, revised ed., London, 2001, 158.

⁵⁹ J.S. Curl, *Victorian Architecture*, Newton Abbott, 1990, 37.

⁶⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts*, The Victorian Library ed., Leicester, 1969, 3.

⁶¹ Pugin, *Contrasts*, The Victorian Library ed., 3.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

because of the suppression of Catholicism in England from the sixteenth century, which did not come to an end until the Emancipation Act of 1829.⁶⁵

Spurred on by a revival of interest in medieval architecture in antiquarian circles, ecclesiology was founded to explore English medieval architecture as the true representation of Christian morality and divinity.⁶⁶ Intellectual institutions and societies concentrated much of their time on ecclesiastical architecture, a result of this ecclesiastical movement.⁶⁷ These societies debated the function of architecture in Christianity, seeing it as a 'crusade of moral importance'.⁶⁸ During this period, the Church of England having suffered a decline in its doctrinal authority experienced its own Catholic Revival powered by the Oxford Movement and Cambridge Camden Society.⁶⁹ Although the intentions of both associations were to reinforce the Church of England's religious and moral principles, the Oxford Movement stressed the importance of the 'sacraments and the spiritual role of the church' whereas the Cambridge Camden Society focused on the 'correct, i.e. medieval, forms of church building and liturgy'.⁷⁰ Camden 'was probably the most influential undergraduate society of all time'.⁷¹ Thus these prevailing ideas for religious reform, are evidence for a developing religious ideology that was not only concerned with the spiritual aspect of the faith, but also the practical as seen in the movement's connection with ecclesiastical architecture and worship.

The Oxford Movement was founded in 1833, before the establishment of the Cambridge Camden Society. The movement, also known as the Tractarian Movement (because of the publication *Tracts for the Times* circulated by the group), came about due to the decline of the Church of England during the late 1820s.⁷² In an effort to revive the faith and to uphold its integrity and morals, an association was formed: 'which may serve as the grounds of defence

⁶⁵ Watkin, *English Architecture*, 156.

⁶⁶ Pugin, *Contrasts*, 1.

⁶⁷ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 46.

⁶⁸ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 47.

⁶⁹ Watkin, *English Architecture*, 158.

⁷⁰ Watkin, *English Architecture*, 158.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² W. Palmer, *A Narrative of Events Connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times, with Reflections on Existing Tendencies to Romanism...*, 3rd ed., Oxford and London, 1843, 2.

of the Church's best interests against the immediate difficulties of the present day'.⁷³ Their objects were circulated alongside the 'Suggestions for the Formation of an Association of Friends of the Church', in the autumn of 1833:

'1. To maintain pure and inviolate the doctrines, the services, and the discipline of the Church; that is, to withstand all change, which involves the denial and suppression of doctrine, a departure from primitive practice in religious offices, or innovation upon the Apostolical prerogatives, order, and commission of bishops, priests, and deacons.

2. To afford Churchmen an opportunity of exchanging their sentiments, and co-operating together on a large scale.'⁷⁴

The Cambridge Camden Society, on the other hand, began publishing their reports in 1842, which included the Society's activities from the year of their foundation in 1839. The reports listed donations of drawings by both members and non-members including works by F. Ll. Lloyd, Esq. (ordinary member) St. John's College and Rev. W.H. Oliver, Esq. (ordinary member) Trinity College. Drawings donated by these artists included *Tredington, Warwickshire, South Door* and *Elford, Staffordshire, Two Windows*.⁷⁵ These drawings contributed to the antiquarian interests of the Society's membership, which was largely responsible for raising the profile of ecclesiology as a serious study.⁷⁶ The titles of the donated works suggest a similarity in subject matter to various drawings by the Lines family, notably, *Hampton Lovett*, (1817-1886) [BIRSA:2007X.523] here attributed to Henry Harris Lines, which depicts the north door of St. Mary's and All Saints' Church in Hampton Lovett, Worcestershire (cat. no. 11).⁷⁷ A complementing varnished drawing entitled *At Hampton*

⁷³ In a circular 'Suggestions for the Formation of an Association of Friends of the Church', *A Narrative of Events Connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times, with Reflections on Existing Tendencies to Romanism...*, 8-9, 9.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLI*, 72-73.

⁷⁶ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 12.

⁷⁷ See catalogue entry 11.

Lovet [sic] (undated) [1976V185], depicts the same Norman doorway, with the addition of two large barrels and two long wooden poles resting in the foreground (fig. 39).⁷⁸ It is likely that the initial drawing *Hampton Lovett* was the preparatory sketch from which *At Hampton Lovet* was later made. Most importantly, the reverse of *At Hampton Lovet* shows a stamp of the Birmingham Archaeological Society. Although the connection between the Society and Henry Harris is so far unknown, it is possible that he exhibited his works to that group.⁷⁹ There are no surviving examples from the Cambridge Camden Society to compare but it is here suggested that the types of subjects they collected, were similar in subject matter to some of the Lines family's drawings. Thus the family's drawings may have had a similar function as ecclesiastical illustrations. However, their works are not known to be in the collection of the Cambridge Camden Society.⁸⁰

The church of St. Mary and All Saints, in the small village hamlet of Hampton Lovett, is hidden in the Worcestershire countryside, and not prominent in its location or reputation. However, an entry in *Worcester Archaeological Papers* from 1858, written for the Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society by J. Severn Walker brings to attention the aesthetic pleasures derived from churches, which were seen to offer charm to the English landscape.⁸¹ The church at Hampton Lovett is described as '*picturesque*' owing to 'the variety of outline occasioned somewhat by the position of the tower, the *sanctus* bell-cot, and the large chapel attached at its north side; the effect being heightened by the trees with which the sacred building is nearly surrounded'.⁸² This commentary on the church's physical situation and beauty also reveals a possible wider artistic interest in the church, recalling Gilpin's description of picturesque ruins and buildings that required a degree of roughness and

⁷⁸ See catalogue entry 11.

⁷⁹ See page 141 for Henry Harris' involvement with the Worcester Archaeological Club, where he exhibited his drawings of the Old Deanery etc.

⁸⁰ The author has researched volumes of the Cambridge Camden Society's transactions (notably for 1841 and 1842) and none of the family's works were listed as donations. However, the author has not examined all of the Society's transactions conclusively as it was beyond the scope of this chapter.

⁸¹ J.S. Walker, 'Hampton Lovett, and Westwood Park', 1858, *Worcester Archaeological Papers*, 1854-1901, Vol. V, Part 1, 161-175 (illustration on page 160). Walker was the Hon. Secretary for the Diocesan Architectural Society.

⁸² Walker, 'Hampton Lovett, and Westwood Park', 161.

ruggedness.⁸³ The illustration which accompanies Walker's description features those characteristics mentioned by him, including the tower and surrounding trees, heightening its picturesque qualities.⁸⁴

The remainder of Walker's paper is highly descriptive of the church's structure, detailing the layout of the building and its distinguishing features. Walker also included his own research into the origins of the church using Roger Dodsworth's Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (Oxford).⁸⁵ These manuscripts revealed that the 'ordination of the chantry was confirmed by Bishop Thomas Peverell, October 18, 1414.' Walker refined his findings further by adding:

'The architecture of the chapel and the chancel agree with the above date; but the east window of the former is apparently a more recent insertion, having unfoliated four-centred lights, beneath a square head.'⁸⁶

Walker's knowledge of the church is not limited to a list of its features, but demonstrates an understanding of seeking and finding appropriate documentary sources to interpret further the church's historic significance. This is symptomatic of the disciplinary development of historical studies in the nineteenth century, which saw the increased use and application of archival sources as a result of the establishment of record offices, increased accessibility and categorisation of such information.⁸⁷

The paper also mentions in brief the north door that appears in the Lines drawing, recognising its Norman style arch that is supported by cylindrical shafts 'with plain cushion

⁸³ W. Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and, On Sketching Landscape*, London, 1792, 26-27.

⁸⁴ The illustration appears on page 160.

⁸⁵ Walker, 'Hampton Lovett, and Westwood Park', 162.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 2-3.

capitals, and having the star and roll mouldings'.⁸⁸ Walker also stated that the doorway was blocked, but gave no explanation for it.⁸⁹ Today, the doorway is blocked up completely with large stones, flush with the door's frame (cat. no. 11a). The Lines drawing however, shows a dark shadow behind the inner doorframe, suggesting a passageway still in use at the time the drawing was made. Although it is also possible to argue that it was blocked from behind, as this is not entirely clear from the drawing, it is here asserted that it was yet to be fully blocked, as seen in the contemporary photograph. Walker does not give a reason for the blocked north door, but he does provide detailed descriptions concerning the restoration work that took place in the building round 1856.⁹⁰ The building, having 'fallen into a very dilapidated and unseemly state' was restored into a more functional one, at the expense of the Right Honourable Sir John S. Pakington.⁹¹ The maintenance work included new roofs for the chancel and chapel with the addition of a new arch between the chapel and the nave.⁹² Various other roofs were repaired. The colour-wash and plaster were removed from the interior and the stone underneath exposed, which was possibly symbolic of revealing the 'truth' of the architecture as discussed by Pugin. Various alterations were also made to the layout of ceremonial objects, including the addition of an oak altar-table on a raised platform, a stone pulpit and stained glass windows on the east and south side of the chancel. Additional space was also made in the form of a gabled vestry on the north side of the chapel, described by Walker as 'a very *useful* addition', again emphasising the functionality of the new layout.⁹³

The upkeep and maintenance of churches was widely regarded as an important Christian duty, as emphasised by the Cambridge Camden Society who included on the inside front cover of their *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLI*, an extract from

⁸⁸ Walker, 'Hampton Lovett, and Westwood Park', 162.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Walker, 'Hampton Lovett, and Westwood Park', 163. Note that all further details given here regarding the restoration have been taken from the same source unless stated otherwise.

⁹³ Walker, 'Hampton Lovett, and Westwood Park', 162.

Certain Sermons or Homilies, Appointed to be Read in Churches, in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory:

'It is a sin and shame to see so many churches so ruinously and so foully decayed almost in every corner. If a man's private house wherein he dwelleth be decayed, he will never cease till it be restored up again; how much more then ought the House of God, which we commonly call the church, to be sufficiently repaired in all places and to be honourably adorned and garnished, and to be kept clean and sweet, to the comfort of the people that shall resort thereto? He is highly pleased with all those that diligently go about to amend and restore such places as are appointed for the congregation of God's people to resort unto.'⁹⁴

The extract, taken from *An Homily for Repairing and Keeping Clean, and Comely Adorning of Churches*, strongly urges the importance of their upkeep. The first edition of *Certain Sermons or Homilies*, from which this homily was extracted, had been printed 300 years earlier in 1547 by Richard Grafton but was still a source used by the Anglican clergy in the nineteenth century.⁹⁵ Grafton also printed an additional second part to the original *Homilies*, both of which are bound to comprise of the 1844 edition. The second part includes a sermon *OF* [sic] *the Right Use of the Church*.⁹⁶ This relatively lengthy sermon explores the uses of churches in early Christian times, and further alludes to the behaviour that should be adopted whilst inside. It uses biblical stories and examples to support, for instance the use of the church for

⁹⁴ As printed on the inside cover of the *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLI*. The full text can be found in *Certain Sermons or Homilies, Appointed to be read in Churches, in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory*, London, 1852, 248-252. There are earlier editions of the Homilies, however the 1852 version has been used in this chapter.

⁹⁵ *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory*, Oxford, 1844, preface, iii. The 1844 edition has been referred to in this chapter as it was a contemporary source and also because it was readily accessible. It would be assumed that the extract in the Report of the Cambridge Camden Society printed in 1841 was from an earlier edition of *Homilies*. It should also be noted that the 1844 version originates from the 1623 edition, printed by John Bill, which comprised Grafton's second edition bound together with an additional second part printed in 1563.

⁹⁶ 'OF [sic] the Right Use of the Church'. *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory*, 143-156.

teaching, as Jesus had taught in the temple.⁹⁷ This theme relating to the usage and treatment of the church building is extended to the third homily (in the second part) entitled *An Homily for Repairing and Keeping Clean, and Comely Adorning of Churches*, which preaches the sanctity of the church and the importance of keeping it tidy and in a good state of repair as it would be a sin to allow the building to go into ruin.⁹⁸ In maintaining its repair and cleanliness, blessings would be received from both the clergy and God:

‘Wherefore, if ye have any reverence to the service of God, if ye have any common honesty, if ye have any conscience in keeping of necessary and godly ordinances, keep your churches in good repair, whereby ye shall not only please God, and deserve his manifold blessings, but also deserve the good report of all godly people.’⁹⁹

Churches are thus seen as provided by God for his worship and should be kept clean and tidy as a moral duty. These homilies show that even in the sixteenth century, there was an awareness of the surroundings in which worship took place and that fundamental Christian principles and values should be reflected in them. However, by the nineteenth century, it had become evident that many churches, such as St Mary and All Saints, had fallen into an unfit state and the Cambridge Camden Society made it amongst one of their chief objectives:

‘To examine ecclesiastical edifices, to distinguish their several parts by the rules of art, to illustrate the uses of those parts by an acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquities, are the first objects of the Society; to which is to be added that of promoting the restoration of them

⁹⁷ ‘OF [sic] the Right Use of the Church’. *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory*, 147. It quotes John 8:1 and 8:2.

⁹⁸ ‘An Homily for Repairing and Keeping Clean, and Comely Adorning of Churches’, *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory*, 241-246.

⁹⁹ ‘An Homily for Repairing and Keeping Clean, and Comely Adorning of Churches’, *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory*, 244.

[churches] to such an extent as shall be within our power, either by suggesting improvements, or in some instances by organising or undertaking them.’¹⁰⁰

However, this was not to be just a restoration of the buildings, but also a revival of the Christian faith. Concerns were now placed on the visible appearance of the building, which became the physical embodiment of Christian morality. Established in 1839, the Society’s foremost intention was to study and promote ecclesiastical buildings and their architectural features. They excelled in architectural historicism, dating styles to specific periods.

Thus, the restoration of St. Mary and All Saints Church was not a vanity project, but an opportunity to revise its structural layout in accordance with its function as a place of worship. The drawing *Hampton Lovett* (cat. no. 11), is likely to have been made before the doorway was fully blocked and thus prior to the paper written by Walker in 1858 and is therefore, a visual record of the church before restoration work was carried out. Whether Henry Harris Lines or his family knew this was taking place specifically at Hampton Lovett is uncertain, but the practice of recording church features through visual and written documentation was common. Although there are no records to indicate here the direct involvement of the Ecclesiological Society (as the Cambridge Camden Society was known from 1845 onwards) nor the Oxford Movement, it is highly likely that the restoration there was a result of the Christian revival that was occurring in Britain during the period.

Architecture and Art Tuition at the Lines Family’s Drawing Academy

Architectural studies played an important part in the curriculum at the Lines family’s drawing academy. The designs in figures 40, 41, 42 and 43 show what were templates given to students to copy. This is indicated by the layer of varnish on drawings, giving the works a

¹⁰⁰ Address delivered at the first evening meeting of the Camden Cambridge Society, March 28, 1840, by the President, *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLI*, Cambridge, 1841, 9.

protective coating.¹⁰¹ There is no written evidence to indicate exactly when, how and how often the students copied from the drawings, but it is likely that a member of the Lines family would be present to instruct. In further support of this contention, similar varnished designs were later taken by Edward Ashcroft Lines to New Zealand in 1864, where he hoped to establish a new art academy.¹⁰²

The Lines family's varnished designs are drawn with a fine pencil and given measurements to indicate size and proportion. The reverse of one design is inscribed with 'composite order/S Lines/Birmingham' (see fig. 44), showing that Samuel Senior had an awareness of architectural orders and vocabulary.¹⁰³ They feature several components of classical columns including bases and capitals. These architectural designs are themselves significant as they further demonstrate the wide-ranging skills on offer at the Lines family's school in addition to figure and landscape drawing. However, the varnished examples also imply a demand for tuition in architectural design and their practical application in nineteenth-century Birmingham.

The Lines family's drawings are comparable to those used by Sir John Soane, R.A. (1753-1837) in his lectures at the Royal Academy (fig. 45) as Professor of Architecture from 1806. His drawings illustrate the intricate design features that are specific to a type of architectural order or style. Soane had in his possession over one thousand illustrations to accompany his lectures, many of which were three to four feet in length and made by his industrious pupils who would work twelve-hour days in order to complete them.¹⁰⁴ Soane's drawings were also coloured, and landscapes were occasionally added in the background (fig. 46). Soane's illustrations were in effect, a documentary of architecture through the ages

¹⁰¹ This purpose is confirmed by two varnished drawings at BMAG: *Church by a River* by H.H. Lines [P.77'93] and *Hornby Castle* by H.H. Lines [P.76'93] that were donated by 'Miss Lines' (it was likely that this was one of Henry Harris's daughters). A label on the recto of both drawings states that it was 'A drawing made for pupils to copy'.

¹⁰² See Appendix 6, a letter from New Zealand, written by W.H. Elmore (Edward Ashcroft's son-in-law) dated 1864. A large proportion of works taken to New Zealand by Edward Ashcroft are now in BMAG, having been bought by the gallery in 1971 from Mr C.W. Bruce. Bruce had purchased the works from Edward Ashcroft's great-granddaughter. For more information regarding this collection, refer to the accompanying catalogue or BMAG's curatorial files.

¹⁰³ Works by Samuel Rostill Lines are usually indicated by the use of his middle name or 'junior'. This inscription does not state either and the writer is therefore likely to be Samuel Senior.

¹⁰⁴ D. Watkin, (ed), *Sir John Soane: Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures*, Cambridge, 1996, 396-397.

and demonstrate a 'visual record of ideas about architectural history at the turn of the eighteenth century' which became ever more concerned with contemporary architecture's origins as a result of Enlightenment thought derived from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁰⁵ A struggle to unite science and religion was created with the development of scientific discoveries such as Issac Newton's mathematical patterns of planetary motion, causing 'philosophical questioning and scientific curiosity' to become evermore important.¹⁰⁶ Thus, enlightenment philosophy relied upon the belief that solutions to problems lay in their origins, opposing the church's teachings that solutions were found in faith.¹⁰⁷ This is not to suggest that the Lines family were conscious followers of the Enlightenment, but that such thoughts prevailed into the nineteenth century, and possibly encouraged the professionalisation of historical areas of research.¹⁰⁸

Henry Harris Lines and His Depictions of Church Architecture

Antiquarians and ecclesiologists often followed similar paths of enquiry, especially in documenting the architectural features of ecclesiastical buildings. Sharing the same passion for categorising and profiling, the boundary between the two was often blurred, as demonstrated in the previous example where there was obvious interest in the welfare of the church and its community, but also the history surrounding its origins. However, the drawings *Stowe, Lichfield* (1837-1851) [BIRSA: 2007X.520] and *Stowe, Lichfield, Interior with Woman*, (1837-1851) [BIRSA:2007X.522] (cat. nos. 23 and 24) both here attributed to Henry Harris Lines, also show the influence of antiquarian knowledge on artists.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Watkin, *Sir John Soane*, 396, 98.

¹⁰⁶ J. Redwood, *Reason, Ridicule and Religion: The Age of Enlightenment in England 1660-1750*, London, 1976, 9.

¹⁰⁷ Watkin, *Sir John Soane*. 1.

¹⁰⁸ There is no specific evidence to suggest that the Lines family had any inclination towards Enlightenment thought, but it should be noted that Birmingham was the centre for the Industrial Enlightenment. For further reading consult P. Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment: Science, Technology and Culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760-1820*, Manchester, 2008.

¹⁰⁹ See catalogue entries 23 and 24.

Stowe, Lichfield depicts the trefoil-headed door in the south entrance to St Chad's church, situated in Stowe (cat. no. 23). The door dates back to the thirteenth century, and is the oldest part of the present building.¹¹⁰ The accompanying photograph (cat. no. 23b) shows the door in its current state, which remains much the same as it did nearly two hundred years ago. The drawing also partially depicts the interior of the church, through the door, showing the pillars on the north and south sides of the building. These are particularly distinctive because the shafts on the south side (nearest the door) are hexagonal in section, whereas those on the north side are octagonal. The hexagonal pillars date from the early thirteenth century, and those on the north from the later thirteenth century.¹¹¹ A photograph confirms this (cat. no. 24a). Initially, the drawing of the doorway appears to be a standalone study of the church entrance, comparable to the drawing *Hampton Lovett*. However, when considered together with *Stowe, Lichfield (Interior with Woman)* (cat. no. 24), its historical significance becomes apparent.

The composition and viewpoint of *Stowe, Lichfield (Interior with Woman)* is not conventional, as the artist has chosen to depict the west (rear) end of the church, rather than the chancel arch that is the direction in which the congregation faces and often considered the main feature of a church. This drawing however, has been made from the Lady Chapel, in the direction of the west tower. However, Howard Clayton, author of the guide to St. Chad's church reveals that the entrance to the building before the erection of the tower, was through the west side.¹¹² Michael Sturgess who is the current churchwarden of St Chad's, further stated that the original trefoil-headed door was built in the west entrance and moved to the south side when the tower was installed in the latter part of the thirteenth century (completed in the fourteenth).¹¹³ Therefore, *Stowe, Lichfield (Interior with Woman)* alludes to the original situation of the doorway featured in *Stowe, Lichfield*. It is likely that Henry Harris

¹¹⁰ H. Clayton, *St Chad's, Lichfield*, Shropshire, 2006, 5.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Oral communication, August 2008.

was aware of this when making these particular views, thus demonstrating his interest in the church's history as well as its suitability as a subject for drawing.

The Cambridge Camden Society encouraged its members to make in-depth records of churches nationwide to document their features, through completing their Church Schemes. These schemes listed potential features of a church that required recording. They were issued in two formats: the first was a long strip of folio paper that could be split into sections (and filled out by several people simultaneously); the second was a quarto sheet which had to be transcribed before it was presented to the Society.¹¹⁴ These reports were passed onto the Cambridge Camden Society, and printed for inclusion in *The Ecclesiologist. A Few Hints of the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities for the use of The Cambridge Camden Society* also offered practical guidance to those wishing to submit drawings to accompany their Schemes, by suggesting that the recorder take drawing equipment such as a 'heel-ball and paper' for rubbing brasses as well as 'a measuring line of not less than twenty feet, and a leaden tape for taking mouldings. A pocket telescope and a compass will also be very useful'.¹¹⁵ The measuring line, or tape, was particularly important as drawings with measurements were worth double the financial value of those without.¹¹⁶

A short article entitled 'A Few Words to Sketchers' from *The Ecclesiologist*, April 1842, included a more detailed and comprehensive guide to sketching ecclesiastical architecture, outlining what and how to sketch:

'In the first place, as a general rule, the east window will well deserve the trouble of drawing it: and the same may be said of any *Decorated* windows whatever. These are for the

¹¹⁴ 'A Few Hints of the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities for the use of The Cambridge Camden Society', 3rd ed., Bound in Cambridge Camden Society (later Ecclesiological Society), *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol I, Cambridge, London and Oxford, 1842.

¹¹⁵ 'A Few Hints of the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities for the use of The Cambridge Camden Society', 17.

¹¹⁶ 'A Few Words to Sketchers', *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol I, April 1842, 105-6.

most part so exquisitely beautiful, and so very different from each other, that too large a collection of them cannot be made.¹¹⁷

Emphasis was placed on depicting the churches accurately, rather than artistically. The society was also specific in dictating the positions where artists should stand when making their drawings – for example ‘at the entrance of interior of porches’, as seen in *Stowe, Lichfield*, thus also demonstrating the development of artistic conventions in this genre of art as visual documentary.¹¹⁸ Despite suggesting that views of church interiors should be general as those in *Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire Vol I & II*, the Cambridge Camden Society placed less value on these. They advised that if a general scene was to be made, it should be drawn from a position such as the south west end of the building so that the western façade could be included together with a view of the chancel.¹¹⁹ This specific preference can be identified in *Upton Cressett* (cat. no. 20), which is drawn slightly to the right of the centre aisle leading down the nave. However, this is not as obvious in *Holt Church* (cat. no. 1) which has been drawn from the centre of the aisle. A possible reason for this may be that pews were obstructing the artist from a south-westerly direction, as the church at present has pews leading back to the western facade.

Sadly, there are no existing notes written by Henry Harris Lines to accompany his church visits, but there are various other sources that reveal the practice in greater detail and support the idea that antiquarian interest in ecclesiastical architecture was not restricted to formal antiquarians. Jethro Anstice Cossins (1829-1917) was a Birmingham architect who compiled a notebook *Manuscript Notes on Warwickshire Churches with Photographs and*

¹¹⁷ ‘A Few Words to Sketchers’, 105-6.

¹¹⁸ ‘A Few Words to Sketchers’, 106.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

*Original Drawings 1882-1890, Vols. I-V, [395707-11].*¹²⁰ He was most noted for designing the now demolished Mason College and former Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital on Edmund Street.¹²¹ Cossins's notes include extremely detailed descriptions of churches in the county of Warwickshire, such as Allesley Church where Samuel Senior's mother is buried.¹²² The reason for Cossins's compiling such extensive information is uncertain but it is likely that he used it for his own reference. Writing in full prose and not notes, he also highlights the individual edifices discussed in the text by writing their main feature in the margin of the page. Mentioning details such as the church's situation, south arcade, north arcade, roofs and chapel, the type of information Cossins has chosen to include is comparable to the features listed in the Cambridge Camden Society's Church Schemes. Although he is not consistent in the information he includes with each entry, it does demonstrate a possible influence of the Cambridge Camden Society on others who are interested in ecclesiastical architecture.

Cossins's entry on All Saint's Church in Allesley is also accompanied by a drawing of the church tower (see fig. 47). He describes it as the following:

'The church, dedicated to All Saints is finely situated on high ground amidst fine tall trees. With the exception of the Tower and Spire it has been so thoroughly restored as to have lost all look of an ancient church. Some parts are however original. The two western bays of the South arcade dividing the aisle from the nave are of the 12th. Cent^y. The arches are semicircular of two plain square orders, on cylindrical piers, of many thin courses, with low scalloped capitals. The eastern-north bay is probably of the 14th Cent^y with a pointed arch. The north arcade is of 13th century date consisting of three double splayed pointed arches on

¹²⁰ J.A. Cossins, *Manuscript Notes on Warwickshire Churches with Photographs and Original Drawings 1882-1890, Vols. I-V*, unpublished notebook, Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, [395707-11]. Please note that the pages are numbered only on the right sides.

¹²¹ <http://www.victorian-society-bham.org.uk/victorian-architects.html> accessed on 12 August 2010.

¹²² *Manuscript Notes on Warwickshire Churches with Photographs and Original Drawings 1882-1890*, Vol. I, 96-98.

octagonal piers with new moulded cap^o. enriched with a row of small “nailhead” ornament...¹²³

The details in this entry comment on the church’s original and restored elements, showing a dislike of the latter. Other information in Cossins’s records also demonstrate his ability to comment on ecclesiastical architecture, especially in describing styles that were typical of specific historic periods. Possibly as a consequence of his work as an architect, he was able to offer an educated analysis of the church buildings.

Cossins’s research also included ground plans and detailed histories of some churches, such as Ansley Church.¹²⁴ His drawings of certain features, such as the north door, chancel arch, monuments and stained glass also include various measurements which were stated by the Cambridge Camden Society to ‘double the value’ of a drawing.¹²⁵ Although aided by his skills as an architect, his interpretation of the building’s historical contexts alludes to a greater understanding of the importance of documenting, as a way of preserving Britain’s past.

Cossins’s notebook further contains a newspaper cutting, relating to Ansley Church that describes it as having a ‘striking tower, its patched and weather-worn walls, its ivy-grown chancel form a pleasing picture...’¹²⁶ Hinting at the importance of a church’s picturesque appearance, the reference to the growth of ivy echoes advice offered by the Cambridge Camden Society, to a reader who enquired whether it added character to a building. The Society responded:

‘We certainly hold that ivy mantling the grey walls of an ancient church much enhances its picturesque and venerable appearance; and we think we could name more than one new

¹²³ Cossins, *Manuscript Notes on Warwickshire Churches with Photographs and Original Drawings 1882-1890*, Vols. I, 96.

¹²⁴ Cossins, *Manuscript Notes on Warwickshire Churches*, 9-20.

¹²⁵ ‘A Few Words to Sketchers’, *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol I, April 1842, 105-6.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

church, which would look none the worse for being completely hid by a bushy covering of this convenient evergreen.’¹²⁷

However, the Society also added: ‘if allowed to grow old without being duly trimmed and attended to, [it] will eventually cause much mischief by insinuating itself between the stones and dislodging them...’¹²⁸ This response, as well as showing their dislike for some modern church architecture, expresses the extent of the Society’s aesthetic principles that are not necessarily related to the embodiment of moral and Christian sanctity in architecture, but to the aesthetic conventions of nineteenth-century art. Although it could be argued that ultimately, ivy growing on the exterior of a church is symbolic of God’s creation of nature, and its upkeep was a Christian’s moral duty, the advice also hints at an acknowledgement of picturesque aesthetic theory prevalent in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. Gilpin’s theory of the Picturesque was commonly applied to landscape painting, but he also took into consideration the objects that should be included to make a scene more picturesque such as castle ruins and foliage to create textural variety.¹²⁹ These picturesque scenes also enabled ‘religious awe’, in the admiration of nature and God who created it.¹³⁰ Therefore, the picturesque character of a church may relate to both its aesthetic qualities, and also to the creator of these elements.

¹²⁷ Cambridge Camden Society (later Ecclesiological Society), *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol I, Cambridge, London and Oxford, 1842, 147.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Gilpin, *Three Essays*, 7, 26-27.

¹³⁰ Gilpin, *Three Essays*, 52.

Picturesque Tourism and its Influence on Antiquarian Pursuits

Gilpin, known for his *Picturesque Tours* series and *Three Essays* on the Picturesque encouraged travel to Britain's most picturesque views.¹³¹ With Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815), travel to the continent had become impossible for over 20 years and consequently, British tourists took the opportunity to explore their native land. This also promoted a rediscovery of Britain's historical heritage, including that of Britain's ancient churches. Publications such as *The Antiquarian Itinerary* (1815) were in high demand, and acquainted the public with their historic surroundings.¹³² This particular book did not restrict itself to ecclesiastical buildings, and included many other sites such as castles and town gates. The link between tourism and antiquarianism is further emphasised by the recommended use of *The Antiquarian Traveller* by *The Antiquarian Itinerary*.

The Antiquarian Itinerary lists locations throughout the country that may be of interest to the antiquarian tourist. The second entry in the first volume is the West Gate in Canterbury that was the only remaining gate in the city in 1815. Its appearance is impressive, consisting of round towers with battlements and also a portcullis. Although the grandeur of the West Gate is unlike that of the North Gate that features in *North Gate, Bridgnorth*, attributed to Henry Harris Lines (1818-1829) [BIRSA:2007X.501] (cat. no. 15), the similarity in their subject matter (both being original entrances into the towns) is supporting evidence that structures such as the North Gate in Bridgnorth were of antiquarian interest.

Evidence proves that other Birmingham artists were involved in similar practices, during the period in which the Lines family were producing their architectural drawings, thus it was likely that there was a local consciousness regarding architectural depictions. The Lines

¹³¹ Gilpin's Picturesque Tours series included *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; Made in the Summer of 1770*, London, 1782 and *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the year 1772, On Several Parts of Great Britain; particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland*, London, 1786. Gilpin's *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and, On Sketching Landscape; to Which is Added a Poem*, was first published in London in 1792.

¹³² *The Antiquarian Itinerary, Comprising of Specimens of Architecture, Monastic, Castellated, and Domestic; With other Vestiges of Antiquity in Great Britain*, London, 1815-16. Note that this publication is unpaginated.

family's drawings of church interiors, noticeably *Holt Church, Worcestershire (in 1829)* (cat. no. 1) (1829) [BIRSA:2007.519] and *Upton Cressett* (cat. no. 20) (1831-32) [BIRSA:2007X.508] are comparable to illustrations made for example by Allen E. Everitt (1824-1882), son of Edward Everitt who ran an artist's repository on Union Street in Birmingham.¹³³ Allen Everitt was also a keen antiquarian, and like Henry Harris, produced drawings of church interiors such as *Interior of St Mary's Church, Handsworth - Old Handsworth Church Before its Restoration* (fig. 48). Like Henry Harris's studies of Holt Church and Upton Cressett, Everitt's watercolour shows the chancel from the west end of the building, thus suggesting a pictorial convention common to the depiction of church interiors. The title of Everitt's work reveals his specific interest in churches threatened by restoration, thus reiterating that such drawings were also visual documents that recorded the building's changing form and function.

Allen Everitt made illustrations of a similar nature that are found in *Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire* (1842) where they are reproduced as lithographic prints by M & N Hanhart.¹³⁴ Fig. 49 shows Everitt's representation of the interior of Coughton Church, located approximately two miles north of Alcester. The church is dedicated to St Peter and the main building consists of 'a Tower, Nave, with north and south Aisles, Chancel, and Chantry chapels extending eastward of the Aisles, nearly the length of the Chancel.'¹³⁵ The nave is described as:

'divided from the aisles by obtuse-pointed four-centred arches, double faced, with plain soffits and hollowed chamfers, the piers are angular-edged, and elongated in section. The

¹³³ Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 178. For more information on *Holt Church* and *Upton Cressett*, see catalogue entries 1 and 20.

¹³⁴ *Interior of Coughton Church*, Deanery of Warwick, *Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire Vol II*, Warwick, 1842, between pages 136-137. University of Birmingham Cadbury Research Library [r q NA 4469.W2]. It is likely that J. Brandard, whose name also appears to the lower right of the illustration, was the printmaker.

¹³⁵ *Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire*, Vol II, 135.

clerestory above the arches on each side contains four square-headed windows, each containing three cinquefoiled lights with hollow jambs, and labels over...¹³⁶

Although *Interior of Coughton Church* depicts a church in the Early English style, with pointed arches, its composition is similar to that of both *Holt Church* (cat. no. 1) and *Upton Cressett* (cat. no. 20), attributed to Henry Harris Lines. Both Everitt and Henry Harris situated themselves at the west end of the nave when making the drawing, and concentrated on the chancel arch as their main focal point. The images offer a general overview of the interior, giving a visual record of the layout including the position of the pulpit and the pews. They draw attention to the architectural features such as the arches, pillars and style of windows. In *Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire Vol II*, the drawings are accompanied by a description and brief historical outline which work together with the drawing to give an overall idea of the church's character.

A further illustration by Everitt, *Beaundesert Church, Interior, Looking East*, is also in *Warwickshire Natural History* (fig. 50).¹³⁷ On this occasion, the drawing depicts St. Nicholas's church in Beaundesert, a small village near Henley-in-Arden. The features are standard for a small church and include a tower, nave and chancel. Walls of nave and chancel are Norman, as is the chancel arch that is rounded. However, the windows date from the fourteenth century and the tower was added in fifteenth century.¹³⁸ The accompanying entry comments on the style of masonry and period, and general description of decorative elements, for example:

'The chancel arch is a rich Norman semicircular arch, the piers of which indicate a considerable settlement to have taken place, and are much out of the perpendicular; they

¹³⁶ *Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire*, Vol II, 137.

¹³⁷ Deanery of Warwick, *Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire*, Vol I, Warwick, 1842, between pages 152-153, University of Birmingham Cadbury Research Library [r q NA 4469.W2].

¹³⁸ *Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire*, Vol I, 149.

consist of attached cylindrical shafts with cushion-shaped scalloped capitals, surmounted by square abaci: the western face of the chancel arch is highly decorated with the double zig-zag moulding; the eastern face presents a plain arch and subarch, without ornament....'¹³⁹

This extract is a typical example of the descriptions that follow the illustrations. Publications of this nature were able to bring together antiquarian and ecclesiological interests. Even though the commentaries are mainly from an antiquarian perspective and predominantly discuss style and form rather than their symbolic importance, they contribute to the documenting of Britain's architectural heritage.

Henry Harris Lines and the Expansion of Archaeological Research in the Nineteenth Century

It should also be taken into account that the preface to *Warwickshire Natural History* gives thanks to 'Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, Esq., of Rugby, [for] descriptions of the buildings, as well as of the sepulchral effigies and brasses which they contain.'¹⁴⁰ Bloxam was an active archaeologist and antiquarian, and his publications included *The Principles of Gothic Architecture*.¹⁴¹ An association between Henry Harris and Bloxam was established in the late nineteenth century, which is evident from the notebook *Practical Observations on Castrametation, 1870-1880* [IIR11 395896], where the artist wrote:

'Sent to Matthew Bloxam an imperial plan of Breidlyn [*sic.*] Camp – ditto view of camp from Pen y Castel [*sic.*] and Col [following word illegible] two stones. plan of Crawthen [possibly Cawthorn, North Yorkshire] camp. plan of Cefn y castel [*sic.*] camp.'¹⁴²

¹³⁹ *Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire*, Vol I, 153.

¹⁴⁰ *Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire Vol I*, preface, iv.

¹⁴¹ There were up to 11 editions of *The Principles of Gothic Architecture*, the earliest one found on COPAC was published in London and dates back to 1829.

¹⁴² *Practical Observations on Castrametation, 1870-1880*, Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, [IIR 11 395896].

This note is not dated and gives no indication of the reason why the plans were sent. However, a further inscription written by Henry Harris on a separate memorandum suggests that Bloxam had previously investigated the Breidden Hill Camp (mispelt as 'Breidlyn' in the original inscription) (fig. 51).¹⁴³ This second memorandum also reveals that Henry Harris had been in the company of Bloxam on a visit to the Rollright Stones on the Warwickshire and Oxfordshire borders, earlier in 1878 (see fig. 51):

'It was my good fortune to be one of the party who visited the Rollright Stones in the summer of 1878 on which occasion we had the favour of your pressence [sic]...'

Henry Harris's second memorandum also expresses a mutual interest in Breidden Hill:

'I have heard by report only that you have given a paper upon the Breidden Hill fortress near Welsh Pool; as I am not aware how far you may have taken up this subject or what material facts may be in your possession concerning that fortress it will afford great pleasure to myself if any measurements, plans or sketches of a group of four Earth works of which Breidden is the great central attraction would be of any service to you...'¹⁴⁴

To the lower right of this memorandum, Henry Harris adds: 'Intended but not sent to Bloxham'.¹⁴⁵ Despite the misspelling of the surname 'Bloxham', it is highly likely that this note refers to Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, firstly because of its relevance to his interest area, and secondly because the name 'Bloxam' itself is unusual.

Since this memorandum (fig. 51) was not written until after 1878, it is highly likely that Henry Harris's research on the Breidden Hill Camp was not written until after this date. This

¹⁴³ This handwritten note is found in Birmingham Manuscripts, unpublished scrapbook, Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, [IIR 30 308332].

¹⁴⁴ 'Birmingham Manuscripts', unpublished scrapbook, Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, [IIR 30 308332].

¹⁴⁵ 'Birmingham Manuscripts', unpublished scrapbook, Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, [IIR 30 308332].

further confirms that the plans of the camp were not sent until the very late 1870s to the early 1880s. It is possible that Henry Harris sent the plans for Bloxam to oversee or even to include in a publication, but there is so far no conclusive evidence to support this. However, Henry Harris's acquaintance with Bloxam does reveal that he had contacts with those who were publishing works related to antiquarian studies.

Henry Harris's strong interest in archaeology and antiquarianism can be seen in the notebooks he compiled that contain details taken from books, lectures and his field visits to ancient British and Roman camps.¹⁴⁶ In particular, Henry Harris's *Book of Extracts/Miscellaneous Notebook* at Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service [395895], contains notes taken from sources such as (in the same order as in the notebook) *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* (1869) by Henry Fanshawe Tozer, *The Hindu Pantheon* (1810) by Edward Moor, *Stonehenge* by (1655) Inigo Jones and *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians: Including Their Private Life, Government, Laws, Arts, Manufactures, Religion, Agriculture, and Early History; Derived from a Comparison of the Paintings, Sculptures, and Monuments Still Existing, with the Accounts of Ancient Authors* (1847) by Sir Gardner Wilkinson.¹⁴⁷ The references made to archaeology, architecture, and anthropology in these sources reflect the broad interests of antiquarians of the nineteenth century. Levine quotes an after-dinner speech given by the politician Sir John Simeon c. 1859:

¹⁴⁶ For example a notebook referring to the ancient buildings and cities at WCAGM, [WOSMG:2006:22] and Book of Extracts/Miscellaneous Notebook by Henry Harris Lines at Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, [395895]. For a comprehensive list, see the bibliography.

¹⁴⁷ H.F. Tozer, *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, London, 1869, E. Moor, *The Hindu Pantheon*, London, 1810, I. Jones, J. Webb, *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain Vulgarly Called Stonehenge*, 1655 (first edition), London, 1655, G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians : Including Their Private Life, Government, Laws, Arts, Manufactures, Religion, Agriculture, and Early History; Derived from a Comparison of the Paintings, Sculptures, and Monuments Still Existing, with the Accounts of Ancient Authors*, London, 1847 (However this is referred to as 'Sir Gardner Wilkinson on Egypt its rites and gods' in the notebook. It can be assumed that this is the full title of the work indicated by Henry Harris).

‘The science of the real antiquary is not of a narrow and limited character. To him, every relic which he picks up or secures, is pregnant with instruction, as bearing upon the history of the social life or habits of the some past age...’¹⁴⁸

Antiquarians should therefore not confine themselves to a specific period, or methodology, and they should embrace history in its entirety. Their non-specific interests allowed them to include those on the fringes of historical research, such as Henry Harris Lines whose predominant occupation was as an artist.¹⁴⁹

The Impact of Provincial Intellectual Groups on Henry Harris’s Studies

Mapping Henry Harris’s pursuits has been a major task in itself, since much of his archaeological work is not referenced in full in the biography by Potter, and therefore much research has been carried out to substantiate Potter’s claims. In the course of this, it has come to light that the majority of Henry Harris’s plans and essays relating to his archaeological endeavours were produced later in his life. Only a few that are held in museum collections today are still accessible. The information documented by him, as seen in the few that have survived, is a credit to Henry Harris. Their detail and accuracy are a confirmation of his reputation as a meticulous draughtsman and surveyor. The plans and essays are dispersed over several museum collections, notably Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery and Worcester Art Gallery and Museum.¹⁵⁰ It is also worth mentioning that in Birmingham, the works are stored in the history department, whereas in Worcester the works are very much considered together with his fine art while proving that even contemporary institutions have difficulty in categorizing his work, this discrepancy also emphasises his skill

¹⁴⁸ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 12, quoting an after-dinner speech given by Sir John Simeon in Newport, Isle of Wight, c. 1859 from C.R. Smith, *Retrospections*, London 1883-91, i. 231.

¹⁴⁹ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 13.

¹⁵⁰ *Surveyed Drawing – Midsummer Hill Camp*, 1870, BMAG, [1970A15], *Surveyed Drawing – Herefordshire Beacon*, 1870, BMAG, [1970A16].

in both fields. BMAG also hold a number of significantly large plans of similar effects.

Worcester Art Gallery and Museum holds two plans of the Herefordshire Beacon, along with several small watercolour studies of Welsh stone monuments and a significant, large oil painting of the British Camp on the Herefordshire Beacon (fig. 38). This is possibly the most important surviving painting that unites Henry Harris's artistic and archaeological pursuits.

There are a number of newspaper reports and literary references relating to Henry Harris's work on the ancient camps. An effort has been made to track the majority of these so as to demonstrate his involvement with the institutions outside his work as an artist. A number of reports are found in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* and the *Worcester Herald*, two of the leading contemporary newspapers in the area. They reveal the activities undertaken by local institutions and clubs and are considered reliable sources that document the frequency of the events and occasionally their reception. The reports are also suggestive of the intellectual climate that surrounded Henry Harris in Worcester. For example, *Berrow's Worcester Journal* of April 10 1834, advertises events relating to three active clubs in the city: The Worcester Institution for the Promotion of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts, the Worcestershire Natural History Society and finally the Worcestershire Horticultural and Floral Society. The Worcester Institution for the Promotion of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts advertised their first annual exhibition of works of art by living artists, in which Henry Harris exhibited a total of nine works.¹⁵¹ The Worcestershire Natural History Society advertised a lecture given by Dr Thomson concerning experimental chemistry, and the Worcestershire Horticultural and Floral Society were also promoting their first exhibition for the season. These advertisements demonstrate the diverse activities undertaken by groups to promote the various branches of intellectual knowledge in nineteenth-century Worcester.

The first mention of Henry Harris's involvement with an antiquarian group in Worcester was in 1863. It is highly likely that this was the year when he began actively to share his research with local groups and institutions, as he participated in at least two of their

¹⁵¹ See Appendix 3.

events in that same year. A report in the *Worcester Herald*, dated May 2 1863, shows that he was involved with the Worcestershire Archaeological Club. The article begins:

'The last meeting for the season took place on Tuesday evening last, Mr. H. Walker in the chair, when Mr A. H. Lines [sic] exhibited a series of beautiful and deeply interesting water-colour sketches, chiefly of the old Deanery, which consisted of the Guesten-hall and the Prior's residence of the Cathedral Monastery...Cordial thanks were voted to Mr. Lines for the great treat he had afforded the club, and a unanimous wish was expressed that the sketches be published.'¹⁵²

Although the article introduces 'Mr. A. H. Lines', further evidence suggests that the newspaper had misprinted his first initial. In his Exhibition Ledger Book, the entry noting works he sent to the RBSA exhibition in the Autumn of 1878, listed *The Guestin [sic] Hall Kitchen, Worcester as it appeared till 1845* which demonstrates that Henry Harris had painted the Guesten Hall as subject matter. This is verified by the exhibition catalogue of the RBSA which lists *The Guesten Hall Kitchen, Worcester, destroyed 1845* (no. 353) on sale for £20.¹⁵³ Furthermore, the Exhibition Ledger also records 'Paintings and drawings to be sent to the Worcester Exhibition 1882', listing several works similar in subject to those shown at the Archaeological Club meeting. The works that stand out include *The Old Deanery Kitchen, Worcester* (no. 198), *The Crypt, Worcester Cathedral* (no. 517), *The Guesten Hall, Worcester* (no. 597) and *The Monastic Infirmary, Worcester* (no. 473).¹⁵⁴ However, a note was made in the Exhibition Ledger Book that no works were sold in this exhibition. This implies that such subjects were not popular amongst his patrons, and their depictions attractive only to those interested in antiquities. Therefore their consumption is somewhat

¹⁵² *Worcester Herald*, May 2 1863, this newspaper contains no page numbers.

¹⁵³ See Appendices 1 and 3.

¹⁵⁴ Henry Harris's Exhibition Ledger Book lists only the titles, and prices in guineas. The exhibition catalogue numbers have been sourced from *Worcestershire Exhibition 1882*, exhibition catalogue, Worcester, 1882.

limited to these amateur groups. Furthermore, J. Severn Walker, the author of 'Hampton Lovett and Westwood Park' was present to offer explanations to the drawings and sketches.¹⁵⁵ This suggests that Walker and Henry Harris were acquainted to an extent, and shared knowledge of Worcester's historical past. Thus it is possible that Walker was another influence on Henry Harris's drawings of historic architecture, such as *Hampton Lovett* (cat. no. 11).

Henry Harris was also involved with the Malvern Field Club, though Potter asserts that he did not hold an official post other than a short tenure as Vice President.¹⁵⁶ However, the book of minutes from the Club, dating 1859-1869, does not support the claim that he held this position. The evidence could exist elsewhere, but is not referenced by Potter himself. The club held ambitious, intellectually and physically stimulating activities, as revealed in the book of minutes, containing newspaper reports of the club's activities between the stated years.¹⁵⁷ The excursions undertaken by the club were meticulously recorded in these reports, possibly written by the Club's Honorary Secretary and/or the newspaper's own reporter. They were printed in a number of newspapers including the *Worcester Herald* and *Worcester Berrow's Journal*. Each report also lists some of those who attended the meeting or excursion, and Henry Harris first appears in a cutting dated 1863.¹⁵⁸ He had attended a Club meeting which took place at the Link Hotel on Monday 7 September 1863, where routine business was carried out alongside the election of new club members.¹⁵⁹ It was also intended for the group to travel to Priory Church in Great Malvern after the meeting, for one of their visits. This segment of the day was reported at great length in the article. The meeting itself is mentioned in brief, and does not state who was elected, and there is no reference made to this event by the Honorary Secretary in the book of minutes. This is one of the few

¹⁵⁵ Walker, 'Hampton Lovett, and Westwood Park'.

¹⁵⁶ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 33.

¹⁵⁷ Malvern Naturalists' Field Club, Minutes (no.2), 1859-1869, unpublished transcript, Malvern Library, [Local History 506].

¹⁵⁸ Supplement to *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, September 12, 1863, found in Malvern Naturalists' Field Club, Minutes (no.2), *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

references to Henry Harris in the reports, and therefore it is difficult to determine exactly when he began his involvement with the club.

There are several possible reasons that may explain Henry Harris's omission in the reports. Firstly, the excursions often took place in the warmer months, from May until September, and occasionally through to October.¹⁶⁰ It is known that Henry Harris would make his sketching trips to North Wales and beyond during the warmer period when the weather was agreeable for painting and drawing, therefore explaining his absence. Furthermore, it is highly possible that the list of attendees is incomplete, and this is occasionally indicated by '&c.'¹⁶¹ Priority is given to listing prominent members such as the President (Rev. W.S. Symonds), Vice President (Edwin Lees) and other officers of importance, and it is quite possible that Henry Harris was not considered important enough to deserve a mention. Henry Harris is also not listed as a member of the Club in this particular book of minutes, nor in the *Transactions* of the Club from 1853-1870, suggesting that he may have joined at a later date and therefore was not present on the excursions between 1859 and 1869.¹⁶² Therefore, 1863 is the earliest recorded date of his interaction with the Club. Coincidentally, the year was also that of Samuel Lines's death which occurred in November. However, there is no evidence to suggest that his death influenced Henry Harris' pursuit of archaeology. It is, however, possible that Henry Harris received some inheritance from the death of his father, which may have allowed him to pursue his archaeological interests in greater depth.

The next record of Henry Harris's activity with Worcester's intellectual groups, is dated May 1870, when he gave a tour of the Malvern Hills for the Worcester Archaeological Club, which was also attended by Edwin Lees.¹⁶³ This was also reported in the *Worcester Herald* where it offered a descriptive account of the day, as well as a transcription of Henry Harris's

¹⁶⁰ In the Malvern Naturalists' Field Club, Minutes (no.2), 1859-1869, the Honorary Secretary lists the excursions for the year 1859 which begin in May and continue through until September.

¹⁶¹ For example, in the newspaper article relating to the Club's visit to Withington and Tarrington on May 18 1864. Again, the newspaper from which this article is extracted is unknown.

¹⁶² *Malvern Naturalists Field Club Transactions 1853-1870*, Malvern Naturalists Field Club: Malvern, 1870.

¹⁶³ *Worcester Herald*, May 21, 1870, this newspaper is unpaginated.

paper and confirmed his position as a member. According to the report, it was to the surprise of the club that Henry Harris announced he had discovered traces of ancient inhabitants on an extensive scale on the slopes of the Herefordshire Beacon.¹⁶⁴ It further claims his title as the first person in the city and county to have studied the earthworks on the hills:

‘It is true that nobody in this city or county, that we know of, had made earthworks his study until Mr. Lines set to work to explore a field of research for which he is well qualified by his carefulness, perseverance, and great talent for sketching.’¹⁶⁵

The mention of his aptitude for sketching is also telling of how his interdisciplinary skills enabled him to pursue this task, which is demonstrated by the quality and meticulous accuracy of his plans seen in figs. 5 and 52. Being ‘qualified’ therefore to complete the task, according to the writer of the article, validated the acceptance of his authority in this field as he was able to communicate his evidence verbally and visually. The plan of the Herefordshire Beacon in fig. 5, having been dated 1869, can therefore be presumed to illustrate the original research from which Henry Harris’s paper had derived.

After the announcement of his finds to the Worcester Archaeological Club, he gave a paper on the subject, which together were described as ‘so important and interesting a nature that an exploratory visit was immediately determined upon...’. This too demonstrates the facilitative nature of the club in broadening Henry Harris’s research and furthering his engagement with the group by enabling him to deliver a lecture and allowing him to take a group to view the site in question.

It is in Henry Harris’s personal archaeological pursuits that we discover his talent as a methodical researcher. The surveys and plans produced by Henry Harris during the latter half of the nineteenth century were an indication of the enthusiastic community of amateur

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

archaeologists, historians and scientists active in the Worcester area. It is in no doubt that he also contributed greatly to the development of the intellectual community of amateur groups in Malvern and Worcester, aiding their understanding of their local surrounding geographically, historically and anthropologically through his plans, but also in the papers and tours he gave on the subject of the Malvern Hills, about which he was so passionate. The Malvern Hills are located to the south west of Great Malvern, on the western edge of the Severn Valley.¹⁶⁶ They comprise a ridge created from volcanic rock that also forms the county boundaries of Worcestershire and Herefordshire.¹⁶⁷ The most prominent features of the ridge are the Iron Age hillfort camps which are situated on the Herefordshire Beacon (known as the 'British Camp' or 'Camp Hill') and Midsummer Hill.¹⁶⁸ The hillforts that look over the counties of Herefordshire, Worcestershire and parts of Gloucestershire, are essentially enclosed and defensive.¹⁶⁹ The forts' high vantage points made them ideal for this. It is still debated whether these settlements were permanent or seasonal.¹⁷⁰

Henry Harris Lines: Artist and Archaeologist

The British Camp and Herefordshire Beacon, Worcestershire (fig. 38) features the Iron Age hillfort camp in a vast landscape. It was painted in 1872, when Henry Harris was becoming more involved in his archaeological pursuits. The landscape itself is highly detailed and demonstrates in particular, his skill at painting trees. The even distribution of light spread over the foreground and middle ground of the landscape creates an even plain from which the sun-lit British Camp stands apart. This effect emphasizes the main focal point and also the historical importance of the British Camp and its well-preserved earthworks. Amongst the landscape in the foreground, 3 small figures rest in the foreground and seem to be engaged

¹⁶⁶ Bowden, *et. al.*, *The Malvern Hills*, viii.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Also note that the Herefordshire Beacon will be referred to as such in this chapter, or called the 'British Camp'.

¹⁶⁹ Bowden, *et al.*, *The Malvern Hills*, 24.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

in conversation with each other, perhaps discussing the legends of the area in which they are sat. The figures are dwarfed by the expanse of land that surrounds them and the size of the painting itself (870mm x 1426mm) emphasises further the vastness of the area.

From Henry Harris's time and before there have been a number of significant responses by artists inspired by the Malvern Hills, which appears in various forms but mainly poetry, music, art and literature. Edward Elgar (1857-1934) is a later example of one such artist inspired by the legends surrounding the hills. One of the most well-known composers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, he was particularly inspired by the legend of Caractacus.¹⁷¹ Elgar's mother owned a cottage in the village of Colwall, which lies north west of the Malvern Hills, where they were visible from her window.¹⁷² He would often visit or stay for long periods of time, and therefore was familiar with the landscape of the hills, which he eventually used as inspiration to compose *Caracutus*, a cantata telling the story of the ancient Briton Caractatus's attempt to save Britain from Roman invasion and his eventual capture by their soldiers.

The Malvern Hills also appear in poetry, such as the piece *Malvern Hills* written by Bristol-based poet and bookseller, Joseph Cottle.¹⁷³ He was so inspired by the magnificence of the hills that he dedicated a poem to it. His poem is comprised of melodramatic lines, describing his ascent and its demanding terrain. He implies the loneliness and isolation of the hills ('With not one kindred soul my joys to share') yet the anticipation of reaching the summit to view the scenery ('And soon, from its proud head, shall I behold/Objects that glad the heart, assured the while/That I am loved and loving.'). The poem was the only one that featured the Malvern Hills and spanned seventy-two pages in his book of poems that also contained shorter works, categorized thematically.¹⁷⁴ The poem was originally written about 1798, but by the fourth edition in 1829 (from which this extract is taken), Cottle noted that he had had 400 lines (out

¹⁷¹ Bowden, et al, *The Malvern Hills*, 8.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Joseph Cottle, *Malvern Hills, with Minor Poems and Essays*, Vol. I., 4th ed., London, 1829, 1-72.

¹⁷⁴ The themes included 'Sentimental' and 'Sacred and Didactic'.

of the original 900) removed, and a further 1000 added.¹⁷⁵ The longevity of this poem thus spanned over thirty years, during which Cottle made several significant edits. This is an early example of the continuity of the Malvern Hills as a form of artistic inspiration that lasted beyond the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁶

In consideration of the more imaginative approach to imagery depicting ancient Britain, as discussed by Smiles, it should be noted that Malvern Hills were a popular subject amongst a niche group of artists, inspiring music, poetry, and in the case of Henry Harris – art. *The British Camp and Herefordshire Beacon, Worcestershire*, (fig. 38) as mentioned previously, is his main surviving depiction of the Herefordshire Beacon. He began exhibiting his paintings of the area in 1861, with *The Hereford Beacon, Malvern* at the Birmingham Society of Artists (no. 222).¹⁷⁷ The work was on sale for £52 10 shillings, indicating that it was likely to have been a relatively large oil painting.¹⁷⁸ It did not sell but an annotation next to this entry in the Exhibition Ledger Book reads: ‘Eliza has this’, indicating that it was in the ownership of either Elizabeth Lines (Henry Harris’ daughter) or Frances Eliza Lines, the daughter of Henry Harris’s youngest brother Frederick Thomas Lines.¹⁷⁹ Henry Harris also notes that the same subject appears again in the Birmingham Society of Artists exhibition in 1862 (under the same title), though the catalogues for the exhibition do not mention it.¹⁸⁰ He is known to have exhibited the subject again on two more occasions before his death.¹⁸¹

In subject, Henry Harris’s *The British Camp and Herefordshire Beacon, Worcestershire* is comparable to George Arthur Fripp’s (1813-1896) *Old British Camp in Bulstrode Park* (1860,

¹⁷⁵ *Malvern Hills, with Minor Poems and Essays*, 1st ed., London, 1798.

¹⁷⁶ Henry Harris’s last work depicting the Herefordshire Beacon was exhibited in 1880, when he displayed *The Herefordshire Beacon, Malvern* at the RBSA (no. 100) for the sum of £30. The Malvern Hills are still depicted by contemporary artists, notably David Prentice and present RBSA member Sylvie Dattas (*Midsummer Hill, Malverns*, undated, pencil drawing, in the collection of the author).

¹⁷⁷ See Appendices 1 and 3. Note that Henry Harris’s Exhibition Ledger book states the title as *The Hereford Beacon*, omitting the word ‘Malvern’ on sale for £50, whereas the Birmingham Society of Artists catalogue states it to be *The Hereford Beacon, Malvern* on sale for £52 10 shillings. It is assumed through the similarity of their titles that they are in fact the same work.

¹⁷⁸ See Appendix 3.

¹⁷⁹ See Appendix 3.

¹⁸⁰ See Appendices 1 and 3.

¹⁸¹ See Appendix 3.

Yale Center for British Art, [B1975.4.1994]) (fig. 53). Fripp was a Bristol-born artist, working predominantly in watercolour. His depiction of the ancient camp in Bulstrode Park, Buckinghamshire, hints at the attitudes towards such subjects prevalent in the middle of the nineteenth century. Matthew Hargraves observes that the park had not been archaeologically investigated until Bernard Burke undertook the task and published his findings in 1861.¹⁸² He revealed that the camp was built during the Norman conquest by the ancient British Shobington family, to defend their land against invasion.¹⁸³ Hargraves highlights how Fripp captures an atmosphere of melancholy and foreboding.¹⁸⁴ He brings to the viewer's attention details such as the old shepherd who is leaning on his staff which was 'traditionally associated with the elegy' and the encroachment of the dark shadow towards the sheep basking in the sunlight.¹⁸⁵ According to Hargreaves, these elements are used by Fripp to allude to the idea that England's past as it was understood, was fast coming to an end.¹⁸⁶ In contrast, Henry Harris's response in *The British Camp and Herefordshire Beacon, Worcestershire* seems to be more optimistic, with the light shining on the British Camp alluding to new beginnings. This was true with the developments in historical studies enabling a greater understanding of England's origins.

Henry Harris was the only artist known to have surveyed the Herefordshire Beacon and Midsummer Hill to the extent of producing accurate aerial plans and cross-sections of the hillforts. Although he was not the only individual to study the area and its archaeological significance, he produced accurate plans of it, which other archaeologists failed to achieve. His ability to bring together his skills therefore has implications for his identity, which at the time of his death was still considered as an artist despite his 'essential service' to local

¹⁸² M. Hargraves, *Great British Watercolors: From the Paul Mellon Collection at the Yale Center for British Art*, exhibition catalogue, New Haven, 2007, 192.

¹⁸³ Hargraves, *Great British Watercolors*, 192.

¹⁸⁴ Hargraves, *Great British Watercolors*, 193.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

archaeology.¹⁸⁷ During the years 1860-80, he wrote a series of reports concerning the origins of several Iron Age camps, whilst giving lectures and guided tours on the Malvern Hills for the Malvern Field Club. However, his accomplishments as an archaeologist have been overlooked or underestimated.

It is likely that Henry Harris's initial interest in history and archaeology was encouraged by his acquaintances, such as Edwin Lees (1800-1887) who was one of the founder members of the Literary and Scientific Institution in Worcester (established 1829), Honorary Secretary for the Worcestershire Horticultural and Floral Society (active in 1834) as well as Curator for the Worcester Natural History Society (established 1833).¹⁸⁸ He was also a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, based in London. Lees's obituary notice in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* revealed that he had attended school with Henry Harris in Birmingham 'in a school the principal of which was Mr Hill'.¹⁸⁹ It is therefore assumed that they had met whilst attending 'Hill Top' school, established by Thomas Wright Hill. The school was later expanded and called Hazelwood School.¹⁹⁰ Like Henry Harris, Lees began his career in the arts having originally been apprenticed as a printer.¹⁹¹ He returned to Worcester after his apprenticeship in Wellington, Shropshire, where he opened his own business dealing in printing and stationery.¹⁹² The majority of Lees' knowledge concerning the natural world was self-taught.¹⁹³ This, he shared with Henry Harris, who also did not have a formal education in archaeology, most likely because as academic subjects, archaeology and the natural

¹⁸⁷ 'Death of Mr. H.H. Lines', *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, February 23, 1889, unpaginated.

¹⁸⁸ The Literary and Scientific Institution is also called The Literary and Scientific Society, as in Potter, *op. cit.* *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, April 10, 1834, unpaginated. Also, M. M. Jones, *The Lookers-Out of Worcestershire: A Memoir of Edwin Lees, Worcester Naturalist, and the History of the First Hundred Years of the Worcester Naturalists Club, which he founded with two friends in 1847*, Worcester, 1980, 14 and 32.

¹⁸⁹ 'Death of Mr. Edwin Lees', *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, October 29, 1887. This newspaper is unpaginated.

¹⁹⁰ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 11.

¹⁹¹ Jones, *The Lookers-Out of Worcestershire*, 5-6.

¹⁹² 'Death of Mr. Edwin Lees', *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, October 29, 1887.

¹⁹³ ¹⁹³ 'Death of Mr. Edwin Lees', *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, October 29, 1887. There is no supporting evidence to suggest the subjects taught by Thomas Hill Wright at Hill Top school to Henry Harris and Lees, but it can be assumed that their knowledge of botany and archaeology were not extensive upon leaving the school to pursue other careers.

sciences were yet to be recognised.¹⁹⁴ His publications included the *Worcestershire Miscellany* (1829-31), *The Botany of the Malvern Hills in the Counties of Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester* (first edition 1843) and *Pictures of Nature in the Silurian Region Around the Malvern Hills and Vale of Severn* (1856).¹⁹⁵ It is likely that Lees introduced Henry Harris to the various clubs active in Worcester during the mid-nineteenth century. Although Lees' interests remained in the field of botany and natural history, his reported attendance at events of a historical nature show the versatility of his knowledge and the diversity of his pursuits. Again, this tends to confirm the heterogeneous nature of the amateur groups, during a period before strict categorisation.

Fig. 5 shows Henry Harris's pictorial survey of the Herefordshire Beacon, made in 1869, when he was 69 years old. All of his accessible plans were made using pencil, pen and ink. Here, Henry Harris has not only outlined the shape of the hilltop fort, but gives appropriate measurements for the camp's length and circumference. His measurements show the length of the camp as 2850 feet as well as the circumference of the outer fosse (the long narrow trenches surrounding the hillfort) which he gives as one and a quarter miles. The plan also depicts the various fosses within the structure, the depths of which are represented by tonal shading in ink. Henry Harris also indicates the various entrances to the camp, highlighting the South Gate to the upper left, the East Gate to the left of the centre of the camp, the North Gate to the lower right and the Western Chariot Gate to the top. Further to this, he adds an additional plan of the citadel, possibly to highlight its importance within the camp itself. In the enlarged drawing, he numbers certain elements in the citadel with red ink, suggesting that there is a key that corresponds with this plan. However, the location of this key is unknown, and therefore the reasons for numbering the plan cannot be fully explained.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ There are no known documents that suggest Henry Harris Lines had a formal qualification in archaeology.

¹⁹⁵ E. Lees (ed), *The Worcestershire Miscellany*, Worcester 1829-31, E. Lees, *The Botany of the Malvern Hills in the Counties of Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester*, London, 1843 & E. Lees, *Pictures of Nature in the Silurian Region Around the Malvern Hills and Vale of Severn*, Malvern, 1856.

¹⁹⁶ It is possible that the legend is on the reverse of the plan, however it has not been possible to have it removed from the frame.

To demonstrate Henry Harris's skills as a surveyor and serious amateur of the subject further, figure 52 depicts the Herefordshire Beacon from an alternative perspective. The main feature of this drawing is the cross-section of the Beacon, through the citadel, from north to south. Below this are comparative cross-sections of various other examples of British and Roman earthworks, including Midsummer Hill, indicating Henry Harris's exploration of the origins of the Herefordshire Beacon.

These drawings are significant not only in that they prove Henry Harris's ability as a capable archaeologist, but because they also demonstrate the extent of his research in the subject matter. Amongst the traceable evidence of his archaeological studies are various essays written by him, published posthumously in 1891 by his daughter Elizabeth Lines in conjunction with the Malvern Field Club. The assembled work was entitled: *The Ancient Camps on the Malvern Hills* and contained papers, previously written and published in the *Berrow's Worcester Journal*.¹⁹⁷ The papers offer an intriguing insight into the hillforts as settlements, notably the Herefordshire Beacon and Midsummer Hill. In the majority of these discourses, he discussed the physical properties of the camps, substantiated by speculative dating (supported by his findings) of camps and identifying specific characteristics, which he used to attribute the camps to the Romans or ancient Britons. *The Ancient Camps on the Malvern Hills* also contains a series of plans originally made by Henry Harris, one of which is a scaled-down version of the plan seen in figure 5. These plans were all surveyed and initially drawn by him, and reproduced in a reduced size to illustrate his essays.¹⁹⁸ His writing was academically recognised and supported by the Malvern Field Club, who funded the engraving of his original plans for publication in the pamphlet.¹⁹⁹ Although this occurred after his death, it demonstrates the club's determination for his work to be academically recognised.

¹⁹⁷ *The Ancient Camps on the Malvern Hills*, Worcester, 1891. Version accessed from WCAGM, [WOSMG:2006:22:43].

¹⁹⁸ See inside cover of *The Ancient Camps on the Malvern Hills*, Worcester, 1891.

¹⁹⁹ Stated in Elizabeth Lines's acknowledgments in *The Ancient Camps on the Malvern Hills*, 2.

Further examples of Henry Harris's archaeological pursuits can be seen in cat. no. 5, a drawing from the RBSA permanent collection, entitled *Worcester Beacon, Colwall Oaks*.²⁰⁰ This drawing was made in Colwall, located on the border of Herefordshire and Worcestershire near the Malvern Hills. It was drawn in 1877, when Henry Harris was 77 years old. Two oak trees are prominent in the foreground of the drawing, one significantly taller than the other. A small figure has also been included, seen standing by the taller tree, possibly to emphasize its height. The annotations made by Henry Harris are the only indication of his interest in the historical aspects of the site, referring to the size of the trees' girth. Therefore, it can be assumed that he was attempting to date the site from this information, since oak trees are known to grow consistently in size over centuries. Their age is often indicated by tree rings, seen if a cross-section of the trunk is exposed, but it is also possible to gain an approximate age of a tree by measuring its girth and dividing it by the average rate of growth per year. This technique is specific to archaeologists and researchers of natural history, and it is possible that he procured this skill through his involvement with clubs such as the Malvern Field Club, or through individuals such as Edwin Lees.

Henry Harris's archaeological studies also extended to ancient Welsh stone monuments, such as *Gwern Einion and Caer Gwerie, Anglesea*, (fig. 54). The watercolour is undated and therefore it is not known whether it was made earlier than 1863. It is likely to have been executed during one of his summer trips to North Wales. Unlike his work on the British Camp and Midsummer Hill, his research on these stone monuments remains unpublished, since there are no known written accounts concerning his pursuit of such, unlike his study of the Malvern Hills. The Malvern Hills were not a subject that he was known to exhibit, and therefore it can be assumed that these images were for his private use, or for illustrative purposes in papers or lectures, similar to the plans of the Herefordshire Beacon. However, it is possible to assess the significance of these drawings with regard to similar depictions of

²⁰⁰ There are also two other drawings depicting oak trees in the countryside surrounding the Malvern Hills in the RBSA permanent collection, but this drawing has been used to demonstrate this point because of the consistency of its content which indicates the location, date and artist.

the period, as discussed by Smiles. This offers a prescriptive interpretation of Henry Harris's research, rather than a descriptive one, aiming to establish the context and intellectual/artistic climate in which they were created and consumed.

Smiles observes the growing interest in ancient megalithic sites, including stone circles and menhirs (upright, freestanding stones) from the middle of the eighteenth century.²⁰¹ The most significant of these, Stonehenge, had been referred to in written documents since the mid twelfth century and it was later a preoccupation for artists such as Turner (for example, *Stonehenge*, (1799-1802), Tate Gallery, [D04092]).²⁰² The late eighteenth century considered monuments of this type as the earliest remains of ancient Britain, which spurred their investigation by antiquarians.²⁰³ Smiles also investigates their consumption, identifying that the stone monuments were not often depicted in landscapes until the decline of classical themes and the rise of sublime landscape.²⁰⁴ The changing responses to landscape painting thus enabled the inclusion of megalithic monuments when 'topographical accuracy' was of less importance than being able to 'capture the character of the monument'.²⁰⁵ Although Smiles's definition is somewhat vague, to 'capture the character' implies pinpointing it in an artistic sense, rather than the literal (or topographically accurate). Here, he is able to assess the consumption of both literal and artistic depictions, firstly by establishing their link to the development of archaeology, once the discipline had gained independence from its antiquarian associations.²⁰⁶ Those works comprising literal illustrations of the stones were considered of greater suitability for archaeologists who sought 'scientific' truth', whereas the more 'creative' works were better suited to the antiquarian.²⁰⁷ This can be linked to and

²⁰¹ Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, 165.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, 166.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

verified by the previous point made concerning Henry Harris's depiction of the Guesten Hall for the Worcestershire Archaeological Club.²⁰⁸

The *Montgomeryshire Collections*, published by the Powysland Club, contains one of Henry Harris's essays on the Breidden Hill Camp, another Iron Age hilltop camp, situated on the borders of Shropshire and Wales.²⁰⁹ Entitled 'Breidden Hill Camp and other Camps in the Vicinity', the essay also mentions his introduction to archaeology, which occurred on his earlier sketching trips to North Wales.²¹⁰ However, he did not pursue these interests until he was sixty. From then on, however, he chose to spend much of his time surveying the 'Malvern Camp', making artistic and archaeological studies simultaneously, until his eyesight failed when he was eighty.²¹¹ The introduction to his essay (written by an anonymous author) states the breadth of his work, mentioning a 'large number of plans of camps and earthworks in Wales and the Marches' as well a series of archaeological papers.²¹² The essay on the Breidden Hill camp (and other camps in the vicinity) is a demonstration of his knowledge of the Iron Age period, and in particular, iron-age earthworks (hillforts). Within the essay, Henry Harris also includes a list of over sixty camps 'from Portskewet in the South [of Wales] to Penmaenmawr in the North', with indications of their origins being Roman or British, for the reader's reference.²¹³ Further to this, it is accompanied by five plans, four of which depict camps from an aerial perspective. The remaining illustration is a sketch of a landscape with additional annotations made to identify the camps from a distance.

In 1890, one year after Henry Harris's death, further essays of his were published in *The Antiquary*, which recognises him as 'an artist of considerable eminence'.²¹⁴ The essays included *Roman Castrametation* (which was spread over three consecutive issues) and *The*

²⁰⁸ As discussed on page 36.

²⁰⁹ H.H. Lines, 'Breidden Hill Camp and other Camps in the Vicinity', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol XXIII, 1889, 321-344.

²¹⁰ *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 321.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 323.

²¹⁴ H. H. Lines, 'Roman Castrametation', *The Antiquary: A Magazine Devoted to the Study of the Past*, No. 1, New Series (or No. 122, Vol. XXI), January, 1890, London and New York, 1890, 6-12, 6.

*Ladies' Glen, or Glen of "the Stone," on the Malvern Hills.*²¹⁵ From the explanatory note added to *Roman Castrametation*, it is assumed that Powysland Club owned the unpublished work and had given special permission for its inclusion in *The Antiquary*.²¹⁶ Together they show how Henry Harris's eminence was not confirmed until after his death when archaeology eventually gained its professional and academic accreditation. However, the interest in his research at this time demonstrated by their publication, is also significant in proving the changing attitudes towards archaeology. The culmination of these published works emphasizes Levine's observation that archaeology had become an independent discipline and as a result, developed a professional standing, comparable to that of the historians.²¹⁷ The publications also signify a collective effort on behalf of the archaeological community, and the unification of the group, which had previously been disjointed.²¹⁸ As a result, such efforts led to the discipline's 'absorption into academic circles', with the creation of chairs of archaeology that were appointed to those worthy of the position.²¹⁹

Conclusion

The impact of Henry Harris's plans and surveys has remained in the academic sphere until recently, with the last acknowledgment made in 1981.²²⁰ His research was serious and significant, as the *Worcester Herald* claimed that no one in their knowledge had researched the earthworks on the Herefordshire Beacon before, sparking a rediscovery of the site that

²¹⁵ H. H. Lines, 'Roman Castrametation', *The Antiquary: A Magazine Devoted to the Study of the Past*, No. 1, New Series (or No. 122, Vol. XXI.), January, 1890, London and New York, 1890, 6-12. H. H. Lines, 'Roman Castrametation', *The Antiquary: A Magazine Devoted to the Study of the Past*, No. 2, New Series (or No. 123, Vol. XXI.), January, 1890, London and New York, 1890, 63-70. H. H. Lines, 'Roman Castrametation', *The Antiquary*, No. 3, New Series (or No. 124, Vol. XXI.), January, 1890, London and New York, 1890, 105-108. H. H. Lines, 'The Ladies' Glen, or Glen of "The Stone", on the Malvern Hills', *The Antiquary*, No. 4, New Series (or No. 125, Vol. XXI.), January, 1890, London and New York, 1890, 205-210., All located at Malvern Library [Local History 909].

²¹⁶ Lines, 'Roman Castrametation', *The Antiquary: A Magazine Devoted to the Study of the Past*, No. 1, New Series (or No. 122, Vol. XXI.), January, 1890, London and New York, 1890, 6-12, 6.

²¹⁷ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 39.

²¹⁸ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 36.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ Stanford, *Midsummer Hill*.

inspired further excavations.²²¹ One such example was the excavation of 1879, initiated by G.H. Piper who was President of the Malvern Field Club. A report was later published in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, written by F.G. Hilton Price who makes occasional reference to Henry Harris's previous research.²²²

It has here been recognised that in the nineteenth century there was a growing interest for historical pursuits that promoted a more thorough approach to researching historic architecture and antiquities. The establishment of various intellectual institutions mentioned in this chapter demonstrates the development of an ideology that was specifically concerned with the pursuit of historical knowledge. Henry Harris's involvement with such intellectual groups supports the idea that they created an independent culture of historical thought and knowledge that infiltrated his works, as seen in his topographical and imaginative depictions of historical subjects. The fervour for preserving and documenting Britain's past had never been stronger, and is indicative of the impact of these individual intellectual hubs on historical culture. Amateur efforts in these fields resulted in government initiatives, with the creation of a central record office (the Public Record Office) as one of the most significant outcomes.²²³ Following this, the latter half of the nineteenth century saw the acceptance of history as an academic subject by universities, notably Oxford and Cambridge.²²⁴ Previously, there was no formal education in science or ancient history. According to Levine, the first generation of professional historians originated from the civil servants who classified the national records at the Public Record Office.²²⁵ From this came a new breed of historian, comprising those

²²¹ *The Worcester Herald*, May 21, 1870. This newspaper is unpaginated. Also mentioned by Stanford, *op. cit.*, 10.

²²² F.G. Hilton Price, 'Camps on the Malvern Hills', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. X, 1881, 319-331.

²²³ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 2.

²²⁴ *Ibid.* Levine emphasises how the 'reforms of Oxford and Cambridge ushered in by the Liberal governments in the 1850s and 1870s...created a new niche for historians.'

²²⁵ *Ibid.* The original Public Record Office was established on Fetter Lane, London. The Public Record Office now forms part of the National Archives at Kew.

who taught, researched and lectured the subject academically in universities, and thus came the acknowledgement of the subject as a recognised discipline.²²⁶

Henry Harris Lines played a significant role in contributing to the changing attitudes to history, and to historical research in the nineteenth century as demonstrated by his studies of church interiors and iron-age earthworks. His depictions of such are visual documents of history, but they also illustrate contemporary thoughts and ideas concerning historiography and its practices. His ability to bring together his artistic talent and historical studies has enabled generations of historians and archaeologists to thrive and continue to the present day.

²²⁶ Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 2.

CONCLUSION

The eminent lives of Samuel Lines and his five sons, whose combined careers spanned over a century, have been explored at length in this thesis and accompanying catalogue. Showing how their achievements were vast and varied, and not restricted to artistic talent alone, has called for their status as artists and drawing masters to be re-evaluated. Samuel's integral role in the establishment of Birmingham's most distinguished institutions makes him responsible for paving a route for art tuition and exhibition, which supported the town's expansive network of local artists and artisans. This promoted the town's vibrant art scene to the rest of the country, which still thrives in today's metropolitan Birmingham.

Through the catalogue it has become evident that Samuel's five sons all pursued extraordinary careers, and although the focus of this thesis has perforce been mainly on Henry Harris Lines, it encourages further research into his four brothers. It is still unresolved whether their chosen fields of artistic study were suggested to them by their industrious father. However, their independent vocations as landscapist, modeller, lithographer, designer and portraitist, seem almost too coincidental and to an extent, convenient for the running of the family's art academy that promoted artistic diversity at its core.

Chapter one, *The Development and Production of the Fine and Manufactured Arts in Birmingham: the Effects of Industry and Art Institutions 1794-1898* described the industrial roots of late eighteenth century Birmingham, in which Samuel first began his apprenticeship with a clock dial enameller. His early training in the local artisan trades is discussed in depth, revealing the extent of his role in sword blade designing in particular. Samuel's transition from artisan to drawing master, and fine artist acted as a vehicle for discussion in the use of the term 'artist' in nineteenth-century Birmingham. This was supported by evidence from local trade directories whose use of the term 'artist' fluctuated in the early part of the century, thus suggesting that until the mid-1800s, 'artist' and 'painter' were almost interchangeable, and the specific identity of an 'artist', i.e. fine artist, became refined only during this period.

Tuition materials from the Lines family's academy were also a main focal point in the first chapter. It revealed a range of sources that have never been mentioned before, and demonstrated the wide variety of subjects that the family offered in their curriculum, as well as the standards that they expected from their students. Furthermore, their publications *Lines's Anatomy of the Human Figure*, *Dickinson's Advanced Drawing Book* and *S&J Fuller's Progressive Drawing Book*, *Studies of Trees* cement their commitment to art tuition even to those outside their private academy. Proving that their academy supported the production of art in Birmingham, the impact of their institution is emphasised and their legacy demonstrated in the survival of the RBSA and Birmingham Municipal School of Art (now the art department of Birmingham City University) to the present day.

The prominence of landscapes in the family's works called for a chapter dedicated to those scenes. Henry Harris's Exhibition Ledger Book also plays a part in revealing some of his patrons who purchased these works. The second chapter *The Lines Family's Landscapes of the Midlands and North Wales* engaged theoretically with the family's depictions of their local surroundings and North Wales by throwing light on the issues concerning the effect of urban growth and landscape aesthetic theory on the production and consumption of landscape imagery. Their depictions of rural scenes, which feature heavily in the RBSA's collection of drawings, are distinguished from their grander, picturesque and sublime landscapes in order to assess whether they attracted a certain class of patron. Exploring urban growth in Edgbaston in the 1830s, research revealed that the area was rapidly expanding into an affluent suburb, despite the family's depiction of it as working farmland. The extent to which these drawings are 'myths' revealed their coded content which, to a bourgeois viewer, sustained the idea that Edgbaston was still rural land. This 'naturalisation' of Edgbaston, through the family's depiction of cows and cottages in the distance, showed that the ideological expectations of the patron had to be fulfilled. Although the suburban population of Edgbaston was fast-growing, it was apparent that the Lines family actually produced and sold very few images of the area. Therefore, it was suggested that the

residents of Edgbaston who were affluent and middle-class, preferred grander landscapes, such as those associated with prevailing landscape theories. David Cox's patron, Miss Phipson, was used as an example to demonstrate the types of landscape imagery that Edgbaston residents purchased. However, it concluded that the painting she purchased *Carreg-Cennen Castle, South Wales* featured both elements of rural activity and the picturesque suggesting that certain landscape imagery cannot be so easily distinguished.

The final chapter *Depictions of the Ancient and the Antique: The Impact of Historical Thought on the Works of Henry Harris Lines* demonstrated how the Lines family's talents extended beyond art. This chapter examined two major themes from the works of Henry Harris Lines: his depictions of church interiors and sites of historical and archaeological interest. Although Henry Harris began painting church interiors quite early in a career that spanned almost the whole of the nineteenth century, it was not until he reached his sixties that he began his serious exploration of the British Camp on the Malvern Hills.

These themes were explained in relation to the growing popularity of antiquarianism and archaeology as amateur hobbies, which led to the professional development of history and its various branches as an academic subject. Henry Harris's involvement with local intellectual groups in Worcester demonstrated their role in developing ideologies associated with historic research, especially in ecclesiology and architecture. These factors and their influence on Henry Harris's production of imagery relating to ecclesiastical and historical research were considered, and supported the idea that ideologies upheld and developed within these scholarly circles had a direct impact on the subjects he depicted in his works.

This thesis has covered three main aspects of the Lines family's careers and works, but there are others that are yet to be explored. As the first in-depth scholarly study into their work, the research that can be included is of necessity exploratory and restricted. Frederick Thomas Lines's successful career as a portraitist is one element that requires further investigations, especially his time working with Richard Evans. Potter suggested that Frederick Thomas had worked in the studio of Sir Thomas Lawrence, but this claim is yet to

be substantiated.¹ Moreover, there is material that would also invite the study of Samuel's female students, offering a potential opportunity to further feminist themes associated with gender and art production in nineteenth-century drawing academies – a subject already touched upon by Ann Bermingham in *Learning to Draw* where she dedicated the chapter *Accomplished Women* to female artists and in particular, the gendered nature of flower painting.² The Lines family were known to use floral studies in their art academy, and their catalogues feature these studies made by their female students only, indicating a path of research that could be pursued beyond this thesis.

Together with the integral accompanying catalogue, the thesis has demonstrated the prolific nature of the Lines family's works and also the diversity of their skills, applied to a wider social context. Most importantly, research has shown the extent of their art tuition and their role in teaching the artists and artisans of nineteenth-century Birmingham. Their combined careers spanned over a century, and within that period they saw Birmingham change from an industrial town into an affluent city, and changing with that was the city's attitude to art and art tuition. Although the Lines family's academy came to an end when Samuel Lines died in 1863, the Birmingham Society of Arts, after the split that created the Birmingham Society of Artists in 1842, became the 'Birmingham Society of Arts and School of Design'.³ Both institutions shared their premises on New Street until the Birmingham Society of Arts and School of Design relocated to the Birmingham and Midland Institute.⁴ This established the forerunner to the Birmingham Institute of Art and Design (BIAD) that is now part of Birmingham City University.

The Royal Birmingham Society of Artists has become an art gallery and a place for exhibition for artists on both a national and international scale. It also houses a designated

¹ Potter, *A Provincial from Birmingham*, 11. At the time that this research was made, A. Cassandra Albinson *et. al.* were in the process of curating the exhibition *Thomas Lawrence: Regency power and Brilliance* (National Portrait Gallery, London (1 October 2010-23 January 2011) and Yale Center for British Art, New Haven (24 February – 5 June 2011). Email correspondence with Albinson (17 December 2009) did not reveal that Frederick Thomas was an artist known to be working in Thomas Lawrence's studio.

² A. Bermingham, 'Accomplished Women', *Learning to Draw*, New Haven and London, 2000, 208-227.

³ Catterson-Smith, 'Birmingham Municipal School of Art', 274-283, 283.

⁴ *Ibid.*

craft gallery, emphasising its all-encompassing support for the arts and crafts. Furthermore, it holds a series of art workshops and classes during the spring and summer, taught by the Members and Associates, harking back to the Society's heyday as an art academy. However, 'Samuel Lines and Sons' was not simply an academy of drawing or fine art. It was an institution that embraced the skills and abilities of local artisans and artists, thus supporting Birmingham's artistic community as a whole. The family's involvement with the Birmingham Society of Arts and later, Royal Birmingham Society of Artists, has created a tradition of promoting good art practice and exhibition that is still very much engrained in the ethos of the Society in existence today.