

FORD MADDOX BROWN: WORKS ON PAPER AND ARCHIVE MATERIAL AT
BIRMINGHAM MUSEUMS AND ART GALLERY

VOLUME ONE: TEXT

by

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A thesis submitted to The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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September 2009

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ABSTRACT

This collaborative thesis focuses on the extensive collection of works on paper and related objects by Ford Madox Brown (1821-1893) held at Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery (BMAG). It is the first academic study to use Brown's works on paper as the basis for discussion. In doing so it seeks to throw light on neglected areas of his work and to highlight the potential of prints and drawings as subjects for scholarly research.

The thesis comprises a complete catalogue of the works on paper by Brown held at BMAG and three discursive chapters exploring the strengths of the collection. Chapter one focuses on the significant number of literary and religious works Brown made in Paris between 1841 and 1844 and examines his position in the cross-cultural dialogues taking place in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century. Chapter two uses the dual definition of the word 'construction' to examine how his interpretation of history was affected by contemporary changes in historiography, and to discuss his practical approach to composing a history painting. Chapter 3 studies illustrations he made for publication. Progressing chronologically, it explores his changing attitude towards illustration as a medium and argues that these works had increasing importance for his artistic career. The catalogue is the most up-to-date and informative inventory of the collection and includes new identifications, titles and dates and exegeses.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to many people who have supported me whilst writing this thesis with their enthusiasm and willingness to share their knowledge. I would very much like to thank my academic supervisor Dr Paul Spencer-Longhurst whose knowledge and insight have remained an inspiration throughout both my MPhil and PhD. His guidance, encouragement and patience, have sustained me through this journey. My thanks also go to Tessa Sidey, my supervisor at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery who gave me the unique opportunity to co-curate the exhibition *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* and have my work published in the accompanying catalogue, allowing my research to reach a far greater audience than is usual for a PhD student.

I would like to thank Angela Thirlwell whose unwavering enthusiasm for Ford Madox Brown, willingness to share the fruits of her own research and act as a sounding board have been not only inspirational but also greatly encouraging. I am also truly grateful to Professor Tim Barringer and Peter Raissis for the interest and enthusiasm they showed in my project which has spurred me on and taught me to have faith in myself.

Many thanks are also due to the staff of the History of Art department at the University of Birmingham for nurturing my love of History of Art and supporting me through my studies. In particular, I would like to thank Dr Richard Clay, my academic mentor, for his positive attitude and sound advice, Dr Jutta Vincent for offering advice and guidance when writing about Brown's early migrant life and Professor Shearer West who, with Tessa Sidey, got the project off the ground.

Over the last four years I have received friendship and support from a large number of people at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery for which I am extremely grateful. Among these Lucy Blakeman, Caroline Villiers-Stuart, Varshali Patel, Michelle Beacham and Dave Rowan have celebrated the highs and supported me through the lows of writing this thesis.

I would also like to thank the staff of the Barber Institute for their encouragement over many years. I am very grateful to John Van Boolen for giving me the opportunity to gain experience handling paintings and his willingness to answer my never-ending questions. My thanks also go to Gill Hill and John Ashford for generously giving up their time to print the illustrations for thesis.

During my research I have encountered several curators and independent art historians who have offered support and knowledge for which I am very thankful. In particular I wish to thank Alex Kidson, Dennis Lanigan, Melva Croal, Betty Elzea, Charles Nugent, Professor Paul Goldman and Christine Hopper. I have visited many institutions whose staff have been immensely helpful including those working at the British Library, the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, the National Art Library, the V&A, the Art Gallery of New South Wales, the Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston, Tasmania, the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, the Princeton University Library, and the Yale University Library. I am deeply indebted to the Yale Centre for British Art who funded my Pre-Doctoral Fellowship and to its staff who ensured that my time there as both enjoyable and productive.

I extremely grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council without whose financial assistance I would not have been able to undertake or complete this collaborative PhD.

I would like to thank Connie Wan, Val Loggie and Sue Tungate for sharing the collaborative experience with me and Dr Camilla Smith, Dr Elisa Korb, Dr Jenny Powell and Dr Katie Wright whose friendship and pearls of wisdom have provided me with motivation and delight over many years.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their love and support, and to whom I dedicate this thesis.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following organisations have been abbreviated in the text:

Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery - BMAG

Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood - PRB

Royal Academy of Arts, London - RA

Victoria and Albert Museum, London - V & A

INTRODUCTION

Ford Madox Brown (1821-1893) is a painter most often associated with, but not an official member of, the PRB, a group of young artists which radically changed British Art in the nineteenth century. The interest in Brown's connections with the PRB has somewhat overshadowed his continental upbringing and earlier artistic achievements. This thesis is the first to focus on the extensive collection of works on paper by Brown held at BMAG. It is the largest collection of Brown's work and includes drawings, illustrations, engraved wood-blocks and archival material allowing a unique insight into his career of which few scholars have previously taken advantage.

This thesis is the result of a three-year collaboration between Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery and The University of Birmingham. The project has combined both academic and curatorial training and has already resulted in the exhibition *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* and the accompanying catalogue.¹ The practical aspect of this PhD programme has substantially shaped the thesis which comprises a complete catalogue of the works on paper by Brown and related material held at BMAG and three discursive chapters exploring the strengths of this collection.

The majority of the works on paper by Brown entered Birmingham's collection in 1906. They were included in the second set of Pre-Raphaelite drawings to be given by 'a group of Birmingham subscribers, led by the solicitor James Richardson Holliday' in a two-phase donation.² These works on paper originally belonged to

¹ The exhibition was held at BMAG from 24 August to 14 December, 2008. *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2008.

² Tessa Sidey, 'Charles Fairfax Murray, J. R. Holliday and the Birmingham Collection of Millais Drawings,' in *John Everett Millais: Illustrator and Narrator*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2004, p. 49.

Charles Fairfax Murray (1849-1919), an artist in his own right, who entered the Pre-Raphaelite circle in 1866 as Edward Burne-Jones' (1833-1898) first studio assistant. From the 1880s, 'when prices were low,' he began collecting Pre-Raphaelite drawings.³ He purchased them from the main auction houses and dealers in London and later on from studio sales after the artist's death. He occasionally acquired from the artists themselves, often in exchange for illuminated manuscripts which he bought and sold along with works by the old masters.⁴ As with the other Pre-Raphaelites, when it came to selecting works by Brown, Fairfax Murray did not weed out drawings for the most famous paintings or select the most well-drawn. He appears to have applied Ruskin's principle of 'rejecting nothing, selecting nothing,' to his purchasing, thus creating an unusually rich and diverse collection highlighting Brown's early career and his working practice from loose compositional sketches to finished cartoons.

By 1903 Fairfax Murray had already given BMAG a substantial number of works on paper including thirty-three stained glass cartoons by Burne-Jones and a pastel portrait by Brown.⁵ These paved the way for the first sale of 547 drawings, by Burne-Jones and Rossetti, to the subscribers who purchased them in order to donate them to BMAG in 1903. The purchase of more works on paper from Fairfax Murray's collection took place in 1906, allowing the subscribers time to gather the funds to buy them. Although Fairfax Murray later donated to the Fitzwilliam Museum,

³ Tessa Sidey, 'Charles Fairfax Murray, J. R. Holliday and the Birmingham Collection of Millais Drawings,' in *John Everett Millais: Illustrator and Narrator*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2004, p. 49.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cat. no. 124, a large pastel portrait of Miss Iza Duffus Hardy, entered the collection in 1903 as a gift from Charles Fairfax Murray. In a letter from J. R. Holliday to Fairfax Murray about the first 547 drawings bought from Murray by the subscribers, he refers to 'the additional things you have been good enough to include - big - the Madox Brown portrait' (23 February 1903, BMAG, cited *John Everett Millais: Illustrator and Narrator*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2004, p. 54).

Cambridge, his gifts to BMAG continued; almost all the wood-engravings in the Brown collection were presented by Fairfax Murray in 1912.

Other individuals added to the Brown collection. In 1905 Harold Hartley (1851-1943) gave nine studies, predominantly for the cartoon *The Spirit of Justice*, to the museum. He was 'a connoisseur and professional organiser of exhibitions' and his particular interest was in book illustration of the 1860s.⁶ J. R. Holliday who had acted as fundraiser and head of the subscribers, also donated eight drawings to the museum in 1927 including two important studies for the illustration *The Prisoner of Chillon* (cat. nos. 117 and 118).

Brown is most often discussed in relation to the Pre-Raphaelites. His work has been assessed in surveys and exhibitions of Pre-Raphaelite art including William E. Fredeman's *Pre-Raphaelitism: A bibliocritical Study*; Timothy Hilton's *The Pre-Raphaelites*; Elizabeth Prettejohn's *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites*; the Tate's monumental exhibition *The Pre-Raphaelites* and more recently the Australian exhibition *Pre-Raphaelites and Olympians*.⁷ In these Brown is seen as an associate or contemporary rather than a collaborator. In *Reading the Pre-Raphaelites* Tim Barringer placed Brown in a more central role highlighting his importance to the

⁶ The bulk of his collection was purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1955 (Stephen Wildman, *Visions of Love and Life, Pre-Raphaelite Art from the Birmingham Collection, England*, exh. cat., Alexandria, Virginia, p. 80). For more information on Hartley see Harold Hartley, *Eighty-eight Not Out*, 1939; Sarah Hamilton Phelps, 'The Hartley Collection of Victorian Illustration,' *Bulletin: Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, vol. 71, no. 360, 1973, pp. 52-67 and Joanna Karlgaard, 'The Hartley Collection of Victorian Illustration,' *Journal of Illustration Studies*, online edition, December 2007.

⁷ William E. Fredeman, *Pre-Raphaelitism: A bibliocritical Study*, Cambridge, USA, 1965; Timothy Hilton, *The Pre-Raphaelites*, London, 1970; Elizabeth Prettejohn, *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites*, London 2000; *The Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat., Tate, London, 1984 and *Pre-Raphaelites and Olympians*, The Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 2001.

group even before it was formally founded.⁸ However, unlike the other artists associated with the PRB there have been few monographs on the artist, despite his important role in the formation of the group.

The earliest book on Brown was the biography by his grandson, Ford Madox Hueffer, published in 1896, just three years after his death.⁹ The biography was based on interviews with Brown on his death bed, interviews with those who knew him, letters to and from Brown, and the diary he wrote intermittently between 1847 and 1868.¹⁰ As a boy Hueffer had lived in his grandfather's house and with hopes of becoming a writer it must have been an enjoyable challenge to publish the history of his grandfather's life. Nevertheless, given the young author's literary ambitions and the family myths surrounding the age of Brown's second wife Emma (1829-1890) and the date of their marriage, Hueffer's book is not altogether reliable. However, it still remains the most useful insight into his personality, childhood and artistic achievements. It also includes a large number of illustrations; a list of his major works, their owners and the prices paid for them; and a list of his stained glass window cartoons.¹¹

⁸ Tim Barringer, *Reading the Pre-Raphaelites*, New Haven and London, 1999. In particular, Barringer has done much to heighten scholarly awareness of Brown's achievements as a 'modern' painter and argues that 'among his work are some of the most penetrating and fully achieved masterpieces of the nineteenth century' ('The Effects of Industry: Ford Madox Brown and Artistic Identities in Victorian Britain' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2008, p. 31).

⁹ Ford Madox Hueffer, *Ford Madox Brown: A Record of his Life and Works*, London, 1896. Ford Madox Hueffer (1873-1939) is better known as the novelist Ford Madox Ford.

¹⁰ The diary is in six volumes. The first five covering 1847-1855 are at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The sixth volume is at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Details of the provenance of the diaries can be found in Virginia Surtees, ed., *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown*, New Haven and London, 1981, p. XV.

¹¹ These lists are not exhaustive and not altogether reliable but are an excellent starting point for any research on Brown. According to Christopher Newall, independent writer and art historian, they are based on an account book now at Cornell University, Ithaca (in conversation with the author 8.6.09). Newall is currently working on a new catalogue raisonné of works by Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882).

Further insight into Brown's life was provided by his son in law William Michael Rossetti (1829-1919), an original member of the PRB, in *Pre-Raphaelite Diaries and Letters* (1900). Rossetti included several letters by Brown to his first wife Elisabeth (1818/19-1846) and extensive extracts from the first five volumes of the diary.¹² However, he heavily edited these extracts, and those chosen were predominantly the ones referring to Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) and John Ruskin (1819-1900). It was not until 1977 that the first unabridged edition of the sixth volume of the diary was produced in Deborah Cherry's unpublished PhD thesis.¹³ Cherry's thesis transcribed the original diary at the Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, and a large number of letters from Brown to various people written between 1850 and 1870. Her annotations show the depth of her research and link him to a wide range of contemporaries, moving the focus away from the Pre-Raphaelites, to Brown as an individual and in the process throwing light on the lives of nineteenth-century artists in general. Unfortunately for Cherry it was not until the last year of her PhD that the first five diaries became publically available when they were bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. At this point it was too late for her to include them. However, as a whole her thesis gives a rounded view of Brown. Her transcription of the diary provides an insight into his private thoughts whereas the letters show his more public 'face' and allow a measure of insight into his day-to-day dealings with family, friends and business acquaintances. She supplemented this by including an essay on Brown's exhibiting practices between 1850 and 1870, giving a third dimension to her research.

¹² William Michael Rossetti, *Pre-Raphaelite Diaries and Letters*, London, 1900.

¹³ Deborah Cherry, *An annotated Edition of the Diary and selected Letters of Ford Madox Brown 1850-1870*, unpublished PhD, London University, 1977.

Cherry's misfortune was to the advantage of Virginia Surtees who was the first person to publish a complete, annotated, edition of all six volumes of the diary in 1981.¹⁴ Although the original manuscripts were consulted during the research for the present thesis, quotations taken from the diaries are from Surtees' edition which has retained Brown's often unusual spelling but added some punctuation.¹⁵ The diaries in their entirety give a wonderful insight into Brown's personality, revealing a determined but often morose artist, who noted down the hours he worked each day, chastising himself for any laziness and lamenting his often acutely difficult financial situation. They are also highly important in piecing together his working process. When he began the first diary in 1847 he had already embarked on the triptych *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* (Fig. 1) but his progress on the project was recorded intermittently until its completion as *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* (Fig. 2) in 1851.¹⁶ Whilst working on this large picture Brown painted other works including *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible* (Fig. 3). This painting is the only one whose progress is recorded in full.¹⁷ Brown's almost daily records note research undertaken on the subject, models hired, drawings and oil sketches made in preparation, and the last few days of hectic work before its inclusion in the Free Exhibition in 1848. The preparatory nature of many of the drawings at BMAG mean that this thesis, utilising both the drawings and the diaries, can provide a new all round view of Brown's working process.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 10.

¹⁵ As Deborah Cherry's review of Surtees' edition notes, these changes in punctuation were not acknowledged in the introduction (Deborah Cherry, 'Review of *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown* by Virginia Surtees,' *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 125, No. 963, June 1983, p. 372).

¹⁶ The wings of *The Seeds and Fruits* were later abandoned and the central panel completed as *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*. See catalogue pp. 204-208 for further discussion of the evolution of this work.

¹⁷ The only other work whose progress is recorded in full is the illustration *The Prisoner of Chillon* published in Robert Aris Willmott's anthology *Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, (London, 1857).

After Surtees' edition of Brown's diary no major biographical publication about him appeared until the early 1990s when Teresa Newman and Raymond Watkinson published *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle*.¹⁸ In order to produce this biography Newman and Watkinson undertook a vast amount of new research. The most startling result of their work concerned Brown's relationship with his second wife Emma. According to Hueffer, Emma was a country girl and the couple met in 1848 when Brown visited Stratford-on-Avon for research.¹⁹ He believed that they married soon afterwards, honeymooning in Pegwell Bay. However, from the research of Newman and Watkinson it appears that they met when she modelled for Brown in 1848 and that they married in 1853, three years after the birth of their daughter Cathy (1850-1927).²⁰ They also strongly suggest that Emma was significantly older than she led Brown to believe. She kept up the myth all her life that she was fifteen when she met him but it appears she was in fact twenty.²¹ The book remains the most up-to-date reference work for the facts about Brown's life but due to its biographical approach much of the research is not referenced making it a frustrating aid for academic work. It also contains many illustrations, some very rare, but mistakes in numbering and a reluctance to state the current location of a number of the works add to scholarly frustration. In 2010 Angela Thirlwell will publish a biography of the women in Brown's life, adding further insight into the private life of the artist and investigating two late love affairs at which Newman and Watkinson were only able to hint.

¹⁸ Teresa Newman and Raymond Watkinson, *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle*, London, 1991.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 9, p. 59.

²⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 18, pp. 45-46

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

The first exhibition of works exclusively by Brown was organised, unusually, by the artist himself in 1865. He hired a gallery in Piccadilly to showcase the painting *Work* (Fig. 4) and displayed it alongside other paintings, drawings, stained glass and furniture designs from throughout his career.²² At least one of the drawings from the Birmingham collection was included in this exhibition and his innovative display of both drawings and paintings showed how highly he regarded works on paper. To accompany the exhibition he produced a catalogue, writing his own entries for the paintings.²³ These remain an invaluable source for discussing his work, giving an insight into the artist's motivations.

The first two retrospective exhibitions of Brown's work were held shortly after his death by the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society at the New Gallery, London (1896) and at the Grafton Galleries, London (1897). As with his own display both included paintings and works on paper. In 1909 the Leicester Galleries in London held an exhibition of his work. The catalogue contained a foreword by Ford Madox Hueffer and the works were loaned by patrons, many of whom had bought directly from the artist before his death. There were no further retrospectives until 1964 when Mary Bennett curated *Ford Madox Brown 1821-1893* at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Despite the importance of this exhibition in raising the profile of the artist there have been no further major exhibitions until 2008 when the present author co-curated *Ford*

²² Brown produced two versions of *Work*. The larger of the two was commissioned by Thomas Plint. It was displayed in his Piccadilly exhibition and is now in the collection of Manchester City Art Gallery. The smaller version was commissioned by James Leathart and is now part of the Birmingham collection. In order to highlight the importance of the collection in Birmingham this thesis illustrates the Leathart *Work*.

²³ Ford Madox Brown, *The Exhibition of Work, and other Paintings*, exh. cat., 191 Piccadilly, London, 1865.

Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite with Tessa Sidey, Curator of Prints and Drawings, at BMAG.²⁴

Mary Bennett pioneered research on Ford Madox Brown in a series of articles, published after the 1964 retrospective exhibition, and the catalogue entries for all the works by Brown in the seminal exhibition *The Pre-Raphaelites* (1984).²⁵ These have become the basis of the catalogue raisonné that she is currently completing, which is likely to be published in 2010.²⁶ One of the commonest attractions of studying Brown is his links with the PRB. As early as 1973 Lucy Rabin explored his role in the formation of, and influence on, the group in her PhD thesis *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite History-Picture*.²⁷ She showed how Brown's early artistic training and trip to Rome, via Basel, resulted in his pioneering a new form of history painting which greatly influenced the younger artists who formed the PRB. Without the benefit of later research she relied heavily on Hueffer, following his version of Brown's relationship with Emma, was aware of only the first five diaries, quoted in W. M. Rossetti's *Pre-Raphaelite Diaries and Letters*, and did not use original manuscripts such as letters or account books. However, the strength of her argument

²⁴ The exhibition was held from 24 August until 14 December 2008.

²⁵ Mary Bennett, 'Ford Madox Brown at Southend in 1846: Some lost Paintings,' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 115, no. 839, February 1973, pp. 74-78; 'Waiting: An English Fireside of 1854-5: Ford Madox Brown's First Modern Subject Picture,' *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 128, no. 1005, December 1986, pp. 903-904. *The Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat., Tate, London, 1984.

²⁶ The author has not seen the manuscript for Mary Bennett's catalogue raisonné. However, in the preparations for the exhibition *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (2008, BMAG) the co-curator Tessa Sidey had several conversations with Bennett and sent her an early draft of the catalogue of the drawings, prints, designs, watercolours and archive material at BMAG, which was included in the exhibition catalogue. This was in itself based on a draft of this thesis. Bennett commented on the identity of some of the works and her input has been referenced in both the exhibition catalogue and this thesis. During this process the present author aided Bennett with her catalogue re-identifying two drawings as studies for *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* (cat. nos. 28 and 29). In January 2009, the present author also informed Bennett of two tracings in the Birmingham collection previously identified as works by Frederick Sandys (cat. nos. 15a and 15b). These were found by the present author whilst cataloguing drawings by Sandys for a new Birmingham Pre-Raphaelite website (www.preraphaelites.org launched June 2009).

²⁷ Lucy Rabin, *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite History-Picture*, New York and London, Garland Publishing, 1978 (thesis completed 1973).

lies in her exceptional visual analysis of paintings. She does refer to drawings but, as with other scholars who have studied Brown, these are secondary to her discussion of the paintings. Rabin was the first to look extensively at the influence of Brown's Belgian tutors and this provides the foundation for a convincing argument which highlights his influence on the Pre-Raphaelites. She did not, however, consider how the changes in historiography in the nineteenth century affected Brown which would have further contextualised her argument.

Little was written on Brown specifically in the 1980s and 1990s despite the publication of his diaries, and Newman and Watkinson's biography. Then, in 1998 Kenneth Bendiner published *The Art of Ford Madox Brown*.²⁸ He covered Brown's entire career but discussed his work in five thematic chapters including 'Archaism,' 'Humour,' and 'Realism.' Bendiner also tackled the dearth of knowledge surrounding Brown by providing a chronology of his life, a chronology of his works and an extensive number of large, high-quality reproductions of his paintings, as well four appendices which reproduced Brown's own writings. The two works which have elicited the most scholarly interest are *The Last of England* (Fig. 5) and *Work* (Fig. 4). These are usually discussed in works about the Pre-Raphaelites or the nineteenth-century in general. It was therefore refreshing that Tim Barringer chose *Work* as the central painting in his book *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*.²⁹ The latest research by Alastair Wright has continued Barringer's examination of class identity in Brown's work. In his article 'Ford Madox Brown's *The Body of Harold: Representing England at mid-century*' (2007) Wright looks at a painting executed early on in Brown's career and argues that it represents the themes of class and

²⁸ Kenneth Bendiner, *The Art of Ford Madox Brown*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1998.

²⁹ Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*, New Haven and London, 2005.

English identity explored by the artist in his later works, notably *Work* (1852-1863), *The Last of England* (1852-1855) and *An English Autumn Afternoon* (1852-1853).³⁰

These most recent publications indicate that scholars are beginning to take an interest in Brown's work. However, they focus on his paintings. This thesis is the first academic study to use his works on paper as the basis for discussion. In doing so it seeks to throw light on neglected areas of Brown's oeuvre and highlight the potential of prints and drawings as subjects for scholarly research.

This thesis is divided into two sections: a complete catalogue of the collection of works on paper by Brown at BMAG and three discursive chapters which discuss the strengths of this collection. The two halves work symbiotically and can be read alongside each other or separately. The two halves are supported by illustrations of the entire collection and other works discussed in the text. This thesis aims to re-evaluate the remarkable collection at BMAG, pinpointing its strengths and using them to explore aspects of Brown's work which previously have not been the subject of any major study. The object focused nature of this thesis has led to an empirical approach to research. This has necessitated close visual analysis of the objects themselves as well historical analysis based on extensive original research using contemporary books and periodicals, letters, diaries and exhibition catalogues.

The catalogue should be viewed as a catalogue raisonné of the Birmingham collection. Catalogues raisonnés play an important role in scholarship, creating research tools which often have a far wider use than discursive works. The emphasis on identification and factual information, as opposed to interpretation, makes them

³⁰ Alastair Wright, 'Ford Madox Brown's *The Body of Harold*: Representing England at Mid-Century,' *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide: An online Journal of nineteenth-century visual Culture*, vol. 6, no. 2, Autumn 2007.

invaluable to scholars and those working outside academia such as curators, conservators and auctioneers. Surprisingly there have been relatively few catalogues raisonnés written about artists associated with the Pre-Raphaelites. In 1971 Virginia Surtees produced her monumental catalogue raisonné of the paintings and drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.³¹ This gathered together, for the first time, works covering his entire oeuvre, thus enabling her to reidentify many previously unknown works in private collections. In the last fifteen years Leonard Roberts has published a complete catalogue of the works of Arthur Hughes and Betty Elzea has produced a catalogue raisonné of works by Frederick Sandys.³² Most recently Judith Bronkhurst published *William Holman Hunt: A Catalogue Raisonné*.³³ Her clear format and concise, scholarly entries have helped shaped the present catalogue.

Very little has been written on the drawings by Brown at BMAG. One of the best sources of information on them is A. E. Whitley's *Catalogue of the permanent Collection of Drawings in Pen, Pencil, Charcoal and Chalk, etc., including Cartoons for Stained Glass* published in 1939.³⁴ He was the first to publish a complete checklist of the collection, providing titles and identifications based on the original information accompanying the works on entry. The preparatory nature of many of the drawings allowed him to group the works by painting, an approach which has influenced the formatting of this catalogue. One of the aims of this project has been to update and build upon Whitley's catalogue. This has become more necessary in

³¹ Virginia Surtees, *The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882): A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1971.

³² Leonard Roberts, *Arthur Hughes: His Life and Work*, Woodbridge, 1997 and Betty Elzea, *Frederick Sandys 1829-1904: Catalogue Raisonné*, Woodbridge, 2001.

³³ Judith Bronkhurst, *William Holman Hunt: A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols., New Haven and London, 2006.

³⁴ A. E. Whitley, *City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Catalogue of the permanent Collection of Drawings in Pen, Pencil, Charcoal and Chalk, etc., including Cartoons for Stained Glass*, Derby, 1939.

recent years as many of the works have been released from their original mounts, often revealing new drawings on the reverse which have needed identifying.³⁵ Following further research it has also been discovered that some of Whitley's identifications were incorrect, though this should not tarnish his achievements, especially if it is remembered that he had the task of cataloguing BMAG's entire collection of works on paper. A more up-to-date, but more basic, list was included in the catalogue accompanying the exhibition *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* which was compiled by the present author and Tessa Sidey, and was based on an earlier draft of this thesis catalogue. The exhibition included over fifty of the works discussed in this thesis. The entries in the accompanying catalogue were written by the present author and, like the list of works, were based on an earlier draft of this thesis.

As so little has been written on the works on paper by Brown a large amount of original research was required to compile this catalogue. It is the most up-to-date and informative list of the collection and includes new identifications, titles and dates. The catalogue provides basic details about each work, such as title, date, inscriptions and accession number. In addition it includes a list of the most important references to each work in other literature, and any major exhibitions in which the work has been displayed. The collection is rich in preparatory drawings for a number of major works: the paintings *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*, *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible*, and the cartoons *The Spirit of Justice* and *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night*. Entries on these drawings are preceded by a short introduction giving key information about the paintings in order to contextualise the drawings. This

³⁵ There are still a number works in their original mounts but due to museum budget restrictions it has not been possible to send them to conservation to release them and check the reverse sides.

catalogue has been compiled with its future use as a research tool very much in mind. For this reason, where appropriate, a list of works not in the Birmingham collection has also been included. This list is by no means exhaustive but has been drawn from research trips in the UK, USA and Australia and is conceived only as a guide. Almost every object in the Ford Madox Brown collection is accompanied by a short entry discussing its content and history. However, some of the drawings are of a similar nature to each other, such as hand studies, and to avoid unnecessary repetition some objects share a discursive paragraph or their entries only contain the basic information.

The choice of subjects for the discursive section was led by the strengths of the collection. This half of the thesis is divided into three chapters. Each one looks at a different aspect of Brown's work using works from the collection as the basis for discussion. Chapter one, 'Cross-currents: Drawings made in Paris,' focuses on the significant number of literary and religious works Brown made in Paris between 1841 and 1844. These have elicited very little attention, perhaps because they do not appear to prefigure the style which he pioneered following his stay in Italy in the mid-1840s, and which was, arguably, taken up by the PRB. However, this view overlooks the intrinsic importance of Brown's early style which is particularly interesting because he was born and raised in France, received his artistic training in Belgium and did not settle in England until he was twenty-five years old. These biographical facts are the starting point for this chapter which uses the ideas posited by the cultural theorist Homi K Bhabha in *The Location of Culture*, as a spring-board to discuss Brown's position in the cultural dialogues taking place in Europe in the mid-

nineteenth century.³⁶ Bhabha argues that national culture is shaped by those on the margins, living in minority or migrant communities. As part of a migrant family Brown remained on the margins of two cultures but his drawings reveal that he actively participated in European cross-cultural dialogues. By assessing the stylistic traits and thematic similarities of these works, this chapter links Brown to artists working in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It also connects him to the popularity of subjects from English literature among artists in France and England and argues that his migrant upbringing gave him the ability to take advantage of this popularity in order to exhibit at the Salon and the RA, thus helping to shape the culture of both countries from within.

The greatest strength of the Birmingham collection is the large number of preparatory drawings for Brown's two medieval history paintings *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* and *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible*. The number and range of these drawings strongly suggested that at least one chapter would have to be about Brown's depiction of English History but it was their variety of purpose which suggested the topic. Chapter two, 'Fleshing out Time: Brown's Construction of English History,' uses the dual definition of the word 'construction' to examine how his interpretation of history was affected by changes in historiography, and to discuss his practical approach to designing a history painting.³⁷ The chapter begins with a discussion of the rise of historical consciousness and, in particular, the 'picturesque' mode of

³⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London and New York, 1994.

³⁷ Although 'in the nineteenth century the nation was more properly The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland ... most writers at mid-century continued to talk of England (implicitly excluding the Celts of Scotland, Wales and Ireland)' (Alastair Wright 'Ford Madox Brown's *The Body of Harold*: Representing England at Mid-Century,' *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide: an online journal of nineteenth-century visual culture*, vol. 6, no. 2, Autumn 2007). Like Wright, use of the terms 'England' and 'English' 'will follow - without condoning - their usage.'

historiography in the nineteenth century.³⁸ This section has been inspired by Rosemary Mitchell's *Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image 1830-1870* which examines the rise and breadth of the picturesque mode of historiography in relation to the increase in illustrated history books, historical novels and history textbooks produced in Britain in the nineteenth century. Using drawings relating to Brown's depiction of scenes from England's past as case studies this chapter extends Mitchell's remit and examines the influence of the picturesque mode on fine art. Using works on paper to look at his chosen subject matter and his portrayal of historical figures, the section 'Construction: Interpretation' discusses Brown's interpretation of scenes from English history.

'Construction: The Practicalities' is divided into two sections which provide the first scholarly assessment of how Brown designed his paintings of English history. The first half looks at the research he undertook when beginning a painting. Taking the empirical approach used by Roy Strong in *And when did you last see your Father?* this section uses drawings, tracings and notes made by Brown for *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* in combination with his diary to define the nature of his historical research.³⁹ The second half pieces together his working process using the large number of preparatory drawings in the collection and Brown's essay 'On the Mechanism of a Historical Picture: part A. the Design,' written to advise young painters on how to design a History painting.⁴⁰ This section looks closely at the function of Brown's drawings in relation to his paintings. Using Brown as a case

³⁸This term is used extensively by Rosemary Mitchell but as she notes is not an invented description but was current in the nineteenth century and 'therefore [reflects] contemporaries' own interpretations of the historical changes of the period' (*Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image, 1830-1870*, Oxford, 2000, p. 14).

³⁹ Roy Strong, *And when did You last see your Father?* London, 1978.

⁴⁰ Ford Madox Brown, 'On the Mechanism of a Historical Picture: part A. the Design,' in *The Germ*, no. 2, February 1850, pp. 70-73.

study this chapter also throws light on the ways in which nineteenth century artists constructed English history for their viewers and how artists were active agents in the rise of historical consciousness.

The significant number of items in the collection related to Brown's work as an illustrator made it ripe for research.⁴¹ Despite such rich holdings, in comparison to his work as a painter, this area of his career has been neglected by previous scholars whose work has focused on Brown. Chapter three examines in depth the illustrations Brown made for publication. Progressing chronologically, it explores his changing attitude towards illustration as a medium and argues that these works had increasing importance for his artistic career. Through close visual analysis of the style of his illustrations it examines the different artistic influences acting on Brown at various stages of his career. By comparing Brown's designs to those of his contemporaries it explores the relationship between text and image in his work. Using his diary and letters from numerous collections, it also provides insights into relations between publishers and artists in the nineteenth century. Work by Paul Goldman and Simon Cooke has established the importance of the Pre-Raphaelite artists in raising the status of illustration.⁴² Looking specifically at Brown, this thesis argues that he contributed to this movement through his belief in illustration as fine art.

This thesis is part of a wider scholarly re-evaluation of Ford Madox Brown which has resulted in the recognition of his accomplishments as a forward-looking and

⁴¹ The word 'illustration' has been used in two ways in this thesis. In relation to chapter one and the early drawings by Brown in the collection it is taken to mean a scene from literature. In relation to chapter three and the wood engravings in the collection it refers strictly to works made for the purpose of being printed-whether by etching, lithography, wood-engraving, steel engraving or photo-engraving.

⁴² Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books 1850-1870: The Heyday of Wood-engraving*, London, 1994 and Simon Cooke, 'The Dalziels' Bible Gallery,' *The Private Library*, 5th series, vol. 10, no. 2, Summer 2007, pp. 59-85.

innovative painter. However, as has been argued above, discussion has centred on his paintings. This is the first academic study to focus on his drawings, illustrations and stained glass cartoons. It illuminates these lesser known works and provides new insights into Brown's artistic career, placing him in the midst of European cross-cultural exchanges and technological advances. Using the Birmingham collection this thesis draws attention to Brown's remarkable skills as a draughtsman, illustrator and designer, further highlighting his importance in the history of nineteenth-century art.

CHAPTER 1

CROSS-CURRENTS: DRAWINGS MADE IN PARIS

A large number of the drawings by Ford Madox Brown at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (BMAG) were executed whilst the artist lived in Paris in the early 1840s. For an artist usually associated with the Pre-Raphaelites the knowledge that as a young man he lived in Paris may be rather perplexing. However, these works highlight one of the least discussed facts about Brown's life and work, namely that he was born in Calais and did not live permanently in England until he was in his mid-twenties. His father had been a ship's purser in the Royal Navy but retired on half pay.¹ In order to maintain the family's middle class standard of living they relocated to the other side of the channel, and moved frequently around northern France where the cost of living was much cheaper.² From 1835 it was the young Ford Madox Brown's art education which dictated their place of residence. In November of that year they moved to Bruges so that he could attend the Academy and begin his studies under Albert Gregorius (1774-1853).³ After a year they moved to Ghent where Brown studied under Pieter van Hanselaer (1786-1862), and two years later they relocated to Antwerp so that he could receive tuition at the city's academy from the most prominent Belgian artist of the day Baron Gustave Wappers (1803-1874).⁴ Having completed his art training, and after the death of his mother, in 1839, and his

¹ Ford Madox Hueffer, *Ford Madox Brown: A Record of his Life and Works*, London, 1896, p. 9.

² Brown's grandson and biographer, Ford Madox Hueffer, notes that 'After his marriage in 1818 Ford Brown [Snr.] led a roving life, principally on the Continent, for economy's sake, moving from town to town near Calais, or in the Low Countries' (*Ibid.*, p. 10.)

³ Albert Jacob Frans Gregorius collaborated with Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825) in Paris in 1792. He became chief of the Bruges Academy after 1835 (Lucy Rabin, *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite History-Picture*, New York and London, 1978, p. 246).

⁴ Pieter van Hanselaer worked with Antonio Canova (1757-1822) in Rome and been an official court painter in Naples (*Ibid.*, p. 3).

sister, in 1840, Brown decided to move to Paris, then the artistic centre of Europe, where he remained until 1844.⁵

BMAG has a large number of drawings made whilst he lived in Paris but, like other works executed during Brown's early migrant life, they have not been the subject of any major study. This may well be because he is known as a quintessentially 'English' painter and later in his career made 'English' history, and scenes of contemporary 'English' life the focus of his work.⁶ His early paintings and drawings are more problematic and do not fit so easily into this image of Brown as an 'English' artist. Brown's links to the Pre-Raphaelites have also meant that the works he produced after 1845, when he visited Rome and began to change his style into what is often described as Pre-Raphaelite, have been the focus of scholarly interest rather than his earlier work.⁷ However, many of the themes and subjects which interested Brown in his youth in Paris recur throughout his career and the seeds of this later style began to emerge even before his stay in Rome.

⁵ Hueffer says Brown moved in 1840 and Rabin follows this assumption (*Op. cit.* at note 1, pp. 23-25; *Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 16). However, research by Teresa Newman and Raymond Watkinson, has revealed that Brown 'enrolled in the life-drawing class at the Antwerp Academy' in 1840 and only moved to Paris in 1841 after his marriage to his cousin Elisabeth Bromley (*Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle*, London, 1991, pp. 14-15). This is now the accepted scholarly account of Brown's move to Paris (see Kenneth Bendiner, *The Art of Ford Madox Brown*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1998, p. 109) although Angela Thirlwell, in conversation with the author, said that he is likely to have made one, or maybe two, trips to Paris in 1840, as well as a long visit to England with Elisabeth, culminating in their marriage in 1841 (14.5.08). Thirlwell is the author of *William and Lucy: the other Rossettis* (New Haven and London, 2003) and her biography of the women in Brown's life is to be published in 2010.

⁶ According to his daughter Lucy, after the death of his first wife he remained in England from the 'desire to develop in his own country as an English artist' (Lucy Madox Rossetti, 'Ford Madox Brown,' *Magazine of Art*, vol. 8, 1890, p. 291). Only a few years after his death Brown was included in studies of 'English' artists such as Percy Bate's *The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters*, (London, 1899) and Gleeson White's *English Illustration: 'The Sixties 1855-70'* (London, 1897). His inclusion in Anglo-centric studies has continued, the most recent being Gregory Suriano's *The British Pre-Raphaelite Illustrators*, (Newcastle, USA, and London, UK, 2005).

⁷ Brown is included in numerous studies and exhibitions of the Pre-Raphaelites (see bibliography) but the work he produced before 1845 is rarely discussed except in books specifically about him, and even then only briefly.

Brown's parents could be described as economic exiles, let down financially by England and unable to remain in the middle classes unless they moved abroad. The word 'exile' brings to mind diaspora theories which have traditionally been used to describe the Jewish community and its plight. However, recent scholarship has expanded its usage to analyse the cultural experiences of many communities who have to leave their countries of origin.⁸ Although not part of a diaspora community *per se* Brown's migrant experiences share similarities with those living within one. He and his family were part of a minority group of English expatriates, they retained a strong sense of homeland and like many second generation immigrants, Brown spoke the language of his parents but also the language of his adopted home.⁹ This links Brown's early work to theories and perspectives which have been used to discuss diaspora, migration and the formation of national culture by theorists such as Edward Said and Homi K. Bhabha.¹⁰

The little-discussed facts about Brown's birth place and early migrant upbringing in France and Belgium have seen him labelled 'an outsider' by other scholars. Kenneth Bendiner asks the rhetorical question 'wasn't Brown essentially an uncongenial

⁸ For an excellent overview of global diaspora theories see Robin Cohen, *Global Diaspora: An Introduction*, London, 1997 and Thomas Turino, Introduction to *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities*, eds. Thomas Turino and James Lea, Warren, Michigan, 2004. 'Hindu Temples and Asian Indian diasporic Identity in the United States' by Bharat Mehra looks at a community not usually described as diaspora but, like Brown's parents, who have had to leave their country of origin, for economic reasons (in *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities*, pp. 93-102). Likewise, *Past Modern: Paintings by the Singh Twins* describes the sisters as artists working within the 'Indian diaspora' (exh. cat., National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi, 2002, p. 5). Most studies of diaspora communities look at twentieth-century cases. Although Brown was born in the nineteenth-century some of his experiences as the son of English parents but raised abroad are the same as those in diaspora communities in the twentieth century.

⁹ Newman and Watkinson describe some of the activities of the expatriate community in Calais, where Brown spent much of his early life: sometimes they met at Dessein's Hotel' but his mother 'also gave "at homes" when Ford [*sic*] would play his violin accompanied by Lyly [his sister] on guitar' (*Op. cit.* at note 5, p. 6). Hueffer also mentions an episode in which Brown saw Beau Brummel, who like Brown's family had been forced to move to France for financial reasons (*Op. cit.* at note 1, pp. 11-12).

¹⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London, 1995, first published 1977. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London and New York, 1994.

outsider and misfit?' offering the explanation that he was 'an Englishman trained abroad, a foreign-trained artist.'¹¹ In his review of Bendiner's work this label is repeated by Julian Treuherz and more recently, in conversation with the author, the biographer Angela Thirlwell maintained that he was an English outsider in France, a French/English outsider in Belgium, and a European outsider in England.¹² This negative label reduces Brown to the binary position of the 'other.'¹³ The work of the cultural theorist Homi K. Bhabha allows a new perspective.¹⁴ In examining the idea of the modern nation Bhabha states that

The problem is not simply the 'selfhood' of the nation as opposed to the otherness of other nations. We are confronted with the nation split within itself, articulating the heterogeneity of its population. The ... Nation ... becomes a liminal space that is *internally* marked by the discourses of minorities, the heterogeneous histories of contending peoples, antagonistic authorities and tense locations of cultural difference.¹⁵

For Bhabha a nation's culture is shaped from within by those, like Brown, on the margins, the minority communities, the migrants. It continually changes because of the participation of these minorities. Although Bhabha does not look specifically at culture in terms of art his viewpoint is particularly apposite in the study of an artist, an

¹¹ *Op. cit.* at note 5, p. 36.

¹² Julian Treuherz, 'Review of *The Art of Ford Madox Brown* by Kenneth Bendiner,' in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 140, no. 1147, October 1998, p. 697 and conversation with Angela Thirlwell, 14.5.08.

¹³ The term 'Other' was made famous in a cultural context by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (*Op. cit.* at note 10). In this work he states that the West's perception of the East is that of the 'Other.' To the West what is not Western culture is 'Other' culture which is everything that falls beyond the boundaries of the West. For Said this robs individual Eastern cultures of their identity as they are merged together to form the 'Other.' The term has now been used by cultural theorists to explore relations between other communities, not just those between the East and the West.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 1994, p. 148.

individual engaged in actively constructing culture. It also relocates the individual within the wider cross-currents of culture exchange.

By examining both the subject matter and style of twenty of the drawings made by Brown in Paris (cat. nos. 4-12, 82-85, 95, 114-116 and 151-152) this chapter explores the artistic influences acting upon him as an individual artist, but also highlights his position in the wider cultural exchanges taking place in Europe in the 1830s and 1840s.¹⁶ In particular, it will discuss the cultural exchanges between France and England, the two countries in which he exhibited his work in the 1840s. It is important to note that Brown received his artistic training in Belgium, but it is also necessary to recognise that while Brown was a student in the 1830s, the Belgium art establishment remained under the sway of French artistic trends, although it had become an independent country following the 1830 revolution. Brown's first two academy tutors had been students of David, and his last tutor, Wappers, was seen as the leader of the Romantic painting movement in Belgium which took its lead from French artists, particularly Delacroix, rather than traditional Flemish painting.¹⁷

From the 1820s English literature and history began to appeal to artists exhibiting in France and Belgium. Just as Brown was receiving his artistic training, these English subjects reached a new height of popularity in the Salons, the official representatives

¹⁶ The drawings which will be the focus of this chapter depict various scenes from English literature and one scene from the Bible. The other drawings held at BMAG which Brown made during his time in Paris are preparatory studies for two of the cartoons he entered into the competitions to decorate the Houses of Parliament and will be discussed in chapter 2.

¹⁷ In 1872 William Bell Scott published the second of a series of books on continental art. In the introduction he wrote 'Last year the subject of a volume to which this may be called a successor, was the living school of France. This year we have selected the Art of Belgium and Holland, so intimately related for a period of years to that of the larger country, having only lately, indeed, asserted independence' (William Bell Scott, *Gems of modern Belgian Art*, London, 1872, p. 9). This view has continued in more recent scholarship. In 1972 Philippe Roberts-Jones acknowledged that for Belgium 'the nineteenth century was dominated by French Art' (Philippe Roberts-Jones, *From Realism to Surrealism: Painting in Belgium from Joseph Stevens to Paul Delvaux*, Brussels, 1972, p. 4).

of 'French' Art.¹⁸ Romanticism had started later in France than in England and it was English literature, in particular, which hastened the advancement of the movement in French artistic circles.¹⁹ The publication of Stendhal's *Racine and Shakespeare* in 1823 began a reappraisal of Shakespeare, who had previously been spurned by French critics, and English literature in general. Artists working in France were also drawn to the dramatic works of Lord Byron (1788-1824), the epitome of the Romantic hero, and the novels of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), who provided readers and artists alike with a new more empathetic and emotional view of history. The sharp rise of English subjects exhibited at the Salons, from the beginning of the 1830s reflects this interest in English literature and history.²⁰ In England itself, the same subjects were popular among artists exhibiting at the RA, particularly after the excitement caused by the publication of Scott's novels. As this chapter will show the subjects chosen by Brown whilst working in Paris, and his approach to them, were inspired by the 'Romantic currents' moving over England, France and Belgium in the 1840s and the preceding decade.²¹ Brown, having been brought up in France and Belgium by English-born parents, was uniquely poised to respond to the new vogue for subjects from English

¹⁸ This chapter uses the exhibition catalogues of the Salons held between 1838 and 1845, the years when Brown studied under Baron Gustav Wappers and then moved to Paris, to assess the popularity of subjects taken from English literature among artists exhibiting in France. Likewise it uses the catalogues of the Royal Academy exhibition from the same period to show the respective popularity of subjects from English Literature among artists exhibiting in England.

¹⁹ See Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *Romanticism in National Context*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 3 and p. 244, and Maurice Cranston, *The Romantic Movement*, Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA, 1994, p. 88.

²⁰ Brown himself added to this trend. In 1842 his painting *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* was exhibited at the Salon. Although the protagonist was one of Scott's historical heroines, Brown's inspiration appears to have come from a French translation of John Lingard's *A History of England* (pub. 1819). For this reason in-depth discussion of the picture falls outside the remit of this chapter. The popularity of English subjects was celebrated in one section of the exhibition *French Romanticism of the Eighteen Thirties* entitled 'The Influence of England' (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1943). The catalogue highlighted this influence on French artists noting that 'English literature and English painting had definite and lasting effects upon the French Romantic Movement. Shakespeare, Byron and Scott furnished subjects to painters, poets and dramatists' (*ibid.*, pp. 6-7).

²¹ Helen O. Borowitz notes that 'Brown's ... sketches for *King Lear* were inspired by many Romantic currents in France and England of the forties' but does not look into whether any of his other works from the early 1840s were influenced by the Romantic movement ('*King Lear* in the Art of Ford Madox Brown,' *Victorian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3, Spring 1978, p. 314).

literature. When Brown moved to Paris he utilised his mixed cultural experiences to take advantage of this trend thus allowing him to try and break into the art market in two countries.

Shakespeare

Since the late eighteenth-century Shakespeare's plays had become one of the most popular sources of subjects for artists in England.²² There were several reasons for the increased interest in Shakespeare. The art market was widening and needed to include subjects which would appeal 'to the new class of patrons who would be more familiar with the texts of Shakespeare (either as readers or theatre-goers) than with the Greek and Latin texts that were the backbone of the classical education of the landowning elite.'²³ Shakespeare's literary merits were being positively re-evaluated and privately sponsored galleries, notably John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, created greater incentives for British artists to use his plays as subject matter. By the early nineteenth-century this interest had spread to France. As mentioned above, in 1823 Stendhal published *Racine and Shakespeare*, a critical work which helped to change 'the attitude of the French from rejection of the unclassical elements of Shakespeare's plays to enthusiastic acceptance of the bard as a kind of proto-Romantic, an Elizabethan prophetically attuned to the nineteenth century.'²⁴ Even before Stendhal's publication Delacroix in particular was attracted to Shakespearian

²² Between 1838 and 1845 alone there were 59 paintings exhibited depicting scenes from Shakespeare (see the catalogues of the exhibitions of the Royal Academy, London, 1838-1845). The most popular plays were (in descending order): *The Tempest*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Twelfth Night*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *King Lear* (all of these plays were depicted at least three times).

²³ Martin Myrone, *Gothic Nightmares: Fuseli, Blake and the Romantic Imagination*, exhib cat., Tate London, 2006, p.74.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 21, p. 313.

subjects. As early as 1818 he wrote to Raymond Soulier calling himself ‘a young college boy, admirer of Shakespeare.’²⁵

Delacroix painted his first picture of a Shakespearian subject in 1825. It was *Desdemona and Emilia* from the play *Othello*.²⁶ After this he returned to *Othello* many times as well as painting numerous other pictures based on *Romeo and Juliet*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*.²⁷ Most importantly, in connection with Brown, in 1834-1835 and 1843 Delacroix produced thirteen plates illustrating *Hamlet* (see Fig. 8). These were lithographed in 1843 by F. Villain (active by 1824) and published privately by Delacroix in an edition of eighty.²⁸ Many of these later became paintings, some as early as 1839.²⁹ Delacroix’s illustrations have minimal backgrounds and focus on the human drama in the story. Their importance in relation to Brown is highlighted by the fact that they were published in 1843 when Brown was living in Paris and it seems highly likely that this set of lithographs gave Brown the

²⁵ Letter dated 10 December 1818 quoted in Philippe Verdier, ‘Delacroix and Shakespeare,’ *Yale French Studies*, no. 33, Shakespeare in France, 1964, p. 37.

²⁶ *Desdemona and Emilia* (c. 1825, oil on paper, lost). Desdemona remained the most popular character from *Othello* in France whereas in England it was Othello himself who was the subject of paintings exhibited at the RA. In 1838 Mlle Lafon exhibited *Mort de Desdémone* at the Salon (no. 1030, *Les Catalogues des Salons*, vol. 3, p. 238) and in 1839 another woman, Mlle Sophie Hubert chose Desdemona in act 4, sc. 3 as the subject for her picture (no 1041, *ibid.*, p. 298). At the RA in 1839 D. Cowper exhibited *Othello relating his Adventures* (no. 394, *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, 1839, p. 21); in 1842 M. Claxton exhibited *Othello* (no. 423, *ibid.*, 1842, p. 24) and in 1844 A. Rankley exhibited another picture entitled *Othello* (no. 310, *ibid.*, 1844, p. 16). There were no paintings exhibited at the RA between 1838 and 1842 which included Desdemona in the title. The popularity of the play, particularly in France, may be connected with Rossini's opera *Otello* which was first performed in 1821 in Paris.

²⁷ The most notable paintings by Delacroix with subjects taken from Shakespeare are: *Cleopatra and the Peasant* (exh. Salon 1839, oil on canvas, William Hayes Ackland Memorial Art Centre, North Carolina University), *Hamlet and Horatio in the Graveyard* (exh. Salon 1839, oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre), *Romeo and Juliet* (exh. Salon 1846, oil on canvas, private collection), *Othello and Desdemona* (exh. Salon 1849, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Canada), *Lady Macbeth Sleep Walking* (exh. Salon 1850-51, oil on canvas, Beaverbrook Gallery of Art). For information on other paintings by Delacroix based on these plays see Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix: A critical Catalogue*, Oxford, 6 vols., 1981-1989.

²⁸ Michael Marqusee, 'Introduction' in William Shakespeare, *Hamlet with sixteen Lithographs by Eugène Delacroix*, London, 1976, p. 12. Three further illustrations ‘discarded by the artist, were published in the second and complete posthumous edition of 1864’ (*ibid.*).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

idea of creating his own series of illustrations the following year.³⁰ If not able to see the illustrations himself he must have been aware of them as they were discussed in artistic circles, even across the Channel: in October 1843 *The Art Union* mused 'were it not sufficiently known that on the Continent the favourite play of our great dramatist was *Hamlet*, this would be shown by the frequency of its illustration, and the numerous subjects it supplies to foreign artists.' It went on to inform its readers that 'M. Eugène Delacroix has just published thirteen lithographic plates illustrative of striking scenes in this play.'³¹

In 1844 Brown created a set of nineteen scenes illustrating Shakespeare's tragic play *King Lear* (see cat. nos. 82-85 and Figs. 9-27).³² The majority of these drawings are now at the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester but BMAG holds four works on paper relating to the series (cat. nos. 82-85). The drawings are dated 1844 and were produced in Paris. The first is a study for *Lear questioning Cordelia*, the final version of which is at the Whitworth (cat. no 82 and Fig. 9). The second sheet of drawings was divided in two by Brown (cat. no 83). In the top half he made a pencil and ink sketch of the scene in which *Lear imagines himself at his unfaithful Daughter's Trial*. In the bottom half is a study for *Lear in the Storm*. The third sheet depicts *Kent accusing Oswald* on one side and a study for *Lear recounts his Wrongs to Regan* on the other (cat. no 84). The last drawing is of *Cordelia at Lear's Bedside* (cat. no 85).

Taken as a whole series Brown's drawings focus on the key moments of the play,

³⁰ This view of the inspiration Brown found in Delacroix's lithographs is shared by Borowitz (*Op. cit.* at note 21, p. 313) and Martin Meisel ('Pictorial Engagements: Byron, Delacroix, Ford Madox Brown,' *Studies in Romanticism*, vol. 27, no. 4, Winter 1988, p. 601).

³¹ *The Art Union*, vol. 5, no. 55, 1 October 1843, p. 273.

³² He included sixteen of these in his 1865 solo exhibition which centred around his painting *Work* (1852-1865, oil on canvas, Manchester City Art Gallery). These sixteen drawings are now in the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester. Two other studies and three sketches are at BMAG. Brown appears to have made at least one further drawing for the scene in which Lear recounts his wrongs to Regan. This study was reproduced in Hueffer's biography of Brown and was at the time owned by him (see *op. cit.* at note 1, p. 447 *et seq.*)

omitting the death of Lear and Cordelia. Brown based his scenes on the newly reinstated original version of *King Lear*. In 1681 it had been drastically altered by Nahum Tate (1652-1715). In 1850 J. O. Halliwell, the editor of *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, explained the changes which had taken place:

Some critics, amongst whom was Doctor Johnson, contended that the termination was too tragical for endurance, and that poetical justice was violated by the ultimate death of King Lear and his daughter Cordelia; the sublime tragedy of Shakespeare was therefore banished from the stage, and Tate's corrupt version, in which the scenes are most unnecessarily transposed, altered, and interspersed with silly bombast, and rapid puerility, was substituted in its stead, Lear was saved and Cordelia retired with victory and happiness. ... Tate also cut out of his adaptation ... the character of the Fool. Which was much the same as if some modern dauber should paint out the sunlight from a landscape of Claude's!³³

Tate's version quickly replaced Shakespeare's original plot and it was not until 1838 that Charles Macready put on the original version for the first time in over a hundred and fifty years.³⁴ Brown saw Macready as King Lear in London in 1848 but it is unclear if he saw him before making the drawings as Macready did not perform

³³ *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare revised from the original Editions by J. O. Halliwell: Tragedies*, London, 1860, p. 138. In Tate's version Lear is restored to the throne and Cordelia marries Edgar.

³⁴ The newly restored version of *King Lear* was first performed in Covent Garden on 25 January 1838. Macready played Lear, Helen Faucit was Cordelia and Priscilla Horton played the Fool. Macready had been unsure about reintroducing the Fool and to begin with thought it would be best if a female actor played the part (J. C. Trewin, ed., *The Journal of William Charles Macready 1832-1851*, London, 1967, pp. 112-114). On seeing the restored version Charles Dickens wrote in *The Examiner* that Macready's portrayal of Lear was 'heightened by this introduction of the Fool to a surprising degree' (4 February, 1838, cited in *ibid.*, p.114).

King Lear whilst Brown was living in Paris.³⁵

Although the publication of Delacroix's illustrations for *Hamlet* may have inspired Brown's project this link is not reflected in the style of Brown's drawings. A comparison of *Cordelia at Lear's Bedside* (cat. no. 85) and Delacroix's *Hamlet and the Queen* (Fig. 8) reveals their differing styles of illustration. In both the viewer is brought close to the figures but in Brown's finished drawings there is no recession of space and the figures are squeezed against the picture plane. This adds to the intensity and drama of the series as the viewer is forced right into the action without having the comfort of a visual buffer zone. Brown also uses minimal pen lines in comparison to Delacroix, giving his work a feeling of linearity. There is no shading, not even cross-hatching, and he is content to allow the colour of the paper to be seen. Delacroix uses shading to add depth to his figures and he lavishes attention on the costume. Although there is little background the shading and three dimensionality of the bed and chairs give the viewer a feeling of recession behind the figures, unlike Brown's drawing where the musicians are crammed in and almost touching the front of the picture plane. In part, these differences may be put down to the different media used by the artists but the minimal linear style Brown chooses is striking in comparison to Delacroix's more sensual shading.

Stylistically Brown's drawings are closer to the outline illustrations produced by John Flaxman (1755-1826) and Friedrich August Moritz Retzsch (1779-1857). He may have been inspired to produce this set of drawings by the Art Union of London outline

³⁵ Virginia Surtees, ed., *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown*, London and New Haven, p. 40. According to his diary Macready does not appear to have performed *King Lear* during his visit to Paris which lasted from 4 December 1844 to the last week in January 1845 (see *op. cit.* at note 34, pp. 219-222). As Borowitz points out Brown may have seen Macready's version on one of several trips to England he made before settling there permanently in 1846 (*Op. cit.* at note 21, p. 319).

drawing competitions which took place annually from 1842 until 1846. The competitions were prompted by the popularity of outline drawings, a style which had been popularised in the early nineteenth century by Flaxman's illustrations, but had seen a revival following the huge success of Retzsch's outline illustrations to Shakespeare. The rules of the competition stipulated that artists were required to submit a 'series of TEN DESIGNS in OUTLINE, size 12 inches by 8. The subject [was] left at the option of the Artist, but [had to] be illustrative of some epoch in British History, or be taken from the work of some English Author.'³⁶ As noted by Malcolm Warner the competitions seem 'to have been modelled on the cartoons competition held in connection with the decoration of the new Palace of Westminster, and like the latter, [were] an opportunity for young or lesser known artists to make their names.'³⁷ The subject, outline style and serial nature of Brown's drawings certainly suggest that he was interested in the Art Union outline competitions. While, we cannot be certain that he intended to enter, by this point he was keen to build up his reputation in England and was entering a number of high profile competitions. In 1844, the year he produced the Lear drawings, he entered one of the Westminster competitions, started work on an entry for another and also entered a competition to paint an altarpiece of the Ascension for the church of St James in Bermondsey, London.³⁸

Unlike Flaxman's illustrations, Retzsch's designs shared Brown's Shakespearian subject matter and are therefore more likely to have been a source of inspiration for

³⁶ *The Art Union*, vol. 4, no. 46, 1 November 1842, p. 245. The minutes of the committee meeting of the Art Union of London on 2 April 1844 reveal that for the 1843 competition artists were asked to produce a series of 14 designs (British Library, vol. 3, Add. 38867).

³⁷ Malcolm Warner, 'Millais as a Draughtsman' in *The Drawings of John Everett Millais*, exh. cat., Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, 1979, p. 6.

³⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 1, pp. 33 and 434. Hueffer's dates are confirmed by those inscribed on the drawings in the Birmingham collection.

the *King Lear* series. Retzsch was a German illustrator and engraver, whose outline illustrations to Shakespeare were hugely popular, on the continent and in England, throughout the nineteenth century, but particularly in the 1830s.³⁹ Retzsch, trained in the neoclassical tradition in the Dresden Academy and gained renown as the first illustrator of Goethe's *Faust* which was first published in Stuttgart in 1816.⁴⁰ Through these illustrations Retzsch gained a following throughout Europe but particularly in England where admirers included Queen Victoria.⁴¹ It was partly the success of Retzsch's designs that prompted the *Art Union* to begin its outline competitions. If we compare Retzsch's *King Lear* engravings to Brown's drawings for the same play strong stylistic similarities emerge. Both use a minimal number of lines with no shading and little background detail, giving simplicity to their compositions. Both use horizontal formats allowing the figures to spread across the composition, and keep the figures at the front of the picture plane, creating an intimacy with the viewer. Brown copies Retzsch's use of paved stone floors for the early interior scenes, giving the impression of depth without shading to the ultimately two dimensional illustrations (see Figs. 12 and 28). Throughout his illustrations for *Lear* Brown makes use of Retzsch's unusual perspectives and in many cases creates more complex viewpoints than his predecessor. In the first four illustrations, *Lear questions Cordelia*, *France claims the disposed Cordelia*, *Cordelia parting from her Sisters* and *Goneril and Regan together* (Figs. 9-12) Brown used Lear's throne to link

³⁹ The outlines were published with the accompanying verses in English, French, German and Italian. Shortly prior to meeting Brown, Elisabeth Bromley, his first wife, completed her education in Germany (*Op. cit.* at note 6, p. 291). Newman and Watkinson state that Elisabeth went to a German finishing school but do not acknowledge the source of this information which is undoubtedly Lucy's article (*Op. cit.* at note 5, p. 14). If Brown did not know of Retzsch's work, which is highly unlikely owing to his popularity among the public and artists alike across Europe, she may have introduced his work to her husband.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 21, p. 314. F. M. Retzsch, *Umriss zu Goethes Faust gezeichnet von Retzsch*, Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1816.

⁴¹ Paul Goldman points out that 'as the years went by, Retzsch aimed his work increasingly at the English market' (*Victorian Illustrated Books 1850-1870*, London, 1994, p. 98).

them together but varied the viewpoint from central and frontal, in the first two, to straight on but to the right in the third and in the fourth swung the view-point round so that the throne is seen from the side. These varying viewpoints cleverly give the viewer an almost 360 degree impression of Lear's throne room. Brown was a keen theatre goer and his innovative use of changing view-points may well have come from this passion.⁴²

Like Retzsch, Brown based his series on the newly restored play made popular by Macready. The Fool is included in both series but, unlike Brown, Retzsch highlights the tragic end of the play by depicting the dead bodies of Lear and Cordelia in the last illustration. The two artists did not always choose the same scenes but close comparison of the two series reveals that when they did, Brown often used Retzsch as the basis for his compositions.⁴³ They both chose to include *Lear cursing Goneril's Infidelity* (Figs. 18 and 29).⁴⁴ In his version, Retzsch placed Goneril on the right, her husband the Duke of Albany in the centre and Lear facing Goneril on the left, pointing to his daughter with one hand and clasping his head in grief with the other. Two page boys stand on the far right, with Kent and the Fool on the left. He set the scene by the outer walls of a Gothic castle with a large, two arched Gothic window on

⁴² Hueffer notes that Brown made frequent trips to the theatre whilst an art student in Antwerp, a habit which his diary confirms he continued. There are many entries recording visits to the theatre, particularly to see plays by Shakespeare (*Op. cit.* at note 1, pp. 18-17; *op. cit.* at note 35, pp. 9-10, 40, 60, 62, 154, 158, 164-165, 175, 211)

⁴³ In her article '*King Lear* in the Art of Ford Madox Brown,' Borowitz does not compare Brown's version of the play directly with Retzsch's; instead she compares his drawings with Retzsch's illustrations in general. This means that she misses clear cases where Brown has used Retzsch's *King Lear* illustrations as the basis for his compositions (*Op. cit.* at note 21). William Vaughan also noticed this stating that 'some discussion of Brown's dependence on Retzsch's Outlines in his early Shakespearian subjects can be found in [Borowitz's article].' However, his own examination of the influence of Retzsch's work on the drawings is remarkably succinct: 'Madox Brown ... made a series of outlines to *Lear* ... which show a knowledge of Retzsch's version ... , in Paris in 1844 when he - as he later said in a letter to C. Gurlitt - was first looking at German prints' and includes only one pair of illustrations for comparison (*German Romanticism and English Art*, New Haven and London, 1979, pp. 149-150 and 281).

⁴⁴ *King Lear*, act 1, scene 4, lines 267-281 (William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. R. A. Foakes, London, 2005, p. 208).

the right. Brown made two versions of this scene (Figs. 18 and 25). In the signed and dated copy, as in Retzsch, Goneril stands on the right her arms folded across her in virtually the same pose with one hand holding the opposite arm.⁴⁵ Brown copies Retzsch who highlights Albany's intermediary role by placing him in the centre. Although Brown's Albany looks very different, both artists show him with his hands thrown up trying to calm the King and his daughter. Brown picks up on Retzsch's idea to show Lear pointing to his daughter as he utters his curse but exaggerates the German's less forceful pose, creating an aggressive gesture which dramatically cuts straight across the vertical lines of the drawing created by the three figures. This emphasises the full force of the hatred in Lear's speech in which he calls upon nature to 'Dry up in her organs of increase; And from her derogate body never spring, A babe to honour her.'⁴⁶ Although Brown sets the scene inside the castle he adds a two arched window on the right, as in Retzsch. His second drawing is unsigned and Goneril is now on the left with her back to Lear (Fig. 25). His retinue have been moved from the far left to the centre. Lear, in the same pose, has been moved to the right but has turned his back to his daughter and points instead past Albany on the far right. From these changes it seems that Brown was experimenting with the basic poses and scenery used by Retzsch and that he was certainly using him for inspiration. This is further shown in other scenes which bear resemblance to each other such as *Kent in the Stocks* (Figs. 20 and 30).⁴⁷ In Retzsch's version, Kent is shown sitting, padlocked in the stocks, in profile on the left. Lear stands before him with the fool, bending over a little on the right, and a knight leaning on his sword on the left. The

⁴⁵ In Retzsch Goneril's right hand holds onto her left arm. In Brown it is the other way round, her left hand holds her right arm. Nonetheless it is a small variation of the same pose.

⁴⁶ Act 1, scene 4, lines 271-3 (*Op. cit.* at note 44, p. 208).

⁴⁷ Act 2, scene 2, lines 196-205 (*ibid.*, p. 239). In Retzsch's *Outline* this scene is plate 5 and is described as act 2, sc. 4 which is either a mistake or shows the difference between the nineteenth century version of the play and the current one.

scene is set outside with the castle on the left and a forest on the right. Brown's depiction is also set outside with the castle on the left. Kent sits on the left in stocks, with a prominent padlock, but Brown has turned him round so that he faces the viewer. The Fool is on the left but bends over in a much more dramatic pose pointing at Kent with both hands, instead of his jester's wand. Brown's manipulation of the pose more successfully dramatises the Fool's ridiculing of Kent:

Ha, ha; look! He wears cruel garters! Horses are
tied by the heads, dogs and bears, by the neck, monkeys
by the loins, and men by the legs. When a man's
over-lusty at legs, then he wears wooden nether stocks.⁴⁸

Lear changes places with the knight and bends over to listen to Kent, rather than standing straight up, his hand pressed to his forehead. Although the knight is now elderly, the stick he leans on imitates the vertical prominence of the sword in Retzsch's engraving.

Brown copies minor points from two other Retzsch illustrations. One of these is *Lear imagining his unfaithful Daughters' Trial*. BMAG holds the compositional sketch for this scene, and the Whitworth has further pencil sketches for some of the figures on the back of *Kent in the Stocks* (see cat. no. 83 and Fig. 26).⁴⁹ This is one of the more obscure points in the play but Brown must have considered it because it was one of the twelve selected by Retzsch (Fig. 31). Brown's approach to the scene is quite different to the engraving and unlike Retzsch he sets the scene outside the farm house,

⁴⁸ Act 2, scene 2, lines 198-201 (*Op. cit.* at note 44, p. 239).

⁴⁹ Act 3, scene 6, lines 29-39 (*ibid.*, p. 289).

inhabited by two elderly servants. However on the left are two pencil sketches for the figure of Edgar, as in Retzsch, on the right, and the Fool on the left, his jester's hat and pointed shoes just discernible. As in Retzsch's engraving these figures appear to be seated on a bench. The last scene which shows Retzsch's influence on Brown is *Lear's Awakening* (cat. no. 85 and Fig. 32).⁵⁰ Like the older artist, Brown sets the scene in a tent. He follows Retzsch in including the musicians summoned by the doctor to wake Lear but gives them much greater prominence. He exploits the horizontal format of the series depicting Lear reclining across the bottom left of the composition, unlike Retzsch who shows him upright in a throne with Cordelia next to him stroking his head, a sign of her filial love for him.⁵¹ To accommodate Lear's pose in Brown's composition, she kneels at Lear's feet and extends her right arm out to him. Their poses may be different but in both versions father and daughter gaze directly at each other.

Despite these similarities in composition there are substantial differences between the two sets of illustrations. As Borowitz points out, Retzsch's outlines show neo-classical restraint whereas Brown's freer pen strokes show movement and vigour. Some allowance must be made for the fact that Retzsch's illustrations are engravings which could not be as free or look as fresh as Brown's pen and ink drawings. However, this alone does not account for their differences. In part it is due to the different historical settings the two artists use for their illustrations. Retzsch locates the play in the Tudor period whereas Brown sets his version in the Celtic era. Macready used the same Celtic setting for his play and was the first actor to play King Lear with a beard. Hueffer saw the intensity and rawness of his grandfather's

⁵⁰ Act 4, scene 7, lines 44-50 (*Op. cit.* at note 44, p. 353).

⁵¹ Retzsch is more faithful to Shakespeare's stage directions which state 'enter Lear in a chair carried by servants' (*ibid.*, p. 351).

drawings as 'the reflection of the barbaric spirit in the tragedy.'⁵² Borowitz attributes this to the fact that Retzsch most probably read the play 'in Schlegel's [translation] in which the original forcefulness of expression had been modified.'⁵³ However, this idea must be tempered if it is noted that his outlines include the two most violent scenes in the play: when Gloucester's eyes are gouged out by Cornwall and Regan and the deaths of Lear and Cordelia (Figs. 28 and 33). Brown avoids both of these scenes, instead allowing his lines and his Celtic setting to express the undercurrent of violence in the play.

The underlying atmosphere of violence in Brown's drawings may have been inspired by the work of another artist, Henri Fuseli (1741-1825). Like Brown, Fuseli was not raised in England but spent most of his adult life there. He was born in Switzerland and spent several years in Rome before settling in England, in 1763, where he became highly successful. Fuseli was one of the first artists working in England to give Shakespeare the same artistic respect as older writers. The dark palettes and maniacal expressions found in his paintings create the same undercurrent of violence as Brown's drawings. Scholars, such as Lucy Rabin have suggested that Brown's detailed facial expressions in earlier paintings such as *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* (Fig. 34) and *The Prisoner of Chillon* (Fig. 35) were influenced by Fuseli.⁵⁴ The expression of the unforgiving Protestant priest in *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* certainly appears to have been inspired by those found in Fuseli's works, notably *The Death of Cardinal Beaufort* (Fig. 36), which was widely engraved.⁵⁵

⁵² *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 13.

⁵³ *Op. cit.* at note 21, p. 316.

⁵⁴ The Whitworth Art Gallery version of *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* is a smaller study for the finished painting (now lost).

⁵⁵ See D. H. Weinglass, *Prints and engraved Illustrations by and after Henry Fuseli: A Catalogue Raisonné*, nos. 77 and 177A, pp. 220-221.

Brown's emulation of the earlier artist's dramatic depictions of extreme displays of emotion indicate his interest in Romantic art.⁵⁶ However, Rabin does not link Fuseli's Shakespearian paintings with Brown's *Lear* series.⁵⁷ Fuseli produced a large number of paintings with Shakespearian subjects throughout his career and provided canvases for John Boydell's and James Woodmason's separate Shakespeare Galleries. Likewise Brown returned several times to the subject of *King Lear* in his career, using his early drawings as the basis for the paintings *Lear and Cordelia* (Fig. 37), *Cordelia Parting from her Sisters* (Fig. 38) and *Cordelia's Portion* (Fig. 39).⁵⁸ He also painted *Romeo and Juliet* in 1867 (Whitworth Art Gallery).⁵⁹

Brown may well have taken three of Fuseli's paintings of *King Lear* as the basis for two of his illustrations for the play. Fuseli's *Lear disinheriting Cordelia (Lear banishing Cordelia)* (Fig. 40) was engraved in 1796 and the strong similarities between this composition and the drawing *Lear questions Cordelia* (Fig. 9) suggest that Brown knew Fuseli's work.⁶⁰ Cat. no. 85 is an early study for *Lear questions Cordelia* which illustrates the drama moments before the scene depicted by Fuseli. This early drawing incorporates the dramatic and imposing central throne, the glaring figure of Lear, and the figure of Cordelia in a long flowing dress found in Fuseli's

⁵⁶ As seen below, Brown often chose dramatic subjects which required him to depict extreme displays of emotion. This interest continued throughout his career, particularly in his work as an illustrator, but from the late 1840s his depictions of facial expressions became less theatrical and more naturalistic as in *Elijah and the Widow's Son* (cat. nos. 66-68), one of three illustrations he executed in the 1860s for the *Dalziels' Bible Gallery* (pub. 1881).

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 3, pp. 28 and 41. On p. 54 when discussing Brown's *Lear* drawings Rabin notes that Shakespearian subjects were popular and depicted by Fuseli, Blake and Romney but in this respect she does not directly link Brown's work with Fuseli's.

⁵⁸ In 1855 Benjamin Godfrey Windus, a collector from Tottenham Green, bought *Cordelia parting from her Sisters* from the dealer David Thomas White. At the same time he also bought *Wycliff reading his Translation of the Bible to John of Gaunt, in the Presence of Chaucer and Gower (The First Translation of the Bible into English)* (Figs. 3 and 79) (*Op. cit.* at note 35, pp.123-5).

⁵⁹ A bigger oil version, dated 1870, is in the collection of the Delaware Art Museum.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 55, no. 123, p. 140.

picture.⁶¹ The study also hints at the same balanced composition which is complete in the more finished Whitworth drawing (Fig. 9) with Lear at the centre surrounded by his true daughter, Cordelia, on one side and the unloving sisters, Goneril and Regan, on the other. In the later drawing, Brown has cropped the composition, heightening the tension but cutting out the grand room found in both the earlier BMAG drawing and Fuseli's painting. However, he adds the soldiers found at the back of Fuseli's composition and like Fuseli places Goneril and Regan side by side with their husbands opposite Cordelia. Another of Fuseli's *Lear* paintings (now lost) was engraved in 1784 and shares similarities with Brown's depiction of exactly the same scene *Lear awakens to find Cordelia beside his Bed* (Fig. 41 and cat. no. 85).⁶² In these two depictions Lear lies across the composition, reclining on cushions, rather than upright in a chair as in Retzsch's depiction of the scene. In both he is awake and father and daughter gaze at each other with strong intensity.⁶³ Although Fuseli's composition has only two figures the similarities suggest that Brown knew of the engraving of Fuseli's composition and fused his reclining Lear with Retzsch's tent setting. He may also have seen an engraving of Fuseli's painting *Lear supporting the dead Body of his Daughter* (Fig. 42) published in 1804 in which Lear's cloak billows out behind him as in Brown's depiction of *Lear in the Storm* (cat. no. 83).⁶⁴

Brown's drawings illustrating King Lear show the range of influences acting on him in the mid 1840s. His emulation of artists working in Germany, Retzsch, France, Delacroix, and England, Fuseli, reveal that Brown was positioned in the cross-currents of artistic exchange happening in Europe at the time. That he was influenced

⁶¹ Bendiner includes the painting of *Lear Casting out his Daughter* as Fig. 123 in his accompanying illustrations but does not appear to mention it in the text (*Op. cit.* at note 5).

⁶² *Op. cit.* at note 55, nos. 72, 72A and 72B, pp. 75-77.

⁶³ In Brown's later painting of the same scene *Lear and Cordelia* (Fig. 37) Lear is asleep.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 55, no. 222, p. 265.

by the earlier Romantic artist, Fuseli, and the later Romantic artist, Delacroix, underlines the slower emergence of the Romantic movement in France.

The Ascension

Brown turned to the example of Fuseli once again when making preparatory studies for an oil sketch depicting the Ascension. BMAG holds eight drawings for this sketch (cat. nos. 5-12).⁶⁵ Whilst living in Paris in 1844 Ford Madox Brown entered a competition to paint a large altarpiece of the Ascension of Christ for the Church of St. James, Bermondsey (South London). In October 1844 the trustees advertised the competition in *The Art Union*:

TO ARTISTS. - The TRUSTEES of ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, BERMONDSEY, SURREY, desire to make public that a Legacy of £500 has been bequeathed by the late John Harcourt, Esq., for the purchase of an appropriate SCRIPTURE PAINTING to be placed in the recess over the Communion Table of that Church; and no appropriate painting having been found, the Trustees are prepared to receive finished sketches of a Painting from Artists who may be disposed to prepare them, upon the understanding that the Artist whose production is selected would be engaged to paint a Picture, and be paid the said Legacy of £500, provided (as required by the Testator) that two persons of competent judgment and knowledge shall pronounce it to be of that value.

⁶⁵ The *Study of a Group of six flying Angels* (cat. no. 7) has another *study of Two nude Angels holding onto each other*, also for the Ascension, on the reverse.

The sketch is to be 36 inches in height by 17 inches in width. The Subject is to be the ASCENSION OF OUR SAVIOUR. The painting to have a frame to be provided by the Trustees and with such frame to be of the following size - viz. 11 feet in width by 23 feet in height.

The sketches to be sent without the name of the artist but with some motto or initials, for the inspection of the Trustees, at the Committee room of the Workhouse, in Russell Street, by Wednesday the 4th of December next.⁶⁶

The Art Union kept its readers abreast of the progress of the competition lamenting in January 1845 that 'the trustees, unhappily, gave too little time for preparation - something less than three months. Nevertheless the bait was a tempting one; and on 4th of December ... we understand no fewer than 72 sketches and 8 cartoons were received by the trustees.'⁶⁷ Brown was among those who entered but was unsuccessful and the commission went to the relatively unknown artist, John Wood (1801-1877).⁶⁸ Although the artists entered anonymously, 'after the decision was made, it was found that fifteen of the competitors had been Royal Academicians, including [William] Etty, ... [John] Herbert, who painted the frescoes in the Houses of Parliament and [Frank] Howard, Professor of Painting.'⁶⁹ It is possible to work out the identities of a number of the other competitors as many of them went on to exhibit their entries. In the years running up to 1845 the Ascension was not a popular subject

⁶⁶ *The Art Union*, vol. 6, no. 73, 1 October 1844, p. 297.

⁶⁷ *The Art Union*, vol. 7, no. 76, 1 January 1845, p. 20.

⁶⁸ *The Art Union* was not impressed with the choice of the judges, Charles Eastlake and Robert Haydon, both well respected artists: 'Although we highly respect Mr John Wood, and think he is a clever artist, we must say we have never seen any work of his that could lead to the belief that his altar-piece ... will be anything else than a big failure' (*The Art Union*, vol. 7, no. 77, 1 February 1845, p. 54).

⁶⁹ Ruth Kendall, *History of the Church of St James Bermondsey*, written in 1979 and available on <http://www.stjamesbermondsey.org.uk/4790/10303.html> (accessed on 9.9.08).

in the RA but that year Thomas Jones Barker (1813-1882), Edward Corbould (1815-1905), Ramsay Richard Reinagle (1775-1862) and F. P. Stephanoff exhibited works on the subject at the RA. It seems that these were unsuccessful competition entries particularly as two of them are described as sketches and one is described as 'a study for an Altar piece.'⁷⁰ Reviews of the 1845 British Institution exhibition in *The Art Union* discussed altarpieces by Robinson Elliot and Frank Howard (1805-1866) originally submitted to the Bermondsey competition.⁷¹ According to a letter from Brown to his wife, dated February 1845, he had also sent his oil sketch to the British Institution but it was not selected for exhibition.⁷²

An idea of Brown's entry can be gained from a photograph (cat. no. 4) and from the Forbes collection catalogue (Fig. 43).⁷³ The eight drawings are studies and sketches for the figures of Christ, the apostles and the angelic host. The studies for the apostles are in black chalk with white highlights and the others are in brown pen and ink or pencil. On the back of several of the studies of apostles are drawings for *The Spirit of Justice*, Brown's third Westminster competition entry, on which he was working at the same time.

There is no detailed description of the Ascension in the Bible. The Gospel of St. Luke

⁷⁰ R. R. Reinagle, *The Ascension, a Sketch; the Saviour being raised far above the Earth, which is left below*, no. 27; T. J. Barker, *The Ascension*, no. 36; F. P. Stephanoff, *The Ascension - a Sketch*, no. 424 and E. Corbould, *The Ascension of Christ - a Study for an Altar piece*, no. 677 (*Op. cit.* at note 26, 1845, pp. 6, 7, 20 and 31).

⁷¹ Bendiner, *The Art of Ford Madox Brown*, 1998, p. 184.

⁷² Quoted in W. M. Rossetti, *Pre-Raphaelite Diaries and Letters*, London, 1900, p. 53 (see cat. no. 116 p. 265 for an extract from the letter which refers to the sketch).

⁷³ Christie's, *The Forbes Collection of Victorian Pictures and Works of Art*, vol. 3, London, 19-20 February, 2003, lot 244, pp. 218-9. The painting remained unsold after the sale and was returned to the Forbes Collection.

records the event, relating that Christ said

And, behold I send the promise of my father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high. And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried into heaven. And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy.⁷⁴

The Gospel of St. Mark and The Acts are even more succinct relating, respectively, that 'after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God' and 'this Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all were witnesses.'⁷⁵ Brown had no visual description to aid him and seems to have turned to other sources for his competition entry. From the final painting it is possible to discern various influences such as the three tier composition of Baroque religious art, the lighting of Rembrandt and the Romantic style figures associated with Henry Fuseli and his circle.⁷⁶ In particular, it is the influence of Fuseli and his circle which is highlighted by the drawings at BMAG. Details such as medium, style, and subject betoken an interest in the Romantic artists working in England at the end of the eighteenth century more than the other influences perceptible in the painting.

⁷⁴ *The Holy Bible*, Oxford University Press, 1917, London and New York, 'The Gospel of St. Luke,' chapter 24, verses 49-52, p. 1113. Teresa Newman and Ray Watkinson point out that the Bible gives no visual description of the Ascension (*Op. cit.* at note 5, p. 19).

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 74, 'The Gospel of St. Mark,' chapter 16, verse 19, p. 1069 and 'The Acts,' chapter 2, verse 32, p. 1151.

⁷⁶ The Christie's catalogue entry for the oil sketch notes that 'Brown's works at this early period betray a number of influences, including Rembrandt, Hogarth, Fuseli and Delacroix' but due to the limited word length is unable to explore these ideas in detail (*Op. cit.* at note 73, p. 218. It is not clear who wrote the entry).

Within the relatively small body of research on Brown, *The Ascension* has elicited very little interest.⁷⁷ Scholars who have mentioned the painting have done little more than suggest possible influences including Fuseli, Flaxman and Blake. However, by focusing on the drawings it is possible to explore and confirm these influences in greater depth. Kenneth Bendiner discusses *The Ascension* in connection to two earlier paintings by Brown, *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* (Fig. 34) and *The Prisoner of Chillon* (Fig. 35). In both he believes the ‘maniacal expressions’ of the characters betray Fuseli’s influence and he points out that ‘Brown mentioned Fuseli in his *Builder* article of November 1848, and would have known the numerous and widespread engravings of Fuseli’s works, if not the original paintings.’⁷⁸ Bendiner remarks ‘one might be tempted to attribute the passionate character of the *Ascension* ... to religious enthusiasm. More likely, however, they express love of Fuseli rather than love of God.’⁷⁹ The use of expression that Bendiner attributes to Brown’s interest in Fuseli is most apparent in the expression of the apostle on the left of the painting (Fig. 43), his eyes wild with ecstasy.

However, Brown’s interest in Fuseli is much more obvious in the figures of the angels, particularly in his preparatory drawings, as suggested by Stephen Wildman. He describes *The Ascension* as ‘a dramatic exercise in late Romantic style, with echoes of Blake and Fuseli, especially in the angelic host witnessing Christ’s rise

⁷⁷ Bendiner, *The Art of Ford Madox Brown*, 1998, p. 103; Newman and Watkinson, *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle*, 1991, p. 19; *op. cit. at note 73*, p. 218; unpublished notes by Hilary Parsons (BMAG) and label texts by Stephen Wildman (BMAG). Rabin does not mention *The Ascension* at all (*Op. cit. at note 3*).

⁷⁸ *Op. cit. at note 5*, p. 103. Brown’s article ‘Modern versus Ancient Art’ was published in *The Builder*, 4 November 1848, pp. 530-31. It is reprinted in *The Art of Ford Madox Brown (ibid., pp. 123-125)*. Brown mentions Fuseli only once saying ‘there is no longer any fear of Fuseli being mistaken for a Michelangelo’ (*ibid.*, p. 124).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

from a darkened Earth to a brilliantly illuminated heaven.⁸⁰ It is not in the expressions of the figures that Brown's knowledge of Fuseli becomes apparent; it is in the muscularity of the angelic host, their near nakedness and their contorted poses.⁸¹ In particular, the two angels which hover in the middle of the composition, are strikingly similar to the figure of Galanthis in Fuseli's drawing *Galanthis deceives Eleithyia by announcing the Birth of Hercules* (Fig. 44). These angels appear in two drawings at BMAG.⁸² Like Galanthis they balance on one toe in contorted poses, their arms outstretched, fingers pointing, draped in robes full of complicated folds with wild curly hair. It is impossible to know if Brown saw this particular drawing which was used on a school invitation and was copied by Fuseli's contemporary James Northcote. However, Fuseli's Galanthis certainly represents an ethereal spirit and her impossible pose suggests unearthly powers which would have interested Brown for his angelic figures. The long-haired angels in the top tier resemble ethereal spirits found in two of Fuseli's paintings: *The Death of Dido* (Fig. 45) and *Queen Katherine's Dream* (Fig. 46) both exhibited at the RA in 1781.⁸³ Both pictures show angelic-looking figures hovering mid-air, with wild hair and loose flowing robes. The figures in Brown's drawing of a *Group of six flying Angels* (cat. no. 7) are highly reminiscent of these spirits, particularly as his angels appear to have been feminized like the spirits in the two works by Fuseli. With similarities such as these, it is not surprising that the drawings for *The Ascension* were made in the same year as those

⁸⁰ Stephen Wildman, unpublished label texts at BMAG. See curatorial files on cat. nos. 5-7.

⁸¹ The Christie's catalogue entry for the oil sketch shares the view that the poses of the angels appear to be influenced by Fuseli: 'the wildly exaggerated poses of the angels to either side of Christ, and the figures of the Virgin and the disciples on the ground are unmistakably Fuselian' (*Op. cit.* at note 73, p. 218).

⁸² The drawings must both have been early studies as each has distinct differences from the angels which appear in the final painting. The angel on the left is seen in both cat. nos. 5 and 6 but in cat. no. 6 it is depicted flying above a group of three other angels which appear in the top tier of the final version. In addition in cat. no. 6 the angels are depicted with wings but these were omitted in the final painting.

⁸³ *Queen Katherine's Dream* was engraved in 1788 (see *op. cit.* at note 55, no. 77, p. 78).

for *King Lear*. These two groups of works on paper appear to be linked by more than just their medium; an interest in and knowledge of Fuseli's work can be seen in both.

Having discussed Fuseli it is necessary to look at again at Wildman's comment that there are 'echoes of Blake ... [in Brown's *Ascension*], especially in the angelic host.'⁸⁴

Teresa Newman and Ray Watkinson also suggest Blake as inspiration for Brown describing the *Ascension* as 'a highly expressionistic work, with sources in William Blake and Henry Fuseli; the strong local colour in the earthly group and the strip of sunset are especially Blakean.'⁸⁵ Could Blake be another artist whose work influenced Brown? There are similarities between Blake's depiction of *Christ appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection* (Fig. 47) and Brown's *Ascension* with Christ fully facing the viewer, his stigmata highly visible and the apostles kneeling in prayer or with their arms outstretched in wonder. However, this is one of three known impressions of the print and as Blake was producing in such small quantities it is highly unlikely that Brown would have seen it.⁸⁶ As suggested by Newman and Watkinson, the colouring of Brown's *Ascension* uses a palette very close to Blake's (see Fig. 47).⁸⁷ Both used vibrant reds, yellows, oranges, blues and greens against large areas of black but again this is a trait that can be seen in Fuseli's work and does not isolate Blake as a source. If we compare Blake's *God writing on the Tables of the Covenant* (Fig. 48) to cat. nos. 5-7 similarities in the figures of the angels become apparent. In all angels with wild curly hair are depicted hovering in tightly packed groups, naked or wearing loose robes. As Hilary Parsons admits Brown's angels are 'strongly reminiscent of Blake,' however, she believes 'it is most

⁸⁴ Stephen Wildman, unpublished label texts at BMAG. See files on cat. nos. 5-7.

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 5, p. 19.

⁸⁶ Robin Hamlyn and Michael Phillips, eds., *William Blake*, exh. cat., Tate, London, 2000, pp. 220-221.

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 5, p. 19.

unlikely that Madox Brown would have been sensible to the work of that artist at that date.⁸⁸ Parsons follows the traditional view that Blake was little known before the publication of Alexander Gilchrist's *Life of Blake* in 1863.⁸⁹ This view is based on the fact that unlike Fuseli, Blake's pictures were not published widely and he published most of them himself on his private printing press for a small audience.⁹⁰ It would appear, therefore, much less likely that Brown would have known Blake's work and that the similarities in the type of angel drawn by Brown and Blake are generic to Fuseli and others in his circle. However, Blake's work was not as obscure as has been assumed and in the 1830s he was among the artists included in *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* by Allan Cunningham (1830).⁹¹ As Jenijoy La Belle's research has shown his name appears eight times in articles published between February 1831 and April 1834 in *The Library of the Fine Arts; or Repertory of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Engraving*.⁹² Blake's work was reproduced at least three times, outside his own printing press, before the publication of Gilchrist's biography. In 1796 Blake provided the frontispiece and two illustrations for the supernatural folk tale *Leonora*, in 1808 twelve of his works were used to illustrate Robert Blair's poem *The Grave* and in 1839 the first typographic edition of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, was published in London by William

⁸⁸ Hilary Parsons, unpublished notes on *Sketch of a Group of six flying Angels* (cat. no. 7) held at BMAG.

⁸⁹ Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of Blake*, London and Cambridge, 1863.

⁹⁰ Blake was a trained engraver and although he did attend the RA school for a short time his history paintings were heavily criticised when he exhibited them at the RA. After his attempt to become a history painter he returned to his original trade and spent much of his time engraving other artists' work. However, he continued to produce his own art and poems, the majority of which he published privately.

⁹¹ Allan Cunningham, *The Lives of the most eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, vol. II, London, 1830, pp. 142-179, quoted in Jenijoy La Belle, 'William Blake's Reputation in the 1830s: Some unrecorded Documents,' *Modern Philology*, vol. 84, Feb. 1987, p. 304.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 302-7. *The Library of the Fine Arts; or Repertory of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Engraving* changed its name to *Arnold's Library of the Fine Arts* in November 1832 and then *Arnold's Magazine of Fine Arts* in November 1833 before ceasing publication in July 1834.

Pickering.⁹³ Of the three it seems more likely that Brown would have been more interested in the earlier books as their subject matter was closer to *The Ascension*. In particular the frontispiece to *Leonora* (Fig. 49) contains figures in similar positions to those in his composition with supernatural figures flying in the air and earth-bound ghouls staring up at the spectacle like the apostles witnessing Christ's ascent. In fact the face of the central apostle looking up, is in the same pose as on the second ghoul from the right in Blake's illustration. However, in comparison to Brown's classically muscular angels the airborne ghosts seem rotund and grotesque. The angels seem closer to those found in the later illustrations to *The Grave*. The religious nature of Blair's poem matches the subject matter of *The Ascension*, and Blake's designs, full of muscular bodies, depict Christ, angels and heaven. The winged angels in the top tier of *The Day of Judgment* (Fig. 50) resemble those in the same position in *The Ascension*.⁹⁴ The depiction of the soul in *The Soul hovering over the Body reluctantly parting with Life* (Fig. 51) and the angels in *The Meeting of a Family in Heaven* (Fig. 52) are both similar to the angels found in cat. no. 5 and 7 with feminine features, wavy hair and long, white robes. With similarities such as these it is not possible to dismiss Brown's interest in Blake and in the 1830s, when Brown was a student, 'Blake was a recognisable name, associated with a group of historical painters (Barry, Fuseli) and illustrators (Stothard, Flaxman) who were among the most respected British artists of their generation.'⁹⁵

⁹³ Gottfried August Buerger, *Leonora. A Tale, translated and altered from the German by J. T. Stanley, a new Edition, with a Frontispiece and two Vignettes engraved after Designs by William Blake*, London, 1796; Robert Blair, *The Grave*, London, 1808.

⁹⁴ Both artists' compositions appear to have followed the tiered structure of Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* (Sistine Chapel, The Vatican) which was well-known through engravings.

⁹⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 91, p. 307.

Brown's interest in another contemporary of Fuseli's is evident in the style of his drawings of the angelic host. These brown pen and ink drawings are highly reminiscent of those in the same medium by the artist and sculptor John Flaxman (1755-1826). Newman and Watkinson do mention the drawings at the BMAG briefly and note that 'some Flaxmanesque pen-and-ink studies of angels survive, linking the picture with Lear drawings of the same year and showing Ford's [*sic*] familiarity with English Art.'⁹⁶ Taking this comment further, Brown's drawings (cat. nos. 5-7) seem to be particularly linked to Flaxman's outlines for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (both pub. 1793) which were engraved by Tommaso Piroli (1754-1824).⁹⁷ Flaxman's illustrations made him famous throughout Europe and Brown would certainly have known them. These illustrations are filled with classically beautiful figures; in particular muscular, naked men almost identical, in style and type, to the two angels in cat. no. 6 and on the reverse of cat. no. 7. Like the men found in *Sleep escaping from the Wrath of Jupiter* from *Iliad* (Fig. 53) these two angels, with wild hair, are depicted clutching onto to one another. In fact, they are typical of the groups of flying gods and goddesses found throughout Flaxman's outlines. It is not just the type of figures Brown has taken from Flaxman. In these preliminary sketches it is also the style and medium which suggest Brown's interest in Flaxman. Brown has copied Flaxman's style using only outlines and no shading or background for spatial reference.⁹⁸ Flaxman and others in the circle around Fuseli all seem to have favoured brown ink especially around the time many of them were studying together in Rome. It is to works made at this time by Fuseli, Flaxman and their contemporaries, James Barry (1741-1806), Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807) and Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 5, p. 19. This point is not explored further by Newman and Watkinson.

⁹⁷ Flaxman also created outlines for Dante (pub. 1793) and Aeschylus (pub. 1795).

⁹⁸ Although Flaxman does use shading it is minimal and linear.

1797) that Brown seems to have been particularly attracted as is shown by a drawing of an unknown subject in the BMAG collection (cat. no. 95).⁹⁹

Cat. no. 95 is of a naked man, with curly hair, reclining on steps with his hands bound in cuffs. This figure recalls those depicted by Fuseli and his contemporaries from the 1770s when ‘confrontational use of bodily horror and violence ... [and] the theme of confinement and heroic struggle ... [embodying] an idea of artistic genius’ was popular among artists.¹⁰⁰ Depictions of the legends *Prometheus* and *Milo of Crotona* which allowed artists to create virile-looking male figures can be compared to Brown’s captive man. Fuseli and Flaxman produced drawings depicting a curly haired, classically muscular Prometheus bound by the hands, although the violence often depicted in these scenes is not reflected in Brown’s work. Henry Fuseli’s drawings of *Hephaestus, Bia and Crato securing Prometheus on Mount Caucasus* (Fig. 54) and *Prometheus*, (Fig. 55) as well as John Flaxman’s *Prometheus Bound* (Fig. 56) portray these characteristics. Brown’s drawing also shares the unusual prominence of the genitalia and the use of single straight lines for shading.¹⁰¹ In addition, it is relevant to point out here that Brown painted a scene from Byron’s poem *The Prisoner of Chillon* (Fig. 35) in 1843 just a year before he made the drawings for the *Ascension*. This shows a sustained interest in bound figures most likely stemming from his attraction to the work of Fuseli and his circle.

⁹⁹ This drawing is undated but the shared medium, use of a similar style and the interest shown in Fuseli and his circle by Brown’s choice of subject, suggest that it is of a similar date to the drawings for *The Ascension*.

¹⁰⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 23, p. 53.

¹⁰¹ *Drawing of a Prison Scene* by an unidentified artist (Fig. 26) is another work in *Gothic Nightmares* which shows even more clearly the linearity and use of lines for shading which Brown has utilised in cat. no. 95 (see *ibid.*).

As shown above the strongest evidence to support Brown's knowledge of Fuseli and his contemporaries is found by looking at his drawings. However, Brown's biographer, his grandson, Hueffer does mention an interest in Prometheus when discussing Brown's painting *Manfred at the Chamois Hut*, 1840. Hueffer remarks that 'at this point he would seem, for some reason, to have dropped his Promethean ideas, perhaps owing to the coldness with which Casey and his other student friends received them. It was then that he set to work diligently to copy the Rembrandts at the Louvre.'¹⁰² This is the only time Hueffer refers to a Promethean tendency and he implies that Brown lost interest in the work of the Romantic artists working in England in the late eighteenth century as early as 1840. However, as has been shown above, similarities between their works and Brown's drawings for the *Ascension*, his illustrations for *King Lear* and his works depicting captive men show that his enthusiasm did not wane as early as this. Interest in the Prometheus legend was sustained into the nineteenth century by the publication of Byron's poem *Prometheus* in 1816 and Shelley's play *Prometheus Unbound* in 1820. In the 1840s artistic interest in this theme continued: in 1843 Joseph Noel Paton won second place in the Art Union of London outline drawing competition with a series of designs illustrating Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* which were published the following year.¹⁰³ In 1845 G. Wood exhibited *The Binding of Prometheus* at the RA.¹⁰⁴ It appears that this interest had also spread to the young artists who were part of the English expatriot community in Paris.

¹⁰² *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 29.

¹⁰³ Of the 30 entries to the competition two were for designs on the theme of Prometheus (Minutes of the Committee Meeting of The Art Union of London, 2 April 1843, British Library, vol. 3, Add. 38867). *Prometheus Unbound* with illustrations by Joseph Noel Paton was published in London by Holloway in 1844. *The Art Union* praised Paton's work saying: 'This is a work of genius-genius of the best and rarest order' (vol. 6, no. 66, 1 June, 1844, p. 151).

¹⁰⁴ No. 177 (*Op. cit.* at note 26, 1845, p. 11).

Hueffer states that ‘the students with whom, rather from circumstances of race than artistic congeniality, he was most connected in the eyes of his French friends were, curiously enough, the painters John Cross and [Edward] Armitage. The three were, in fact, known as the ‘English triumvirate.’¹⁰⁵ Although Hueffer suggests that they were little more than acquaintances, this friendship appears to have continued after all three artists had moved to England. In 1845 Brown rented space in Tudor Lodge, where both Armitage and Cross had studios.¹⁰⁶ There are references to Brown meeting Cross in the diary he began in 1847, notably the entry for 12 February 1848: ‘John Cross & Broadie ... just come in from Paris. I went with them till Cross's studio in Robert street to see a painting of Broadie's. They returned here & stopped till 5.’¹⁰⁷ In 1851 he wrote to his friend Lowes Dickinson, telling him that he had ‘procured a hood of chain mail from Cross who returned last night from Devonshire also some feathers to make a fan & some cloath [*sic*] of gold’ to use as props in the painting *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* and also informing him of the latest news about the former Tudor Lodge tenants: ‘Cross has brought the two pictures from Devonshire which he intends for Peto. Armitage has finished a picture of Samson grinding the corn of the Philistines - very good Thomas, says.’¹⁰⁸ These references show that

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 28. However, Hueffer notes that at the time Brown’s closest friends were his fellow Belgian students ‘Casey, De Grouckel and James’ (*ibid.*, p. 28).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 35, p. 30. Broadie is another artist who worked in Paris. He is mentioned by the painter William Etty in a letter to Brown, thanking him for his hospitality on a recent visit to Paris and enclosing the rules for the 1844 Westminster Competitions (letter from William Etty to Ford Madox Brown, 8 September [1843?], University of British Columbia). Surtees believes Brown has misspelt Broadie and that he is in fact referring to J. L. Brodie (fl. 1848-81) ‘known chiefly as a portrait painter.’ However, Etty spells Broadie in the same way as Brown and it is possible they are different artists. Later that year Brown mentions meeting Cross again: ‘Painted in the sky of the copy of the view of Windermere [*sic*] with copal & drying oil. It dried to [*sic*] quick, made a mess of it. In the evening called on Cross and Lucy’ (22 October 1848, *ibid.*, p. 49). Lucy refers to the painter Charles Lucy (1814-73), who was another friend who had spent time in Paris. Lucy rented studios at Tudor Lodge where he ran a life drawing class (see catalogue pp. 258-259 for more details of this class).

¹⁰⁸ Letter to Lowes Dickinson, dated 5 March 1851 transcribed in Deborah Cherry, *An annotated Edition of the Diary and selected Letters of Ford Madox Brown 1850-1870*, unpublished PhD, London University, 1977, pp. 56 and 59. Thomas refers to the artist William Cave Thomas (1820-1906).

Brown sustained his friendship with Cross and Armitage after leaving Paris, and that his friendship was not as trivial as Hueffer's quotation above implies.

There is little known about either of these painters but, like Brown, they both trained abroad and lived in Paris in the early 1840s. John Cross (1819-1861) was born in Devon but brought up in St. Quentin, France, and studied at the town's École de Dessin. He then studied under François-Edouard Picot (1786-1868) in Paris. Like Brown he entered the Westminster Competitions and in 1847 he won a £300 prize for his picture *Richard Coeur de Lion forgiving Bertrand de Jourdan*. However, his early success was not sustained and he died, disappointed with the failure of his career as a history painter at the age of 41. Edward Armitage (1817-1896) had a much more successful career but is now little known. He was born in London and studied in Paris at the École des Beaux-Arts under Paul Delaroche from 1835 to 1842. He assisted his master on the decoration of the *Hemicycle* at the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* and used this experience to help him win several prizes in the Westminster competitions. He returned to England in 1843. Little is known of the early work of John Cross or Armitage but the 'English Triumvirate's' interest in Fuseli and his circle is suggested by the subject of Armitage's first Salon entry: *Vulcain, aidé par la Force et la Violence, enchaîne Prométhée sur le Mont Caucase* (location unknown).¹⁰⁹ A photograph of Armitage's 1845 outline drawing entitled *Howard visiting a Prison*

¹⁰⁹ It was no. 29 in the 1842 Salon (*Les Catalogues des Salons*, vol. 4, p. 73). Despite the Salon catalogue entry there is a discrepancy in the name in recent scholarship. Whilst the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* calls the painting *Prometheus Bound* the *Grove Dictionary of Art* calls it *Prometheus Unbound* (see Robyn Asleson, 'Armitage, Edward (1817–1896),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed online 17 April 2007 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/650>) and Jane Turner, ed., *Dictionary of Art*, 1996, p. 446).

(Fig. 57) shows how much he, like Brown, admired Flaxman's neo-classical works.¹¹⁰ Although the scene is a near contemporary one the prisoners look like dishevelled classical gods and lie or sit in contorted poses as in many of Flaxman's illustrations. Even the chains used to restrain the captives are the same rectangular ones as the those drawn by Flaxman in his illustration *Othus and Ephialtes holding Mars Captive* from the *Iliad* (Fig. 71). The subject matter and its treatment in this drawing reveal an interest in the work of Fuseli and his circle who were not only fascinated by the Prometheus myth but by prison scenes in general such as Fig. 59 by an unknown artist in the circle.¹¹¹

The drawings for *The Ascension* clearly indicate that Brown admired artists working in England fifty years before him. As has been shown he was not the only young artist looking to Fuseli and his circle for inspiration. As with his drawings for *King Lear* examining the work of these young artists provides an insight into the nature of the Romantic movement in the mid nineteenth-century in both France and England. Although Brown did not win the commission to paint *The Ascension*, by entering a national competition in which the entries were exhibited to the public Brown added to the artistic dialogues taking place within Europe and helped shape English culture from within.

¹¹⁰ Armitage entered the original version of *Howard visiting a Prison* in the 1845 Art Union of London cartoon competition (see minutes of the meeting of the *Art Union*, 10 February 1846, British Library, vol. 5, Add. 38869). The minutes of the *Art Union* include a report from the Assistant Secretary to say that Armitage 'would be willing to allow the reproduction and engraving in outline of his cartoon but that he could not undertake to make the reduced drawing' (17 February 1846, vol. 5, British Museum, Add. 38869). It is not clear if the photograph at the Witt Library, London, is of the drawing, 1845, or the engraving published in 1846. Previously the object was in the H. J. Cornish Collection, part of the Hampstead Public Libraries Local Collection, but this has now been dispersed and the current location of the work is unknown.

¹¹¹ *Op. cit.* at note 23, p. 60. Although the artist has not been definitely identified attributions have been claimed including James Jeffreys (1751-1784) and Prince Hoare (1755-1834) who were both part of Fuseli's circle and Maria Cosway (1760-1838) an admirer of Fuseli who was in Rome at the same time as him.

Byron

The Romantic poetry of Lord Byron provided a further source of mutual inspiration for artists working in these two countries and his poems dealing with incarcerated prisoners were highly popular subjects for artists on both side of the Channel. In 1816 Lord Byron wrote *The Prisoner of Chillon* describing the sombre story of the Swiss patriot François de Bonivard (c.1496-1570) and his brothers held captive by the Duke of Savoy in the Castle of Chillon on Lake Léman. The brothers are chained to separate pillars and little light is able to reach them. One by one they die until the narrator, Bonivard is left alone. In 1843 Brown chose this poem as the subject of his painting of the same name (Fig. 35) linking him to themes which preoccupied Romantic artists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but also signalling his interest in Byron's poems.¹¹² In this composition the three brothers stand bound to the walls of their cell in awkward, contorted poses. The influence of Brown's academic training can be seen in the strong use of *chiaroscuro* but such striking contrasts of light and dark also suggest that Brown was aware of Delacroix's painting *The Prisoner of Chillon* exhibited at the Salon in 1835 in which the protagonist emerges out of the gloom into the brightly lit foreground (Fig. 60). Brown may have known the painting from the lithograph produced by Alophe-Menut for *L'Artiste* in 1835 but the similarity of the muted brown and yellow palette he uses suggests that he knew the original.¹¹³ The chains, heavy pillars and architectural arches of Brown's dungeon setting recall the gloomy prison depicted by the older artist. However, rather than spot-lighting Bonivard, Brown chooses to focus the light

¹¹² Later in his career Brown produced an illustration for the poem which was published in R. A. Willmott's anthology *Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1857. See chapter three for further discussion of this work.

¹¹³ *Op. cit.* at note 27, vol. 3, p. 68. Rabin also notes Brown's reliance on Delacroix's earlier version but does not mention the engraving (*Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 41).

on the two younger brothers who are set to die like Romantic heroes, still young and beautiful. These two figures appear to conform to Romantic ideals: the youngest brother in the centre, identified by his more effeminate pose, embodies the beautiful Romantic hero, the other half-clothed brother embodies the more classically muscular hero, and stands like a contorted Prometheus awaiting his fate.

The discussion of Delacroix as inspiration for *The Prisoner of Chillon* highlights the similarities between the subjects Brown and Delacroix chose at this time. Throughout his career Delacroix illustrated Byron. The poet was the source of inspiration for many of Delacroix's most famous works including *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827-1828).¹¹⁴ Although Delacroix began producing works based on Byron as early as the 1820s he continued to use him as subject matter for paintings in the 1840s, notably *The Shipwreck of Don Juan* (1841) and *The Bride of Abydos* (1849).¹¹⁵

Brown's pre-occupation with Byronic subjects from 1839 until 1844 matched Delacroix's enthusiasm.¹¹⁶ The year before he painted *The Prisoner of Chillon*, Brown produced another picture based on Byron's poem *Parisina*. BMAG holds three studies (cat. nos. 114-116) for the picture *Parisina's Sleep* (1842) and as the painting is now lost these provide the best idea of what the work would have looked like. Although the drawings are figure studies, rather than compositional, they reveal enough to show that Brown chose to depict the most dramatic moment from the poem

¹¹⁴ *The Death of Sardanapalus* (exh. at Salon 1827-1828, oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre). Other poems by Byron which became sources for Delacroix's paintings are: *The Giaour*, *The Two Foscari*, *The Bride of Abydos*, *The Death of Lara* and *Don Juan*.

¹¹⁵ *The Shipwreck of Don Juan* (1840, exh. Salon 1841, oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre) and *The Bride of Abydos* (1849, oil on canvas, King's College Cambridge)

¹¹⁶ Like Delacroix Brown returned to Byron several times and in the 1870s he produced six illustrations for *Byron's Poetical Works* (another two illustrations were produced by his son Oliver) (William Michael Rossetti, ed., *The poetical Works of Lord Byron*, London, 1870). See chapter 3 for further discussion of these designs.

when Prince Azo discovers that his wife Parisina has been having an affair with his illegitimate son Hugo. It is this moment which ultimately leads to their public execution. Cat. no. 114 depicts the two protagonists, Prince Azo and Parisina. Prince Azo is shown leaning over his slumbering wife, Parisina, who has just revealed her infidelity by murmuring Hugo's name in her sleep. Enraged he contemplates killing Parisina whilst she sleeps. Brown illustrated the lines:

He plucked his poniard in its sheath,
But sheathed it ere the point was bare;
Howe'er unworthy now to breathe,
He could not slay a thing so fair-
At least, not smiling - sleeping there:
Nay more: - he did not wake her then,
But gazed upon her with a glance
Which, had he roused her from her trance,
Had frozen her sense to sleep again;
And o'er his brow the burning lamp
Gleam'd on the dew-drops big and damp.
She spake no more - but still she slumber'd-
While, in his thought, her days are number'd.¹¹⁷

Cat. no. 115 is a focused study of Azo's expression. It captures his intense, murderous look of rage depicting him with a mouth almost spitting with anger, wild eyes and a deeply furrowed brow. Touches of white chalk add the light of the 'gleaming lamp'

¹¹⁷ Lord Byron, *The poetical Works of Lord Byron*, London, 1857, p. 246. Quoted in Ford Madox Brown, *The Exhibition of Work, and other Paintings*, exh. cat., 191 Piccadilly, London, 1865, p. 17.

and suggest that Brown's composition included the strong contrast of light and dark required by his chosen scene. This intense observation of Azo's expression further highlights Brown's interest in works by Fuseli. The former artist excelled in producing dramatic nocturnal compositions with required the use of chiaroscuro and extreme facial gestures, notably *Lady Macbeth sleepwalking (Shakespeare, Macbeth, V, i)* (Fig. 61) in which Lady Macbeth's wild, guilty expression is lit up in the gloom by the candle she carries. Rabin briefly discusses *Parisina* and notes Brown's use of 'exaggerated facial expressions' but does not mention the Birmingham studies despite the fact that they are the only surviving works related to the picture.¹¹⁸ In these studies for *Parisina* we see a fusion of Romantic influences, the extreme expressions of Fuseli and the dramatic sentiment and sensuality of Delacroix. Like *The Prisoner of Chillon* the choice of subject allowed Brown to indulge in the Romantic taste for an untimely death and a violent show of emotions.

According to the entry accompanying the painting in Brown's solo exhibition catalogue his interest in light was due to his study of 'Spanish pictures and ... [paintings by] Rembrandt' which, according to Hueffer, he visited at the Louvre.¹¹⁹ There were a large number of works by Rembrandt in the Louvre at this time and one portrait by Velasquez.¹²⁰ However, there seems to be little evidence of this interest in

¹¹⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 36.

¹¹⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 117, p. 17. Hueffer records that Brown was a regular visitor to the Louvre (*Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 29).

¹²⁰ *The Catalogues sommaires illustrés des Peintures du Musée du Louvre: Ecoles Flamade et Hollandaise*, records that there were ten paintings by Rembrandt in the collection by 1840. Two other paintings are now believed to be by his studio and a further two after the artist were also in the collection. It is difficult to know whether they had the same attribution in the 1840s (vol. 1, Editions de la Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1979, pp. 110-113). *The Catalogues sommaires illustrés des Peintures du Musée du Louvre: Italie, Espagne, Allemagne, Grande-Bretagne et Divers*, records one painting by Velasquez in the collection by 1840: *Portrait de l'Infante Marie Maguerite*, 1653, oil on canvas, inv. No. 941 (vol. 2, Editions de la Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1981, p. 125). Although this painting does not seem to have influenced *Parisina's Sleep*, Brown's later portraits of children

these preparatory studies. Even the touches of white chalk adding a sense of lighting in Cat, no. 116, a focused study for Parisina's head, suggest a much more theatrical lighting in keeping with the macabre works of Fuseli than the naturalistic paintings of Rembrandt.

Hueffer records that the painting was 'rejected at the exhibition of the French Salon in 1843' with 'a polite accompanying note stating that the subject was too improper for the walls of the French gallery under Louis Phillippe.'¹²¹ However, the previous year Thomas Jones Barker (1813-1882), another English artist exhibiting in France and England, had a painting entitled *Parisina* accepted by the Salon. The picture was accompanied by the quotation

.... Aussi insensibles que les morts eux-mêmes à tout ce qui est autour, au-dessus, au-dessous d'eux, on dirait que ne respirant que l'un pour l'autre, tout le reste a disparu pour eux L'idée de crime, de péril ne leur vient point dans ce rêve tumultueux de leur tendresse....¹²²

It seems as if it was not the subject matter of which the judges disapproved but the moment Brown chose to depict when the husband discovers his wife's infidelity. Although the whereabouts of Barker's painting are now unknown, it is possible to gain

display a similar naturalness and sympathy with the child. However, this subject falls outside the remit of this thesis but would make another fascinating avenue of research.

¹²¹ *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 30.

¹²² It was no. 37 in the 1842 Salon (*Op. cit.* at note 26, vol. 4, p. 73). The quotation in English is: 'And heedless as the dead are they / Of aught around, above, beneath; / As if all else had pass'd away, / They only for each other breathe ... Of guilt, of peril, do they deem / In that tumultuous tender dream?' (*Op. cit.* at note 117, p. 245). Barker was the eldest son of the painter Thomas Barker of Bath. He trained in France, studying under Horace Vernet (1789-1863), and specialised in history painting. He exhibited at both the Salon and the RA and was patronised by King Louis Philippe. Like Brown he capitalised on the popularity of English subjects in France in the 1830s and 1840s. At the 1838 Salon he exhibited *Jane Gray* (no. 36, *Op. cit.* at note 26, vol. 3, p. 212).

some idea of what it looked like from lines he chose to illustrate in which the two adulterers are lost in each other, oblivious to the danger of their love. By choosing these lines Barker focuses on the intensity of their love, picking up the broader theme of illicit lovers but also highlighting Byron's homage to Dante's Paolo and Francesca. Brown's painting however, which focuses on Azo's rage, aligns the work to broader themes of violence and murder, perhaps less palatable in France than romance. Despite being rejected from the 1843 Salon it was shown two years later at the British Institution. The depiction of the light in Brown's scene from *Parisina* brings to mind Othello's murder of Desdemona during which he mutters 'Put out the light and then put out the light.'¹²³ This may account for its success in England and perhaps highlights subtle differences in French and British artistic tastes on which Brown was less able to play to than the more experienced Barker.¹²⁴

Brown's first exhibited work was *Giaour's Confession* taken from Byron's poem *The Giaour* (1813) and accepted at the RA in 1841.¹²⁵ His choice of subject placed him at the centre of cultural dialogues taking place between France, Belgium and England. The poem had been made particularly famous in France by Delacroix who used it as a subject for numerous compositions. Its popularity with artists continued into the 1840s.¹²⁶ Brown's last tutor Wappers 'drew on Byron for at least half a dozen pictures, including two versions of *The Giaour*' which may well have been the

¹²³ *Othello*, Act 5, scene 2, line 7 (William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. M. R. Ridley, London and New York, 1994, p. 177).

¹²⁴ In 1838 F. Newenham exhibited *Parisina* at the RA (no. 995, *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, London, 1838, p.42). The catalogue entry includes a quotation which indicates that like Barker he focused on the lovers, avoiding the more unpalatable subject of Azo's jealousy.

¹²⁵ No. 439 in the catalogue (*Op. cit.* at note 26, 1841, p. 23). It is now lost.

¹²⁶ Delacroix first painted a scene from *The Giaour* in 1826 (*Combat between The Giaour and the Pasha*, oil on canvas, The Art Institute, Chicago). In his career he executed at least seven other pictures based on the poem. Between 1838 and 1841 it was the subject of three paintings exhibited at the Salon: 1838, no. 1226 *Le Giaour* by Malécy, 1841, no. 1042 *Le Giaour* by Le comte de Jaubert and no. 1649 *Le Giaour* by Jules Quatin (*ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 244, vol. 4, pp. 35 and 52).

immediate inspiration for the younger artist's choice of subject.¹²⁷ It was also a relatively popular subject in England and between 1839 and 1842 three artists, including Brown, exhibited works depicting scenes from *The Giaour* at the RA.¹²⁸ The poem is an 'Oriental' romance about an infidel who flees the palace of Hassan, a Turkish despot, having had an affair with his concubine, Leila. As punishment for her infidelity Hassan has Leila sewn into a sack and drowned. In revenge the Giaour murders Hassan but his guilt at causing his lover's death forces him to retreat to a monastery. Before he dies he confesses his crimes and leaves only his tale behind. Like *Parisina's Sleep* the painting is now lost but an idea of which section of the poem became the inspiration for the picture can be gained from the quotation which was printed in the catalogue to accompany it:

But still she there in silence stands
And beckons with beseeching hands;
With braided hair, and bright black eye,
I knew 'twas false, she could not die-
But he is dead!¹²⁹

These lines are taken from the macabre end of the poem when the Giaour admits that he is still haunted by visions of his lover. It is impossible to tell from this particular fragment of the poem what the composition would have looked like but it seems that Brown was once again drawn to a dramatic moment full of emotion when the Giaour is virtually driven mad by his guilt.

¹²⁷ Newman and Watkinson, *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle*, 1991, p. 13.

¹²⁸ Mrs Battersby, *Leila from Lord Byron's Giaour*, (no. 834 in the drawings and miniatures section of *op. cit.* at note 26, 1839, p. 37) and C. A. Du Val, *The Giaour* (no. 514, *ibid.*, 1842, p. 28).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1841, p. 23.

The following year Brown used another of Byron's poems in which the protagonist is driven to despair by guilt for an illicit love affair. In 1842 he produced two paintings based on Byron's poem *Manfred* (1816-17). It was an unusual choice and few other artists had used it as their subject matter despite the popularity of Byron's works.¹³⁰ It was perhaps driven by his interest in the macabre and his desire to depict dramatic scenes of extreme emotional turmoil. The poem recounts the tale of Count Manfred cursed to an eternal life without sleep after falling in love with his sister. The first picture, *Manfred in the Chamois Hunter's Hut* (Fig. 62) depicts the protagonist in the rustic home of a Chamois hunter, who has just prevented him from killing himself.¹³¹ Manfred, driven almost mad with despair bids the hunter to leave him alone and refuses his wine:

Chamois Hunter: Well sir, pardon me the question,

And be of better cheer. Come taste my wine;

'Tis of ancient vintage; many a day

'T has thaw'd my veins among our glaciers, now

Let it do thus for thine - Come pledge me fairly.

Manfred: Away, away! there's blood upon the brim!

Will it then never - never sink in the earth?

¹³⁰ The British artist John Martin painted *Manfred's encounter with the Witch of the Alps* in 1826 and 1837 produced another version in watercolour. Also in 1837 he made a pendant for the watercolour and painted *Manfred on the Jungfrau*. In 1840-1, at the same time as Brown, Richard Dadd used Manfred as the subject of one of his panel paintings to decorate the fourth Baron Foley's London house. It is unlikely Brown knew about these works as he was abroad at the time and even in England both John Martin and Richard Dadd were little known (Sybille Beck, 'Points of View: John Martin and pictorial interpretations of Byron's Manfred,' *The British Art Journal*, Volume II, No.3, pp. 22-3).

¹³¹ Bendiner notes that Nottingham Castle Museum holds the oil sketch for the painting. He points out that 'the larger, finished painting is rather different in composition' but as it is in a private collection in Ireland it has not been possible for the present author to verify this statement (*Op. cit.* at note 5, text accompanying Fig. 4).

Chamois Hunter: What dost thou mean? thy senses wander from thee.

Manfred: I say't is blood-my blood! the pure warm stream
Which ran in the veins of my fathers, and in ours
When we were in our youth, and had one heart,
And we loved each other as we should not love,
And this was shed: but still it rises up,
Colouring the clouds, that shut me out from heaven,
Where thou art not - and I shall never be.¹³²

It is this passage which explains that the source of Manfred's curse was his incestuous love for his sister. As with the later painting *Parisina's Sleep* Brown chose a scene of extreme turmoil. Manfred's revulsion and fear of the hunter's cup allowed him to experiment with facial grimaces and the interior setting gave him the opportunity to create sharp distinctions of light and shade. The second picture *Manfred on the Jungfrau* (Fig. 63) was completed a year later in 1841. Once again he indulged in his passion for extreme facial expressions; Manfred, driven mad by his eternal existence and tortured by his thoughts, teeters on the edge of an Alpine cliff contemplating suicide. The chamois hunter stands behind him and is just about to rescue him:

Manfred: The mist boils up around the glaciers;
Rise curling fast beneath me, white and sulphury,

¹³² *Op. cit.* at note 17, p. 296, act II, sc i.

Like foam from the roused ocean of deep Hell,
Whose every wave breaks on a living shore,
Heap'd with the damn'd like pebbles - I am giddy.

Chamois Hunter: I must approach him cautiously; if near,
A sudden step will startle him, and he
Seems tottering already.

Manfred: Mountains have fallen
Thus in old age did Mount Rosenburg.
Why stood I not beneath it?

Chamois Hunter: Friend have a care
Your next step may be fatal! - for the love
Of him who made you, stand not on that brink.

Manfred (not hearing him): Such would have been for me a fitting tomb;
My bones had then been quiet in their depth;
They had not been strewn upon the rocks
For the wind's pastime - as thus - thus they shall be -
In this one plunge!¹³³

In contrast to its companion picture this scene required an outdoor setting and according to Brown's 1865 catalogue it was his first attempt at real outdoor lighting.

¹³³ Excerpts from *Manfred* by Lord Byron quoted in Ford Madox Brown, *The Exhibition of Work, and other Paintings*, exh. cat., 1865, p. 18.

This work composed, in 1840, when I was nineteen, and painted the next year in Paris, belongs, with the five following examples, to the period of my Art-studentship in Belgium and Paris. In this instance, however, the picture has been much touched upon, as recently as 1861, so that the original scheme of colour is quite obliterated, little more than dramatic sentiment and effect of black and white remaining. Such as it was, it was a first, though not very recognisable attempt at out-door effect of light.¹³⁴

The work is now in Manchester Art Gallery but as Brown painted over much of original background in the early 1860s it is difficult to see his early experiments with natural lighting. Rabin suggests that the inspiration for this painting came from Delacroix's *Hamlet and Horatio in the Graveyard* which was exhibited at the Salon in 1839, the year before Brown executed the two paintings based on *Manfred*. She notes that he borrowed the earlier artist's idea of an outdoor scene, with figures set against an overcast sky and the theme 'the mystery of death and the problem of self indecision.'¹³⁵ It is likely that he knew this painting by Delacroix but the more immediate inspiration for the painting appears to have been on an illustration for *Manfred* by Tony Johannot (1803-1852) published in Amédée Pichot's French translation of Byron's works (Fig. 64) (pub. Paris, 1836).¹³⁶ Brown is highly likely to have used the idea of long shoes imprinted into the snow at the edge of the cliff for his painting but as Beck points out, unlike Johannot, he depicts the moments before the

¹³⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 117, p. 18.

¹³⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 32.

¹³⁶ Both Sybille Beck and Martin Meisel identify Johannot's illustration as the inspiration for Brown's composition (*Op. cit.* at note 130, p. 25. Beck uses the 11th edition of the book for her illustration. *Op. cit.* at note 30, pp. 581-582).

Hunter has saved Manfred.¹³⁷ This adds to the tension of the scene as ‘the action is pending: a final decision has not yet been made and no definitive action has taken place. Brown leaves the viewer teetering with Manfred on the Jungfrau.’¹³⁸

As with the other drawings produced whilst Brown lived in Paris, these reflect Brown's interest in Romantic themes and artists. Sadly, most of his paintings based on Byron's poems are now lost but using the preparatory studies for *Parisina's Sleep* as the springboard it has been possible to discover the deep enthusiasm he had for Byron's work. Contextualising these works by examining paintings and printed illustrations by other European artists based on Byron has revealed how successfully Brown took advantage of Byron's popularity on both sides of the channel, focusing much of his attention in the early years of his career on paintings based on the works of the well-known poet. Brown appears to have been acutely aware of the popularity of other authors in Europe, as indicated in the discussion below of two virtually unknown works in the collection.

Sterne and Goldsmith

A drawing and a watercolour in the Birmingham collection show that Brown was not interested solely in works by Shakespeare and Romantic poets but also picked up on the revival of subjects taken from eighteenth century novels. This trend began in England before travelling to France. The two works depict connected scenes from Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Mr Yorick* (cat. nos. 151 and 152). This satirical travelogue was a huge success when it was

¹³⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 130, p.25

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

published in 1768 and it remained popular in Britain well into the nineteenth century. The first French translation of the work appeared in 1801, and was followed, in 1818, by Sterne's complete works showing the author's growing success on the other side of the channel.¹³⁹ A measure of his success in France can be gleaned from a letter written by Delacroix to his friend Jean-Baptiste Pierret in late December 1818 discussing 'an amorous encounter he had had whilst staying at his sister's house'.¹⁴⁰ In admiration for the earlier writer he signs himself Yorick and as Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer points out his 'entire account of reckless love-making is itself a pastiche of a scene from Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* ... , in which the witty parson Yorick attempts to seduce a pretty maidservant' outlined in the chapters 'The Temptation' and 'The Conquest'.¹⁴¹

The two works on paper, signed and dated Paris 1842, are from the three chapters in *A Sentimental Journey* concerning the character Maria Moulines. Maria first appeared as a sad delicate heroine in Sterne's first novel *The Life and Times of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759).¹⁴² By the end of the eighteenth century her pitiful tale was so admired that she had become a sentimental icon.¹⁴³ She appeared 'in numerous spin-offs' and was the subject of several songs, ballads and an opera.¹⁴⁴ She was depicted

¹³⁹ Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Eugène Delacroix: Politics and Satire 1814-1822*, New Haven and London, 1991, p. 141.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Yorick, the main character in *A Sentimental Journey*, is also in *Tristram Shandy*. He is the protagonist's local parish priest. Sterne links the two novels by using the same characters in both. The novels are also pseudo-autobiographical as Sterne was himself a parish priest in Yorkshire where much of *Tristram Shandy* is set.

¹⁴³ Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Mr Yorick*, London, (first pub. 1768), p. 133.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Maria appeared in the books *The Beauties of Sterne* (1782) and in *Sterne's Maria; a Pathetic Story* (*ibid.*).

in a large number of engravings and paintings by artists such as Joseph Wright of Derby and Angelica Kauffman.¹⁴⁵

On the first sheet is a sepia pen and ink drawing depicting the scene in which Maria's mother tells Yorick and his manservant La Fleur where to find Maria (cat. no. 151). This is a highly unusual scene to have chosen and there appears to have been no precedent for it in the paintings exhibited.¹⁴⁶ On the second sheet is a watercolour of the most popular scene from *A Sentimental Journey* in which Yorick meets forlorn Maria and walks with her to Moulines (cat. no. 151).¹⁴⁷ The unfinished state of the first drawing, including sketching in pencil, indicates that Brown was experimenting with the idea of two linked scenes but thought better of it and worked up only the one which had a popular following.

Although *A Sentimental Journey* was successful in France, no paintings based on the novel were exhibited in the Salons between 1838 and 1845. However, in England it had enjoyed a revival of interest among painters. In the first decades of the nineteenth century tastes had changed and the truth about Sterne's real-life philandering meant that his 'reputation as an ennobling and improving author whose works (suitably edited) taught compassion by the lessons of sensibility' had faded.¹⁴⁸ By the 1830s it

¹⁴⁵ Joseph Wright of Derby and Angelica Kauffman both depicted Maria twice their careers (see Catherine Gordon, *British Paintings of Subjects from the English Novel 1740-1870*, New York and London, 1988, pp. 265-266). The links between Joseph Wright of Derby and Ford Madox Brown are another area ripe for future research. He admired Wright's work and copied groups of figures in his paintings such as the young girl holding a baby in the foreground of *Work* (Fig. 4) which came from Wright's *An Iron Forge* (1772, oil on canvas, Tate).

¹⁴⁶ See *op. cit.* at note 145 and W. B. Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the visual Imagination*, Aldershot, UK and Burlington, USA, 2006.

¹⁴⁷ A. E. Whitley's catalogue of drawings of the Birmingham City Art Gallery (Derby, 1939), identifies these drawings as illustrations to *A Sentimental Journey* but does not mention that they are linked. Combined they illustrate the three consecutive chapters discussing Maria: two entitled 'Maria Molines' and one entitled 'Maria.'

¹⁴⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 145, p. 78.

was the romantic and comic aspects of Sterne's work which resuscitated interest in *A Sentimental Journey*. In 1830 Gilbert Stuart Newton exhibited *Yorick and Grisette* at the RA (Fig. 65). This scene, depicting Yorick's encounter with an attractive glove seller, was the subject of at least ten paintings over the next forty years. During this time, other scenes involving Sterne's male characters in romantic situations were also popular with artists.¹⁴⁹ This indicates that the emphasis had changed from sentimentality to comic romance. The fact that Brown produced two works on paper for scenes from *A Sentimental Journey* suggests that he was inspired by his contemporaries working in England and that these were studies for a possible series.

By the mid-nineteenth century Maria was once again a familiar character. Between 1830 and 1870 she was depicted in at least fifteen paintings. In the short period between 1839 and 1842, alone, there were three paintings of her exhibited at the RA.¹⁵⁰ Although Brown did not live in England during this period he visited his relatives in Kent and may well have seen these paintings at the Royal Academy exhibitions. His choice of subjects whilst living in Paris show how well he knew current artistic trends in England. His figure of Maria plays up the pathos of the scene; her expression is meek and sad, and her body fragile and languid but unlike her early persona her beauty is now tinged with madness. W. B. Gerard discusses the

¹⁴⁹ These included H. J. Townsend, *Sterne and Maria* (exh. RA 1839 (493)); C. R. Leslie, *Uncle Toby and the Widow Wadman* (1842, oil on canvas, Tate, London); and T. H. Wilson, *Yorick and the Fille de Chambre* (exh. RA 1844 (86)). See *op. cit.* at note 145, pp. 270-272 for the large number of paintings of scenes from Sterne exhibited at the RA and other venues in the years before 1842.

¹⁵⁰ The paintings were: H. J. Townsend, *Sterne and Maria*, no. 493, accompanied by the quotation: "Her goat had been as faithless as her lover; and she got a little dog in lieu of him, which she kept tied by a string to her girdle; as I looked at her dog, she drew him towards her with the string. 'Thou shalt not leave me, Sylvio,' said she. I looked in Maria's eyes, and saw she was thinking more on her father than her lover, or her little goat." - *Sentimental Journey*' (*Op. cit.* at note 26, 1838, p. 25); T. Uwins, *Maria*, no. 92, "Poor Maria is sitting upon a bank, playing her vespers upon her pipe, with her little goat beside her." *Tristram Shandy*, vol. vi., chap. 44;' and J. G. Middleton, *Maria-Sterne's Sentimental Journey*, no. 296 (*ibid.*, 1842, pp. 8 and p. 18).

ways in which the images of Maria changed over time.¹⁵¹ Early portraits of her made between 1770 and 1810 portrayed her as a sentimental figure of mourning. Between 1790 and 1830 she is 'Maria rescued' and shown most commonly with Yorick sharing the outpouring of feelings over a handkerchief. From the mid-nineteenth century the image of Maria altered again, highlighting her lack of emotional control and depicting her most often alone and isolated.¹⁵² Her early popularity was based on her allure as a delicate, melancholy beauty mourning the loss of her father and her lover - but surviving. Brown merges the idea of Maria being rescued with the newer portrayal of Maria as slightly unhinged. He depicts her with Yorick who holds the handkerchief, made more prominent as it is one of the few objects mentioned in the text that Brown includes. He also brings out Maria's madness by depicting her with loose dishevelled hair and wearing slippers, not mentioned in the text. In fact, there appears to have been no precedent for showing her in slippers. The idea seems to have come from his admiration of Retzsch. Two years before Brown executed *Yorick and Maria walking* illustrations by Retzsch of the macabre German tale *Leonora* were published.¹⁵³ The protagonist Leonora, like Maria, is heart-broken believing she has lost her lover. He has been killed in battle but returns from death to claim her before taking them both back to the grave. The second illustration depicts the scene in which her lover arrives on horseback (Fig. 66). Having thought he was dead she is shown with her hair unkempt through grief and in her slippers. Given how heavily Brown relied on Retzsch for his *King Lear* illustrations this source seems even more likely especially as the poses of the women's feet, shown with one heel raised in the motion of walking,

¹⁵¹ *Op. cit.* at note 146, p. 137.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 160-166.

¹⁵³ Friedrich August Moritz Retzsch, *Umriss zu Bürgers Balladen: Leonore, Das Lied vom braven Mann, und Des Pfarrers Tochter von Taubenhayn / Fünfzehn Platten, erfunden und gestochen von Moritz Retzsch; mit Bürgers Text und Erklärungen von Carl Borromäus von Miltitz; Nebst englischer Uebersetzung, von F. Shoberl*, Leipzig, 1840.

are identical, although Brown raises the hemline of Maria's dress to actually show the heel.

Sterne's were not the only eighteenth-century novels which were popular on both sides of the channel in the 1830s and 1840s.¹⁵⁴ Oliver Goldsmith's novel *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766) was the subject of numerous paintings exhibited at both the Salon and the RA. Between 1830 and 1850 there were eighteen pictures depicting scenes from the novel exhibited at the RA.¹⁵⁵ In 1841 Mlle S. Fabre d'Olivet exhibited *Retour d'Olivia* depicting the scene in which Olivia, the Vicar's daughter returns to her family, having eloped with Squire Thornhill, and in 1843 Charles Mayer exhibited *La Famille du Vicaire de Wakefield*.¹⁵⁶ The popularity of the novel had increased due to its suitability as entertainment for the whole family and its reputation as a very moral tale. In 1827 Sir Walter Scott described its appeal commenting that it was

One of the most delicious morsels of fictitious composition on which the human mind was ever employed. ... Both [the Vicar and his wife], with their children around them, their quiet labour and domestic happiness, compose a fireside picture of such a perfect kind, as perhaps, is nowhere else equalled.¹⁵⁷

According to Catherine Gordon, in the 1830s and 1840s artists such as William Powell Frith (1819-1909) and Daniel Maclise (bap. 1806-1870) were also drawn to it for its comic value. Sometime between 1840 and 1841, when Brown was studying in

¹⁵⁴ At the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the novel was not held in high esteem. Goldsmith's poems such as *The Traveller* and *The Deserted Village* had a reputation as literary masterpieces but the novel was seen as the author's inferior work. For more on the history of *The Vicar of Wakefield* see *op. cit.* at note 145, pp. 93-111.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 278-282.

¹⁵⁶ Mlle S. Fabre D'Olivet, *Retour d'Olivia*, no. 673, 1842 and Charles Mayer, *La Famille du Vicaire de Wakefield*, no. 858, 1843 (*Op. cit.* at note 26, vol. 4, pp. 24 and 162).

¹⁵⁷ W. Scott, *Biographical and critical Notes on eminent Authors*, 1827, pp. 162-78, cited in *op. cit.* at note 145, p. 93.

Antwerp but made trips to both Paris and England, he produced an oil sketch of *Dr Primrose and his Daughters* (Fig. 67). Brown's choice of subject and his depiction of the scene in which Dr. Primrose informs his family of his bankruptcy reveals that he was influenced by both the trend for depicting scenes from the *Vicar of Wakefield* but also for playing up the comic elements of eighteenth century novels.¹⁵⁸ The scene itself was an unusual one to have selected. Episodes connected to Olivia and the ballad 'The Hermit,' recited in chapter eight of the novel, dominated those chosen by the vast majority of artists.¹⁵⁹ None depicted the Vicar explaining the circumstances of his bankruptcy but this scene allowed Brown to use a highly dramatic gesture to show the Vicar's despair, a detail most likely inspired by Hogarth.

Put in their historical contexts the works by Brown, based on *A Sentimental Journey* and *The Vicar of Wakefield*, should be viewed as part of the revival of interest in the work of Sterne and Goldsmith. Brown's handling of these subjects shows that he was aware that it was the comic aspect of the novels that was being brought out by painters in England and which appealed to readers in France. Brown appears to have deliberately chosen the scene in which Maria's mother greets Yorick and his manservant in order to depict one of the most sentimental but also most comic moments from the novel in which La Fleur, a fully grown man, is moved to tears on hearing of Maria's plight.

¹⁵⁸ Of the 18 paintings based on scenes from the novel exhibited at the RA between 1830 and 1850, nine of these were executed between 1841 and 1844 when Brown was based in Paris. Likewise the two pictures which depicted scenes from the novel exhibited at the Salons between 1838 and 1845 were shown in 1841 and 1843. This highlights how well Brown knew both the English and French art markets.

¹⁵⁹ See *Op. cit.* at note 145, pp. 275-285.

Brown's use of subtle comedy and eighteenth-century settings in these works also strongly suggest an early engagement with one of the keystones of his later career, William Hogarth (1697-1764).¹⁶⁰ The elaborate costumes, and mildly exaggerated gesture and pose of Vicar in *Dr. Primrose and his Daughters* (Fig. 67) are highly reminiscent of figures found in Hogarth's satirical series of pictures, notably *Marriage à la Mode*, painted and engraved in 1745. This series chronicled the ill-fated arranged marriage of the Viscount Squanderfield and an Alderman's daughter. In *Marriage a-la-Mode: 2. The Tête à Tête* (Fig. 68) the young bride is dressed in an expensive, highly fashionable sack back gown, not unlike the one worn by the daughter on the right in Brown's canvas. On the far left of *Marriage a-la-Mode: 2. The Tête à Tête* a steward holding a stack of unpaid bills, throws up his hands and sports an expression of despair almost identical to that of the newly bankrupted Dr. Primrose. In addition, the maid bringing an item on a tray in the background of Brown's work appears to refer to the tradition of including of servants in family portraits, as in Hogarth's *The Strode Family* (c. 1738, oil on canvas, Tate London) and subverted by him in *Marriage a-la-Mode: 2. The Tête à Tête* where the yawning, sloppily dressed servant in the background is indicative of the Squanderfield's excessive lives.

The subtlety of Yorick's expression in *Yorick and Maria walking* (cat. no. 152) echoes that found in the work of Hogarth and exemplified by sexually satisfied smile of the wife in *Marriage a-la-Mode: 2. The Tête à Tête* stretching after a long night revenging her husband's infidelity by entertaining her own lover. Brown has caught the ambiguity of Sterne's portrayal of Yorick as a 'sentimental' and good hearted rescuer but also depicts him as slightly 'sleazy' and bawdy. Here he kindly escorts

¹⁶⁰ Newman and Watkinson fleetingly suggest the influence of Hogarth on these works but seem to have been confused about the author of *Dr. Primrose and his Daughter* who they imply was Laurence Sterne (*Op. cit.* at note 5, p. 18).

the unfortunate Maria from her poplar, seen on the left, but her beauty and her moving story have drawn him to her, and the reader is left wondering if, given the opportunity, Yorick might take advantage of the situation. His expression appears concerned but there is the faintest glimmer of a grin as well, echoing the undercurrent of comic eroticism present in Sterne's novel and brought out by other paintings depicting his work from the mid-nineteenth century such as Frith's *The Pulse, Paris* in which a glove seller's husband returns home to find Yorick taking his wife's pulse (Fig. 69).

An examination of the works on paper related to Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* in combination with the oil sketch for *Dr Primrose and his Daughters* reveals how closely Brown followed current art trends and chose similar subjects to his contemporaries in both France and England. Discussing these works has revealed that he was well aware of the popularity of subjects from eighteenth-century English literature and was attune to the shifts in the interpretation of these novels.

Conclusion

The vast majority of these drawings have not been the subject of any in depth scholarly research. As many of the paintings to which these drawings relate are now lost, examining them has allowed insights into the earliest years of Brown's career. In the case of *The Ascension*, the drawings themselves give a better idea of the influences acting on Brown at this time than the actual oil sketch. Individually, these works indicate the range of artists from which Brown drew inspiration as a young artist. It is notable that although the subject matter of the works varies from literature

to the Ascension, there are certain influences which link them together. These were largely Romantic in nature and the combination of eighteenth century influences, notably Fuseli and his circle, and nineteenth century influences such as Delacroix, support the argument that Romanticism in France emerged much later movement than in England.¹⁶¹

Looking at the stylistic and thematic similarities of these works confirms that Brown was positioned within the cross-currents of cultural exchange, predominantly between England and France, in the 1840s. Analysis of these drawings also highlights the fluidity of the cultural boundaries in Europe in the nineteenth century. It can too easily be assumed that each country had its own specific and unique artistic taste but as Brown's drawings and the success of artists such as Retzsch and Delacroix reveal national boundaries were transgressed by artists. His cross-cultural upbringing allowed him to take advantage of this fluidity, best exemplified by the popularity of subjects taken from English Literature on both sides of the Channel, and attempt to break into the art scenes in both England and France. This is particularly noticeable in his choice of subjects; had he wanted to establish himself in France it is more likely that he would have turned to painting religious subjects or battle scenes which dominated the Salons but were not as popular with artists and patrons in England.

As discussed above, Brown has been regarded as an 'outsider' by other scholars, but, in fact, his migrant, cross-cultural upbringing allowed him the opportunity to try and establish himself as an artist in two countries. His success can be measured by the fact that his works were accepted by both the RA and the Paris Salons, the leading

¹⁶¹ See Maurice Cranston, *The Romantic Movement*, 1994, pp. 77-94.

artistic bodies in their respective countries. Rather than restricting Brown's activities to that of an 'outsider,' looking at Brown's early works in the light of ideas discussed by Bhabha in *The Location of Culture*, suggests that it was by working on the margins of two countries and exhibiting his works in both that Brown contributed to, and helped shape, the cultures of England and France.

CHAPTER 2

FLESHING OUT TIME: FORD MADOX BROWN'S CONSTRUCTION OF ENGLISH HISTORY 1843-1878

Over a third of the drawings by Brown at BMAG are studies for scenes from English History.¹ He certainly considered himself primarily to be a history painter and by 1850 he felt established enough to advise younger artists on how to begin their first history painting. This confidence is revealed in an article he wrote for *The Germ*, a magazine published by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, entitled 'On the Mechanism of a History Picture: Part A. The Design.'² Like Brown's own essay this chapter will look at 'the design' of his history pictures between 1843 when he began work on his first entry for the Westminster competitions and 1878 when he painted his second scene from the life of Oliver Cromwell.³ It will assess how the renewed interest in scenes from the past and the changes in historiography in the nineteenth century affected his construction of English History.⁴ The word construction has two definitions.⁵ It can either mean 'the act or mode of constructing' or 'an interpretation

¹ In discussing 'history' painting in this chapter I am not using the term as it is usually understood in the hierarchy of genres. In that context it includes scenes from the Bible, the past, literature and mythology. Instead, like Roy Strong, I use a much narrower definition of the term 'history' using it in its now more widely known sense as an academic discipline focusing on the study of people and events from the past, and not including biblical or literary scenes (see Roy Strong, *And when did You last see your Father?* London, 1978).

² Ford Madox Brown, 'On the Mechanism of a Historical Picture: Part A. The Design,' in *The Germ: Thoughts towards Nature in Poetry, Literature and Art*, no. 2 February 1850, pp. 70-73.

³ In 1879 Brown began working on a scheme of twelve history murals for Manchester Town Hall. The subjects were not decided upon solely by Brown and therefore the murals lie outside the remit of this chapter which looks specifically at Brown's individual construction of English history.

⁴ As stated above use of the terms 'England' and 'English' will follow the nineteenth century usage without condoning it (see p. 16).

⁵ In art history 'construction' is most often associated with the theory of 'deconstructionism' in which the negated aspects of a work become the focus of the study. However, in this thesis 'construction' is not used in any sense that is related to deconstructionism.

or explanation.⁶ This chapter will utilise both definitions to examine the two elements of Brown's construction, his interpretation of English history and his approach to the practical aspects of constructing a history painting, and how the two come together.

Before looking at his interpretation of English history it is helpful to recall the rise of historical consciousness and the changes in historiography which occurred in the nineteenth century. These changes give a greater insight into Brown's view of history and how this affected his reconstruction of the past for his viewers. In particular, the discussion focuses on the rise of the 'picturesque' mode of historiography which appears to have greatly influenced both Brown's choice of scenes from the past and his interpretation of these subjects.⁷ Having contextualised his work by looking at the nature of nineteenth century historiography, his choice of subjects and his portrayal of figures from the past will be examined in the section 'Construction: Interpretation.' The two most recent articles on the artist, 'Ford Madox's Brown's *The Body of Harold*: representing England at mid-century' (2007) and 'Ford Madox Brown's Protestant Medievalism: Chaucer and Wycliffe' (2005), have touched on this aspect of his work.⁸ However, these articles focused on his paintings and barely mention his preparatory drawings or other works on paper. Conversely, this thesis, where possible, uses his works on paper as the subject of its discussion, giving a far greater insight into Brown's construction of a national history than is possible by looking at the paintings alone.

⁶ *Oxford English Reference Dictionary*, 2nd ed. revised, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 309.

⁷ See pp. 81-82 for discussion of the 'picturesque' mode.

⁸ Alastair Wright, 'Ford Madox's Brown's *The Body of Harold*: representing England at mid-century,' *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide: An online Journal of nineteenth-century visual Culture*, vol. 6, no. 2, Autumn 2007. Velma Bourgeois Richmond 'Ford Madox Brown's Protestant Medievalism: Chaucer and Wycliffe,' *Christianity and Literature*, no. 3, vol. 54, Spring 2005, pp. 363-396.

In the section 'Construction: The Practicalities' the discussion focuses again on his drawings. However, in both 'Research' and 'Working Process' these are examined alongside extracts from his diary and his essay 'On the Mechanism of a History Picture: Part A. the Design' to provide a better overall view of the practical construction of his history paintings. This section looks at the ways in which he researched his history paintings in order to support his people-based view of history and to recreate successfully scenes from the past for his viewers. Using examples of his preparatory studies from the Birmingham collection, it also plots his working process from his first thoughts on a composition, to the stage at which he began painting on the final canvas.

Mid-nineteenth Century Historicism

In the mid-nineteenth century the English were fascinated by their past. It had shaped their present century and they believed they could learn valuable lessons from it. As Robin Gilmour explains 'wherever one looks, in almost every area of Victorian intellectual life, one encounters a preoccupation with ancestry and descent, with tracing the genealogy of the present in the past, and discovering or creating links to a formative history.'⁹ This increase in historical consciousness can be seen in the greater output of history books and the rise in history subjects exhibited at the RA.¹⁰

⁹ Robin Gilmour, *The Victorian Period; The intellectual and cultural Context of English Literature, 1830-1890*, London and New York, 1993, p. 25. When the term 'Victorian' is used it refers to the early and middle period of Victoria's reign. It is also worth noting that Victoria had only been on the throne since 1837 and married Prince Albert in 1840. Thus when Brown exhibited his first major history composition at the Paris Salon in 1842 Victoria had only been on the throne for five years.

¹⁰ See the appendix 'Subjects from British history from the Ancient Britons to the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1769-1904' in *op. cit.* at note 1. Between 1780 and 1800 there were 66 scenes from British history. Between 1830 and 1850 this had increased to 159 (*Ibid.*, pp. 155-168).

Both were vehicles that enabled the Victorians to reassess their past and through it their present.

The English national passion for history was fuelled in part by the Industrial Revolution and the disjunction created by the transformation of the English economy.¹¹ In the first half of the nineteenth century Britain became the ‘first urban nation in the world’ as ‘manufacturing and industrial capitalism ... replaced agrarian as the dominant mode of production.’¹² The dramatic economic and demographic changes brought about by this gave rise to an historical consciousness and nostalgia for the past.

This national nostalgia reached a peak in the 1840s, just as Brown was beginning his career, with the Westminster Competitions. The Houses of Parliament were almost completely destroyed by fire in 1834.¹³ A new structure was built to designs by Sir Charles Barry (1795–1860) and Augustus Pugin (1812–1852), between 1836 and 1870. Competitions to decorate the interior took place from 1842 to 1847 (hereafter called The Westminster Competitions). The committee in charge of the decorations, headed by Prince Albert, decided they should be in fresco and the subjects should be taken from English History, Milton, Spencer, Shakespeare, and the Bible. This encouraged many artists, like Brown, to turn their attention to subjects from Britain’s past not only for the competitions but also in the works they sent to the Royal Academy. The roots of a renewed interest in history painting also lay in the

¹¹ Both Chris Brooks (‘Introduction: Historicism and the Nineteenth Century,’ in *The Study of the Past in the Victorian Age*, Vanessa Brand, ed., Oxford, 1998, p. 3) and Roy Strong (*op. cit.* at note 1, p. 30) see this disjunction as the catalyst for the Victorian fascination with History.

¹² *op. cit.* at note 11, p. 3.

¹³ The fire took place on 16 October 1834 and destroyed everything except Westminster Hall, the crypt of St Stephen’s Chapel and the Jewel Tower (<http://www.parliament.uk/about/history/building.cfm>, accessed on 02.01.09).

eighteenth century with the formation of the Royal Academy in 1768. Through lectures and writings, Sir Joshua Reynolds, first President of the Academy, instilled in artists working in England the European academic tradition of the primacy of History painting over any other genre.

The nineteenth century saw not only an increase in historical consciousness but also a change in the nature of historiography. In particular there was an explosion of the 'picturesque' mode of historiography which dominated from the late 1830s to the 1870s when Brown produced his paintings of English history. Picturesque history grew out of Philosophical history which was prominent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.¹⁴ Philosophical historians described the past in rational, secular and universalist terms. Their interests lay in the classical rather than the recent past and they felt part of a wider cosmopolitan field of research which radiated out of Paris.¹⁵ By the mid-nineteenth century a growth in antiquarianism, which developed from the rational principles of the philosophical, led to a greater historical consciousness and a particular interest in Britain's medieval and the more recent past.¹⁶ At the same time a new middle class readership had emerged who had not had a classical education. These readers wanted to know about the past, but not the classical past.

It would be impossible to discuss mid-nineteenth century historical consciousness without reference to national identity. Rosemary Mitchell argues that the two went hand in hand and in part it was the need for a national narrative which acted as the

¹⁴ Rosemary Mitchell suggests that the picturesque mode was 'preceded by one described as philosophical and succeeded by one referred to as scientific' (*Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image, 1830-1870*, Oxford, 2000, p. 14).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

catalyst for the change in historiography. The cosmopolitan philosophical mode did not embrace a narrative in which the English were singled out 'as a special people with a distinctive and constitutional and religious history which separated them from their European neighbours.'¹⁷ Specific periods in history were singled out for their influence on modern Britain by historians and writers. As shown below Brown chose his subjects from the time periods most popular with historians, artists and their predominantly middle class audience. He also made particular figures from history the heroes and heroines of his works. The picturesque mode favoured this approach to history, which was not just about causes or great battles but also provided an insight into the daily lives of historical heroes. This more people-based view of history led to an increased number of biographies of notable personages from the past. Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), one of the most influential essayists and historians of the nineteenth century, often took a biographical approach to history. *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1837) is peppered with biographies, and most famously in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (1841) and *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (1845) he examined the lives of famous men allowing the viewer an insight into the past and how people had lived.¹⁸ As has been noted by other scholars, Brown was inspired by the writings of the historian Thomas Carlyle but both Brown and Carlyle were affected by the broader changes in historiography which occurred in the nineteenth century.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 14, p. 14.

¹⁸ Thomas Carlyle, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 5 vols., London, 1899 (first pub. 1837) and Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, London, 1842 (first pub. 1840).

¹⁹ Albert Boime, 'Ford Madox Brown, Thomas Carlyle, and Karl Marx: Meaning and Mystification of work in the nineteenth century,' *Arts Magazine*, September 1981; Jillian Carman, 'Ford Madox Brown and Cromwell on His Farm': A Debt to Thomas Carlyle,' *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, vol. 4, November 1983, pp. 121-31; 'Culture and Energy: Ford Madox Brown, Thomas Carlyle and the Cromwellian Grotesque' in Colin Trodd, Paul Barlow and David Amigoni, eds., *Victorian Culture and the Idea of the Grotesque*, Aldershot, 1999, pp. 61-80.

The picturesque mode not only told the history of the leaders of the nation but aimed to give an insight into the lives of ordinary people as well as those previously marginalised, such as Roman Catholics and women.²⁰ New historical sub-disciplines were formed such as History of Dress and great emphasis was placed on historical accuracy which meant using artefacts such as medieval illuminated manuscripts and new archaeological finds as sources of costume, furniture and details of everyday life. This in itself made history more visual and publishers such as Charles Knight began producing heavily illustrated books such as *Old England: A pictorial Museum* and James Robinson Planché's *British Costume*.²¹ Studies such as Frederick William Fairholt's *Costume in England* described 'the history of the costume of each period' and unlike the history books of the previous century looked at the lives of all classes commencing 'with that worn by royalty and nobility' before moving onto 'the dresses of the middle classes' and finally discussing 'the commonality'.²² Brown appears to have been influenced by this desire to show the lives of people from all classes, and included stable boys, servants and musicians as well as royalty in his scenes of the past.

Publishers and writers responded to their new middle class readership who devoured history books. As Strong points out Macaulay's *History of England* (1849-1861) 'sold

²⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 14, p. 15.

²¹ Charles Knight *Old England: A pictorial Museum of regal, ecclesiastical, baronial, municipal and popular Antiquities*, 2 vols., London, 1845 and James Robinson Planché, *British Costume: A complete History of the Dress of the Inhabitants of the British Isles*, London, 1834.

²² Frederick William Fairholt, *Costume in England: A History of Dress from the earliest Period until the Close of the eighteenth Century*, 1st ed., London, 1846, p. xii. As Rosemary Mitchell points out 'most studies of nineteenth-century English historiography tended-and still tend-to concentrate almost exclusively on the texts of leading nineteenth-century historians, marginalizing the popular, the fictional and the visual aspects of the historical consciousness' (*Op. cit.* at note 14, p. 3). Such a narrow view would be too restrictive in this study of Brown's construction of English history and popular texts will be discussed. As will be seen Brown used a wide range of historical literature from accounts written by famous authors such as Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) to the more 'popular' illustrated histories published by Charles Knight (1791-1873) (Valerie Gray, *Charles Knight: Educator, Publisher, Writer*, Aldershot, UK, Burlington, USA, 2006 discusses Knight's publishing career in detail).

by the thousands' and 'rivalled the fiction writers' in popularity.²³ Their appeal was bolstered by the increasing number of illustrated editions which were published. As the name suggests, with its connotations of the visual, illustrated histories became a major tool of the picturesque.²⁴ However, from the 1810s Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) had pioneered historical novels. These brought history to life for his readers by blending historical facts and details, based on the author's antiquarian research, with successful narratives. This spawned a whole new genre of novels which were entertaining and educational. Scott's novels excited a number of artists who used them as the subject of their work. One of the earliest was Richard Parkes Bonington (1802-1828) who like Brown spent time in Calais and Paris. Inspired by Scott, his small scale works offered intimate glimpses into the lives of historical figures. In *Henry IV and the Spanish Ambassador* (1827-1828, oil on canvas, Wallace Collection, London) he depicts an informal scene in which the king is shown on all fours playing with his children. Bonington was also one of the earliest artists to approach his work from an antiquarian viewpoint, using the latest sources available to research the furniture, accessories and costumes for his scenes from the past. Despite Bonington's early death at the age of twenty-five, and the fact that he spent much of his short career in France, his work directly influenced later artists notably William Powell Frith (1819-1909) and Daniel Maclise (bap. 1806-1870), who responded to his people-based depictions of history and his enthusiasm for historical accuracy.²⁵

²³ *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 32.

²⁴ The dictionary definition of 'picturesque' as it applies to writing or speech is 'strikingly graphic or vivid; creating detailed mental images' (*Dictionary.com Unabridged (v 1.1)*, Random House, Inc., accessed 6 August 2008, <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/picturesque>).

²⁵ Like Brown, Bonington exhibited at both the Royal Academy and the Paris Salons. In this way he shaped cultures on both sides of the channel.

Scott's historical novels also influenced the nature of historiography which became more people-based, as noted by Carlyle:

these historical novels have taught all men this truth, which looks like a truism, yet was unknown to writers of history and others, till so taught: that the bygone ages of the world were actually filled with living men, not by the protocols, state papers, controversies and abstractions of men.²⁶

The historical novel relied heavily on the use of empathy to gain an emotional response from the reader.²⁷ In consequence empathy became one of the key characteristics of the picturesque mode of historiography. Its insistence on the 'practice of empathy as a pathway to historical understanding' seems to have strongly informed Brown's idea of history and therefore his visual construction of scenes from the past.²⁸ Like the historical novel Brown's compositions focus on the human interaction. They are constructed to draw the viewer into the historical scene by using their desire to empathise with each character. As Elizabeth Prettejohn remarks Brown created worlds which were 'startingly strange' and his 'representation of the past [was] a way of exploring cultural difference. But the fascination with difference coexists with an equally powerful assertion of the commonalities of human existence.'²⁹ Brown showed the figures in his scenes behaving as his viewers might, laughing, flirting and sleeping, and underlined the unchanging nature of the human spirit, drawing the viewer into the scene in the process.

²⁶ Cited *op. cit.* at note 1, p. 31.

²⁷ The word empathy was not in contemporary use until the early 1900s but it best describes the emotional link nineteenth-century writers, historians and artists wished their audience to make with people from the past.

²⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 14, p. 15.

²⁹ Elizabeth Prettejohn, 'Images of the Past in Victorian Painting,' in Angus Trumble, ed., *Love and Death: Art in the Age of Queen Victoria*, exh. cat., Art Gallery of South Wales, Adelaide, 2002, p. 87.

Unlike other contemporary painters, notably Maclise and Frith, Brown did not use historical novels as the basis of his history pictures. Instead he acted like the author of these novels to bring a scene from the past to life, using a variety of tools and seeing the figures in his paintings as 'actors' and the scene itself as a 'story'.³⁰ From his historical works it is clear that Brown's view of history was highly influenced by the picturesque. In fact his paintings can be seen as a visual counterpart to the historical books which are the focus of Mitchell's study and are part of the same trend. Brown's choice of subjects and the ways in which his approach to them embodies the ideas of the picturesque will be discussed in the next two sections.

Construction: Interpretation

Victorian historians were selective about the histories they chose to investigate. As Roy Strong states, for them 'History ... was a vehicle for a wide variety of political, moral and religious ideas.'³¹ The periods nineteenth-century history painters chose to depict reflect the issues which concerned their contemporaries in their own century. The subjects chosen by Brown give an insight into the histories favoured by his contemporaries because in general, despite having trained abroad, he chose his subjects from the eras of history most popular with artists working in England.

When Brown entered the Westminster Competition in 1844 he chose a scene from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, *Adam and Eve* (now lost), and a scene from the Anglo-Saxon period, *The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror*, represented in the

³⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 71.

³¹ *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 45

BMAG collection by a sheet of early compositional studies (cat. no. 151).³² Despite living in France at the time, for his first entry in the competition Brown chose a moment from one of the most popular time periods in England: the Anglo-Saxon era. The nineteenth-century historian John Lingard revealed the appeal of the Anglo-Saxons for his contemporaries. For them it was ‘the most interesting [period]... because it was the cradle of many customs and institutions which exist among us even at the present day.’³³ In particular the Witengamot, the Anglo-Saxon body of advisors assembled to advise on the administration and organization of the kingdom, was seen as the precursor of Parliament.³⁴ The roots of the modern monarchically ruled but elected government of Britain were seen to stem from Anglo-Saxon England, an issue which had been of great importance during the period of the Reform Acts (1832 and 1867).³⁵ The appeal of the Anglo-Saxons continued with Victoria's ascendancy to the throne and her marriage to the German Prince Albert.³⁶ The Anglo-Saxons were celebrated as ‘a freedom-loving, democratic and heroic people,’ whose ‘liberty gave way to Norman tyranny and bondage’ at the Battle of Hastings.³⁷ As can be seen from the sheet of drawings this is the interpretation that Brown follows

³² Brown's entries in the 1844 competition depicting the body of Harold were no. 7 (cartoon), no. 8 (coloured sketch for no. 7 using encaustic paint) (Frederick Knight Hunt, *The Book of Art: Cartoons, Frescoes, Sculpture, and decorative Art, as applied to the new Houses of Parliament and to Buildings in general*, London, 1846, p. 121). His other entry that year was a cartoon depicting Adam and Eve (no. 84). It was not titled but accompanied by a quotation from Milton's *Paradise Lost*: "And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the Garden in the cool of the day (marginal reading "in the wind") [*sic*]" (*ibid.*, p. 132). Brown may have chosen this subject from Milton having seen many versions of the same episode whilst living in Paris. It was a regular subject in the Salon, further highlighting the enthusiasm for English literature among artists working in France (see Pierre Sanchez and Xavier Seydoux, *Les Catalogues des Salons*, vols. 3 and 4, Paris, 2000).

³³ John Lingard, *The History of England*, Edinburgh, 1818, vol. 1, p. 76.

³⁴ *The Pictorial History of England* states that 'there can be little doubt that the Saxon Witenagemot was the root from which has sprung our modern English Parliament' but explained that it was not until the Anglo-Saxon period that separate vassal kingdoms came together to form a single Witenagemot (vol.1, London, 1837, pp. 250-252).

³⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 116.

³⁶ Queen Victoria was descended from the Hanoverian line of monarchs. Her father was Edward Augustus Hanover, Duke of Kent. Prince Albert was the younger son of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

³⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 116 and p. 45.

in his design for the Houses of Parliament (cat. no. 151). On the top left of the sheet is a sketch of the overall composition depicting the moment after the battle when William, high up, examines the body of Harold. Already Brown follows the Victorian image of Harold as a worthy hero, by depicting him as 'more than usually large.'³⁸ He highlights his extraordinary size by showing three men straining to carry him, and including a soldier who has grabbed the hand of a stable boy and is comparing it to Harold's huge one, a small anecdotal detail which finds its way into the finished painting (Fig. 70). Harold's Victorian hero status is further highlighted by Brown's deliberate allusion to Raphael's *Deposition* (Fig. 71) although he centralises the group carrying the body, making Harold's head the centre of the composition. In the painting the distinction between the treacherous William, and the noble Harold is further stressed by Harold's miraculously unblemished body and the necklace of human bones which William wears, relics over which it was popularly thought he had made Harold swear to give up the throne of England.³⁹ To stress this fact Brown included a quotation from *The History of the Conquest of England by the Normans* (1825) by August Thierry in the catalogue of entries:

William, on the day of battle, wore round his neck the principal relics of the tubful which he guilefully caused to be placed beneath the table at

³⁸ Ford Madox Brown, *The Exhibition of Work, and other Paintings*, exh. cat., 191 Piccadilly, London, 1865, p. 12.

³⁹ As Wright points out, Victorian books, such as Edward Bulwer Lytton's *Harold, the last of the Saxon Kings* (1848) stated that his body was so badly disfigured that the two monks sent to find it had to call upon his mistress, Edith to identify him (*Op. cit.* at note 8). Other contestants appear to have stuck more closely to this tale such as the artist who sent cartoon no. 106 to the 1843 competition accompanied by this description: 'Two monks, Osgod Croppe and Ailric the Chide Maister, were sent to be spectators of the battle. They obtained from William, to whom they presented ten marks of gold, permission to search for the body of their benefactor. Unable to distinguish it among the heaps of slain, they sent for Harold's mistress, surnamed "The Fair" and the "Swan's Neck," who, with the keen eye of affection, recognised the remains of her lover' (*Op. cit.* at note 32, p. 104).

which he forced Harold to swear to aid him in obtaining the crown of England.⁴⁰

Recent scholarship on Brown has taken particular interest in *The Body of Harold*. In *Men at Work* Tim Barringer compares the position of William the Conqueror, on horseback but rather more in the background than Harold, and thrown into shadow by the setting sun, to that of the land-owner and his daughter in *Work* (Fig. 4). In the latter painting he notes that 'the depicted bodies, thrown into stark and confusing juxtaposition, are differentiated primarily ... by their relationship to light.'⁴¹ In *Work* the navvies, or heroes of the painting, are in the bright, purifying sunlight, whilst the aristocrat and his daughter are in the shade like the 'usurping William the Conqueror.'⁴² Barringer's comparison implies that there are issues of class inherent in Brown's portrayal of this important moment in English history. This thread is taken up and discussed in greater depth by Alastair Wright.⁴³ He argues that throughout Brown's career he maintained a long-standing interest in 'the relationship between class and English identity.'⁴⁴ He states that this concern 'manifested itself in germinal form in his work from the mid-1840s on' and uses *The Body of Harold* as his main example of this manifestation. He acknowledges that 'in the 1840s there were competing stories being told about the nation - about who its people were, what Parliament's role might be, and so forth - and Brown's painting participated in this debate' but he asserts that Brown's choice of subject presents the radical, anti-

⁴⁰ Instead of using a title Brown used a quotation from David Hume's *History of England from Caesar's Invasion to 1688* to set the scene: 'after the battle, the body of Harold was found and brought to William the Conqueror' (*Op. cit.* at note 32, p. 121). Hume's *History of England* was first published in six volumes between 1754 and 1760.

⁴¹ Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*, New Haven and London, 2005, p. 48.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴³ *Op. cit.* at note 8.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

aristocratic view which focused on the tyranny of Norman rule and centred on the moment when William established himself as King of England. Wright notes that Tom Paine 'set the tone' in *Common Sense* (1776) by 'suggesting that the English monarchy and aristocracy found their origins in a "French bastard" ... landing with an armed banditti.'⁴⁵ According to Wright radicals used this theory 'to attack the political and economic privilege of the landed aristocracy' and Wright argues by choosing the moment when Harold's body is brought before William that Brown aligns himself with this polemical view, highlighting the beginning of this monarchically sanctioned aristocratic abuse of power.

However, this reading of *The Body of Harold* does not seem so plausible if we remember that it was entered into a competition to decorate the Houses of Parliament, a national competition, presided over by Royalty.⁴⁶ If Wright is to be believed, what would Brown stand to gain by entering, such a provocative composition? Brown was at the very start of his career, keen for commissions and a high artistic reputation. He would have been unlikely to jeopardise winning the competition by deliberately portraying a more marginal, radical view of the Norman conquest. The idea that aristocratic tyranny had begun under William the Conqueror was not only perpetuated by radicals but was more widely held. Even Sir Walter Scott informed the readers of *Ivanhoe* (1819) that 'the tyranny of the nobility and the sufferings of the inferior classes arose from the consequences of the Conquest by Duke William of

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 8.

⁴⁶ Queen Victoria opened the 1844 exhibition of the competition entries (*ibid.*). Prince Albert was chairman of the Royal Commission on the Fine Arts which instigated the competitions. Other members included Sir Charles Eastlake, secretary, the only professional artist on the committee, Sir Robert Peel, and Lords Melbourne and Palmerston (Janet Minihan, *The Nationalisation of Culture: The Development of State Subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain*, London, 1977, p. 69).

Normandy.⁴⁷ Therefore, a more plausible reading would also centre on Brown's depiction of the end of Anglo-Saxon rule and William's claiming of the throne but rather than allying this to radical political views it would seem more likely that Brown wished to highlight the Anglo-Saxon ancestry of the current monarch, Queen Victoria and her husband. The connection between Victoria and the Anglo-Saxons was widely celebrated, even by the Queen herself who commissioned William Theed's sculpture of the royal couple dressed as Anglo-Saxons in 1868 (Fig. 72).⁴⁸ Brown's competition entry was one of many wishing to construct this image of Victoria's reign. In the 1843 Westminster competition there were a large number of cartoons depicting Anglo-Saxon subjects, and Harold in particular. This popularity was repeated in the 1844 fresco and sculpture competitions. In 1843 number 106 was entitled *Edith finding the Body of Harold after the Battle of Hastings* and 107 was *The Burying of Harold* accompanied by a quotation from *Keightley's Elementary History of England* which like Brown's choice of quotations underlined William's ruthless character.⁴⁹ In the 1844 competition the focus was largely on the discovery of Harold's body and in the corresponding sculpture competition Thomas Milnes submitted *The Death of Harold, at the Battle of Hastings*.⁵⁰ In fact Harold's death was such a popular subject among competitors that in 1847, after F. R. Pickersgill had won a prize for his *Burial of Harold*, Punch was moved to write 'I congratulate the public that King Harold is

⁴⁷ Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*, first published 1819, reprinted London, 1994, p. 8.

⁴⁸ 'Queen Victoria recorded in her journal that the idea for the group came from her eldest daughter Victoria, Princess Royal, at this date Crown Princess of Prussia. ... Theed's group sits on a pedestal made from a substantial ancient fragment of African marble found in Rome. To it is applied the inscription: "Allured to brighter worlds and led the way," from Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*' (Jonathan Marsden, Deputy Surveyor of The Queen's Works of Art, The Royal Collection, in correspondence to the present author, 21.5.2008). The statue is now kept in the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore, Windsor.

⁴⁹ "When Harold's mother applied to William the Conqueror for the body of her son, and offered its weight in gold, he refused it, and caused it to be buried on the sea-shore, saying, He guarded the coast while he lived, let him do so now that he is dead" (cited *op. cit.* at note 32, p. 105).

⁵⁰ Nos. 19 and 32 (*ibid.*, pp. 119 and 121) are both *The Discovering of the Body of Harold*. Milnes entry was no. 159 in the 1844 sculpture competition (*ibid.*, p. 133).

buried at last; and hope that British artists will leave off *finding his body anymore*, which they have been doing, in every exhibition, for these fifty years.⁵¹

Brown sets the scene of this momentous occasion on the battlefield, allowing him to approach it from the standpoint of the picturesque mode of history by including a large number of figures from different levels of society. Surrounding the central characters of William and Harold are lords on horseback; lowly foot soldiers, two of whom on the left have continued to fight to the death, one sinking his teeth into the other's neck; a stable boy and a monk. Not only did this allow him to include figures from various classes but it also gave him the opportunity show his knowledge of the different costumes appropriate for each level of society.

This is the approach he appears to have taken to an incomplete composition based around another Anglo-Saxon monarch. There are several pencil sketches at BMAG of Alfred the Great surrounded by a crowd of figures (cat. nos. 1, 82 and 83). It is difficult to tell from these very loose sketches exactly what King Alfred is doing. One possibility is that he is drawing a plan of attack against the Danes in the sand as he was well-known for having warded off a Danish offensive by spying on the enemy. However, it is also possible that this scene may depict Alfred dividing up time. Even at this early stage of a composition Brown shows Alfred drawing a clock-face-like diagram in the sand. This idea may have come to him from Mackintosh's *History of England* in which the author noted that Alfred 'devised means of measuring time in

⁵¹ *Punch*, no. 13, 1847, pp. 8-9 (cited T. S. R. Boase, 'The Decoration of the New Palace of Westminster, 1841-1863,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVII, 1954, p. 343). Lucy Rabin suggests that Brown made Harold the focus of the picture when William was more widely glorified and that this reversal was 'perhaps an assertion of Brown's sense of his own native ancestry' (*Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite History-Picture*, New York and London, 1978, p. 70). Considering the number of entries for the competitions depicting Harold rather than William this observation seems misguided.

order to improve it, and he was ... the first improver of ship-building, and founder of a naval force.⁵² In cat. no. 82 it is just possible to make out the bow of a ship behind Alfred which adds further weight to the idea that Mackintosh was the source for this idea.

Two of these sheets of compositional sketches are on the back of drawings made in Paris to illustrate *King Lear* (cat. nos. 82 and 83). Like the sketches for *The Body of Harold* they show Brown working out a pyramidal composition based around a central group of figures surrounding the Anglo-Saxon monarch. Around the edges of the paper he has taken figures from the group and worked on their poses individually or in pairs. In the drawings on the reverse of cat. no. 83 he has already individualised each figure, giving them an appropriate costume and including a wide variety of figures including a woman. He inscribed this sheet with 'Alfred the Great FMB' making the subject very clear. This inscription has also confirmed the identification of the faint pencil drawings of a male figure found on both sides of a page from a sketch book (cat. no. 1). The figure, although loosely drawn shares Alfred's pose from the more well-developed compositional sketches, seated, looking down, with one foot resting higher up than the other and holding a stick pointing to the ground. Despite making these drawings he never worked up his ideas of Alfred the Great into a finished picture. It is likely that Brown was thinking out an idea for another Westminster competition or as a suitable subject for a painting to exhibit at the Royal Academy. His choice would certainly have been popular as Alfred was seen as 'the founder of the British monarchy' and events from his life were depicted by other artists exhibiting at the RA including William Cave Thomas, *Alfred giving a Portion*

⁵² Sir James, Mackintosh, *The History of England*, vol. 1, London, 1830, p. 40. As will be seen below, in his diary Brown noted that it was passage from Mackintosh which was the inspiration for his later work *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* (Fig. 2)

of his last *Loaf to a Pilgrim* (1850) and Daniel Maclise, *Alfred, the Saxon King, (disguised as a minstrel) in the tent of Guthrum the Dane* (Fig. 73).⁵³ He was a popular subject with other artists who entered the Westminster competitions. They favoured two particular scenes from his life: Alfred sneaking into the Danish Camp in order to learn more about his enemies and Alfred submitting his Code of Laws for the approval of the Witan.⁵⁴ Brown's receptiveness to the tastes of the British public is highlighted by the fact that out of the three prizes for the 1847 Westminster Competition, Watts won one with his picture of *Alfred Inciting the English to Resist the Danes* (Fig. 74), and another was won by F. R. Pickersgill with his painting of *The Burial of Harold*.

Both Kenneth Bendiner and Alastair Wright link Brown's 1845 entry, *An abstract Representation of Justice* (now known as *The Spirit of Justice*) (Fig. 6, cat. nos. 9-10 and 132-142), with his interest in class relationships. The entry was accompanied by the artist's explanation of the scene:

The five figures at the top are the personifications of Justice, with, on her right, Mercy and Erudition, and on her left, Truth and Wisdom. The two groups in the foreground are indicative of power and weakness. An

⁵³ *Op. cit.* at note 1, 116.

⁵⁴ No. 102 in the 1843 competition was *Alfred the Great*. No.83 was *Alfred in the Camp of the Danes*. No. 103 was untitled but accompanied by this explanation: 'Alfred putting on the habit of a Harper, went into the enemy's camp, where he was every where admitted, and had the honour to play before their Prince. Having acquired a great knowledge of their situation, he returned in secrecy to his nobility.' No. 104 *Alfred the Great submitting his Code of Laws for the approval of the Witan* was accompanied by two quotations and an explanation of the characters. The two quotations reveal the artist's desire to highlight Parliament's role in advising the monarch as the Witan had advised Alfred: "'Alfred first collected all the laws which his predecessors had recognised: some pleased him, others not: the latter he rejected by the advice of his Witan: and with the same advice he enacted others in their stead.'" - *Palgrave*, vol. I, p. 47' and "'There can be little doubt that the Saxon Witenagemot was the root from which has sprung our modern English Parliament.'" *History of England*, p. 251' (*Op. cit.* at note 32, pp. 101 and 104).

unbefriended Widow is seen to appeal to Justice against the oppression of a perverse and powerful Baron, who is assisted by a hired adviser, and supported by the wealth of his father, although not countenanced by his approbation. The Widow is attended by her helpless parents. The throne of Justice is surrounded by an allegorical representation of the House of Lords, consisting of Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal, and Barons armed for the maintenance of Justice.⁵⁵

Bendiner argues that

Brown described his design for *Justice* with a keen awareness of social inequality ... In this intended government mural, Justice may be impartial, but the representation of unbalanced class conflict is powerfully presented, and English nobility in the image appears ignoble. ... The established powers of society are condemned, as the desperate widow accuses (with Fuseliesque drama) the arrogant, armoured Baron.⁵⁶

Wright echoes this analysis noting that the composition 'is attuned to the concrete mechanics of power and class.'⁵⁷ However, once again this interpretation seems to have overlooked the fact that Brown entered the competitions hoping to win, and is unlikely to have wanted to appear overly critical of the aristocracy, especially as this design was for the decoration of the House of Lords. Choosing Justice from among

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 32, p. 181. The cartoon was exhibited as no. 98, a coloured sketch of the composition was exhibited as no. 99 and a 'Portion of the same subject' was exhibited as no. 100. The cartoon was reproduced suggesting that although it did not win any prizes his contemporaries were impressed with his entry (*ibid.*, p. 182). The Manchester watercolour study shows an additional two figures behind a naked Truth but these were omitted in the cartoon and it is not clear what they symbolised.

⁵⁶ Bendiner, *The Art of Ford Madox Brown*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1998, p. 90.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 8.

the six subjects allowed Brown to allude to Queen Victoria and the House of Lords by depicting a strong female leader surrounded by her advisors. This allusion is lost on Bendiner who focuses instead on the fact that the helpless widow is separated from the figures of Justice by 'a set of obstacles: a rich man who grasps his money bags, a prince who appears bored, and ecclesiastics who look on with complacency.'⁵⁸ A closer examination of the composition reveals that the 'rich man,' the Baron's father, may have wealth but is separated from Justice by the 'Barons armed for the maintenance of Justice.'⁵⁹ This implies that in front of Justice and her advisors, who sit high up, overlooking the situation, his money is useless and that the widow is protected by the systems of Justice, an appropriate sentiment for the House of Lords. Certainly, this is how Brown's contemporaries perceived his entry. An outline engraving of the cartoon was included in Frederick Knight Hunt's *The Book of Art: Cartoons, Frescoes, Sculpture and decorative Art as applied to the new Houses of Parliament* (Fig. 6) which would have been unlikely to illustrate a polemical entry. *The Art Union* singled it out for praise, dedicating almost as much space to reviewing it as to entries by those already commissioned to paint the compartments such as Edward Armitage and William Cave Thomas (1820-1906). To them 'this cartoon is singularly full of material, the whole of which contributes fittingly to the main purpose.'⁶⁰ This quotation reveals that they believed Brown had created a design appropriate to its surroundings, the House of Lords. They also recognized that the design was 'a constitutional, and not a moral, representation of Justice' and felt that in this way 'the spirit of the work differs from every other in the series: it presents a version of Justice in reference to the sources of the executive power of our

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 56, p. 90.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 32, p. 181.

⁶⁰ *The Art Union*, vol. 7, no. 82, 1 May 1845, p. 258.

constitution, and is brought forward with much success.'⁶¹ Nowhere does the critic comment on an anti-aristocratic tone.

The Art Union also commented on the medieval attitude of the cartoon noting that 'it is a ... representation of Justice ... exhibiting immense labour and a distinct study of ancient costume-the whole marked by a somewhat heraldic character.'⁶² *The Spirit of Justice* was Brown's first work to show the influence of the medieval revival and is the work most inspired by the Nazarenes, German revivalists. Like the many of the subjects chosen by the Nazarenes, Brown selected an allegorical subject and dressed his figures in medieval style dress. The most striking aspect of the work is its design. As he was not required to produce a finished work for the Westminster competition it is difficult to comment on the colouring and finish he may have given it. However, the strong symmetry seen in the wood engraving of the cartoon (Fig. 6) indicates that he was heavily influenced by the work of the Nazarenes, notably Friedrich Overbeck and Peter Cornelius, when producing this entry. A study for Overbeck's *The Triumph of Religion in the Arts* (Fig. 75) and Cornelius' *The Incredulity of St Thomas* (Fig. 76) typify the symmetry and heavy emphasis on design, rather than colour and finish, which appealed to Brown and other Westminster entrants. As Vaughan notes, Brown's assimilation of Nazarene art in this cartoon did not go unnoticed by *The Times* who described him as 'one of the numerous Germanic Race.'⁶³ Brown appears to have become aware of the work of the Nazarenes when he was living in Paris. He later recalled that 'before going to Rome in 1845 I had already received some considerable impulse from the German engravings in the Parisian shop windows. I,

⁶¹ *Op. cit.* at note 60.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *The Times*, 30 June, 1845, p. 5 (cited William Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art*, New Haven and London, 1979, p. 218). Bendiner also notes the influence of the Nazarenes on the *The Spirit of Justice* (*Op. cit.* at note 56, p. 15).

and my friends, French or Belgian often discussed them; we did not require to go to Rome for this.⁶⁴ He must have become even more aware of their artistic principles when he moved to London and shared a studio in Tudor Lodge with William Cave Thomas who had studied in Munich under the Nazarene artist Wilhelm von Kaulbach (c. 1804–1874). The close relationship between these two artists at this time is emphasised by Brown's choice of *The Spirit of Justice* for his next Westminster entry. Thomas had already been selected to execute a fresco of that subject in the House of Lords but was required to enter his cartoon into the 1845 competition. Their designs both utilised 'a three-tier system' and included 'a poor widow with her child.'⁶⁵

Brown did not win a prize in either of the two Westminster competitions that he entered but his next work continued the medieval theme of *The Spirit of Justice*. Inspired by the medieval style building and many of the entries, such as Daniel Maclise's *Spirit of Chivalry* (completed 1847, fresco, Houses of Parliament), he thought about designing a painting on the subject of 'the Origin of our Native tongue.'⁶⁶ He designed an enormous triptych *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* in London in 1845. As can be seen from two early compositional studies at BMAG (cat. nos. 15 and 16) the central panel depicted an imagined scene from the life of Chaucer in which he reads *The Legend of Custance* to Edward III and his household which includes his sons John of Gaunt and The Black Prince. The wings were a homage to British poets. Two studies he made of the whole composition (Figs. 1 and 77) show that on one wing he depicted Milton, Spenser and Shakespeare, on the other,

⁶⁴ C. Gurlitt, *Sir Edward Burne-Jones*, Munich, 1895, p. 35 (cited *op. cit.* at note 63, p. 285).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁶⁶ On 4 September 1847 Brown began a diary of his painting and on the first page explained that 'the sight of M'Clise's cartoon of "Chivalry" and the wish to handle more luxuriant & attractive materials' had made him decide upon a medieval subject connected to 'the Origin of our native tongue' (Virginia Surtees, ed., *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown*, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 1). See catalogue pp. 204-208 for a full discussion of the history of the painting.

Byron, Pope and Burns, and in medallions Goldsmith and Thomson. Other poets (Campbell, Moore, Shelley, Keats, Chatterton, Kirke White, Coleridge, and Wordsworth) were named on the plaques held by putti below.⁶⁷ Brown included a number of Scottish poets, Burns, Campbell and Thomson, and the Irish poet Thomas Moore in his 'love offering' to his favourite 'English' poets.⁶⁸ As Mitchell explains this was not unusual in the nineteenth century when the 'nationalist literature of Scotland, Wales and Ireland was 'politically neutralized.'⁶⁹

Brown set the figures within a *trompe l'oeil* gothic architecture, similar to the architecture of the new houses of Parliament and reminiscent of the Italian medieval altarpieces that he must have seen when he visited Italy in 1845. In the words of Lucy Rabin 'the triptych *Seeds and Fruits* gives the sense of two separate, but visually unequal worlds, the one symbolical, the other real: the former, with its gold patterned ground, merely provides the setting for the latter, which is a re-creation of a real event in the process of happening.'⁷⁰ Although Brown could not be sure that this particular event did occur he undertook research in the British Museum and the National Gallery, discussed below, to confirm that historically it could have taken place. The wings were later discarded and the central panel became *Geoffrey Chaucer reading the "Legend of Custance" to Edward III and his Court, at the Palace of Sheen, on the Anniversary of the Black Prince's forty-fifth Birthday* [hereafter referred to as *Chaucer*] (Fig. 2).

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 51, p. 99-100. Rabin incorrectly identifies Henry Kirke White (1785-1806) as Dirke White. See catalogue p. 205 for birth and death dates of the poets.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 14, p. 9.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 51, p. 101.

What is immediately striking about *Chaucer* is its immense size. It is over 10ft high and filled with life-size figures. Had Brown completed the entire triptych the work would have been so big that it would have been suitable only for a grand location such as the Houses of Parliament. It is highly likely that when Brown designed the triptych in 1845 he was thinking of entering it into the Westminster oil paintings competition which was announced on 15 July, 1844.⁷¹ The competition was meant to take place in June 1846 so the fact that Brown started it in 1845, having completed *The Spirit of Justice*, suggests that he did have the oil painting competition in mind.⁷² The Royal Commission outlined the rules of the competition which stipulated that 'the subjects are required to come under the general classes of religion, history or poetry.'⁷³ If judged to have combined an appropriate subject 'with a high degree of merit' successful paintings would 'be considered eligible to be purchased by the nation, in order to be placed in one of the apartments at the Palace of Westminster.'⁷⁴ The rules on the size of the works matched those of the fresco competitions and stipulated that 'the figures are not to be less than two in number; the size of the nearest figure or figures, in at least one of the specimens by each artist, is to be not less than that of life; but the size of the figures is altogether left to the choice of painters of marine subjects, battle pieces, and landscapes.'⁷⁵ As T. S. R. Boase noted this was 'a requirement that gave rise to some bitter remarks in the recently founded *Fine Arts*

⁷¹ Rabin notes that 'Brown's diary tells us that he first intended calling the picture *The Seeds and Fruits of the English Language*, a subject which he knew was appropriate to the rules of the Westminster decoration.' However, she assumes that because 'he had hit upon a triptych composition' he did not intend to enter it into the painting competition (*Op. cit.* at note 51, p. 98).

⁷² T. S. R. Boase, 'The Decoration of the New Palace of Westminster, 1841-1863,' 1954, p. 334. The competition was postponed until 1847 but the death of Brown's first wife and work on other paintings prevented him from completing the composition in time. This may also explain why he eventually gave up the triptych - having failed to enter it into the competition he would have had less impetus to finish it. At the end of 1847 he was considering entering it into the following year's Free Exhibition but felt unable to finish it in time and began the smaller, and therefore more manageable, *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible* (Figs. 3 and 79) (see *op. cit.* at note 66, pp. 16-17).

⁷³ *Op. cit.* at note 32, p. 145.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Journal in an editorial entitled 'Gigantic Art as High Art.'⁷⁶ This stipulation would certainly account for the huge size of *Chaucer*. The intended architectural decorations, which would have appeared on the triptych had it been completed, would have echoed Barry's Gothic exterior. The subject itself would have combined both the allegorical and the historical categories laid out in the rules of the 1845 competition and been suitably nationalistic to grace the walls of Westminster. It is widely assumed that Brown intended to exhibit the triptych at the Royal Academy but this assumption appears to have come from the fact that this was where he finally exhibited *Chaucer* in 1851. Given the size, the subject and the architectural decoration it seems more plausible that he originally intended to enter it into the oil competition.⁷⁷

The national significance of Chaucer as the father of English poetry meant that he was one of the most popular medieval figures and a highly suitable central character for a work destined for the Houses of Parliament. He was the subject of a number of biographies in the nineteenth century, notably William Godwin's *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer including Memories of John of Gaunt* (2 vols.), first published in 1803 but still used as a sourcebook by artists such as Brown in the 1840s, and *Cabinet Pictures of English Life: Chaucer*, by J. Saunders (1845). Although he was not the subject of any fresco entry in the Westminster competition he was seen as an appropriate subject for the 1844 sculpture competition. Three artists sculpted Chaucer including W. Calder Marshall who gave his work the title *Geoffrey Chaucer, the Father of English Poetry* (Fig. 78) revealing how closely Brown's conception of Chaucer fitted his

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 51, p. 334.

⁷⁷ Tim Barringer reaches the same conclusion in his entry on Brown for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* but without justifying evidence: the present author was unaware of this article at the time of writing ('Brown, Ford Madox (1821–1893)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004; accessed online 1 July 2009 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3604>)).

popular Victorian persona.⁷⁸ Although Chaucer was favoured for his role in establishing the roots of English poetry, as Velma Bourgeois Richmond argues in 'Ford Madox Brown's Protestant Medievalism' he was also a figure who embodied Protestant England.⁷⁹ Richmond postulates that Brown's viewers would have regarded Chaucer and Wycliffe as 'men whose development of the English language was crucial to breaking the hold of the Catholic church by the clergy and to the formation of a national identity.'⁸⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century Chaucer was seen as 'a vigorous and bitter satirist of the Catholic church, a close friend and follower of Wycliffe, a religious informer.'⁸¹ In his very first conception of *Chaucer* (entitled 'seeds [*sic*] of the English language') Brown had wanted to depict the social and political links between the two men by placing Wycliffe in one of the wings.⁸² However, he changed his mind and altered the title adding well-known poets to the wings instead. Unable to highlight the links between Chaucer and Wycliffe in *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* he was able to work both figures into his next composition and included their patron John of Gaunt.

Having tackled the father of English poetry Brown turned his attention to the father of English prose, John Wycliffe.⁸³ His second, much smaller, painting depicting a scene from medieval history was *Wycliff reading his Translation of the Bible to John of Gaunt, in the Presence of Chaucer and Gower (The First Translation of the Bible into English)* [hereafter referred to as *Wycliffe*] (Figs. 3 and 79). As with *Chaucer* he

⁷⁸ W. Calder Marshall's entry was no. 100 in the 1844 sculpture competition. No. 87 was a 'Portrait Statue of Geoffrey Chaucer' by Thomas Plumely (*Op. cit.* at note 32, p. 133).

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 8, pp. 363-396.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 366

⁸¹ Francis Bonner, 'Chaucer's Reputation during the Romantic Period,' *Furman Studies*, 34 (Winter 1951), p. 21 (cited Richmond, 'Ford Madox Brown's Protestant Medievalism: Chaucer and Wycliffe,' 2005, p. 368).

⁸² *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 2.

⁸³ Brown's early idea to include Wycliffe on one wing of the triptych the 'seeds of the English language' highlights that he saw him as father of English prose (*ibid.*, p. 2).

undertook research to check that the scene was historically plausible. Wycliffe, elderly and barefoot, is depicted in the centre, reading to, on the left, John of Gaunt, his second wife Constance and their daughter Katherine, and on the right, the poets Chaucer and Gower and two young pages. Above the scene are two roundels. One, symbolising Catholicism, shows a young monk, clutching a crucifix and a chained Bible: the other, symbolising Protestantism, depicts a young woman holding a Bible open towards the viewer (cat. nos. 173 and 174). As in *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*, Brown used a gothic *trompe l'oeil* arch to separate the symbolic world of the figures representing Protestantism and Catholicism from the more realistic space inhabited by Wycliffe and his audience. This can be seen in an early oil sketch (Fig. 80) of *Wycliffe* and in the final painting with the frame removed (Fig. 3).

The subject of *Wycliffe* is the most obviously Protestant of all Brown's history paintings. Wycliffe was an English theologian who founded the Lollard movement, a precursor to the Protestant Reformation, and the driving force behind the first translation of the Bible into English. In Brown's painting he is portrayed as both the foundation of English prose but also 'The Morning Star of the Reformation.' Brown's strong combination of medieval and Protestant can be seen as acting in a similar manner to Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843), reclaiming the Gothic revival for the largely Protestant public.⁸⁴ His two medieval history pictures are based around characters from the fourteenth century well known by his viewers to have sown the

⁸⁴ Richmond states that 'Brown's juxtaposition of styles ... between the sides and central panel ... illustrates the way in which he relates the traditional past to the revolutionary present, a painterly analogue to ideas defined by Carlyle in *Past and Present*' (*Op. cit.* at note 8, p. 371). However, she does not link Brown's Protestant redefinition of the Gothic revival with the same task, albeit literary, undertaken by Carlyle in *Past and Present* (London, 1843).

first seeds of English Protestantism. It was not just in his history pictures that he combined the Gothic revival with Protestantism. In 1847 he designed the cartoon *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night* (Fig. 7 and cat. nos. 102-113) depicting, in the foreground, a medieval Madonna-like mother washing her child aided by an angel and, in the background, an angel helping a toddler say prayers. The whole composition is framed in a gothic arch and resembles a Venetian altarpiece, with a sheet of exquisite cloth hung behind the Madonna.⁸⁵ In the catalogue of his 1865 solo exhibition Brown explained that after his trip to Italy the art he saw 'had made a deep, and as it proved, lasting impression on me' and that the cartoon was 'little more than the pouring out of the emotions and remembrances still vibrating within me of Italian Art. To look at it too seriously would be a mistake.'⁸⁶ Because of its Catholic-looking Gothicism he took great pains to stress the Protestant nature of his inspiration claiming that 'It was neither Romish nor Tracterian, nor Christian Art ... In idea the children are modern English, they are washed, powdered, combed, and begowned, and taught to say prayers like English Protestant babes.'⁸⁷ As such this cartoon was his earliest attempt to fuse the Gothic revival with Protestantism, an idea he continued in *Chaucer* and *Wycliffe*.

Brown's two later scenes from English history were directly inspired by Thomas Carlyle's *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (1841) and *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (1845). Between 1853 and 1874 he painted *St Ives, AD 1630. Cromwell on his Farm* (Fig. 81). In these works Cromwell is depicted as a

⁸⁵ Also known as *Oure Ladye of Good Children*.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 37, p. 4.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5. In this context Brown's reference to 'Christian Art' refers to the Catholic Nazarene movement. Although it must be remembered that he wrote the catalogue entry almost twenty years after he first began the cartoon, it is likely that his explanation of his inspiration was unchanged and that he saw himself as a Protestant Englishman.

farmer and lost in a religious trance pondering over the Bible passages: 'Lord, how long? Wilt thou hide Thyself for ever?' 'And shall thy wrath burn like fire?' after coming across a patch of burning stubble.⁸⁸ He chose to show him before the start of his major political career when according to Carlyle,

He has renounced the world and its ways; *its* prizes are not the thing that can enrich him. He tills the earth; he reads his Bible; daily assembles his servants round him to worship God. He comforts persecuted ministers, is fond of preachers; nay can himself preach, - exhorts his neighbours to be wise, to redeem the time. In all this, what 'hypocrisy,' 'ambition,' 'cant,' or other falsity? The man's hopes, I do believe, were fixed on the other Higher World.⁸⁹

Following Carlyle's description Cromwell is depicted as a godly man surrounded by family and servants. As with his other history paintings Brown included the hero of the scene but also more lowly figures such as the maid calling him for his dinner and the two farm workers behind him.⁹⁰ He deviated from this in 1877 when he painted *Cromwell Discussing the Protection of the Vaudois with Milton and Andrew Marwell* (Fig. 82).⁹¹ Instead he focused on the relationship between three heroes who had helped shape the modern world, squeezing them into a small canvas. The positive image of Cromwell which Brown creates in both of these paintings came from the nineteenth century reassessment of Cromwell's character. Carlyle was central to this

⁸⁸ Ford Madox Hueffer, *Ford Madox Brown: His Life and Works*, London, 1896, p. 92.

⁸⁹ Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus, Lectures on Heroes, Chartism, Past and Present*, London, 1888, pp. 344-345.

⁹⁰ In the earlier sketch for the work (1853-1856, gouache and pastel with pen and ink, Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester) the maid is another farm labourer.

⁹¹ There are two versions. One is held in Manchester and a slightly smaller version (1877-1878, oil on canvas) is in the collection of Nottingham Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

rehabilitation and through his work Cromwell went from a ruthless regicide to ‘a visionary leader and man of destiny.’⁹² Cromwell was ‘evangelical in religion, a self-made man, anti-aristocratic and anti-establishment by inclination, a reformer of passionate moral conviction’ and therefore had ‘all the ingredients to make him the hero of the reformers, liberals and new men of nineteenth-century England.’⁹³ His popularity can be measured in the large number of paintings depicting scenes from his life exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1830 and 1880.⁹⁴ The new admiration for Cromwell was part of a renewed interest in the Civil War. In this conflict between cavaliers and roundheads many Victorians could see their own political division between the old and new nation. ‘Parliamentary reformers encountering conservative obstructions turned back to an earlier period when Parliament had asserted the will of the people against Stuart tyranny’ and ‘high churchmen ... found inspiration in the seventeenth-century churchmen who had suffered at the hands of an interfering Parliament.’⁹⁵ As with all his paintings depicting scenes from English history Brown was wise enough to choose those he knew would be popular and therefore more saleable.

⁹² *Op. cit.* at note 9, p. 51.

⁹³ *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 149. Strong also points out that Brown in *Cromwell Discussing the Protection of the Vaudois with Milton and Andrew Marvell* celebrates the fact that Cromwell’s ‘achievements abroad in terms of foreign policy and maritime power foreshadowed the great age of the British Empire’ (*ibid.*, p. 150).

⁹⁴ There were 23 paintings exhibited between 1830 and 1880 which depicted Oliver Cromwell. See Appendix in *ibid.* p. 166.

⁹⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 9, p. 50.

Construction: The Practicalities

Research

Brown's drawings, in combination with his diary and his article for *The Germ*, 'On the Mechanism of a History Picture: Part A. the design,' provide unrivalled insights into his approach to the practical construction of a history painting. By the mid-nineteenth century there was considerable pressure on artists 'from scholars and public alike that paintings should be an accurate record of the past'.⁹⁶ Brown readily obliged, undertaking a vast amount of research to make every area of his painting as historically accurate as possible and using the new wider range of history books available. To choose a suitable subject Brown consulted history books, poring over them for initial inspiration and then using them for further research. Having chosen a subject the first step he took was 'to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the character of the times, and the habits of the people' he was about to represent.⁹⁷ To do this he used contemporary historical sourcebooks to gain further information on the historical events, costume, accessories and architecture necessary to paint a convincing scene. As the nineteenth century costume historian Frederick Fairholt stated these books were often 'expressly designed for the use of artists' and were meant to help them avoid anachronisms.⁹⁸ In the introduction to Henry Shaw's *Specimens of Ancient Furniture* (1836) Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, warned that

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 72. This was largely due to the increasing amount of research undertaken and published by historians.

⁹⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 70.

⁹⁸ Frederick William Fairholt, 'Notes on British Costume, Part the First,' in *The Art Union*, vol. 4, no. 45, 1 October 1845, p. 223.

In an historical composition, correctness in the auxiliaries is scarcely less important than in the more prominent parts, for the introduction of a wardrobe or a chair of the time of Queen Anne in the representation of an apartment of the reign of Henry the Sixth, is as glaring an error as to depict soldiers in a painting of the Battle of Cressy in the uniform and with the weapons of the dragoon guards of the present day. Extreme accuracy, even in the minutest detail, can alone produce that illusion which is requisite for the perfect success of a work of art; everything must be consistent to be complete, and an anachronism in an historical picture is as offensive to the eye of taste as is an imperfect metaphor or a defective verse to the ear.⁹⁹

History Books and Reading Rooms

A number of the history books on which Brown relied can be traced as he used quotations from them to accompany his paintings when they were exhibited. For *The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror* he found the inspiration and facts for the picture in David Hume's *History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688* (first published 1762) and *The History of the Conquest of England by the Normans* (1825) by Augustin Thierry.¹⁰⁰

His diary is another source; in his first entry he described in detail how he chose the subject for *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*, the books he consulted and which

⁹⁹ Henry Shaw, *Specimens of Ancient Furniture, drawn from existing Authorities with Descriptions by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick*, London, 1836, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Whilst still living in France Brown was inspired by a French translation of John Lingard's *A History of England* (pub. 1819) to paint *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots*. In 1842 it was accepted at the Salon and he included a quotation from the book in his catalogue entry.

institutions he used as resources. With a couple of ideas in mind for a suitable subject he went to the British Museum to consult one of the latest authorities on English history, Mackintosh's *The History of England*:

In the summer of [18]45 I went to the British Museum to read Sir James Mackintosh's history of England, having heard that it was of a philosophical [*sic*] nature, with a view to select some subject connected with the history of this Country of a general and comprehensive nature. I was already wavering in my mind between two that struck me, one was "The first naval victory," and the other the Origin of our native tongue. The former subject had first engaged my attention but the sight of M'Clise's [Maclise] cartoon of "Chivalry" and the wish to handle more luxuriant & attractive materials afterwards changed the current of my thoughts.

In this mood, glancing over the pages of the above named history I fell upon a passage to this effect as near as I can remember "And it is scarcely to be wondered at, that English about this period should have become the judicial language of the country, ennobled as it had recently been by the genius of Geoffrey Chaucer." This at once fixed me, I immediately saw visions of Chaucer reading his poems to knights & Ladyes fair, the king & court amid air and sun shine.

When I arrived at Rome, from the library of the English Academy I procured the works and life of our first poet and fortunately I found that

the facts known respecting him perfectly admitted of the idea I had already conceived of the subject to wit, Chaucer reading his poems to Edward the 3rd & his court bringing in other noted characters such as the black prince etc.¹⁰¹

Historical notes written by Brown in the BMAG collection reveal how carefully he researched historical dates to check that the events he wanted to depict were historically accurate (cat. no. 1). The notes are on a single sketchbook page and written in brown ink over pencil sketches of Alfred the Great. They concern the figures in both *Chaucer* and *Wycliffe* and were almost certainly written on one of Brown's trips to the English Academy in Rome.¹⁰² It must have been after making these notes that Brown was able to confirm that 'the facts known respecting [Chaucer] perfectly admitted of the idea I had already conceived.'¹⁰³

Brown also used the British Museum as a resource for *Wycliffe*. On 30 November 1847 he wrote in his diary:

went out to see about the [British] Museum for consulting authorities ...

went to the reading room of Museum, saw Levis's life of Wycliff,

¹⁰¹ *Op. cit.* at note 66, pp. 1-2. Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832) wrote the first part (55 BC-1572 AD) of the history of England for the *Cabinet Cyclopaedia* series, 1830. The whole history was later published in ten volumes as *The History of England*, by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green and J. Taylor, London, between 1830 and 1840. Richmond likens this vision to a religious experience but it is surely more likely that Brown saw it as a moment of artistic genius (*Op. cit.* at note 8, p. 368).

¹⁰² The English Academy is likely to have been 'The English Life Academy, which was supported by a private bequest,' briefly mentioned in James Dafforne's *Life and Works of Edward Matthew Ward* (London, 1879, p. 7). Ward lived in Rome from 1837 to 1839 and attended the academy during his stay.

¹⁰³ *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 2.

Southey's book of the church. Met Lucy there in search of documents for his landing of Puritans in New Plymouth.¹⁰⁴

As this extract shows, Brown was not alone in consulting books and documents in order to make his paintings historically accurate. Like much of his diary this illuminating passage suggests that undertaking such of research was standard practice for a history painter working in England in the nineteenth century. Not only was the research necessary to create a convincing scene but it also added a greater intellectual element to painting, an idea artists had been careful to stress since the Renaissance in order to differentiate themselves from artisans. In the same week Brown also visited print shops and the National Gallery before returning to the British Museum to consult two biographies of Chaucer: William Godwin's *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer including Memories of John of Gaunt* (2 vols., 1803) and *Cabinet Pictures of English Life: Chaucer*, by J. Saunders (1845) which included a 'head and shoulder's portrait of [Chaucer], wearing a hood' and gave 'a description of life and manners in Chaucer's day.'¹⁰⁵ He also copied a 'gothic alphabet.'¹⁰⁶

Later in his career Brown still consulted history books when conceiving a subject. In the catalogue for his one man exhibition in 1865 he acknowledged his debt to Carlyle for the inspiration and facts behind *St Ives, AD 1630. Cromwell on his Farm*. Accompanying the first sketch for the picture entitled *SAINTE IVES, A. D. 1636* (the

¹⁰⁴ *Op. cit.* a note 66, p. 17. The books Brown consulted were John Lewis's *An Account of Dr. Wiclif*, 1728, and Robert Southey's *Book of the Church*, 2 vols., 1824 (*ibid.*). 'Lucy' refers to the artist Charles Lucy (1814-73), a history painter and a friend of Brown's, particularly in the mid 1840s. He exhibited *The Landing of the Primitive Puritans ... on the Coast of America AD 1620* at the RA in 1848 but was better known for paintings of Oliver Cromwell.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9 and 18.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18. This may be the lettering Brown used to add the names of the protagonists under the main scene in *Wycliffe* (see Fig. 3). This aspect of the work is now obscured by the frame. See cat. no. 3, p. 199 for further details of the frame which was made for the painting when it was purchased by Thomas Plint in the late 1850s.

painting had not yet been begun at the time of the exhibition and the date was later changed to 1630) he wrote:

At this date, when Cromwell was engaged in cattle farming, the electrical unease of nerves which is felt by nations prior to the bursting of the psychological storm, seems to have produced in him a state of exalted religious fervour mixed with hypochondria, now, owing to the "Letters and Speeches," pretty generally understood.¹⁰⁷

Portraits

Brown strove to make the faces of his figures as close a likeness as possible to the historical people they represented. For this he relied on books, prints and effigies. Thus he had consulted Saunders *Cabinet Pictures of English Life: Chaucer* for a portrait of Chaucer when he was preparing to paint the poet in *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*.¹⁰⁸ This quarter-length portrait (Fig. 83) appears to be based on a full-length portrait of the poet on the title page of *The Works of our ancient, learned, & excellent English Poet, Jeffrey Chaucer*, published in 1687 (Fig. 84). This portrait was circulated in Victorian books, such as Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* (Fig. 85), and was used as the basis for other works of art such as W. C. Marshall's statue of the poet (Fig. 78). In the nineteenth century the portrait was believed to have been based on 'a small portrait existing of him, in illumination, by his pupil, the poet Ocleve,' then in the British Museum.¹⁰⁹ By comparing Saunder's title page to the poet as he appears in *Chaucer* it is possible to see how closely Brown

¹⁰⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 37, p. 10.

¹⁰⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 66, pp. 9, 18.

¹⁰⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 37, p. 5.

copied the portrait, keeping his pose to the same side of the body and including the same details, such as the style of his beard and robes. In 1851, to make the face more naturalistic, Brown blended the features of his friend, the artist and poet, Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) with the portrait.¹¹⁰

When Brown depicted Chaucer in *Wycliffe* he used a full length version of the portrait as the basis for his design but was bolder, turning the figure round to suit his composition. He may well have used the portrait of him in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* which includes the accessories found in almost all portraits of Chaucer, a rosary and a horn writing implement. In addition, like Marshall's statue, Brown's Chaucer has a book tucked under his arm. Rabin believes that rather than using Rossetti's face, for this earlier depiction of Chaucer Brown used a professional model and his own face, when the model was not available, thus creating a more natural portrait.¹¹¹ Following the publication of Brown's diaries it is now possible to support at least part of her argument with an entry written on 21 January 1848 in which he records that he 'drew in the head of Chaucer from myself in two looking glasses.'¹¹²

Books were not his only source of portraiture; from his study of Milton for *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* at BMAG we know that he also used tomb effigies for historical accuracy (cat. no. 43). This drawing was taken from Milton's tomb in

¹¹⁰ Mary Bennett, entry on the replica of *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* (1851 - 1868, oil on canvas, Tate, London), *The Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat., Tate, London, 1984, p. 54.

¹¹¹ *Op. cit.* at note 51, p. 108.

¹¹² *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 26. Rabin does not give evidence herself although it is possible that she was able to see the relevant sections of the diary before their owner Mr John Bryson bequeathed them to the Ashmolean in 1977. Surtees did not publish the entire diary until 1981, although in 1977 Deborah Cherry transcribed a later section of the diary held at the Pierpont Morgan Library (*An annotated Edition of the Diary and selected Letters of Ford Madox Brown 1850-1870*, unpublished PhD, London University, 1977).

Westminster Abbey. On 16th October 1847 Brown wrote in his diary that he had been 'to the abby [sic] to see some of the old effigies.'¹¹³ This must have included the effigy of Edward III whose portrait in *Chaucer* is a faithful likeness. For the figure of Gower in *Wycliffe* Brown visited his effigy in Southwark Cathedral (Fig. 86). He recalled his excursion in his 1865 exhibition catalogue when he noted in his entry on *Wycliffe* that 'Gower's effigy is to be seen, or was, on his monument in St. Saviour's Southwark.'¹¹⁴ When he lived in London Brown was able to visit the effigies but whilst living in Rome he may have used Charles Alfred Stothard's *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (1817) as a resource. It included beautiful colour illustrations of the effigies of both the Black Prince and Edward III and it is likely he used this book for the armour worn by John of Gaunt in *Chaucer* which he based on the effigy of Edward the Black Prince (Fig. 87).¹¹⁵ A sheet of sketches done in Rome (cat. no. 19) contains a drawing for Edward III of an elderly model dressed in robes most likely based on an illustration from Stothard (Fig. 88).¹¹⁶ It also appears to have been the source for the costume of the woman sitting on a stool by the fountain in *Chaucer*. Her dress appears to be based on the one found on the tomb of Blanche de la Tour and illustrated in Stothard (Figs. 89 and 90).¹¹⁷

¹¹³ *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 10.

¹¹⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 37, p. 5. St. Saviour's is now Southwark Cathedral.

¹¹⁵ Charles Stothard, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, London, 1817, pls. 85 and 86. Roy Strong mistakenly identifies the figure in armour as the Black Prince. Although Brown used the Black Prince's effigy as his source, it is his brother John of Gaunt who wears the suit of armour. The Black Prince sits with his wife on the other side of his father Edward III (*Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 58).

¹¹⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 115, pls. 83 and 84.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 79 and 81. Surtees suggests that the illustration of the tomb of William of Windsor and Blanche de la Tour in Knight's *Pictorial History of England* (p. 870) was the source but Stothard seems the more likely as his illustrations are more detailed (*Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 12).

Costume and Historical Sourcebooks

In the introduction to *Costume in England* Fairholt, one of the first costume historians, warned artists that 'as no historian could venture to give wrong dates designedly, so no painter should falsify history by delineating the characters on his canvas in habits not known until many years after their death, or holding implements that were not at the time invented.'¹¹⁸ To him, in the mid-nineteenth century, 'false costume is now an unnecessary obtrusion, and not worth an excuse.'¹¹⁹ 'The great principle that all historic painting should be truthful in costume, and *could* be made so, I hope I have proved by the aid of the many woodcuts scattered through [*Costume in England*]. They are unpretending as works of art, and are to be looked on merely as facts.'¹²⁰ For mid-nineteenth century artists like Brown, 'a correct knowledge of costume' was 'an essential branch of artistic study' and he turned to sourcebooks to aid him in his quest for 'historical truth.'¹²¹ Evidence of this can be seen in a number of drawings in the Birmingham collection.

The Birmingham collection contains four sheets of costume studies which, along with the paintings themselves, give an insight into the books he used as sources.¹²² Three of these sheets are related: they are all drawn in brown ink on tracing paper and

¹¹⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 22, p. x.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. x.

¹²¹ 'Review of the new Edition of Thomas Hope's *Costume of the Ancients*' in *The Art Union*, vol. 7, no. 79, 1 April, 1845, p. 104 and Thomas Hope, *Costume of the Ancients*, London, vol. 1, 1841 (first published 1809), p. vii. An idea of the pressure on mid-nineteenth century artists to research the costumes and accessories in their paintings thoroughly can be gleaned from the same review which states: 'the necessity for this truth seeking has been so often urged in our journal-as it has been in many other devoted to art or not' (p. 104).

¹²² It has not yet been possible to trace the book containing the illustrations after which Brown made his *Sketches of Armour and Costume* (cat. no. 57). Mary Bennett suggests that the sheet of drawings relates to the *Spirit of Justice* which seems highly plausible considering the large numbers of knights which Brown included in the composition (see *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, exh. cat., Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 2008, p. 66).

inscribed 'Rome/45' (cat. nos. 58-60). They depict medieval costumes from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and were originally used by Brown as the blue-prints for the costumes in *Chaucer*. In 1973 Roger Smith was able to identify these drawings as made after illustrations from Camille Bonnard's *Costumes des XIII, XIV, et XV Siècles*, also known as Bonnard's *Costume Historique* (first published 1829-30).¹²³ The book comprised over two hundred plates, designed and engraved by Paul Mercuri (1804 - 1884), depicting courtiers, clerics and famous figures from the Middle Ages accompanied by information written by Camille Bonnard. As the *Art Union* explained to its readers in 1845:

Mr Bonnard accompanies each plate by a brief letter-press description, in which is mentioned the particular picture, monument, sculpture, or manuscript which has supplied him with the drawing. The name, also, of the person represented is given; the costume described in its various components, together with its colours, and the material of which it is composed; and finally, the manuscripts and other authorities are named, whence if necessary, further information may be acquired.¹²⁴

In the mid-nineteenth century *Costume Historique* was known as one of the best sources for artists and costume designers.¹²⁵ *The Art Union* gave it high praise believing that the research behind it, and the information it provided, surpassed

¹²³ Camille Bonnard, *Costumes des XIII, XIV, et XV Siècles*, 2 vols., Paris, 1829-1830. Roger Smith, 'Bonnard's *Costume Historique* – a Pre-Raphaelite source book,' *Costume*, 7, 1973, p. 29. The book was published several times, indicating its success. It was first published by Treuttel and Würtz. In 1844 it was republished by Goupil and Vibert in Paris, and Dominic Colnaghi and Co. in London. Between 1860 and 1861 it was published again in Paris by Lévy.

¹²⁴ Anonymous, 'Review of *Costumes des 13me, 14me, and 15me Siècles*, dessinés et gravés par Paul Mercury; avec un texte historique et descriptif, par Camille Bonnard,' *The Art Union*, vol. 7, no. 82, 1 May 1845, p. 124.

¹²⁵ *Costume Historique* was used by artists for scenes from British history despite the fact that it discussed predominantly French and Italian costumes.

similar British works, such as the numerous volumes published by Strutt, Sir Samuel Meyrick's *Critical Inquiry* and Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*.¹²⁶ Brown may well have been introduced to the book through his friendship with Edward Armitage in Paris. Armitage joined the atelier of Paul Delaroche and worked with his master on the grand scheme of the *Hemicycle* at the Ecole des Beaux Arts (1841). Several of the figures in the *Hemicycle* appear to have been taken from *Costume Historique* including Petrarch and the figure on the far left in striped hose.¹²⁷ The high level of finish and detail found in the book meant that it also had a strong reputation among artists working in England, particularly the Pre-Raphaelites. Smith surmises that the PRB were introduced to the book by Brown.¹²⁸ It was certainly popular with the Brotherhood and their associates. Several of their works include figures in costumes taken from *Costume Historique*, notably John Everett Millais' *Isabella* (1848, oil on canvas, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool), and around 1849 Dante Gabriel Rossetti bought a black and white copy.¹²⁹ The book was hugely expensive and it seems as if most artists, like Brown, relied on copies in libraries in institutions such as the English Academy in Rome, the British Museum and the Royal Academy.¹³⁰

Although Smith correctly named *Costume Historique* as the source for these drawings his exploration of the influence of the book on Brown is rather brief. He identifies that 'the hooded figure of the immediate foreground of the central portion with his back turned towards the spectator [in *Chaucer*] is clearly based upon Mercuri's

¹²⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 124, p. 124.

¹²⁷ Bonnard, *Costumes des XIII, XIV, et XV Siecles*, 1829-1830, 'Pétrarque,' pl. 44 and 'Fantassin Italien,' pl. 14.

¹²⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 123, p. 29.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32. BMAG holds 28 tracings by Frederick Sandys (1829-1904) of illustrations in *Costume Historique* (1906P1037-1065). He made them in the 1850s perhaps inspired by the books owned by his friend Rossetti.

¹³⁰ Smith notes that the PRB, as students of the Royal Academy, would have had access a black and white copy in the Royal Academy library. As frequent visitors to the British Museum they probably also used its colour copy (*Op. cit.* at note 123, p. 30)

engraving of 'Cimabue' but does not individually identify any other figures used by Brown. New research on these three sheets of drawings has enabled this thesis to build on Smith's earlier work by naming each of the illustrations traced by Brown (Figs. 91-98). In addition, Smith illustrates cat. no. 59 giving it the title 'Tracings from the Costume Historique.' It is now apparent that not all the drawings on this sheet were copied from *Costume Historique*. One of the figures in cat. no. 59 was not copied from Bonnard. The head which Brown inscribed 'Hood & Lirilipipe of a count of Flanders' was in fact copied by him from another source book: J. R. Planché's *History of British Costume* (Fig. 99).¹³¹ Planché includes the portrait as an illustration in his book giving it the title 'Charles le Bon, Count of Flanders' and on the same page explains to his readers that during Edward III's reign the fashion was for 'short hoods and *liripipes* (the long tails or tippets of the hoods).'¹³² This illustration became the blue-print for a hood Brown made up. On 25 September 1847 he wrote in his diary 'fumbled till 12 o'clock over the Hood of the left hand corner figure of the "knight" made a liripipe [*sic*] for it.' A black chalk drawing dated 1847 in the Birmingham collection reveals that he later arranged the hood on a lay figure and drew a study from it for the man fourth up on the left hand side of *Chaucer* (cat. no. 26). This figure appears in this hood in one of the early compositional studies at BMAG (cat. no. 16), in the Cecil Higgins chalk study for *The Seeds and Fruits* (Fig. 77), and in the Ashmolean oil study (Fig. 1). It is also in the final painting although in a slightly different pose, leaning further forward (Fig. 2). It appears that Brown also used the illustration for the figure in the white hood sitting in the front row on the left in *Chaucer*. Brown may have also borrowed other details from *Costume Historique*

¹³¹ Planché's book was published several times under different titles although it was originally published in 1834 as *British Costume: A complete History of the Dress of the Inhabitants of the British Isles*.

¹³² Op. cit. at note 21, p. 134.

such as the hat and hair style of the 'Jeune Vénitien' (Fig. 100) for the troubadour sitting with his mandolin on his knee, and the hat of the page boy holding a large sword which looks like the one worn by the 'Fantassin Italien' in Bonnard (Fig. 101).¹³³

Strong believes that Brown also used *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England* (1796-9) by Joseph Strutt.¹³⁴ Strutt was the first real British costume historian and brought together a mass of visual and written evidence using the latest archaeological finds, and manuscripts from the British Museum, the Bodleian Library and the Royal, Harleian and Sloane collections to create engravings showing costume from all ages and all levels of society.¹³⁵ Strong argues that Brown used one of Strutt's illustrations as a source for the headdresses of the women in *Chaucer* which we can see if we compare the lady, third row up on the right in Strutt (Fig. 102) with the lady on the left facing the viewer in Brown's painting (Fig. 2).¹³⁶

As can be seen by comparing Fig. 102 to Figs. 103 and 104 Strutt's research was highly plagiarized by later costume historians and publishers. However, in the far left foreground of the two early compositional studies at BMAG (cat. nos. 15 and 16) there is a woman in a headdress only included in the original Strutt illustration (centre image, second row up) and although she had disappeared by the time Brown drew the Cecil Higgins chalk study, another female figure has been introduced wearing the same headdress as the central woman on the bottom row of the Strutt illustration which, again, is unique and does not appear in Planché or Knight's *Pictorial History*

¹³³ *Op. cit.* at note 123, pls. 83 and 14.

¹³⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 58. Strutt's other highly influential book was *The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England* (published in 1773 when he was 24).

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

of England.¹³⁷ What has not been realised before is that Brown may well have used Strutt as a source for his Anglo-Saxon pictures too. In *The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror* Harold wears cross-gartered stockings, and shoes like *The Anglo-Saxon Monarch of the ninth Century in his State Habit*, illustrated in Strutt (Fig. 105). Although this king is two centuries too early to be Harold, Brown admitted in his 1865 exhibition catalogue that he had been deliberately anachronistic in choosing Harold's costume. He explained that 'finding by the Bayeux Tapestry, that Saxon soldiers, after Edward the Confessor had so Normanized the nation, dressed precisely like Norman ones, I thought it necessary, in order to make the scene intelligible, to dress Harold in the Saxon costume of an anterior period.'¹³⁸ This makes Strutt a highly plausible source.

The sale catalogue of Brown's household contents shows that he owned Fairholt's *Costume in England*, and Thomas Hope's *Costume of the Ancients*.¹³⁹ Although it cannot be verified when he purchased these books, it seems that when he drew the costume studies in Rome he was using volumes from the library of the English Academy and had to copy them because he did not own the books. The fact that he did eventually buy them highlights how much he relied on source books to make his recreations of the past as historically accurate as possible.

¹³⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 34, p. 867. Knight reused this illustration in *Old England: a pictorial Museum of regal, ecclesiastical, baronial, municipal and popular Antiquities* (vol. 1, London, 1845). It is impossible to be certain that these illustrations were taken from Strutt as this particular set was used in many books but from the research undertaken these two headdresses appear to be unique to Strutt.

¹³⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 37, p. 28.

¹³⁹ *Catalogue of the household and decorative Furniture, Works of Art, Books and Effects belonging to the distinguished Artist Ford Madox Brown*, sales cat., London, T. G. Wharton, 29-30 May 1894, p. 18, lot no. 347. The Art Union praised the new edition of *Costume of the Ancients* noting that 'the labours of Mr Hope will do still, as they have already done, much to ... safely guide the hand of the artist in his delineation of the minutiae and peculiarity of each article of dress' (*Op. cit.* at note 121). Due to the large number of Roman costumes illustrated in this book it is likely that Brown purchased it to use as a sourcebook for his biblical compositions such as *Christ washing Peter's Feet* (1852-56, oil on canvas, Tate), illustrations for publication and numerous stained glass cartoons.

Fairholt originally published sections of *Costume of England* between 1842 and 1845 as articles in the journal *The Art Union* with the aim of aiding artists in their quest for historical accuracy.¹⁴⁰ Two previously unidentified drawings by Brown at the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 106) appear to be copies of an illustration published in the magazine in January 1843 (Fig. 107) rather than the one published in the book.¹⁴¹ Both the article and the later book also contain an illustration described by Fairholt as 'the ordinary costume of the commonality' (Fig. 108). He further explains that

the male figure is habited in a long gown buttoned from the neck to the waist, and having loose hanging sleeves to the elbow, beneath which appear the tight sleeves of the tunic. A hood covers the head and shoulders which is frequently seen folded back or hanging down behind.¹⁴²

This illustration appears to have been the inspiration for the costume of the triangle player, sitting next to the Troubadour, in *Chaucer* (Fig. 2).

¹⁴⁰ Between 1 October 1842 and 1 October 1844 Fairholt sporadically published a series of articles entitled 'Notes on British Costume' in *The Art Journal* (vol. 4, no. 45, pp. 223-229 and no. 48, pp. 247-253; vol. 5, no. 48, pp. 5-9; no. 49, pp. 31-34; no. 51, pp. 79-82; no. 52, pp. 105-107; no. 55, pp. 183-187; no. 58, pp. 255-258; no. 59, pp. 279-282; vol. 6, no. 62, pp. 32-35; no. 66, pp. 137-141; no. 72, pp. 275-279). On 1 January and 1 March 1845 he published a two part article on 'Boots and Shoes in England' (vol. 7, no. 76, pp. 9-11 and no. 78, pp. 70-72). Later that year he also published a four part article on 'Head-coverings in England' (vol. 7, no. 81, pp. 149-151; no. 82, pp. 230-231; no. 86 pp. 305-306 and no. 87, pp. 333-334).

¹⁴¹ The illustration in *The Art Journal*, like that of the figure on the left in the Ashmolean, shows the mouth shut. In the later illustration used in *Costume of England* the mouth is open (Fairholt, 'Notes on British Costume, Part the Third: The Plantagenets,' *The Art Union*, vol. 5, no. 48, 1 January 1843, p. 8 and Fairholt, *Costume in England*, p. 114). Although Brown often records using the British Museum Reading Room in his diary, it is unlikely that he saw the original manuscript in the Museum as in the manuscript the figure's mouth is open (Illuminated manuscript entitled *Speculum humanae salvationis*, c. 1330-1340, Sloane manuscript 346, now in the British Library).

¹⁴² Fairholt, 'Notes on British Costume. Part the Third: The Plantagenets,' 1843, p. 8 and *op. cit.* at note 22, pp. 111-112.

The sale catalogue of Brown's household contents and letters from Rossetti dated 1861 reveal that Brown also owned at least one volume of Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, first published in four volumes between 1837 and 1841.¹⁴³ On 1 December Rossetti wrote 'Dear Brown, I'm doing the *Parable of the Vineyard* for the shop glass. I think you have a number of *Pictorial History of England* with a Saxon winepress in it. Would you kindly send it me by *book post*?'¹⁴⁴ Two days later he sent another note saying: 'Dear Brown, Many thanks for the *Pict. Hist.*'¹⁴⁵ Although Rossetti was writing in 1861 it is likely that his friend was using this popular sourcebook as early as the 1840s as a number of figures from *Chaucer* appear to be based on its illustrations. As Surtees pointed out the headdress of matron on the far right of the composition may be based on the illustration of Queen Philippa's effigy (Fig. 109).¹⁴⁶ Her effigy is in Westminster Abbey, a fact that Knight included under the illustration making it a doubly useful source for artists, like Brown, who would want to visit the original sculptures.¹⁴⁷ It seems highly likely that Brown was using *The Pictorial History of England* when he was in Rome because the earliest compositional studies for the painting, made in Rome in 1845, show a bishop on the right of the composition. However, in the same year he replaces the bishop with a Cardinal who wears the hat discussed and illustrated in *The Pictorial History of England* (Fig. 110). It is possible that Brown also used the book as a source whilst working on *Wycliffe*. The illustration *Male Costume, Time of Edward III* (Fig. 111) appears to have been the source of the clothes for both Edward the Black Prince in

¹⁴³ Lot no. 351 (*Op. cit.* at note 139, p. 18).

¹⁴⁴ Oswald Doughty and John Robert Wahl, *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1965, p. 426.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

¹⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 12. Surtees notes that Brown also used *The Pictorial History of England* for the armour of one of the warriors in *Lear and Cordelia* (Fig. 37) which was painting whilst he worked on *Chaucer* (*Ibid.*, p. 58).

¹⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 34, p. 751. As mentioned above (pp. 113-114) Brown's diaries records visits to Westminster Abbey and Southwark Cathedral to see tomb effigies.

Chaucer and John of Gaunt in *Wycliffe*. The elaborate belts worn by both figures suggest that he must have also paid close attention to the accompanying text which stated that

the reign of Edward III. presents us with an entire change of costume. The long robes and tunics, the cyclases and cointises of the preceding reigns vanished altogether. A close fitting garment called a cote hardie, buttoned down the front, and confined over the hips (which it barely covered) by a splendid girdle, was the general habit of the male nobility.¹⁴⁸

A sketchbook filled with costume studies for the Manchester Town Hall murals confirms that undertaking considerable historical research before commencing a major history painting was a discipline Brown continued to practice throughout his career.¹⁴⁹

Furniture and Architecture

Furniture was another area in which Ford Madox Brown strove for historical accuracy using *The Pictorial History of England* as a source. The unusual reading desk used by the protagonist in *Chaucer* appears to have been taken from the illustration *Library Chair, Reading Table, and Reading Desk* (Fig. 112).¹⁵⁰ Brown mentions a further

¹⁴⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 34, p. 869.

¹⁴⁹ *Sketchbook*, 1859-1875, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, accession no. 859.

¹⁵⁰ As suggested by Surtees (*Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 12). Knight often recycled illustrations in his publications making it difficult to pinpoint an exact source. However, this illustration does not appear to have been used in any other book.

two books used as sources for *Wycliffe* in his diary.¹⁵¹ The first was Pugin's *Gothic Furniture in the Style of the 15th Century* published in 1835. On 3 December 1847 he noted that he 'went to the [British] Museum' and 'consulted Pugin on furniture.'¹⁵² Although none of the furniture in *Wycliffe* appears to be a direct copy of any of the illustrations, similarities between Edward III's canopied throne (Fig. 2) and the *State Chair* in Pugin (Fig. 113) suggest that Brown used it when working on *Chaucer*.¹⁵³ There was, however, no reference book solely on antique furniture until 1836 when Henry Shaw published *Specimens of Ancient Furniture drawn from existing Authorities*. The book was written specifically for artists and was meant to complement J. R. Planché's research into historical costume. In 1978 Roy Strong suggested that Brown used illustrations from Shaw as the basis of the lectern in *Wycliffe*.¹⁵⁴ He argued that Brown used a combination of 'the reading desk from Detling church in Kent with the one from Ramsay church in Huntingdonshire, both illustrated in Shaw (Figs. 114 and 115).'¹⁵⁵ Strong admitted that 'it is difficult to find specific instances in which Shaw was definitely used, because the material could have been obtained from other sources' and could only say that *Wycliffe* is 'one picture which probably draws on Shaw.' Since then Brown's diary has been published and it is now possible to confirm Strong's suspicions. On 1 February 1848 Brown noted that

¹⁵¹ *Wycliffe* is the only painting whose complete progress, from conception to completion, Brown records in his diary. Although he does not mention which sources he used for *Chaucer* (having carried out his initial research before beginning the diary) they are likely to be the same as there were few books on historical furniture available.

¹⁵² *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 18. Having conceived the idea for *Wycliffe* only the week before, Brown spent four days in the British Museum whilst formulating a composition. On the last day he consulted Pugin.

¹⁵³ The evolution of the throne from the early Cecil Higgins chalk study (Fig. 77), in which there are no gothic details under the canopy, to the final painting (Fig. 2), when these details appear, suggests that Brown was mixing sources to create a hybrid piece of furniture and perhaps only used Pugin after working on *Wycliffe*.

¹⁵⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 1, p. 65. He also suggests that the canopied chair depicted in the painting was inspired by Shaw. However, no chair with a striped awning appears in the book. In fact, this piece of furniture did not appear in the original picture. It was added when Thomas Plint bought *Wycliffe* in the late 1850s.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

he

went to grays in Lane to Seddon to get his “Shaw’s furniture” thence to Mark Anthony’s to get the dictionary of architecture. Come [*sic*] back, dined, [William Cave] Thomas called and we looked over the works & jawed about architecture & Phylosophy. I afterwards set about composing the furniture for my painting [*Wycliffe*].¹⁵⁶

A drawing of gothic arches (cat. no. 3) in the Birmingham collection suggests that Brown also referred to sourcebooks when designing the architectural surrounds found in *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* and *Wycliffe* (Figs. 1 and 3). Surtees suggests that the 'dictionary of architecture' referred to in his diary could have been either J. H. Parker’s *Companion to ... a Glossary of Terms used in Gothic Architecture* published in 1846 or John Britton’s *Dictionary of the Architecture and Archaeology of the Middle Ages*, 1838.¹⁵⁷ However, neither of these appears to contain illustrations which match the study of gothic arches.

Brown responded to the pressure from art critics to aim at historical accuracy in his paintings. As has been shown above, in order to do this he relied heavily on historical sourcebooks for information on the lives of historical figures, their portraits, clothes and accessories. Like his paintings, these books were the product of the emergent picturesque mode of history which focused on providing more visual insights into the past.

¹⁵⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 28.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Working Process

As has been shown in the previous sections, the works on paper at BMAG reveal much more about Brown's interpretation of English History and his use of historical sources than his paintings alone. The collection is rich in drawings which chart his working process. Mapping this process in the context of Brown's construction of English history reveals his desire to engage the viewer in the human event by 'fleshing out time' using the artistic skills of dramatic composition and anatomical accuracy. The essay 'On the Mechanism of a Historical Picture' gives a good idea of his working process and much of what he states is confirmed by the drawings at Birmingham and his diary entries.

This working process adhered strictly to the practices he had learned from his Belgian training, which was typical of European academic training in general.¹⁵⁸ Very few works from this point in his life have survived and Hueffer skims over his training including no detail of the methods of tuition Brown received from his three masters, Gregorius, Van Hanselaer, and Baron Wappers other than to say 'the classes at the [Antwerp] Academy began early in the morning and lasted till midday ... Attendance was compulsory if [an art] prize was to be gained.'¹⁵⁹ However, it is possible to glean an idea of his training from the 1796 rules of the Antwerp Academy which demanded

¹⁵⁸ This is particularly true at the start of his career, the period when the majority of the drawings in the Birmingham collection were executed. From the 1850s he made fewer studies, perhaps feeling more confident, but never entirely deviated from his training when it came to producing 'History' pictures, contemporary or historical. However, he appears to have worked directly on the canvas when producing small-scale landscape paintings - this suggests the influence of his friend, Mark Anthony (1817–1886), a landscapist who had spent time with the Barbizon artists and brought the idea of *plein-air* execution to England. Anthony's influence on Brown has not previously been investigated and is an area of research ripe for further study.

¹⁵⁹ The paintings *Portrait of Pendall* (1837, oil on panel, Manchester City Art Gallery) and *Portrait of a Boy* (c. 1840, oil on canvas, BMAG) are among the earliest surviving works. A sketch of an artist (1839, black chalk on paper) at the Tate is one of the earliest surviving drawings. *Op. cit.* at note 88, p. 16.

students study '2 hours a day drawing from the cast Summer and Winter, and during the Summer terms 2 hours of drapery, during the Winter 2 hours of life drawing.'¹⁶⁰ These records give an insight into the basics of a European artistic training at the end of the eighteenth century but the curriculum continued well into the nineteenth century as can be seen from the nature of Brown's preparatory drawings in which he pays particular attention to drapery and the nude before committing himself to canvas. It is also possible to gain an idea of his training from the reminiscences of those he taught later in his career, and the reputation his academic training had among his artist friends. Harold Rathbone (1858-1929) became his student on the advice of Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898) who informed him that Brown was 'one of the very real "masters," in the proper significance of the word, of the present day, and as one who had both inherited and developed a most excellent method and tradition in painting.'¹⁶¹

This suggests that Brown's training was traditional. It began at a very early age when his parents noticed his drawing ability and hired 'an Italian drawing-master, who set him to copy prints after Raphael and Correggio, and some Bartolozzi engravings that were among his mother's art treasures.'¹⁶² At fourteen he entered the Art Academy in Bruges and studied under Gregorius, a year later in Ghent he trained under Van Hanselaer. Both his early masters were former pupils of Jaques-Louis David.

It is likely that having mastered the basics he learnt modelling and shading in a similar manner to William Powell Frith, who undertook his training, like Brown, in the 1830s, and spent six weeks painstakingly drawing a plaster ball to study the effects of

¹⁶⁰ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present*, London, 1940, p. 177.

¹⁶¹ *Op. cit.* at note 88, Appendix A, p. 428.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

chiaroscuro.¹⁶³ Brown seems to have believed in the benefits of this type of exercise as one of the tasks he set his first student, Rossetti, who wanted lessons in oil painting, was to paint a collection of bottles and ornaments.¹⁶⁴ Having proved himself able Brown would have progressed to drawing from plaster casts of classical sculptures, and then from life figures before attempting oil painting. According to Julian Treuherz the English training system 'encouraged miniaturistic skills and fine detail, but at the expense of breadth and large-scale design,' as found in paintings by frequent RA exhibitors Edward Matthew Ward (1816-1879) and W. P. Frith.¹⁶⁵ These were skills that Brown was able to acquire from his final master Baron Gustaf Wappers. The Belgium based artist produced vast historical scenes on which the students were required to work as part of their training, giving them the chance to bring together the skills they had learnt and gain a greater understanding of how to design and execute large paintings. It may have been Brown's belief that a continental training was more thorough, which compelled him to write an essay on the design of a historical painting for his contemporaries who had trained in England.¹⁶⁶

Having chosen a 'fit subject,' as discussed above, Brown became 'acquainted with the character, habits, and appearance, of the people which he [was] about to represent' through historical research using 'the proper authorities.'¹⁶⁷ In his essay for *The Germ* he warned that

¹⁶³ Julian Treuherz, *Victorian Painting*, 1993, p. 41. Frith trained at the Sass's Drawing Academy and the Royal Academy Schools in London.

¹⁶⁴ This was not at all how Rossetti wanted to learn and after this exercise he stopped receiving lessons from Brown, although the two continued a life-long friendship. Another of Brown's first tasks for Rossetti was to copy his painting *Angels watching the Crown of Thorns: Study of clasped Hands* (c. 1846) an exercise Brown must have learnt during his own training. See cat. no. 2.

¹⁶⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 163, p. 41.

¹⁶⁶ According to Rathbone, his last student, the advice Brown gave him as a pupil in the 1880s was 'precisely that contained in his early article' in *The Germ* (*Op. cit.* at note 88, Appendix A, p. 429). This suggests that Brown altered his working process very little during his career.

¹⁶⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 70.

by not pursuing this course, the artist [would be] in danger of imagining an effect, or disposition of lines, incompatible with the costume of his figures, or objects surrounding them; and it will always be found a most difficult thing to efface an idea that has once taken possession of the mind. Besides which, it is impossible to conceive a design with any truth, not being acquainted with the character, habits, and appearance of the people represented.¹⁶⁸

Following the initial research stage his first act was to ‘endeavour, as far as [lay] in his power, to embody the picture in his thoughts, before having recourse to paper.’¹⁶⁹ From the diary extract referring to the conception of *Chaucer* we know that from the moment Brown had an idea for a subject he began to imagine it, building the idea into a scene.¹⁷⁰ Likewise when he recalled conceiving *Wycliffe* on the journey back from his uncle's he wrote

came up from Foot's Cray ... Thought of what I should do. Thought of a subject as I went along. Wycliff reading his translation of the bible to John of Gaunt, Chaucer & Gower present - arranged it in my mind. ... Dined, came home Made a slight scetch [*sic*] of it.¹⁷¹

By the time he thought of the idea of *Wycliffe* he was already well acquainted with the Middle Ages and felt confident enough to begin sketching almost immediately, although not before he had worked out the composition, 'revolving in his mind every

¹⁶⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 70.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 66, pp. 1-2.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

means that may assist the clear development of the story; giving the most prominent places to the most important actors.’¹⁷² This was essential to him and seems to have been the most important part of the conception of his designs. Brown was not alone in referring to the figures in historical scenes as actors. It seems to have been a common turn of phrase amongst picturesque historians. In his preface Fairholt wrote ‘a knowledge of costume is in some degree inseparable from a right knowledge of history. We can scarcely read its events without in some degree picturing “in the mind's eye” the appearance of the actors.’¹⁷³ Artists like Brown were able to go further than historians in bringing the past to their viewers. Using a visual medium they were able more easily to capture the imaginations of their audience. Like the director of a play Brown then advised the artist ‘in this mental forerunner of his picture, [to] arrange the “grouping” of his figures, - that is, the disposing of them in such agreeable clusters or situations on his canvas as may be compatible with the dramatic truth of the whole, (technically called the lines of composition).’¹⁷⁴

For Brown the drama of the moment was extremely important as he felt it would draw the viewer into the scene and allow them to imagine that they were witnessing an event from the past. However, he felt that this was supported by the artist's manipulation of lighting and colour ‘to impress and attract the beholder.’¹⁷⁵ He considered ‘the colour, and disposition of light and dark masses in [a] design, so as to call attention to the principal objects (technically called the “effect”)’ even before the subject was on paper.¹⁷⁶ When it came to *The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror* (Fig. 70) Brown used the idea of the setting sun to show the

¹⁷² *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 71.

¹⁷³ *Op. cit.* at note 22, preface, p. vii.

¹⁷⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 71

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

moment when the Anglo-Saxons lost control of the English crown. Harold appears in the dying sunlight for the last time; William will emerge from the shadows as King. This cleverly adhered to the academic rules of lighting but Brown's attempt to recreate a particular time of day signalled a new naturalism in his work, revealing that he had begun to break away from the artificiality of these rules. Lighting was essential for Brown and seems to have been integral to the initial scene he composed in his head. This can be seen in his, previously quoted, description of the moment he conceived *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*: 'I immediately saw visions of Chaucer reading his poems to knights & Ladyes fair, to the king & court amid air & sun shine.'¹⁷⁷ This was the first history painting in which he sought to depict natural light, fully breaking away from the academic tradition of *chiaroscuro*. Having conceived the scene set in bright sunlight he later rigged blinds in his studio in order to produce the exact effect of light and shade as seen on a sunny day. By imitating nature he sought to make the past believable for his viewers. He continued to depict natural light in *Wycliffe* and *St Ives, AD 1630. Cromwell on his Farm*. His dedication to correct lighting can be seen even at the early stage of making preparatory drapery studies. A drapery study for the figure of Wycliffe (cat. no. 163) shows the shadow which would be thrown by the figure of Gower, depicted on the left in the painting.

Having fixed a scene in his mind Brown set it down on paper in a loose sketch of the whole composition. The Birmingham collection holds a very early sketch of an unknown subject, in which he uses the loose, looping style, characteristic for Brown of the early design phase of a composition (cat. no. 154). The next step was to

¹⁷⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 2.

take pencil and paper, and sketch roughly each separate figure in his composition, studying his own acting, (in a looking-glass) or else that of any friend ... of an artistic or poetic temperament, but not employing for the purpose ordinary paid models. - It will always be found that they are stiff and feelingless, and, as such, tend to curb the vivacity of a first conception.¹⁷⁸

This stage can clearly be seen in two sets of sketches relating to *Alfred the Great* (cat. nos. 82 and 83). In both the figures have been sketched, in pencil, in a loose, looping style. Some have been drawn intensely, over and over again as Brown searched to find both the right pose and character for each figure. Cat. no. 82 is the earlier of the two sketches and having gone over and over the two figures at the bottom left of the group surrounding King Alfred Brown moved to the edges of the page to continue working out the pose of the front figure. In these two sketches he placed the figure in a reclining pose with legs bent to the side. Having settled on a pose Brown redrew the whole composition (cat. no. 83), still using loose strokes, but now several of the figures seem to have taken shape and Brown has begun to clothe them, adding details such as drapery, hats and accessories to their costumes. However, he still struggled with the poses of the two figures at the bottom left, again going over and over them until he has had to redo the figures on the spare paper. He makes four larger sketches in which he first uses the pose he had previously evolved for the front figure, with their legs to the side, then settles on having them reclining with one knee bent up and works on the figure behind, before sketching the couple together. On the other edges of the page are similar groups and individual figures which Brown has sketched to try

¹⁷⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 71.

and perfect their poses. He has also begun to give them individual characters, including facial features and costumes. As the quotation from his essay reveals Brown saw himself as both playwright and director, constructing a narrative scene of individual personalities and moving them around until they play out the story he wants to impart. If he could create a convincing drama, full of believable characters in accurate poses he could persuade his modern viewers to step back in time.

After sketching the whole composition and finding the right pose and character for each 'actor' Brown began to make more detailed drawings of the scene as shown in the two early compositional studies for *Chaucer* at BMAG (cat. nos. 15 and 16). Here he used much bolder lines to draw the figures, having worked through each character in his mind. Many of the figures from these two drawings made it into the final painting, although as the discrepancies between the two drawings highlight, even at this point, some characters were cut, or changed, as the picture took shape. Surprisingly, Brown still seemed to be having trouble placing the important figure of John of Gaunt, Chaucer's patron. He wanted to emphasise Gaunt's role in aiding the father of English poetry by showing them close together, side by side at the lectern.¹⁷⁹ However, he must have felt this position would upstage Chaucer as in the final painting he placed Gaunt on the right, behind Edward III and Alice Perrers, the king's mistress. By this stage each figure had already been given an individual costume following Brown's careful research. It was also at this stage that Brown would begin to use costumes on models or lay figures.

¹⁷⁹ The figure of John of Gaunt troubled Brown for some time. In each progressive version of *Chaucer* he appears in a different position getting further and further away from Chaucer. In Fig. 1 Gaunt now stands on the right but is still next to Chaucer, in Fig. 77 Gaunt sits between Chaucer and Alice Perrers, and in the final painting (Fig. 2) he stands on the far right, but their hands are almost touching.

Like many artists he borrowed costumes from a 'theatrical costumiers.'¹⁸⁰ In his diary he mentions going twice to a costume shop on 4th September and 6th September, 1847. He also hired accessories - on 1st November he noted that he had hired ermine for the seat of John of Gaunt in *Wycliffe* - or borrowed them from other artists. In a letter to his friend Lowes Dickinson, Brown described the final stages of painting *Chaucer* and wrote that he had 'procured a hood of chain mail from [John] Cross who returned ... from Devonshire also some feathers to make a fan & some cloath [*sic*] of gold.'¹⁸¹ In his essay he adds an interesting footnote showing how he economised during the initial stages of designing a painting. He advised that

if the dresses be borrowed or hired, at this period they may be only wanted for a few hours, and perhaps not required again for some months to paint into the picture. - Again, if the costumes have to be made, and of expensive material, the portion of it seen may be sufficient to pin on to a lay figure, without having the whole made.¹⁸²

As with the hood (cat. no. 26) Brown often had costumes made up. He mentions several excursions to buy fabric such as a 'germon velvet' he bought at a 'bargain' price for Chaucer's robes on 14th October 1847, and either hired a workwoman to make up the garments, or made parts of them himself.¹⁸³

Having used these costumes for basic studies he then advised making a rough 'sketch in oil of the whole design' to see the '*proportion* of the whole work.' When he went

¹⁸⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 1, pp. 58-59.

¹⁸¹ Letter to Lowes Cato Dickinson 17 Newman Street, 5 March 1851, transcribed in Cherry, *An annotated Edition of the Diary and selected Letters of Ford Madox Brown 1850-1870*, 1977, p. 55.

¹⁸² *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 72.

¹⁸³ *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 10.

back over the early stages of *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* he noted 'in Rome I painted a sketch of it in oil, afterwards made a drawing of it in chalk & then an outline of the whole as it now is since which I began first to fill it up in colour at Southend, afterwards went on a little with it at Hampstead & since touched it & marred it at Tudor's Lodge.'¹⁸⁴ The Cecil Higgins Art Gallery holds the chalk drawing described by Brown above (Fig. 77). The Ashmolean holds a small oil version of the composition which could be either the 'sketch in oil' or the 'outline of the whole' as it was begun in Rome but was not coloured until 1853 (Fig. 1). The same museum also holds a brown pen and ink outline drawing of the right half of the composition (Fig. 116).¹⁸⁵

For Brown this was where the initial design stage ended and work on the final picture began. As is shown by the large number of drawings of this type and the entries in his diary he spent a huge amount of time making detailed figure and drapery studies of each figure. If we look at three studies for the figure of Chaucer in *Wycliffe* at BMAG, his working process can clearly be seen. He began his individual studies focusing on the pose of the figure, first using a nude model (cat. no. 155) and then drawing them in costume (cat. no. 156). Having found the correct pose from a model he made a more detailed drapery study of the costume (cat. no. 164), most often using a lay figure to keep the cloth still. The desire to be as anatomically correct as possible is linked to Brown's desire to recreate the past for his viewers, showing historical figures as real people and 'fleshing [them] out'. In order to achieve anatomical accuracy he also made minute studies of various parts of the body such as the study for the uplifted arm of the figure of Justice in his cartoon *The Spirit of Justice* (cat. no.

¹⁸⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 4.

¹⁸⁵ The Ashmolean collection holds only the right half of the composition. It appears the drawing was cut in two and the location of the other half is unknown.

138). It focuses on the bulge of the lower arm and the foreshortening needed to keep it in proportion. Although Brown had been thoroughly trained in the three Belgian academies, when he returned to London in 1846 he attended life drawings classes run by his friend Charles Lucy (see cat. nos. 96-99). He wanted to maintain and build upon his life drawings skills so that the figures he created were as believable as possible.

The pressure on mid-nineteenth century artists to attain anatomical accuracy in their figures is exemplified by the preface to the 1841 edition of *Costume of the Ancients* by Thomas Hope. He states that:

A thorough proficiency in drawing the external anatomy of the human frame must be confessed the first requisite of all historical painting. It is indispensable to the correct representation not only of the parts that are left bare, but even of the clothing in which others are enveloped. If the painter cannot array it according to truth; since the very folds of the raiment must depend on the forms and motions of the body and limbs beneath: above all, he cannot attire it with elegance; since, in order to render his figure pleasing to the eye, the general attitude and proportions of the frame itself should remain distinctly perceptible even through the fullest drapery.¹⁸⁶

Having made studies of each figure in chalk or pencil Brown went onto make studies for individual figures in oil such as the drapery and figure studies on one canvas for

¹⁸⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 121.

Chaucer (Fig. 117). His last preparation was to draw a full size cartoon (for smaller works) or a smaller version which he transferred to the canvas. He used the roundel representing the Catholic Faith (cat. no. 173) in *Wycliffe* as a cartoon. It has been squared up for transfer onto the canvas. Likewise he produced cartoons for figures in *Work* (Fig. 4) which he cut out to place on the canvas drawing in pencil one side and red chalk on the other to aid the transfer of the design.¹⁸⁷ Brown undertook a significant amount of drawing in pencil or chalk on the canvas before beginning to paint.¹⁸⁸ His pencil lines can be seen under ultra-violet light as in *Jesus washing Peter's Feet* or in the case of *Chaucer* where the lines are visible through the paint.¹⁸⁹ From here Brown would begin to work in oil on the canvas but this line of discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis and would lead away from drawing to painting techniques explored in some depth in *Pre-Raphaelite Painting Techniques*.¹⁹⁰

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed paintings of English history executed by Brown between 1843 and 1878. It has argued that his view of history was shaped by the rise of the picturesque mode of historiography. This favoured a people-based exploration of history, focusing on the lives and biographical details of those in the past rather than great battles and events. Using the Birmingham collection it has been possible to show that this mode influenced all aspects of the construction of his history paintings,

¹⁸⁷ One of these still exists and is held at Manchester City Art Gallery (1978.91).

¹⁸⁸ He mentions drawing figures in chalk onto the canvas a number of times in his diary. Good examples of entries relating to this aspect of his working process are 18 and 21 November 1847 (*Op. cit.* at note 66, pp. 15-16).

¹⁸⁹ See Joyce Townsend, Jacqueline Ridge and Stephen Hackney, *Pre-Raphaelite Painting Techniques*, London, 2004, p. 145. According to the Stewart Laidler, Senior Paintings Conservator at the Art Gallery of New South Wales this may have been a deliberate device. The pencil lines are most pronounced where they form the fountain and battlements and these may have been left to create a firmer outline for the architecture (in conversation with the author 9.11.06).

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

from his choice and interpretation of subjects to the practical aspects of executing a picture.

When constructing his history paintings Brown was acutely aware of his viewers. In his essay for *The Germ* he warned the young reader that although 'artists may praise his color [*sic*], drawing or manipulation, his chiaroscuro, or his lines ... the clearness, truth and sentiment, of his work alone will affect the many.'¹⁹¹ Particularly in the early part of his career Brown sought to reach 'the multitude' by exhibiting his work in public and entering national competitions. He chose political and literary heroes from the most popular periods and placed them in settings, almost always, filled with people from a wide range of classes. In this way he participated in the construction of a national identity.

Exhibiting his work also meant that he faced scrutiny by art critics who shaped the public taste for historical accuracy and increased the pressure on artists to research their paintings fully and engage with historical debate. As can be seen by looking at Brown's drawings and historical notes, he relied heavily on the books produced in the picturesque mode as inspiration for the costumes, props and landscapes which filled his canvases, and also for the choice and ethos of his settings.

Although his works show the influences of these sources they also serve as the visual counterpart to these books. Writers, notably Sir Walter Scott, wanted their readers to step back in time and empathise with those from the past. But in many ways looking at a painting like Brown's *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible* was even

¹⁹¹ *Op. cit.* at note 2, pp. 71-72.

better than reading because the viewers were able to see the past before them. As Fairholt pointed out 'the painter possesses still greater power of realising past events, and one that impresses itself more vividly and fully on the mind' than a book.¹⁹² The research of a painter produced a history lesson on canvas and viewers were encouraged to feel part of the scene. This is most obvious in *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* in which the figures were life size and better able to convince the viewer that they were also part of the crowd.

Brown strove to make his scenes as believable and accurate as possible to encourage his audience to imagine that they were looking at a real scene from the past and could learn from it. To him constructing a history picture was about 'fleshing out time.' As an artist his commitment to bringing historical 'truth' to life, his endeavours to find the right subject that would focus on the human element, his dedication to historical accuracy, his desire to use more naturalistic lighting and his skills as a draughtsman can all be summed up as a quest to 'flesh out time' and bring the past to life for his viewers on a two-dimensional canvas. His success can be measured by the praiseworthy review of his 1865 solo exhibition:

The most striking and powerful [painting], in our judgment, is William the Conqueror on the evening of the great battle which gave England to the Normans. ... One feels that this is a real *bona fide* illustration of English history; it brings the past honestly and strongly before us.¹⁹³

¹⁹² *Op. cit.* at note 22, 1846, p. xi.

¹⁹³ Anonymous, 'Mr Madox Brown's Exhibition,' *The Daily Telegraph*, 24 March 1865, p. 3.

CHAPTER 3

FORGOTTEN IMAGES:

THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF FORD MADOX BROWN

The Birmingham collection is rich in objects relating to Ford Madox Brown's work as an illustrator. These include early compositional sketches, original wood blocks and many of the final printed images. Despite such rich holdings Brown is better known for his work as a painter and relatively little has been written on his accomplishments as an illustrator. Scholars have tended to emphasize the minimal number of illustrations he produced and have overlooked the artistic significance of this area of his work which he pursued throughout his career. In *John Everett Millais: Illustrator and Narrator*, Paul Goldman states that Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) 'produced just ten and [Brown] fewer than 20 images in total, and both artists abandoned illustration early in their careers.'¹ Though Rossetti gave up illustrating early on, as will be seen, Brown actually continued to design illustrations until a year before his death. He began producing graphic art at an important artistic juncture in the century when the rise of Pre-Raphaelitism met with the explosion of wood engraving. Yet although Brown is included in numerous studies of Pre-Raphaelite illustrations and graphic art in the 1860s his work elicits far less discussion than that of his contemporaries.² Two academic works have more recently highlighted, but not

¹ Paul Goldman, *John Everett Millais: Illustrator and Narrator*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2004, p. 8.

² The main surveys of Pre-Raphaelite illustration which cover Brown are: Gleeson White, *English Illustration 'The Sixties 1855-70'*, London, 1897; Forrest Reid, *Illustrators of the Sixties*, London, 1928; Eric de Maré, *The Victorian Woodblock Illustrators*, London, 1980; Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books 1850-1870: The Heyday of Wood-engraving*, London, 1994; Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustration: The Pre-Raphaelites, the Idyllic School and the High Victorians*, Aldershot, 1996 and 2004. Due to the broad nature of these surveys they do not discuss Brown's career as an illustrator in depth.

explored in detail, Brown's work as an illustrator by providing lists of his illustrations. In 1991 Susan Casteras organised the exhibition *Pocket Cathedrals: Pre-Raphaelite Book Illustration* which included a section on Brown.³ However, in the catalogue, unlike other artists associated with the Pre-Raphaelite movement such as Holman Hunt and Millais, his illustrations were not discussed in depth. The list of exhibits in the catalogue included many of Brown's graphic works, and revealed that he had produced illustrations for over forty years. A more extensive list of his illustrations has been published more recently by Gregory Suriano in his book *The British Pre-Raphaelite Illustrators* (2004).⁴ The list is a highly useful research tool, even including reprints of illustrations, but in the section on Brown, instead of discussing the merits of his illustration, Suriano chooses to focus on his achievements as a painter.⁵

As with Brown's drawings his illustrations are hardly referred to in works focusing on his life such as *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle* and *The Art of Ford Madox Brown*.⁶ Out of 41 objects in the 'Prints and Drawings' section of the 1964 Ford Madox Brown exhibition only five were related to his illustration and these covered only four designs.⁷ This chapter and its related essay, by the present author,

³ Susan P. Casteras, ed., *Pocket Cathedrals: Pre-Raphaelite Book Illustration*, exh. cat. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1991.

⁴ Gregory R. Suriano, *The British Pre-Raphaelite Illustrators*, Newcastle, USA, and London, UK, 2005.

⁵ The introduction to Suriano's book includes clear and informative descriptions of many of the printing processes used in the nineteenth century. These have become the basis for my own explanations of the various processes with which Brown came into contact during his career as an illustrator.

⁶ Teresa Newman and Raymond Watkinson, *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle*, London, 1991 and Kenneth Bendiner, *The Art of Ford Madox Brown*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1998.

⁷ Cat. nos. 77 and 78 in the exhibition were studies for *The Prisoner of Chillon*, pub. 1857 (cat. nos. 117 and 118); cat. no. 85 was a pen and ink study for *Elijah and the Widow's Son* and cat. no. 86 was the final wood engraving; cat. no. 87 was the sheet of sketches and studies for *Joseph's Coat* (cat. no. 69) and cat. no. 88 was a study for *The Finding of Don Juan* (Mary Bennett, *Ford Madox Brown*, exh. cat., Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, 1964).

in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* are therefore the first scholarly works to explore Brown's work as illustrator in depth.⁸ As well as chronologically discussing individual works it will also examine his changing attitude towards illustration, its connection to his changing methods of artistic production, and by unpicking his style, the artistic influences acting upon him at various points during his career.⁹ It will also explore Brown's role in raising the status of illustration from a lowly genre to an art form in its own right.¹⁰

First Experiments

In Brown's own mind his first attempt at illustrating for publication was not a success. He was asked to produce an illustration for the third volume of the Pre-Raphaelite magazine *The Germ* published in March 1850 (cat. nos. 86 and 87).¹¹ In the PRB journal William Michael Rossetti (1829-1919) recorded that on 22 February 1850,

Gabriel having asked [Brown] to do us an etching ... proposed one of his designs from *King Lear*, which he would execute double the size of the other etchings, requiring a fold down the middle. The subject we last

⁸ Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2008, pp. 32-38. This chapter has grown out of the essay of the same name. The exhibition *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, co-curated by the present author and Tessa Sidey, Curator of Prints and Drawings, BMAG, had a whole section dedicated to Brown's illustration. Out of the 56 objects in the exhibition 15 were related to his published illustrations and covered seven designs published between 1850-1881.

⁹ This chapter will not be discussing printed reproductions of his paintings.

¹⁰ For an excellent, concise overview of the rise of illustration see Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books 1850-1870: The Heyday of Wood-Engraving*, London, 1994, pp. 12-13.

¹¹ From this edition until it ceased publication in May 1850, *The Germ: Thoughts towards Nature in Poetry, Literature and Art* was entitled *Art and Poetry*.

stopped at was the leave-taking of Cordelia and her sisters. Gabriel [proposed] to write an illustrative poem for it.¹²

Years later Brown disagreed with this version of events writing in a letter that

I was hurriedly appealed to one day to supply, at shortest notice, an etching [for *The Germ*]. D. G. Rossetti having with uncontrollable peevishness [?] drawn his etching-point across his copper-plate just as he had completed it – leaving of course the magazine in the lurch for the coming Saturday issue. I, like a good-natured fool, supplied the deficiency on this short notice, & did no small injury to my reputation, I have often thought.¹³

However, it seems that William Michael was correct for later on in the PRB Journal he records that 'Gabriel and Brown spent the evening together on the designs for respective etchings,' suggesting that they were working on illustrations for different numbers of *The Germ* at the same time, and that it was only after both had seen proofs

¹² William E. Fredeman, *The P. R. B. Journal: William Michael Rossetti's Diary of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood 1849-1853*, Oxford, 1975, p. 57. In the end it was William Michael who provided a poem entitled 'Cordelia' to accompany Brown's illustration (*Art and Poetry*, March 1850, reprinted volume, 1901, pp. 97-98). To produce an etching a metal plate is covered in acid resistant varnish into which a design is scratched with a needle, exposing the metal underneath. The plate is then dipped into acid which bites into the metal and leaves a design. This is then printed under pressure onto paper.

¹³ Letter from Ford Madox Brown to Mr Ireland, 9 March 1891, Princeton University Library. This is a particularly interesting letter as Brown states his position within the PRB claiming that 'for the sake of accuracy I would like it to be known that I was never in any way responsible for, as a partner in the speculation [*The Germ*]. I was never in fact a member of the renowned P. R. B. (who used to shout out these cabalistic initials under one another's windows at night) nor was I a shareholder in their magazine. I was only a friend very much interested in their lively ways & novel doctrines & not considering myself anything but a painter.'

of their designs that Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) destroyed his copper plate.¹⁴

As the basis of his design Brown used one of the pen and ink drawings of scenes from *King Lear*, made in 1844. He worked up the scene in which Cordelia leaves her sisters Goneril and Regan (Fig. 11) adding the figure of the Fool writhing around Lear's throne in the centre, and changing Lear's exit so that he and his entourage emerge outside rather than down a long tunnel. However, the vitality and rawness of the earlier pen and ink drawing are lost, the poses of the figures have become stilted and the contrasts of light and dark which he sought are almost non-existent.¹⁵ If compared to the other etchings contributed to *The Germ* Brown's initial attempt seems no more immature or awkward than those by William Holman Hunt (1827-1910), Walter Howell Deverell (1827-1854) and James Collinson (1825-1881) (Figs. 118-120). Inexperience with the etching medium affected all those who designed illustrations for the magazine, indeed it must have been Rossetti's frustration at his inability to master the medium which led him to destroy his first attempt.

However, the differences between Brown's drawing and his illustration can only, in part, be put down to inexperience in etching. Rather, they were a response to the changing tastes in British book illustration. Although the 1844 drawings seem to have been influenced by the work of the illustrator Friedrich August Moritz Retzsch (1779-1857) (Figs. 28-33 and 66) the stylistic similarities have deserted the later etching.¹⁶

The dramatic simplicity of Retzsch's outline style was transferred to the original

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 12, pp. 63 and 67. On 28 February 1850, six days after Brown accepted the commission for *The Germ*, William Michael recorded that his brother, Dante Gabriel, 'went to Brown's in the evening, to have a sketch of his head made on copper as an exercise for Brown in etching. This was done with much freedom of hand' (*Ibid.*, pp. 58-59).

¹⁵ BMAG holds a sketch for another scene, *Lear questioning Cordelia* (cat. no. 82) which has pencil sketches for the figures of Goneril and Regan found in both the Whitworth drawing and the etching.

¹⁶ See chapter 1, pp. 30-36.

drawing but not to the etching which uses a much greater number of thinner, weaker lines to try, unsuccessfully, to add shading and depth to the design. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, as discussed previously, Retzsch's outline style was at the height of its popularity with British illustrators. However, by the mid 1840s the vogue for the simplicity of outlines had begun to pass, and a new style, inspired by the German revivalists' interest in medieval decorated pages, was beginning to replace it.¹⁷ By 1850 the outline style had virtually disappeared from mainstream illustration and Brown may well have wanted to adapt his earlier design to the new taste which included a much greater degree of shading. A similar change can be noted in the career of the illustrator John Franklin (fl. 1828-1868). In 1836 he produced illustrations to *Chevy Chase* (Fig. 121) which revealed his absorption of Retzsch's outline technique in their simple, unshaded style. Six years later he designed another set of illustrations for the same ballad (Fig. 122) but this time 'in place of the flowing lines are rugged contours and carefully hatched shading.'¹⁸ The same description could be applied to Brown's etching for *The Germ* and he never went back to the unshaded outline style of his earlier *Lear* series.

Brown was so disappointed with the finished product that he made his signature illegible and wrote in his diary 'the Etching for the Germ ... cost me 31.6 & brought me in nothing.'¹⁹ Thus at a time when Brown was desperate for paying commissions and a healthy artistic reputation his unfruitful first printed illustration was a costly

¹⁷ Brown designed his *King Lear* series in 1844, at the tail end of British book illustrators' enthusiasm for the outline style. However, the Art Union of London outline drawing competitions continued for another two years showing that Retzsch's style only gradually disappeared from fashion.

¹⁸ William Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art*, New Haven and London, 1979, p. 171.

¹⁹ Virginia Surtees, *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown*, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 72. Although Brown does not specify whether he means shillings or pounds Angela Thirlwell believes it is most likely to be 31 shillings and 6 pence, which would have been £1-11-6d, a considerable sum for an artist who had only a small income (in correspondence with the present author 24.7.08).

disappointment to him. Yet despite his unhappiness with the final etching the members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood were evidently pleased with it and they made sure Brown's name appeared on the contents page.²⁰

Despite Brown's disappointment in 1853 he used the etching as the basis for *The Parting of Cordelia from her Sisters* (Fig. 38), a painted sketch which he later sold to his usual dealer David Thomas White. Although Brown could have reused the design of the original drawing he must have felt that in making the etching he had in fact improved on the composition. In the oil version he retained the figure of the fool writhing around Lear's deserted throne and the changes he made to Lear's exit. As Helen Borowitz points out 'if Brown were faithful to the text, he would have made the Fool exit with the King. Instead he chose to place the Fool's agonized body in the center of the composition,' a change he must have made in order to heighten the pathos of the play and to symbolise the madness of Lear's ill advised decision.²¹ At this stage in his career Brown was suffering from severe financial problems and he needed to find a way of making the illustration pay to justify the vast amount of time he had spent on it. His diary entries for 1850 run out just as he is working on the etching so it is difficult to be sure just how many days he spent on it. However, it must have been a significant amount of time as in just one of the nine days he does record executing the design, he spent 11 hours on it. Having reworked the original composition Brown felt he had already covered the groundwork for a painting. By replicating the composition in oil he was able to recoup some of his losses. The idea

²⁰ William Michael Rossetti recorded that on 13 March 'Brown expressed some apprehension that he might fail to get his etching ready.' Having seen the proof 'Brown, not thinking very highly of his etching, stipulated at first that his name should not be published' but 'was finally persuaded to allow it - everyone else thinking the work excellent' (*Pre-Raphaelite Diaries and Letters*, London, 1900, pp. 266, 270).

²¹ Helen O. Borowitz, 'King Lear in the Art of Ford Madox Brown,' *Victorian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3, Spring 1978, p. 326.

of working up a composition, most often produced first as an illustration, in oil or watercolour became a money-making strategy which Brown gradually developed, largely in response to his acute financial situation.²² For this reason his efforts as an illustrator must be considered alongside his work as a painter as the two are often interlinked, a fact often passed over by scholars working on Brown.²³

Around the same time the Dickinson brothers, friends and business associates of Brown, commissioned two illustrations from him.²⁴ Although these can not be considered 'illustrations' in the literary sense these projects gave him further experience of working with printing media and introduced him to lithography and wood engraving. His diary reveals that, in addition to the etching for *The Germ*, in early March 1850 he was also working on a commission from the Dickinson brothers to produce an illustration of 'Lord Jesus.'²⁵ In fact, he received this commission before putting himself forward to supply an illustration for *The Germ*: a diary entry of 3 November 1849 records that he 'drew a figure of the Lord Jesus for the Dickinsons.'²⁶ However, like the Cordelia etching, Brown was unimpressed with the results: in 1854 he glumly recalled in his diary 'the drawing of the Lord Jesus was paid me £2. They afterwards lithographed it in shameful stile [*sic*] so as to cause me

²² This was not an uncommon artistic practice but is one which Brown seems to have resisted until forced to adopt this method of production due to financial necessity.

²³ Mary Bennett briefly acknowledged the link between Brown's career as an illustrator and as a painter (catalogue entry for *Elijah and the Widow's Son* in *The Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat., Tate, London, 1984, p. 204). However, as there has been relatively little in depth discussion of his illustrations this important link has not been elaborated upon.

²⁴ The Dickinson Brothers were 'a firm who dealt in print and lithograph publishing and selling and acted as photographic agents' (*Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 15). Robert Dickinson, the elder brother, was head of the firm. Lowes Cato Dickinson (1819-1908) was a portrait painter and friend of the PRB.

²⁵ 2 March 1850 (*Ibid.*, p. 70).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69. Surtees notes that a pen and ink study for the head is in a private collection.

much annoyance.'²⁷ During the late 1840s and early 1850s Brown seems to have worked for the Dickinsons on a regular basis. But, as Virginia Surtees notes

it is difficult to come to any clear understanding of Brown's work for the Dickinson's. He regarded it as hackwork ... while his grandson referred to it as being "not actually degrading. Brown's part was to 'pull the pictures together' another artist doing the actual enlarging". In the portrait of Lord John Russell (National Portrait Gallery) ... signed by Lowes Dickinson [a dealer and portraitist] and dated '1855,' Brown did more than pull it together, he appears to have designed and painted the composition.²⁸

However, in 1849 they commissioned him to paint an historical portrait, of his own design, of William Shakespeare (1850, oil on canvas, Manchester City Art Gallery) 'for lithographic reproduction.'²⁹ Both artist and employer appear to have been pleased with the results of this collaboration. To celebrate the brothers held a private view of the portrait at their premises at 114 New Bond Street. As Brown recalled in his diary he 'designed a card for Dickinson Exhibition of Shakespear [*sic*] on which I worked several days for no remuneration.'³⁰ The Birmingham collection holds a copy of this wood engraved invitation (cat. no. 131) which shows greater confidence and fluidity than the etching but perhaps this is not surprising as Brown would not have engraved the design himself but would have relied upon a trained wood engraver to

²⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 72.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

translate his drawing into a carved woodblock ready for printing.³¹ With little documentation surrounding the production of the invitation it is difficult to gauge his involvement with the wood engraving but it seems likely that this was his first experience of drawing on the boxwood blocks used in the process. This early insight must have been useful later on in his career when wood engraving dominated the production of illustrations.

Although Brown was not happy with his first attempts at producing illustrations for printing the Rossetti brothers were keen to promote him as an illustrator. In May 1853 Rossetti wrote to Brown to discuss the possibility of him producing an illustration for another journal. Rossetti explained that he had met 'T'

who is connected with a magazine to be called *The Artist*, on which my brother is engaged. ... I met him casually to-day, and he told me that Millais (who they had engaged if possible to do the etching for No. 1) found himself prevented by other business, and he asked me whether I thought you would undertake it. I understand they have *plenty of tin to begin with*, and I suppose would of course pay well. We agreed that T. had better call on you and come to some understanding, and he wanted me to get you to name a day when he could call at Hampstead. If you let me know I will let *him* know; at present I am ignorant of his precise address, but write to you at once, as, in case you wish to do the etching. I suppose the longer time you have the better - I believe (I fancy I have heard at least) that the subject will be at your option, and they will afterwards get

³¹ In wood-engraving the design is drawn onto a boxwood block, by the artist, before being engraved. Several blocks can be joined together to produce a larger surface (see cat. no. 70, p. 236).

an article written to it. But the chief thing is, to *lay it on thick* as to payment, as I believe they really have tin.³²

Knowing his friend's acute financial situation Dante Gabriel Rossetti continued to encourage Brown to obtain the commission. Just over a week later dated he wrote again:

I fancy that, however short-lived the journal might prove, there *is* tin just now. The size is large quarto, so that the etching work need not be so *very* delicate I suppose. As to my own aptitude, I dare say - if the thing goes on and they ask *me*, I may do something, but in the present instance on Millais' declining it, they asked me especially about you.³³

However, this commission appears not to have come to fruition; according to William Michael Rossetti 'Brown did not produce the proposed etching.'³⁴ Despite this setback Brown's diary reveals that in 1854 his interest in illustration was rekindled. He experimented with different media and worked on three separate compositions. In summarising his achievements for the year so far he wrote:

[spent] 10 days on a lithograph of Winandermere [*sic*] (a failure), nearly a

³² Letter from Dante Gabriel Rossetti to Ford Madox Brown, 6 May 1853 (Oswald Doughty and John Robert Wahl, eds., *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti 1835-1860*, Vol.1, Oxford, 1965, pp. 139-40).

'Tin' is a slang term Rossetti used to mean money.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 141, letter from Dante Gabriel Rossetti to Ford Madox Brown, 14 May 1853.

³⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 34.

month on an etching of King Lear, yet unfinished, 6 days on a Lythotint [sic] of “Baby” (a failure).³⁵

Like his illustration for *The Germ*, in 1854 Brown used other earlier compositions as the basis for his experiments, including another scene from *King Lear*, and three different methods of reproducing his images. His desire to try various graphic media is an interest commented on by Ford Madox Hueffer when discussing his grandfather’s attempts to reproduce his painting *Winandermere* as a lithograph:

Chromo-lithography was at that date by no means the vulgarised commercial process it subsequently became, and at every stage of his career Madox Brown took a lively, almost naïve, interest in the various improvements and refinements in mechanical reproductive processes. The present one would not seem to have afforded him much satisfaction. Of it only five copies were printed, and then the stone was rubbed out. Subsequently four of the lithographs were destroyed, the remaining one, after having been coloured in body colour, being presented some years subsequently to John Marshall, the surgeon.³⁶

³⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 19, pp. 80, 82. A lithograph is produced by drawing a design onto the surface of a moist limestone block using a crayon made of greasy lithographic ink. When ink is applied to the surface it only sticks to those areas of the stone previously fixed with lithographic ink. A lithotint is ‘a kind of lithography by which the effect of a tinted drawing is produced, as if made with India ink’ (*Webster’s Revised Unabridged Dictionary*, MICRA Inc., 1996, 1998). The etching for King Lear is mentioned again in Brown’s diary over a year later: ‘I began a small king Lear from the drawing I had formerly made for the etching which I have never finished of the picture in John Seddons possession [sic]’ (2 Dec 1855, *Ibid.*, p. 156).

³⁶ Ford Madox Hueffer, *Ford Madox Brown: his life and works*, London, 1896, p. 92. Chromo-lithography is a process in which each colour uses a separate stone. It is not clear, due to the discrepancy between Brown’s account and his grandson’s, if he was experimenting with black and white or coloured lithography.

Like his previous attempts these printed compositions did not satisfy Brown and it is easy to see how scholars have come to focus on his negative attitude towards illustration. However, just two years later he made another design for publication.

The Prisoner of Chillon: Death and Grotesque Realism

A number of Brown's commissions for illustrations came from his friendship with the Pre-Raphaelites and it was through Rossetti's connections that he got his second published assignment. In his diary entry for 4 March, 1856, Brown recorded: 'came home and found Dalziel here with a note from Rossetti, wants me to do him a Prisoner of Chilon [*sic*] on wood.'³⁷ George (1815-1902) and Edward Dalziel (1817-1905) were the leading reproductive wood-engravers in England in the second half of the nineteenth century and had been given the task of engraving the anthology *The Poets of the Nineteenth Century*.³⁸ The illustration they wanted Brown to design was for Byron's poem *The Prisoner of Chillon* (cat. no. 119). For this project Brown chose to depict what happened after the death of the middle brother. He illustrated the lines

He died and they unlocked his chain,
And scoop'd for him a shallow grave
Even from the cold earth of our cave,
I begg'd them as a boon to lay
His corpse in dust whereon the day

³⁷ 4 March 1856 (*Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 165). The note from Rossetti, written 3 March 1856, reads 'Mr Dalziel, whose name must be well known to you, has kindly called on me with reference to a selection from the Poets, which he is preparing to illustrate with Wood-engravings. I have engaged to do one from Browning, should anything of his be included, and have given Mr. Dalziel this note, for you, in case you should be able to be of assistance to him' (*Op. cit.* at note 32, p. 289). It is not clear which brother met Brown.

³⁸ Rev. R. A. Willmott, ed., *The Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1857.

Might shine-it was a foolish thought,
But then within my brain it wrought,
That even in death his freeborn breast
In such a dungeon could not rest.
I might have spared my idle prayer-
They coldly laugh'd, and laid him there:
The flat and turfless earth above
The being we so much did love
His empty chain above it leant,
Such murder's fitting monument.³⁹

Rossetti may well have recommended his friend, knowing that he had a passion for Byron's work. In the early years of his career Brown had painted five scenes from poems by Byron, which included an earlier scene from *The Prisoner of Chillon* (Fig. 35).⁴⁰ He also selected Byron as one of the great English poets for his unfinished triptych *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* which later became *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*.

Brown's lack of confidence in producing illustrations for reproduction was still evident five years after his first attempt for *The Germ* as can be seen from a telling diary entry. On the day he wrote to Edward Dalziel to agree to undertake the illustration, he added a frustrated note in his diary lamenting that 'in the evng [*sic*] I designed [for *The Prisoner of Chillon*] but could absolutely do nothing. I kept

³⁹ Lord Byron, *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, London, 1857, p. 252. Although these are the lines Brown illustrates, the poem was actually placed above the lines 'But even these at length grew cold. / Our voices took a dreary tone, / An echo of the dungeon stone, / A grating sound-not full and free' (*Op. cit.* at note 38, p. 111).

⁴⁰ See chapter 1.

thinking of Gilbert & his great facility.’⁴¹ The artist he was in awe of was Sir John Gilbert (1817-1897), a painter and prolific illustrator who had recently produced the designs for an edition of *Longfellow’s Poems* (1855) published by Routledge and engraved by the Dalziel brothers. Brown had visited the Dalziels on 5 March, the day after he found one of them waiting for him, and borrowed a copy of *Longfellow’s Poems*.⁴² Looking at the illustrations today it is easy to see why he was so overwhelmed; Gilbert's ability to create designs in such a wide variety of genres is highly impressive (see Figs. 123-126). He appears to have felt at ease creating all manner of illustrations from dark, brooding landscapes, to religious scenes, still lives, idyllic rural scenes and macabre, supernatural creatures. According to the Dalziel Brothers when Brown agreed to accept the commission he wrote to them, enclosing the book and commenting that: 'the bearer will return the volume of 'Longfellow,' which I have looked through with great delight; and I think it bears honourable testimony to the high excellence which wood engraving has attained in this country.'⁴³

As well as a copy of the printed illustration, BMAG holds two of the drawings Brown made for *The Prisoner of Chillon*: an early compositional sketch and a detailed study of a corpse for the figure of the dead brother (cat. nos. 118 and 119). In order to make this minutely detailed study Brown went twice to University College Hospital where

⁴¹ 6 March 1856 (*Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 166).

⁴² Brown’s diary notes that during this visit to the Dalziels on 5 March he was shown ‘Millais’ wood cuts of Tennyson [*sic*]. They seemed to me admirable’ (*Ibid.*, p. 166. See below for further discussion of the Moxon edition of Tennyson's poems to which this quotation refers).

⁴³ George and Edward Dalziel, *The Brothers Dalziel. A Record of Work in Conjunction with many of the Most Distinguished Artists of the Period 1840-1890*, London, 1901, p. 120. In correspondence with the present author, Paul Goldman pointed out that the Dalziels' memoirs are not completely reliable: ‘they sometimes get the dates of their own books wrong and they are notoriously boastful about themselves’ (28.12.07). The Dalziels' self praise is tempered by a comment made by Rossetti to William Allingham after seeing a printed version of *The Prisoner of Chillon*: 'Did you see his [Brown's] woodcut in the *Poets of 19th Century*-very fine still, though sadly mauled' (letter postmarked 18 December, 1856, *Op. cit.* at note 32, p. 310). However, this also highlights Rossetti's difficult relationship with the Dalziels which was particularly tempestuous during the production of the Moxon *Tennyson* (see below).

his friend Dr John Marshall supplied him with a cadaver to draw.⁴⁴ Brown's decision to design an illustration of this rather gruesome scene from the poem, and his approach to the dead body, in particular, point towards a number of influences acting upon him at the time: Hogarth's engravings, the 'German' grotesque and the ethos of the Pre-Raphaelites.

Brown had admired Hogarth since the start of his career. As discussed in chapter one his admiration is evident in works based on the eighteenth-century novels *A Sentimental Journey* (cat. nos. 151 and 152) and *The Vicar of Wakefield* (Fig. 67) produced in the early 1840s. Only three years before accepting the commission to illustrate *The Prisoner of Chillon* Brown had made a pilgrimage to visit Hogarth's house. This visit proved so inspiring that he wrote three sonnets to the artist entitled *Hogarth's House*, *Hogarth's Grave* and *Hogarth's Spirit*.⁴⁵ When designing his illustration to *The Prisoner of Chillon* in 1857 Brown appears to have been influenced by several series of satirical engravings by Hogarth containing dead bodies and squalid living conditions. The first of these is *Industry and Idleness*, a set of twelve engravings published in 1747 and telling the contrasting tales of two apprentices Francis Goodchild and Tom Idle. Whilst the industrious apprentice is hard-working, godly and civic minded, the idle apprentice leads a dissolute life, whoring, gambling and thieving. His misdeeds ultimately end in his public execution. *The Idle 'Prentice betrayed by his Whore, & taken in a Night Cellar with his Accomplice* (Fig. 127) appears to have been the source of inspiration for the dead body in *The Prisoner of Chillon*. Both scenes are set in a dark underground rooms and in the background of Hogarth's engraving a dead body is being pushed into a rectangular trap door, head-

⁴⁴ See cat. no. 118, pp. 267.

⁴⁵ Held in the Ford Madox Brown Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, MSS no. C0199 (no. 155).

first and flat on its back. Although the corpse in Brown's illustration is being laid in a dug grave, it is in virtually the same position, and includes the strange hand pose used by the earlier artist to suggest death and *rigor mortis*. The skeletal appearance and facial expression of Brown's corpse may have been inspired by the half-dead figure on the right in *Gin Lane* (Fig. 128) whose ribs protrude grotesquely. However, the detailed study of a cadaver made by Brown for his illustration shows that the dead model he was working from shared these characteristics.

The macabre and grotesque atmosphere which pervades *The Prisoner of Chillon* and the portrayal of Tom Idle's life in *Industry and Idleness* is also present in *Gin Lane*, *Beer Street* (Fig. 128) and *The Four Stages of Cruelty*, both issued in the spring of 1751. The illustrations in these series, notably *The Reward of Cruelty* (Fig. 129) depicting a dissection, provided images of gruesomely realistic dead bodies. However, German illustration may have provided a more contemporary source of inspiration for Brown.

Since the 1840s the world of illustration had been dominated by work produced in Germany.⁴⁶ As has already been suggested Retzsch's designs influenced Brown's drawings for *King Lear* and although he seems to have moved away stylistically from Retzsch when designing his first etching for *the Germ*, the macabre atmosphere of Retzsch's series such as *Faust*, *Leonora* and *The Parson's Daughter* resonate in his

⁴⁶ Brown's close friend William Cave Thomas had studied in Germany under Wilhelm von Kaulbach (c. 1805-1874) in 1842 (*Op. cit.* at note 18, p. 62). It is likely that it was under his instructions that Brown went to visit Overbeck and Cornelius, the leaders of the German Nazarene movement, in Rome in the mid 1840s. In his diary Brown notes going to Thomas' studio to look at German prints (*Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 18).

illustration to the *Prisoner of Chillon* (see Figs. 130-133).⁴⁷ Retzsch's use of the grotesque was part of a widespread interest from artists working in Germany in the early nineteenth century in emulating Dürer's use of grotesque animals and figures in his prayer book decorations. This can clearly be seen in Peter von Cornelius' 1815 title page illustration to *Goethe's Faust* (Fig. 134). The fascination for early grotesque continued and was taken up by the following generation of artists such as Johann Peter Hasenclever (1810-1853) (Fig. 135) and in particular Cornelius' pupil Alfred Rethel (1816-1859). In 1849, inspired by Hans Holbein the younger's *Dance of Death* (1538) and the recent revolutions in Germany, Rethel produced a series of six prints called *Auch ein Totentanz* (Another Dance of Death) (Fig. 136) depicting the presence of a skeletal death in modern life. The prints were successful in Germany and spurred on by their good reception, he published a further three before 1853 (Fig. 137). Largely through book illustrations, the same interest in the grotesque was transported to England. New editions of Holbein's *Dance of Death* were on sale in the 1840s and when Rethel's series was published in England it was as successful as in Germany.⁴⁸ It appears that Brown absorbed these influences which can be seen if his previous depiction of the poem (Fig. 35) is compared to his later illustration. The figures in the earlier painting are more idealised than naturalistic, and an interest in Romantic artists, notably Delacroix, pervades the work. Through the depiction of contorted figures both depictions echo Byron's interest in captive men as symbols of genius, however, only the later wood-engraving contains the elements of 'German'

⁴⁷ Friedrich August Moritz Retzsch, *Outlines to Goethe's Faust*, Stuttgart, 1816 and *Outlines to Buerger's Ballads: Leonora, the Song of the brave Man, and the Parson's Daughter of Taubenhayn*, Leipzig, 1840. Retzsch's works continued to be published in England well into the 1890s. Their success was largely due to his ability to narrate dramatic stories with little reliance on the often more complicated, original text.

⁴⁸ For example Hans Holbein, *Dance of Death with an historical and literary Introduction*, ed. Frederick W. Fairholt, London, 1849.

grotesque; a dug grave and a realistic looking dead body lying prominently in the foreground.

The 'realism' in Brown's depiction of the corpse owes much to his dedication to 'truth to nature.' It is not the intention in this thesis to enter into the debate on whether the PRB took up Brown's desire to depict in art what he saw in nature, or if he absorbed their enthusiasm for the close observation of nature based on the ideas of John Ruskin. However, it seems necessary to state, here, that it is likely the Brotherhood were drawn to Brown's art because they saw in it a naturalism that was a move away from the artificial lighting and rules impressed upon them by the Royal Academy schools. At the same time Brown must have felt he had met kindred spirits who like him wanted to break away from the conventional rules of painting and depict on canvas what they saw in nature. By 1857 Brown and the Pre-Raphaelites were well known for their style which involved representing the objects in their work in minute detail, following close observation from nature. Brown's diary is filled with references to the pains he took to depict objects in this way including sitting outside on a cold day until his hand had gone blue in order to show it correctly in his painting *The Last of England* (Fig. 5), set on a grey day off the coast of Dover. In his diary he also refers to drawing himself in the 'looking glass in shirts & draws' in order to make figures such as the jailer on the left and the pleading brother as realistic as possible.⁴⁹ This same ethos can be seen in his approach to designing *The Prisoner of Chillon*. He does not shy away from including the unpalatable image of a dead body but relishes depicting it in as much detail as possible. This is particularly noticeable in his

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 167.

minutely observed study of a corpse (cat. no. 118).⁵⁰ His remarkable drawing may also have been a homage to the painting which began his personal journey towards truth to nature: Holbein's *Dead Christ* (Fig. 138).⁵¹ He saw this picture in Basel on his way to Rome and it had a profound effect on his work. The delight with which Brown records making the drawing in his diary suggests that he revelled in the challenge to take on the work of the sixteenth century master.⁵²

It is not only the detailed study of a corpse which reveals his Pre-Raphaelite approach to this illustration. The contorted poses and compressed pictorial space which they inhabit are further stylistic traits associated with the group. Brown uses a very low view point; only the jailer in the background is full length, the other figures kneel or bend to fit into the constrained space he has created. The head of the body is only just within the perimeter of the illustration. The compressed pictorial space heightens the feeling of confinement and the intensity of the brothers' despair. It also echoes other Pre-Raphaelite illustrations such as Rossetti's *The Maids of Elfen Mere* from *The Music Master* (pub. 1855) (Fig. 139) and Millais' *Love* from *The Poets of the Nineteenth Century* (Fig. 140). In these designs the figures are boxed into tiny spaces by the borders of the design and small details such as a foot, an elbow or billowing hair have burst out of the design and been cropped, adding to the intensity.

The sheer number of hours he put into the commission highlights how Brown, like the other Pre-Raphaelites, 'placed illustration on a level with [his] paintings' and 'emphasized creative integrity and hard work in all areas.'⁵³ Unfortunately for Brown,

⁵⁰ A later pencil study at the British Museum shows the detailed corpse integrated into the composition.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.* at note 18, p. 224.

⁵² *Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 167.

⁵³ *Op. cit.* at note 4, p. 39.

although his attention to detail helped him produce a remarkable design, giving him a reputation as a competent illustrator, by itself the commission was not financially rewarding.

In order to make his work as an illustrator pay he developed his earlier money-making strategy. Unlike the majority of his previous illustrations, this time Brown had designed a brand new composition making his financial strategy far more necessary. Brown was unwilling to see his illustration for *The Prisoner of Chillon* as 'lesser' art and therefore took almost as much time designing it as he would have done a painting. Having taken so much time on it his need to make it financially viable was far greater than before, especially as he had received only £8 from the Dalziels for the illustration itself. In 1858 he was commissioned by the Pre-Raphaelite patron Thomas Plint to paint a vivid watercolour version for thirty guineas, almost four times as much as he had originally received (Fig. 141).⁵⁴ For this commission Brown reversed the composition, and used the tiny brushstrokes and stippling technique associated with Rossetti's watercolours, revealing the close links between their work at the time (see. Fig 142).

Millais and the Moxon Tennyson: Hope for further Commissions

Brown's experience of designing for the Dalziels produced in him a much more optimistic view of illustration. As the brothers noted in their memoirs, Brown, 'subsequently, on seeing the volume, *The Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, ... wrote:

⁵⁴ Thomas Plint was an industrialist from Leeds. He also commissioned Brown's painting *Work* (1852-1865, oil on canvas, Manchester City Art Gallery).

Let me take this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the work you last brought out, and the drawings by [Thomas] Dalziel in particular, which are most poetic and took us by surprise, although whether yours or your brother's I as yet, know not. The Millais [*sic*] are admirable, both as regards him and the engraver.⁵⁵

Of all those in the inner circle of Pre-Raphaelites, Millais was by far the most successful illustrator.⁵⁶ In comparison to Brown, Rossetti and Holman Hunt, his output was staggering. This must have been largely due to his ability to produce extraordinarily good illustrations, for magazines and books, in a relatively short period of time, unlike Brown and Rossetti who appear to have agonized over each design. Some of Millais's most beautiful illustrations were for the Moxon edition of Tennyson's *Poems*. For this project the publisher Edward Moxon approached three Pre-Raphaelite artists, Millais, Holman Hunt and Rossetti, as well as other established artists, notably William Mulready (1786-1863) and Daniel Maclise (1806-1870) but Brown was not invited to contribute.⁵⁷ The Dalziel Brothers supervised the wood engraving.

Brown recorded seeing some of Millais's designs in his diary and his remarks reveal that his approach to the text was often more literal than that of the younger Pre-Raphaelites. On 20th [April 1856] he wrote

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 43. p. 122. Thomas (1823-1906) was one of George and Edward's brothers.

⁵⁶ See *op. cit.* at note 1.

⁵⁷ The other artists who were commissioned to produce illustrations for the publication were: Thomas Creswick (1811-1869), John Callcott Horsley (1817-1903) and Clarkson Stanfield (1793-1867). Of the artists employed who had not been part of the PRB all were full members of the RA except Horsley who was an associate member.

Wednesday last I finished the drawing on wood of the P. of Chillon having worked at it pretty regularly I saw [Millais] at Lewards on Monday, showed me proofs of a Dozen wood cuts he had done, most of them very beautifully drawn & full of beauties but scarcely illustrations from Tennyson [*sic*].⁵⁸

Brown could easily have been thinking of Millais' illustration to *The Sisters* when he wrote this comment (Fig. 143). Rather than depicting the woman driven to murder in revenge for her sister's death, Millais chose instead to illustrate the dark castle turret in which the murder takes place. This allowed the reader to imagine for themselves the characters in the poem, and gave Millais greater artistic freedom to fully exploit the nature of the medium to produce dazzling contrasts of black and white. Whereas Brown's designs clearly illustrate the text and include minute details to enhance the reader's understanding of it, both Rossetti and Millais, to a lesser extent, liked to 'allegorize on [their] own hook' creating designs that used the text merely as a spring board for their artistic visions.⁵⁹ In *The Prisoner of Chillon* Brown included elements described by Byron in the text, notably, the rings and chains attached to the pillars, and the laughing gaolers who dig the grave. Rossetti's designs are much freer and because of this his illustrations, particularly *The Palace of Art* (Fig. 144), were not well liked by Tennyson.⁶⁰ Despite these differences the artists were united in their belief of the importance of illustration. As Paul Goldman states 'at this particular moment' these artists 'placed illustration in a more central position,' making it an

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 169.

⁵⁹ Letter dated 23 January 1855 quoted in Forrest Reid, *Illustrators of the Sixties*, London, 1928, pp. 31-2.

⁶⁰ Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustration*, Aldershot, 2004, p. 2.

appealing subject in its own right for readers and other artists alike.⁶¹ As will be seen for Brown, in particular, this view of illustration gained further importance as an increasing number of his paintings were based on compositions first designed as illustrations.

Despite Millais' ease of execution, Rossetti, 'drove Moxon near to distraction, was dilatory in [the] execution [of his five designs and] troublesome to Dalziel the engraver' and Millais championed Brown as a replacement artist.⁶² On the same night as Brown admired Millais' designs, he noted in his diary that Millais, 'proposed that he should get Moxon to give me some to do, which might considerably modify any opinion adverse to the merits of his [illustrations].'⁶³ It appears that Millais did approach Moxon for two weeks later Brown wrote:

Met Millais ... N. B. Millais told me that he had got Moxon to give me the designs for Tennyson [*sic*] which were for Rossetti as he would never do them. Ergo Briccum est. Of course I will not take Gabriels [*sic*] work without his consent [*sic*].⁶⁴

Rossetti must have objected to this plan as Brown did not design any illustrations for the Moxon Tennyson. Rossetti may have been particularly disgruntled with Millais'

⁶¹ *Op. cit.* at note 10, pp. 79-80.

⁶² 8 May 1856 (*Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 172).

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 169.

⁶⁴ 7 April 1856 (*Ibid.* p. 172). Surtees notes that, 'Rossetti ... extorted £5 more for each design than was given to the other contributors.'

suggestion, as he had himself tried to persuade Moxon to include Brown in the project.⁶⁵

Dalziel's Bible Gallery: Orientalism and historical Research

Despite Brown's exclusion from the Tennyson project, the Dalziels were enthusiastic about his work, and he was recruited for another of their projects. One of the brothers' leading strategies was to commission contemporary artists to illustrate the books on which they were working.⁶⁶ From 1863 Brown and a number of other artists including Holman Hunt, Frederick Sandys and Simeon Solomon were approached by the brothers to produce designs for an illustrated Bible.⁶⁷ The Dalziels were motivated by their own evangelical faith but also the possibility of a very profitable venture.⁶⁸ From the 1830s there had been an enormous surge in the publication of Bibles and 'by 1861 nearly four million Bibles were issued annually in Great Britain.'⁶⁹ In particular, the brothers wanted to rival Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld's highly successful *Bilderbibel*, or *Bible Pictures*, published first in Germany in 1851, and then in England in 1855.⁷⁰ However, the Dalziels were unable to get their version published until 1881.⁷¹ By this time the idea of an illustrated

⁶⁵ In an undated letter to Edward Moxon Rossetti states 'nothing would please me better than that Mr. Madox Brown should do *Vision of Sin*, as I hear Hunt proposed to you. His name *ought* by all means to be in the work' (*Op. cit.* at note 32, p. 316).

⁶⁶ According to Simon Cooke, this strategy came from the brothers' desire to promote themselves as 'the foremost engravers of their time ... but also as sensitive patrons of the arts, almost as artists in their own right' ('The Dalziels' Bible Gallery,' *The Private Library*, 5th series, vol. 10, no. 2, Summer 2007, p. 62).

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 43, p. 101.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 61.

⁶⁹ Donato Esposito, '*Dalziels' Bible Gallery* (1881): Assyria and the [sic] Biblical Illustration in nineteenth-century Britain,' in *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*, ed. Steven W. Holloway, Sheffield, 2006, p. 270.

⁷⁰ The Dalziels' rivalry with Schnorr's publication indicates that German book illustration was still highly regarded in the 1860s.

⁷¹ *Dalziel's Bible Gallery*, London, George Routledge and Sons, 1881.

Bible had been dropped and it was compiled as a Bible Gallery aimed at the higher end of the market. The book did not sell well and became a commercial failure.⁷²

Despite the long delay in publishing, Brown, like most of the artists involved in the project, actually designed his illustrations between 1863 and 1865. In a letter dated 19 November 1863 the Dalziels wrote to him, 'we send 6 subjects from which you can select 3 or if they do not suit you then we must think of more or perhaps you can suggest what you would like to do.'⁷³ The subjects they selected for Brown were:

The Brothers show Joseph's Coat to Jacob

Moses & Aaron numbering the People

Numbers C1

Spies bringing the Grapes

Numbers C12 [actually Chapter 13]

Moses sets Joshua before Eleazer C27

Destruction of the Golden Calf

Deuteronomy C9

Moses delivers the law into the

hands of the Priests C31

⁷² The Dalziels called it a 'dead failure' (*Op. cit.* at note 43, p. 256).

⁷³ Letter to Ford Madox Brown from the Dalziel brothers, 19 November 1863 (V&A, (MSL/1995/14/18/9).

Elijah [paper torn] [and the Widow's Son / Kings] C17 / v23.⁷⁴

As a letter written on 27 November indicates Brown immediately chose *Joseph's Coat* and *Elijah and the Widow's Son* and had already begun working on them (cat. nos. 66-68 and 71-73).⁷⁵ He may well have been drawn to them because of the ample possibilities they offered to show the intense emotions of grief and extreme relief.⁷⁶ He toyed with the idea of designing 'The destruction of the golden calf' but felt he would rather undertake a subject of his suggestion. 'The other four I very much fear I could make nothing of—so perhaps you may find some one else willing to take them.'⁷⁷ Instead he suggested

Viz *Meeting of Jacob & Esau. Gen [Genesis] XXXIII*, The fear of the people at the presence of God - Moses & Aaron enter the cloud on Mount Sinai Ex [Exodus] XX, Jacob serves 7 years & they appear to him as a few days through his love for Rachel Gen XXIX, Ehud says to Eglon king of Moab "I have a message from God unto thee - and Eglon arose from his seat & Ehud took the dagger concealed beneath his thigh Judges III, "*Deborah Judges Israel*" Judges IV, Barak & Deborah pursue Sisera Jael shows them how he lies dead. Judges IV (N.B. in this last though not expressly stated Deborah *might be brought in with effect*).⁷⁸

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* (Letter from the Dalziel brothers, 19 November 1863, V&A)

⁷⁵ Letter quoted in full in Deborah Cherry, *An annotated Edition of the Diary and selected Letters of Ford Madox Brown 1850-1870*, unpublished PhD thesis, London University, 1977, pp. 119-120.

⁷⁶ As shown in chapter 1, Brown often favoured scenes which allowed him to depict extreme emotions.

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 75, p. 120.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

From these suggestions the obscure subject of *The Death of Eglon* was agreed (cat. nos. 62-64). Brown completed *Elijah and the Widow's Son* by early March 1864 and *Joseph's Coat* by early October of the same year.⁷⁹ After this he told the Dalziel Brothers, 'If you wish it I can now go on & do you 2 or 3 off hand without stopping. The subject I should like to begin would be Rahab letting the spies down from the window Joshua II.15, or Ehud saying to Eglon King Moab, "I have a message to thee from God" Judges III 17.20.'⁸⁰ Despite his enthusiasm they must have asked him to complete only *The Death of Eglon* as the subject of Rahab letting the spies down from the window did not appear in the *Bible Gallery*. The three completed illustrations certainly impressed the Dalziels, who wrote in their memoirs:

Of Ford Madox Brown's three contributions we have chosen "Elijah and the Widow's Son," as being not only an original conception of the subject, but perhaps one of the most beautiful specimens of manipulative skill he ever produced. He called it an etching, and so it was to all intents, it being perfectly pure line work. Although more beautiful, it is in no way finer than "Joseph's Coat," or "The Death of Eglon."⁸¹

The earlier German bible inspired several of the artists hired by the Dalziels. Frederick Richard Pickersgill (1820-1900) was particularly impressed by Schnorr's designs and the classical simplicity of his illustration *Rahab and the Spies* (Fig. 145) mirrors that found in *The Bible in Pictures*. At least one of the illustrations Brown chose to design had a predecessor in Schnorr's bible. In *Elijah reviving the Son of the*

⁷⁹ Letters from Ford Madox Brown to the Dalziel Brothers dated 9 March and 12 October 1864 (British Library ADD/MSS/39168H53-54).

⁸⁰ Letter from Ford Madox Brown to the Dalziel Brothers dated 12 October 1864 (British Library ADD/MSS/39168H54)

⁸¹ *Op. cit.* at note 43, p. 252.

Widow (Fig. 146) the German artist chose to show the exact moment when the child is brought back to life. However, in *Elijah and the Widow's Son* (cat. nos. 66-68) Brown preferred to focus on the mother's extreme relief and gratitude at seeing her son alive again. Instead of showing Elijah inside performing the miracle he portrays him walking down the steps from his room towards the widow, carrying the healthy child to her. Using the stairs, the railing and Elijah's trailing coat Brown produces a striking diagonal composition across the centre of his design. This reinforces the idea of the child, who was moments before close to heaven, returning to this world and to his mother. Unlike Schnorr, Brown's figures do not appear to conform to the classical ideal, their muscularity is not striking, their faces are full of emotion and are not handsome or beautiful by classical standards. As with *The Prisoner of Chillon* all three of his designs for *The Bible Gallery* have the stylistic traits of the Pre-Raphaelites: minute attention to detail coupled with an intense compression of space. From the tiny feathers in the decorations on Eglon's throne to the blades of grass in *Joseph's Coat*, Brown packs as much detail as possible into these three designs. In each the focus is very much on the human drama, with little space extending above, below or either side of the figures. Although Brown had never travelled to the Middle East he had seen the work of close friends, Thomas Seddon and William Holman Hunt, who had visited the region, and seems to have worked hard to reproduce the effect of the light in the Holy Land with areas of blanched, white in his designs. These light effects are intensified by the compression of space, and are most noticeable in *Elijah and the Widow's Son* which includes a large, startlingly white area at the top of the design, offset by the shadow of the swallow returning to its nest.⁸²

⁸² See cat. no. 65 p. 232 for how the wood-engraver achieved this effect.

Brown wrote of the effect he wished to capture in his solo exhibition catalogue noting that, 'the effect is vertical sunlight, such as exists in southern latitudes.'⁸³

It is in his desire to appear as historically accurate as possible that Brown deviates most from Schnorr's previous designs. As early as 1850 Brown had advised that when beginning a history painting, an artist's first task was 'to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the character of the times, and the habits of the people, which he is about to represent.'⁸⁴ In the catalogue to his 1865 solo exhibition he reveals that when it came to his religious illustrations he did not deviate from this advice. In his entry for *The Death of Eglon* Brown explains that 'the costume and accessories of this cartoon are taken from Assyrian and Egyptian remains of a remote period. These alone, it seems to me, should guide us in Biblical subjects.'⁸⁵ Schnorr's illustrations appear to be based on traditional depictions of the Holy Land, with strong classical overtones in the poses and drapery of the figures. However, in Brown's designs he has tried accurately to reconstruct scenes set in Biblical times in the same way that he attempted to recreate medieval England in *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*. He was aware of the artefacts newly unearthed and available to see at the British Museum but as in the 1840s he consulted historical sourcebooks for accurate information on customs, costume and accessories. As Donato Esposito has argued 'he seems to have based his design for *The Death of Eglon* almost entirely on published sources, in particular the numerous small wood-engraved illustrations dotted

⁸³ Ford Madox Brown, *The Exhibition of Work, and other Paintings*, exh. cat., 191 Piccadilly, London, 1865, p. 15.

⁸⁴ Ford Madox Brown, 'On the Mechanism of a Historical Picture: part A. the design,' *The Germ*, no. 2, February 1850, p. 70.

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 83, p. 21.

throughout [Austen Henry] Layard's *Nineveh and Its Remains*.⁸⁶ In the mid-1840s Layard (1817-1894) began excavating 'large sequences of stone bas-reliefs that had once adorned a succession of royal palaces, in the Assyrian capitals at Nimrūd and Nineveh.'⁸⁷ Esposito identified the illustration of *Sacred Emblems round the Neck of the King (N. W. Palace, Nimroud)* (Fig. 147) as the source of the necklace worn by Eglon. He also noted that:

'the dagger heads protruding from Eglon's ample girth are likely to have been taken from Layard's work which gives a single example of a group of these without citing the source of the illustration [Fig. 148]. In Brown's composition, two daggers terminate with a chevron patten, accompanied by a third ending with the head of a horse, exactly, and in the same configuration, as in Layard's illustration (II, opposite p. 228). The reversal of the arrangement suggests that Brown may have made a tracing of the group. The decorative frieze behind Eglon is composed of honeysuckle interspersed with other motifs, again as illustrated from a pattern by Layard from Nimrūd. The throne and footstool are composites from various sculpted examples, though the side-table resembles an example from the Northwest Palace at Nimrūd.'⁸⁸

Esposito identified a number of the illustrations which Brown used as sources for his design but closer inspection of *Nineveh and Its Remains* reveals more examples.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 69, p. 280. *Nineveh and its Remains*, 2 vols., London, 1849. It seems to have been the illustrations from the second volume, in particular, which Brown used, a point not noted by Esposito.

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 69, p. 269.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Tracing illustrations in sourcebooks was a form of notation that Brown used in the 1840s (see cat. nos. 58-60). Esposito's page numbers are incorrect. The illustration appears in *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. 2, p. 299.

Eglon's arm jewellery appears to have been inspired by the apposite illustration of *The King (N. W. Palace, Nimroud)* (Fig. 149) and fittingly Ehud's head band is depicted exactly as those worn by the *Enemies of the Assyrians* (Fig. 150). Brown also attempted to use cuneiform writing widely found on Assyrian artefacts. Both Layard's books *Nineveh and its Remains* and the later *Discoveries in Nineveh and Babylon* included examples of cuneiform writing but the symbols Brown uses are not in either, suggesting that he made them up.⁸⁹ However, he may have been inspired to place the writing around the edge of Eglon's platform having seen another of Layard's illustrations of an *Altar, or Tripod (From Khorsabad)* (Fig. 151).

As well as copying 'props' he also used these books to research ancient customs which informed his compositions. The entry for the painting *Jacob and Joseph's Coat* in his 1865 exhibition catalogue gives a good example of how he applied his research to his designs:

In the East, taking off shoes or sandals is equivalent to uncovering the head with us: on this account Simeon stands with his straw sandals in his hands; such also is the reason of Ehud's sandals being left at the door, lest by any breach of etiquette he might arouse, one instant too soon, the suspicions of the tyrant.⁹⁰

One of the many criticisms levelled at nineteenth-century Western artists and writers by modern day scholars is that they did not acknowledge the changing nature of the

⁸⁹ Esposito agrees pointing out that although Brown copied the style of 'the distinctive wedge-shaped cuneiform script commonly found carved or impressed in Assyrian artefacts' the texts 'are gibberish' (*Op. cit.* at note 69, p. 280).

⁹⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 83, p. 22. The composition is the same as the illustration *Joseph's Coat* but was the title was changed.

East and perceived contemporary customs and dress as exactly the same as those in the past.⁹¹ Interestingly, Brown himself takes a very different view. In his entry for *The Death of Eglon* he stated:

To pretend that the Semetic races to which the Israelites belong, have not changed in costume and character of appearance up to the present day, is against the evidence of our eyes, as may be readily seen by the Assyrian remains and those of their neighbours, the Egyptians, which we have in the British Museum to compare with the modern Arab.⁹²

The notion of the unchanging East is one he feels the French created and he patriotically warns other 'Englishmen' that they 'should always remember that this convenient resemblance between the Israelite of old, and the Arab of our days, came into vogue in France rather suspiciously, at the time of the French conquest of Algiers, under Louis Philip.'⁹³ However, this did not stop Brown from using a contemporary Palestinian landscape as the background in *Joseph's Coat*.

As has been seen Brown approached his illustrations with the same artistic integrity as his paintings. The vast amount of time he spent on them and the research he undertook highlight the difference between his approach and that of notable illustrators such as John Gilbert who produced work extremely rapidly and

⁹¹ See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, London, 1995 (first published in 1978) for his argument that the West does not acknowledge the changing nature of Eastern cultures. However, Said does not discuss art in any depth. In *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, John M. MacKenzie looks at Orientalism in the arts, particularly the nineteenth century but does not discuss book illustration (Manchester and New York, 1995).

⁹² *Op. cit.* at note 83, p. 21.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

contributed approximately 30,000 drawings to the *Illustrated London News*.⁹⁴ Brown's compositions 'raise the formal standard of illustration by recreating the visual characteristics of scriptural and historical painting' and this could only be achieved by approaching them in the same way as a painting.⁹⁵ Cooke argues that artists like Brown, Poynter and Solomon 'borrow' from their 'mainstream' art and that this approach 'dignifies the treatment, defining the *Gallery* as an epic space in which to view serious images of a portentous theme.'⁹⁶ In addition, it is this very close connection between Brown's work as an illustrator and as a painter which necessitates an in-depth study of his designs for publication.

By the mid 1860s his growing artistic reputation meant that his money-making strategy was becoming highly profitable. He insisted on retaining the copyright to his designs and sold several versions of both *Joseph's Coat* (Fig. 152) and *Elijah and the Widow's Son* (Fig. 153) but never worked *The Death of Eglon* into a painting.⁹⁷ His grand-daughter Helen Maria Madox Rossetti's defence of this illustration perhaps explains its lack of popularity:

Most people feel a strong inclination to laugh at the figure of Eglon, engulfed in the arm chair of ease; but to my mind, no artist of any age or country could have depicted more powerfully or more contemptuously

⁹⁴ Lisa Small, 'Gilbert, Sir John (1817–1897)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10693>, accessed 10 Oct 2008).

⁹⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 66, p. 69.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ See letter from Ford Madox Brown to the Dalziel Brothers dated 9 March 1864 (British Library ADD/MSS/39168H53). Although, the Brothers replied to Brown saying 'we assume that you will not issue the design in any other way previous to its appearance in our Bible,' Brown must have appealed to them as he began working up the designs into paintings that year (reverse of ADD/MSS/39168H53 and letter from the Dalziel Brothers to Brown, 9 March 1864, V&A MSL/1995/14/18/4).

sensuality run to ignominious fat, nor the fury of patriotic revenge more vividly than in the on-rushing figure of Ehud.⁹⁸

Lyra Germanica: Recycling Commissions

Following the success of Brown's strategy to produce his illustrations in other media, he applied this idea to the stained glass and tile compositions he created for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co.. In the 1860s and early 1870s he was one of the head designers for this firm, which he had helped to set up with Morris, Rossetti and Burne-Jones, among others, in 1861. As a letter, written in 1866, from the designer John Leighton (1822-1912) reveals, book illustration became a way for Brown to recycle previous decorative compositions made for the company.⁹⁹ Leighton was superintending the second series of *Lyra Germanica*, an anthology of German hymns translated into English by Catherine Winkworth.¹⁰⁰ The religious nature of the book suited the compositions Brown had produced for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. which were largely stained glass cartoons for churches. Leighton wrote to Brown:

The 'Sower' seems to me as if it would be useful "as you sow so shall you reap." It would be quite safe to do the Isaac I could use that in 50 places as an emblem of "Faith" but the others I should have to fit in & that will take time. - I think you are wise to touch your cartoon [*sic*] & allow them to be copied on wood. Messrs Longmans only want the design on the

⁹⁸ Helen M. Madox Rossetti, *Ford Madox Brown*, London, 1902, p. 14.

⁹⁹ Leighton worked as an illustrator and writer, under the pseudonym Luke Limner, but was most well known as a designer of book-bindings (Edmund M. B. King, 'Leighton, John [Luke Limner] (1822–1912),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61656>, accessed 13 Oct 2008) and Rodney K. Engen, *Dictionary of Victorian Wood Engravers*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 156-157.

¹⁰⁰ Catherine Winkworth, trans., *Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life*, 2nd Series, London, 1868.

wood - & the cartoons would be of greater value from having been in a livre de Luxe [*sic*] as a known work & commissions continually come out of those books. I suppose we begin with the Isaac to see how it comes by this method - if the result is happy all will be well.¹⁰¹

In the end only three of Brown's compositions were used, and for this project he worked with three different engravers: Joseph Swain (1820-1909) engraved his small, simple design for *Abraham and Isaac*, Thomas Bolton (fl. 1851-93) was responsible for engraving *The Entombment* and the Dalziel brothers worked on *He that Soweth* (cat. nos. 92 and 94, Fig. 154). The simple outlines of the stained glass cartoons translated easily into wood-engravings. BMAG holds the final drawing for the most splendid of the three designs *The Entombment* (cat. no. 93) which accompanied the lines:

O Blessed Rock!
Soon grant Thy flock
To see Thy Sabbath morning!
Strife and pain will all be past
When that day is dawning.¹⁰²

By this point Brown had undertaken a number of designs for engraving and his growing confidence and greater understanding of the printed medium are highlighted by this highly worked line drawing; it is only on close inspection that it reveals itself

¹⁰¹ Letter from John Leighton to Ford Madox Brown, 20 June 1866 (V&A, MSL/1995/14/56/1).

¹⁰² *Op. cit.* at note 100, p. 38.

as a drawing rather than a print. This understanding is also suggested in a letter from Brown to Leighton, where he refers to the drawing as an 'etching':

My dear Leighton

Herewith is the etching of the *entombment* [*sic*]. I have found it a much more lengthy operation than I expected so I must charge you the largest price named, Vide 12£ having it returned to me (should you want to keep it, it wd be 20 Gns). The *Abraham* will be 5£ & the *Sower* 3£ making 20£ the 3, for which your cheque will oblige – waiting for further orders.

believe me

Most faithfully yours

Ford M.B.

P.S. I have made the drawing line a line with great precision so I trust it will be facsimilied by a first-rate engraver.¹⁰³

In collaboration with the wood engraver Thomas Bolton, Leighton had pioneered the process of photography in wood engraving.¹⁰⁴ It was used for the first time for book illustration in the publication of an earlier volume of *Lyra Germanica* (1861) and

¹⁰³ Letter to John Leighton from Ford Madox Brown, 16 July 1866 transcribed in *Op. cit.* at note 75, p. 131.

¹⁰⁴ Rodney K. Engen, *Dictionary of Victorian Wood Engravers*, pp. 26 and 157. Leighton was highly interested in photography and founded the Royal Photographic Society with Roger Fenton in 1853 (pp. 156-157). This led to experiments with Bolton who was the first engraver to use photography when he engraved a negative taken by Leighton of Flaxman's relief, 'Deliver Us from Evil' (*Ibid.*, p. 26). See also *op. cit.* at note 10 p. 42.

involved photographing the finished designs onto the woodblock.¹⁰⁵ Previously artists had had to draw their designs directly onto the block which had resulted in the loss of the original drawing during the engraving process. Leighton relied heavily on photography for the production of illustrations for the 1868 volume of *Lyra Germanica*. This suited Brown very well as it enabled him to retain the original drawings which, as in the case of *The Entombment*, he could sell afterwards. It seems as if converting the cartoon into a drawing for illustration rekindled his interest in the composition and he worked up a version of it in watercolour and ultimately sold it to Henry Boddington for £200 along with the pen-and-ink drawing for £12 (Fig. 155).¹⁰⁶ In this version he extended the scene on the right to include a view of Calvary, a flock of sheep, and a woman and a little boy watching the burial. Frederick Leyland also bought a version in oil for £210 which according to Hueffer was begun in 1867 (Faringdon Collection, Buscot Park, Oxfordshire).¹⁰⁷ Thus Brown had managed to use his original stained glass cartoon several times, making more from each commission.

He that Soweth had originally been a design for a tile produced by Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. who were employed to restore Queen's College Hall in Cambridge between 1864 and 1873 (Fig. 156). The tiles, depicting the months of the year,

¹⁰⁵ As with drawing for *The Entombment*, the finished pen-and-ink designs were often larger than the final engravings. In a letter from the engraver Joseph Swain to Ford Madox Brown he gives the artist the choice of drawing the design for his later illustration *The Traveller*, directly on to the block or onto paper to be photographed. He writes that 'if you do it on paper I would advise that it be done larger than required so shall it be reduced in the photograph' (letter dated 18 March 1867 (V&A, MSL/1995/14/106/1)).

¹⁰⁶ There is some confusion as to how many versions Brown produced and to whom he sold them. Mary Bennett states that he made an oil version, (sold to Frederick Leyland of Newcastle in July 1868), a small watercolour (begun 1866 and sold to James Leathart of Newcastle in 1869) and a larger watercolour (completed in 1871 for Craven who disliked the nimbuses and returned it to the artist in 1878. She adds that it was ultimately sold to Charles Rowley of Manchester) (*Op. cit.* at note 23, p. 215). However, Hueffer disagrees with this and lists only one oil (owned by Leyland), one watercolour and one pen-and-ink drawing both owned by 1896 (date of publication) by Henry Boddington (*Op. cit.* at note 36, p. 441).

¹⁰⁷ The oil version does not include the additional figures or the landscape depicting Calvary.

surround the great fireplace. Brown's *Sower* design was for November.¹⁰⁸ Like his stained glass cartoon he thought his design could be used successfully as an illustration. Brown and other artists such as Rossetti, wanted a high degree of control over their designs once they had sent them to the engravers. Once the design had been engraved on a woodblock a hand-pulled proof was made which the artist could view and correct. It appears that in this case after the second set of proofs had been produced, Brown was still not satisfied and there were several exacting corrections he wanted Dalziel brothers to make:

I should have liked to call upon you with respect to the few touches which the block in question shall require, but I have found it impossible to make time - I must therefore try to explain by letter - but first I must say that the whole work is much improved & if the touching now required prove successful I shall inform the publishers that I am quite satisfied.

The clouds are still too dark ... in execution & the rain too heavy and uniform. This being in contravention with the text illustrated, is important. The clouds should be rounded off well or I should say softened off well at their edges & one or 2 of them left darker than the rest - & some hard jerky lines under them running across the rain be cut away. The rain lightened where the flat-white is. As to the face & hair -.1st there is a spot of light too much on the right eye-brow (left as we look at it) [with a drawing of eyes and a nose with a spot of light on the eye-brow] as this interferes with the drawing of the head I have by f. [sic] white

¹⁰⁸ Duncan Robinson and Stephen Wildman, *Morris and Company in Cambridge*, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1980, pp. 27-8.

corrected it into the end of a lock of hair coming over it [with another pen drawing of eyes, nose and hair]. - This I did ... for the first proof but as it was unexplained it seems to have been looked upon as an accident of my brush & not cut away therefore - but you will now see that the touch of white very much improves the drawing of the head.¹⁰⁹

This letter highlights the close relationship between artist and engraver. It also gives a sense of the attention to detail that Brown brought to his engraved designs, and his appreciation of the relationship between text and image.

The Byron Commission: Embracing another Medium

Brown's next illustration project was born of his long standing passion for the work of Lord Byron. In 1870 Moxon published a complete volume of the works of Byron illustrated with eight steel engravings.¹¹⁰ In 1867 the publisher had approached William Michael Rossetti to edit a 21-volume series on the works of popular poets, including Byron.¹¹¹ William Michael must have discussed the project with his brother, Dante Gabriel, as the latter wrote to him advising:

As to the etchings, Smetham is an available man certainly, but do you propose having all the vols done by one man? It seems to me after all that Scott would not be so ineligible, besides that he seems to me under the circumstances almost unavoidable with pleasantness. However I wd

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Ford Madox Brown to the Dalziel brothers, 7 April 1867, Princeton University Library.

¹¹⁰ William Michael Rossetti, ed., *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, London, 1870.

¹¹¹ William E. Fredeman, ed., *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. 4, Cambridge, 2004, p. 347.

mention it first of all to Brown, as I know he is particularly short of work just now, & it is just possible he might like to do it, perhaps with help from Nolly, or with Nolly's name & his own revision.¹¹²

Following his brother's letter and the suggestions of James Bertrand Payne (1833-1898), manager and part owner of Edward Moxon & Co., William Michael seems to have reconsidered using just one illustrator and drawn up a list of numerous possible artists to illustrate the series.¹¹³ From this list it appears that he had originally thought about asking Brown to illustrate a volume of 'Selections from the Dramatists,' no doubt thinking of his enthusiasm for Shakespeare and the theatre, and giving the Byron volume to the much younger artist Simeon Solomon (1840-1905).¹¹⁴ It seems likely that Brown's admiration of Byron led William Michael to reconsider, and Brown accepted the commission. For him, as suggested by Dante Gabriel, it would bring in extra funds, not only through the original illustrations but as he had learnt, through subsequent commissions. Brown also followed Dante Gabriel's suggestion and provided six illustrations whilst allowing his son Oliver, a budding artist, to design a further two.¹¹⁵ These illustrations were all reproduced as steel engravings by Herbert Bourne (1820-1885).

¹¹² Letter from Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Michael Rossetti, 4 February 1869 (cited *op. cit.* at note 111, pp. 151-152). Nolly was the nickname of Ford Madox Brown's son Oliver.

¹¹³ Letters from Payne to William Michael dated 14 and 20 February 1869 (cited *ibid.*, p. 152). Fredeman explains that William Michael pencilled the names of possible artists next to the list of authors sent to him by Payne in the letter dated 20 February 1869.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹¹⁵ All of Brown's children helped him in his studio. His daughters, Lucy and Cathy, were also competent artists and exhibited their work. A letter from Payne to Brown dated 29 June 1869 indicates that Brown had tried to get further work for his children: 'when I can snatch a moment to see you we will talk over the point you raise. It will gratify me exceedingly if I am able to give some of these Poets [*sic*] to your son & daughters' (V&A, MSL/1995/14/78/10). It appears that his attempt was unsuccessful as the Brown siblings did not produce any illustrations for other volumes in the series.

In the mid-nineteenth century steel engravings had been passed over in favour of wood engravings which had the advantage of allowing the printing of text and image at the same time. However, advances in the quality and technology associated with steel engravings meant that by the 1870s they had begun to replace wood engravings in the publishing world and Brown was introduced to yet another printing medium.

It is note worthy that for this project Brown did not return to the subjects of his earlier compositions based on poems by Byron, notably *Manfred*, *Parisina* and *The Prisoner of Chillon*. Instead he illustrated *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, *The Two Foscari*, *The Corsair*, *Sardanapalus*, *Don Juan* and provided a title page depicting Byron and his first love Mary Chaworth (Figs. 157-162). The project proved to be a lucrative one for Brown, despite his delay in producing the original designs, and led to many commissions.¹¹⁶ Almost all of his designs were later worked up into paintings in oil or watercolour, including three versions of *The Finding of Don Juan by Haidee* (Fig. 163), one of which is in the BMAG collection.¹¹⁷ Even the roundel from the title page was retitled *Byron's Dream* and reproduced in oil and watercolour (Manchester City Art Gallery and Whitworth Art Gallery, respectively).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Letters from Payne indicate that Brown was not punctual with his illustrations (letters dated 25 and 29 June 1869, 22 [?] and 30 July 1869, 8 and 22 [?] October 1869, and 19 January 1870, V&A, MSL/1995/14/78/ 9-10, 11-15). A letter dated 29 April reveals that Payne also had to chase the engraver, Bourne, after he missed his initial deadline in March (V&A, MSL/1995/14/78/16).

¹¹⁷ The other two versions are at the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne and the Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

¹¹⁸ Martin Meisel also recognises how lucrative Brown's money-making strategy became noting that 'it says something about how the free market structures creativity in peculiar ways that, as far as I can tell, every one of Brown's paintings from Byron after his return to England - they were of six different subjects, with numerous repetitions - began as a commissioned illustration for a book. Turning them into paintings was a form of studio economy, getting the most out of a viable, market-tested idea' ('Pictorial Engagements: Byron, Delacroix, Ford Madox Brown,' *Studies in Romanticism*, vol. 27, no. 4, Winter 1988, p. 585).

In these illustrations we see the emergence of Brown's later style characterized by sinuous curves and elongated, cartoonish figures. Unlike his designs for the *Dalziel's Bible Gallery* Brown's approach to his figures in illustrations such as *The Finding of Don Juan by Haidee*, is much more classical, hinting at the influence of the Aesthetic Movement. The softly draped tunic worn by the woman in *The Dream of Sardanapalus* (Fig. 164), echoes those found in works by Frederic Leighton (1830-1896) and Albert Moore (1841-1893), champions of the Aesthetic style; Sardanapalus himself and the Oriental luxury of the scene are highly reminiscent of Delacroix's painting *The Death of Sardanapalus* (exh. Salon 1827, Louvre), one of Brown's much earlier influences.¹¹⁹ As Esposito notes, Brown's design for *The Dream of Sardanapalus* is also a continuation of his interest in Assyrian artefacts.¹²⁰

Periodicals: Contrasting Images of Family Life

After his etching for *The Germ*, Brown undertook only two further illustrations for periodicals. *The Traveller* (Fig. 165) was engraved by Joseph Swain and published in *Once a Week* in 1869 (no. 161). A letter to Brown from Joseph Swain written in August 1867 implies that Brown approached the magazine with an illustration in mind and although the subject is not named it most likely refers to *The Traveller*.¹²¹ The scene depicts a woman with a baby, accompanied by her daughter and young son, standing in the doorway of the cosy looking inn, whilst a dog bounds after his master

¹¹⁹ Most of the poems Brown chose to illustrate for this volume had already been used as the basis of paintings by Delacroix; *Childe Harold* and the title-page design were the only exceptions. Delacroix painted *The Execution of the Doge Marino Faliero* (1825-1826, Wallace Collection); *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827, Louvre); *The Shipwreck of Don Juan* (1840, exh. Salon 1841, Louvre) and *The Two Foscari* (1855, Musée Condé, Chantilly).

¹²⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 69, p. 280. Esposito incorrectly calls Brown's Byron designs a 'rare foray into historical pictures' (*Ibid.*, p. 280). As this thesis has shown Brown was predominantly a History painter and the majority of his illustrations for publication were History subjects, that is designs from literature and the Bible.

¹²¹ Letter from Joseph Swain to Ford Madox Brown, 18 March 1867 (V&A, MSL/1995/14/106/1).

who is leaving on horseback. On the left in the background a lone star throws light on a wayside shrine, offering protection to the traveller. There is some confusion about the exact source of inspiration for *The Traveller*. According to Hueffer the illustration took 'its idea from Victor Hugo's poem about a traveller who rides through a village at nightfall when all the world besides is resting,' and was accompanied by Brown's own translation of the poem.¹²² However, Hueffer is mistaken and the poem was printed alone with no translation. It is difficult to tell if the design did in fact illustrate a poem by Victor Hugo as none bear the same title as the illustration. Two poems, 'The Journey' (1825) and 'To a Traveller' (1829) discuss travellers but neither describes the scene depicted by Brown. It is perhaps more likely that the theme was taken from Goldsmith's poem 'The Traveller' especially as Brown used *The Vicar of Wakefield* as the subject for a painting in the 1840s.

The scene combines two of Brown's interests: depictions of families and an interest in the eighteenth century.¹²³ Throughout his career he was drawn to subjects involving families, either mothers with their children as in *Out of Town* and *Waiting*, or those including the whole family such as *Walton-on-the-Naze*, *The Last of England* and *Take your Son Sir*.¹²⁴ This was matched by an interest in the eighteenth century indicated by the costume he chose for the figures in several of his paintings, notably *The Infant's Repast* (Fig. 166 and cat. nos. 80, 81 and 91) and *The Pretty Baa Lambs* (Fig. 167). In producing this illustration he may have been inspired by George Pinwell's (1842–1875) designs for the *Dalziel's Illustrated Goldsmith* published only

¹²² *Op. cit.* at note 36, pp. 229-230.

¹²³ See Laura MacCulloch, catalogue entry for *The Pretty Baa Lambs* in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2008, p. 54.

¹²⁴ *Out of Town* (1843-1858, oil on canvas, Manchester City Art Gallery), *Waiting* (exhib. RA 1853, oil on canvas, private collection), *Walton-on-the-Naze* (1859-1860, oil on canvas, BMAG), *The Last of England* (Fig. 5), and *Take your Son Sir* (begun 1851, oil on paper, Tate)

four years earlier in 1865.¹²⁵ Like Brown's design, Pinwell's illustration '*Or sigh with pity at some mournful tale*' (Fig. 168) focuses on the theme of family life and is set in the eighteenth century.¹²⁶ However, it is difficult to be sure that *The Traveller* was based on poems by either Hugo or Goldsmith as neither appears to have included this exact scene in his work. Brown most often took the literal approach to illustrating and his designs complied with the text, including details referred to in the narrative, rather than addressing the themes of the poem. This suggests that the exact source for *The Traveller* has yet to be located.

Keeping to his entrepreneurial strategy Brown made two versions of *The Traveller*, a watercolour, which according to his accounts, was painted in 1867 and sold to E. Ellis; and an oil version begun in 1868 but not finished until 1884 when he sold it to Henry Boddington (Fig. 169).¹²⁷

In 1871 Brown executed his last illustration for a periodical. He produced two designs to illustrate Rossetti's poem *Down Stream* which were engraved by C. M. Jenkin (fl. 1871-1876) and published in the short-lived magazine *The Dark Blue* (cat. nos. 76 and 77).¹²⁸ The poem tells the sad tale of a young woman seduced on a boating trip on the first of May. She becomes pregnant but is abandoned by her seducer and in desperation kills herself and her child on the first of June the following

¹²⁵ Pinwell developed his first exhibited watercolour *An Incident in the Life of Oliver Goldsmith* (private collection) from the themes and imagery he used in these illustrations (Pamela White Trimpe, 'Pinwell, George John (1842–1875)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22308>, accessed 23 Oct 2008).

¹²⁶ The illustration accompanied the lines:

Blest be those feasts, with simple plenty crown'd,
Where all the ruddy family around
Laugh at the jests or pranks that never fail,
Or sigh with pity at some mournful tale.

(*Dalziels' Illustrated Goldsmith*, London, 1865, pp. 177).

¹²⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 36, p. 441. Both versions are now at Manchester City Art Gallery.

¹²⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 104, pp. 135-136. See Appendix. Jenkin also worked for *The Illustrated London News*.

year. The most arresting element of these two illustrations is the marked contrast between the woman at the moment of and after her fall. The buxom woman in the first illustration becomes a delicate, wan figure in the tailpiece matching the pathos of the poem. The first illustration depicts the seducer roughly caressing a robust, young woman in a rowing boat illustrating the lines from the first verse:

With love low-whispered 'twixt the shores,
With rippling laughters gay,
With white arms bared to ply the oars,
On last year's first of May.

In the tailpiece he portrays the moonlit conclusion:

Between Helmscote and Hurscote
A troth was given and riven;
From heart's trust grew one life to two.
Two lost lives cry to heaven.¹²⁹

Like Rossetti's words Brown highlights the redemptive quality of the woman's act of suicide by depicting a thin Ophelia-like figure floating amidst water lilies, clutching her baby. According to Lisa Nicoletti these images of female suicide adhere to 'the iconographic expectations of Victorian audiences.'¹³⁰ Such images, which could be found in newspapers, in magazines, and on the walls of the Royal Academy, exposed

¹²⁹ *The Dark Blue*, vol. 2, October 1871, pp. 211-212. See appendix in which the poem is transcribed in full.

¹³⁰ Lisa Nicoletti, *Resuscitating Ophelia: Images of Suicide and Suicidal Insanity in nineteenth-Century England*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1999, p. 170.

'the fatal implications of philandering men and locate[d] unchaste women on a pre-determined path to suicide,' and in this case infanticide.¹³¹ The overtly sexual nature of the first illustration leads Paul Goldman to call it 'a brawny and lustful scene of a remarkable and most un-Victorian frankness,' and to comment, 'it is amazing that such a work managed to be published at this time without censorship or restraint.'¹³² However, the rough activity is tempered by the finality of the woman's actions in the tailpiece. In fact, it creates a greater contrast, heightening the idea of the redemption of an unchaste woman through suicide, as expected by Brown's Victorian viewers.¹³³ The woman's body appears beautiful, calm and unblemished, creating the image of a 'peaceful martyrdom.'¹³⁴ That she drowned herself and her baby fits the Victorian notion that illegitimate children would meet the same end as their unchaste mothers. In fact, Brown delivers a much more palatable warning for 'both sexes about the inevitable outcome of non-marital sex' by showing the death of the protagonist unlike the rather more open ended scene in Augustus Egg's (1816-1863) *Past and Present*, No. 3 (Fig. 170) which contemporary audiences found troubling because 'the woman's fatal fall was not yet complete.'¹³⁵ A letter from Rossetti to Brown discussing the recently published illustrations hints that, as the author, he felt Brown's more working class depiction of the seducer had weakened the message of the poem for its intended middle-class market:

¹³¹ *Op. cit.* at note 130, p. 166. Nicoletti gives many examples of similar images in various media including George Frederic Watts' *Found Drowned* (1848-50, oil on canvas, Watts Gallery, Compton).

¹³² *Op. cit.* at note 60, p. 10.

¹³³ *Op. cit.* at note 130, p. 170.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 170. The triptych received harsh criticism when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy and was not sold in Egg's lifetime suggesting that contemporary viewers disliked the panels which depicted the fallen woman and her baby, alive, under the arches of a bridge and her two daughters left alone after the death of their father, hinting that they too would be succumb to the same immorality as their mother.

My Dear Brown, - I expect to see you in a few days, but must write meanwhile to say how very excellent I think your drawing in 'Dark Blue.' It is like a tenderer kind of Hogarth and seems to me much the most successful of your book illustrations, unless perhaps the *Traveller*, and I think it licks that.

At first sight the people in the boat look both like rustics, but I suppose this may be otherwise when one considers the costume. I *meant* my unheroic hero for an Oxford swell, though you may say certainly that the internal evidence is rather less perspicuous than Lord Burleigh's shake of the head in the 'Critic.'¹³⁶

Rossetti's allusion to Hogarth and the 'heroic' behaviour of the seducer highlight the moral message at the heart of the poem.

Literary Connections

The designs for *Dark Blue* mark the start of the final phase of Brown's activities as an illustrator. From this date until his death in 1893 he made illustrations only for his family and close literary friends. As will be shown he was keen to help others further their careers and it was often through illustrations that he felt best able to do so. Significantly, Brown was no longer concerned with making his work as an illustrator pay and did not reproduce these later designs in any other medium, having gained a stronger artistic reputation by the 1870s. His mature style is the strongest feature of these later illustrations, where sinuous lines dominate rather than minute Pre-Raphaelite attention to detail. From the mid 1860s his paintings show that he had

¹³⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 36, pp. 263-264.

begun to adopt a looser style with greater emphasis on colouring and patterns. This is evident if *Lear and Cordelia* (Fig. 37), painted in 1848, is compared to *Cordelia's Portion* (Fig. 39), painted between 1865 and 1866. These changes in his style may have been inspired by his work as a stained glass designer which required a more minimal use of lines. They also suggest the influence of the Aesthetic movement.

In 1873 Brown designed the cover for Oliver's first novel *Gabriel Denver* hoping to add kudos to his son's fledgling literary career (Fig. 171).¹³⁷ Although a book cover is not usually considered an illustration, Oliver's novel contained no illustrations and his father's front cover, which depicted the dramatic climax of the story, acts as the sole visual interpretation. It shows the burning ship from which the novel's three protagonists escape on a life raft. Unlike his friend Rossetti, and many others in their circle, Brown was not heavily influenced by the flood of interest in Japanese woodblock prints, costume and commodities, which began in the late 1850s.¹³⁸ However, in this design we do see glimpses of Japanese motifs and aesthetics which echo the Aesthetic movement's enthusiasm for Japanese art. The heavy black lines are reminiscent of those used in Japanese woodblock prints and the rats which balance at the bottom of the page resemble the sketches of animals (Figs. 172 and 173) found in Katsushika Hokusai's (1760-1849) fifteen volumes of *Manga* (pub. 1814-1878)

¹³⁷ Oliver Madox Brown, *Gabriel Denver*, London, 1873.

¹³⁸ For a discussion of the enthusiasm for Japan in Brown's artistic circle see Laura MacCulloch, *The Influence of Japan on Dante Gabriel Rossetti 1854-1872*, unpublished MPhil. thesis, the University of Birmingham, 2005. In 1877 Brown painted a self portrait depicting himself in front of a Japanese-style folding screen (oil on canvas, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University). However, this is the attribute of a fashionable painter in the 1870s rather than an indication of interest in Japan.

with bold black outlines and minimal use of detail.¹³⁹ The burning boat is placed in a roundel, a common Japanese device, copied by Rossetti in his book bindings, and the languid smoke which billows from the scene swirls like the clouds found on kimono, china and prints from Japan.¹⁴⁰ In 1876, following Oliver's death, Brown etched two portraits of him for each volume of the published collection of his literary works: *Dwale Bluth: Hebditch's Legacy and Other Literary Remains of Oliver Madox Brown*.¹⁴¹ These very personal portraits show Oliver at the age of four and as a young man (Figs. 174 and 175).¹⁴²

Brown was keen to help his literary friends and associates. From the 1870s he held numerous soirées at his house in Fitzroy Square attended by political, artistic and literary figures. It was friendships made at these events which became the catalysts for a further two illustrations. In 1889 he designed the sole illustration for the title page of Grace Black's *A Beggar and other Fantasies* published by her brother-in-law the writer Edward Garnett (1868-1937), who later introduced Brown's grandson, Ford Madox Hueffer, to Joseph Conrad (Fig. 176).¹⁴³ Edward was the brother of Richard

¹³⁹ There are five works on paper at the Ashmolean Museum which further suggest Brown's interest in Hokusai's *Manga*. The first is a sheet of sketches of different types of fish with labels. Hokusai includes several pages of illustrations identifying various fish in his *Manga*. These are arranged in the same haphazard manner as Brown's sketches. Two fish in volume 2 (p. 43) resemble the conger eel and fish above it on the left depicted by Brown. The other works are four studies of guns very like those found in volume 6 (pp. 48-49) and volume 11 (pp. 41-42) of Hokusai's *Manga*. Brown may well have had access to *Manga* through the Rossetti brothers and James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) who all had collections of Japanese books and prints.

¹⁴⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 138 pp. 78-80. The following year he also designed the cover for *Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future* by his son-in-law, the music critic Franz Hueffer (*Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future*, London, 1874).

¹⁴¹ Oliver Madox Brown died the following year from peritonitis and septicaemia aged nineteen. Oliver Madox Brown, *Dwale Bluth: Hebditch's Legacy and Other Literary Remains of Oliver Madox Brown*, 2 vols., London, 1876.

¹⁴² A small study for Oliver as a child is in a sketchbook now at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Accession no. 859.). It also contains sketches for the Manchester Town Hall murals and *Down Stream*.

¹⁴³ Grace Black, *A Beggar and other Fantasies*, Holmswood, 1889. The Ashmolean has a drawing for the illustration dated FMB/89. The composition is similar to the final version although Brown originally thought of putting two tall flowers on either side of the design and depicting the wanderer climbing over the stile.

Garnett who was Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum and also one of Brown's neighbours in St Edmund's Terrace, Regent's Park, where he lived from 1887. The illustration depicts a cheerful wanderer roaming through the countryside, with the sun rising in the background and a stile and signpost behind him. Below this scene is a scroll with 'Edward Garnett' in the middle and the lines 'A merry heart goes all the day, Your sad tires in a mile - a.' 'The Beggar' is a story with a similar moral message to Charles Dicken's *Christmas Carol* (pub. 1843), and tells the tale of Arabella Lemon, a spoilt young woman, who is changed into a beggar until she is forced to rethink her previous life wandering over the moors. 'Psyche' describes a woman's dream in which she sees her perfect lover who symbolises Liberty. In 'The ideal' another woman becomes a wanderer in search of her child. She is unsuccessful and her search symbolises humanity's search for an illusive ideal. The theme of wandering and searching runs throughout the book but in each 'fantasy' the wanderer is female, not male as in the illustration. This deviation from the book was unusual for an artist who approached illustration in a literal manner. Garnett also used the design as a book plate and it is unclear, due to Brown's broader illustration of the themes in the book, rather than a particular scene, whether it was first designed as a book plate and reused as an illustration or the other way round. A comparison between this depiction of nature and the landscape illustrated in *Joseph's Coat* reveals how much Brown's style altered, moving away from tightly compressed scenes full of minute detail, to looser compositions dominated by what he called his 'amorous line.'¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 330.

For several years Brown was an intimate friend of Mathilde Blind, a prolific writer with feminist leanings.¹⁴⁵ As with his son Oliver he tried hard to help her career.¹⁴⁶ In 1891 he designed the title page for her book of stories *Dramas in Miniature* (Fig. 177).¹⁴⁷ This time, as with his first published illustration, he used an existing chalk drawing of Emma in bed recovering from an illness, *Convalescent* (cat. no. 56), as the basis for the illustration. Like the other illustrations he designed in his later years he did not produce any subsequent versions. The image illustrates the final scene in Blind's poem 'The Message.' It is the tale of a bitter, impoverished prostitute, on her deathbed in a charity hospital who receives a glimmer of happiness from a small posy of flowers which brings back memories of her childhood. Although the illustration was placed above the lines

The perfume of the breath of May
Had passed into her soul

It also more broadly illustrates the final verses of the poem:

"Ah yes! You've sent this branch of May,
A light from the past.
The town is dark - I went astray.
Forgive me, mother! Lead the way;

¹⁴⁵ For a detailed discussion of the relationship between Brown and Blind see Angela Thirlwell's article 'Tender Human Tie: The unconventional Intimacy of Ford Madox Brown and Mathilde Blind,' (*Times Literary Supplement* (TLS), no. 5506, 10 October 2008, pp. 14-15) and her forthcoming biography of the women in Brown's life due to be published in 2010.

¹⁴⁶ His intense desire for Dante Gabriel Rossetti to help Blind with his literary connections greatly annoyed the former who refused to invite her to his house in Cheyne Walk and thought little of her work (*Op. cit.* at note 6, p. 180).

¹⁴⁷ Mathilde Blind, *Dramas in Miniature*, London, 1891.

I'm going home at last."

In eager haste she tries to rise
And struggled up in bed,
With luminous, transfigured eyes,
As if they glassed the opening skies
Fell back, sir, and was dead.¹⁴⁸

These later illustrations exemplify Brown's style in the few years before he died. The more sensuous nature of the Aesthetic illustrations for the Moxon Byron has taken over and the sharp precision of designs such as *The Prisoner of Chillon* has disappeared. However, this does not detract from their merit and this looser, velvety style seems to add to the magic of his last illustrations for his grandson's first two books, fairy stories called *The Brown Owl* and *The Feather*.¹⁴⁹ In 1892 Brown designed two illustrations for *The Brown Owl* (Figs. 178 and 179) and one for *The Feather* (Fig. 180). He may have moved away from the punishing 'realism' of the Pre-Raphaelites and his determination to be historically accurate, but as these illustrations, foreshadowing the curves of Art Nouveau, accompany fairy tales, neither of these considerations seem appropriate.

Conclusion

Ford Madox Brown's published illustrations, like his drawings, have been overlooked in favour of his 'Pre-Raphaelite' paintings notably *Work* (Fig. 4) and *The Last of*

¹⁴⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 147, p. 31

¹⁴⁹ Ford Madox Hueffer, *The Brown Owl: A Fairy Story* and *The Feather* both published in London by T. F. Unwin in 1892.

England (Fig. 5). This chapter has sought to redress that balance, using a collection in which his printed illustrations are well represented as the springboard for a thorough investigation of his career as an illustrator. Looking closely at the illustrations in combination with diaries, his 1865 exhibition catalogue, and letters to and from friends and publishers, it has been possible to piece together this aspect of the artist's career and to provide the most detailed study of his published illustrations to date. This chapter has shown that far from being short-lived his career as an illustrator spanned over forty years and became increasingly profitable in the 1860s and 1870s. It has highlighted the strong financial ties which existed between his work as an illustrator and as a painter. Despite Brown's early frustration and lack of confidence in creating designs for publication, he went on to gain a significant reputation as an illustrator as well as inventing a strategy which allowed him to generate income from this area of his work without compromising his artistic values.

His refusal to see his illustrations as anything other than 'High Art' and the vast amount of time he took on each design, until the later years of his career, meant that he increasingly relied upon illustrative work to produce initial compositions that could easily be turned into oil and watercolour paintings. For Brown the large part of the labour was in the invention of a design. This is revealed, for example, in a letter he wrote to Sydney Art Gallery when he mistakenly believed his painting *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* had been destroyed by fire. He offered to repaint it for them but at a lower cost 'as the labour however is partly provided for' because he had the composition already worked out and had retained the original studies.¹⁵⁰ Having produced a composition for an illustration he felt that he had already done half the

¹⁵⁰ Letter from Ford Madox Brown to the Directors of the Sydney Art Gallery (now The Art Gallery of New South Wales (AGNSW)), 10 November 1882, AGNSW.

work needed to produce a painting. In addition he then had an image to show perspective clients to give them an idea of the composition. Like his contemporaries associated with the Pre-Raphaelite movement, notably Millais and Holman Hunt, Brown thus helped to raise the status of illustration by producing high quality designs which he approached as an extension of his work as a painter.

Finally, this chapter has set Brown's graphic achievements in the contexts of the stylistic and technological changes which took place during his lifetime. This has allowed a greater insight into the influences acting on him over his career, from the dominating style of Pre-Raphaelite illustration to the more subtle influence of Japanese art. It has also revealed that his attitude towards illustration was far from negative as has previously been assumed by scholars who have failed to look beyond the personal grumblings of a diarist. In fact, his own curiosity has been revealed as having led him to experiment with various media. It has also been shown that he was able to adapt to the technological changes in printing production with little fuss. Viewed within the context of the explosion of illustration in the mid-nineteenth century the designs Brown produced in the 1850s and 60s, such as *The Prisoner of Chillon* and *Joseph's Coat* can be seen as exemplars in their field and equal to those of Millais and Rossetti.

**FORD MADOX BROWN: CATALOGUE OF DRAWINGS, PRINTS, DESIGNS,
WATERCOLOURS AND ARCHIVE MATERIAL AT BIRMINGHAM
MUSEUMS AND ART GALLERY**

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following catalogue of 176 items is a complete inventory of works on paper and related objects by Ford Madox Brown held at Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery. The catalogue has been arranged following the listing in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (BMAG, 2008). Each work is identified by a catalogue number and an accompanying accession number.

The works have been arranged alphabetically by title. Measurements are given in millimetres, height before width, and in some cases depth. If not otherwise stated the measurements refer to the size of the paper and inscriptions are in brown ink.¹ The drawings are frequently but not exclusively on cream wove Whatman paper. The 1906 accession numbers refer to the Charles Fairfax Murray provenance, the 1927 accession number to the bequest of J R Holliday.

For the sake of brevity, publications cited under 'Literature' (Lit.) have been referenced without details of the publisher or date of publication; these can be found in the bibliography. Equally, if a work has been exhibited this reference has been listed under 'Exhibitions' (exh.) and its catalogue details have not been repeated in 'Literature.' If an exhibition has toured, only the first venue has been referenced.

Abbreviations:

Catalogue number - Cat. no.; Inscription – Insc.; bottom left – bl.; bottom right – br.; bottom centre – bc.; top left – tl.; top right – tr.; centre left – cl.; centre right – cr.; image – i.; paper – p., sight – s.; Literature – Lit.; Exhibitions –Exh.; Provenance – Prov.

Abbreviated References

The following books have been abbreviated in the text:

Susan P. Casteras, *Pocket Cathedrals: Pre-Raphaelite Book Illustration*, exh. cat., Yale Center for British Art, 1991 – *Pocket Cathedrals*

Catalogue of the household and decorative Furniture, Works of Art, Books and Effects belonging to the distinguished Artist Ford Madox Brown, sales cat., 29-30 May 1894 – *Sale Catalogue*

Ford Madox Hueffer, *Ford Madox Brown: his Life and Works*, 1896 – Hueffer

¹ Terry Huguenin, former paper conservator at BMAG, identified the ink on cat. no. 15 as iron gall ink (Conservation report, BMAG, 11 April 1978). This highly acidic ink is black when first applied but fades to brown over time. Almost all of the works are signed in brown ink and Huguenin's identification of the ink in cat. no. 15 suggests that Brown may have used iron gall ink to sign the others. Unfortunately because of time and budget constraints the current conservator Gill Casson has been unable examine any other works under the microscope - the only way to identify the ink accurately.

Gleeson White, *English Illustration: The Sixties 1855-70, 1897* – White

George and Edward Dalziel, *The Brothers Dalziel. A Record of Work in Conjunction with many of the most distinguished Artists of the Period 1840-1890, 1901*
– *The Brothers Dalziel*

Forrest Reid, *Illustrators of the Sixties, 1928* – Reid

A. E. Whitley, *City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Catalogue of the permanent Collection of Drawings in Pen, Pencil, Charcoal and Chalk, etc., including Cartoons for Stained Glass, 1939* – Whitley

A.C. Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, vol. 1, 1974, vol. 2, 1975 – Sewter

Virginia Surtees, *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown, 1981* – *Diary*

Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustration, 1996* – *Victorian Illustration*

Teresa Newman and Raymond Watkinson, *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle, 1991* – *Newman and Watkinson*

Kenneth Bendiner, *The Art of Ford Madox Brown, 1998* – *Bendiner*

Gregory R. Suriano, *The British Pre-Raphaelite Illustrators, 2005* – *Suriano*

Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite, exh. cat., Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 2008 – *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*

The following exhibitions have been abbreviated in the text:

The Exhibition of Work, and other Paintings by Ford Madox Brown, 191 Piccadilly, London, 1865 – *Work*

Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society, New Gallery, London, 1896 – *Arts & Crafts, 1896*

Exhibition of the Works of Ford Madox Brown, Grafton Galleries, London, 1897
– *Grafton, 1897*

Loan Exhibition of Works by Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelites, City Art Gallery, Manchester, 1911 – *Manchester, 1911*

National Gallery of British Art Loan Collection of Works by English Pre-Raphaelite Painters, National Gallery of British Art (now Tate, London), 1911-1912
– *National Gallery of British Art, 1911-1912*

Exposition Rétrospective de Peinture Anglaise (XVIIIe et XIXe), Musée Moderne, Brussels, 1929 – *Brussels*, 1929

Ford Madox Brown: 1821-1893, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, 1964
– *Ford Madox Brown*

Works by Thomas Matthews Rooke 1842-1942: The Collections of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery and the Ruskin Gallery (Collection of the Guild of St. George), Sheffield, Ruskin Gallery, Sheffield, 1993 – *Rooke*

Visions of Love and Life, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 1995-1996 – *Visions*

Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 2008 – *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*

Cat. no. 1 *Alfred the Great: Sketch of Alfred drawing in the Sand*, 1843 - 1845
Verso: *Historical Notes and Sketches of Alfred the Great*, 1843 - 1850
Pencil; brown writing over pencil on the verso; 175 x 112 mm
Insc. verso: *Edward III Born in 1312 / Chaucer born in 1328 / Black Prince in 1330 / English Language becomes legal in 1362 / Wicliffe Translated the Bible in 1377 / Order of the Garter 1349 / Wicliffe Preaches reform 1362 / Black Prince Died in 1376 / Edward the IIIrd died in 1377 / King John Prisoner / in London from 1357 till - 1360 / Came back & died 1364 / Black Prince Married 1365 / Richard born to him in 1367 / Queen Phillipa died in 1359 / Black Prince returned in / [John] of Gaunt also 1372 . -*
Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (5)
Found unaccessioned (1978P513)

This interesting page from one of Brown's notebooks reveals much about how he approached his paintings and his desire to be historically accurate in his work. On both sides are sketches for the figure of Alfred the Great (see cat. nos. 82 and 83). On the reverse he has written a list of key historical figures from the medieval period and important dates relating to them over the top of his earlier sketches of Alfred the Great. These notes were most likely to have been made as Brown began working on *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* and needed to check that all the figures he wanted to include were alive at the same time. They may have been jotted down when he undertook research at the British Museum or as his diary suggests when he was in Rome and had access to the library of the English Academy. There he recorded that he was able to procure 'the works and life of our first poet and fortunately ... found that the facts known respecting him perfectly admitted of the idea [he] had already conceived of the subject to wit, Chaucer reading his poems [sic] to Edward the 3rd & his court bringing in other noted characters such as the black prince etc.'²

Cat. no. 2 *Angels watching the Crown of Thorns: Study of clasped Hands*, 1846
Black chalk; 166 x 280 mm
Insc. br.: *Southend / F. M Brown/46*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 37; Mary Bennett, 'Ford Madox Brown at Southend in 1846: Some Lost Paintings,' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 115, no. 839, February 1973, pp. 74, 78, ill. fig. 3; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P727)

This is a study of clasped hands for the lost painting *Angels watching the Crown of Thorns*. Brown made this drawing whilst on holiday with his three year old daughter Lucy at Southend, although according to his biographer, Ford Madox Hueffer, he had

² Virginia Surtees, ed., *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown*, New Haven and London, 1981, pp. 1-2. Mackintosh (1765-1832) wrote the first part (55 BC-1572 AD) of the history of England for Lardner's *Cyclopaedia*, 1830.

already begun the painting in 1845 and 'carried it to Rome with him.'³ The picture was originally called *Seraph's Watch* and it is likely that the two angels were modelled on Lucy and her playmate, the landlord's daughter, Milly Smith. According to Mary Bennett it was exhibited at the British Institution in 1847 under the title of *A Reminiscence of the early Masters*.⁴ The original painting has subsequently been lost but when Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) was tutored by Brown in the summer of 1848 he made a copy of it. This was later left with William Holman Hunt (1827-1910) and gives a good idea of what the original must have looked like.⁵ Hunt told Brown's grandson and biographer, Ford Madox Hueffer (1873-1939), that 'the principal characteristic of the work was its "German" balance of composition.'⁶

Cat. no. 3 *Architecture: Study of Gothic Arches and 14th Century Vaulting*, c. 1847

Brown pen and ink over pencil on grey paper; 188 x 409 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/50*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 46; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P714)

Although this drawing is dated 1850, Mary Bennett has identified it as a study of Gothic arches for *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible to John of Gaunt in the Presence of Chaucer and Gower* (Fig. 3).⁷ This identification is confirmed by looking at both the early oil sketch (Fig. 80) and the final version. Both include the central arches from this study. In the earlier oil sketch only the Gothic arches surround the central scene but in the final version Brown devised a much more elaborate scheme of architecture, similar to his design for *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* (see *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* below). When Thomas Plint bought the painting in the late 1850s he insisted that a new frame was made which hid the architectural details, the Gothic Medievalism of the 1840s having become unfashionable by that date.

The arch on the left appears to be related to the wing compartments of the abandoned triptych *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*. Brown included triangular arches of the same shape in his studies for the triptych now at the Ashmolean and the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery (Figs. 1 and 77). As can be seen from these compositional studies, above the full-length figures of the poets he had envisaged placing a medallion of the head of Oliver Goldsmith on one side of the central panel and another with the head of Alexander Thomson on the other. Slight pencil sketches in this study and in the compositional

³ Ford Madox Hueffer, *Ford Madox Brown: A Record of his Life and Works*, London, 1896, p. 43. Hueffer suggests that Brown also produced a duplicate version whilst living in Kensington in 1847 (*ibid.*, p. 435).

⁴ Mary Bennett, 'Ford Madox Brown at Southend in 1846: Some Lost paintings,' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 115, no. 839, February 1973, pp. 74.

⁵ Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, 1905, vol. 1, pl. facing p. 208. Rossetti's copy (1848, oil on canvas) is now in the collection of Mrs Jane Elliot.

⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 43.

⁷ *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2008, p. 64. This is most likely a case of Brown backdating his works and adding the wrong date.

studies indicate that he also planned to include more elaborate architecture below the medallions.

THE ASCENSION

Related Works:

Forbes Magazine Collection
The Ascension, 1844-1845, oil on canvas

Location Unknown
The Ascension: Study for the Figure of Christ, insc. in pencil: FMB Paris/43

National Gallery of Art, Washington
The Ascension: Study of an Apostle, 1844, black chalk, 1987.73.1

Cat. no. 4 *The Ascension*, 1844 - 1900

Albumen print; 175 x 80 mm

Lit.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Found unaccessioned (1978P512)

This is a photograph of an oil sketch of *The Ascension* (Fig. 43) begun by Brown whilst living in Paris in 1844 and finished later that year when he moved to England with his first wife Elisabeth (1818/19-1846). He entered it into a competition to design an altarpiece of the Ascension of Christ for the Church of St. James, Bermondsey (South London). He was unsuccessful and the commission was given to the British artist John Wood (1801-1877) whose winning design still hangs in the church. In 1845 Brown submitted the painting to the British Institution but it was rejected. It remained in his possession until the 1880s when it was bought, along with many other early works, by his Manchester patron Henry Boddington.⁸ The exact date and purpose of this photograph are unknown.

Cat. no. 5 *The Ascension: Study of Angels and Hands*, 1844

Brown pen and ink over pencil; 360 x 178 mm

Insc. b.: *Different sketches for a design of the Ascension Paris / Ford M Brown/44*

Lit.: Hueffer, ill. p. 447 *et seq.*; Whitley, p. 28; Newman and Watkinson, ill. pl. 22; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (441 ?)⁹

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P668)

⁸ Christie's, *The Forbes Collection of Victorian Pictures and Works of Art*, London, 19-20 February, 2003, vol. 3, p. 218.

⁹ No. 441 included multiple works. It is described in the catalogue as 'Studies for "Ascension," 1844 First sketch for "Chaucer," 1845 Sketch for "Oure Ladye of Saturday Night," 1846 Head of Wycliffe, 1847 Lent by C. Fairfax Murray, Esq' (*Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society*, New Gallery, London, 1896, p. 105). It is not clear which of the studies for *The Ascension* were included and for the sake of brevity the exhibition has been added to the exhibition history of only the first sketch.

Cat. no. 6 *The Ascension: Study of a Group of Angels*, 1844

Brown pen and ink over pencil; 280 x 150 mm

Insc. br.: (Paris) / F. M Brown/44

Lit.: Whitley, p. 28; Ford Madox Brown: *The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown Exhibition, Grafton*, 1897 (190)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P669)

Cat. no. 7 *The Ascension: Study of a Group of six flying Angels*, 1844

Verso: *Two nude Angels holding onto each other*, 1844

Brown pen and ink over pencil; brown brush over pencil on verso; 173 x 228 mm

Insc. bl.: (Paris), br.: Ford M Brown/44

Lit.: Whitley, p. 29; Newman and Watkinson, ill. pl. 23; Ford Madox Brown: *The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P698)

These four drawings are for the angels who direct Christ to heaven. As the drawing style indicates when producing his competition entry Brown was influenced by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century work of Fuseli and his circle.¹⁰

The drawings are early studies as each has distinct differences from the angels which appear in the final painting. In both cat. nos. 5 and 6 there are studies for an angel which appears in the middle tier of the painting, on the left. In cat. no. 6 it is depicted flying above a group of three other angels. In the final version these angels appear in the top tier and the angel in cat. no. 6 has been replaced by a more muscular angel with large wings. In cat. no. 5 both angels are shown with wings which were omitted in the painting. The group of six flying angels in cat. no. 7 are depicted with wings rather than flowing clothes in the painting and only the angels on the reverse of this drawing remain unaltered in the final version.

Cat. no. 8 *The Ascension: Study for a kneeling Apostle*, 1844

Verso: *Head of a Child*, c. 1844

Black chalk touched with white on brown-toned paper; 283 x 220 mm

Insc. br.: Ford M Brown/44 / (Paris)

Lit.: Whitley, p. 29; Ford Madox Brown: *The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P695)

¹⁰ See chapter 1 for a fuller discussion of the influence of Fuseli and his circle on Brown.

Cat. no. 9 *The Ascension: Drapery Study of a praying Apostle*, 1844

Verso: *The Spirit of Justice: Seated Figure in ecclesiastical Robes, gripping a Staff, with left Hand raised in a Blessing*, 1844

Black chalk; 233 x 185 mm

Lit.: Whitley, p. 29; Ford Madox Brown: *The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown Exhibition, Grafton*, 1897 (190)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P752)

Cat. no. 10 *The Ascension: Study for an Apostle*, 1844

Verso: *The Spirit of Justice: Body of seated Figure in ecclesiastical Robes holding a Staff and a Book*, 1844

Black chalk, 316 x 137 mm

Insc. bl.: *Ford M Brown/44 (Paris)*

Lit.: Whitley, p. 29; Ford Madox Brown: *The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P697)

Cat. no. 11 *The Ascension: Study of an Apostle*, 1844

Verso: *Full-length Sketch of a standing, naked Child*, 1844

Black chalk on toned paper; 319 x 137 mm

Insc. bl.: *Ford M Brown 44 (Paris)*

Lit.: Whitley, p. 29; Ford Madox Brown: *The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P696)

The four drawings of the apostles are in the same style and medium. Three of them, mounted together, have been drawn on the same kind of paper and may well have been pages from the same sketch book. Although cat. no. 9 is not dated it must have been drawn in the same year as the other studies of apostles which are dated 1844. The three studies mounted together are drapery studies. The faces of the figures have very little detail but Brown has paid particular attention to the folds of their robes. However, in cat. no. 8 the wrinkles on the apostle's hands, and the expression on his face are clearly defined. As a whole the figure is more finished. These four drawings have recently been released from their old mounts making it possible to see unknown drawings on their reverse. The drawings on the back are studies for Brown's cartoon *The Spirit of Justice* (see below) which he entered into the third competition to decorate the interior of the newly built Houses of Parliament in 1845. On the reverse of cat. nos. 9 and 10 are drapery studies for the bishops seated below Justice. In the final cartoon the ecclesiastical robes for both figures were considerably altered. As in some of the drawings for the apostles Brown has focused on the drapery, barely sketching in the face and hands and leaving space for the figure below on the right. On the reverse of cat. no. 11 is a full-length sketch of the widow's child and on the reverse of cat. no. 8 is the face of another child possibly also for the cartoon.

Cat. no. 12 *The Ascension: Study for Christ*, 1844

Brown pen and ink over pencil; 212 x 155 mm

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 29; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P694)

Another sketch for the figure of Christ exists (Fig. 181), although its current location is unknown. It is signed 'FMB/43' but this must be a case of Brown back dating as the competition was not advertised until 1844. This drawing is likely to be the earlier of the two as Brown has drawn the figure in pencil and then gone over it in pen and ink to make the lines more definite. The untraced drawing appears to be more finished. The existing photograph of it suggests that he drew it directly in pen and ink with no under drawing in pencil.

Cat. no. 13 *Caricature: Composite Drawing: A Stunner*, 1861 - 1863

Verso: *A Victorian Woman in her Underwear*, 1861 - 1863

Pencil; 212 x 90 mm

Lit: *Sotheby's*, sales cat., Belgravia, 25 March 1980, p. 4; Stephen Wildman, 'Three Pre-Raphaelite "cadavres exquis," in Ellen Harding, ed., *Re-framing the Pre-Raphaelites*, 1996, pp. 253-260; *Hidden Burne-Jones*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2007, p. 63; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Bt. at Sotheby's Belgravia, 25 March 1980, part of lot 6

Purchased, 1980 (1980P37)

Cat. no. 14 *Caricature: Composite Drawing: Bewigged Head*, 1861 - 1863

Verso: *Bowed Head of a bearded Man*, 1861 - 1863

Pencil; 136 x 79 mm

Lit: *Sotheby's*, sales cat., Belgravia, 25 March 1980, p. 4; Stephen Wildman, 'Three Pre-Raphaelite "cadavres exquis," in Ellen Harding, ed., *Re-framing the Pre-Raphaelites*, 1996, pp. 253-260; *Hidden Burne-Jones*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2007, p. 63; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Bt. at Sotheby's Belgravia, 25 March 1980, part of lot 6

Purchased, 1980 (1980P38)

The envelope in which these two sheets of composite drawings came provides the only clues to their date and provenance. It is inscribed 'Early meetings at Burne-Jones' / in Gt, Russell St' and 'Lucy Falkener' [*sic*].¹¹ From this it appears that they were made at one of the social gatherings which took place at the house of Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898) and his wife Georgiana (1840-1920), 62 Great Russell Street, between 1861 and 1864. These evenings were attended by friends such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Morris and Ford Madox Brown. It is likely that the drawings once belonged to Lucy Faulkner, the sister of Charles Faulkner who, with Brown and several others in their circle was one

¹¹ Stephen Wildman, 'Three Pre-Raphaelite "cadavres exquis," in Ellen Harding, ed., *Re-framing the Pre-Raphaelites*, 1996, p. 254.

of the original founders of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. Wildman notes that 'the strong outlines of the body' in cat. no. 13 'might suggest Ford Madox Brown's robust draughtsmanship.'¹² However, it seems more likely, in comparison to sketches such as cat. no. 132 and cat. no. 154 with similar loose lines, that the bloomers on the reverse of cat. no. 13 and the matronly bosom on cat. no. 14 are by Brown. With no inscriptions on the drawings themselves such attributions remain conjectural.

CHAUCER AT THE COURT OF EDWARD III

Related Works:

Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia

Chaucer at the Court of Edward III (hereafter referred to as *Chaucer*), 1845-1851, oil on canvas, 703

Ashmolean:

The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry: Study of the right Side of the composition, c. 1845, brown pen and ink with pencil, WA1954.

The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry: Compositional Study, 1845-1853, oil on canvas, A 360 WA1920.3

Cecil Higgins Museum, Bedford:

The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry: Compositional Study, 1845, black chalk, P.131

Manchester Art Gallery:

Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study for the Courtier with a yellow Hood and two drapery Studies, 1848, oil on millboard, 1931.21

Tate, London

Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: small replica, oil on canvas, 1856-68, N02063

Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Sketch of the Black Prince, on the reverse of a sketch for *Jesus washing Peter's Feet*, pencil, N01035

In 1845 Brown was looking for a subject for his next painting. He recalled in his diary that: 'in the summer of 45 I went to the British Museum to read Sir James Mackintosh's history of England ... with a view to select some subject connected with the history of this Country of a general and comprehensive nature. ... In this mood ... I fell upon a passage to this effect as near as I can remember "And it is scarcely to be wondered at, that English about this period should have become the judicial language of the country, ennobled as it had recently been by the genius of Geoffrey Chaucer." This at one fixed me, I immediately saw visions of Chaucer reading his poems to knights & Ladyes fair, the king & court amid air and sun shine [*sic*].'¹³

Brown originally envisaged the painting as part of a vast triptych entitled *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*.¹⁴ This was his most ambitious composition to date. In his

¹² *Op. cit.* at note 11, p. 256.

¹³ *Op. cit.* at note 2, 4 September, 1847, pp. 1-2.

¹⁴ Although the wings were never finished an idea of the scale of the project can be gained from the completed central panel which became *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*. The painting's dimensions are 3720 x 2960 mm without the frame and 3705 x 2955 mm with the frame.

diary he described it as 'the most extensive as well as the most interesting to myself of any that

I have undertaken.¹⁵ At first Brown had trouble finding the right subject. He initially envisaged the triptych with Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1340-1400) reading aloud in the central panel and 'Wickiff [*sic*] on one side as a wing and some one else on the other but ... could find no one to suit, Gower was too poor a Character [*sic*] & John of Gaunt for the harmony of ideas would not suit, it being inappropriate to put patron on one wing and his protégées [*sic*] one in the center [*sic*] & the other on the other side of the compartment.'¹⁶ He changed his idea to *The Seeds and Fruits of the English Language* but found that 'after having given a place to our greatest poets [*sic*] there would be none left for the prose writers and little liking the trouble of cutting and contriving for *them*, [he] determined on leaving them out & calling the work the "*Seeds & fruits of English poetry*."¹⁷

The central panel was to depict Chaucer reading to the Court of Edward III (1312-1377) and the wings became 'a love offering to [his] favourite poets,' and included full-length figures of the 'never-faithless Burns, Byron, Spenser and Shakespear [*sic*]' as well as John Milton (1608-1674) and Alexander Pope (1688-1744).¹⁸ Brown placed the heads of Oliver Goldsmith (1728?-1774) and Alexander Thomson (1763-1803) in two medallions above the full-length figures, and crammed the names of Thomas Campbell (1777-1844), Thomas Moore (1779-1852), Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), John Keats (1795-1821), Thomas Chatterton (1752-1770), Henry Kirke White (1785-1806), Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) and William Wordsworth (1770-1850) onto cartouches held by putti below. An idea of the composition can be gleaned from a small oil study for the whole composition and a brown pen and ink study for the right side, both now at the Ashmolean (Figs. 1 and 116), and a black chalk study at the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery (Fig. 77). Variations in these compositional studies show that Brown swapped over the two groups of full-length figures and changed details such as hand positions and architectural decoration several times.

Having decided on the subject matter Brown began by doing further research to make sure that the scene he imagined could have taken place. He started the triptych in London but had to continue working on it in Rome. The family moved in 1845 for the health of Brown's first wife, Elisabeth, but she died on their way back to England in 1846.

Brown did not resume work on the triptych until 1847 and but its large size meant that work continued on it until 1851. In 1849 he abandoned the wings and the central panel became *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*.¹⁹ There is some speculation as to why Brown gave up the triptych composition. In his 1865 exhibition catalogue he explained

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 1, 4 September 1847.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Robert Burns (1759-1796), Baron George Gordon Noel Byron (1788-1824), Edmund Spenser (1552?-1599) and William Shakespeare (1564-1616).

¹⁹ Teresa Newman and Ray Watkinson believe that Brown wanted to show *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* at the Royal Academy in 1848 but his diary states that it was the Free Exhibition he had in mind (*Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle*, London, 1991, p. 32 and *op. cit.* at note 2, p. 16). Surtees believes that having resumed work on the triptych in 1847 'the side wings were soon abandoned.' This is misleading as according to his diary Brown did not give up the triptych composition until mid 1849 as he mentioned working 'on the outline of Poets' on 27 April 1849 and still refers to 'the center [*sic*] compartment of the picture' in June 1849 (see *ibid.*, pp. 2, 63-64).

that his 'idea was conceived abroad at a time when [he] had little opportunity of knowing the march of literary events at home. On ... coming to England, [he] soon found that the illustrious in poetry were not all among the dead, and to avoid what must either have remained incomplete, or have appeared pretentious criticism, [he] gave up the idea indicated in the side compartments.'²⁰ This suggests that Brown abandoned the idea of a triptych for reasons of taste but a letter, written to the Art Gallery of New South Wales in 1880 following the rumours that *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* had been destroyed in a fire, shows that it is more likely that the time restraints led him to abandon the wings. In the letter he offers

to repaint the work again-either in exact reproduction of the one so unhappily destroyed, or in its earliest form as a "triptic" – the wings being occupied, in that case, by the figures of other poets. There exist in this country a small duplicate & two coloured sketches for this great work, besides studies for it still in my possession, these would facilitate the operation.²¹

Perhaps in 1865 Brown was still embarrassed by the same lack of knowledge of the current vogue in literature that Rossetti had teased him about in 1848. Holman Hunt recalls that on a visit to Brown's studio Rossetti 'began a sweeping tirade with what struck me as scant reverence, against the choice of poets in the side designs; growing quite warm, he declared that Shelley and Keats should have been whole-length full figures instead of Pope and Burns and the introduction of Kirk [*sic*] White's name, he said, was ridiculous.'²² However, the popularity of Brown's chosen poets in the nineteenth century reveals that his choices were not as erraneous as he suggests. For example, Thomas Moore was the author of *Lalla Rookh* (1817) and *Irish Melodies* (1820), both highly popular, and Thomas Campbell was buried in Westminster Abbey on his death in 1844. But Brown's eagerness to finish the triptych using his old compositional studies reveals that the vast amount of time needed to complete the project may really have been behind his decision to complete only *Chaucer*.

The final picture shows Chaucer reading *the Legend of Custance* to Edward III.²³ Brown gave the identity of the figures portrayed in his 1865 solo exhibition catalogue:

²⁰ Ford Madox Brown, *The Exhibition of Work, and other Paintings*, 191 Piccadilly, London, 1865, p. 3.

²¹ Unpublished letter from Ford Madox Brown to the Art Gallery of New South Wales, 20 November 1882. The Art Gallery bought *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* from Brown in 1876 although it did not have a permanent location at the time. By 1882 the Art Gallery were using premises that were part of a pavilion for an international exhibition. Brown heard of the fire which destroyed the pavilion but did not realise that the gallery was housed in an annexe not connected to the building which was destroyed.

²² *Op. cit.* at note 5, p. 126.

²³ According to Brown the lines from *The Legend of Custance* being read by Chaucer are:

'Hire litel child lay weping on hire arm,
And, kneling pitously to him she said,
Pees litel sone, I wol do thee no harm!
With that hire couverchief of hire hed she braid
And over his litel eyen she it laid,
And in hire arme she lulleth it ful fast,
And unto the hevens hire eye up she cast.

(*Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 4). Several scholars have mistakenly assumed Chaucer is reading from *The Canterbury Tales*.

Edward III. is now old, Phillippa being dead; the Black Prince is supposed to be in his last illness. John of Gaunt, who was Chaucer's patron, is represented in full armour, to indicate that active measures now devolve upon him. Pages holding his shield, etc., wait for him: his horse likewise in the yard beneath. Edward the Black Prince, now in his fortieth year, emaciated by sickness, leans on the lap of his wife Joanna, surnamed the Fair Maid of Kent. There had been much opposition to their union, but the Prince ultimately had his way. To the right of the old King is Alice Perrers, a cause of scandal to the Court, such as, repeating itself at intervals in history with remarkable similarity from David onwards, seems to argue that the untimely death of a hero may not be altogether so deplorable an event. Seated beneath are various personages suited to the time and place. A troubadour from the South of France, half jealous, half in half-struck admiration; a cardinal priest on good terms with the ladies; a jester forgetting his part in rapt attention of the poet. This character, I regret to say, is less medieval than Shakespearian. Two *dilettante* courtiers learnedly criticising; the one in the hood is meant for the poet Gower. Lastly, a youthful squire of the kind described by Chaucer as never sleeping nights, "more than doeth the nightingale," so much he is always in love.²⁴

Work on the large painting was slow and several other paintings including *Wycliffe*, *Lear and Cordelia* and the *Infant's Repast* were completed before *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*. Brown eventually finished it for the 1851 Royal Academy Exhibition. In order to get the painting in on time he recalled that he had 'to labour very hard & at the last worked three whole nights in one week, only lying down with my cloaths [*sic*] on for a couple of hours.'²⁵ The painting was exhibited under the title *Geoffrey Chaucer reading the "Legend of Custance" to Edward III and his court, at the palace of Sheen, on the anniversary of the Black Prince's forty-fifth birthday* and received mixed criticism.²⁶ Brown felt he had been 'pretty well martyred' as the painting was hung without its frame in a way that made it 'shine all over.'²⁷ After the exhibition the painting was bought by Robert Dickinson for £20 and with the understanding that he would keep 85% of any future sale. The painting failed to sell at an unspecified auction and was bought by the dealer David Thomas White for £50 but remained unsold and in 1863, on hearing White was threatening to cut it up, Brown retrieved it in exchange for six other paintings. Nevertheless, *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* did bring Brown some of the adulation for which he had hoped. In 1855 it was exhibited at the Paris Exposition Universelle and in 1858 it won the Liverpool Academy £50 prize.²⁸ It was also the first of Brown's

²⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 4.

²⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 2, pp. 73-4.

²⁶ The painting was cat. no. 380.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 3, letter to Lowes Dickinson dated May 14, 1851, pp. 72-3. In this letter Brown also reveals that he had sent his portrait of *Shakespeare* (see cat. nos. 130 and 131, pp. 275-276) to the same exhibition but it had been rejected. *Op. cit.* at note 2, pp. 73-74.

²⁸ The painting was cat. no. 140 at the Liverpool Academy.

works to be bought for a public collection when it was sold by him in 1876 to the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney.²⁹

The drawings in the Birmingham collection span the entire period that Brown was working on the project, from its conception in 1845 to its completion in 1851. Several of the drawings relate to both the central panel and the side wings, and for clarity are catalogued here under one title: *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*.

Cat. no. 15 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Early compositional Study*, 1845

Verso: *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study for Milton and two Designs for Tombstones*, c. 1845-c. 1846

Pencil with iron-gall ink; 254 x 185 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown Rome/ 4* [5 cut]

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 31; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (441) (under the title *First Sketch for "Chaucer," 1845*);³⁰ *Grafton*, 1897 (190)³¹

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P680)

This is one of two very early compositional studies for *Chaucer* at BMAG. It is interesting to see how soon Brown had settled on a composition as many of the figures in this early drawing appear almost unchanged in the final painting. These include Chaucer, the courting couple in the left corner, the troubadour holding his lute and the lady sitting in the centre foreground with her back to us and a page boy leaning against her legs.³² There were significant changes quite early on which can be seen if this drawing is compared to cat. no. 16 and the chalk study for the whole composition (Fig. 77). Brown seems to have been concerned with the position of John of Gaunt and he appears in a different position in each design and in the final version. Likewise the pose of the Black Prince on the right troubled Brown and he tried several variations, showing him lying down in the BMAG drawings, sitting up but twisted round in the Cecil Higgins study (Fig. 77) and sitting in profile in the final painting (Fig. 2). It is difficult to tell which of

²⁹ The gallery was conceived in 1874 with trustees appointed to 'administer a vote of £500 from the New South Wales Government "towards the formation of a Gallery of Art," (Jay Butler, 'Ford Madox Brown's *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*, *Catalogue of Acquisitions*, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 1975, p. 33). *Chaucer* was chosen by the trustees, one of whom was J. H. Thomas, the brother of Brown's lifelong friend William Cave Thomas. It was the first non-Australian painting to enter the collection.

³⁰ No. 441 included multiple works. It is described in the catalogue as 'Studies for "Ascension," 1844 First sketch for "Chaucer," 1845 Sketch for "Oure Ladye of Saturday Night," 1846 Head of Wycliffe, 1847 Lent by C. Fairfax Murray, Esq' (*Op. cit.* at note 9). It is therefore unclear which of the two early compositional studies for *Chaucer* was exhibited.

³¹ Likewise cat. no. 190 is described as 'studies for "Ascension" (1844). First Sketch for Chaucer" (1845). *Fairfax Murray, Esq (Exhibition of the Works of Ford Madox Brown*, Grafton Galleries, London, 1897, p. 49). 'First sketch for Chaucer' may be cat. no. 16 which is illustrated in Hueffer's biography with the same title but it is impossible to be certain.

³² Jay Butler has identified the couple as Lady de Bohun, later Countess of Gloucester and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. She has identified the lady on the stool as the Countess of Warwick (*Op. cit.* at note 29, p. 35)

the two BMAG drawings is the earlier. The date has been cut off this drawing but, like the compositional study below, it is highly likely to have been drawn in 1845 as Brown was in Rome that year. This drawing is the sketchier of the two, and the figures sitting on the ledge facing us are the most different from those in the final painting, so it is likely that this is the earlier of two preparatory studies.

On the back of this drawing is a sketch for the figure of Milton for one of the abandoned wings.³³ On the right there are also two designs which are most likely to be for the tombstone of Brown's first wife, Elisabeth, who died in 1846. Brown designed her tombstone himself and although the final version is much more celtic in style he used the same basic cross design at the top of her gravestone.

Cat. no. 15a *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Tracing of the Figure of Milton*, c.1845-c. 1849,

Brown pen and ink with pencil on tracing paper, 278 x 78 mm (irregular)

Lit.: Betty Elzea, *Frederick Sandys 1829-1904: Catalogue Raisonné*, 2001, p. 142

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by the subscribers, 1906 (1906P1071)

This is a tracing of the figure of Milton, one of the poets in the wings 'The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry.' The same figure appears on the verso of an early compositional study for the central section (cat. no. 15) dated 1845. The size of the tracing and that of the figure on cat. no. 15 match exactly, suggesting that this is a tracing taken from cat. no. 15. The original figure was first drawn as a pencil sketch. Ink was then added over the top to solidify the outline, perhaps in order to make this tracing. Both the original and the tracing have additional pencil lines across the thighs indicating the folds of the drapery. This further links the two versions. It is likely that Brown traced this figure from the one on the back of the compositional study in order to transfer his design to other studies. The tracing was previously attributed to Frederick Sandys but was reattributed to Brown in 2001 by Betty Elzea.³⁴

Cat. no. 15b *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Tracing of a Gothic Arch*, c.1845-c.1849

Brown pen and ink on tracing paper, 240 x 214 mm (irregular)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by the subscribers, 1906 (1906P1072)

This is a tracing of the Gothic arch found in one of the early compositional studies for *Chaucer* in the Birmingham collection (cat. no. 15).³⁵ Cat. no. 15a is another tracing for

³³ Since the last catalogue detailing these drawings was produced by A. E. Whitley in 1939 this drawing has been released from its original mount to reveal the drawings on the reverse.

³⁴ Betty Elzea, *Frederick Sandys 1829-1904: Catalogue Raisonné*, Woodbridge, 2001, p. 142.

³⁵ The present author identified this as a tracing by Brown on 8 December 2008. In her catalogue raisonné of works by Sandys, Elzea does not mention this work but identifies a *Tracing of four Nuns* (1906P1076) as a work by Brown (*Ibid.*, p. 142). This tracing has been missing from the collection since 1973 and it has not been possible to confirm her identification. However, as no works by Brown include nuns it seems unlikely to be by him. In correspondence with the author, dated 3 January 2009, Elzea acknowledges that

the same composition in the collection. This suggests that Brown was using tracings to transfer various elements of the composition onto different preparatory studies and sketches. However, there are no pencil marks or pricks on these tracings, perhaps indicating that he may have used them as reference copies whilst working on several studies. The heads which Brown has loosely added within the arch do not match the figures found in cat. no. 15. This further indicates that he made multiple compositional studies.

Cat. no. 16 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Early compositional Study*, 1845

Pencil with brown ink; 330 x 240 mm

Insc. bl.: [F] *M Brown Rome/45*

Lit.: Hueffer, ill. p. 447 *et seq.*; Whitley, p. 31; Keith Andrews, *The Nazarenes: A Brotherhood of German Painters*, 1956, pp. 81, 130, ill. pl. 72b; Lucy Rabin, *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite History-Picture*, 1978, p. 98, ill. pl. 44

Exh.: Grafton, 1897 (190?); *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Roland, Browse & Delbanco, London, 1947 (43); *Paintings and Drawings by British Artists from the City of Birmingham*, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1956 (40); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (51); *Visions* (7); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, (7)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P681)

This second early compositional study is slightly more finished than the drawing above although the gothic arch is less drawn in. Already there are substantial differences between this drawing and cat. no. 15. John of Gaunt is still on the left but looks less animated with his arm resting on his hip as opposed to raised in the air. There are two extra figures on the far left hand side one of which, the man in the medieval hood, can be seen in the final painting. Brown also made significant changes on the right. He included a jester which can be seen in all subsequent compositions though not in the same position. Interestingly the costume of the cleric depicted in this, and cat. no. 15, appears to have been based on a tracing Brown took from *Costume Historique*, an historical sourcebook by Camille Bonnard (see cat. nos. 58, 59 and 60).³⁶ However, by the time Brown drew the Cecil Higgins study (Fig. 77) he had changed the archbishop into a cardinal (see cat. no. 27).

Cat. no. 17 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Nude Studies of two Boys*, 1845

Pencil, laid down, 243 x 232 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown Rome/45*

Lit.: Whitley, p. 34; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (440 ?)³⁷

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P767)

she got the two works mixed up in her catalogue and that in notes she made on seeing the tracing of the Gothic arch (cat. no. 15b) in the early 1970s she identified it as being by Brown.

³⁶ Camille Bonnard, *Costumes des XIII, XIV, et XV Siècles*, 2 vols., Paris, 1829-1830.

³⁷ The exhibition catalogue describes no. 440 as 'Studies for "Chaucer," 1845. Lent by C Fairfax Murray, Esq' (*Op. cit.* at note 9, p. 104). It is not clear exactly which drawings were exhibited under this number as cat. nos. 17-20 all fit the description.

The nude figure of a boy holding a triangle is an early study for a similar figure which can be seen in the final painting sitting on the right of the troubadour but with his head hanging backwards to look at Chaucer. Likewise the standing nude appears in the finished picture but in a slightly different pose holding a sword as well as a shield. The pose of this boy is the same as that in the Ashmolean study and the two must have been done around the same time.

Cat. no. 18 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Nude Studies of four Figures*, 1845

Pencil; 287 x 385 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London* [crossed out] *Rome/45*

Lit.: Hueffer, ill. p. 447 *et seq.*; Whitley, p. 31; Ford Madox Brown: *The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P671)

The figure in the top left of the drawing is the '*dilettante*' courtier depicted on the right in the foreground talking to Gower, who wears a medieval hood.³⁸ The figure in the top right is the troubadour who is sitting in the centre of the painting. The standing figure holding a tray is the steward on the far right in the background bringing water and glasses. The last seated figure is the page boy in the centre, listening intently and leaning on a lady sitting in front of the fountain. When signing this work Brown crossed out London, replaced it with Rome and dated it 1845. This date is likely to be correct because the steward appears in the Cecil Higgins study (Fig. 77). This is an example of Brown's backdating his studies.

Cat. no. 19 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Eight early Studies of Figures and Hands*, 1845

Pencil; 280 x 436 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown Rome/45*

Lit.: Whitley, p. 33

Exh: Ford Madox Brown: *The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (8)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P766)

This is one of the earliest sheets of studies for *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* and shows Brown working out various characters and their poses. It was executed in 1845 whilst he was living in Rome. Faint writing on the sheet may be the names and addresses of models he used during his stay in Italy. The main study on the left is for the figure of Edward III. His pose changes only slightly from this early study to that in the final painting. Brown used the same elderly model for the sketches of two courtiers who appear in the painting. BMAG also holds drapery and head studies relating to these figures (cat. nos. 28, 29 and 54). The nude figure in the bottom left hand corner is most likely to be for the jester. In the Cecil Higgins study (Fig. 77) the jester is crouching with his right arm in the same position and holding a staff as indicated in this nude sketch.

³⁸ Brown describes these two figures as '*dilettante* courtiers learnedly criticising' and identifies 'the one in the hood' as Gower (*Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 4).

The hand studies, the figure of the page slumped over, and the head of a man wearing a crown of leaves do not appear to have been used in the final version and may have been early experiments in pose and character.

Cat. no. 20 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Nude Studies for the Figures of Byron, Shakespeare and Burns*, 1845

Black chalk; 294 x 328 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown Rome/45*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 32

Exh: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (9)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P705)

These life studies are for the full-length figures of Byron, Burns and Shakespeare from the wings of *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* (Figs. 1 and 77). The blockish simplicity of the nudes is unusual in Brown's oeuvre and suggests that he was inspired by the muscularity of the classical sculpture he saw in Rome.

Cat. no. 21 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Drapery Study for Burns*, 1847

Black chalk; 355 x 212 mm

Insc. bl.: *Ford M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 33; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P744)

This rather abstract-looking drapery study shows the intensity of Brown's preparations for a painting and his close observation of minute details such as the fall of the fabric. It is a study for the full-length figure of Robert Burns and at the top Brown has added lines to indicate his tartan sash. Brown writes about drawing the drapery for Burns in his diary. On 9 September he wrote, 'bought some plaid draperies ... set about arranging the draperies for Robert Burns in the Lay figure - sweated over it till dark but got it to do at last.'³⁹ On 14 September he noted 'finished the plaid and began drawing for the robe of R.B. [Robert Burns]' which he finished the following afternoon.⁴⁰ This one of two drapery studies for the figure of Burns drawn a year apart (see also cat. no. 50).

Cat. no. 22 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study of a right Leg and left Foot for Milton*, 1847

Black chalk; 294 x 125 mm (s.)

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London* [further writing hidden by mount]

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 32; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P711)

³⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 5.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

This is one of two studies held at BMAG for the legs of the poets in *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*. From the pose it is most likely to be for the legs of the poet Milton as he appears in the left wing of the Ashmolean study (Fig. 1).

Cat. no. 23 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study of a left Leg for Shakespeare*, 1847

Black chalk; 313 x 122 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London 47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 32; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P706)

Cat. no. 24 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study of Drapery for Milton*, 1847

Black chalk; 355 x 200 mm

Insc. br.: [F] *M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 32; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 64

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P743)

Cat. no. 25 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Drapery Study for Shakespeare*, 1847

Black chalk; 350 x 170 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 32; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, pp. 64-65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P707)

This drawing is for the figure of Shakespeare who holds the masks of tragedy and comedy, symbolising his work as a playwright.

Cat. no. 26 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study of a Man in a medieval Hood*, 1847

Black chalk; 209 x 170 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 35; *Diary*, p. 7

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (12)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P777)

The hood is based on an illustration of the Count of Flanders in J. R. Planché's *A Complete History of the Dress of the Inhabitants of the British Isles*, published in 1834 and reprinted in 1847 and 1874. Brown copied the hood and liripipe from Planché onto a sheet of tracing paper that is also in the Birmingham collection (cat. no. 59). Brown's diary entry for 25 September 1847 may well relate to this drawing: 'got up Early – & got to work late, fumbled till 12 o'clock over the Hood of the left hand corner figure of the

"knight" made a lirlipipe for it.⁴¹ The next day he, 'finished the drawing of the Hood & a drawing of the cloak for one of the Men next to him, "the chamberlain."⁴² The corresponding figure is in the same pose in both the Ashmolean and Cecil Higgins studies (Figs. 1 and 77) but in the final painting (Fig. 2) he is bending down further with his head twisted towards the viewer.

Cat. no. 27 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study for the Cardinal*, 1847

Black chalk; 297 x 178 mm

Insc. bl.: *Ford M Brown London 47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p.36; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Exh.: *Some Pre-Raphaelite Paintings and Drawings*, National Library of Wales,

Aberystwyth, 1955 (7); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (53)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P780)

This is one of many carefully observed drapery studies by Brown in the collection. The folds of the cardinal's robe are highly finished but the absence of the figure's hands and face suggest that he used a lay figure instead of a model. A lay figure would have had the advantage of being cheaper than a professional model and would have kept the fabric completely still. In the two early compositional studies from 1845 (cat. nos. 15 and 16) this figure is an archbishop but quite quickly Brown altered him to a cardinal perhaps inspired by an illustration he found in *The Pictorial History of England* (1837) (Fig. 110).⁴³

Cat. no. 28 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Drapery Study in Profile for Courtier*, 1847

Black chalk; 238 x 170 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 41; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P735)

Whitley identified this as a drapery study for the upper part of Gower in the painting *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible*. However, in that composition Gower's costume is very different and his hands are clasped, with his forefingers pointing downwards, not resting on his knee as in this study. Also Gower's right arm is hidden by the figure of Chaucer, making such a detailed study for the drapery of his right arm redundant. This study is almost certainly for the ill-tempered courtier on the far left in *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*, sitting next to the bearded old man. The hands are in the same pose, resting on a raised knee, and although the buttons in the final version are at the front, this is a study of the same costume with the buttons moved to the side. This

⁴¹ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 7.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ In the Ashmolean oil sketch (Fig. 1) this figure is an old courtier. However, in both the Ashmolean pen and ink study (Fig. 116) and the Cecil Higgins study (Fig. 77) the figure has become a cardinal. All three works were executed in 1845, the same year as the cat. nos. 15 and 16.

identification is confirmed by an earlier sheet of eight studies dated 1845 (cat. no. 19) which includes sketches of an elderly bearded man with a wreath of leaves, wearing the same cloak, and in the same position. The final figure of the miserable-looking courtier in the painting appears to have evolved from these two early studies.

Cat. no. 29 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Drapery Study*, 1847

Black chalk; 158 x 128 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 41; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P734)

This drawing is likely to be an early drapery study for the elderly, bearded man sitting on the far left between the man wearing a hood and the ill-tempered courtier. Although he is depicted in a different costume in the final version the pose closely matches this figure in the Cecil Higgins study (Fig. 77). Brown's diary entry for 26 September 1847 may well relate to this drawing or one above (cat. no. 28): 'Finished the drawing of the Hood & a drawing of the cloak for one of the men next to him, "Chamberlain."' ⁴⁴

Cat. no. 30 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Female Nude: Study of a Muse holding onto a Rail*, 1847

Pencil; 290 x 147 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 35; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P776)

Cat. no. 31 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Female Nude: Study of a Muse*, 1847

Pencil; 267 x 146 mm

Insc. br.: *F. M B. London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 35; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P775)

Whitley previously identified these two studies as figures for the central panel of the triptych. However, they are almost certainly the two figures Brown drew on 14 October 1847 for the right wing. In his diary he records that 'Miss Chamberlayne came. Worked well till 4 in spite of her talking propensities. Made outlines of the nude of the two figures of "Muses of impassioned & satirical poetry."⁴⁵ These two female figures can be seen more clearly in the pen and ink study for the right side of the triptych at the Ashmolean (Fig. 116). Both figures sit in the top right spandrel wearing long, draped robes, and laurel wreaths on their heads. The right figure sits with her right elbow resting on the

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10. The author, most likely Mary Bennett, of anonymous undated notes on the BMAG drawings in the curatorial files on *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* (The Art Gallery of New South Wales) comes to the same conclusion.

decorative architecture and her finger resting on her chin. In her other hand she holds a lyre. The left muse sits with her left knee raised. Her right hand rests on the uplifted knee whilst she holds a lyre with her left hand. The two 'outlines' of nude females at BMAG correlate almost exactly to these figures in the Ashmolean drawing. Their legs are positioned to sit either side of the architecture and in the outline for the right muse Brown has faintly drawn in a lyre. The outline for the left muse differs from the Ashmolean figure in that the model's right hand rests on her chest not her knee. She holds a pole in her left hand instead of a lyre but this must have been an aide to help her stay still in the awkward pose. Brown's inspiration for the muses may well have been the sibyls in the Sistine Chapel, which he is likely to have seen whilst he was in Rome.

Cat. no. 32 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Nude Study for seated Lady*, 1847
Pencil; 233 x 182 mm
Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 34; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P768)

This is a nude study for the lady at the extreme left of *Chaucer* being courted by 'a youthful squire of the kind described by Chaucer as never sleeping nights, "more than doeth the nightingale," so much he is always in love.'⁴⁶ There are several female nude 'outlines,' which are signed 1847 and may well have been made from the same professional model, perhaps Miss Chamberlayne. In his diary Brown records her visits to his study; on 12 October he writes, 'had Miss Chamberlayne all day, a very devil, a very devil, made outlines of the nudes of several female figures.'⁴⁷ Two days later she sat for him again and he recorded that this session had gone a little better: 'Miss Chamberlayne come [*sic*]. ... Made outlines of the nude of the two figures of "Muses" ... & several other center figures.'⁴⁸ The female figure in the outlines for the Muses have the same hairstyle as this nude study (see cat. nos. 30 and 31).

Cat. no. 33 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Nude Study of a Woman with right Arm raised*, 1847
Pencil; 132 x 192 mm
Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 34; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P772)

This half-length nude with her head in profile to the right and her right arm raised is possibly related to outline sketches Brown made for the painting. There is no woman in this pose in any compositional studies or the final painting but it may have been a study

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 4. Jay Butler identifies these two figures as Lady de Bohun, later the Duchess of Gloucester and Thomas Woodstock, the Duke of Gloucester, Edward III's youngest son (see *op. cit.* at note 29, p. 35).

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

for a muse in the left wing. The model is possibly the same woman who appears in other outline sketches above made in the same year, on similar paper (cat. nos. 30, 31 and 32).

Cat. no. 34 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Two Studies of Back of a seated Woman's Head*, 1847
Pencil; 128 x 201 mm
Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 34; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P769)

These two studies, of the same model, are for two of the women with the back of their heads facing the viewer in *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*. The pose on the left matches that of the woman on the far left of the painting talking to her friend, who has been identified by Jay Butler as Chaucer's wife, Phillipa de Roet.⁴⁹ In the final version she wears a headdress based on an illustration in Joseph Strutt's *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England* (1796-99) and her hair is in draped plaits (Fig. 102). The second study on the right is for the Lady sitting in front of the fountain, holding a rose. In the final version her head is tilted to the left and she wears a headdress also illustrated in Strutt. This early sourcebook contained an illustration of female headdresses based on a medieval manuscript.⁵⁰

Cat. no. 35 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Two Studies of a seated Woman in lost Profile Pose and from the Back*, 1847
Pencil; 155 x 230 mm
Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 34; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P770)

Brown had received his artistic training in three of Belgium's most revered art academies where he would have learnt to make nude studies before drawing the model clothed. Such studies allowed artists to capture the correct pose of the figure before the added complexity of drapery and to draw them was a practice which had been passed down from the Renaissance. It was also taught in British art academies, notably the Royal Academy which was attended by Rossetti, Holman Hunt and Millais. This unusual study for the Countess of Warwick shows both stages of the process. In the right drawing she is nude to the waist, and does not hold a rose. In the left she wears a long-sleeved dress and the outline of her headdress is indicated. In the painting her dress has been altered and is based on an illustration taken from Charles Stothard's *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (pub. 1811-33) (Figs. 89 and 90), and her headdress is based on an

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 29, p. 35.

⁵⁰ The manuscript was used by several other authors, who also plagiarised Strutt's work, but it is only in *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the English People* that it is possible to see all the headdresses used by Brown. See chapter 2 for a fuller discussion of the use of this illustration in nineteenth-century sourcebooks.

illustration in Strutt's *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the English People* (Fig. 102). The Countess is one of the figures who appeared in the earliest sketches for the painting in virtually the same pose.

Cat. no. 36 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Nude Study of a Woman*, 1847

Pencil; 289 x 135 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 35; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P773)

This nude study is for the figure of a girl seated with an older woman on the right. From a very early stage Brown incorporated this character into the design. She is in the two earliest compositional studies at BMAG (cat. nos. 15 and 16) in the same awkward pose, with her hands clasped in front of her. However, Brown changed her companion who sits on the right. In the BMAG compositional studies and the Ashmolean study (Fig. 1) she is sitting next to an elderly male courtier but in the Cecil Higgins and the Ashmolean pen and ink studies (Figs. 77 and 116) her companion has been replaced by a robust matron. The change in this figure has helped to put the early compositional studies in chronological order and confirmed that the Birmingham studies are indeed the earliest.

Cat. no. 37 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Sketch of a Woman supporting another Figure*, 1847

Pencil; 175 x 161 mm

Insc. bl.: *Ford M Brown 47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 35; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P774)

This is a sketch for the two women talking to the cardinal. The figure on the left who has a cartoon-like face and appears rather floppy is taken from a lay figure. There are many entries in Brown's diary in which he describes long hours spent arranging cloth in exactly the right position on an artists' dummy. Professional models were expensive and not always suitable for detailed drapery studies. From his diary we know that he borrowed lay figures from his friends and also hired them from 'Briggs & Barbe's' a company providing supplies to artists.⁵¹ In 1848 when he visited his friend Daniel Casey in Paris he bought an artist's dummy, most likely from Lechertier Barber, one of the most famous

⁵¹ See *op. cit.* at note 2, pp. 24, 32. On 6 January 1848 he records that he 'worked ... at the study for Chaucer's drapery, finished it, had Lucy's lay figure taken back' (*ibid.*, p. 24). 'Lucy' is the artist Charles Lucy to whom Brown often refers in the early years of his diary. Sally Woodcock notes that this must be the London branch, in Regent Street, of Lechertier Barber, the French colourmen ('Posing, Reposing, Decomposing: life-size Lay Figures, living Models and Artist's Colourmen in nineteenth Century London,' in Erma Hermens, ed., *Looking through Paintings: The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in support of Art historical Research*, Baam, Netherlands, and London, 1998, p. 451).

makers of lay figures.⁵² In the painting the figure on the right is a middle aged, matronly woman wearing a head scarf and a dress with a high neckline, but the girl sitting for this sketch appears to be the same young model as used by Brown in at least two other drawings in the collection (cat. nos. 34 and 38). At this stage he appears to have been more interested in the pose than the details of the character.

Cat. no. 38 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study of the Heads and Shoulders of two Women*, 1847

Pencil; 164 x 254 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London /47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 34; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P771)

These are early sketches for two central characters in *Chaucer*. The woman on the left is for the figure of Alice Perrers (1348-c.1400), Edward III's unpopular mistress who is reported to have stripped him of his jewellery as he lay dying. In the final painting she can be seen holding an ostentatious feather fan. Her pose in this outline is closer to that of the figure in the Cecil Higgins study in which she is looking up at Edward III and pointing at Chaucer with a closed fan. The woman on the right is a study for Joanna, 'The Fair Maid of Kent,' wife of the Black Prince (1328-1385). Her pose differs from that in early compositional studies but matches that in the final painting where she can be seen with her head in profile to the left, as in this outline drawing, and holding onto her husband's elbow as Brown has faintly indicated here. Brown's second wife Emma posed for this figure when he completed *Chaucer* in 1851.⁵³ In the painting 'The Fair Maid of Kent' wears a crown as opposed to the simple band worn by the figure in this study. Brown may have made several outline drawings in one session as the same hair band, dress and model appear in two stylistically similar drawings at BMAG (cat. nos. 34 and 37).⁵⁴

Cat. no. 39 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Drapery Study for Edward III with Outline of a Child*, 1847

Black chalk; 270 x 175 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 35; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P779)

This interesting drapery study is very like a still-life. The lack of hands in the study strongly suggests that Brown was working from a lay figure and he has included the outlines of the side of the throne and the figure of a child on the right. In the final

⁵² *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 44. See also *op. cit.* at note 51, p. 464 and Joyce Townsend, Jacqueline Ridge and Stephen Hackney, *Pre-Raphaelite Painting Techniques*, London, 2004, p. 55.

⁵³ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 74.

⁵⁴ The model's hair has been put up in the same style, with a twist of hair looped below her ear, in these three studies and in cat. no. 32.

painting the King's cloak has a chest fastening and he holds a cloth in one hand and the edge of the throne in the other, rather than resting them in his lap.

Cat. no. 40 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Foreshortened Study for Head of a Jester*, 1847

Pencil; 237 x 176 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 35; Roy Strong, *And when did You last see your Father?* 1978, ill. fig. 82, *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (52)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P778)

A jester appears in the second compositional study in the Birmingham collection. In this study and in the compositional study at the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 1) the jester is at the front of the composition.⁵⁵ However, in the final version (Fig. 2) he is less prominent, seated on the right side behind the 'dilettante' courtier and Gower. This study is for the later position of the jester although in the painting he does not hold a pole but a jester's staff. From Brown's diary we know that he made the jester's hood himself. On 22 October 1847 he records that he, 'painted in the kings cloak (study), workwoman came set her to make the gown for Chaucer myself made ears for the jester's hood & began a drawing of it.'⁵⁶ He continued this drawing over the next two days, each day noting that he 'drew a little at the jester's hood.'⁵⁷ This drawing is most likely to be the one to which he refers in his diary.

Cat. no. 41 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Head of Alexander Pope*, 1847

Black chalk; 327 x 258 mm

Insc.: *Pope after Roubilliac Ford M Brown London/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 32; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P713)

As the inscription on this drawing suggests this is a study of the bust of Alexander Pope (1688-1744) by Louis François Roubiliac (1695-1762) at the British Museum.⁵⁸ Pope was one of the poets Brown included in the wings of *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*. In the Ashmolean oil sketch he stands between the figures of Byron and Burns with his head lowered and crowned with a laurel wreath.

⁵⁵ On the sheet of eight studies for *Chaucer* (cat. no. 19) is a sketch for the jester in the earlier pose when Brown had placed him at the front of the composition.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 11.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ There is a terracotta model of the bust at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts (University of Birmingham) as well as four signed marble versions, the earliest dated 1738 (Temple Newsam, Leeds). The British Museum version is 'an early plaster cast of the terracotta' (Paul Spencer-Longhurst, *The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, The University of Birmingham: Handbook*, Birmingham, 1999, p. 101).

Cat. no. 42 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Two Hand Studies*, 1847

Black chalk; 170 x 238 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/47* (brown ink over pencil inscription: 'Chaucer at the ...')

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 33; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P749)

These two hand studies are for figures in the central panel and the unfinished wings. The top study is for Shakespeare who was depicted in one of the wings. The second hand study is for the courtier sitting in the lower right hand corner of the final painting, animatedly discussing Chaucer's work with the Gower, who sits beside him in a medieval hood.⁵⁹ The unusual hand position in this preparatory study gives an idea of the enthusiasm Brown wanted the figure to portray.

Cat. no. 43 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study of Head of Milton copied from Sculpture*, 1848

Black chalk; 163 x 176 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 32; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P719)

This study is for the blind figure of Milton in the abandoned left compartment. It is likely to have been copied from Michael Rysbrack's bust of 1737 on the monument to the poet in Westminster Abbey.⁶⁰ In old age Milton went blind and Brown depicts the poet at this stage of his life holding a stick to feel his way forward.

Cat. no. 44 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Nude Studies for the Squire and the Courtier talking to Gower*, 1848

Pencil; 160 x 269 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London 48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 36; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P782)

These studies were made after Brown restarted work on *Chaucer* following the completion of *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible*. The full length figure is for the squire who is courting the lady on the far left of the composition. The figure on the right is for the 'dilettante' courtier talking to Gower.⁶¹ BMAG also holds a later drapery study for the squire's legs (cat. no. 53).

⁵⁹ Mary Bennett identifies the courtier as Gower (*The Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat., Tate, London, 1984, p. 54). However, Brown's identification of the figures contradicts this. He noted in his solo exhibition catalogue that of the 'two dilettante courtiers learnedly criticising the one in the hood is meant for the poet Gower' (*Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 4).

⁶⁰ Unpublished notes on the drawings at the BMAG by Hilary Parsons.

⁶¹ See *op. cit.* at note 20, p. 4.

Cat. no. 45 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Drapery Study for the Black Prince*, 1848

Black chalk with touches of white; 206 x 165 mm

Insc bl: *Ford M Brown London/48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p.36; *Diary*, p. 41

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (19)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P783)

BMAG holds two drapery studies for the Black Prince which were executed three years apart (see also cat. no. 52). Brown put aside *Chaucer* while working on several other pictures but took it up again in 1850. This chalk drawing is the earlier of the two studies and it is likely that Brown is referring to it when he notes in his diary that he used a model named 'Maitland & made a drawing of the surcoat of black Prince.'⁶²

Cat. no. 46 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Three Studies of Hands*, 1848

Black; 281 x 201 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 33; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P751)

The hand on the bottom left is a study for the blind figure of Milton. His disability is symbolised by the staff he holds. Above this, the right hand of Byron holds a scroll. On the right is a drawing for Burns' right hand in the same position as in the Cecil Higgins chalk study (Fig. 77). In the Ashmolean oil sketch (Fig. 1) the thumb has moved round to the other side of the stick. BMAG also holds full-length studies for these figures which incorporate these hand studies (cat. nos. 15a and 20, and reverse of cat. no. 15).

Cat. no. 47 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Four Studies of Hands*, 1848

Black chalk touched with white; 305 x 312 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London 48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 33; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P750)

The top left study is for the right hand of Lord Byron holding a scroll. In the Ashmolean pen and ink study (Fig. 116), the hand is in a different position with the thumb on top. The top right study is also for Byron, who holds a shield in his other hand (the cloth stands in for the shield). The lower left hand could be for either Burns or Shakespeare whose hands appear in similar poses, although in cat. no. 46 and Fig. no. 116 Burns' hand is in a different position with the index finger extended to touch the stick. The bottom right study is for Shakespeare who holds the two masks of drama and comedy. Here his hand is shown in the right position but without his props. An entry in Brown's diary may

⁶² *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 41.

well refer to this sheet of drawings: '31st [May 1848] up at 1/1 past 5, Worked at study from Mendoes at 1/2 past 9 till 1/2 past 6. Drew at 4 hands from Fry the Model.'⁶³

Cat. no. 48 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study of a clasped right Hand for one of the Poets*, 1848

Black chalk; 214 x 103 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London 48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 33; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P748)

This may be a study for the right hand of one of the poets honoured by Brown in *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*. It is difficult to tell if it is a hand study for the figure of Burns or Shakespeare as both have similar right hand positions in the surviving studies for the triptych held at the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery (Fig. 77) and the Ashmolean (Figs. 1 and 116). It could also be a hand study for the man standing on the right of the Fool in Brown's painting *Lear and Cordelia* (Fig. 37) on which he was also working in 1848.

Cat. no. 49 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study of a left Hand for Burns*, 1848

Black chalk heightened with touches of white; 119 x 200 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 33; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P747)

Cat. no. 50 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study of Drapery for Burns*, 1848

Black chalk; 289 x 165 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 33

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (18)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P745)

See cat. no. 21.

Cat. no. 51 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Drapery Study*, 1848

Black chalk; 105 x 116 mm

Insc. br.: *London / Ford M Brown/48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 36; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P781)

It is unclear to which figure this drapery study relates. The fall of the fabric does not fit any of the clothing worn by figures in the finished painting or in the studies for the abandoned triptych. It may have been a drapery study for one of the elements discarded

⁶³ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 42. Mendoes was another model.

by Brown, perhaps one of the sashes worn by the *putti*. Brown was also working on a number of other compositions in 1848, *The Infant's Repast*, *Cordelia by the Bedside of King Lear* and *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible*, but, as with *Chaucer*, this study does not appear to relate to any of them.

Cat. no. 52 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Drapery Study for the Black Prince*, 1851

Black and white chalks on brown-toned paper, 211 x 185 mm (irregular shape)

Insc. bc.: *Ford M Brown London 51*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 36; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Exh.: *Pre-Raphaelite Art from Birmingham*, Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1984 (7)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P785)

See cat. no. 45.

Cat. no. 53 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study for Squire's Legs*, 1851

Black chalk heightened with white; 230 x 232 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/51*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p.36; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 65

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P786)

Jay Butler identifies the squire as Edward III's youngest son, Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester.⁶⁴ Like the drapery study for the Black Prince, executed the same year, this drawing is in black chalk and heightened with white, showing Brown's preoccupation with recreating the effect of bright sunlight in the painting.

Cat. no. 54 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Two Head Studies of an old Woman*, 1851

Black chalk; 265 x 151 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/51*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 36

Exh.: *National Gallery of British Art*, 1911-12 (10); *Brussels*, 1929 (17); *English Eye I*, Midlands Federation Travelling Exhibition, 1958 (3); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (25)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P787)

These two studies of an old woman were actually used for the faces of two old men in *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*. Brown used the face of the woman looking down for the ill-tempered courtier (see also cat. nos. 18 and 28), and her face in profile for the man sitting next to him (see cat. nos. 18 and 29). Brown must have wanted to study an elderly person and found that the effect he wanted was not dependent on the sex of his sitter. These studies were completed in 1851, the same year that he finished the painting.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 29, p. 35. Mary Bennett agrees with this identification (*Op. cit.* at note 59, p. 54).

Cat. no. 55 *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Watercolour Version*, c. 1851

Watercolour with bodycolour; 365 x 386 mm

Lit.: Lucy Rabin, *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite History-Picture*, 1978, pp. 106-9, ill. pl. 50

Exh.: *Manchester*, 1911 (53, lent by J. R. Holliday) *Paintings and Drawings by British Artists from the City of Birmingham*, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1956 (41); *British Watercolours from Birmingham*, Arts Council of Great Britain Touring Exhibition, 1980 – 81 (57); *British Watercolours from 1750-1900 from Birmingham*, Tokyo Station Gallery, 1991 (92); *Knights: Chivalry, Romance and Legend*, Laing Art Gallery 1995 - 96 (no numbered cat.); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (26)

Prov.: James Richardson Holliday

Bequest of J. R. Holliday, 1927 (1927P356)

Brown rarely worked in watercolour, unlike his friend Rossetti. This small, detailed painting shows the upper half of the composition and it seems likely that it was executed after the completion of *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* rather than as a study for it. Brown discusses one other watercolour version in his diary which he sold to the artist Mark Anthony (1817–1886) in 1854 for 12 guineas.⁶⁵ However, Mary Bennett has discovered that this sketch measured 20 x 13 ½ inches and was later retouched by Brown, which implies that it is not the Birmingham version.⁶⁶ The style of the watercolour suggests that may be a contemporary copy after Brown. He had a number of pupils and studio assistants, who may have been set to copy the completed painting, including his children Oliver, Lucy and Catherine, and Thomas Seddon and Albert Goodwin, who both helped Brown produce a second smaller version of *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*.⁶⁷

Cat. no. 56 *Convalescent: Portrait of Emma Madox Brown*, 1872

Pastel; 475 x 435 mm

Insc. bl.: FMB [monogram] *Octr* _ 72

Lit.: *Sale Catalogue*, p. 10; *Hueffer*, pp. 271, 281; Andrea Rose, *Pre-Raphaelite Portraits*, p. 24, ill. p. 24; *Newman and Watkinson*, p. 165, ill. pl. 141; Tim Barringer, 'The Effects of Industry: Ford Madox Brown and Artistic Identities in Victorian Britain,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 30; Angela Thirlwell, 'Vieux Fordy: Death of a modern Man,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 13

Exh.: *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Lichfield Art Gallery, 1961 (no numbered cat.); *Pre-Raphaelite Women*, BMAG, 1985-86 (5); *Visions* (97); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (50)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by subscribers, 1906 (1906P793)

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 74.

⁶⁶ See *op. cit.* at note 7, p. 54.

⁶⁷ Thomas Seddon helped Brown start the second version in 1851. In 1863 Brown took it up again and it was completed with the help of his studio assistant Albert Goodwin in 1868 (*Op. cit.* at note 52, p. 122).

This pastel portrait shows Emma Madox Brown resting after a serious illness in 1872. It had been a year of highs and lows which started badly with Rossetti's nervous breakdown. As his closest friend Brown took it upon himself to organise his care and, jointly with William Michael Rossetti, his finances. Following Rossetti's illness Brown himself suffered from two bouts of severe gout and did not win the Slade Professorship. However, the summer saw the celebration of Brown's second daughter Cathy's marriage to musicologist Franz Hueffer. It was after the excitement of the wedding that Emma succumbed to an infection which she fought for most of the autumn. Brown's portrait depicts Emma, looking pale, but with an abundance of luxurious red hair. She clutches a posy of pansies, which in the language of flowers signifies 'You occupy my thoughts,' an appropriate sentiment after Emma's alarming malady.⁶⁸

Despite the personal nature of the portrait both Brown and his family saw it as a notable work. Hueffer lists it among 'Brown's more important works' and according to him Brown contributed it to a fund to aid the widow of a Manchester artist named Holding.⁶⁹ This necessitated the making of a duplicate of the portrait in February 1873.⁷⁰ As late as 1891 he used the composition as the basis for his title page illustration to Mathilde Blind's *Dramas in Miniature* (Fig. 177).⁷¹ Emma herself died in 1890 after another 'protracted and painful illness.'⁷²

Both the 1897 exhibition of *The Works of Ford Madox Brown* (Grafton Galleries, London) and the 1909 exhibition of *Collected Works by Ford Madox Brown* (Leicester Galleries, London) included a version of *Convalescent* listed in the catalogues as being owned by Henry Boddington.⁷³ It is unclear if this is the original version as it is dated 1872 and virtually the same size as the one in Birmingham. Fairfax Murray who originally owned Birmingham's version bought it from the sale of the contents of the artist's home and studio following his death in 1893. This suggests that the one at BMAG is the copy, but it is also clearly dated October 1872.

⁶⁸ Anonymous, *The Language of Flowers: An Alphabet of floral Emblems*, London, 1857

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 275.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁷¹ Mathilde Blind, *Dramas in Miniature*, London, 1891. See chapter 3, p. 191 for a fuller discussion of Brown's frontispiece for this volume.

⁷² *Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 394.

⁷³ *Op. cit.* at note 31, cat. no. 87, p. 37 and *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Collected Works by Ford Madox Brown with preface and Notes by Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer*, exh. cat., Leicester Galleries, 1909, cat. no. 43, p. 56.

Cat. no. 57 *Costume Study: Five Sketches of Armour and Costume*, 1844

Brown pen and ink over pencil; 363 x 225 mm

Insc.: *Edward 1st & IInd Richard IInd / Henry 6th & Edward 4th / Henry*

4, br.: *Ford M Brown Paris/44* (all inscriptions referring to kings are written on the left of corresponding figures except 'Henry 4' which is under the figure)

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 47; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P740)

Mary Bennett has suggested that these costume sketches were studies for *The Spirit of Justice*, a cartoon Brown entered into the third Westminster Competitions held in 1845 to select artists to decorate the new Houses of Parliament.⁷⁴ The date and location inscribed on the bottom of the sheet '*Paris/44*' certainly supports this identification. The similarities in subject matter, style and medium between these sketches and another drawing for *The Spirit of Justice* in the collection, *Study for the Baron and his advisor* (cat. no. 132), add further weight to her hypothesis. Brown's preoccupation with armour in this sketch must also be related to the row of knights behind the Baron in the same composition. These sketches are most likely to have been made as part of the artist's research into ancient armour for these figures but the exact source for them has not been identified.

Cat. no. 58 *Costume Study: Archbishop's Dress*, 1845

Brown pen and ink on tracing paper; 173 x 95 mm

Insc. tl. in reverse: *Archévêque MCCCC*, br.: *Rome/45*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 47; Roger Smith, 'Bonnard's 'Costume Historique' - a Pre-Raphaelite Source Book', *Costume*, issue 7, 1973, p. 29; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P739)

This is one of several drawings Brown made after illustrations in Camille Bonnard's *Costumes Historiques*, a sourcebook of dress taken from manuscripts and artefacts of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁷⁵ The book had lavish, hand coloured plates, engraved by Paul Mercury with accompanying texts by Bonnard describing the costumes and their sources. Brown most likely made this tracing of an Archbishop holding a crozier and a book, from a copy of the book owned by the English Academy whilst he was in Rome in 1845 (see Fig. 91). He used it as the basis for the costume of an archbishop in two early compositional drawings for *Chaucer* (cat. nos. 15 and 16), although no archbishop appears in the final painting.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ In conversation with Tessa Sidey, January 2008.

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 36, pl. 79.

⁷⁶ Brown's inscription is incorrect, the original illustration had the title 'Archêveque MCCC.'

Cat. no. 59 *Costume Studies: French and Italian thirteenth-and fourteenth-century Costumes (Seven Drawings)*, 1845

Brown pen and ink on tracing paper; 338 x 220 mm

Insc. next to corresponding figure (clockwise from top left): *Petraque MCCC / MCCC Cimabue / Hood & Lirilipipe of a count of Flanders / Page MCCC / Jeune Francais MCC / MCCC Page / Pages*; bl.: *Rome/45*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 47; Roger Smith, 'Bonnard's 'Costume Historique' - a Pre-Raphaelite Source Book', *Costume*, issue 7, 1973, ill. p. 29; *The Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat., Tate, London, 1984, p. 54

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite (6)*

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P737)

The figures depicted in this drawing are Petrarch, Cimabue, a young French man, and pages in thirteenth and fourteenth century costume (Figs. 93-98).⁷⁷ Like cat. nos. 58 and 60, they are tracings of illustrations in *Costume Historique*. The drawing of the head of the Count of Flanders, in the top right hand corner of this sheet, is a copy of an illustration in J. R. Planché's *British Costume: A complete History of the Dress of the Inhabitants of the British Isles* (Fig. 99).⁷⁸ It was used as the blue-print for a hood which Brown had made up and used for two figures in *Chaucer*. Cat. no. 26 is a study of this hood.

Cat. no. 60 *Costume Study: Seigneur de Rimini*, 1845

Brown pen and ink on tracing paper; 167 x 94 mm

Insc. b.: *Seigneur de Rimini/MCCCC ROME/45*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 47; Roger Smith, 'Bonnard's 'Costume Historique' - a Pre-Raphaelite Source Book', *Costume*, issue 7, 1973, p. 29; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P738)

This drawing has been traced from the illustration of a fourteenth century nobleman from Rimini, Italy, which appeared as plate 75 in Bonnard's *Costume Historique* (Fig. 92). No figure wearing this costume appears in the final version but this study indicates that an initial stage of Brown's working process was to research costumes and make sketches for possible use later on.

⁷⁷ Taken from *Costume Historique*, pls. 44, 32, 71, 9, 13 and 21 (*Op. cit.* at note 36). The young page on the far right is a figure from 'Podestat,' pl. 9 and the page holding a long sword is a figure from 'Homme d'Armes,' pl. 13.

⁷⁸ James Robinson Planché, *British Costume: A complete History of the Dress of the Inhabitants of the British Isles*, London, 1834, p. 134.

DALZIELS' BIBLE GALLERY: THE DEATH OF EGLON

Related works:

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Hartley Collection

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Ehud and Eglon, wood-engraving, proof on India paper, 55.1554

The British Museum

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Ehud and Eglon, wood-engraving, proof on India paper, 1913-0415.201.656

Johannesburg Art Gallery

Ehud killing King Eglon, 1865, chalk, pen and ink and wash on paper, 48

The Victoria and Albert Museum

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Ehud and Eglon, pen and ink, D.327-1893

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Ehud and Eglon, wood-engraving, proof on India paper, E.2882-1904

Cat. no. 61 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: The Death of Eglon*, 1863-1865

Engraved woodblock; 151 x 187 x 23 mm

Insc. engraved bl.: *Dalziel Sc*; br.: *FMB* [monogram]

Insc. in black ink on reverse: *BAM loan JN Hart Esq No. 57* [label] *72/ Death of Eglon / Judges Chap 3 v 21/ No. 520* [label]/ *Dalziel/* [illegible writing]

Lit.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66

Exh.: *Book Illustration of the 'Sixties'*, BMAG, 1924 (520)

Prov.: J N Hart

Acquired through the executors of J N Hart c.1965 (2006.1040.53)

This is the original woodblock used to print *The Death of Eglon*. For most book illustrations and large-circulation periodicals a wax mould was taken from the engraved woodblock. From this a metal electrotype was made which would be used to for printing, thus prolonging the life of the wooden original. However, due to the luxury nature and limited print run of the *Dalziels' Bible Gallery* all the illustrations were printed from the original woodblocks.

Cat. no. 62 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: The Death of Eglon*, pub. 1881

Wood-engraving; 150 x 184 mm (i.) 213 x 253 mm (p.)

Insc. printed on image bl.: *FMB* [monogram], bc.: *DALZIEL Sc*

Lit.: *Dalziels' Bible Gallery*, 1881, ill. p. 53; *Art Pictures from the Old Testament*, 1894, p. 130, ill. p. 131, *The Brothers Dalziel*, p. 252; *Reid*, p. 50; T. S. R. Boase, 'Biblical Illustration in Nineteenth-Century English Art,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29, 1966, p. 363, ill. pl. 65c; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10, 370, ill. p. 44; *Suriano*, pp. 65, 306, ill. p. 70; Donato Esposito, 'Dalziels' Bible Gallery (1881): Assyria and the Biblical Illustration in nineteenth-century Britain,' in *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*, 2006, p. 280, ill. fig. 33; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown,' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, pp. 34, 36
Exh.: *Grafton*, 1897 (177?)⁷⁹

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1912 (1912P46)

This is the least well known of Brown's three designs for *Dalziels' Bible Gallery*. In November 1863 he was sent a list by the Dalziel brothers of scenes from the Bible suitable as a subject for illustrating.⁸⁰ From these he chose *Joseph's Coat* and *Elijah and the Widow's Son* and suggested *Ehud and Eglon*, an obscure story from the Old Testament.⁸¹ The text is taken from Judges 3, 15-31 and tells the story of the murder of Eglon by Ehud and the ultimate victory of the Israelites over the Moabites:

But when the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised them up a deliverer, Ehud the son of Gera, a Benjamite, a man left-handed: and by him the children of Israel sent a present unto Eglon the king of Moab. But Ehud made him a dagger which had two edges, of a cubit length; and he did girt it under his raiment upon his right thigh. And he brought the present unto Eglon king of Moab: and Eglon was a very fat man. And when he had made an end to offer the present, he sent away the people that bare the present. But he himself turned again from the quarries that were by Gilgal, and said, I have a secret errand unto thee, O king: who said Keep silence. And all that stood by him went out from him. And Ehud came unto him; and he was sitting in a summer parlour, which he had for himself alone. And Ehud said, I have a message from God unto thee. And he arose out of his seat. And Ehud put forth his left hand and took the dagger from his right thigh, and thrust it into his belly: And the haft also went in after the blade; and so the fat closed upon the blade, so that he could not draw the dagger out of his belly; and the dirt came out.

The tale finishes with the two tribes fighting each other and the Israelites slaughtering ten thousand Moabites. After this there is peace over the land for the next fourscore years.

⁷⁹ Cat. no. 177 is listed as 'Eleven Woodcuts for Dalziels' Bible. Fairfax Murray, Esq' and it is not clear if this is one of those exhibited (*Op. cit.* at note 31, p. 47).

⁸⁰ Letter from the Dalziel Brothers to Ford Madox Brown, 19 November 1863, V&A (MSL/1995/14/18/9).

⁸¹ Letter from Ford Madox Brown to the Dalziel Brothers, 27 November 1863 (cited Deborah Cherry, *An annotated Edition of the Diary and selected Letters of Ford Madox Brown 1850-1870*, unpublished PhD, London University, 1977, pp. 119-120).

Thankfully, Brown chooses to depict the moment before Eglon's bloody death, and shows Ehud just about to commit the murder. The patriotic sentiments of the story may have drawn him to the subject as suggested by the *Pall Mall Gazette's* response to the illustration. Their critic described it as 'admirable in decorative invention, and bringing out wonderfully the moment of crisis where the patriot assassin has thrown off and half retains the mask.'⁸² The design was a vehicle to enable Brown to indulge in the luxurious genre of Orientalism. He faithfully reproduces the strong summer light flooding into Eglon's parlour and fills the parlour with exotic-looking objects and writing based on Assyrian artefacts.

Cat. no. 63 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: The Death of Eglon*, pub. 1881

Wood-engraving on India paper, in bound volume; 152 x 188 mm (i.)

Insc. printed on image bl.: *FMB* [monogram], bc.: *DALZIEL Sc*

Lit.: *Art Pictures from the Old Testament*, 1894, p. 130, ill. p. 131, *The Brothers Dalziel*, p. 252; *Reid*, p. 50; T. S. R. Boase, 'Biblical Illustration in Nineteenth-Century English Art,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29, 1966, p. 363, ill. pl. 65c; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10 & 370, ill. p. 44; *Suriano*, pp. 65 & 306, ill. p. 70, Donato Esposito, 'Dalziels' Bible Gallery (1881): Assyria and the Biblical Illustration in nineteenth-century Britain,' in *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*, 2006, p. 280, ill. fig. 33; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown,' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, pp. 34, 36

Prov.: Wilfred Phillips

Presented by Wilfred Phillips, 1920 (1920P713.1.53)

Cat. no. 64 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: The Death of Eglon*, pub. 1881

Wood-engraving on India paper, in bound volume; 152 x 188 mm (i.)

Insc. printed on image bl.: *FMB* [monogram], image bc.: *DALZIEL Sc*

Lit.: *Art Pictures from the Old Testament*, 1894, p. 130, ill. p. 131, *The Brothers Dalziel*, p. 252; *Reid*, p. 50; T. S. R. Boase, 'Biblical Illustration in Nineteenth-Century English Art,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29, 1966, p. 363, ill. pl. 65c; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10 & 370, ill. p. 44; *Suriano*, pp. 65 & 306, ill. p. 70, Donato Esposito, 'Dalziels' Bible Gallery (1881): Assyria and the Biblical Illustration in nineteenth-century Britain,' in *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*, 2006, p. 280, ill. fig. 33; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown,' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, pp. 34, 36

Prov.: Wilfred Phillips

Presented by Wilfred Phillips, 1920 (1920P713.2.53)

⁸² Anonymous review of Brown's exhibition, *Work and other Paintings*, in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 March, 1865, p. 10

DALZIELS' BIBLE GALLERY: ELIJAH AND THE WIDOW'S SON

Related works

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Hartley Collection

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Elijah and the Widow's Son, pub. 1881, wood-engraving, 55.1526

BMAG

Elijah and the Widow's Son, 1864, oil on panel, 1912P23

The British Museum

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Compositional Study for Elijah and the Widow's Son, c.1863, pencil, 1894-0612.8

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Elijah and the Widow's Son, pub. 1881, wood-engraving, 1913-0415.201.663

Tate, London

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Elijah and the Widow's Son, 1881, wood-engraving, N04014

The Victoria and Albert Museum

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Finished Drawing for Elijah and the Widow's Son, pen and ink, D.326-1893

Elijah and the Widow's Son, 1868, watercolour, 268-1895

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Elijah and the Widow's Son, 1881, wood-engraving, proof on India paper, E.2889-1904

The National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia

Art Pictures from the Old Testament: Elijah and the Widow's Son, 1894, wood-engraving, 1280 A. XX-3

Cat. no. 65 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Elijah and the Widow's Son*, 1863 - 65

Engraved woodblock; 227 x 150 x 23 mm

Insc. engraved in reverse br.: *DALZIEL Sc*

Insc. in black ink on reverse: *Elijah & the Widow's Son/ 88/ Dalziel/ BAM loan J N Hart Esq No. 35 [label]/ 515 [label]*

Exh.: *Book Illustration of the 'Sixties'*, BMAG, 1924 (515); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (41)

Prov.: J. N. Hart

Acquired through the executors of J N Hart c.1965 (2006.1040.88)

The design on the woodblock is seen in reverse from the final printed version, with the paper remaining uninked where the wood has been gouged out. This is strikingly evident in the deeply gouged section at the top of the woodblock which creates the blanching effect of strong sunlight in the printed illustration.

Cat. no. 66 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Elijah and the Widow's Son*, pub. 1881

Wood-engraving; 230 x 150 mm (i.) 285 x 221 mm (p. but not mount)

Insc. printed on image bl.: *DALZIEL Sc*

Lit.: *Dalziels' Bible Gallery*, 1881, ill. p. 60; *Art Pictures from the Old Testament*, 1894, p. 156, ill. p. 157; *White*, ill. facing p. 150; *Brothers Dalziel*, p. 252, ill. p. 253; *Reid*, pp. 49-50; T. S. R. Boase, 'Biblical Illustration in Nineteenth-Century English Art,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29, 1966, p. 363; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10, 370, ill. p. 43; *Suriano*, pp. 65, 306, ill. p. 71; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown,' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 34.

Exh.: *Grafton*, 1897 (177?),⁸³ *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (53)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1912 (1912P48)

The strong diagonal and compressed space of this design adds to the feeling of oppressive summer heat in which Brown sets the miracle of Elijah bringing a child back to life.

And it came to pass after these things, that the son of the mistress of the house, fell sick; and his sickness was so sore, that there was no breath left in him.

And she said unto Elijah, What have I to do with thee, O thou man of God? Art thou come unto me to call my sin to remembrance, and to slay my son?

And he said unto her, Give me thy son. And he took him out of her bosom, and carried him up into a loft, where he abode, and laid him upon his own bed.

And he stretched himself upon the child three times, and cried unto the Lord, and said, O Lord my God, I pray thee, let this child's soul come into him again.

And the Lord heard the voice of Elijah; and the soul of the child came into him again, and he revived.

And Elijah took the child, and brought him down out of the chamber into the house, and delivered him unto his mother: and Elijah said, See thy son liveth.

And the woman said to Elijah, Now by this I know that thou art a man of God, and that the word of the Lord in thy mouth is truth.⁸⁴

The moment depicted is when Elijah emerges with the revived child, who 'is represented as in his grave-clothes, which have a far-off resemblance to Egyptian funeral trappings; having been laid out with flowers in the palms of his hands, as is done by women in such cases.'⁸⁵ To Brown such details were vital to the viewer's understanding of the illustration and he explained in his solo exhibition catalogue that, 'without this, the subject (the coming to life) could not be expressed by the painter's art, and till this view of the subject presented itself to me I could not see my way to make a picture of it.'⁸⁶

⁸³ Cat. no. 177 is listed as 'Eleven Woodcuts for Dalziels' Bible. Fairfax Murray, Esq' and it is not clear if this is one of those exhibited (*Op. cit.* at note 31, p. 47).

⁸⁴ I Kings XV11, 17-24.

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 15.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Such attention to detail and desire for historical accuracy indicate that Brown approached religious compositions in the same fastidious way as his history paintings. The costumes were based on his 'study of Egyptian combined with Assyrian, and other nearly contemporary remains' and his research into middle eastern customs prompted his use of a bird's shadow to signify 'the return of the body to the soul.'⁸⁷

Brown worked up three versions of *Elijah and the Widow's Son* into paintings. The dealer Gambart bought a small watercolour version, which he later sold to Frederick Leyland (present owner unknown), and Frederick Craven of Manchester, a watercolour collector, commissioned a larger version in 1868 (V&A). The painting in the BMAG collection is the only one in oil and was commissioned by a Brighton wine merchant, James Trist, for 100gns. Trist was so pleased with it that he later sent Brown a case of wine.⁸⁸

Cat. no. 67 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Elijah and the Widow's Son*, pub. 1881

Wood-engraving on India paper, in bound volume; 231 x 149 mm (i.)

Insc. printed on image bl.: *DALZIEL Sc*

Lit.: *Art Pictures from the Old Testament*, 1894, p. 156, ill. p.157; *White*, ill. facing p. 150; *Brothers Dalziel*, p. 252, ill. p. 253; *Reid*, pp. 49-50; T. S. R. Boase, 'Biblical Illustration in Nineteenth-Century English Art,' vol. 29, 1966, p. 363; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10 & 370, ill. p. 43; *Suriano*, pp. 65 & 306, ill. p. 71; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown,' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 34

Prov.: Wilfred Phillips

Presented by Wilfred Phillips, 1920 (1920P713.1.60)

Cat. no. 68 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Elijah and the Widow's Son*, pub. 1881

Wood-engraving on India paper, in bound volume; 231 x 149 mm (i.)

Insc. printed on image bl.: *DALZIEL Sc*

Lit.: *Art Pictures from the Old Testament*, 1894, p.157; *White*, ill. facing p. 150; *Brothers Dalziel*, p. 252, ill. p. 253; *Reid*, pp. 49-50; T. S. R. Boase, 'Biblical Illustration in Nineteenth-Century English Art,' vol. 29, 1966, p. 363; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10 & 370, ill. p. 43; *Suriano*, pp. 65 & 306, ill. p. 71, *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown,' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 34

Prov.: Wilfred Phillips

Presented by Wilfred Phillips, 1920 (1920P713.2.60)

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 15.

⁸⁸ Mary Bennett in *op. cit.* at note 59, p. 204.

DALZIELS' BIBLE GALLERY: JOSEPH'S COAT

Related Works:

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Hartley Collection

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Joseph's Coat, wood-engraving, proof on India paper, 55.1549

The British Museum

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Joseph's Coat: Compositional Study, c. 1864, pen and black ink, purchased from the Dalziel Brothers, 1893-1018.2

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Joseph's Coat: working proof, wood-engraving, 1913-0415.201.663

Museo de Arte, Ponce, Puerto Rico

The Coat of Many Colours, 1871, oil on canvas

Tate, London

The Coat of Many Colours, 1867, watercolour on paper, N04584

The Victoria and Albert Museum

Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Joseph's Coat, wood-engraving, proof on India paper, E.2851-1904

Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

The Coat of Many Colours, 1864-1866, oil on panel, WAG1633

Cat. no. 69 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Joseph's Coat (Compositional Sketch and four Studies for Jacob's Granddaughter)*, 1863 - 65

Pencil on paper; 391 x 291 mm

Insc. in pencil bl.: *FMB 1865* [altered from 1855, possibly postdated]

Lit.: Whitley, p. 43; Jane Butler 'A Pre-Raphaelite Shibboleth: Joseph,' *The Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, Nov. 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 82, ill. facing p. 82; *The Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat., Tate, London, 1984, p. 206

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (87); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (43)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P788)

These drawings have in the past been identified as studies for the painting *The Coat of Many Colours* but are in fact for the illustration *Joseph's Coat* from *Dalziels' Bible Gallery*. This sheet gives an insight into how Brown worked. On the right is an early compositional sketch drawn with loose lines and little detail. It already contains the major elements of the composition notably Jacob and his granddaughter on a raised platform, the dog in the centre, and four of Joseph's brothers standing around his blood stained coat of many colours.⁸⁹ Brown has boxed in the sketch and uses the spare paper to focus on the figure of Jacob's granddaughter whose pose appears to have troubled him. The sheet contains three nude sketches of this child in various positions, and one of the model in costume, in the pose of the middle nude. This is the pose taken up in the finished illustration. At the top right of the paper there is also a small sketch of the front

⁸⁹ In the catalogue to his one man exhibition held in 1865 Brown refers to this female figure as Jacob's granddaughter (*Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 21).

wheel of a tricycle-like object which does not appear to be related to the composition but may be one of Brown's inventions.

Although this sheet of drawings appears to be dated 1865, this might be a case of Brown mistakenly backdating his work as he had certainly begun the design by 1864, if not before. Jane Butler suggests it may be a study for an illustration to Charles Wells drama *Joseph and his Brethren* (1824), which Rossetti was keen to have published in the 1850s.⁹⁰

Cat. no. 70 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Joseph's Coat*, 1863-1865

Engraved woodblock; 177 x 173 x 23 mm

Insc. engraved in reverse bl.: *FMB* [monogram], bc.: Dalziel Sc

Insc. in black ink on reverse: *Joseph's Coat/ Dalziel/ No 52* [label]/ *BAM Loan J N Hart Esq No34* [label]

Insc. engraved on the side l.: WELLS/ INVENTOR, c.: 24 BOUVERIE STREET, r.: LONDON

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (44)

Prov.: J N Hart

Acquired through the executors of J N Hart c.1965 (2006.1040.22)

As can be seen from this woodblock, in the final design Brown added a man on a ladder in the background as a reference to Jacob's ladder. The name 'Wells' and the word 'INVENTOR' have been etched onto the side of the block. This refers to Charles Wells, who manufactured wooden printing blocks for engraving firms, notably the Dalziel Brothers and Joseph Swain. In 1850 Wells invented a system for bolting blocks together. This allowed engravers to extend the size of the block, but also meant that they could be taken apart and shared between different engravers to speed up production.⁹¹ Swain favoured this type of block. However, the Dalziel's preferred Wells to use more traditional 'groove and tenon' joints when producing their printing blocks. This type of joint involved making a groove on the two sides being joined together and inserting an additional piece of wood inbetween. This gave the joint extra strength and the surface of the wood could be polished to make it appear seamless. This particular woodblock is made up of five separate blocks.

⁹⁰ Janet Butler 'A Pre-Raphaelite Shibboleth: Joseph,' *The Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, Nov. 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 82.

⁹¹ *Op. cit.* at note 34, p. 201.

Cat. no. 71 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Joseph's Coat*, pub. 1881

Wood-engraving; 180 x 175 mm (i.), 570 x 400 mm (p.)

Insc. printed on image bc.: *DALZIEL Sc /*, br.: *FMB* [monogram]

Lit.: *Dalziels' Bible Gallery*, 1881, ill. p. 17; *Art Pictures from the Old Testament*, 1894, p. 38, ill. p. 39; *White*, ill. opp. p. 156; *The Brothers Dalziel*, p. 252; *Reid*, p. 50; T. S. R. Boase, 'Biblical Illustration in Nineteenth-Century English Art,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29, 1966, p. 363; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10, 370, ill. p. 42; *Suriano*, pp. 65, 306, ill. p. 70; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 34

Exh.: *Grafton*, 1897 (177?)⁹²; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (54)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1912 (1912P47)

The Bible describes how Joseph's jealous brothers, having sold him into slavery, 'took Joseph's coat and killed a kid of the goats and dipped the coat in the blood' before bringing it to their father and claiming that he had been killed by a wild animal.⁹³ In his 1865 catalogue Brown describes the brothers individually: 'the cruel Simeon stands in the immediate foreground half out of the picture, he looks at his father guiltily and already prepared to bluster ... The leonine Judah just behind him, stands silently watching the effect of Levi's falsity and jeering levity on their father; Issacher the fool sucks the head of his shepherd's crook, and wonders at his father's despair.'⁹⁴ The only figure in the scene able to detect their deceit is the dog sniffing the blood, which he 'recognises as not belonging to man.'⁹⁵

Although *Dalziels' Bible Gallery* was brought out in 1881 Brown's designs were made in the early 1860s and show the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite movement on Brown's illustrations. Like all three of Brown's illustrations for the *Bible Gallery*, *Joseph's Coat* shows figures claustrophobically compressed within a small space which is stuffed with minute details. In order to remain as realistic as possible Brown used a landscape from the Holy Land for the background. Although he had not travelled to the Middle East himself, he copied a watercolour study of the hills above Jerusalem, entitled *The Well of Enrogel* (Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston), painted by his friend Thomas Seddon in the summer of 1855. The competitiveness between artists in the Pre-Raphaelite circle can be seen from Holman Hunt's reaction to the design when he first saw it as a painting in progress. Hunt who had travelled with Seddon and no doubt felt he had superior knowledge of the Near East, 'carped at the introduction of the dog, the touch of which might be considered a defilement' however, he later retracted his statement in a letter, citing other biblical sources and remembering that he had himself seen the dogs allowed to exercise their natural instincts as watchdogs.⁹⁶

⁹² Cat. no. 177 is listed as 'Eleven Woodcuts for Dalziels' Bible. Fairfax Murray, Esq' and it is not clear if this is one of those exhibited (*Op. cit.* at note 31, p. 47).

⁹³ Genesis XXXVII, 31-34.

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 21.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Mary Bennett in *op. cit.* at note 59, p. 207.

In December 1863 Brown sent his patron George Rae a list of potential subjects. From this list, in March 1864, Rae commissioned an oil version of *Joseph's Coat* retitled *The Coat of Many Colours* (Walker Art Gallery).⁹⁷ However, work on the painting was only begun after Brown had finished the pen-and-ink drawing for the illustration in October that year (British Museum). An oil replica (Museo de Arte, Puerto Rico) and a watercolour sketch (Tate, London) were also produced from the design for the *Dalziels' Bible Gallery*.

Cat. no. 72 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Joseph's Coat*, pub. 1881

Wood-engraving on India paper, in bound volume; 178 x 174 mm (i.)

Insc. printed on image bc.: *DALZIEL Sc*, br.: *FMB* [monogram]

Lit.: *Art Pictures from the Old Testament*, 1894, p. 38, ill. p. 39; *White*, ill. opp. p. 156; *The Brothers Dalziel*, p. 252; *Reid*, p. 50; T. S. R. Boase, 'Biblical Illustration in Nineteenth-Century English Art,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29, 1966, p. 363; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10, 370, ill. p. 42; *Suriano*, pp. 65, 306, ill. p. 70; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown,' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 34

Prov.: Wilfred Phillips

Presented by Wilfred Phillips, 1920 (1920P713.1.22)

Cat. no. 73 *Dalziels' Bible Gallery: Joseph's Coat*, pub. 1881

Wood-engraving on India paper, in bound volume; 178 x 174 mm (i.)

Insc. printed on image bc.: *DALZIEL Sc*, br.: *FMB* [monogram]

Lit.: *Art Pictures from the Old Testament*, 1894, p. 38, ill. p. 39; *White*, ill. opp. p. 156; *The Brothers Dalziel*, p. 252; *Reid*, p. 50; T. S. R. Boase, 'Biblical Illustration in Nineteenth-Century English Art,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29, 1966, p. 363; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10, 370, ill. p. 42; *Suriano*, pp. 65, 306, ill. p. 70; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown,' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 34

Prov.: Wilfred Phillips

Presented by Wilfred Phillips, 1920 (1920P713.2.22)

Cat. no. 74 *Decorative Sketches: Venus Reclining on a Shell in the Midst of the Sea*, 1848 - 1849

Brown pen and ink over pencil; 231 x 220 mm

Insc. cr.: *Ford M Brown London/49* [altered from 1855]

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 47; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P741)

⁹⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 59, p. 206.

It has not been possible to identify the project related to these sketches. However, it is an interesting sheet of drawings because it allows further insight into Brown's working process. Initially the artist worked out the composition in pencil, going over and over the figures and landscape until it is almost impossible to see the design. He then clarified the sketch by drawing over it in brown ink. Having gone over the figure of Venus again and again, Brown found it necessary to redraw it separately on a clean section of the page. Other early sketches using this same technique can be seen on the reverse of cat. nos. 82 and 83. A similar nautical goddess is depicted in an undated and unsigned sketch at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Like the drawing of Venus it is a loose sketch in pencil but from the tone of the paper and the darker pencil lines, it is likely to be from the 1860s.

Cat. no. 75 *Decorative Design: Ornamental Pattern*, 1850

Watercolour and bodycolour over pen and ink, and pencil on two sheets of paper; 250 x 197 mm

Insc. bl.: *Ford M Brown London / 1850*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 48; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 66

Prov.: James Richardson Holliday

Bequest of J. R. Holliday, 1927 (1927P358)

Brown's reasons for making this colourful design of ornamental patterns remain unclear. He enjoyed designing furniture, wall paper and stained glass for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. which he co-founded in 1863, but this design pre-dates his involvement with the company. In correspondence with Tessa Sidey, architectural historian Kathryn Ferry suggested that *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* by Owen Jones (1845) may have been the source of these designs as it contains 'pages of pattern including the borders of mosaic dados as illustrated later in the *Grammar of Ornament*'.⁹⁸ She also suggested that the central orange portion may have been inspired by medieval manuscripts. However, it appears that Brown may well have been using *Grammar of Ornament* as a spring board for his designs as there are a number of illustrations that are similar, but not identical, to each of the patterns Brown has created on this sheet unlike *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* which only includes the Moorish designs. As *Grammar of Ornament* was published in 1856 it may be another case of Brown incorrectly back dating his work.

DOWN STREAM

Related works:

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Hartley Collection

Down Stream: Main Illustration, pub. 1871, wood-engraving, 55.1555

Christie's

Down Stream: Two Studies for the main Illustration, c. 1871, pencil, sold in London on 29 October, 1985

⁹⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 7, p. 66. Owen Jones, *Grammar of Ornament*, London, 1856.

The British Museum

The Dark Blue, October 1871, vol. II, British and Colonial Publishing Company Limited, 166*d26

The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Down Stream: Sketchbook including Studies for the main Illustration, 859

The National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum

The Dark Blue, October 1871, vol. II, British and Colonial Publishing Company Limited, PP.17.EAW

The Victoria and Albert Museum

Down Stream: Main Illustration, 1871, wood-engraving, E. 1800-1920

Cat. no. 76 *Down Stream: Main Illustration (Last Year's First of May)*, pub. 1871

Wood-engraving; 102 x 143mm (i.) 135 x 225mm (p.)

Insc. printed on image bl: *Jenkin Sc*, br.: *FMB* [monogram], printed below image:

DRAWN BY F. MADOX BROWN. 'DOW[NS]TREAM' [worn letters] ENGRAVED BY C. M. JENKIN

Lit.: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 'Down Stream,' *The Dark Blue*, October 1871, vol. 2, pp. 211-12; William Michael Rossetti, ed., *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters*, vol. 2, 1895, p. 246; Hueffer, pp. 263-64, ill. facing p. 263; White, p. 81, ill. facing p. 80; Reid, p. 50; Eric de Maré, *The Victorian Illustrators*, London, 1980, p. 113, ill. p. 114; *Pocket Cathedrals*, p. 15, 104; Newman and Watkinson, ill. pl. 127; Rodney Engen, *Pre-Raphaelite Prints*, 1995, p. 109; *Victorian Illustration*, pp.10, 274, 370, ill. p. 37; *Bendiner*, p. 95, ill. fig. 61; Lisa J. Nicoletti, *Resuscitating Ophelia: Images of Suicide and suicidal Insanity in nineteenth-century England*, PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1999, pp. 169-170; Suriano, pp. 65, 306, ill. p. 69; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 37; Angela Thirlwell, 'Vieux Fordy: Death of a modern Man,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 13

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (47)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1912 (1912P49)

The Dark Blue was a short-lived magazine containing articles and poems set up in the 1871 by Oxford Undergraduate John Christian Freund. The foreword to the second volume sets out its liberal aspirations to show 'both sides of every question' and encourage debate. The magazine includes several articles by women and 'Down Stream' is sandwiched between an article on 'Benevolence and Pauperism' by Amelia Jenkins and one on 'Women in France' by A.P.. Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909) and Mathilde Blind (1841-1896) contributed poems to the magazine and other artists who provided illustrations included Simeon Solomon (1840-1905). Despite its literary credentials the magazine folded in 1873 and Freund fled to America 'to escape his creditors.'⁹⁹ Brown made two illustrations for 'Down Stream' a poem by Rossetti published in the magazine in 1871. The poem tells the tale of a woman seduced and left pregnant by a man on the first of May. By the first of June the following year she has drowned herself and her baby in desperation. Rossetti was evidently very pleased with the illustrations and wrote to tell his brother William: 'I'm Dark Blued at last, owing to

⁹⁹ <http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/ap4.d2.raw.html> (accessed on 05.03.09)

Brown, who was asked to illustrate something of mine for them if I would contribute.'¹⁰⁰ To Brown he enthused, 'I expect to see you in a few days, but must meanwhile write to say how very excellent I think your drawing in 'Dark Blue.' It is like a tenderer kind of Hogarth and seems to me the most successful of your book illustrations.'¹⁰¹ The main illustration shows the scene of seduction and for Hueffer was 'by far the most powerful-perhaps the most powerful of Madox Brown's 'amorous' designs.'¹⁰²

Cat. no. 77 *Down Stream: Tailpiece to the Poem (This Year's First of June)*, pub. 1871
Wood-engraving; 44 x 109mm (i.) 224 x 140mm (p.)
Insc. printed on image bl.: *FMB* [monogram]
Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 'Down Stream,' *The Dark Blue*, October 1871, vol. 2, pp. 211-12; William Michael Rossetti, ed., *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters*, vol. 2, London, 1895, p. 246; Hueffer, p. 264; White, p. 81, ill. opp. p. 80; Eric de Maré, *The Victorian Illustrators*, 1980, p. 113; *Pocket Cathedrals*, pp. 15, 104, ill. p. 15; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10, 274, 370, ill. p. 38; Lisa J. Nicoletti, *Resuscitating Ophelia: Images of Suicide and suicidal Insanity in nineteenth-century England*, PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1999, pp. 169-70; Suriano, pp. 65, 306, ill. p. 69; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 37; Angela Thirlwell, 'Vieux Fordy: Death of a modern Man,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 13
Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (48)
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1912 (1912P45)

This is the more sedate tailpiece which depicts the poem's tragic ending. Although it lacks the vitality of the main illustration, Rossetti was pleased with it and told Brown, 'the little one is pretty too.'¹⁰³

Cat. no. 78 *The Establishment of Flemish Weavers in Manchester A.D. 1363: Four Studies of Parts of a Horse*, 1879 - 1882
Black, white and red chalk on rough brown paper; 570 x 650 mm
Insc. in pencil on reverse: *F. M. B*
Lit.: Whitley, p. 45; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 67
Prov.: Harold Hartley
Presented by Harold Hartley, 1905 (1905P14)

Angela Thirlwell correctly identified that these impressive studies of different parts of a horse were for the four horses in the mural *The Establishment of Flemish Weavers in*

¹⁰⁰ Letter dated September 10, 1871 reproduced in William Michael Rossetti ed., *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family-Letters*, vol. 2, London, 1895, p. 246.

¹⁰¹ *Op. cit.* at note 3, pp. 263-64.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 263.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

Manchester A.D. 1363 which was completed in 1882.¹⁰⁴ This mural was one of a series of twelve Brown painted to decorate Manchester Town Hall between 1878 and 1893. This is one of seven drawings given to BMAG by the collector Harold Hartley (1851-1943) (see also cat. nos. 132, 138-142). His particular interest was book illustration of the 1860s and the bulk of his collection was purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1955.

Cat. no. 79 *Female: Two Studies of young Woman in eighteenth-century Costume*, 1849
Pencil; 375 x 232 mm

Insc. bl.: *Ford M Brown London/49*

Lit.: *Twelve English Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, 1925, ill. pl. 4; *Whitley*, p. 45

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (445); *Grafton*, 1897 (173); *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Roland Browse & Delbanco, London, 1947 (37); *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings and Watercolours*, Cambridge Arts Council Gallery, 1953 (4); *Artists of Victoria's England*, Cummer Gallery of Art, Jacksonville, 1965 (5); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (23)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P677)

The eighteenth-century costume in these two delightful drawings of a young woman is almost certainly that worn by the young mother in Brown's painting *Infant's Repast* which he was finishing in January and February 1849 (Fig. 166). In both works the fabric is striped, the dress has a plunging neckline and three-quarter-length sleeves with flowing cuffs, and the young women wear roses in their hair. It is possible that Mrs Ashley, the model for *Infant's Repast*, also sat for these drawings (see cat. nos. 80 and 81). In these drawings the model sits awkwardly in an armchair giving the impression of being restless and uncomfortable. If the model was indeed Mrs Ashley, Brown's first description of her as someone who 'let the fire out 3 times & talked all day' seems rather apt for the fidgety woman depicted in these drawings.¹⁰⁵

On the left side of the sheet there are traces of an erased pencil inscription which appears to be a name and address. Very few of the letters and numbers are still visible but the writing may have given details of the model.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Conversation with the author 7 August 2007.

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 27.

¹⁰⁶ 'It is likely that [the inscription] was written by the artist - a '4' can be seen which looks identical to the date written in brown ink, close by' (Gill Casson, BMAG Conservation Report, 02.05.2008).

Cat. no. 80 *Infant's Repast: Study of Mother and Child*, 1848

Black and white chalk, 298 x 98 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 45, ill. p. 428; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 67

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (446?);¹⁰⁷ *Grafton*, 1897 (189); *National Gallery British Art*, 1911-12 (8); *Pre-Raphaelites & their Followers*, Bournemouth, 1951 (95); *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings and Watercolours*, Cambridge Arts Council Gallery, 1853 (3); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (60); *Pre-Raphaelite Women*, BMAG, 1985-86 (3)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P678)

Cat. no. 81 *Infant's Repast: Study of Mother and Child with separate Arm and Leg Studies of the Child*, 1848

Black chalk with grey wash; 253 x 175 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/48*

Lit.: *Twelve English Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, 1925, ill. pl. 10; *Whitley*, p. 45

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (446?); *Grafton*, 1897 (189); *National Gallery British Art*, 1911-12 (4?); *Pre-Raphaelite Art*, Australian State Galleries, 1962 (5); *Artists of Victoria's England*, Cummer Gallery of Art, Jacksonville, 1965 (6); *Visions* (9); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (20)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by subscribers, 1906 (1906P679)

These two studies are for a small painting exhibited at the British Institution in 1851 under the title *The Young Mother* but also known as *The Infant's Repast* or *Mother and Child* (Fig. 166). The surviving oil sketch, now at Wightwick Manor, Wolverhampton, depicts a young mother, in eighteenth century costume, nursing her child, watched by the family's spaniel.¹⁰⁸ For Brown the subject was simple and he summed it up in his solo exhibition catalogue by saying 'painted at the same time with "King Lear," [*Lear and Cordelia*] in 1848. With the single remark that "doggy is jealous," this little picture, I think, needs no explanation. Never re-touched.'¹⁰⁹

A paid model, Mrs Ashley and her own baby sat for the painting. She is mentioned several times in the artist's diary (see also cat. nos. 91 and 171) and to begin with she modelled for the female figure in *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible*. On 13 October 1848 she began sitting for *The Infant's Repast*. Brown recorded that he 'sent for Mrs Ashley & child & began a scetch [*sic*] of them for a little picture of a mother and child.'¹¹⁰ On 20 October he noted that he had 'made a drawing of the head of Mrs Ashley' and on 26 and 30 October he writes respectively: 'drew a study of childs head sucking' and 'worked 4 hours from Mrs Ashley & child, made drawing of the legs & arm

¹⁰⁷ No. 446 was described as 'Studies for a Mother and Child, 1848 Lent by C. Fairfax Murray, Esq' (*Op. cit.* at note 9, p. 105). It is not clear which study for the *Infant's Repast* was included. As the exhibition catalogued often multiple works under one number it may have been both.

¹⁰⁸ On 6 December 1848 Brown noted in his diary that he 'had a King charles [*sic*] spaniel paid /4.6 for it, painted it in 3 hours' (*Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 52).

¹⁰⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 5.

¹¹⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 48.

etc.¹¹¹ These drawings may well be on the sheet of studies with a close-up of the baby and separate studies of its legs and arms. She continued to sit for him but was not always reliable. At the beginning of January 1849 she was late for two days in a row and then missed the following two appointments. She finished modelling for him in February 1849 but he unexpectedly encountered her in a carriage on the way to Gravesend in 1854.¹¹²

The main inspiration for the subject appears to have been Charles West Cope's painting *The Young Mother*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1846 (oil on panel, V & A). The two versions of the subject are small in size and share the same full-length profile composition.¹¹³ In fact they are so similar that Brown must have seen it as an opportunity to outdo an artistic rival and indulge in his love of eighteenth-century subjects, clothing the mother in period costume rather than contemporary dress.

KING LEAR

Related works:

The British Museum

The Germ: Art and Poetry (3): Cordelia, 1867, wood-engraving, 0511.50

Lady Lever Art Gallery

Cordelia's Portion, watercolour, 1866-72

Manchester Art Gallery

Cordelia's Portion, 1869, black and white chalks and watercolour, 1917.274

Fitzwilliam Museum

Cordelia's Portion, small oil version

Lear and Cordelia, graphite, black chalk, red chalk, gouache on paper, PD.62-2003

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts

Lear and Cordelia, pencil on tan paper

Southampton,

Cordelia's Portion, large oil version

Tate, London

Lear and Cordelia, oil on canvas, 1848-9

The Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester

King Lear: Lear questions Cordelia; Verso: *Study for the Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror*, 1844, pencil pen and brown ink, D.1927.51

King Lear: France claims Cordelia, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.52

¹¹¹ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 49.

¹¹² He finished *Infant's Repast* in February 1849 and records using her one last time in the same month for the hands of the Jester in *Lear and Cordelia* (*Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 59).

¹¹³ The two paintings are of a similar size: Brown's *Infant's Repast* is 293 x 149 mm and Cope's *Young Mother* is 305 x 204 mm.

King Lear: Cordelia parting from her Sisters, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.53

King Lear: Goneril and Regan together, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.54

King Lear: Goneril tells Oswald how to treat Lear, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.55

King Lear: Oswald's Insolence to Lear, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.56

King Lear: Lear rebukes Oswald, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.57

King Lear: Kent trips Oswald, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.58

King Lear: Goneril's Complaint to Lear, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.59

King Lear: Lear curses Goneril's Infidelity, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.60

King Lear: Kent challenges Oswald; Verso: alternative study of Lear curses Goneril's Infidelity, 1844, pencil pen and brown ink, D.1927.61

King Lear: Kent in the Stocks; Verso: King Lear: sketch of Lear imagines himself at his unfaithful daughter's trial, 1844, pencil pen and brown ink (recto), D.1927.62

King Lear: Lear recounts his wrongs to Regan, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.63

King Lear: Lear parts from Regan and Goneril cursing, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.64

King Lear: Lear and the Fool in the Storm; Verso: King Lear: Alternative Study for Lear, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.65

King Lear: Lear mad on the Beach at Dover, 1844, pencil, pen and brown ink, D.1927.66

Cat. no. 82 *King Lear: Sketch of Lear questioning Cordelia*, 1844
Verso: *Alfred the Great: Compositional Sketches*, 1843 - 1845
Insc. reverse bl.: FMB [in pencil] / entered / enterred / simillar / similar / simmilar [in brown ink]
Brown pen and ink over pencil; pencil on verso; 226 x 282 mm (irregular)
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 29; Christine Poulson, 'A Checklist of Pre-Raphaelite Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays,' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 122, no. 925, April 1980, p. 245
Exh.: *Shakespeare in Pictures*, Ulster Museum, Belfast, 1964 (4); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite (2)*
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P754)

In 1844, whilst living in Paris, Brown created a set of drawings to illustrate Shakespeare's tragic play *King Lear*. The majority of these drawings are now at the Whitworth Art Gallery but BMAG holds four related sheets of sketches. This sheet depicts act 1 scene 1 in which Lear questions Cordelia's love for him. Lear sits on his raised throne holding his sceptre in his right hand and his orb in his left, leaning towards Cordelia who stands on the right. Already the vitality and zeal of the series is apparent in Lear's intense glare and strong diagonal pose which cuts across the composition. Although the basic poses of the main characters remain the same, the position of the map, the extravagant design of

the throne and the prominence of the intermediary figure, most likely representing Kent, are altered in the final version (Whitworth Art Gallery).

On the left is a pencil sketch of Goneril and Regan for the third drawing in the series *Cordelia parting from her Sisters*. The finished drawing for this scene is also at the Whitworth Art Gallery and became the basis for Brown's first printed illustration published in *The Germ* in 1850 (cat. nos. 86 and 87). In the top left corner is another pencil sketch of a female figure restrained by two figures either side of her, faintly drawn. This does not appear to have been used in the drawings but may have been an early idea for a group of figures depicting Cordelia being led away from her father.

On the reverse are sketches for Alfred the Great. He sits with his right hand holding a stick and drawing on the ground. He is surrounded by figures and several of these have separate sketches around the edges of the paper where Brown worked out individual poses. On the right in front of him a male figure is bending over and pointing to the diagram Alfred has drawn. This figure is sketched by itself in the top right-hand corner. To the left of this figure are a figure reclining, and two figures sitting together. There is no recorded painting by Brown of *Alfred the Great* but these drawings show that he had already come up with a possible composition and was seriously considering it as a viable subject for a painting (see also cat. nos. 1 and 83). In the lower left corner are three attempts to spell the word 'similar.' Brown was bilingual which may account for his difficulty in spelling. Similar experiments can be found in his diary which is also peppered with spelling mistakes.

Cat. no. 83 *King Lear: Sketches of Lear imagining his unfaithful Daughters' Trial and Lear in the Storm*, 1844

Verso: *Alfred the Great: Compositional Studies and Sketches* and *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III: Study of Cherubs*, 1843 - 1849

Brown pen and ink over pencil; pencil on verso; 440 x 280 mm

Insc. in pencil on reverse cl.: *Alfred the Great / FMB*

Lit.: Whitley, p. 30; Christine Poulson, 'A Checklist of Pre-Raphaelite Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays,' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 122, no. 925, April 1980, p. 246

Exh.: *Shakespeare in Pictures*, Ulster Museum, 1964 (4); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (3)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P755)

This sheet of paper has been divided in two and contains sketches for two scenes from *King Lear*. The top sketch is for the scene in which Lear imagines himself at his unfaithful daughters' trial. It shows Lear standing by the farmhouse, symbolised by the two servants and the cooking pot, pointing with his right hand and holding onto his faithful courtier Kent, recognisable from the cloak and sword with which he is depicted throughout the series. On the left of Lear are two seated figures in pencil who represent Edgar and the Fool. The scene depicts the lines:

Kent: How do you, sir? Stand you not so amazed.

Will you lie down and rest upon the cushions?

Lear: I'll see their trial first. Bring in their evidence.
[*to Edgar*] Thou robed man of justice, take thy place.
[*to the Fool*] And thou, his yoke-fellow of equity,
Bench by his side. [*to Kent*] You are o'commission;
Sit you too.¹¹⁴

The Whitworth Art Gallery holds a loosely drawn sketch for this scene in which the seated figures of Edgar and the fool are on the right and the two figures of Lear and Kent on the left. However, there is no known finished drawing for this scene and it may be that Brown eliminated it from his selection after making some initial sketches of it.

The lower half of the paper is a study for Lear in the storm.¹¹⁵ Lear stands with his arms above his head and his clothes billowing out behind him. To the left is a faint pencil sketch of the fool. Both these figures are more fully developed in the final version at the Whitworth which also has another study for the scene on the verso.

On the back of this sheet of drawings are studies for *Alfred the Great* and the wings of *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* (later to become *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*). Like the other side of the paper, the reverse has been divided into two. The top half depicts a pencil sketch of the same composition as cat. no. 82 with the seated figure of King Alfred the Great surrounded by figures. Above this are further sketches of figures, taken from the group surrounding King Alfred, of a man with an axe bending over and, a man and a woman standing close together and looking down. On the lower half of the paper are two pencil sketches of a seated figure and two sketches of a seated couple. In these drawings the figures are more detailed and several have been given individual costumes suggesting that it is the later of the two compositional studies. Brown has signed this sheet of studies 'Alfred the Great / FMB' more firmly identifying the figure who appears on two other of the works on paper in the BMAG collection as King Alfred (cat. nos. 1 and 82).

Also on this sheet of studies are two *putti* for *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* both in chalk. One of the *putti* is more detailed than the other; the draped sash, wreath of leaves and facial expression are clearly drawn. The other appears to be an impression from another chalk drawing as it is very faint and has left no pressure marks on the page. As can be seen from the oil study and the pen and ink study of the right hand side of *The Seeds and Fruits* (Figs. 1 and 116), the *putti* were paired up at the bottom of the composition and held medallions with the names and symbols of a further four English poets. It appears that Brown was experimenting with the poses of the *putti* in these studies. It is difficult to date the studies of the *putti* but they must have been drawn between 1845, when *The Seeds and Fruits* was conceived, and 1849, when it seems Brown abandoned the side wings.

¹¹⁴ *King Lear*, Act III, sc. vi, lines 33-39.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* Act III, sc. ii, 1-24.

Cat. no. 84 *King Lear: Kent accuses Oswald*, 1844

Verso: *King Lear: Lear recounts his Wrongs to Regan*

Brown pen and ink with pencil underneath; 151 x 235 mm (s.)

Insc. bl.: *Ford M Brown Paris/44*

Lit.: Hueffer, ill. p. 447 *et seq.*; Whitley, p. 30; Christine Poulson, 'A Checklist of Pre-Raphaelite Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays,' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 122, no. 925, April 1980, p. 246; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 67

Exh.: *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Roland, Browse & Delbanco, London, 1947 (38); *Shakespeare in Pictures*, Ulster Museum, 1964 (4)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P756)

This sheet contains drawings for *King Lear* on both sides. On one side is the scene in which Kent accuses Oswald of disloyalty to Lear.¹¹⁶ On the left of the composition are the Earl of Gloucester, the Duke of Cornwall, and Regan. In the centre stands Kent railing against Oswald with Edmund in the background. Oswald, in his crossed garters, stands forlornly on the right with his sword clearly visible as described in the text. The Whitworth holds the drawing of the scene which directly precedes this one in which Kent challenges Oswald and they quarrel. It also holds the next drawing in the sequence depicting Kent in the stocks.

On the reverse of this drawing is a sketch for the scene in which Lear complains to Regan of Goneril's unkindness.¹¹⁷ The Whitworth Art Gallery holds the finished drawing of this scene. Hueffer owned a third study that included elements of both the sketch and the finished drawing but its current location is unknown. Despite the looseness of the sketch all the elements of the final composition can be seen: Lear and Regan surrounded by Gloucester and Cornwall, the Fool and Kent in the background on the right, and the castle in the background on the left. The only changes that Brown made were to the central group; in the final version Gloucester leans forwards on a walking stick, not to the side, and Lear does not use both hands to hold Regan's but makes a gesture of dissatisfaction with his right one. In the Whitworth drawing Brown also lowered Lear and Regan's joined hand so that it is almost at the centre of the composition, perhaps highlighting the daughter's treachery.

Cat. no. 85 *King Lear: Cordelia at Lear's Bedside (Lear's Awakening)*, 1844

Brown pen and ink over pencil; 152 x 232 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown Paris/44*; insc. in pencil on reverse: *act IV. sc VII*

Lit.: Whitley, p. 30; Christine Poulson, 'A Checklist of Pre-Raphaelite Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays,' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 122, no. 925, April 1980, p. 246

Exh.: *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Roland, Browse and Delbanco, London, 1947 (41);

Shakespeare in Pictures, Ulster Museum, 1964 (4); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (4)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P757)

¹¹⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 114, act II, sc. iv, 50-125.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, act II, sc. iv, 122-32.

The drawing depicts the scene in which Cordelia returns from France to aid her ailing father.¹¹⁸ It was the first of the series to become a painting, *Lear and Cordelia* (Fig. 37), but it was not included with the other drawings in his solo exhibition in 1865.¹¹⁹ The composition in the realised painting is similar, but significantly in this drawing Lear is awake and can register Cordelia at the foot of his bed. The painting also sets the scene more definitely in a tent by the sea. This setting is only suggested in the drawing with a few lines signifying the curtained entrance to the tent.

Cat. no. 86 *King Lear: Cordelia parting from her Sisters (The Germ: Art and Poetry)*, first pub. March 1850
Reprinted volume, pub. 1901
Etching; 178 x 222 (i.) 223 x 268 mm (p.)
Insc. etched under image: *Goneril: Regan: Lear: Fool: Cordelia: France:*
Lit: Hueffer, pp. 74, 98; *Diary*, pp. 71, 80; *Pocket Cathedrals*, pp. 43, 47, 104, ill. 48; Rodney Engen, *Pre-Raphaelite Prints*, 1995, pp. 12-13, 80 & 118, ill. p. 12; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 9, 274, 370, ill. p. 37; *Suriano*, pp. 63, 306, ill. p. 63; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 33
Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (24)
Inventoried in 1979 (1979P217.4)

Cat. no. 87 *King Lear: Cordelia parting from her Sisters (The Germ: Art and Poetry)*, first pub. March 1850
Reprinted volume, pub. 1901
Etching; 227 x 142 mm
Insc. etched under image: *Goneril: Regan: Lear: Fool: Cordelia: France:*
Lit: Hueffer, pp. 74, 98; *Diary*, pp. 71, 80; *Pocket Cathedrals*, pp. 43, 47, 104, ill. 48; Rodney Engen, *Pre-Raphaelite Prints*, 1995, pp. 12-13, 80 & 118, ill. p. 12; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 9, 274, 370, ill. p. 37; *Suriano*, pp. 63, 306, ill. p. 63; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, exh. cat., p. 67; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 33
Presented by Elisa Korb, 2005 (2007.1800)

This illustration was accompanied by William Michael Rossetti's poem *Cordelia* in the short lived Pre-Raphaelite magazine *The Germ*. It was based on the earlier drawing *Cordelia parting from her Sisters* made in 1844 (Fig. 11). However, in the etching Brown included the figure of the fool writhing around Lear's deserted throne, and changed the background so that Lear and his retinue walked up stairs into the open, rather than down a long corridor. His diary records the long hours spent on the work in the last week of March, when in just two days he worked twenty-one hours on the etching.¹²⁰ Later on Brown noted that he produced a 'painted scetch [*sic*] of Cordelia from the

¹¹⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 114, act IV, scene vii, 30-58.

¹¹⁹ *Lear and Cordelia* (1848-49, oil on canvas, Tate, London). Brown often referred to the painting as *King Lear* and it is also known as *Cordelia by the Bedside of Lear*.

¹²⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 71.

Etching in the Germ' in 1853.¹²¹ He subsequently sold it to the dealer David Thomas White for £10 although he had hoped to send it to the RA.¹²²

The two versions of the etching held at BMAG are from the facsimile edition of *The Germ*, published in 1901.

KING RENÉ'S HONEYMOON

Related Works

British Museum

King René's Honeymoon, tracing, brush drawing in brown ink, with brown wash

Tate, London

King René's Honeymoon, 1864, watercolour, N03229

King René's Honeymoon, 1864, tracing, pencil, brown pen and ink, N02409

Ashmolean

King René's Honeymoon, brush with black and grey wash, WA1940.40

Cat. no. 88 *King René's Honeymoon: Study for Architecture*, 1861

Brush and brown ink, with watercolour, over pencil on brown paper; 444 x 318 mm

Insc. br.: FMB [monogram] _ 61

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 44; *Bendiner*, text accompanying fig. 41; Tim Barringer, 'The Effects of Industry: Ford Madox Brown and Artistic Identities in Victorian Britain,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 30

Exh.: *Paintings and Drawings by British Artists from the City of Birmingham*, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1956 (42); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (82); *William Morris and the Middle Ages*, Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester, 1984 (65), *Visions* (57); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (40)

Prov.: James Richardson Holliday

Bequest of J. R. Holliday, 1927 (1927P351)

In 1861 the architect John Pollard Seddon (1827-1906) commissioned Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. to produce ten decorative panels, depicting the Fine and Applied Arts, for an oak cabinet of his own design (now at the V&A). On Brown's suggestion the four door panels were decorated with scenes from the honeymoon of the medieval King René of Anjou, an enthusiastic patron of the arts, whose life had been popularised by Sir Walter Scott in his novel *Anne of Geierstein* (1829).¹²³ This is a study for *Architecture* showing King René sitting with his new wife, surrounded by architectural plans and instruments. Burne-Jones designed *Painting* and *Sculpture* and Rossetti painted *Music* and *Gardening*, one of the four smaller panels. The cabinet was made by a furniture firm owned by Seddon's father and exhibited at the 1862 International Exhibition in London.

¹²¹ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 82. The painting is now in the collection of Mr and Mrs Borowitz.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 82 and 131.

¹²³ John P. Seddon, *King René's Honeymoon Cabinet*, London, 1898, p.6.

The design was reused in 1863 as a stained glass cartoon for the windows of 'The Hill,' the Surrey home of the artist Myles Birket Foster (1825-1899). Although there are several other copies of the design this study is the earliest and must relate to the original Seddon commission.

THE LAST OF ENGLAND

Related works:

Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery

The Last of England, oil on canvas, 1852-1855, 1891P24

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

The Last of England: replica, oil on canvas, 1860, M.Add.3

Tate, London

The Last of England, watercolour, 1864-6, N03064

Cat. no. 89 *The Last of England: Cartoon*, 1852

Pencil, image edged with brown ink; 408 x 365 mm (p.)

Insc. br.: *F. MADOX BROWN 1852*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 42, ill. p. 427; Deborah Cherry, *An annotated Edition of the Diary and selected Letters of Ford Madox Brown 1850-1870*, unpublished PhD thesis, 1977, p. 272; *Diary*, p. 153.; *Newman and Watkinson*, p. 92; Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*, 2005, pp. 32; Angela Thirlwell, 'Vieux Fordy: Death of a modern Man,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 12

Exh.: *Work*, 1865 (71); *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Roland, Browse & Delbanco, London, 1947 (40); *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings and Watercolours*, Cambridge Arts Council Gallery, 1953 (5); *Some Pre-Raphaelite Paintings and Drawings*, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1955 (6); *English Eye I*, Midlands Federation Travelling Exhibition, 1958 (4); *Pre-Raphaelite Art*, Australian State Galleries, 1962 (4); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (71); *The Pre-Raphaelites*, 1984 (178); *Theodor Fontane and the Visual Arts*, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1998 (32); *Visions* (20); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (30)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray; Frederick James Shields

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P795)

Between 1852 and 1855 Brown worked intermittently on *The Last of England*, a painting which was 'in the strictest sense historical' and took as its subject 'the great emigration movement which attained its culminating point in 1852.'¹²⁴ His inspiration for the work came from the departure of his friend and fellow artist Thomas Woolner to Australia in 1852 and his own desperate thoughts of emigrating to India due to lack of recognition and commissions.¹²⁵ An insight into his acute financial situation can be gained from Hueffer who recalls that in 1852, 'the duplicate of *Waiting*, exhibited at the Royal Academy,

¹²⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 8.

¹²⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 151.

attracted no attention, and the year's sales were smaller than ever.'¹²⁶ The middle class couple who dominate the oval are portraits of Brown and his future wife Emma. The husband stares gloomily at his last sight of England whilst his wife appears more settled on their fate, perhaps as Brown imagined in his sonnet on the painting:

through rainbow-tears she sees a sunnier gleam,
She cannot see a *void*, where *he* will be.¹²⁷

At the end of 1852 Brown began painting the figures 'in the open air on dull days, and when the flesh was being painted, on cold days.'¹²⁸ After six weeks he realised that the painting was too detailed to be finished for the 1853 Royal Academy exhibition and he stopped working on it until September 1854. It was finally finished a year later in September 1855, with Brown renting a room, on Percy Street, to exhibit the completed picture, with a few other works including *The Pretty Baa-Lambs* (Fig. 167). His dealer D. T. White, bought it immediately for £150, including copyright, along with this pencil cartoon for £7, before selling both on to the collector Benjamin Godfrey Windus.¹²⁹ The financial boost given by the sale of the two works ended Brown's notions of emigrating to India.

This finished preparatory drawing was produced in December 1852, and though close to the final composition it differs in a number of significant details. The painting was originally to be slightly more oval in shape with far fewer figures; only the reprobate, his mother, and the young woman with her arm round the straggly haired boy from the final composition can be seen in this drawing. The name of the boat carrying the emigrants was altered from 'White Horse Lin[e] of Australi[a]' to the more symbolic 'Eldorado' in the painting. Emma's shawl also changed; she is seen here in a wide checked shawl. Unlike the final painting the man has no string attached to his hat, this having been added at the insistence of D. T. White. According to his diary Brown took up the cartoon again, most likely with a view to selling it:

16 March 1855 'up early to work by ½ past 10. After a walk, the cap, one boot, the hand & the jacket-evening worked about 3 hours at the cartoon of this picture.'

18 'Eveng cartoon (good).'

19 'eveng at the cartoon.'

20 'After tea I am ½ hour at the cartoon indoors.'¹³⁰

¹²⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 3, pp. 92-93.

¹²⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 8.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹²⁹ Mary Bennett in *op. cit.* at note 59, p. 125.

¹³⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 2, pp. 127-29.

It is highly likely that this is the drawing included by Brown in his solo exhibition in 1865. It is described in the catalogue as a 'Pencil Study for The "Last of England"' and the owner is listed as B. G. Windus.¹³¹

Cat. no. 90 *The Last of England: Portrait of Emma Hill*, December 1852

Chalks with scratching out on two sheets of paper; 164 x 177mm

Insc. in chalk bl.: FMB [monogram] Dec 52

Lit.: Hueffer, ill. p. 447 *et seq.*; *Twelve English Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, 1925, ill. pl. 3; Whitley, p. 42; Andrea Rose, *Pre-Raphaelite Portraits*, 1981, p. 21, ill. p. 21; Newman and Watkinson, p. 73; Tim Barringer, 'The Effects of Industry: Ford Madox Brown and Artistic Identities in Victorian Britain,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 28; Angela Thirlwell, 'Vieux Fordy: Death of a modern Man,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 12

Exh.: *Exhibition of British Art c. 1000-1860*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1934 (1251); *English Drawings and Engravings*, Museum Toma Stelian, Bucharest, 1935-36 (37); *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Roland, Browse & Delbanco, London, 1947 (42); *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings and Watercolours*, Cambridge Arts Council Gallery, 1953 (6); *British Portraits*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1956 - 1957 (738); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (72); *The Pre-Raphaelites*, Tate, London, 1984 (179); *Pre-Raphaelite Women*, BMAG, 1985 - 86 (4); *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, BMAG, 1989 (24.19); *Visions* (21); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (29)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by subscribers, 1906 (1906P791)

This portrait study of Emma was made around Christmas 1852 with Emma continuing to model for *The Last of England* well into the New Year. Brown records Emma 'at the beginning of /53 ... coming to sit ... in the most inhuman weather from Highgate. This work representing an out door scene without sunlight I painted at it chiefly out of doors when snow was lying [*sic*] on the ground.'¹³²

When Emma sat for this study the couple had already had a child, Catherine, together in 1850 but were not yet married. Brown most likely put off marrying Emma because he was struggling financially and she was a working class girl who Brown may have felt lacked the social graces required by a middle class wife. At the end of 1852 she was living in Highgate North Hill and was attending a school for young ladies in order to prepare her for marriage. On 5 April 1853 the couple were married at St Dunstan's-in-the-West, Fleet Street, with Brown's two closest male friends, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Thomas Seddon, as witnesses.

Whilst working on the painting in 1853 Brown spent four weeks on 'the madder ribbons of the bonnet' which are depicted being blown by the fierce wind. However, in this early head study of Emma, her ribbons are neatly tied and her hair lacks the windswept strands found in both the cartoon (cat. no. 89) and the painting, suggesting that this study was done purely to capture Emma's likeness, which Brown was intent on portraying

¹³¹ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 22.

¹³² *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 80.

faithfully.¹³³ However, capturing it in paint seems to have caused him a considerable amount of trouble, with references in his diary to alterations made because the head appeared to be 'very bad & made [him] miserable.'¹³⁴

Cat. no. 91 *Lear and Cordelia and The Infant's Repast: Four Studies of Hands*, 1849

Black chalk; 250 x 173 mm (top right corner of paper cut out)

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/49*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 30; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 67

Exh.: *Shakespeare in Pictures*, Ulster Museum, 1964 (4)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P758)

The top two studies are for the left hand and right arm of the mother in the small painting *The Infant's Repast* (see cat. nos. 80 and 81). The bottom study of a pair of outstretched hands is for the figure of Cordelia in *Lear and Cordelia*, a painting he was working on at the same time. On 15 January, 1849 Brown recorded in his diary that the model 'Miss Stone' had sat for him and he had drawn 'two hands for Cordelia, & painted sleeve of dress in little picture [*Infant's Repast*] from Mrs A[shley].'¹³⁵ These hand studies may have been made from Brown's model, and later wife, Emma Hill, as Teresa Newman and Ray Watkinson believe she was using her mother's maiden name, Stone, in 1849.¹³⁶ However, according to his diary, he was also using Mrs Ashley as a model for 'Lear and Cordelia' and it is unclear which of them, if either, posed for the hand studies.¹³⁷

ABRAHAM AND ISAAC

Related works:

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Hartley Collection

Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life: Abraham and Isaac, pub. 1868, wood-engraving, 55.1436

Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life: Abraham and Isaac, 1868, wood-engraving, touched proof, 55.1552

¹³³ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 129.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹³⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 45.

¹³⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 2, pp. 55-56.

Cat. no. 92 *Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life: Abraham and Isaac*, pub. 1868

Wood-engraving; 125 x 54 mm (i.), 235 x 170 mm (p.)

Insc. printed on image bl: *F. M. Brown*, br.: *Swain Sc*

Lit.: Catherine Winkworth, *Lyra Germanica - The Christian Life*, 1868, p. 174; Hueffer, ill. p. 231; Eric de Maré, *The Victorian Illustrators*, 1980, p. 113; *Pocket Cathedrals*, pp. 15, 104; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10, 365; *Suriano*, pp. 64, 306, ill. p. 66; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 67; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 36

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1912 (1912P42)

This is one of three illustrations by Brown for *Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life*, the second series of an anthology of hymns translated from German by Catherine Winkworth and published in 1868. Brown originally produced *Abraham and Isaac* as a stained glass design for the East window of Bradford Cathedral in 1864.¹³⁸ Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. had been commissioned to design and make the stained glass for the East and Chancery windows and this was one of six designs Brown contributed to the commission. The same design was used again in 1874 for the east window of the Chapel of St George in St. Editha's, Tamworth, Staffordshire. Brown produced the cartoons for three windows on the south side of the clerestory of the same church depicting the Legend of St Editha (see cat. nos. 148, 149 and 150). Letters to Brown from John Leighton (1822-1912), who supervised the illustration of *Lyra Germanica*, reveal that the artist was keen to reuse his stained glass cartoons and thought they would be suitable for book illustrations.¹³⁹

THE ENTOMBMENT

Related Works:

Faringdon Collection, Buscot Park, Oxfordshire
The Entombment, 1866-8, oil on canvas, acc. no. 94

National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
The Entombment, 1871-1878, watercolour, gouache, gold paint and gum arabic over pencil on two sheets of paper, acc. no. 209-2

Leathart Family Collection, Newcastle-upon-Tyne
The Entombment of Christ, 1866-1869, watercolour

¹³⁸ A.C. Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, New Haven, 1974 - 1975, vol 1., pl. 185, vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

¹³⁹ Six letters from John Leighton to Ford Madox Brown, dated June-August 1866, V&A (MSL/1995/14/56/1-5 and 7).

Cat. no. 93 *Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life: Finished Design for The Entombment*, 1867

Black pen and ink; 263 x 234 mm (i.) 264 x 240 mm (p.)

Insc. in black ink br.: *F. M. B.* [monogram]

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 44; *Sewter*, vol. 2, p. 78; *The Pre-Raphaelites*, 1984, p. 215;

Pre-Raphaelites: Painters and Patrons in the North East, exh. cat., Laing Art Gallery, 1989, p. 61

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (45)

Prov.: Public Picture Gallery Fund

Presented by the Trustees of the Public Picture Gallery Fund, 1916 (1916P27)

This is the finished drawing for the engraving. The scene depicts Christ's shrouded body, with head and torso visible, being carried into his tomb by St. John the Evangelist and Nicodemus. Joseph of Arimathea, St. Mary Altera and the Virgin Mary stand behind them whilst Mary Magdalene kneels in the bottom left corner.¹⁴⁰ The original design for *The Entombment* was used in one of the lights in the chancel window of Gatcombe Church on the Isle of Wight.¹⁴¹ The window was another Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. commission. It depicted scenes from the life of Christ and other partners in the firm designed the remaining lights. The cartoon was not mentioned in the extracts of Brown's accounts published by Hueffer but the date of the window is confirmed by Warrington Taylor's list of places with windows made by the company between 1863 and 1868 (a copy of this is among the Morris and Co. papers at BMAG).¹⁴² Brown depicted a similar Jesus in 1873 in his cartoon for *The Flagellation*, one of the lights in the South Transept window of Jesus College Cambridge.¹⁴³ The face of this Christ has the same split beard, crown of thorns and expression of pain.

Cat. no. 94 *Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life: The Entombment*, pub. 1868

Wood-engraving; 107 x 95 mm (i.) 238 x 170 mm (p.)

Insc. printed on image br.: *FMB* [monogram], printed below image bl.: *T. Bolton Sc*

Lit.: Catherine Winkworth, *Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life*, 1868, p. 38; Hueffer, pp. 221, ill. p. 222; Eric de Maré, *The Victorian Illustrators*, 1980, p. 113; *The Pre-Raphaelites*, 1984, p. 215; *Pocket Cathedrals*, p. 15, 104; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10, 365; *Suriano*, pp. 64, 306, ill. p. 66; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 36

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (46)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1912 (1912P51)

The illustration is almost the same as the stained glass design with the inclusion of the names of the figures present within the nimbuses in the illustration. In 1883 Brown

¹⁴⁰ Mary Bennett in *op. cit.* at note 59, p. 215. She explains that 'the third female is the one known in the holy story as St. Mary Altera literally *the other* Mary.'

¹⁴¹ *Op. cit.* at note 138, vol. 1, pl. 252, vol. 2, p. 78,

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 78.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pl. 427, vol. 2, p. 43.

explained his inclusion of the archaic nimbuses saying that 'the golden Auriolles or Nimbuses are not intended to represent facts but rather that traditional glory which for all good Christians attaches to certain of the great personalities in the divine drama or legend.'¹⁴⁴ He also revealed his dedication to historical accuracy noting that 'the tomb itself is formed according to the most recently received archaeological views.'¹⁴⁵ Thomas Bolton was the first engraver to use photography to transfer designs onto the boxwood blocks used in book illustration. The first book produced using his new method of wood engraving was the first volume of *Lyra Germanica* published in 1861.¹⁴⁶ This new application of technology suited Brown because rather than having to draw directly onto the block, and therefore lose his designs during the engraving process, he was able to keep them and sell them later. No doubt this was his motivation for making the detailed pen and ink drawing of *The Entombment* (cat. no. 93).

Cat. no. 95 *Male: Sketch of Man reclining on Steps with Hands bound together*, 1844
Brown pen and ink over pencil; 242 x 225 mm
Insc. br.: (Paris)/F. M. Brown/44
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 47; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 67
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P724)

In conversation with Tessa Sidey Mary Bennett stated that this sketch was related to the figure of Wisdom in the cartoon *The Spirit of Justice*.¹⁴⁷ The date would certainly be appropriate but no figure in that design resembles this man reclining on steps. The medium and subject matter of a naked, captive man show Brown's interest in the Romantic depiction of prisoners which was popularised in England by Fuseli and his circle, and later in France by Delacroix.¹⁴⁸

Cat. no. 96 *Male: Academic nude Study, half-length with Moustache and Arms folded*, 1846 - 1849
Black chalk, 172 x 142mm
Lit.: *Whitley*, p.48
Exh.: *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*, Tate, London, 2001 - 02 (25); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (11)
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P708)

¹⁴⁴ A note written by the artist for Charles Rowley, post 1883, Horsfall Papers, Manchester Art Gallery quoted in *Op. cit.* at note 59, p. 215.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ This is according to Henry Bohn (John Jackson and W. Chatto, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*, 2nd ed., with a new chapter by Henry Bohn 1861, p. 577, discussed in Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books: 1850-1870*, London, 1994, p. 42.

¹⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 7, p. 67.

¹⁴⁸ See chapter one.

Cat. no. 97 *Male: Academic Study of Nude holding a Staff, 1847*

Pencil; 252 x 134 mm

Insc.: *Ford M Brown/47 London*

Lit.: Hueffer, ill. p. 447 *et seq.*; Whitley, p. 45; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 67

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P672)

Cat. no. 98 *Male: Academic Study of Nude posed as a Sculptor, 1847*

Chalk with grey wash; 387 x 175 mm

Insc. br: *Ford M Brown /47 London*

Lit.: Whitley, p. 46; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 67

Exh.: *Lely to Turner Drawings and Watercolours from Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery*, The Nordic Watercolour Museum, 2007 (52)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P709)

Cat. no. 99 *Male: Academic Study, three-quarter length Nude, with a Moustache and clenched Fists, 1847*

Black chalk, 302 x 174 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M. Brown London/47*

Lit.: Whitley, p. 46; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 67

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P710)

Professional artists' models were employed at London Art Schools in the nineteenth-century. Models of both sexes were used for life drawing classes although debate about the use of female models continued throughout the century. In 1847 Brown attended life-classes run by his friend and fellow artist Charles Lucy (1814-73) and held in Lucy's studio at Tudor Lodge in Mornington Crescent, Camden Town, London. This house contained several artists' studios including one used for a short time by Brown.¹⁴⁹ Brown also attended classes at the Dickinson Brothers Drawing Academy at 18 1/2 Maddox Street, London where Lucy was employed as a drawing master.¹⁵⁰ The exact date that the Academy opened is not known but it was advertised in the *Illustrated London News* on 15 January 1848 as open 'for the study of Painting and Sculpture, and Preparatory for the Royal Academy.'¹⁵¹ As Virginia Surtees notes the academy was open to professional artists four evenings a week from 7pm to 10pm for life study and held ladies' classes in the daytime.¹⁵²

These four drawings are likely to have been made during one of the classes at either Tudor Lodge or Maddox Street. Together they show the range of poses set by the

¹⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ See chapter 3, p. 147-148 for biographical details of the Dickinson Brothers. Lowes Cato Dickinson was also a founder member of the Working Men's College where he taught drawing (*Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 15). Other drawing masters included Ruskin, Rossetti and Brown.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

instructor to demonstrate the muscular bodies of the models. Working-class men were sought for these models as their strenuous jobs provided them with toned bodies resembling classical sculptures. Props were often used to aid poses and add interest. In cat. no. 98 the model holds a chisel and hammer, feigning the guise of an ancient sculptor, a witty device, as the man becomes both artist and model. The instruments he holds make a balanced composition; the chisel shows off the model's arm muscles and the position of the hammer highlights his buttocks.

Several entries in Brown's diary relate to the time he spent at life drawing classes. These were attended by a large number of artists and must have become a social meeting place. On 11 January 1848 he recorded that 'Thomas came in & with Lucy we went to Dickinson's academy [*sic*], Madox [*sic*] Street. Saw Foley there & Paris & Sautler.'¹⁵³ Despite Brown's academic training he appears to have felt the need to attend such lessons. The following day he wrote a frustrated entry in his diary:

drew all day at the canvas. Lucy came to go to Dickinson's with me, found I was making my figures of Chaucer and Gower [for *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible*] to [*sic*] short, quite took me aback. Went & began a pencil drawing at Dickinson's walked home with Lucy, came back and bought a bottle of whiskey [*sic*] to drown care with.¹⁵⁴

Cat. no. 100 *Morris & Company revised Index: Catalogue of Stained Glass Cartoons by Edward Burne Jones, Ford Madox Brown, William Morris, Philip Webb, Simeon Solomon, Arthur Hughes etc, 1900 - 1940*

Pen and ink with pencil annotations, small photo inserts, and pen and ink drawings;
325 x 215mm

Insc. handwritten front cover: *Revised/ Glass Cartoon Index*, inside front cover: *Morris and Company / 449 Oxford Street London W*

Lit.: *Hidden Burne-Jones*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2007, p. 76; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 67

Presented anonymously, 1940 (1940P604.4)

¹⁵³ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 24. J. H. Foley (1818-1874) was a sculptor, E. T. Parris (1793-1873) was a painter who invented a fresco-like medium, and W. Sautler (1804-1875) was an historical painter.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Cat. no. 101 *Morris & Company Windows Book: Photographic Album of stained Glass Designs by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown, William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, Simeon Solomon and Philip Webb, 1900 - 1905*

Photographs laid into bound volume; 381 x 323

Insc. impressed on front cover: *Morris & Company, / 449 Oxford Street, / London, W / This book Must Not Be Taken From The Showroom*

Lit.: Douglas E Schoenherr, 'The 'Cartoon Book' and Morris & Co Sale of Burne-Jones's cartoons in 1901-1904,' *The Journal of Stained Glass: The Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters*, vol. 29, 2005, pp. 82-134; *Hidden Burne-Jones*, exh. cat., BMAG, 2007, p. 77; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68
Presented anonymously, 1940 (1940P604.5)

These books were two of the volumes related to stained glass designs used in the Morris & Company showroom at 449 Oxford Street, London. The index lists, by subject, all the designs on offer to clients. It also records the name of the artist and where each design was installed, underlining the first installation in red. A few designs are accompanied by small photographic prints. The window book was arranged by artist and illustrates each design with a photograph taken by Frederick Hollyer. Together they are a highly important record of Brown's work as a stained glass designer, revealing the large number of cartoons he produced and the dates he was active as one of the lead designers in the company.

OURE LADY OF SATURDAY NIGHT

Related works:

Collection of Mr and Mrs Allen Staley, New York
Oure Lady of Saturday Night: Replica, 1866

Tate, London
Oure Lady of Saturday Night, 1847-61, pastel, watercolour and gold paint on paper, N02684

Cat. no. 102 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Seven Sketches*, 1846

Pencil; 180 x 220 mm

Insc. bc.: *Sketches & studies for a cartoon of "Oure Layde of Saturday Night*, bl.: *Black Heath / F. M B./46*

Lit.: Hueffer, ill. p. 447 *et seq.*; Whitley, p. 38; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (441?)¹⁵⁵

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P682)

¹⁵⁵ No. 441 included multiple works. It is described in the catalogue as 'Studies for "Ascension," 1844; First sketch for "Chaucer," 1845; Sketch for "Oure Ladye of Saturday Night," 1846; Head of Wycliffe, 1847, Lent by C. Fairfax Murray, Esq' (*Op. cit.* at note 9, p. 105). The date and description of the work as a 'sketch' suggests that it is cat. no. 102.

In 1846 Ford Madox Brown began working on the black chalk cartoon *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night*. The cartoon depicts a Madonna-like mother washing her child, aided by an angel and according to Brown it represents the English ritual of bathing children before going to bed.¹⁵⁶ The cartoon was rejected by the RA but exhibited in Liverpool in 1847. Between 1857 and 1858 it was included in an American exhibition of British art.¹⁵⁷ In the accompanying catalogue it was retitled *Oure Ladye of Good Children*. He reworked it in 1854 with a view to selling it to D. T. White and in the 1861 he added colour to it.

This early sheet of drawings is a mixture of sketches and studies for all the figures in the cartoon. It reveals how Brown played with poses on paper before deciding on the final composition. The largest sketch on the right is an early compositional sketch and may have been the first time that Brown put his thoughts onto paper. It contains all the main figures but the angel saying prayers with another child in the background is barely discernible. Brown retained the cloth backdrop and the arched shape of the scene in the final version. Four other sketches depict various poses for the angel holding a bowl of water and show Brown gradually working towards the profile pose of the angel in the final version. The last sketch is for the angel in the background. This pose already seems very close to that in the final version although there are slight variations in the angel's arms and the angle of the cross she holds. Kenneth Bendiner follows Hueffer who implies that Brown began the cartoon in 1847 but as this sheet is dated 1846 it seems he may have begun it earlier.¹⁵⁸

Cat. no. 103 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Four Studies for Angel holding Child*, 1847
Pencil; 250 x 220 mm

Lit.: Whitley, p. 37; Ford Madox Brown: *The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (448?) (under the title *Studies of Angel and Child, for "Oure Ladye of Saturday Night," 1847*)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P673)

The four figure studies on this sheet relate to the angel in the background helping the child to say his prayers. They show the various types of preparatory drawings Brown liked to make before painting. The drawing on the bottom right is a life-study from a female model. This must have been made to help Brown work out the pose of the figure more accurately. He then drew the same figure clothed. Sometimes he worried about isolated parts of the body and the drawing in the top right shows his desire to perfect the folds of the angel's tunic sleeve.

¹⁵⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 5.

¹⁵⁷ The exhibition toured New York, Philadelphia (The Pennsylvania Academy of Arts) and Boston.

¹⁵⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 435 and Kenneth Bendiner, *The Art of Ford Madox Brown*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1998, p. 118.

Cat. no. 104 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Study of Angel holding Child*, 1847
Black chalk; 250 x 147 mm
Insc. br.: *Kensington Ford M Brown/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 37; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P674)

Cat. no. 105 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Study of Arm and Hands for Angel holding Bowl of Water*, 1847
Black chalk; 103 x 231 mm
Insc. br.: *Kensington/Ford M Brown/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 38; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68
Exh.: *Pre-Raphaelite Art from Birmingham*, Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1984 (4)
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Suscribers, 1906 (1906P685)

Cat. no. 106 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Drapery Study for Angel holding Bowl of Water*, 1847
Black chalk; 422 x 265 mm
Insc. br.: *FM Brown 1847 Kens[ington]*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 38; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68
Exh.: *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings and Watercolours*, Cambridge Arts Council Gallery, 1953 (2)
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P684)

Cat. no. 107 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Study of Head for Angel holding Bowl of Water*, 1847
Black chalk with rubbing and grey wash; 258 x 215 mm
Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown/47 Kensinto[n]*
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 37; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68
Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (439 ?)¹⁵⁹
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P675)

Cat. no. 108 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Study of Child seated on Knees of the Virgin and two separate Studies of the Child's Legs*, 1847
Verso: *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Frieze Design*, c. 1847
Pencil on brown-toned paper, pencil and black pen and ink on the verso; 146 x 119 mm
Insc br: *FMB/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 38; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P687)

¹⁵⁹ The exhibition catalogue describes no. 439 as 'Studies of Heads, for "Oure Ladye of Saturday Night," 1847. Lent by C Fairfax Murray, Esq' (*Op. cit.* at note 9, p. 104). This suggests that cat. nos. 107 and 113 were both included but the description is too vague to be certain.

This drawing is a study for the toddler sitting on the knees of the Madonna. The child sits with crossed legs, almost completely facing the viewer. There are two further studies of the child's left leg on the same sheet and on the reverse is a frieze design in black ink which Mary Bennett has identified as the the border of the tent in *Lear and Cordelia* (Fig. 37).¹⁶⁰

Cat. no. 109 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Three Studies of Arms and Legs of Child*, 1847

Pencil, 219 x 127 mm

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 38; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P688)

Cat. no. 110 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Three Studies of Child's Legs on Virgin's Knees*, 1847

Pencil; 212 x 104 mm

Insc. bl. [FM cut] *B/47 Kensington*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 38; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P689)

Cat. no. 111 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Studies of right Foot and left Hand of Child*, 1847

Pencil on light brown paper; 67 x 107 mm

Insc. bl.: *FMB./47 Kensington*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 38; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P690)

Brown went to considerable trouble to make sure that the toddlers he depicted in the cartoon were as anatomically realistic as possible. These three sheets of studies for the feet, arms, legs and torso of the child sitting on the Virgin's knees show this strong desire for accuracy. The face of the little boy in the cartoon also appears in Brown's stained glass designs for *Christ Blessing Little Children* (cat. no. 144) and in his watercolour version of *The Entombment* although it was designed twenty years later.¹⁶¹

Cat. no. 112 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Drapery Study for Virgin*, 1847

Black chalk; 288 x 255 mm

Insc. br.: *F M Brown 1847 Kensington*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 38; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P686)

¹⁶⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 7, p. 68.

¹⁶¹ *The Entombment* (1871-1878, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne).

Cat. no. 113 *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night: Study for Head of Virgin*, 1847

Black chalk with wash; 244 x 222 mm (s.)

Insc. br.: *FMB/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 37; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (439 ?)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P676)

This head study is for the central figure of the Virgin. She is shown wearing a veil and looking down. It is a detailed study for the Virgin's face and hair - her veil and clothes are barely drawn in. The drawing is a good example of the second stage of his working process in the years following his academic training. Once he had made rough sketches of the composition, and the figures in it, he focused on each individual figure and made detailed studies of their pose, clothes and facial expression. He often used paid models to sit for him but he also used friends, such as fellow artist Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and his own wife and children.

Cat. no. 114 *Parisina's Sleep: Study for Prince Azo and Parisina*, 1842

Black chalk with pencil side drawing; 415 x 418mm

Insc. in pencil bl.: *FMB/42*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 27; *Newman and Watkinson*, ill. pl. 19; *Visions*, p. 74, ill. fig. 16; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Prov.: James Richardson Holliday

Bequest of J.R. Holliday, 1927 (1927P355)

Cat. no. 115 *Parisina's Sleep: Study for Head of Prince Azo*, 1842

Black chalk with grey wash; 432 x 310 mm

Insc. bl.: *FMB/42 Paris*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 26; *Newman and Watkinson*, ill. pl. 21; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by subscribers, 1906 (1906P716)

Cat. no. 116 *Parisina's Sleep: Study for the Head of Parisina*, 1842

Black and white chalk with grey wash; 320 x 299 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown 1842 (Paris)*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 27; *Newman and Watkinson*, ill. pl. 20; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Exh.: *Visions* (2)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P717)

These three studies are the earliest works by Brown in the collection. They were made for the painting *Parisina's Sleep* (now lost) in 1842 when Brown was living in Paris.¹⁶² The picture was based on a poem of the same name by Byron which tells the tale of Prince Azo who executed his wife, Parisina, after discovering her adulterous affair with his illegitimate son, Hugo. The scene Brown chose to depict is the one in which Prince Azo first hears Parisina talk of Hugo in her sleep. In his rage he contemplates murdering her. The painting was rejected from the Paris Salon in 1843 but it was exhibited at the British Institution in 1845 where it received some admiration. In February that year Brown wrote to his first wife Elisabeth describing the painting's success:

I went to the British Institution yesterday, as it was varnishing-day They have not hung my sketch [of *The Ascension*], but *Parisina* looks very well, as it has got a good light. ... I saw Mr. and Mrs. MacIan, a Scotch artist and his wife, whom I met at Mr. Etty's. He was in perfect rapture with *Parisina*; said the price I asked was perfectly preposterous, fifty guineas. He said it was worth six times as much.¹⁶³

By 18 May he was able to reassure her that:

Our prospects seem brighter than ever. It may be a kind of excitement, but I feel sure that in a few years I shall be known, and begin to be valued, and in the meantime I shall be increasing in reputation daily. The artists seem to be pleased with the picture now exhibited [*Parisina*], as I hear from divers models; and this (as it was never painted to suit public taste) is as much as I can wish: all the artists seem to notice it.¹⁶⁴

The first study is of Azo bending over Parisina and gives a good idea of the composition Brown must have used in the painting. However, he may still have been experimenting with poses at this point because on the right is a pencil sketch for a woman lying on her back but with her head raised and looking over her right shoulder. The second study is for the head of Prince Azo and reveals Brown's interest in the emotional drama of the scene. In this study he focused on capturing the intensity of his rage. The third study is for the head of Parisina. Touches of white chalk give a glimpse of Brown's use of a strong contrast of light and dark to add dramatic lighting to the painting.

¹⁶² The painting once belonged to Brown's patron Henry Boddington but is now untraced (*Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 433).

¹⁶³ W. M. Rossetti, *Pre-Raphaelite Diaries and Letters*, London, 1900, p. 53.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56

POETS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE PRISONER OF CHILLON

Related Works:

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Hartley Collection

The Prisoner of Chillon, pub. 1857, wood-engraving, 55.1528

The Prisoner of Chillon, 1857, wood-engraving, touched proof, 55.1550

The British Museum

The Prisoner of Chillon: Compositional Study for the Wood-engraving, 1856, pencil, 1939-1014.146

Manchester Art Gallery

The Prisoner of Chillon, 1843, oil on canvas, 1911.07

The Victoria and Albert

The Prisoner of Chillon: Proof engraved by the Dalziel brothers, 1857, wood-engraving on India paper, E.286.3-1893

The Yale Center for British Art

The Prisoner of Chillon Entreating his Jailors to Bury His Brother Where the Sun Might Fall Upon His Grave, 1858, watercolour heightened with bodycolour, B1981.10

Cat. no. 117 *Poets of the Nineteenth Century: The Prisoner of Chillon: Compositional Sketch*, 1856

Verso: *Profile of a Man's left Eye and Nose*, c. 1856

Pencil; 133 x 99 mm (i.) 146 x 112 mm (p.)

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 43; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 33

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (77); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (34)

Prov.: James Richardson Holliday

Bequest of J. R. Holliday, 1927 (1927P353)

This loose early compositional sketch for Brown's illustration *The Prisoner of Chillon* depicts five figures in a dungeon. In the foreground two figures, later to become the jailers, one wearing a hat, lean over a figure lying on the floor but chained to the wall. A shaft of light falls from a window on the right. In the background there is a shadow where Brown later adds the sixth figure of the head jailer lurking in the doorway. Having made initial sketches, Brown produced detailed figure sketches, including cat. no. 118, before incorporating these into a final study very close to the engraved image (British Museum). In comparison to the compositional study at the British Museum the figure of the dead brother is in a slightly different pose and lacks the detail which Brown included, in the later study, after he had seen a cadaver in University College Hospital. Looked at together the three drawings for *The Prisoner of Chillon* show Brown's working process; first making a compositional sketch, secondly making individual figure studies and then incorporating these into a more detailed compositional study.

Cat. no. 118 *Poets of the Nineteenth Century: The Prisoner of Chillon: Study of a Corpse*, 1856

Verso: *Designs for Decoration*, c. 1856

Pencil; 165 x 280 mm

Insc. in pencil br.: *FMB University Hospital / Study for prisoner of / Chillon / from Corpse FMB*

Lit.: *Reid*, p. 49; *Whitley*, p.42; Rodney Engen, *Pre-Raphaelite Prints*, 1995, pp. 108-109;

Victorian Illustration, p. 10; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 33

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (78); *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, Brighton

Museum and Art Gallery, 1970 (47); *Byron*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 197 (S25);

Lord Byron, Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, 1988 (Fig. 103, no cat. no.); *Visions* (37);

The Quick and the Dead: Artists and Anatomy, Royal College of Art, 1997 (37);

Exposed: The Victorian Nude, Tate, London, 2001-2002 (114); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (35)

Prov.: James Richardson Holliday

Bequeathed by James Richardson Holliday, 1927 (1927P352)

In order to make his illustration as realistic as possible Brown asked his friend John Marshall, an assistant surgeon at University College Hospital, London, to arrange access to a cadaver. Brown spent two days making this study of the dead body, arranging the corpse as he wanted it, even including a rope to stand in for the chain that ties the dead brother to the wall. On 13 April 1856 he described the sombre task in his diary:

Out shopping, then to University hospital to ask John Marshall about a dead boddy [*sic*]. He got the one that will just do. It was in the vaults under the dissecting room. When I saw it first, what with the dim light, the brown & parchment like appearance of it & the shaven head, I took it for a wooden imulation [*sic*] of the thing. Often as I have seen horrors I really did not remember how hideous the shell of a poor creature may remain when the substance contained is fled. Yet we both in our joy at the obtainment of what we sought declared it to be lovely & a splendid corps [*sic*]. Marshall evidently loves a thing of the kind.¹⁶⁵

The next day he finished the study noting with a sense of macabre, 'draw the corps [*sic*] till ½ past 2. Got on quite merrily & finished it 2 hours sooner than was obligate on me. As I was going met Marshall who could not keep away from the sweets of the charnel house.'¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 167.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Cat. no. 119 *Poets of the Nineteenth Century: The Prisoner of Chillon*, pub. 1857

Wood-engraving; 127 x 95 mm (i.) 190 x 123 mm (p.)

Insc. printed on image bl.: *DALZIEL Sc*

Lit.: Reverend Robert Aris Willmott, *The Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, 1857, p. 111; Hueffer, ill. facing p. 119, *White*, p. 106, ill. facing p. 104; *The Brothers Dalziel*, pp. 120, 122; Reid, pp.48-49; *Pocket Cathedrals*, pp. 14, 17, 104; Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books 1850-1870: The Heyday of Wood-engraving*, 1994 p. 82, ill. fig. 2; Rodney Engen, *Pre-Raphaelite Prints*, 1995, pp. 108-09, ill. p. 108; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10, 364, 370, ill. p. 38; Suriano, p. 306, ill. p. 64; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 33

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (36)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1912 (1912P50)

In 1856 Brown was commissioned to illustrate Byron's poem *The Prisoner of Chillon* by the Dalziel brothers for the anthology *Poets of the Nineteenth Century*. Early in his career he had depicted a scene from the poem in an oil painting, but for the new illustration he created a completely different composition. This is the only illustration whose progress is recorded from start to finish in Brown's diary. His entries reveal that Brown applied himself as seriously to illustrating as he did to painting, making numerous studies and spending a vast amount of time on the project. Entries for four consecutive days reveal how he used models, a cadaver and himself to make his figures as accurate as possible.

17th Drew in the dead body in the corrected sketch in Pen & Ink. It is rather dreary. Worked at sundries from self in the looking glass (8 hours).

18th 'worked all day from self in looking glass in shirts & draws. In the eveng had a model & so finished the figure of the jeering grave digger (8 hours).

19th accompts [sic]. Did not begin till 2 when a lean man sent by Rossetti came & so I used him & drew in the hands of the corps [sic] & the legs of the old grinning grave digger & one hand of his till 6.

20th 'Drawing the clothes of the old grave digger, made up a kind of sleeve & had it Pinned [sic] to my waistcoat.¹⁶⁷

Both Brown and the brothers Dalziel appear to have been pleased with his illustration as this was the first of three collaborative projects.

¹⁶⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 2, pp. 167-68

Cat. no. 120 *Portrait: Ford Madox Brown, c.1865*

After Elliott & Fry (albumen carte de visite)

Modern photographic print, 138 x 111 mm (i.), 145 x 118 mm (p.)

Lit.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Found unaccessioned, 2007 (2007.2600)

Cat. no. 121 *Portrait: Thomas Carlyle, c.1859*

Albumen print possibly by Charles Thurston Thompson; (top) 312 x 185 mm (bottom) 312 x 168 mm

Lit.: Hueffer, pp. 163-64; Jeremy Maas, *The Victorian Art World in Photographs* (1984), pp. 186-87

Exh.: *Thomas Carlyle 1795-1881*, National Portrait Gallery, London, 1981 (13); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (38)

Found unaccessioned, 1975 (1975P329)

Although Ford Madox Brown met Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), the essayist was too busy to sit for *Work* in person and instead posed for this photograph most likely taken in 1859 at 'Mr Thompson's Photographic Establishment'.¹⁶⁸ Mr. Thompson is almost certainly the photographer Charles Thurston Thompson (1816-1868).¹⁶⁹ Brown was deeply impressed with the works of Carlyle and several of them influenced his choice of subject matter. Carlyle's writings were known for their lively rhetoric which comes across in the letter he wrote to Brown agreeing to pose for the photograph:

I think it a pity you had not put (or should not still put) some other man than me in your Great Picture. It is certain you could hardly have found among the sons of Adam, at present, any individual who is less in a condition to help you forward with it ... I very well remember your amiable request, and the promise I made to you, to 'sit for some photographs.' That promise I will keep; and to that we must restrict ourselves, hand of Necessity compelling. Any afternoon I will attend here, at your studio, or where you appoint me, and give your man one hour to get what photographs he will or can of me. If *here*, the hour must be 3½ pm (my usual hour of quitting work, or to speak justly, the chamber of work); if at any other place, attainable by horseback, it will be altogether equally convenient to me; and the hour may be such as enables me to arrive (at a rate of 5 miles *per* hour we will say!).¹⁷⁰

The National Portrait Gallery holds another photograph of Carlyle sitting in a chair, which was owned by the sculptor Thomas Woolner (1825-1892), a friend of the artist (Fig. 182). It appears to have been taken in the same studio session as the same clothes, props and backdrop can be seen in the photograph. It is a smaller portrait of Carlyle from the waist up, and is likely to have been taken as the sitter seems to have moved his head

¹⁶⁸ Undated letter from Thomas Carlyle to Ford Madox Brown cited *op. cit.* at note 3, p. 163. Hueffer implies that the photography session took place in 1859.

¹⁶⁹ See entry for *Thomas Carlyle* (albumen photograph, c. 1859, National Portrait Gallery, NPG x1344) accessed online on 28.11.2008 at <http://www.npg.org.uk/live/search/portrait.asp?search=ss&sText=thomas+carlyle&LinkID=mp00760&rNo=15&role=sit>

¹⁷⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 3, pp. 163-64.

in the Birmingham photograph, producing a blurred effect which may not have contained enough detail for Brown to work from. The Birmingham photograph has pin holes in the corners suggesting that Brown tacked it up to use as a guide to Carlye's pose, which is the same as in the finished picture, but may have relied on the clearer half-length study for his likeness.

Cat. no. 122 *Portrait: Head Study of Daniel Casey (three-quarter view)*, 1848

Black chalk; 253 x 177 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 46; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P720)

Cat. no. 123 *Portrait: Head Study of Daniel Casey (full-face)*, 1848

Black chalk; 250 x 175 mm

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown London/48*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 46; Andrea Rose, *Pre-Raphaelite Portraits*, 1981, p. 19, ill. p. 19; *Diary*, p. 44, *Newman and Watkinson*, p. 41

Exh.: *Pre-Raphaelite Art from Birmingham*, Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1984 (5); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (21)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P721)

The man in these two portraits has traditionally been identified as the artist Daniel Casey (active 1842-1880). Born in Bordeaux to Irish parents he specialised in historical and biblical scenes, particularly those depicting horses. He met Brown in 1837 when they studied under Baron Wappers at the Antwerp Academy and shared lodgings at the Hotel du Pot d'Etain. Following their studentship they both relocated to Paris where Casey remained after Brown moved to England in 1844. From 1842 until 1880 he exhibited paintings such as *St Louis in the Desert* at the Salon but despite commissions from the French Government monetary success evaded him. After his first wife's death in Paris in 1846 Brown was helped by the Caseys to raise enough money to bring the body home. He pawned valuables and left art materials with the family.¹⁷¹ Two years later Brown returned to Paris to visit Daniel Casey and stayed almost three weeks with his friend. He wrote happily of the holiday in his diary recording 'Went to Paris to see my old friend Casey & buy a lay figure. Did both, enjoyed myself much, painted a portrait of Casey, worked about 7 hours at it.'¹⁷² These studies of Casey may have been made by Brown during the visit, and finished in London, for the portrait (now lost).

In the first study Casey is shown turned slightly to the left and with a beard. In the second he is in a much more startling full face pose and Casey's eyes bore into the viewer. This striking drawing is reminiscent of Dürer's *Self Portrait at Twenty-Eight* (1500, oil on panel, Alte Pinakothek, Munich), and was made when Casey would have been the same age, suggesting that Brown wanted to highlight his friend's artistic genius.

¹⁷¹ *Op. cit.* at note 2, pp. 153-154.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

They were lifelong friends and Brown owned several of Casey's paintings; after Brown's death four appeared in the sale catalogue of his household contents. Following Casey's death in 1885 Brown arranged for Frederick George Stephens to write an obituary in *The Athenæum* and organized a raffle which raised £32 for his impoverished widow and family. Brown gave *Horses in a Storm*, a painting he commissioned from Casey, and his own painting *Platt Lane* (1884, oil on canvas, Tate, London) as prizes.

Mary Bennett has suggested that these portraits may not be of Casey and that the three-quarter head may be for the figure of Shakespeare in *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*.¹⁷³ Several diary entries made in May 1848 make this suggestion more plausible. On 31 May Brown records that he 'drew 4 hands from Fry the Model.' The next day he notes 'drew his head for Shakespear [*sic*]' and on 2 June he 'drew Fry's head for Spencer [*sic*].'¹⁷⁴ The full-face portrait in the Birmingham collection does match the pose of Spenser in the oil sketch for *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* (Fig. 1). However, this idea remains speculative and as Bennett herself points out 'Fairfax Murray surely saw the Casey *Self Portrait* in the artist's executive sale' in 1894 and as the original owner of drawings must have provided the initial identification.¹⁷⁵

Cat. no. 124 *Portrait: Miss Iza Duffus Hardy, 1872*

Pastel and coloured chalks on brown paper; 771 x 556 mm

Insc. in black chalk tl.: IZA HARDY / FMB [monogram] 72

Lit.: *Sale Catalogue*, 1894, p. 10; *Bendiner*, p. 68, ill. fig. 63

Exh.: *Grafton*, 1897 (83); *Manchester*, 1911 (19); National Gallery of British Art, 1911-12 (28); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (51)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1903 (1904P498)

This was the first drawing by Ford Madox Brown to enter the Birmingham collection, in 1903. It was one of several gifts from Charles Fairfax Murray received whilst the Museum and Art Gallery was gathering subscriptions to buy the rest of his Pre-Raphaelite drawings collection. It is likely that Fairfax Murray bought the drawing from the sale of Brown's household effects following his death in 1893.

Iza Duffus Hardy (1850-1922) was the daughter of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy (1804-1878), Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office, and his second wife Lady May Anne Hardy (1824-1891), novelist and travel writer. Iza followed her mother's vocation and was also an author, publishing over thirty books and numerous short stories in the 1870s and 1880s. The Browns and the Hardys were, according to William Michael Rossetti, close friends and he notes that both Mrs Hardy and Iza were 'warmly attached to my wife,' Brown's first daughter Lucy.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ *Op. cit.* at note 7, p. 52.

¹⁷⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 42.

¹⁷⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 7, p. 52.

¹⁷⁶ W. M. Rossetti, *Some Reminiscences of William Michael Rossetti*, vol. 2, London, 1906, p. 491.

Cat. no. 125 *Portrait: Emma Hill (later Mrs Madox Brown), 1848*

Black chalk; 104 x 100 mm

Insc. in chalk br.: *F.M.B. / Xmas/48*

Lit.: Hueffer, ill. p. 61; Whitley, p. 48; Lucy Rabin, *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite History-Picture*, 1978, pp. 138-9, ill. pl. 56; *The Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat., Tate, London, 1984, p. 256; Jan Marsh, *Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood*, 1985, ill. pl. 1; *Newman and Watkinson*, p. 45, ill. pl. 47; Angela Thirlwell, 'Vieux Fordy: Death of a modern Man,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 12

Exh.: National Gallery of British Art, 1911-12 (33); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (1); *Pre-Raphaelite Women*, BMAG, 1985-86 (2); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (22)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P789)

Emma Hill (1829-1890) became Ford Madox Brown's second wife in 1853. This portrait of her was made around Christmas in 1848. It is possibly the earliest portrait of Emma and was made soon after Brown hired her as his model. Emma came from humble origins. According to research done by Newman and Watkinson, her father, Thomas Hill was a bricklayer and was married to Catherine (née Stone), although Emma created the myth that he was an Herefordshire farmer who had died of apoplexy.¹⁷⁷ She had an elder sister Eliza. The family came to London from Newent to find work. Emma's real name was Matilda Emma Hill and although she told Brown she was 15 she was actually 20 when they met.¹⁷⁸ This is another myth she kept up all her life and the incorrect dates were placed on her gravestone. A certain amount of secrecy and twisting of the truth was perhaps encouraged by Brown and the family as although the couple had a child together in 1850, they did not in fact marry until three years later. These facts did not come to light until the 1980s and earlier scholars followed Hueffer's version of the couple's romance in which Brown and Emma married in 1848 having eloped against Emma's mother's wishes and honeymooned in Ramsgate.¹⁷⁹ Brown's diary is full of entries that record their early courtship. On 10 February 1849 he wrote, 'Began the veil of Cordelia, only laid in part of it when a girl as loves me came in & disturbed me.'¹⁸⁰ On 23rd of February he was distracted again, 'arranged the Drapery of Lear, could not get it right, tried at it till three o'clock, then Miss Stone came in & I did nothing more.'¹⁸¹ By 8th July Emma is no longer Miss Stone and he records 'cleaned brushes – waited in vain for E to come back from the country' and on 10th July for the first time refers to her using her Christian name 'after dinner Emma came back, went to the play.'¹⁸² In September he took

¹⁷⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 46.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Mary Bennett (*Ford Madox Brown*, exh. cat., Walker Art Gallery, London, 1964, p. 30) and Andrea Rose (*Pre-Raphaelite Portraits*, Oxford, 1981, p. 21) followed the version of Brown's second marriage found in Hueffer. Jan Marsh (*Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood*, London, 1985, p. 37) and Newman and Watkinson (*Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 45) uncovered Emma's origins and marriage to Brown using the census, christening and wedding records.

¹⁸⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 58.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

her on a week's holiday to Ramsgate. By February 1850 she was pregnant with their daughter Cathy, born 11 November 1850.¹⁸³

Although this is a portrait of Emma it also appears to be a head study for Brown's painting *Lear and Cordelia* (Fig. 37). On 13 January 1849 Brown first mentions 'Miss Stone' in his diary as one of the models sitting for Cordelia: '13th Miss Stone, began a drawing for the head of Cordelia.'¹⁸⁴ The angle of the head, the downward gaze and the hairstyle are the same as in the painting. Only the slightly open mouth is different but this appears to have recorded a particular facial feature of Emma's. Many of Brown's portraits of her show that even when her lips were closed her top lip naturally revealed her teeth (see cat. nos. 90, 126 and 127). According to Dennis Lanigan, an oral and maxillofacial surgeon and independent Pre-Raphaelite scholar, Emma suffered from "'lip incompetency" - an inability to close her lips together at rest' - produced by 'absolute shortness of the upper lip.'¹⁸⁵ Although some scholars have argued that Brown's depiction of Emma's teeth in these portraits are symbolic of her working class background, it seems more likely that, as Lanigan states, 'Madox Brown had no symbolic intentions in showing Emma's teeth - this was realism!'¹⁸⁶ It is also possible that arm and hand studies for *Lear and Cordelia* and *The Infant's Repast* (cat. no. 91) may have been drawn from Emma.

Cat. no. 126 *Portrait: Emma Hill (later Mrs Madox Brown), 1852*

Pencil; 146 x 132 mm

Insc. in pencil br.: *FMB* [monogram] 1852

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 48

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (28)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P790)

By 1852 Emma had become Brown's favourite model. She posed in all his main works including *Chaucer*, *Pretty Baa-Lambs* and *The Last of England*. This is a more intimate portrait of her, and its side profile and downward gaze, recalls the portrait Brown made of her just after they had met in 1848 (cat. no. 125).

¹⁸³ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 67.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁸⁵ Correspondence with the author 10 September 2009. For Dennis Lanigan's research on the Pre-Raphaelites see *Dream of the Past: Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic Movement Paintings, Watercolours and Drawings from the Lannigan Collection*, exh. cat., University of Toronto Art Centre, 2000 and 'The first Pre-Raphaelite Group Exhibition' in *The Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, vol. 17, Spring 2008, pp. 9-19.

¹⁸⁶ Tricia Cusack, 'Emma's Teeth: Review of Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite in *Visions*, vol 3, Autumn 2008, accessed on 10.9.2009 (<http://www.oscholars.com/Visions/Visions3/critic3.htm>). Correspondence between Dennis Lanigan and the author 10 September 2009.

Cat. no. 127 *Portrait: Mrs Madox Brown (née Emma Hill), 9 May 1854*

Pencil; 240 x 155 mm

Insc in pencil br.: *F. M. B. May 9th/54*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 48

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (33)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P792)

This full-length portrait of Emma seated in her shawl is unusual in Brown's oeuvre. Most often the portraits of his family are quarter-length, creating a more emotionally intense view of the sitter. The Tate has a similar drawing on the back of a quarter-length portrait of Cathy.¹⁸⁷ Again Emma is sitting on a high backed chair. This drawing is dated 9 May 1854, although there does not seem to be any particular relevance attached to this day. By this point the couple had been married one year and one month and perhaps it was made to commemorate this fact.

Cat. no. 128 *The Repose in Egypt: Compositional Sketch, 1847*

Pencil; 160 x 190 mm

Insc. below image c.: *il Rinfresco in Egytta. / Dedicated to ye fellowes of Christ his college OXFOR[D]*, bl.: *London*, br.: *Ford M Brown 1847*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 46; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 68

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P683)

This drawing depicts the Virgin and child surrounded by angels. It is not clear if Brown made this sketch in relation to a particular project but it is similar to the cartoon 'Oure Ladye of Saturday Night' which he was working on in 1847. The work is dedicated to 'ye fellowes of Christ his College Oxfor[d]' and although he may have visited Oxford no such trip has been recorded.

Cat. no. 129 *Sculpture: Study of a Statue of the 'Discobolus,' 1845*

Black chalk; 438 x 254 mm (s.)

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown Rome 1845*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 46

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (10)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P718)

Ford Madox Brown reached Rome on 3 October 1845. He travelled to Italy for the health of his first wife Elisabeth, who was ill with tuberculosis.¹⁸⁸ As this drawing shows he

¹⁸⁷ *Portrait of Cathy* (1853, pencil on paper, Tate, London, N01356).

¹⁸⁸ Elisabeth Madox Brown died in Paris on 5 June 1846.

was extremely impressed by classical sculpture and made this drawing of a *Discobolus* (*Discophoros*). It is a Roman copy of a fifth century BC Greek statue of which there are versions at the Louvre, the British Museum and the Vatican. In this drawing Brown has omitted the tree stump which is behind the figure in the original sculpture.

PORTRAIT OF SHAKESPEARE

Related works:

Ashmolean

Portrait of William Shakespeare: Study for the Invitation Card, WA1954.80.1

Collection of Mr and Mrs Allen Staley, New York

Portrait of William Shakespeare: Sketch, 1849, 1858, oil on panel

Manchester Art Gallery

Portrait of William Shakespeare (1564-1616), 1849, oil on canvas, 1900.16

Royal Shakespeare Company

Portrait of William Shakespeare: Cartoon, 1849-1850, chalk, STRPG 1993.1

Cat. no. 130 *William Shakespeare: Study*, 1849-1850

Pencil; 146 x 95 mm (s.)

Insc. in pencil bc.: *Gulielmus Shakspear*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 48; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P798)

Cat. no. 131 *William Shakespeare: Invitation Card*, 1850

Wood engraving; 147 x 111 mm (s.)

Insc. engraved: *ADMIT / TO VIEW / the Picture, / By / FORD MADOX BROWN, ESQ. / On view at the / Galleries of Art, / Messers Dickinson & Co / 114, / New Bond Street*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 48; *Diary*, p. 72; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P798.1)

These two objects relate to the portrait of William Shakespeare (Manchester Art Gallery) that Brown was commissioned to paint by the Dickinson Brothers in 1849.¹⁸⁹ In November he records in his diary: 'Began the Portrait of Shakespear for the Dickinsons. Painted a scetch of it, made a drawing of the head, and a study from Mr Barker for it. Drew a cartoon of it, had the Dress made up.'¹⁹⁰ As Brown explained in his 1865 exhibition catalogue the portrait was

¹⁸⁹ See chapter 3, p. 148.

¹⁹⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 69.

carefully collated from different known portraits, and more than any other from the bust at Stratford. This picture is an attempt to supply the want of credible likeness of our national poet, as a historian recasts some tale, told long since by chroniclers in many fragments.¹⁹¹

Brown had finished the work by Spring 1850 and was asked to design the invitation card to view the portrait at the Dickinson's gallery on New Bond Street, London. Brown resentfully noted: 'I was paid 60s guineas [for the painting] ... afterwards I designed a card for Dickinson exhibition of Shakespear on which I worked several days for no remuneration.'¹⁹²

Although the composition of the portrait and the invitation card are similar, in the invitation Shakespeare's right hand rests on a table next to the masks of Comedy and Tragedy, rather than a writing desk with books, and is enclosed in a gothic border. It is unclear whether the drawing of Shakespeare is an early study for the portrait or the invitation as Shakespeare wears a different costume to either the painting or the card, and his left hand rests on a table stacked with books, rather than hanging by his side. The Ashmolean holds a sketch for the invitation which includes both the border and the gothic writing found on the printed card.

THE SPIRIT OF JUSTICE

Related works:

Ashmolean

The Spirit of Justice: Study for the Head of the Baron, 1844, black chalk, WA1954. The Ashmolean has incorrectly identified it as *Head of a Soldier in Chain Mail Hood*.

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Hartley Collection

Justice, 1845, pencil on paper, 55.1553

Manchester Art Gallery

The Spirit of Justice: Compositional Study, 1845, pencil, watercolour and body colour, 19.25.94

The Spirit of Justice: Fragment of the Cartoon, 1844-5, charcoal on buff paper, 1966.294

The Spirit of Justice: Study for the Hand of the Widow, 1844, black chalk (on the reverse of *First study for Work*, 1856, pencil on paper) 1965.310

Wightwick Manor, Wolverhampton (on loan from Mrs Dennis)

The Spirit of Justice: Study of a Bishop's left Hand, 1845

In 1834 the original Houses of Parliament burnt down. In 1840 Charles Barry won the competition to design the new Houses of Parliament and in November 1841 a Royal Commission was set up to co-ordinate the decoration of the interior of Barry's Gothic design.¹⁹³ Following consultations with leading British artists and the German mural

¹⁹¹ *Op. cit.* at note 20, p. 6.

¹⁹² *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 72.

¹⁹³ A commission was set up by Robert Peel in November 1841. Charles Eastlake was asked to be Secretary and Price Albert to be President.

painter Peter Cornelius (1783-1867) the Commission decided that fresco would be the most durable method of painting and in April 1842 they announced a competition for cartoons of designs.¹⁹⁴ The rules stipulated that the cartoons were to be 'executed in chalk or charcoal, not less than ten or more than fifteen feet in their longest dimension; the figures to be not less than the size of life, illustrating subjects from British History, or from the works of Spenser, Shakespeare or Milton.'¹⁹⁵ Ford Madox Brown was living in Paris when the competition was announced and although he began his first entry *Adam and Eve* from Milton's *Paradise Lost* that year he did not participate until the second competition in 1844. In this competition he also entered his cartoon *The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror* but neither entry won a prize.¹⁹⁶

Undeterred, the following year Brown entered the third competition. The rules of this competition demanded the participants to choose their subjects from those chosen for the six arched compartments in the House of Lords which were the first to be painted. The subjects were to be 'illustrative of the functions of the House of Lords and the relation in which it stands to the Sovereign,' namely three allegories, Religion, Justice and the Spirit of Chivalry, and opposite, above the throne, three histories, the Baptism of Ethelbert, Prince Henry acknowledging the authority of Chief Justice Gascoigne, and Edward the Black Prince receiving the Order of the Garter from Edward III, that is three incidents illustrating the themes of the allegories.¹⁹⁷

Brown chose the allegorical subject of the 'Spirit of Justice' for his entry in to the third competition. According to the catalogue the scene showed 'an abstract representation of Justice' in which 'the five figures at the top are personifications of Justice, with, on the right Mercy and Erudition, and on her left, Truth and Wisdom.'¹⁹⁸ Below Justice are the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the armed servants of Justice.¹⁹⁹ 'The two groups in the foreground are indicative of power and weakness. An unbefriended widow is seen to appeal to Justice against the oppression of a perverse and powerful Baron.'²⁰⁰ Brown described the progress of his entry in letters to his first wife Elizabeth. In a letter dated 6 May 1845 he tells her 'I have got my fresco-ground prepared at last, and brought home. My sand and lime is all mixed, and I am only waiting for tracing paper to begin my fresco. In the mean time I have finished off the top part of the Cartoon, ready to paint from it. I have also finished the Knight and the Lawyer and the Widow, and have begun the Father of the Knight. I am getting on, and *so is the time*, - I hardly know which the faster.'²⁰¹ In another letter from 35 Arlington Street written in May 1845 he discusses the

¹⁹⁴ Cornelius was a member of the German artistic brotherhood the Nazarenes. He was the vanguard of the renaissance of Munich as an artistic centre.

¹⁹⁵ Frederick Knight Hunt, *The Book of Art: Cartoons, Frescoes, Sculpture and decorative Art as applied to the new Houses of Parliament: Illustrated by Engravings on Wood*, London, 1846, p. 145.

¹⁹⁶ In the competition participants were also required to send in samples of their work in fresco.

¹⁹⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 195, p. 145.

¹⁹⁸ Cited *op. cit.* at note 3, p. 33.

¹⁹⁹ Julian Treuherz, *Pre-Raphaelite Paintings from Manchester City Art Galleries*, 1993, p. 14.

²⁰⁰ Cited *op. cit.* at note 3, p. 33.

²⁰¹ *Op. cit.* at note 163, pp. 55-6. All the letters are written from his studio in Tudor Lodge, 35 Arlington Street in Camden Town. In the same letter he mentions his cartoons from the previous entry complaining that "I had to go to the Westminster Hall, [and] roll up my Cartoons, as they were clearing the Hall for the next exhibition. It took me a day's work nearly."

Justice entry again. 'My blessed Lizz, ... I shall have done my fresco to-morrow: I shall then have more than a fortnight to finish my cartoon and sketch. I can't say how it looks till dry, but I think it is better than last year. If it does not dry well, I shall retouch it a great deal. I lay the plaster on myself over-night, and work all next day from five in the morning till dark. I shall have done it all in fourteen days.'²⁰² In a letter dated 18 May 1845 Brown says 'I am colouring the sketch of my cartoon, and will get it right, I think, but it is the most difficult part. The figure of the Knight in brown burnished armour looks splendid now it is coloured.'²⁰³

According to Brown's biographer, Hueffer, the *Art Journal* picked out the *Spirit of Justice* for 'singularly warm praise' and the History painter Benjamin Haydon remarked solely on Brown's Justice fresco in his diary entry for 3 July, 1845, commenting 'passed the morning in Westminster Hall. The only bit of fresco fit to look at is by Ford Brown. It is a figure of Justice, and is exquisite as far as that figure goes.'²⁰⁴

Despite this praise the *Spirit of Justice* did not win any prize or commission and Brown did not enter any of the later Westminster Competitions. Daniel Maclise (1806-1870) eventually won the commission for *The Spirit of Justice*. The large cartoon now exists only in fragments but a small section of it and a small watercolour study are held at Manchester Art Gallery.

Cat. no. 132 *The Spirit of Justice: Study for Baron and his Adviser, with Sketches of Erudition and Wisdom*, 1844 - 45

Brown pen and ink over pencil; 361 x 230 mm

Lit.: Whitley, p. 45; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69

Prov.: Harold Hartley

Presented by Harold Hartley, 1905 (1905P18)

The figure of the Baron dominates this early sheet of drawings. His pose is almost identical to the one used in the final version but Brown altered some of the costume details. Behind the Baron he has added his adviser, in pencil. On the right are a sketch of Wisdom, and three sketches of Erudition. Stephen Wildman believed the Baron to be a copy of a knight in *Costume Historique* but although the costume may well have come from a similar nineteenth century historical sourcebook no comparable figure exists in *Costume Historique*.²⁰⁵

²⁰² *Op. cit.* at note 163, pp. 57-58. The catalogue of the competition lists the three parts of Brown's entry: "No. 98. 'An abstract representation of Justice,' by Ford Madox Brown. ... No. 99. A coloured sketch of ditto. No. 10 [100?]. A portion of the same" (cited *op. cit.* at note 3, p. 33).

²⁰³ *Op. cit.* at note 163, pp. 58-59.

²⁰⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 35.

²⁰⁵ Label in the curatorial file, BMAG.

Cat. no. 133 *The Spirit of Justice: Drapery Study for Erudition*, 1844 - 45
Verso: *Drapery Study and Sketch of two Legs*, 1844 - 45
Black chalk; 200 x 199 mm
Insc. on reverse in black chalk tr.: *sketch for figure on right of Justice*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 28; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P753)

This is a study for the bearded figure of Erudition who sits on the left of Justice. It is not clear to which work the drapery study and the sketch of two legs on the reverse relate. No figures matching them appear in the cartoon or in *The Ascension*, an oil sketch Brown was also working on in 1844.

Cat. no. 134 *The Spirit of Justice: Study for Wisdom*, 1844 - 1845
Black chalk with grey wash; 315 x 238 mm
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 46; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P712)

This study resembling a carved bust has been identified by Mary Bennett as a study for the figure of Wisdom.²⁰⁶ This figure sits on the right of Justice with his symbol, a snake, in his right hand.

Cat. no. 135 *The Spirit of Justice: Study for Head of the Baron*, 1844 - 45
Black chalk; 283 x 175 mm
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 28; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69
Exh.: *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Midlands Federation Travelling Exhibition, 1961 (no cat.)
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P715)

Cat. no. 136 *The Spirit of Justice: Study for the Head of central Bishop*, 1844 - 45
Black chalk; 317 x 255 mm
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 28; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P723)

Cat. no. 137 *The Spirit of Justice: Study for the Head of a Bishop*, 1844 - 45
Black chalk with grey wash; 440 x 357 mm
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 28; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69
Exh.: *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Midlands Federation Travelling Exhibition, 1961 (no cat.)
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P722)

²⁰⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 7, p. 69.

This is a detailed study of the face and right hand of the Bishop on the right in *The Spirit of Justice*. A drapery study for the same Bishop is on the reverse of a drawing for one of the apostles from Brown's cartoon of *The Ascension* (cat. no. 10). This reveals Brown's economical working process of using both sides of the paper and suggests that he was working on the two competition entries at the same time. The drapery study depicts a figure in the same pose, holding a book and staff, and resting his chin on his right hand, but in a monk's costume. Perhaps later on Brown thought this symbol of Catholicism would not be looked upon favourably in a design for the staunchly Protestant House of Lords. Another drapery study for the bishop on the left of *Justice* is also on the reverse of a study for an apostle (cat. no. 9).

Cat. no. 138 *The Spirit of Justice: Study for the uplifted left Arm of Justice*, 1844 - 45
Black chalk; 448 x 320 mm
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 27; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69
Prov.: Harold Hartley
Presented by Harold Hartley, 1905 (1905P17)

This is an anatomical study for the bulging, uplifted left arm of the figure of Justice and reveals that Brown must have found this unusual pose particularly difficult to depict. Justice is blind and strains to listen cupping her ear to hear the case. Her left ear can be seen between the thumb and forefinger in this study.

Cat. no. 139 *The Spirit of Justice: Study for Head of Counsellor in a Coronet*, 1844 - 45
Black chalk with touches of blue chalk; 455 x 315 mm
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 27; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69
Exh.: *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Midlands Federation Travelling Exhibition, 1961
(no cat.); *Visions* (5)
Prov.: Harold Hartley
Presented by Harold Hartley, 1905 (1905P21)

Cat. no. 140 *The Spirit of Justice: Study for Head of Counsellor*, 1844 - 45
Black chalk; 424 x 306 mm
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 27; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69
Prov.: Harold Hartley
Presented by Harold Hartley, 1905 (1905P20)

Cat. no. 141 *The Spirit of Justice: Drapery Study for central Bishop*, 1844 - 45
Verso: *Part of a Drapery Study*, 1844 - 45
Black chalk; 263 x 229 mm
Insc. in pencil br.: *FMB 1843*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 27; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69
Prov.: Harold Hartley
Presented by Harold Hartley, 1905 (1905P16)

This is one of two studies in the collection for the bishop in the centre of the composition (see also cat. no. 136). It shares the same pose of the figure in the finished cartoon but in

this drawing it is unclear if the figure is male or female, suggesting that Brown may have had a slightly different design in mind when he first began his entry. Stephen Wildman believes that this figure is female and both he and Whitley identify it as a study for Erudition. This is incorrect as the pose matches that of the central bishop in the final design. It seems likely that he used a female model, perhaps his first wife Elisabeth, or a lay figure for this drapery study, and another drawing for the bishop on the left which is on the reverse of cat. no. 9. The costume in the two studies is identical except the addition of extra ovals in between the crosses in this study. The circular decoration on the bishop's robes was omitted in both the watercolour sketch (Manchester Art Gallery) and the final cartoon. Although this drawing is dated 1843 the Royal Commissioners selected the subjects for the six arched compartments in 1844 and this design appears to have been backdated by Brown.

Cat. no. 142 *The Spirit of Justice: Study for Head of Widow*, 1844 - 45

Black chalk; 434 x 371 mm

Exh.: Midlands Federation Travelling Exhibition, 1961 (no cat.); *Il Sacro e il Profano nell'Arte dei Simbolistes*, Turin, 1969 (40)

Lit.: Whitley, p. 27; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69

Prov.: Harold Hartley

Presented by Harold Hartley, 1905 (1905P19)

This is a study for the head of the Widow, one of the protagonists in the cartoon. Brown has studied the light and shade of each fold of her head scarf and the foreshortening needed to portray her head as she looks up to the assembled figures, pleading for justice. On the back of one of the apostles in *The Ascension* is a sketch of a young child, standing upright and looking up (cat. no. 11). This appears to be the Widow's child who is depicted clinging to her skirts in the final cartoon.

STAGES OF CRUELTY

Related Works

Ashmolean

Stages of Cruelty, watercolour and bodycolour with pen and black ink, WA1933.6

Manchester Art Gallery

Stages of Cruelty, 1856-90, oil on canvas, 1911.05

Tate, London

Stages of Cruelty, c. 1856, watercolour on paper, N04584.

Cat. no. 143 *Stages of Cruelty: Study for the Child (Catherine Madox Brown)*, 1857

Black chalk on pale grey paper; 335 x 297 mm

Insc. in black chalk bl.: *FMB 57*

Lit.: Hueffer, ill. facing p. 131; H. Reitlinger, *From Hogarth to Keene*, 1938, ill. pl. xl; Whitley, p. 43; *The Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat., Tate, London, 1984, p. 147; *Newman and Watkinson*, p. 148, ill. pl. 70

Exh.: *Brussels*, 1929 (16); *Pre-Raphaelites and their Followers*, Bournemouth Art Gallery, 1951 (104); *Some Pre-Raphaelite Paintings and Drawings*, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1955 (8); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (79); *Pre-Raphaelite Art from Birmingham*, Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1984 (8); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (37)

Prov.: A E Anderson

Presented by A E Anderson, 1922 (1922P18)

Following the rejection of his design for *Cromwell on his Farm* by his dealer D. T. White, Brown thought up a new domestic subject in June 1856.²⁰⁷ At first it was called *Stolen Kisses are Sweet* but, inspired by Hogarth, it became the more moralistic *Stages of Cruelty*. The composition depicts a young woman spurning her lover, whilst a little girl in the foreground whips her dog with a bunch of *Love-lies-bleeding*. By this point in his career Brown felt confident enough to make only a few studies and largely painted directly onto the canvas, part of the rejected wings of the *Chaucer* triptych. Brown used his second daughter Cathy as the model for the young girl, noting in his diary for 1857:

as Hunt held out some prospect of Fairburns coming to buy the Lilac leaves, I set at it & painted the convolvulus out in the open air, composed & drew in the child, painted in the *Love-lies-Bleeding*, worked at the lovers head & at the girls, in all I suppose 3 weeks.²⁰⁸

No commission came and the painting was worked on only intermittently during the 1860s. It was eventually finished in 1890 for Brown's Manchester patron Henry Boddington. By this time Cathy had children of her own and her daughter Juliet became the model for the girl in the completed canvas.

²⁰⁷ *Cromwell on his Farm* (1856, pastel watercolour and bodycolour, Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester).

²⁰⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 199. 'Fairburns' refers to the Pre-Raphaelite patron Sir Thomas Fairbairn (1823–1891).

Cat. no. 144 *Stained Glass Design: Christ Blessing little Children, 1862*

After Ford Madox Brown

Brush, ink and wash over pencil, squared up for transfer; 656 x 516 mm

Insc. tr.: *SP 307* [or 1] / (in charcoal) / *Christ Blessing Little / Children*

Lit.: Hueffer, p. 445, ill. pp. 447 ff.; Harold Rathbone, *The Cartoons of F. M. Brown*, 1895, ill. pl. 8 (under the title 'Suffer little Children to come unto Me'), Whitley, p. 50; Sewter, vol. 2, p. 57; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69

Prov.: Harold Rathbone;²⁰⁹ James Richardson Holliday

Bequest of J. R. Holliday, 1927 (1927P350)

This is a working copy, made in 1862, by Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. after one of Brown's earliest designs for stained glass. The company were commissioned to produce two stained glass windows for St Peter's Church in Cranbourne, Berkshire.²¹⁰ This cartoon is listed under 1862 in Hueffer's catalogue of Brown's designs for stained glass and is illustrated in the same volume.

Cat. no. 145 *Stained Glass Design: Cartoon for Zachariah, The High Priest, 1872*

Black chalk; 934 x 476 mm (s.)

Insc. in black chalk bl.: *The property of the / artist F Madox Brown*, br.: *FMB* [monogram] –72, right of halo: *Powells bleu* [?] *St light*, on vestment: *or*, on right by sleeve: *24 green*

Lit.: *Sale Catalogue*, 1894, p. 16; Harold Rathbone, *The Cartoons of F. M. Brown*, 1895, ill. pl. 5; Hueffer, p. 446; Whitley, p. 49; Sewter, vol 1, ill. pl. 451, vol. 2, pp. 107.

Exh.: *Centenary of William Morris*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1934 (34); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (49)

Prov.: Harold Rathbone; Birmingham Municipal School of Art

Transferred from Birmingham Municipal School of Art, 1912 (1912P149)

In 1873 Morris, Marshal, Faulkner & Co. completed their commission to produce two large stained glass windows in the church of St John the Baptist, Knaresborough, Yorkshire.²¹¹ Brown provided designs for both windows including this cartoon for Zachariah, the Old Testament priest and father of John the Baptist. In the final window, Zachariah is depicted carrying out his duties as a priest, swinging his censer and wearing a gold cope lined with green.²¹² The angel on his robe may well represent the archangel Gabriel who appeared to Zachariah to tell him that Elizabeth, his wife, would fall pregnant. A year later the company completed the nave window window for All Saints' Church in Leigh, Staffordshire, reusing this cartoon for the figure of Zachariah.²¹³

²⁰⁹ The forward to Harold Rathbone's *The Cartoons of F. M. Brown* (London, 1895) states that 'The original cartoons for the following series of reproductions from the designs of the eminent historic painter, Ford Madox Brown, were chiefly acquired by his pupil, Mr. Harold Rathbone, at the sale of the effects of the deceased artist, a few, however, were provided by the Committee of the Fund raised for purchasing a picture by this artist for the National Gallery.' This strongly suggests that this cartoon and cat. nos. 145 and 146 were originally in Rathbone's collection.

²¹⁰ *Op. cit.* at note 138, vol. 1, pl. 98, vol. 2, pp. 57, 241, 285.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 107, 241, 320.

²¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 107.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 107, 114.

After the reorganisation of the Morris firm in 1875, Brown was replaced as the chief supplier of cartoons by Edward Burne-Jones. This created a rift between Brown and Morris that lasted until 1885. As the inscription suggests, Brown was conscious of the value of such cartoons as independent works of art, and insisted on their return.

Cat. no. 146 *Stained Glass Design: Cartoon for The Young Milton, 1874*

Black chalk; 577 x 300 mm

Insc. in black chalk tr.: *2 gown / 3 shirt / 4 slashe[d]* [corresponding numbers seen on drawing], bl.: *FMB* [monogram] *c 74*, br.: *The Young Milton / [o]f the A* [rubbed out], Lit.: *Sale Catalogue*, 1894, p. 15; Harold Rathbone, *The Cartoons of F. M. Brown*, 1895, ill. pl. 20; *Hueffer*, p. 446; *Sewter*, ill. vol. 1, pl. 462, vol. 2, p. 45.

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (427); *English Eye I*, Midlands Federation Travelling Exhibition, 1958 (2); *Morris & Company in Cambridge*, Fitzwilliam Museum, 1980, ex. cat.; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (52)

Prov.: Harold Rathbone; Reverend John Richard Dorman

Presented by Reverend John Richard Dorman, 1957 (1957P34)

This cartoon of *Young Milton* was produced for a set of windows in the Combination Room of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, executed by Morris, Marshall, Falkner & Co.²¹⁴ The figure was one of ten in the windows on the side of the Principal Court. The company were also commissioned to produce the stained glass for a bay window in the Combination Room and windows in Peterhouse Hall. According to Hueffer, this cartoon was entered into Brown's account book in late 1872 although work was not completed on the windows until 1874. This must account for Brown's loose dating of the cartoon, 'c 74.' In the completed stained glass window, Milton is depicted with long hair and a brown cloak lined in blue. He holds a hat and the edge of his robes in his left hand and an open book in his right. In 1873 Brown also produced a cartoon of Milton for Cragside, Rothbury, but for this commission he depicted him as an old and blind.

Cat. no. 147 *Stained Glass Design: Cartoon for St Simon, 1874*

Black chalk; 1385 x 514 mm (s.)

Insc. In black chalk: in halo: *Aup R / top of* [illegible word], tr.: *2 cloak 3 lining* [and corresponding numbers on the figure's clothes], bl.: *FMB* [monogram] *-74*, bc.: *Bottom of feet* [and illegible writing]

Lit.: *Hueffer*, p. 447; *Whitley*, p. 49; *Sewter*, vol. 1, pl. 464, vol. 2, p. 121; Mary Bennett, *Artists of the Pre-Raphaelite Circle: The First Generation*, 1988, p. 48; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69

Exh.: *Centenary of William Morris*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1934 (35)

Prov.: Birmingham Municipal School of Art

Transferred from Birmingham Municipal School of Art, 1912 (1912P150)

This cartoon is for the figure of St Simon, recognisable by the fish he is holding, in a three-light window in the north aisle of Llandaff Cathedral.²¹⁵ Brown also undertook the

²¹⁴ *Op. cit.* at note 138, vol. 1, pl. 325, vol. 2, pp. 45, 241, 307.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pl. 463, vol. 2, pp. 121, 241, 316.

cartoons for St Jude, the Shipwreck of St Paul and the Miraculous Draught of Fishes for the same window.

Cat. no. 148 *Stained Glass Design: The Marriage of Editha with Sigtrygg, King of Northumbria* (St Editha's Tamworth, Staffordshire)

Copy by Thomas Matthews Rooke, 1909

Watercolour; 932 x 765 mm (s.)

Insc. bl.: *TMr Tamworth 1909*

Exh: '*Faithful and Able: The architectural Watercolours of T. M. Rooke (1842-1942)*, BMAG, 1992 (36); *Rooke (92)*; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite (55)*

Prov.: James Richardson Holliday; University of Birmingham

Presented by the Library of the University of Birmingham from the J. R. Holliday Bequest (1959P40)

Cat. no. 149 *Stained Glass Design: St Editha and the Nuns of St Mary* (St Editha's Tamworth, Staffordshire)

Copy by Thomas Matthews Rooke, 1909

Watercolour; 930 x 760 mm (s.)

Label on reverse: *Messrs Charles Roberson & Co., Longacre, London*

Lit: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69

Exh: '*Faithful and Able: The architectural Watercolours of T. M. Rooke (1842-1942)*, BMAG, 1992 (37); *Rooke (92)*

Prov.: James Richardson Holliday; University of Birmingham

Presented by the Library of the University of Birmingham from the J. R. Holliday Bequest (1959P41)

Cat. no. 150 *Stained Glass Design: William the Conqueror presenting a Charter to Lord Marmion, and Sleeping Lord Marmion being poked by St. Editha* (St Editha's, Tamworth, Staffordshire)

Copy by Thomas Matthews Rooke, 1909

Watercolour; 922 x 765 mm (s.)

Lit: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 69

Exh: '*Faithful and Able: The architectural Watercolours of T. M. Rooke (1842-1942)*, BMAG, 1992 (38); *Rooke (92)*

Prov.: University of Birmingham; James Richardson Holliday

Presented by the Library of the University of Birmingham from the J. R. Holliday Bequest (1959P42)

These watercolours are copies of clerestory windows designed by Brown for St Editha's, Tamworth, Staffordshire. Morris, Marshall, Falukner and Co. was commissioned to produce three windows depicting the Legend of St Editha and the Occupation of Tamworth Castle by Marmion.²¹⁶ The first window depicts the marriage of St Editha and shows Athelstan, King of the West Saxons, giving away his sister, Princess Editha, to Sigtrygg, King of Northumbria, as Aella, Bishop of Lichfield looks on. The Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester, hold the original cartoons for this window which are dated

²¹⁶ See *op. cit.* at note 3, p. 447 and *op. cit.* at note 138, vol. 2, pp. 184, 241.

1873.²¹⁷ The second window depicts St Editha as abbess. She is seen on the left, surrounded by her nuns who are picking flowers to present to the Virgin and Child, on the right. The subject of the last window is St Editha and Marmion. On the left is William the Conqueror presenting a charter to Marmion who holds the deed to Tamworth in the next light. The lights on the right show Marmion asleep and St Editha poking him with her crozier. According to the legend Marmion evicted Editha's nuns from their abbey and in anger she haunted him in his dreams. In 1874 Brown's cartoon of Abraham and Isaac (see cat. no. 92) was also used for one of the lights in the chapel of St George located in St Editha's.

The designs appear to have caused some controversy as a letter from Dante Gabriel Rossetti to Jane Morris suggests:

Some of cartoons of Old Brown's (made for Top's [Morris'] firm) are being published in an architectural paper. Really I must say they are inconceivable. Every figure (it is a long series) is passing one hand through the stone mullion of the window into the next panel of glass!!-each panel containing one figure. It is called the Story of St Edith. I must say if this series was what reduced Top to desperation, I think every one would have sympathised with him [replacing Brown as designer] if he had only shown the cartoons.²¹⁸

Evidently not everyone thought Brown's cartoons were badly conceived and at some point between 1877 and 1878 Brown sold the cartoons to Charles Rowley of Manchester (four of them are now at the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester).

The three watercolour copies of the windows were commissioned by J. R. Holliday, an avid collector of Morris and Co. stained glass cartoons, from Thomas Matthews Rooke (1842-1942). According to a letter written in 1935 by G. S. Holliday

Mr Holliday took photographs of [the windows] & enlarged them & prepared them for Mr. Rooke ... to colour from the originals. Mr Rooke spent some weeks [at Tamworth] on the work (by special arrangement with Mr Holliday who was satisfied that it was a good reproduction of the colour in the windows themselves).²¹⁹

Rooke worked as Burne-Jones' studio assistant from 1869 until the latter's death in 1898. From 1878 until 1893 Rooke also spent half of his time producing watercolours for Ruskin's project to record old buildings threatened with demolition or restoration. Rooke was a talented painter in his own right and produced watercolours and oils of religious, imaginative and architectural subjects. On the back of the board on the watercolour of

²¹⁷ This cartoon is illustrated in *op. cit.* at note 158, p. 42 and Charles Nugent, *British Watercolours in the Whitworth Art Gallery, the University of Manchester: A summary Catalogue of Drawings and Watercolours by Artists born before 1880*, London, 2002, p. 64.

²¹⁸ John Bryson and J. C. Troxell, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Jane Morris Correspondence*, 1976, letter 50, p. 86.

²¹⁹ Unpublished letter from G. S. Holliday to Dr Bonseer, 29 March 1935, BMAG.

the second window is a label for Messrs Charles Roberson & Co., Longacre, London who also sold board to Burne-Jones.

STERNE'S SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY / THE BODY OF HAROLD BROUGHT BEFORE WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR (VERSO OF CAT. NO. 151)

Related works:

Manchester Art Gallery

The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror (Wilhelmus Conquistor), 1844-61, oil on canvas, 1907.9

South London Gallery

The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror: Cartoon, chalk, 1844

The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror: Studies, chalk, 1844

The Whitworth Art Gallery

The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror Study of Soldiers and a Monk supporting a Figure, reverse of *Lear Questioning Cordelia*, 1844, pencil pen and brown ink, D.51.1927

Sotheby's

The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror: Oil Sketch, c. 1844, sold in London on 29 November, 2001 (lot 16)

Cat. no. 151 *Sterne's 'Sentimental Journey': Study for Yorick and La Fleur talking to Maria's Mother*, 1842

Verso: *The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror: Eight Sketches of Figure Groups*, c. 1844

Brown pen and ink over pencil; pencil on verso; 570 x 435 mm

Insc. br.: Ford M Brown Paris/42

Lit.: Hueffer, p. 407; Whitley, p.48; Ford Madox Brown: *The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Exh.: *Arts & Craft*, 1896 (450) (under the title of *Peasant Woman at a Doorway*); *Grafton*, 1897 (180) (under title of *A Peasant Woman at a Doorway talking to two Gentlemen outside*); *Visions* (4)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by subscribers, 1906 (1906P797)

Cat. no. 152 *Sterne's 'Sentimental Journey': Yorick (Laurence Sterne) and Maria Walking*, 1842

Pen and ink, watercolour and bodycolour over pencil; 561 x 439 mm

Insc. in black ink bl.: *Ford M Brown Paris 42*

Lit: Hueffer, p. 407; Angela Thirlwell, 'Vieux Fordy: Death of a modern Man,' in *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 8

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (449) (under the title of *Sterne and Maria*); Grafton, 1897 (175) (under the title of *Sterne and Maria*); *Huit Siècles de Vie Britannique à Paris*, Musée Galliéra, Paris, 1948 (585); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (48); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (1)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P796)

These two works are based on the eighteenth century novel *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Mr Yorick*, by Laurence Sterne (1713-1768). Between them the two drawings illustrate the chapters concerning the popular character Maria Moulines. The first drawing depicts Yorick, Maria's mother and Yorick's manservant La Fleur. It illustrates the lines:

The old mother came to the door, her looks told me the story before she open'd her mouth - She had lost her husband; he had died, she said of anguish, for the loss of Maria's senses about a month before. - She had feared at first, she added, that it would have plundered her poor girl of what little understanding was left - but, on the contrary, it had brought her more to herself - she still could not rest - her poor daughter, she said crying, was wandering somewhere about the road -

- Why does my pulse beat languid as I write this? and [*sic*] what made La Fleur, whose heart seem'd only to be tuned to joy, to pass the back of his hand twice across his eyes, as the woman stood and told it?

The second more finished watercolour depicts the following scene in which Yorick and Maria, reunited, walk together towards Moulines. The pathetic heroine appears as in the novel 'dress'd in white' with 'her hair hung loose.' This watercolour has previously been known as 'Sterne and Maria.' Although it depicts the character Yorick, the author Laurence Sterne identified himself with his creation and by the mid-nineteenth century was virtually synonymous with him. According to Hilary Parsons, Brown used an engraving of Sterne by C. F. Fritschuis as the basis of Yorick's head, revealing how closely connected the two figures were in the nineteenth century.²²⁰

One of the few writers to discuss these works, Hueffer, wrote of them:

²²⁰ Unpublished notes by Hilary Parsons at BMAG. The engraving is likely to have been based on Reynolds portrait of Sterne executed in 1760 (Tate, London). See also Catherine Gordon, *British Paintings of Subjects from the English Novel 1740-1870*, New York and London, 1988, p. 85 for a discussion of 'the overlapping of the author and his fictional character.'

During his stay in France he executed a number of designs from subjects in the *Sentimental Journey* which are almost Hogarthian in conception ... These however, had no ultimate consequence.²²¹

On the reverse of *Yorick and La Fleur talking to Maria's Mother* is an important sheet of early sketches for figures in *The Body of Harold brought before William the Conqueror* (Fig. 70) (first identified by Stephen Wildman in the exhibition *Visions of Love and Life*). This was one of Brown's first two entries to the Westminster competition (the other *Adam and Eve* is now lost). The figures show a variety of poses and suggest that Brown was trying out different compositions for the painting. The sketch at the top left of the page, including both William and Harold, became the main group of figures in the final composition. In addition, Brown retained the two figures on horseback, also on the left, in the final design. Few of the other figure groupings were used in the cartoon. However, it appears Brown thought seriously about including some of them, as the Whitworth Art Gallery has a larger pen and ink sketch depicting the figure supported by soldiers and a monk. Conservation reports on the two sheets suggest that they came from a sketch book.²²²

Cat. no. 153 *Study of Tree Trunk with Roots*, c. 1847

Verso: *Two Studies of Tree Trunks*, c. 1846

Black chalk, heightened with white chalk on buff paper, black chalk on verso; 245 x 385 mm

Insc. in pencil on reverse tl.: *Studies by FMB*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 48; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: James Richardson Holliday

Bequest of J. R. Holliday, 1927 (1927P357)

This sheet has studies of trees on both sides. On one side is a detailed study of a tree trunk and roots possibly for the small painting *The Brent at Hendon* (1854-55, Tate, London) although none of the trees in the work match this one exactly. The left tree on the reverse may be the earliest study on the sheet and relate to the cartoon *Oure Ladye of Saturday Night* (cat. nos. 102-113).

²²¹ *Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 407. This is a footnote. He does not discuss them in the main body of the text.

²²² In Gill Casson's report on cat. no. 151 she calls it a 'page taken from sketch book' (7.10.1994). In her report on cat. no. 152 she notes that 'the primary support has been extended at the top by the addition of a narrow strip of the same paper - this is contemporary and the medium extends on to the strip. This strip appears to have sewing holes at regular intervals, suggesting attachment to a sketchbook - it could be a 'guard' strip (?)' (8.5.2008).

Cat. no. 154 *Unknown Subject: Compositional Sketch*, 1843 - 1850

Pencil; 206 x 260 mm (s.)

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 47; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P742)

It has not been possible to identify the project related to this sketch. Despite this, it provides an insight into Brown's working process. The loose, looping drawing style Brown has used indicates that this sketch was made during the first stage when he put his thoughts onto paper. At this point he appears to have been concerned about the overall composition rather than individual figures. After this he would have begun adding more detail before making separate figure studies.

WYCLIFFE READING HIS TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

Related works:

Cartwright Hall Art Gallery, Bradford

Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible to his Protector, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in the Presence of Chaucer and Gower (hereafter *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible*), 1847-48, oil on canvas

Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Oil Sketch, 1847-48, oil on panel

Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Five Studies and Sketches, 1847-48, pencil, WAG 8296

At the end of November 1847, Brown realised that he would not be able to complete his ambitious triptych *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* in time for the following year's Free Exhibition. He contemplated finishing only the middle section, which he later completed as *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*, and made his mind up to buy a small canvas. He was reluctant to abandon the triptych and whilst travelling home from his Uncle's house in Foot's Cray, Kent, he devised a completely new composition, 'Wycliff reading his translation of the bible to John of Gaunt, Chaucer and Gower Present' and 'arranged it in [his mind].'²²³ On reaching home he 'made a slight scetch of it' straight after dinner.²²⁴ From November to April 1848 Brown concentrated on preparing *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible* for the next Free Exhibition.²²⁵ Although his diary is inconsistent, kept for two years then put aside and taken up for a few months and put away again, *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible* is one of the few paintings whose progress and completion are recorded in full. As such it gives insight into Brown's working practices - from early research at the British Museum reading room, and the books he consulted on aspects of historical accuracy, furniture and architecture, to the models he used, and the hours that he worked. In the final week before the exhibition he

²²³ *Op. cit.* at note 2, 29 November 1847, p. 17.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ It was no. 216 in the Free Exhibition (*Institution for the Free Exhibition of Modern Art*, exh. cat. Hyde Park Corner Gallery, London, 1848).

was labouring up to seventeen hours a day in order to get it in for the deadline of 19 April. The drawings for *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible* held at BMAG are studies made, at various times in the months Brown worked on the project, before drawing directly or tracing onto the canvas.

Brown's biographer, Hueffer, calls *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible* 'the first of his pictures in his "English Style" to see completion.'²²⁶ An idea of the flatness and naturalistic lighting of Brown's new style, which he developed whilst working on *the Seeds and Fruits*, can be gained from a review in the *Athenæum*, one of the few papers to have noticed the painting. The critic declared it 'one of the few works of high excellence' but mistakenly believed it to have been 'designed with a view to its execution in fresco' due to Brown's use of 'opposition of colour [rather] than strong contrasts of light and shade' as found in academic painting at the time.²²⁷

When the painting was bought in the late 1850s by Thomas Plint, a number of alterations were made to the painting including the addition of the striped awning over Constance and Catherine. As discussed above he also insisted on a new gilt frame which hid the majority of the Gothic architecture and the Gothic lettering below the painting but allowed the roundel figures to be seen (see cat. no. 3 and Fig. 79).

Cat. no. 155 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Nude Study for Chaucer*, 1847
Pencil; 252 x 175 mm

Insc. br.: *London / Ford M. Brown/47*

Insc. notes: water mark (part of) TMAN/YMILL/t6

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 41; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P736)

Cat. no. 156 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Study for Chaucer*, 1847
Pencil; 251 x 175 mm

Insc. br.: *London / F. M Brown/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 40; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P729)

Cat. no. 157 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Nude Study of Gower*, 1847
Pencil; 251 x 175 mm

Insc. br.: *London / F. M Brown/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 41; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P733)

²²⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 3, p. 49. Hueffer incorrectly assumes that it was seeing the painting at the Free Exhibition that prompted Rossetti to write to Brown and ask to be his pupil. However, Brown's diary records that Rossetti was already his pupil by 25 March 1848 (*Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 36).

²²⁷ Anonymous, *The Athenæum*, 9 September, 1848, p. 911.

Cat. no. 158 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Study for Gower*, 1847
Pencil; 251 x 145 mm
Insc. br.: *London / F. M. Brown/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 41; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P732)

Cat. no. 159 *Wycliffe Reading his Translation of the Bible: Nude Study for John of Gaunt and Chaucer's right Hand*, 1847
Pencil and black chalk; 253 x 177 mm
Insc. br.: *London / F M Brown/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 40; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70
Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (57)
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P726)

Cat. no. 160 *Wycliffe Reading his Translation of the Bible: Study of John of Gaunt and Chaucer's left Hand*, 1847
Pencil and black chalk; 240 x 175 mm
Insc. br.: *(London) / F. M Brown/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 40
Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (58); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (16)
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P725)

These six drawings are pairs of studies for the figures of Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower (d. 1408) and John of Gaunt (1340-1399). They reveal much about Brown's working process in the late 1840s. He began, as he had learnt in the art academies he attended in Belgium, by making studies of nude models in order to capture the correct anatomical details of the pose. He then drew the figure clothed, often using a lay figure to keep the fabric absolutely still. This process, practised since the Renaissance, was believed to make the figure more exact. The two hand studies on the same sheets as the studies of Gaunt are for the left and right hands of Chaucer, who stands on the left of the composition with Gower.

Cat. no. 161 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Study for Wycliffe*, 1847
Black chalk; 174 x 80 mm
Insc. br.: *London / F. M. Brown/47*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 39; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P700)

Cat. no. 162 *Wycliffe Reading his Translation of the Bible: Nude Study for Wycliffe*, 1847
Pencil; 253 x 104 mm
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 41
Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (56); *The Biggest Draw*, Millennium Gallery, Sheffield, 2004 (no cat.); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (13)
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P730)

Although this drawing depicts a young man in the finished work John Wycliffe (d.1384) is an elderly figure. The discrepancy between the man depicted here and the final figure reveals Brown's use of professional nude models to help him find the correct pose of a figure before adding clothes. The model for the nude drawing is likely to be a man named 'Garret' whom Brown records in his diary as having posed for 'sketches of Wycliff' on 20 December 1847.²²⁸

Cat. no. 163 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Drapery Study for Wycliffe*, 1847
Black chalk; 358 x 203 mm
Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown 1847*
Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 39
Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (55); *The Biggest Draw*, Millennium Gallery, Sheffield, 2004 (no cat.); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (14)
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P699)

This drawing is a drapery study for the character Wycliffe. The cartoon-like face has been drawn from imagination and the figure has no hands. This indicates that the study was taken from a lay figure in order to keep the folds of cloth completely still. On 28 December 1847 Brown wrote in his diary 'tried to work did nothing all day but arrange the lay figure for Wiclif & superintended the making of a gown for Chaucer, I am sadly idle!' ²²⁹ On the 29th he worked again 'at arranging the dress of Wicliff' and 'muddled at a drawing of it till ½ past 2.' ²³⁰ After a break for New Year he continued his study on 2 January 1848 noting that he 'got to work by ½ past eleven drawing at the draperies for Wicliff till ½ past 3' and on 3 January he finished the drawing, recording that he 'drew at the draperies of Wicliff till ½ past 3, finished the study, went of for a walk.' ²³¹

²²⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 21.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Cat. no. 164 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Drapery Study for Chaucer*, 1848

Black chalk; 350 x 217 mm

Insc. bl.: *Ford M Brown 1847 London*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 41; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P731)

Brown records making this drapery study in his diary. On 28 December he had a seamstress make up 'a gown for Chaucer' at the studio and on 4 January 1848 he arranged it on the lay figure before beginning this study.²³² He worked on it for the next two days, only breaking to draw the head of Gower from the model Maitland, and finished it on 6 January. On the same day he returned the lay figure to his friend Charles Lucy, a history painter, who appears regularly at the start of Brown's diary.²³³

Cat. no. 165 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Study of Legs for John of Gaunt and two Studies of Feet for Wycliffe*, 1848

Black chalk; 285 x 340 mm

Insc. br.: *F M Brown/47*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 40; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P728)

Brown's diary entry for 7 January 1848 almost certainly refers to this particular drawing. He records that 'Maitland came drew a study of his legs for John of Gaunt till ½ past 3, dined, called on my aunt. Maitland came at 6 drew at his feet for Wycliff till ½ past 8.'²³⁴ Maitland was a professional model who was employed by several of the Pre-Raphaelites.²³⁵ The shadow behind the top pair of feet for Wycliffe attests to the late time of day Brown drew them, candlelight perhaps throwing a more severe shadow than the one in the final painting which is depicted in bright sunlight. Brown has signed and dated this drawing 1847 but this may well be a case of backdating or indicate that he made other studies in 1848.

Cat. no. 166 *Wycliffe Reading his Translation of the Bible: Studies of Hands for John of Gaunt and Gower*, 1847

Black chalk; 151 x 215 mm

Insc. br.: *London / F. M. Brown 1847*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 41

Exh.: *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (17)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P746)

²³² *Op. cit.* at note 2, pp. 21, 23.

²³³ See *ibid.*, pp. 21-24.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

The left study is for John of Gaunt's left hand and arm, which, in the painting, are held in an awkward position on his hip. The middle study is for his right hand which rests, almost in a fist, on his right thigh. The right study is for Gower's hands which are clasped together with forefingers pointing downwards. This is a good example of Brown's economic use of paper, making all three drawings fit onto one sheet but the paper must be turned to find the correct position of the hands as they appear in the painting.

Cat. no. 167 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Study for Head of Wycliffe*, 1847

Pencil; 144 x 126 mm

Insc. bl.: *London*, br.: *Ford M Brown [1847]*

Lit.: Hueffer, ill. p.447 *et seq.*; Whitley, p. 39; Newman and Watkinson, ill. pl. 71

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (441);²³⁶ *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, Roland, Browse & Delbanco, London, 1947 (39); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (54); *The Biggest Draw*, Millennium Gallery, Sheffield, 2004 (no cat.); *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* (15)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P670)

This detailed drawing of an old man is a study for Wycliffe, and is likely to have been drawn from a professional model called 'Old Coulton.'²³⁷ Brown used Coulton for several elderly figures. In January 1849 he used a drawing of him and a cast of Dante's head for King Lear in *Lear and Cordelia*.²³⁸ A photograph of the drawing published in 1896 shows it with the date of 1847 inscribed after Brown's signature but this has since been cut off.

Cat. no. 168 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Study for Constance and Child*, 1847

Pencil; 134 x 143 mm

Insc. bl.: *London*, br.: *F.M.BROWN 1847*

Lit.: Whitley, p. 39; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P692)

This is one of several studies for the figure of Constance, John of Gaunt's second wife (1354-1394). The child sitting on her knee is intended as Catherine, their only daughter. Catherine later married Henry III, King of Castile and Leon. The sitters are most likely to be 'Mrs Yates & child' who Brown records, in his diary, came to model for him on 20

²³⁶ No. 441 included multiple works. It is described in the catalogue as 'Studies for "Ascension," 1844 First sketch for "Chaucer," 1845 Sketch for "Oure Ladye of Saturday Night," 1846 Head of Wycliffe, 1847 Lent by C. Fairfax Murray, Esq' (*Op. cit.* at note 9, p. 105)

²³⁷ *Op. cit.* at note 2, pp. 25, 39.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

December 1847.²³⁹ On 28 January 1848 her husband posed for the head of Chaucer and on 29 January Brown 'made a drawing of her hand & her child.'²⁴⁰

Cat. no. 169 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Unfinished Study for Head of Constance*, 1847-48

Pencil; 105 x 117 mm

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 39; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P701)

The model for this study may have been Julia Wild who made money through sitting for artists and prostitution. She was known for her black eyes.²⁴¹ Brown's diary entry for 8 January 1848 notes that he 'dined & went out for Miss Wild ... came back and set to work by 7 till 10 on the head of the female, made a wretched drawing of it.'²⁴² His displeasure with the study may explain the unfinished state of this drawing.

Cat. no. 170 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Portrait of Elizabeth Bamford modelling for Constance*, 1848

Pencil; 97 x 125 mm

Insc. bl.: *Miss Elizabeth Bamford*, br.: *London / Ford M. Brown 1848*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 39; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P693)

Elizabeth Bamford was the daughter of a family with whom Brown socialised frequently in the first few years after the death of his first wife, Elisabeth. They were perhaps connected with Elisabeth's family, the Bromleys. Brown often referred to 'Mr Bamford' in his diary; he is likely to have been 'James Bamford, silk manufacturer of Milk Street, Cheapside, whose portrait Brown had painted' in 1846.²⁴³ On 2 February 1848 Brown went to stay with the Bamfords and according to his diary 'danced till 3 in the morning.'²⁴⁴ Newman and Watkinson have surmised that Brown danced with Elisabeth on that night although there is no evidence of this.²⁴⁵ Brown also stayed at the Bamfords' on the night of the Private View at the Free Exhibition to which he submitted *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible*.²⁴⁶ His diary records Elisabeth's brother Sam and another relative, William, visiting him several times at his studio but does not mention Elisabeth acting as a model.²⁴⁷

²³⁹ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 21.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 41-43.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁴⁵ *Op. cit.* at note 19, p. 37.

²⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 40.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 34, 45, 56.

Cat. no. 171 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Study for Head of Constance*, 1848

Chalk over pencil, 135 x 155 mm

Insc. bl.: *London*, br.: *Ford M Brown 1848*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 39; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P691)

Mrs Ashley, the model for the mother in *Infant's Repast* (see cat. nos. 80-82), may well have sat for this head study. In his first diary entry referring to her, made on 26 January 1848, he called her 'Miss Ashley' and noted that she 'came at 11 stopped till four ... will never do.'²⁴⁸ However, she continued to sit for him for 'the head of the female' and on 22 February 1848 he even accepted some 'beautiful Castor oil pomatum' she made for him in exchange for a small amount of money.²⁴⁹

Cat. no. 172 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Study for Head of Chaucer*, 1848

Pencil, 176 x 148 mm

Insc.: *London/ F.M.Brown/ 48*

Lit.: *Whitley* pp. 39-40; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P702)

Whitley identified this as a 'Study for the Head of a Woman in profile to Right.' In fact, it is a study for the head of Chaucer. It is not clear if the model was male or female and Whitley's identification may have been suggested by the drawing's original mount which grouped it with a number of studies for Constance (cat. nos. 168-171).

Cat. no. 173 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Study of Monk representing the Catholic Faith*, 1848

Black chalk with brown pen and ink, squared up; 275 x 245 mm (i.), 278 x 275 mm (p.)

Insc. br.: *Ford M. Brown 1848 London*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 40; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (446);²⁵⁰ *Grafton*, 1897 (184); *Ford Madox Brown*, 1964 (59); *Visions* (8)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P703)

²⁴⁸ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 27.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 31.

²⁵⁰ No. 446 is listed as 'Two Saints in Circles 1848. Lent by Charles Fairfax Murray' (*Op. cit.* at note 9, p. 105). The date and description indicates that it was the studies for Catholicism and Protestantism which were exhibited.

Cat. no. 174 *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible: Study of young Woman representing the Protestant Faith*, 1848

Black chalk; 245 x 247 mm (i.), 277 x 278 mm (p.)

Insc. br.: *Ford M Brown 1848 London*

Lit.: *Whitley*, p. 40; *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 70

Exh.: *Arts & Crafts*, 1896 (446); *Grafton*, 1897, (184); *Brussels*, 1929 (15); *Pre-Raphaelite Art from Birmingham*, Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1984 (6)

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Subscribers, 1906 (1906P704)

Near the end of the project Brown turned his attention to completing the two spandrel figures. His diary entry for 28th February records that he changed his mind about one of them settling on a 'young girl instead of a child to impersonate the Protestant faith.'²⁵¹ On the same day he 'composed the other figure of Romish faith, a figure holding a chained-up bible and a torch - with a hood like the penitents at Catholic funeras [*sic*] showing only the eyes, with burning fagots [*sic*] and a weel [*sic*] of torture or accessories.'²⁵² This figure can be seen in the oil sketch for *Wycliffe reading his Translation of the Bible* (Fig. 80). It was not until the end of March that Brown began to draw the cartoons for 'the symbolic figures in the spandrils' and at this point he redesigned them.²⁵³ He altered the figure of Catholicism, omitting the wheel and replacing the torch with a crucifix. He also decided to set the figures in elaborate roundels (see Fig. 1). He completed the cartoons for both figures in just over a week. According to his diary Brown had Miss Wild to sit for the figure of Protestantism and used Maitland's head for Catholicism.²⁵⁴

The two cartoons reveal that Brown was under intense pressure to finish the painting on time. The majority of the drawing for Catholicism is highly finished in black chalk but the edge of the book and the chain have been finished much less carefully in brown ink. Likewise the cartoon for Protestantism is highly finished except the lily which is barely drawn in. Perhaps because he was running out of time Brown decided to deviate from his usual practice of tracing his figures onto the canvas before painting them. In order to do this he 'squared the monk & drew him in on the Canvas.'²⁵⁵ The lines he used to square up the cartoon are still visible on the drawing. The effort of finishing the work took its toll on Brown and he had to ask his friend Charles Lucy to draw the figure of Protestantism onto the canvas because he was having problems with his eyes, a complaint he makes several times in the diary and no doubt due to the punishing hours he put in near the completion of a painting.²⁵⁶

²⁵¹ *Op. cit.* at note 2, p. 32.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

MISSING WORKS

The following works are presently missing from the BMAG collection:

Cordelia's Portion,
Wood-engraving
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1912 (1912P41)

The Last of England, 1880 - 1900
Photogravure, 241 x 205 mm
Found unaccessioned (1978P147)

HE THAT SOWETH

Related works:

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Hartley Collection
Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life: He that Soweth, 1868, wood-engraving, proof on India paper, 55.1525
Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life: He that Soweth, 1868, wood engraving touched with opaque white watercolour; burnished India paper proof, 55.1556

Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life: He that Soweth, pub. 1868
Wood-engraving
Lit.: Catherine Winkworth, *Lyra Germanica - the Christian Life*, 1868, p. 45; Eric de Maré, *The Victorian Illustrators*, 1980, p. 113; *Pocket Cathedrals*, pp. 15, 104; Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books 1850-1870: the Heyday of Wood-engraving*, 1994, p. 28, ill. fig. 11; *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 10, 365; *Suriano*, pp. 64, 306, ill. p. 66; Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 36
Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray
Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray, 1912 (1912P43)

THE TRAVELLER

Related works:

Manchester Art Gallery
The Traveller, 1868, watercolour, 2001.25
The Traveller, 1868-84, oil on panel, 1925.83

The Ashmolean
The Traveller: Compositional Study, black chalk, WA1954
The Traveller: Study of a Horse, WA1954

The Victoria and Albert Museum
The Traveller: Proof of the Wood-engraving, E. 289-1895
The Traveller: Photograph from the original Drawing on the Block, Library Ph. 2555-1907

The Traveller, pub. 1869

Wood-engraving

Lit: 'Once a Week,' vol. 3, 1869, ill. p. 145; *Hueffer*, ill. facing p. 161; *Reid*, p. 50;

Gordon Ray, *The Illustrator and the Book in England from 1790-1914*, 1976, ill. p. 112;

Laura MacCulloch, 'Forgotten Images: The Illustrations of Ford Madox Brown' in *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 36

Prov.: Charles Fairfax Murray

Presented by Charles Fairfax Murray 1912, (1912P44)

Study for Thomas Carlyle in 'Work', 1860 - 1863

Pencil and Indian ink on brown paper, squared up

Prov.: Harold Hartley

(1905P15)

A note on the old catalogue card reads, 'at the house of J R Holliday but not traced by his art executor (Sydney Cockerell) at time of the former's death in 1927.'

WORKS TRANSFERRED TO THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE

The following works were given accession numbers but were never actually received by BMAG, being transferred to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Charles Fairfax Murray (now 776 (1-7)):

A Man proposing to a Girl in a Garden, brown pen and ink (1906P759)

The Leave-Taking before the War, brown pen and ink (1906P760)

Storming a Breach, brown pen and ink (1906P761)

Soldier carried from the Field by his Comrades, brown pen and ink (1906P762)

Soldier invalided home with Loss of a Leg, brown pen and ink (1906P763)

The Soldier telling the Story of his Battles to his Grandchildren at the Seaside, brown pen and ink (1906P764)

Wife reading Gazette during the War, brown pen and ink (1906P765)

A drawing by Thomas Seddon of Ford Madox Brown's *Work* made in preparation for the engraving after Brown's painting was formerly listed as 1906P794 but was never actually acquired by BMAG. It was presented instead by Charles Fairfax Murray to the Fitzwilliam Museum, in 1908 (668).

CONCLUSION

This thesis is the first study to focus on the drawings of Ford Madox Brown. Viewing his career from this perspective has enabled new connections to be made and new areas of discussion to be uncovered. The half discursive/ half catalogue structure of this thesis has allowed in-depth research into the objects in the collection to run parallel to three broader explorations of different aspects of Brown's work. The chapters have been arranged loosely chronologically, with some overlap, giving a sense of Brown's career as a whole. Each one looks at an aspect of Brown's work which has not been the focus of previous study: his early work in Paris; the effect of the changes in historiography on his construction of history paintings; and his career as an illustrator. The catalogue explores and evaluates the largest collection in the world of Brown's drawings and related objects. Many of these works have never been discussed before, and it is hoped that the catalogue will become a valuable aid to academics and museum professionals as well as acting as a spring-board for further avenues of research.

Serious concern with function of works on paper has underpinned this thesis. By making them the focus this study has become part of the international movement, led primarily by curators of works on paper, to raise the status of prints and drawings.¹ This thesis has explored the role of drawing in Brown's work, while his reliance on, and interest in, print culture has also permeated all aspects of it.

¹ In the last five years BMAG has put on a series of exhibitions of Pre-Raphaelite works on paper (*John Everett Millais: Illustrator and Narrator*, 2004; *Hidden Burne-Jones*, 2007 and *Ford Madox Brown: the Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite*, 2008). Likewise in 2006 Leighton House, London, put on the exhibition *A Victorian Master: Drawings by Frederic Leighton*, which toured four additional venues in the UK. The movement is not confined to Britain. In 2009 the Louvre is holding *For the Love of Delacroix* and in 2010 the Metropolitan Museum of Art is putting on *Drawings of Bronzino*.

Discussion has highlighted his use of prints as sources for compositions and historical details, as well as his view of illustration as a useful and enjoyable artistic outlet. Conventionally, the history of art is discussed predominantly through the study of paintings. Yet studying and exhibiting paintings in isolation provides far fewer insights into the artists, their work and the influences, cultural, social and artistic, acting upon them than if graphic art is also taken into account. Additionally, this thesis has shown that the study of drawings is essential to discover if ideas have been changed or discarded, as well as to enable scholars to piece together a work when, as in the case of *Parisina's Sleep* (1842), the painting has been lost. It has also highlighted the importance of works on paper as important objects in their own right. Many of the works in the collection were not made in connection with a painting but as works of art in themselves; the portraits of Brown's second wife Emma, and his published wood engravings are perhaps the clearest examples. It appears that Charles Fairfax Murray, as an artist himself, understood the importance of prints and drawings. When creating his collection he chose to focus on works on paper. He did not restrict himself to those related to more well known projects, notably *The Last of England* and *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*. Instead, he included many whose purpose was not necessarily clear, such as the *Compositional Sketch for an unknown Subject* (cat. no. 154), but which would add to the understanding of Brown's work in other ways. His legacy has enabled this study to move away from the traditional assessment of Brown's paintings and gain a far broader perspective of his achievements as draughtsman, designer and illustrator. The aims of this thesis also shaped the exhibition *Ford Madox Brown: The Unofficial Pre-Raphaelite* and the accompanying catalogue. This collaborative aspect of this PhD has meant that my research is already

contributing to the dialogue in galleries about the status and function of works on paper.

The diversity of the objects included in the catalogue also throws light on the multifaceted nature of Brown's career. Objects relating to his work for Morris, Marshall Faulkner and Co. and those relating to the production of wood engravings reveal that as well as painting, he was interested in producing designs for the applied arts and illustration. The three chapters reflect the strengths of the collection and are able to make links between the works, only suggested in the catalogue. Perhaps because the works on paper in the Birmingham collection have been largely neglected by scholars, the three areas discussed in the chapters have not been the focus of any previous academic research. Chapter one uses Brown's continental upbringing and the works he produced in Paris as the basis for an exploration of the cross-cultural exchanges in which he participated in the 1840s. In particular, it reveals the fluidity of his early style, and his hopes of breaking into two art markets by focusing on the popularity of subjects from English literature in both England and France. Consideration of cross-cultural exchange is not confined to the first chapter, however. In fact, as a whole, the discursive section of the thesis highlights the exchange of ideas across Europe, an aspect often forgotten in studies of nineteenth century 'British' art. Although the focus of the second chapter shifts to preparatory drawings produced for works to be exhibited in England, the strong influence of the Nazarene artists, who worked in the German states and Italy, is discussed in relation to work produced for the Westminster competitions. The last chapter plots Brown's career as an illustrator but in doing so highlights the range of influences affecting illustration in the second half of the nineteenth century, from

the artists working in the German states, notably Retzsch and Rethel, to the new incoming range of Japanese objects available after 1854. By bringing out the idea of cultural exchange this thesis has moved the focus away from Brown's relationship with the PRB and placed him at the centre of a different circle of artists, of which the PRB were just a few. It is his relationships with now lesser known artists in his circle that appear to provide further avenues ripe for exploration.

In particular, research into his friendships with the group of artists who worked in the studios at Tudor Lodge, London, may help shed further light on Brown's career and the state of art in England in the mid-nineteenth century. Chapter one discussed two of the artists who rented studios in the building, Edward Armitage (1817-1896) and John Cross (1817-1896). However, this research suggests that study of the group of cosmopolitan artists who gathered there, as a whole, may yield further insight into European cultural exchanges. This is a task which has not been previously attempted by other scholars. The names of two other Tudor Lodge artists, Mark Anthony (1817-1886) and William Cave Thomas (1820-1906), have emerged during the research for this thesis. Brief investigation has suggested that further study of Mark Anthony's links with Brown would be highly rewarding especially as little work has been done in this area. Anthony received his early training from his cousin George Wilfred Anthony, 'a drawing master in Manchester.'² He subsequently moved to London before studying at The Hague and in Paris 'at the Académie des Beaux-Arts with Paul Delaroche [1797-1856], Ary Scheffer [1795-1858], and Horace Vernet [1789-1863], and in Fontainebleau in 1837, where he was influenced by the Barbizon school, Jean Baptiste Camille Corot

² Ronald Parkinson, 'Anthony, (Henry) Mark (1817–1886)', rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37119>, accessed 30 Dec 2008).

[1796-1875], and Jules Dupré [1811-1889].³ As Ronald Parkinson reveals, on his return to London, Anthony pioneered the technique of painting *en plein air* and this seems to have had quite an effect on Brown's landscape painting. However, as there is only one study relating to Brown's landscapes in the Birmingham collection a full exploration falls beyond the scope of this thesis but certainly holds potential for further research.

Brown shared a studio in Tudor Lodge with William Cave Thomas. The friendship established in the mid-1840s appears to have continued throughout their careers. The influence of Thomas has been discussed, briefly, in chapter two in connection with *The Spirit of Justice*, Brown's entry in the 1845 Westminster Competition and his idea to paint a scene from the life of King Alfred. Brown's early diary entries, in particular are peppered with entries relating to with Thomas. Most involve discussions which often went on into the night ('supped with Thomas & stopped till ½ 1 !!!!') and occasionally became heated: 'walked till 11 with Thomas. Had an argument, tried to persuade him that to imitate the true *tone* of the model it must be painted so that when held up beside it would not be like it in *coulour* [*sic*].'⁴ In 1848 these discussions led to their both writing letters on the state of British art training and patronage to *The Builder*, an architectural periodical popular with artists. Very little has been written on Thomas and further, close investigation of these articles and his work would allow a greater insight into Brown's change of style in the mid-1840s.⁵ Like Brown, Thomas was a friend of the Pre-Raphaelites

³ *Op. cit.* at note 2.

⁴ 16 October 1847 and 18 May 1848 (Virginia Surtees, ed., *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown*, New Haven and London, pp. 10, 41).

⁵ Teresa Newman and Ray Watkinson discuss Thomas' articles, and their work would make an excellent starting point for further research (see *Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle*, London, 1991, pp. 41-43).

and in fact suggested they name their magazine *The Germ*. He appears to be a much neglected figure and as well as throwing further light on Brown as an artist discussion of his ideas may also yield rewards for those wishing to pursue fresh research on the formation of the PRB.

Another area for further study has been highlighted by the research carried out for this thesis. Little scholarship has been undertaken to identify which works Brown saw whilst in Rome between 1845 and 1846. The works he encountered on this trip had a profound effect on his career, and further exploration may well produce exciting results, allowing an insight into Brown's dramatic change of style but also providing a view of the art accessible to other nineteenth-century artists. A focused evaluation of travel guides from this period, notably Anna Jameson's *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters and of the Progress of Painting in Italy: from Cimabue to Bassano* (1845) would provide a firm foundation for this line of enquiry.⁶

The catalogue included in this thesis has looked in-depth at a neglected collection of works on paper and archival material in order to create a resource which it is hoped will be used by scholars and professionals working in the art world. It has also acted as the departure point for the discussion of three areas of Brown's career which have not previously been the subject of major scholarship. However, as with any large collection there is potential for many other areas of research and it is hoped that it will be the incentive for further new scholarship on Brown. This collaborative project has achieved three main aims: to highlight the importance of this rare collection; to raise awareness of the relevance of the study of works on

⁶ Anna Jameson, *Memoirs of the early Italian Painters and of the Progress of Painting in Italy: from Cimabue to Bassano*, 2 vols., London, 1845.

paper as a scholarly subject and to highlight Brown's important role in the cross-cultural dialogues taking place in Europe in the nineteenth century.

APPENDIX

Down Stream

Between Holmscote and Hurstcote
The river-reaches wind,
The whispering trees accept the breeze.
The ripple's cool and kind:
With love low-whispered 'twixt the shores,
With rippling laughters gay,
With white arms bared to ply the oars,
On last year's first of May.

Between Holmscote and Hurstcote
The river's brimmed with rain,
Through close-met banks and parted banks
Now near now far again:
With parting tears caressed to smiles,
With meeting promised soon,
With every sweet vow that beguiles,
On last year's first of June.

Between Holmscote and Hurstcote
The river's flecked with foam,
'Neath shuddering clouds that hang in shrouds
And lost winds wild for home:
With infant wailings at the breast,
With homeless steps astray,
With wanderings shuddering tow'rd's one rest,
On this year's first of May.

Between Holmscote and Hurstcote
The summer river flows
With doubled flight of moons by night
And lilies deep repose:
A white face not the moon,
With lilies meshed in tangled hair,
On this year's first of June.

Between Holmscote and Hurstcote
A troth was given and riven;
From heart's trust grew one life to two,
Two lost lives cry to Heaven:
With banks spread calm to meet the sky,
With meadows newly mowed,
The harvest paths of glad July,
The sweet school-children's road.

By Dante Gabriel Rossetti
First published in *The Dark Blue*, vol. 2, October 1871, pp. 211-212

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Undated

12 Aug 1868

29 January 1869

19 December 1881

Saturday 12 August 1882

Monday 19 February 1883

15 September 1891

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Letter from Ford Madox Brown to Mr Foreman 19 Feb 1886

Letter from Ford Madox Brown to Mr Ireland 9 March 1891

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Sonnets by Ford Madox Brown

'To Ireland,' Brighton, 26 April 1847

'Hogarth's House,' Hendon, July 1853

'Hogarth's Grave' Finchley, 23 September 1853

'Hogarth's Spirit,' Finchley, 23 September 1853

'Hopeless Love' - a sequence of six sonnets with multiple versions; one of these is initialled 'D.G.R.'

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6. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

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