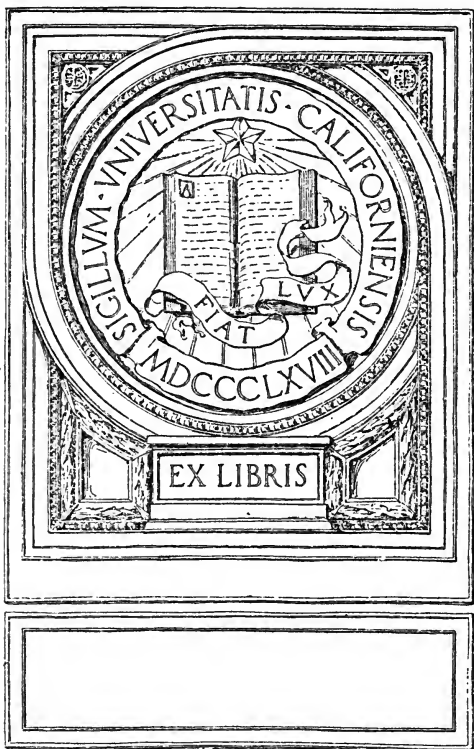


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THE MINIATURE COLLECTOR





LADY GEORGIANA CAVENDISH AND LADY HENRIETTA CAVENDISH, DAUGHTERS OF WILLIAM 5TH DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K. G., AND OF LADY GEORGIANA SPENCER, HIS FIRST WIFE—"THE BEAUTIFUL DUCHESS"
The above: reproduced as colour printing allows the unique possession of Lord Spencer, the original sketch on ivory for the portraits and the finished miniature. By kind permission of The Earl Spencer, K. G.

THE MINIATURE COLLECTOR

A GUIDE FOR THE AMATEUR
COLLECTOR OF PORTRAIT
MINIATURES

BY
DR. GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON

DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY
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PREFACE

SOME apology is surely needed from me, for inflicting yet another book about miniatures upon a long-suffering public; but I hope that this latest work may fill the position that is at the moment vacant,¹ and may supply information that is needed. My chief excuse for it consists in the fact that new material bearing on this, my special subject, is constantly being discovered, and I have here endeavoured—to use a familiar expression—to bring the science up to date. Investigations in archives and records quite often bring to light new facts about miniature painters and their doings, and as an example, there is information in this book concerning Nicholas Hilliard and the gold mines of Scotland, in which he is actually described as Queen Elizabeth's portrait painter, that has only been brought before the public notice in the Rhind lectures delivered by Mr. Warrach during the past few months, having hitherto been buried in the dry pages of a scarce reprint (issued in 1815) of a precious Elizabethan document. Of one miniature painter, who is here described, practically all the information given is new. It has been gleaned from his ledgers, which have lately come into my own possession, and I believe that the list of his sitters, which forms an appendix, may be found of service in identifying many of his miniatures, which at present are

¹ "How to Identify Portrait Miniatures" went out of print this year.

unknown, or have been wrongly attributed to some other artist.

I have not hesitated to refer to some problems as to certain miniature painters, which still await solution, and I have given, I hope with impartiality, the arguments on either side, while I have not scrupled to declare to which I adhere. In the chapter on forgeries, I have, for the first time, put into cold print certain of the methods I have for years adopted in endeavouring to determine the authenticity of the miniatures that have been submitted to me, and I have gone, at some length, into an account of the pigments used by the various artists and of the methods that can be adopted for their identification. It has seemed to me to be right that the material that after many years of experience I have been able to gather together for my own use, should be placed at the disposal of others, especially as one is unable to hand on purely personal experience or insight and can only *assist* the collector in coming to an opinion for himself.

In the Bibliography, I have adopted a somewhat different plan from that I have used in other books, and have given some information as to the importance, or contents, of the books in question, to guide any future purchasers. Above all, it has been my desire, in accordance with the wish of the editor of this series, to make the book one of practical value, to give the information in simple language, avoiding as far as possible, technicalities, or the jargon of a collector, and thus to produce a work which will be useful, I venture to hope, to the person commencing to collect, and will yet not be scorned by those who already own a collection, and desire to know more about the artists who were responsible for their treasures.

The illustrations have been selected in order to give a good idea of the work of the different artists. Many of them have not appeared hitherto in any work on miniatures, and I am greatly indebted to the various owners, whose

names appear on the plates, for permission to make use of the choice examples from their collections which are here reproduced. Others are taken from costly and privately printed works, or from books that are now out of print, and the aim has been to present in chronological sequence the works of all the noted miniature painters and to show in most cases representative examples.

My very hearty thanks are accorded to my friends Dr. Martin Onslow Forster, F.R.S., and Dr. Laing, and to my son Mr. Cuthbert A. Williamson for their kindness in reading my proofs and making many valuable suggestions concerning them.

If I have succeeded in being of some service to those who devote their attention to this delightful branch of portraiture in the study of which I have laboured for so many years I shall feel amply rewarded and the purpose of this book will have been achieved.

GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON.

BURGH HOUSE,
HAMPSTEAD, LONDON,
May, 1920.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
PREFACE - - - - -	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS - - - - -	xi
I. THE ORIGIN OF THE ART - - - - -	3
II. HANS HOLBEIN AND THE EARLIEST PAINTERS IN MINIATURE - - - - -	8
III. NICHOLAS AND LAWRENCE HILLIARD - - - - -	19
IV. THE OLIVERS - - - - -	37
V. JOHN HOSKINS AND HIS SON - - - - -	47
VI. SAMUEL COOPER - - - - -	58
VII. THE INTERREGNUM - - - - -	80
VIII. RICHARD COSWAY, R.A. - - - - -	103
IX. ANDREW AND NATHANIEL PLIMER - - - - -	116
X. GEORGE ENGLEHEART - - - - -	123
XI. JOHN SMART - - - - -	131
XII. OZIAS HUMPHRY, R.A. - - - - -	147
XIII. WILLIAM WOOD - - - - -	156
XIV. THE LESSER MEN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	174
XV. THE END OF THE STORY - - - - -	182
XVI. THE MINIATURE PAINTERS IN ENAMEL - - - - -	187

CHAPTER	PAGE
XVII. SOME FOREIGN MINIATURE PAINTERS - -	200
XVIII. PLUMBAGO DRAWINGS - - - -	205
XIX. THE COLLECTOR - - - - -	216
XX. COLLECTIONS AND COLLECTORS - - -	232
XXI. FORGERIES - - - - -	243
XXII. THE AMERICAN MINIATURE PAINTERS - -	254
XXIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - -	263
APPENDIX : Complete List of all the persons who sat for their portraits to William Wood, 1768-1809, extracted from his private ledgers and never before published - - - - -	275
INDEX - - - - -	295

ILLUSTRATIONS

	TO FACE PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> RICHARD COSWAY (in colour)	
I THE ORIGIN OF THE ART AND HOLBEIN	10
II HOLBEIN - - - - -	14
III OTHER EARLY MASTERS - - - - -	18
IV NICHOLAS HILLIARD - - - - -	22
V NICHOLAS HILLIARD - - - - -	30
VI NICHOLAS AND LAWRENCE HILLIARD -	34
VII ISAAC OLIVER - - - - -	40
VIII PETER OLIVER - - - - -	44
IX JOHN HOSKINS - - - - -	50
X JOHN HOSKINS - - - - -	56
XI SAMUEL COOPER - - - - -	62
XII SAMUEL COOPER - - - - -	64
XIII SAMUEL COOPER - - - - -	68
XIV SAMUEL COOPER - - - - -	72
XV ALEXANDER COOPER - - - - -	76
XVI NICHOLAS DIXON - - - - -	82
XVII THE INTERREGNUM - - - - -	86
XVIII THE INTERREGNUM - - - - -	94

	TO	FACE	PAGE
XIX THE INTERREGNUM - - -	-	-	98
XX RICHARD COSWAY - - -	-	-	106
XXI RICHARD COSWAY - - -	-	-	112
XXII ANDREW AND NATHANIEL PLIMER - -	-	-	118
XXIII GEORGE ENGLEHEART - - -	-	-	128
XXIV JOHN SMART - - -	-	-	134
XXV JOHN SMART - - -	-	-	140
XXVI OZIAS HUMPHRY - - -	-	-	150
XXVII THE END OF THE STORY - - -	-	-	176
XXVIII THE END OF THE STORY - - -	-	-	180
XXIX THE MINIATURE PAINTERS IN ENAMEL -	-	-	192
XXX FOREIGN MINIATURE PAINTERS - -	-	-	202
XXXI PLUMBAGO DRAWINGS - - -	-	-	208
XXXII PLUMBAGO DRAWINGS - - -	-	-	212

LINE ILLUSTRATIONS

SPECIMEN SIGNATURE OF COSWAY - - -	-	-	114
SPECIMEN SIGNATURE OF HUMPHRY - - -	-	-	154
A RARE BOOK ON MINIATURE PAINTING - -	-	-	273

THE MINIATURE COLLECTOR



CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE ART

IT is unnecessary, and not even desirable, in a handbook of this kind, which has to deal with portrait miniatures, that lengthy reference should be made to the art of preparing illuminated manuscripts, even though the use of the word *miniature* was originally applied to the paintings in these MSS., and is still used more or less in the same connection. The student may perhaps be puzzled at the very outset by noting the existence of Bradley's "Dictionary of Miniaturists," and finding that none of the artists alluded to in this volume are referred to in that Dictionary, but he will then understand that the book in question has to deal with the miniaturists, painters, illuminators and calligraphers who were responsible for the illuminated MSS. of early days, and not with those who are now usually termed *Painters of portraits in miniature*. The very word *miniature* offers the first problem for solution. There is little doubt that it was derived from the Latin *minium*, vermilion, the colour used for the heading and initial letters of these MSS., in which small pictorial scenes were introduced. The original meaning of this was afterwards expressed by the term *rubrication*, and then the word *miniature* became applied to the illuminations in the

MS., rather than to the decoration in red lines which surrounded them ; but, after a while, owing to the small dimensions of the work, the word became associated with the French word *mignature*, and so gradually was used with regard to paintings in little, which are with greater accuracy to be spoken of as "limnings." In process of time, the word has really lost its original meaning, and we now speak of a miniature bookcase, or miniature books, or of any object which is of small proportions, and we use the word miniature as an adjective to qualify it, and to express the sense that it is an exceedingly small example of its class. It is not easy to adopt a definition that will be simple and accurate for what we now call a miniature, perhaps the easiest way is to speak of a miniature as a portrait that can be held in one hand. It may perhaps be no bigger than the thumb-nail, it may perchance be as large as the palm of the hand, or even larger, but it must be a portable portrait, one that can be easily held and examined closely. It would be better, undoubtedly, if the use of the old word "limning" had survived. John Crowne's "Country Wit," a favourite play with Charles II. published in 1675, and acted with applause at the Duke's Theatre, in the course of a conversation between two persons styled "Merry" and "Ramble" gives these lines :—

Merry : Cannot you limne, Sir ?

Ramble : Limne ! What dost thou mean ?

Merry : Why limne, Sir, draw pictures in little.

The word survived well into Stuart or even the beginning of Hanoverian, times. King Charles's collection was called "The King's collection of limnings." In an appointment to Queen Anne the miniature painter was styled "Limner to the Queen," and certain documents of the reign of George I. speak of limnings being executed by the King's painters. Pepys speaks of "paintings in little," and this is also a

suitable phrase to apply to these small portraits, although perhaps an awkward one. "Limning" would be a better, but that also we have to trace back to the illuminated MSS. because the word is derived from the French word *enluminer* and that again is derived from the Latin *illuminare*, to paint. It is really impossible to lay down a hard and fast line at the present day for the use of the word, because we use the same word for portraits which differ as much as the tiny enamel by Petitot of Louis XIV. which can be covered by an English farthing, and the portrait of Charles II. at Goodwood which measures nine inches by seven, or the one of the three youths at Burghley which is about the same size, or the circular one of Henrietta Maria, in the Amsterdam Museum, which is over seven inches in diameter.

Now for the origin of these miniatures.

Portraits of living persons appear in some of the earliest of the illuminated MSS. Take, for example, one by Simon Beninck, in a genealogical tree that showed the alliance between the Royal houses of Spain and Portugal, or the picture of Cardinal Grimani by Giulio Clovio in the celebrated Grimani Breviary, or the one of Francis I. on the ratification of the treaty of perpetual peace with England dated 18th August, 1527, or those of Henry VIII. and Philip and Mary which adorned the Rolls of Pleas, in the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster and St. Alban's. All these are well-known examples of single portraits of sovereigns and notable persons, painted upon documents that were intended to be preserved with great care, and which were connected with certain special epochs in the history of the times. There was no idea, when these portraits were painted, of their being used separately, in frames, but they added to the authenticity and importance of the treaty or document in question, and were, perhaps, proofs, to those who saw the document, that it had been agreed to, by the sovereign whose portrait adorned it.

That these early portraits were likenesses of the sovereigns in question is quite another matter. They are not works of very high merit, and in all probability they did not bear a very close resemblance to the persons they were intended to depict, but at the same time, there was an attempt at genuine portraiture, and one feels, in looking, for example, at the Grimani Breviary, that the representation of the Cardinal does depict a Venetian ecclesiastic of the day, and even the type of man we can imagine Grimani to have been. Again, in the Roll of Pleas at Westminster for 1556 there was a certain definite attempt at Royal portraiture, the solemn face of Queen Mary and the supercilious aspect of Philip were both realised by the artist. The portrait of Francis on the first page of the treaty to which the magnificent golden " bulla " was attached is clearly that of a Frenchman, and of one who ruled in his own country, with much the facial characteristics that might be expected of Francis I. Here are evident attempts at psychology.

Gradually, however, more effort was made to constitute these limnings in colour, on documents or MSS., more akin to real portraits, and from the time of Henry VIII. the improvement slowly developed. There is a diploma of Charles II. creating his natural son James to be Duke of Monmouth, with remainder to the Earldom of Buccleuch, dated April 20th, 1663, and this bears upon it quite a fine portrait of the King. The deed was dated at Whitehall, and therefore, though it bears the great seal of Scotland, the portrait was probably the work of some English artist, and, as it very much resembles a painting by Cooper, it may have been painted by some court limner, after a miniature by that artist. From that time we have an almost complete series of portraits of the monarchs of England on letters patent, or on charters. We cannot say who was the artist responsible for any of them, save perhaps in one instance, in which a drawing of Charles II. by David Logan so closely resembles the head of that

monarch on the letters patent of that day that it seems almost certain Loggan must have been responsible for the original drawing from which perhaps other persons made copies for documents and deeds. The same thing occurred in other parts of Europe. There are some interesting sixteenth-century letters of instruction to persons who held high positions under the State of Venice. They took the form of volumes, beautifully and elaborately bound, and on the first page of each was usually a representation of the envoy to whom the document was addressed. His portrait was associated with a representation of his patron saint, and enclosed in an elaborate decorative border, in which appeared the arms of the Doge of Venice and symbolical figures, representative of the republic of Venice, and the provinces which gave allegiance to it. Some of the earliest of these letters of instruction were merely conventional and formal portraiture, but gradually there was a clear attempt to represent the man as he was, and some of them, specially two, dated 1545 and 1550 appointing governors to Cattaro and Bassano, were attempts to represent the man himself, and were evidently painted from life. In these, and in some similar documents of English origin and of about the same period, we have the earliest attempts at portraiture within a very small compass, such as we now speak of as a miniature, and from this point down to the time when there were actual portraits painted in England on documents and when these portraits were cut out and framed is not a long step, and one which will be set out in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

HANS HOLBEIN AND THE EARLIEST PAINTERS IN MINIATURE

I HAVE already alluded to the probable evolution of the portrait miniature from the small portraits which appeared in early manuscripts, and we have now to consider the actual application of this theory.

That there were portraits in these manuscripts is known to every collector, and it is easy to verify the statement by examining the English MS. of the fifteenth century *De Regimine Principis* in the British Museum,¹ which contains the well-known portrait of Geoffrey Chaucer the poet (1370-1450?), in Hoccleve's manuscript.

Again, the famous Sherborne Manuscript, perhaps the finest and most precious in England, which is preserved in the Library at Alnwick Castle, contains in several places the portrait of the illuminator who carried out the work, in about 1400, for the Abbot of Sherborne, John Siferwas, a Dominican friar belonging to an old English family. The same wonderful Manuscript contains also the portrait of the scribe who wrote it, one John Whas, a monk. The portrait of Siferwas appears also in another famous manuscript, the odd pages of the *Salisbury Lectionarium* in the British Museum, which possesses for its frontispiece a portrait of John, Lord Lovell of Tichmersh, who is shown receiving the book from Siferwas who had prepared it. Yet other portraits can be seen at the British Museum, those of Occleve² already mentioned in the act of

¹ Harleian MSS. 4866, f. 88.

² Royal MS. 17, D. VI.

presenting his book to Henry V., and of John Lydgate,¹ the poet (1370?-1451?) on a similar occasion to Henry VI.

In the famous manuscript of Cæsar's "De Bello Gallico" prepared for Francis I. there appeared several portraits attributed by M. Dimier to Jean Clouet (Janet) and of circular form, depicting the companions of the King. In one of the three² volumes in which this great treasure is contained, there is a portrait of the King himself, and such circular miniatures would readily lend themselves to framing if once removed from the manuscript. It seems to be possible that one such portrait was actually so treated, because in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection is a portrait of Charles Cossé, Maréchal de Brissac, which is identical in technique, colouring and size with the portraits of the Preux de Marignan in the MS. of the Gallic Wars and is attributed by M. Dimier to the same artist. This is painted on a piece of vellum, and has an irregular edge just as it would have had if it had been cut out. No manuscript from which such a portrait is missing has at present been identified, but there is little doubt that it did once adorn such a manuscript whence it was cut out in order that it might be framed, and used as a portrait to be carried in the hand or exhibited on the person. It is possible that other famous miniatures of an early period both in England and France may have come from similar sources, but whether this is so or not, we probably possess in the Pierpont Morgan portrait³ one definite example of the origin of the framed portrait miniature.

The idea once started became popular amongst the great people of the day, and it was early in the sixteenth century

¹ Harleian MSS. 1766, f. 5.

² The three vols. are separated, one is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, another at Chantilly, and a third in the British Museum (Harl. MSS. 6205). All three have been reproduced in exquisite fashion in facsimile, see B.M. K.T.C. 28a3.

³ See my Catalogue of the Morgan collection, 1907, III., page 1.

PLATE I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ART AND HOLBEIN.

1. Leonard Bur. By Holbein.
In the Collection of Mrs. Sotheby.
2. Francis I, from the triplicate of the ratification of the treaty of perpetual peace dated 18 August, 1527. Artist unknown.
In the Public Record Office.
3. Queen Catherine Howard. By Holbein.
In the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T.
4. Hans Holbein in his 45th year, dated 1543. By himself.
In the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T.
5. Charles de Cossé, Maréchal de Brissac (*ob.* 1621). By Jean Clouet.
In the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.



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that the art began to come into fashion. In Mr. Salting's bequest to the nation, now exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum, can be seen two delightful portraits of little girls¹ painted in the year 1590, when they were at the ages of five and four respectively. One holds a red carnation, the other an apple, and they were probably the work of Lavina Teerlinck, the daughter of Simon Binninc of Bruges, who certainly painted in England²; in fact at one time there was preserved with them, by their then owner, Mr. Hawkins, a slip of parchment, which I myself saw and read, on which was inscribed a statement that the two portraits were "fynely" painted "by Lavina Teerlinck in 1590 at Greenwich." In some unaccountable and most unfortunate manner this precious riband of yellowish parchment disappeared, when the Hawkins collection was transferred to Christie's, and has never since been seen. These portraits are in contemporary, turned ivory cases, and the parchment was, when I saw it, tied on to one of them. There were other fifteenth-century painters to whom miniatures are attributed, as for example Simon Binninc already mentioned, and Luke and Susanna Hornebolt, but to all intents and purposes the art commences in England with the work of Hans Holbein (1497-1543) who seems to have paid his first visit to this country in 1526, and his second in 1531.

When he actually commenced to paint portrait miniatures it is impossible to say, inasmuch as we have so few dated portraits to guide us, but it is probable that the earliest that has survived is the portrait of Henry VIII.'s

¹ See my Catalogue of the Morgan collection of Miniatures, 1906, I., 20.

² There is an interesting reference to her being at the English Court in 1546:—Mrs. Levyna Terling, paintrix, to have a fee of £40 a year from the Annunciation of Our Lady last past, during your Majesty's pleasure. Preferred by my Lady Harbert. It is to be found in the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII., 1546, Part II., No. 475, Grant 101.

third wife, Jane Seymour, which originally belonged to the Seymour family, and is said to have passed through the possession of the Duke of Buckingham, Horace Walpole (it is believed), Mr. Sackville Bale, and Dr. Propert, and which now belongs to Mr. Vernon Watney. Then would follow the portrait of Henry VIII.¹ himself, in the Morgan collection, which, tradition states, was presented by the King to Anne of Cleves, and the superb portrait of that Queen which forms part of the Salting bequest, and which was probably painted in July, 1539, at Duren, in Cleves, by order of the King. Another portrait of Jane Seymour belongs to Mr. H. Dent-Brocklehurst, and a third to the Duke of Buccleuch, while portraits of two other wives of Henry VIII. are known, if one in the Dent-Brocklehurst collection is correctly called Queen Catherine Parr, and if, as is practically certain, the miniature in the Royal collection and the similar one belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch represent Queen Catherine Howard. Holbein never painted anything more lovely, however, than the portrait of Mrs. Pemberton,² at the age of twenty-three, which is now the chief treasure in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection. It is a work of exquisite beauty and great refinement, and has been identified from the coat-of-arms painted on the back. It also came from the C. H. T. Hawkins collection. Holbein's own portrait is in the Wallace collection, and a very similar portrait is in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch. Both are dated 1543 when the artist was in his forty-fifth year. An earlier, and even finer work is in the Salting collection, and was painted in 1532, when, as the artist himself declares, he was thirty-five years old. Besides those, there are in existence portraits by him of many other persons notable in the court of the Tudor King, as for example Catherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk (collection of the Earl of Ancaster), Queen Katherine

¹ Morgan catalogue, 1906, I. p. 4, No. 2.

² Morgan catalogue, 1906, I. p. 8, No. 4.

of Aragon (collection of the late Mr. Joseph), Chas. Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Henry Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Lady Audley, and Queen Catherine Howard (collection of H.M. the King), and several belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.

For one of the most charming, however, we must go abroad, as the Queen of Holland's collection contains a famous portrait of a young man, said to be the son of a merchant of the Steel Yard, a friend of Sir Thomas More, and tradition gives it that More introduced the painter to his companion, who forthwith entrusted him with this commission, a portrait of the boy, to send to his mother, in Holland. Nobly has Holbein carried out the commission. The portrait is quite simple, without any accessories, just that of a quiet, thoughtful, reflective youth, in a dark claret-coloured costume, with a tiny white lace collar just visible, close up to the neck. As a piece of exquisite portraiture it can hardly be surpassed. Another, in the same collection, represents, I think, Reskymeer, a Cornish gentleman, whose full-length portrait by the same artist is to be seen at Hampton Court.

The collector is not very likely to come across a miniature by Holbein, although of course such a delightful circumstance might occur, and, in fact, only in May, 1918, a portrait of undoubted authenticity representing Lady Mary Howard came up for sale, did not fetch its true value and returned to the collection of Sir Henry Jerningham, where it still is. In this case, the story of the history of the miniature was complete, but, unluckily, the whole of the work now seen was not that of Holbein, as some other artist, perhaps in Stuart times, or in those of Queen Anne, had attempted to repair some damage and had not been wholly successful. As regards the greater part of the portrait, however, it was certainly the work of the Swabian master himself, and so rare are miniatures by Holbein that any collector might well be proud to possess this

PLATE II.

HOLBEIN.

1. George Nevill, Baron Abergavenny, K.G.
In the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry,
K.T.,
2. Charles Brandon, son of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (*ob.*
1551). One of two portraits of brothers. Inscribed ANN 1541
ETATIS SUAE 3 IO MARCI.
In the Collection of H.M. the King.
3. Cromwell, Earl of Essex.
In the Collection of Mrs. Sotheby.
4. A Young Man, name unknown, the son, it is said, of a merchant
of the Steelyard.
In the Collection of the Queen of Holland.



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interesting portrait and to chronicle in his catalogue the long and curious history that belongs to it, and which proved whom it represents.¹

In case a similar chance befalls the collector, it will be well to set down, for his guidance, certain rules. Holbein's miniatures are circular—never true circles, never trimmed quite accurately, but irregular in shape and often with jagged edges. They are on a blue ground, of a quite clear, pure ultramarine blue, distinctive and easy of identification. They are often inscribed, and sometimes signed with initials, and the lettering is in gold or black and in square clear characters. The paint is put on very lightly, and is never thick or lumpy, the modelling is subtle, so subtle that it is difficult to understand how, with a very slight amount of colour, and such very tender shades, so much modelling could be obtained; and the shadows are transparent and white, never very deep or dark. Exquisite is the word to apply to the technique, so dainty is it and so refined. Let it be borne in mind that Holbein died in 1543 and not in 1554, as was for a long time believed, and then it will be clear that he cannot have painted Edward VI. as a young man, inasmuch as that King was born in 1538, five years only before Holbein died. This is an important fact, as there are several portraits of Edward VI. which bear Holbein's name, but which have no connection with him. Again, be it remembered that genuine miniatures by Holbein are very rarely to be seen, but that so great is the eminence of his name that many portraits are attributed to him, therefore the collector must be exceedingly cautious when any so-called come under his notice.

The genuine miniatures are either painted on the very thinnest vellum, mounted on a playing card, or else direct on to the card itself, and never on any other material.

¹ It has just lately passed into the hands of a notable collector in Sweden.

The hair in the portrait should be examined first, as Holbein painted the hair with extreme delicacy and the finest of outline. Next, look for ornaments, because they are always executed with scrupulous accuracy, and extremely sharp definite outline, but they never occupy any but quite a subordinate position in the work. Holbein rivets attention on the face, everything else is subservient to it, and the face is always full of character, invariably at rest, and generally painted with a serious and somewhat pathetic look.

There is no such thing as a vivacious or smiling Holbein portrait, the expression is calm, serious, thoughtful, but not specially alert.

There are probably Holbeins yet to be discovered in country houses, for the eighteen or so that can be readily mentioned are not likely to be constituted his entire output, and there is therefore the chance for a collector to discover one hitherto unknown. Holbein does not appear to have had any pupils or to have founded any school. The men who followed him were very different in their technique, but he probably had some assistants in his studio, and there are several miniatures, notably, e.g., the portraits of Nicholas Kratzer and Arnold Franz and Henry, Lord Stafford in the J. P. Morgan collection which belong undoubtedly to Holbein's period and partake very largely of his method and style and which yet differ from his work. They may quite well bear his name, yet we may be sure that the hand that was responsible for Mrs. Pemberton, for the Queen of Holland's "boy," and for Henry VIII. and Anne of Cleves, to mention no others, could not have *completed* these portraits. There is evidence, to the eye of the expert, in all of them, of a connection, intimate and real, with the work of Holbein, but there is also evidence of the work of another hand, and I believe that these and other miniatures of the same character were produced in the master's studio, under his supervision, and perhaps sketched

in by him, but that some unknown artist—about whom we would gladly have some information—was responsible for very much in them. Of the other artists of the period, Johannes Corvus—the Hornebolts, Jean Clouet, Gerlack Fliccius, Gillam Streetes, John Shute, John Bettes, and Francis Segar, I need say but little here. About all these men our information is exceedingly scanty, and is not very likely to increase, except quite by accident and research amongst contemporary documents, so that the collector may well leave these artists alone and devote his attention to works that are more likely to come before him.

It should, however, just be mentioned that the period boasted also of other artists who did not sign their works and who therefore cannot be identified, for there are anonymous portraits, sometimes dated, in all the great collections, notably in that of the Duke of Buccleuch, differing in technique and colouring from the works of any known men, and although, sometimes, the person depicted can be identified, the artist responsible for the portrait remains in total obscurity.

PLATE III.

OTHER EARLY MASTERS.

1. Lady Mary Sydney, painted on a playing card. Artist unknown. Perhaps by Nicholas Lockey.
In the Collection of the Viscount Harcourt.
2. Henry VIII in his 35th year. By an unknown artist.
In the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T.
3. A Child, name unknown. Painted at Greenwich in 1590, by Lavina Teerlinc.
In the Salting Collection.
4. Called a portrait of Queen Elizabeth and "the only portrait of her in profile." Artist unknown. Perhaps by John Bossam, or by Francis or William Segar.
In the Collection of the Viscount Harcourt.
5. Edward VI. Signed I.S. Perhaps by Gwillim Streetes.
In the Collection of the Earl Beauchamp, K.G.



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4



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CHAPTER III

NICHOLAS AND LAWRENCE HILLIARD

IT is difficult to unravel the complex story of early English portraiture prior to the times of Elizabeth: and especially puzzling to determine the names of the English portrait painters of Tudor times and to attribute to each his own proper work.

As has been pointed out already, the man who stands pre-eminent amongst them was not an Englishman, but a Swabian. Although Holbein settled down and died in this country and thus may be regarded, to all intents and purposes, as an Englishman in the latter half of his life, he does not give us the same interest in English art as if he had been born and bred in this country. Of the others whose names have been handed down to us in contemporary literature, many were foreigners who settled here, and carried out commissions, none of them, with the possible exceptions of Bettes and Shute, can be claimed for England—but when we leave the reign of Henry VIII. and enter upon that of his great daughter Elizabeth, our feet are planted on firmer ground. The art of which I speak was essentially an English one, and Englishmen were those who excelled in it, and made its repute a great one. This is not to say that there were no great exponents of it elsewhere, because Petitot and Prieur, Dumont and Isabey, Guerin and Augustin, are important names in France, Hall occupies an honoured place in Sweden, and is accompanied

by Gillberg and Sparrgren, Füger in Austria is the great name, with Chodowiecki, Dinglinger, and Thienpondt in Germany, Lundens in Holland, Van Blarenberghe in Flanders and Quaglia in Spain. Taking it all in all, however, and remembering that there were scores of minor miniature painters on the continent, and a few great ones in every country, it is in England that we can boast of the greatest men, and here, alone, is there a long line of miniature painters with great names in every epoch, from Tudor times down to the nineteenth century.

Hence there is justification for a pride in the English characteristics of the art. When Nicholas Hilliard, whom we claim as the first Englishman who was really proficient in miniature painting, was born, it would seem easy to say as upon his own portraits at Welbeck Abbey and in the Buccleuch collection he gives us the required information. The problem is, however, not such a simple one after all. On one portrait at Welbeck which is dated 1550¹ and on a similar one in the Buccleuch² collection he describes himself as aged thirteen years, and on another in the Buccleuch collection³ dated 1574 he has inscribed AETATIS SVAE 37, giving us in each instance his birth date as 1537 or 1538. That being so it would appear clear that there must be some error on a self-portrait of the artist in the Salting collection which reads 1577 AETATIS SVAE 30, and which, as Mr. Goulding in the Welbeck catalogue has pointed out, would give 1547 or 1548 as his birth date and would make him only twelve or thirteen when he painted a portrait of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, which is dated 1560.⁴ In view of the fact, however, that, as Mr. Kennedy in his work on that collection points out, this portrait differs in many respects from the usual work of Hilliard and that the

¹ No. 12 in the Welbeck catalogue.

² No. A.A.15 in catalogue.

³ No. B.19.

⁴ Buccleuch collection, A.18.

features are not quite the same as those in the generally accepted portraits of the Protector, it may be doubted whether Hilliard painted it, although its ascription to him "is of a considerable age" and so that difficulty would disappear; but the puzzle will still remain because the figures of the date on the Salting portrait are "clear and untouched" and a mistake of ten years has occurred somewhere! Moreover, it has also been noted, that, if Hilliard was born in 1537, he was sixty-eight when he painted a portrait said to be that of Lord Hunsdon which is dated 1605,¹ but here again, it may be mentioned that Simon Binninc painted his own portrait when he was seventy-five and Petitot was in full working power at eighty. Moreover, there is just a possibility that the Hunsdon (?) portrait was the work of Lawrence Hilliard and not that of his father.

Even so the puzzle is not at an end, but is even increased, when we come to examine the portraits that Hilliard painted of his father, the chief of which is inscribed "Ricardus Hilliard Quondam Vice comes Civitatis Et Comitatus Exoniae 1560"² and the companion one "Aetatis suae 58. Anno Dom 1577."³

This inscription would imply that Richard Hilliard was born in 1519, and if that date is correct, it is rather difficult to understand how Nicholas could have been born in 1537, when his father was only eighteen, although, as has been pointed out, marriages took place at a very early age in those days. We can be perfectly certain, however, that Nicholas could not have painted his own portrait when he was three years old, and by that argument we are brought back again to the date 1537. In either case, we arrive at his birth date within ten years, and of his death we have definite evidence, as it is recorded in the register

¹ Buccleuch collection, A.A.5.

² Salting collection.

³ Buccleuch collection, D.R.A.1.

PLATE IV.

NICHOLAS HILLIARD

(ob. 1619).

1. Alicia Brandon (Mrs. Hilliard) in her 22nd year. Dated 1578.
 - 2, 3. John Croker and his wife.
At one time in the possession of Mr. E. M. Hodgkins.
 4. Nicholas Hilliard in his 37th year. Dated 1574.
- Nos. 1 and 4 in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T.



1



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3



4



of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, under date January 7th, 1618-19.

He was an artist of great repute in his day, as witness the allusion to him by Dr. Donne in *The Storm* written in 1597, where he says—

“ . . . a hand or eye
By Hilliard drawn is worth a History
By a worse painter made. . . . ”

His work is very characteristic in its exquisite and delicate elaboration of all the accessories of the portrait such as draperies, embroideries and lace, while jewels are so represented as to give them almost the distinction and quality of actual precious stones. His faces are flat, lacking in vitality and tone, and distinguished by a weakness almost effeminate, in modelling. It was, however, the fashion to follow the Queen in her ideas of portraiture, and as she objected to shadows, as unbecoming, so the portraits of other sitters were carried out on the same lines, and a curious absence of expression was the result. The excellence of Hilliard's craftsmanship cannot be gainsaid, and his skill in elaboration with its marvellous precise lines and minute handling give to his portraits a special fascination and charm. Moreover, his miniatures are very decorative works and the inscriptions they bear only serve to add to this quality; the ornate shape of the letters, the flourishes and rubrications which accompany them and the gleam of the gold in which they are traced, all increasing the beauty of the finished portrait. They were, it is clear, painted, as to many of them, in the open air, in bright daylight, and hence they lack atmosphere and its consequent mystery. Everything is set out in an equal light, simple and direct, and completed with a precision akin to that of a worker in the precious metals or in gems or stones. The illustrations I give well exemplify these special characteristics of this early painter.

Hilliard was, moreover, as the miniatures prepare us to believe, much more than a portrait painter. He describes himself, on one of his own miniatures,¹ as "Aurifaber, Sculptor et coelebris Illuminator" to Queen Elizabeth, and we have evidence bearing out this statement. He both designed and engraved the second Great Seal of Elizabeth, the order for which was given July 15th, 1584, and the payment made by the lease of some lands to him in 1587. He was responsible also, it would appear likely, for an Irish seal, the drawing for which is in the British Museum, and there is some evidence that he may have been also responsible for executing certain jewels and medals.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that Hilliard practised the art of cutting precious stones. He certainly had a knowledge of such work, and refers to it in the treatise he wrote on miniature painting to which I allude later on.

Inasmuch as his mother was Lawrence, daughter of John Wall, a goldsmith of London, it is possible that he was trained in the mysteries of the goldsmith's craft by his grandfather, as Sir Richard Holmes suggests.²

In a miniature of Queen Elizabeth attributed to Hilliard and preserved at Welbeck Abbey, there is an actual diamond inserted in the orb which the Queen holds in her hand.

There are but few allusions to him in the State Papers of the day, but Dr. Philip Norman, in an article he wrote for the Walpole Society,³ quotes the half-a-dozen leading facts that are known. His appointment as Limner to Queen Elizabeth was continued by her successor, and in 1617 James I. granted him by charter⁴ special privileges in respect to his "Extraordinarie Arte and Skille in Drawinge Gravinge and Imprinting of Pictures and Representation of US and Others." This license was granted for

¹ Collection of Mr. L. Currie at Minley Manor.

² See *Burlington Magazine*, Jan., 1906, p. 229.

³ See Vol. I., 1912, pp. 1-54.

⁴ Rymer's "Fœdera," xvii. 15.

twelve years, and in it he is termed "our beloved servant Nicholas Hilliard, Gentleman, our principal Drawer for the small portraits and Imbosser of our Medallies of Gold." In 1610 he is also referred to as the Painter to the King, and it is then stated that he had suffered from serious illness, but "resolved before he died to recommend the suit of William Labourer, Goldsmith, who has discovered a new mode of repairing highways at half the usual cost."¹

There is also some evidence that at one time he went to France and worked at the French Court, while there painting several interesting portraits of notable French ladies. There was unquestionably an English painter who was employed at that time by the Duc d'Alençon, and who is called in his accounts "Nicholas Belliard," probably a mispronunciation of Hilliard. I have given some information on this question in the Pierpont Morgan catalogue.²

Perhaps even more interesting than Hilliard's pictorial art was the fact that he was an author, and that to his hand we owe a treatise on the art of miniature painting, the first, and in some ways the most important, that was ever written. It was inspired by Richard Haydocke, the translator of Lomazzo, and, although we have no manuscript of it in Hilliard's own handwriting, and only one which was prepared by a somewhat careless scribe in 1624, and was assigned to Hilliard by an inscription upon it in the eighteenth century by the engraver and antiquary, George Vertue; there is yet very complete evidence that it was the work of Hilliard himself. All this evidence is well set out by Dr. Philip Norman in the article in the Walpole volume already alluded to, and moreover, Dr. Norman prints the treatise in full and gives a considerable amount of valuable information concerning its history. Haydocke, in his

¹ State Papers, Dom. Series, 1603-1610, liii. 595.

² See Vol. I., 1906, pp. 24-26.

tract containing "The Artes of Curious Paintinge, Carvinge and Buildinge," compared Hilliard as a painter with Raphael, and then proceeded thus: "For (to speake a truth) his perfection in ingenious illuminating or limning, the perfection of painting, is (if I can judge) so extraordinarie, that when I devised with my selfe the best argument to set it forth, I found none better than to perswade him to doe it himselfe to the view of all men by his pen; as hee had before unto very many, by his learned pencell, which in the end he assented unto, and by mee promiseth you a treatise of his owne practice that way with all convenient speede."

The MS. which Vertue has styled "A treatise concerning the Arte of Limning, writ by N. Hilliard," fills some thirty-two pages out of a MS. of thirty-six pages, which is preserved in the library at Edinburgh University. It is full of information as to how to attain skill in the art of miniature painting, and it describes an interview which Hilliard had with Queen Elizabeth, when they discussed the kind of light most suitable for miniature portraits, and the rule was laid down that shadow was only useful for concealing deficiencies in the sitter. That having been accepted, it will readily be understood that the Queen, proud of her beauty, and believing that in her countenance there were no deficiencies to be concealed, chose, said Hilliard, to sit for her portrait "in the open ally of a goodly garden, where no tree was neere nor anye shadowe at all."

Hilliard also gives us, in the same MS., the receipts for the preparation of various colours, a list of the pigments which he used, and in some instances, the price which he paid for them.

There is another treatise on "The Art of Limning" which has been attributed to Hilliard, but with insufficient evidence, and there is little doubt that this was written by Edward Norgate. It has recently been printed in full, edited from the original MS. and collated with other MSS.

by Mr. Martin Hardie,¹ who has added to the treatise an introduction of great value, in which he has carefully arranged the facts concerning that and other similar MSS., and has given an excellent analysis of the Norgate treatise. This is also fully referred to in Dr. Norman's article already mentioned.

As regards Hilliard's domestic life, it seems clear that he married twice, but of his second wife, who probably predeceased him, we know nothing. His first wife was one Alicia Brandon, daughter of John Brandon, Chamberlain of the City of London, a good-looking woman, whose portrait he painted in her twenty-second year, inscribing it with a statement as to who she was, and with his own signature in monogram, as well as the date and age of the sitter. This very important miniature,² dated 1578, is contained in the Duke of Buccleuch's collection, and it also bears representations of the arms of Brandon and Hilliard, the former on the spectator's right, the latter on the left. The portrait of Hilliard's father, as we have seen, was also fully attested by a similar inscription, and the original silver-gilt frame in which that miniature was contained, and upon which the inscription appears, is still in existence at Penshurst, and is the property of Lord De L'Isle. The miniature itself passed from the Rich family into the hands of Mrs. Claverton, whose niece, Mrs. Thomas Liddell, was its next possessor, and she in turn gave it to her niece Mrs. Sartoris, by whom it was sold at Christie's to Mr. Salting, and it now forms part of the Salting bequest to the Victoria and Albert Museum. A very similar portrait of Richard Hilliard belonged at one time to Walpole, and was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale. It is now in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch.³ This, however, is oval, and the

¹ "Miniatura, or the Art of Limning," 1919.

² Buccleuch collection, B.5.

³ *Ibidem*, D.R.A.I.

lettering and figures are differently arranged to the one in the National collection.

The contents of Hilliard's will are known: there are legacies to the poor, to his two sisters, and to his servant, and the residue of his estate was left to his only son Lawrence.

Commencing with the self-portrait of Hilliard in the Welbeck collection dated 1550¹ and the Buccleuch one of 1560 there are dated miniatures by Hilliard in various collections from 1571 down to 1612, a period of forty-two years with the exceptions of the years 1576, 1580, 1582-3-4, 1587, 1592, 1596-7-8, 1600, 1602, 1604, 1606 and 1611, so that in that long period only fifteen years are definitely unrepresented, and during those, we may be pretty sure that Hilliard was at work, although no dated portraits for those fifteen years can now be traced. It seems also to be probable, as we have already stated, that he was responsible for several jewels and medals in gold.^t

To the latter there is definite allusion in State Papers and Warrants of appointments,³ although no one medal can be definitely attributed to him, but Miss Helen Farquhar, who has devoted close attention to Hilliard's work and to whom I am greatly indebted for information, has ably set forth arguments in favour of Hilliard being responsible for a medal to commemorate the "Peace with Spain," which Pinkerton without any explanation had stated was supposed to be done by Hilliard, and also for the famous Armada jewel now in the possession of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. Her article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* concerning "Nicholas Hilliard Embosser of Medals in Gold" contains all the information that can be gathered up as to this branch of his art; and her arguments, although perhaps

¹ See Welbeck catalogue, pp. 33 and 34.

² "Twelve Medals in Gold." See Privy Seal Book, iii. 62, in the P.R.O.

³ See Rymer's "Fœdera," xvii. 15.

not conclusive, go a long way towards proving the contention she has so ably set forth.

Some interesting information, embracing several new facts concerning Nicholas Hilliard, has recently come to light, owing to the investigations of Mr. John Warrack, of Edinburgh, in connection with his course of Rhind lectures (1919) on Furnishing and Domestic Life in Early Scotland, and he has very kindly permitted me to make use of his notes.

In a work written by one Steven Atkinson in 1619 (actually rather earlier), entitled "The Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland," it is recorded that Queen Elizabeth had a very high opinion of the gold mines of Scotland, and was ready to make some arrangements for working them, provided that she could have an advantage herself therefrom. The entry goes on to say that one Cornelius de Vosse, "a most cunninge pictur-maker, and excellent in arte for trialls of meneralls and menerall stones, sometime dwelling in London, a young man well acquainted with Mr. Nicholas Hilliard, then principal drawer of small pictures to the late Queen Elizabeth, procured the same Nicholas Hilliard to adventure with him into Scotland, and to send his servant and freind as an agent thither, by name Arthur Van Brounckhurst, for at that time there was a great report and fame that went of the naturall gold gotten within the kingdom of Scotland." The record then goes on to state that Hilliard procured a patent which was granted to De Vosse that they might seek gold "without molestation," and then Hilliard and De Vosse together made an "assignment" to Arthur Van Brounckhurst, and he "sett workmen to worke." The patent appears to have had a special provision, by which Van Brounckhurst was admitted to bring to England a great quantity of gold unrefined, and test it in this country. The workmen proceeded to search several moors, and found, it is said, "gold in sondry places," but the record states,

PLATE V.

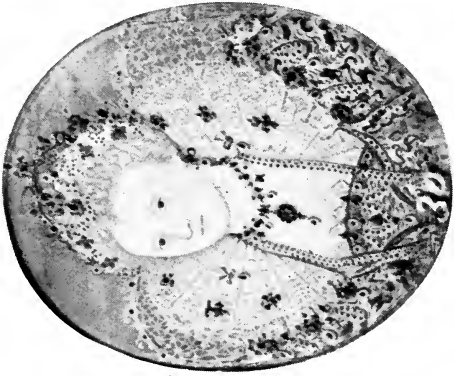
NICHOLAS HILLIARD

(ob. 1619).

1. The Duc d'Alençon.
(See below).
2. Queen Elizabeth.
Collection of Mrs. Sotheby.
3. Queen Elizabeth. This portrait and the one of the Duc d'Alençon, both painted in about 1570, appear at the beginning and end of Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, which belonged to James II., and was given by him to the Duke of Berwick, from whom it passed to Horace Walpole and thence to the Duchess of Portland. At her sale in 1786 it was bought by Queen Charlotte, from whom it came to the Duchess of Leeds, and thence in 1884 to Mr. Whitehead.
It is now the property of the Crown.



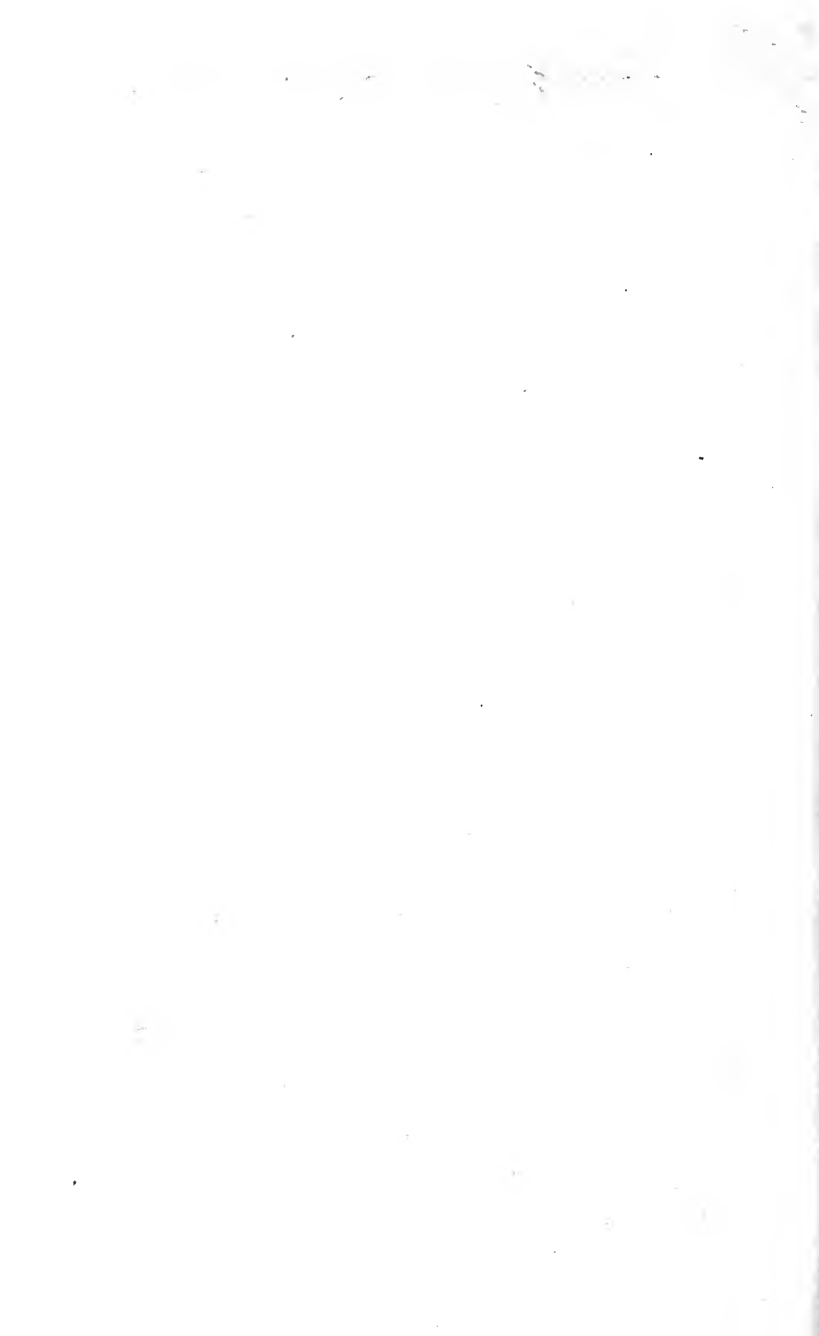
3



2



1



“he was forced to leave it all att the Mint House in Scotland, by speciall command from his Majesty, being then in minority.” Van Brounckhurst was to have had correct valuations made of the gold discovered, and he went into Scotland prepared with what is called “a store of gold and silver” to pay for it. The difficulty, however, of having to leave it in Scotland was a very serious one, and apparently Van Brounckhurst then applied to the Earl of Morton, who was Regent, but he would not give way, although Van Brounckhurst was a suitor for four months, and, says the record, “did not prevail, and so at last he was forced to become one of his Majesties sworne servants at ordinary in Scotland, to draw all the small and great pictures for his Majesty.” “By this means, Mr. Hilliard and Cornelius de Vosse lost all their chardges, and never since got any recompense, to Mr. Hilliard’s great hindrance, as he saith,” concludes the document, “who yet liveth and confirmeth the same.” Mr. Warrack has discovered that Cornelius de Vosse and three other Germans had a loan of £500 from Lord Morton on February 7th, 1574-5, which had not been repaid, and that it was transferred to Esmé, Earl of Lennox, as executor, and was to be repaid by August 1st, 1581. He suggests that perhaps the reason why De Vosse did not get his patent was because this loan was outstanding, and was to be repaid from the gold enterprise. Apparently, the patent *was* prepared, because there is a reference in the Privy Council records to it, under date March 4th, 1567, but it is expressly stated that it was *not* signed by Lord Morton.

The reference to Van Brounckhurst’s becoming one of his Majesty’s servants, and painting the small and great pictures for King James, opens up a very interesting question, because I am not aware of any series of paintings attributed to this particular artist. It has been suggested by a writer ¹ who annotated this history of the gold mines

¹ Gilbert Laing Measen, 1825.

that it was possible that a long series of Scottish kings which at one time hung in the gallery at Holyrood or a somewhat similar series that was at one time in Newbattle Abbey, may have been the work of Van Brounckhurst; but this can hardly be possible, because it is known that De Wet painted the Holyrood pictures in the time of Charles I. and perhaps the other series also. That Van Brounckhurst did paint pictures in Scotland is clear from a precept of September 9th, 1580, signed by James VI., in which, however, he is referred to as "Arnold" Brounckhurst, instead of "Arthur," and which calls him "our lovit servitour Arnold Bronckhorst our painter," and authorises the payment of threescoir four pundis rest and awand to him "for two portraits of his Majesty and one of George Buchanan," with an additional one hundred marks as "ane gratitude for his repairing to this countrey." A "gratitude" is rather an amusing statement, because it appears from the preceding allusions that Van Brounckhurst had no desire to settle down in Scotland, but was compelled, if he saw any chance of a return on his expenditure, to do so.

Of Lawrence Hilliard, named, no doubt, after his grandmother, and who succeeded Nicholas, we know but little, and it is not easy, save in a very few instances where the portraits are actually signed, to distinguish his work from that of his father. An interesting allusion to him was discovered by Mr. Richard Goulding in the Hatfield Papers. It is contained in a letter from Nicholas Hilliard to the Earl of Salisbury, dated May 6th, 1606,¹ and after referring to his having drawn a portrait of Lord Salisbury some five years before, the painter goes on to say, "I found that favour with your Lordship that your Lordship accepted my humble offer of my Soon Lawrence his service to your Lordship and your Lordship willed me to retayne him, still to perfect him more, in drawing which I have done.

¹ Original at Hatfield. See transcription in Welbeck catalogue, p. 31.

And he dothe his Majesty now good service bothe in limned portraits and in ye Medales of Golde. And my hope and humble request is, that your Lordship upon his honorable and good okkasion will let him wayte on your Lordship in your Lordships Lyvery at ye feasts solempnising of St. George." Finally he adds, "I am as yet not hable to go abroade to which makes me humbly bolde to wryte this to your Lordship this 6th of Maye, 1606. Your honors most bounden and most humble at command Nic Hillyarde." In the following year¹ (1607) Lawrence Hilliard was named by the King as "Limner in reversion after Nicholas Hillyard his father," and this was probably the privilege for which his father had pleaded in the letter quoted above.

Another allusion to him is contained in Van der Doort's catalogue, where it is stated that Charles I. received the portrait of Queen Elizabeth, now in the Duke of Buccleuch's collection, from Lawrence Hilliard describing it as "done by Old Hilliard and bought by the King of young Hilliard."

A final reference occurs in 1624 when Lawrence Hilliard was paid £42 from the treasury for five pictures, but the warrant does not specify whom they represented. The half-dozen² signed works by the younger Hilliard which are all I have been able to note are distinguished by the beauty of the calligraphy in which the inscriptions are written and by a richer and more varied colour scheme than that of the older artist. The writing is more florid and is full of exquisite curves and flourishes. I am disposed also to think that Lawrence's painting is not quite so formal, hard and rigid as was that of his father.

Two other pupils besides his son Lawrence are given to

¹ State Papers, Dom. Series, 1603-1610, Oct. 5, 1607, xxviii. 374.

² The three chief are, two belonging to Earl Beauchamp, dated respectively 1636 and 1638, and one in the Pierpont Morgan collection, dated 1640.

PLATE VI.

NICHOLAS AND LAWRENCE HILLIARD.

1. Nicholas Hilliard. By himself.
In the Collection of Mr. L. Currie.
2. Queen Anne of Denmark (1574-1619). By Nicholas Hilliard.
Signed.
In the Collection of the Duke of Portland, K.G.
3. A Gentleman, name unknown (aged 37). By Lawrence Hilliard
(*ob.* 1640). Signed.
In the Collection of the Earl Beauchamp, K.G.
4. Nicholas Hilliard. By himself. Signed and dated 1550, and
inscribed OPERA QVEDAM IPSIVS NICHOLAIS HELIARD IN
ÆTATIS SVÆ 13.
In the Collection of the Duke of Portland, K.G.
5. A Gentleman, name unknown (aged 31). By Lawrence Hilliard
(*ob.* 1640). Signed.
In the Collection of the Earl Beauchamp, K.G.

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Hilliard by Haydocke. In the preface to his translation of Lomazzo on Painting (1598) he refers to Hilliard's "two schollars M. Isaac Oliver for Limning and Rowland Lockey for Oyle and Lim: in some measure." To the former I make particular reference in the next chapter. Whether Rowland Lockey was a brother of Nicholas Lockey, a painter who was responsible for a portrait of John King, Bishop of London, is not known, and there is no information to be given concerning him more than that he is believed to have painted a group representing Sir Thomas More his family and his lineal heirs male, now belonging to Mr. Strickland and of which a fine water-colour copy is in the possession of Mrs. Sotheby.

We do know that a Rowland Lockey resided in Fleet Street, and that he is mentioned by Francis Meres in 1598, among the eminent artists then living in England. It has also been suggested that he and not Nicholas was responsible for the portrait of Dr. King and that Nicholas only directed the engraving of it—but with these few facts our information comes to an end.

In Viscount Harcourt's collection there is a portrait of Lady Mary Sydney which resembles the work of Hilliard but is different in many respects from his ordinary performances and also from those of his son. I am disposed to attribute it to one of the Lockeyes, and perchance also, a profile portrait of Queen Elizabeth in the same collection (both by very kind permission figured for the first time in this book) may have been the work of the other Lockey, although I am more inclined to give it to John Bossam or to Segar.

Shute and Bettes are even more puzzling identities. They are both mentioned by Haydocke, and Shute is usually identified, on the authority of Walpole, with John Shute, the painter and architect, who published a treatise on architecture in 1563.¹ To him I am inclined

¹ See Facsimile of Shute's Book by Lawrence Weaver, Lond. 1912, p. 15.

to give miniatures which appear to be signed with the conjoined initials J. S. or with the single initial S., one a portrait of Edward VI. belonging to Earl Beauchamp, and the other Doña Maria, Infanta of Portugal, who is said on good authority to have been in Paris when Shute passed through that city on his way to Italy.¹ Shute died on September 25th, 1563. There were two painters known as Bettes, John and Thomas, and I attribute to the latter a miniature of the Earl of Bristol in the Pierpont Morgan collection which is clearly signed T. B.² There are miniatures belonging to this same period signed H. J., G. T. and I. S., but no artists have at present been discovered whose names correspond to these initials.

¹ In the Pierpont Morgan collection, see catalogue, Vol. I., No. 22.

² *Ibidem*, No. 79.

CHAPTER IV

THE OLIVERS

IT is rather a curious circumstance in connection with miniature painting, that so often the artists have to be regarded in couples. There were, as we have seen, two Hilliards. There are two Olivers to be considered. Following them, we come to two persons of the name of Hoskins, one of whom was certainly a miniature painter, and the other almost certainly so. Then follow two Coopers, Alexander and Samuel, and there were two Englehearts, and two artists of the name of Lens, two named Beale, two Plimers, two Smarts, two Robertsons, two Petitots, and so on.

Of the Olivers, we possess rather more information than of the artists who preceded them, and this father and son, Isaac and Peter Oliver, took very high positions with regard to miniature painting. They were far greater artists than were the Hilliards. The art made great advances in their hands. The figures themselves lost the flat illuminated style which they had in Hilliard's time. They were far better drawn, possessed of a richer colour and greater modelling, while there was an expression of character and dignity about the works of Isaac and Peter Oliver, which was unequalled at that time in Europe, and indeed has hardly been approached since their day.

It seems clear that Isaac Oliver was of French origin, and was born about 1556, and Dr. Cust has pointed out

that there is some reason for believing him to be identical with a certain Isaac Olivier of Rouen, who on February 9th, 1602, was married at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, to Sara Gheeraerts, and became naturalised on December 6, 1606.¹ He seems to think, and with some reason, that Oliver's father and mother were Huguenots who took refuge in England when Rouen was captured by the Guises in 1562. Sara his wife appears to have been the daughter of Marcus Gheeraerts the elder, by his second wife Susanna de Critz, who was certainly related to John de Critz, serjeant painter to James I. We know that he was a pupil of Nicholas Hilliard, as Haydocke gives us this information in his introduction to Lomazzo's "Art of Painting." Other details which have been discovered respecting Oliver prove that he resided in Blackfriars, that he died on October 2nd, 1617, aged about sixty-one, and that he was buried in the church of St. Anne, Blackfriars, where a monument was erected to his memory, with a bust and epitaph, which was destroyed in the Great Fire of London.² His will was dated June 4th, 1617, and proved on October 30th, and by it his wife was appointed his executrix. He bequeathed all his drawings and lymnings to his eldest son Peter, the artist to whom I make allusion next.

As regards Oliver's work, perhaps his most important drawing is the one he made of Queen Elizabeth, in the richly ornamented robes which are said to have been those in which she went to St. Paul's Cathedral, to return thanks for the defeat of the Spanish Armada. This portrait was finely engraved by Crispin van de Pass, the elder, and it has been stated that the original drawing for it by Oliver is the one on vellum now preserved in the Royal collection.

It has also been stated that he painted in oil, and Vertue,

¹ Dr. Shaw's "Denisations and Naturalisations," 1911, p. 11.

² D. N. B.

in his MSS.,¹ refers to a portrait of the artist himself, painted in oil, and in two other places,² to five different portraits, those of Thomas and William Pope, of Lord Chandos, of Thomas Cavendish, and of an unknown man, all painted in oil, on board, by Oliver, but it has not been found possible to identify with certainty any of these portraits.

His miniatures can be found in almost every important collection, notably in the Royal collection, at Welbeck Abbey, in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch, and in the Strawberry Hill collection, which is now divided between Mr. Wingfield-Digby and Mr. Burdett-Coutts. One of his most notable works is the interesting group of the three sons of the second Viscount Montagu which he painted in 1598, and which was saved from the disastrous fire at Cowdray in 1793, and now belongs to the Marquess of Exeter. There are two fine copies of this group in the possession of Earl Spencer.

The works of Isaac Oliver possess one characteristic in common with those of Hilliard. There is no mystery about them. Every detail of the picture is seen in an equal light, and everything is in similar focus. Like his master, he aimed at elaboration, careful painting of all the details of embroidery, lace or jewellery, with infinite care, and an almost microscopic minuteness, but he had a richer sense of colour scheme, greater vigour in draughtsmanship, and a much fuller ability to represent flesh and to carry out the necessary modelling. Walpole³ regarded him as a genius. He said that in England we "had nobody to put in competition with Oliver; except it be our own Cooper, who, though living in an age of freer pencil, and under the auspices of Vandyck, scarce compensated, by the boldness

¹ B. M., Add. MSS. 23068.64, *old pagination*, really f. 40b.

² *Ibidem*, 23072-131 and 23073. f. 12.

³ "Anecdotes," 1762, I. 153.

PLATE VII.

ISAAC OLIVER
(1556-1617).

1. The Countess of Essex (the poisoner), wife of Robert Devereux,
Earl of Essex. Signed.
2. Queen Anne of Denmark. Signed.
3. Mrs. Holland (1556-1617). Signed.
All three in the Collection of Mrs. Sotheby.
4. Prince Henry, son of James I., as a baby.
In the Collection of the Earl of Dysart.



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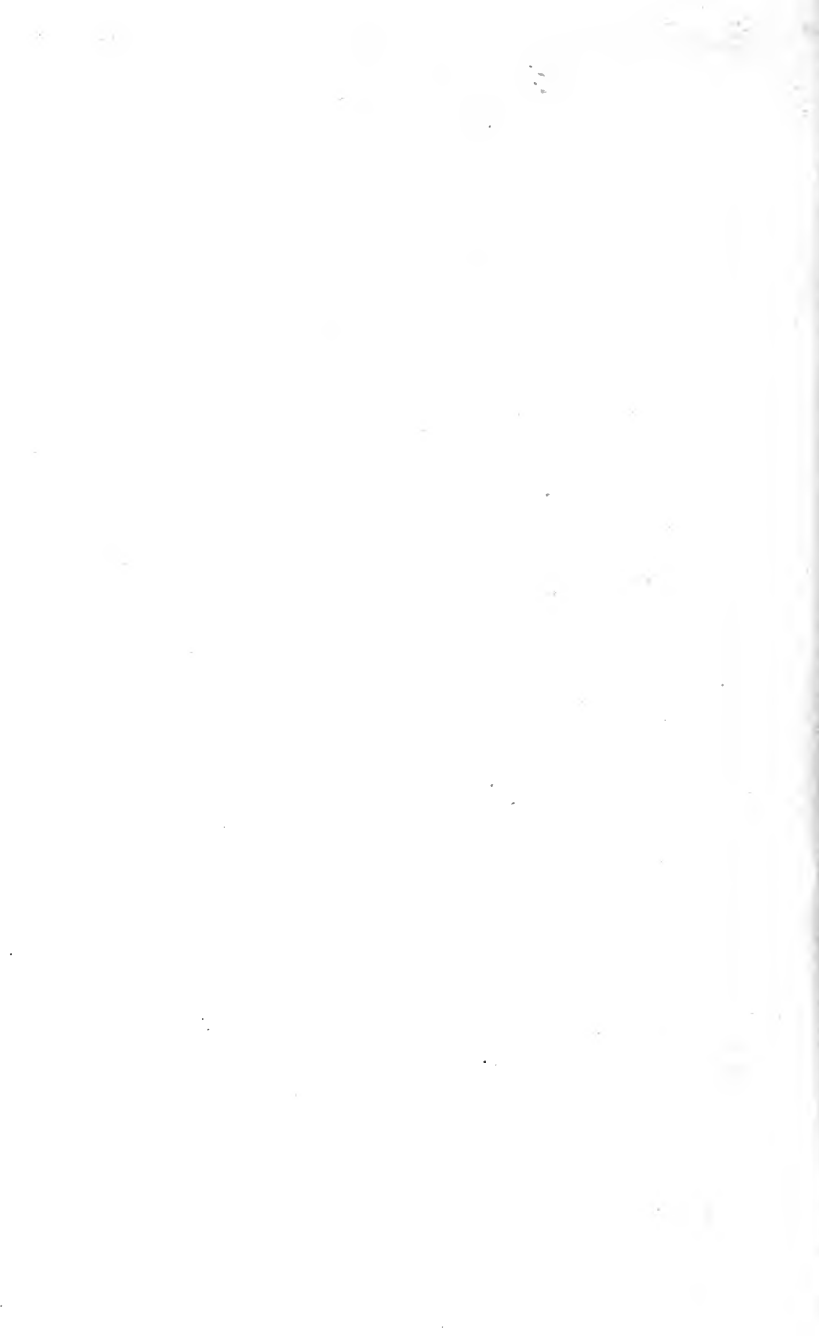
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of his expression, for the truth of nature and delicate fidelity of the older master."

Of his career, we have practically no information, save one detached fact, that in 1596 he was in Venice, because he painted a portrait there of Sir Arundel Talbot,¹ and he gives us the information himself by an inscription on the reverse of the miniature. Mr. Goulding draws attention to the fact that miniatures dated as well as signed are somewhat rare. The earliest he quotes is the Duke of Buccleuch's miniature of Sir John Clench, which is dated 1583, and he then mentions a fine example in the possession of the Queen of Holland, dated 1588. The Talbot miniature is dated 1596, the one belonging to Lord Exeter 1598, a portrait in the Salting collection 1610, another anonymous portrait belonging to the Queen of Holland, 1614, and three are dated 1616, one at Windsor, another at Belvoir, and the third in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Oliver's signature, as a rule, is composed of the conjoined initials I. O., the I. being run through the middle of the O. It is generally to be seen in gold, and as a rule, on the right of the miniature as it faces the observer, very often low down, but there are recorded examples of Oliver's work bearing his own name, two drawings, for instance, at the British Museum, being signed Is. Ollivier. The last work which he commenced, he left incomplete. It was a large limning, representing the entombment of Christ, with a great number of figures. It eventually passed into the Royal collection, where it still remains. It was the subject, Dr. Cust tells us, of unstinted admiration from his contemporaries.

The younger Oliver was Isaac's son, perhaps by his first wife, because it would seem as though Isaac Oliver must have been married at least twice, and possibly even three times. Certainly, his younger sons were under age at the

¹ Now at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

time of his death, and therefore must have been by a later wife than the mother of Peter Oliver, who was born in 1594. The younger man resided at Isleworth, in Middlesex, and there he died in December, 1647, and he was buried on December 22nd beside his father in St. Anne's, Blackfriars.¹ Who his wife was, we do not know, except that her Christian name was Anne. It has been suggested that her name was Morrell, but this has probably arisen from confusion with a kinswoman of Isaac Oliver, one Judith Morrell, who is mentioned in the elder Oliver's will. We do possess, however, a rather interesting story concerning Mrs. Oliver, to the effect that after the Restoration, Charles II. heard that Oliver had made duplicates of most of the pictures which he had painted for Charles I., and finding that the widow was still living at Isleworth, went incognito to see these paintings. The widow declined to sell them until the King had seen them, desiring that he should have the first offer, whereupon the monarch disclosed his identity, and purchased from Mrs. Oliver what she had left, giving her in payment an annuity for life of some £300. It is then stated that on a subsequent occasion Mrs. Oliver spoke in strong language respecting the King's gift of certain of these miniatures to his mistresses, and the information concerning her bold speech was brought to the notice of the King, who thereupon stopped the payment of her annuity. This story was told to Vertue by Antony Russel the painter, whose grandfather, who was jeweller to James I., appears to have been a kinsman, and whose father, Theodore Russel, purchased from Mrs. Peter Oliver such paintings as she did not sell to the King.² There is a portrait of Mrs. Oliver in existence, and a similar one of the painter himself. They are drawings in black lead, made on the two leaves of a pocket-book, and identified by inscriptions. These now rest in the Earl of Derby's collection.

¹ D. N. B.

² B. M., Add. MSS. 21111, 49-50a.

The younger Oliver did not confine himself to painting miniatures. He made a number of copies in water-colour of celebrated pictures by the Old Masters. These were prepared, it is stated, for Charles I. at his own particular request, so that, moving about the country, he might have with him representations of the pictures to which he was so much attached. They were enumerated in the catalogue of the King's possessions, but were scattered after his execution. Six of them, however, still remain in the Royal possession at Windsor Castle.

In regarding his work, we see a still further advance in the art from that of his father. There is more life in the expression, and the portraits show much greater knowledge of character. As paintings, Peter Oliver's works are distinctly finer than those of his father; perhaps in elaboration, in delicate finish, and in minuteness of execution, they do not differ so much from those of the elder Oliver, but the modelling is more firm and solid, the effect grander and more life-like, and the paintings are executed with a greater breadth and ease, which was possibly the result of the artist's having copied so many paintings by the older masters. The Strawberry Hill collection, to which allusion has just been made, contained one or two of Peter Oliver's finest works, notably the portraits of Sir Kenelm and Lady Digby which now belong to Mr. Wingfield-Digby, and the portrait of Sir Kenelm Digby and his family, a copy of a group by Vandyck, which is in the possession of Mr. Burdett-Coutts. His important miniatures are signed with the conjoined initials P. O., and these initials are to be found, as are those of Isaac Oliver, as a rule, on the right of the miniature as it faces the spectator, and low down, fairly near to the edge of the portrait. Dated miniatures, recorded by Mr. Goulding in his invaluable catalogue of the Welbeck collection, belong to the years 1619, 1620, 1621, 1626, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1633, 1634, 1637, 1639, 1640 and 1646. Two years afterwards, the artist

PLATE VIII.

PETER OLIVER
(1601-1660).

1. The Elector Palatine. Signed and dated.
2. Called a portrait of Sir Kenelm Digby, and probably a member of that family. Signed.
Both in the collection of Mrs. Sotheby.
3. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628). Signed.
4. George Calvert, Baron Baltimore (1580?-1632). Signed.
Both in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T.



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was dead. There are more miniatures of the year 1621 than of any other year. Two, representing the Queen of Bohemia and Charles I., are at Windsor Castle, two others, both representing Frederick the Electer Palatine of Bohemia, are, one of them in the collection of Mrs. Sotheby, and the other in that of the Duke of Buccleuch; and another portrait of Charles I. is in Amsterdam, in the Rijks Museum. The paintings at Windsor Castle are those of the Marquess del Vasto and his family, after Titian, dated 1629; Jupiter and Antiope, after Correggio, dated 1633; the Education of Cupid, after the same master, 1634; the Lovers, after Titian, 1637; and St. Luke and the Madonna, 1639, and the Madonna and Child with St. John, 1640. There is also a fine painting of the Marriage of St. Catherine, dated 1639, in the Pierpont Morgan collection, and two good examples of Peter Oliver's work in this copying of old master pictures in miniature can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, while yet another is in the possession of the Marquess of Exeter. Three miniatures by Oliver are contained in the Welbeck Abbey collection.

As a rule, the miniatures painted by both the Olivers are oval, but some are heart-shaped, and in a few instances the portraits are square. The background is frequently formed by a reddish curtain, sometimes by portions of two curtains, one on either side of the sitter. A plain clear violet background is also to be found, and one occasionally appears of dull grey, while the old blue ground, which was almost invariably used by Holbein and Hilliard, was still a very favourite colour in use by the Olivers. Just a few of his miniatures have a brown background, and one, which I saw some years ago in the Emperor's collection at Petrograd, had a background which was nearly black. The elder Oliver frequently painted with a landscape background. There is a well-known portrait of Sir Philip Sidney in a garden, and there are other miniatures by this artist, somewhat similar in character; for example, a por-

trait of the Earl of Essex and his wife, which was at one time at Castle Howard, represented the two seated in their garden. The sons of Lord Montagu are depicted standing in a panelled room, and Lord Dorset, whose portrait is to be seen at South Kensington, is shown seated at a table in his own room. These varieties are mentioned in order that it may be seen how the Olivers began to break away from the tradition of a simple portrait on a blue background. One further matter should be mentioned, and that is with regard to the painting of the hair. Both the Olivers, but especially Isaac, frequently represented the hair in the portraits of women as falling thickly over the shoulders, and the hair itself is painted in soft, flocculent masses, quite different from the definitely outlined way in which Holbein or Hilliard painted it, and different even from the way in which the same two artists as a rule treated the hair of their men sitters. It would look as though the fine, rich hair of a woman appealed very strongly to both artists, and, desirous of presenting it gleaming with light and shown in an airy, transparent manner, they altered the accepted technique, and adopted one peculiar to themselves. This course was not followed by those who succeeded them, and it was left for the eighteenth century, and especially for Cosway, to treat the hair of women in portraits in somewhat similar fashion to that which a couple of generations before had been adopted by the Olivers, father and son.

CHAPTER V

JOHN HOSKINS AND HIS SON

THE next two miniature painters to be considered are the father and son who bore the same name, John Hoskins, and in considering them, we are at once face to face with a difficulty. It has not been accepted by all writers on miniature painting that there were these two painters named Hoskins, and it would be well to give some space to a brief consideration of the arguments concerning their existence.

William Sanderson, in his "Graphice," published in 1658, in a list of artists, writes thus: "For Miniture or Limning in water Colours Hoskins and his Son the next modern since the Hilliards, Father and Son; those Pieces of the Father (if my judgment faile not) incomparable." This is reasonably definite evidence of the existence of two men, both of them painters. George Vertue gives us the same information. In describing the miniature belonging to Lord Oxford in one of his MSS., he writes about it as "so well done in drawing colouring and finishing that he [Flatman] may well deserve the Title of a Master in the Art of Limning and indeed equal to Hoskins senior or junior and next in immitation of Samuel Cooper."¹ Samuel Redgrave, in his Catalogue of the Miniatures at South Kensington in 1865,² states that the younger Hoskins

¹ B. M., Add. MSS. 23072.74 *old pagination*, and Welbeck catalogue, p. 94.

² Page 293

painted a portrait of James II. in 1686, but he gives no authority for this statement, and therefore its accuracy cannot easily be checked. These are the only three definite statements concerning the existence of two painters of the same name of which I am aware, but the proof that a second John Hoskins did live is to be found in the will of the John Hoskins who died in the February of 1664-5, from which it would appear that the testator bequeathed to his son John £20 for a ring or to be expended otherwise as he should think fit.

I was inclined to think at one time that the question whether the younger Hoskins was a painter of miniatures had been settled by the existence of a portrait of James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick, painted in 1700, which was signed Hoskins.¹ I am afraid, however, that the evidence is not quite definite, because the costume of the person represented in the miniature, who certainly does resemble other portraits of the Duke of Berwick, although not very closely, hardly coincides with the period of 1700, and is much more like that of the period which lasted from 1660 up to 1670. The inscription on this particular miniature must not, however, be hurriedly cast aside, for the arms on the portrait are undoubtedly those of the Duke of Berwick. The inscription also appears wholly original, and to have been executed at the same time as the arms, and the Duke of Berwick would have been, as it states, twenty-nine in 1700. If it is to be accepted as proving the existence of the younger Hoskins, this implies that he was living in 1700, an even later date than that mentioned by Redgrave. At present no one has been able to find the will of this second John Hoskins, nor any proof of when his death took place. The elder Hoskins, we know, died in February, 1664-5, and he is expressly termed "the limner," but although, as we have seen, he mentioned his

¹ Morgan catalogue I. p. 86.

son in his will, he does not say that he was following the same profession, and we have no clear proof at present that the younger Hoskins was a miniaturist, beyond the statements made by Sanderson and Vertue, to which allusion has just been made. I think, however, that it ought to be taken for granted that Sanderson was speaking of what he knew, and Vertue was a reliable observer, who was not in the habit of making statements which cannot be verified. I believe, therefore, definitely, not merely in the existence of a younger Hoskins, but in the fact that he was a miniature painter, and this regardless of the doubt thrown upon his existence by some other writers, notably by Mr. J. J. Foster in his book on Samuel Cooper.

In considering the separate existence of the two men, I am disposed to think that the opponents of the theory that both were miniature painters, have ignored the evidence of Sanderson, which is very definite and is also contemporary.

There is one more piece of evidence that ought perhaps to be mentioned. Several of the miniatures in Lord Dysart's collection at Ham House have inscriptions written on the back of them which speak of the artist as "Old Hoskins." One, and one only, has a similar inscription, which refers to "Young Hoskins." Some of these inscriptions are, in my opinion, contemporary, others perhaps are not so. They have been compared with the writing of various members of the owner's family, and they do not resemble it. The owner himself regards them as very early inscriptions, and says that they have nothing whatever to do with his family, so far as he knows. They do not carry us very far, but they do imply the existence of two painters of the same name, who were, when these inscriptions were written, currently known as "Old Hoskins" and "Young Hoskins."

It has also been stated that Young Hoskins painted a portrait of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. That portrait,

PLATE IX.

JOHN HOSKINS
(one died in 1665).

1. Sir Benjamin Rudyard. Signed and dated 1664.
In the Collection of Mrs. Sotheby.
2. Charles I (1600-1649). Set with a companion portrait of Queen
Henrietta Maria in a fine enamel case by Toutin.
In the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.
3. Sir John Maynard (1602-1690).
In the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.



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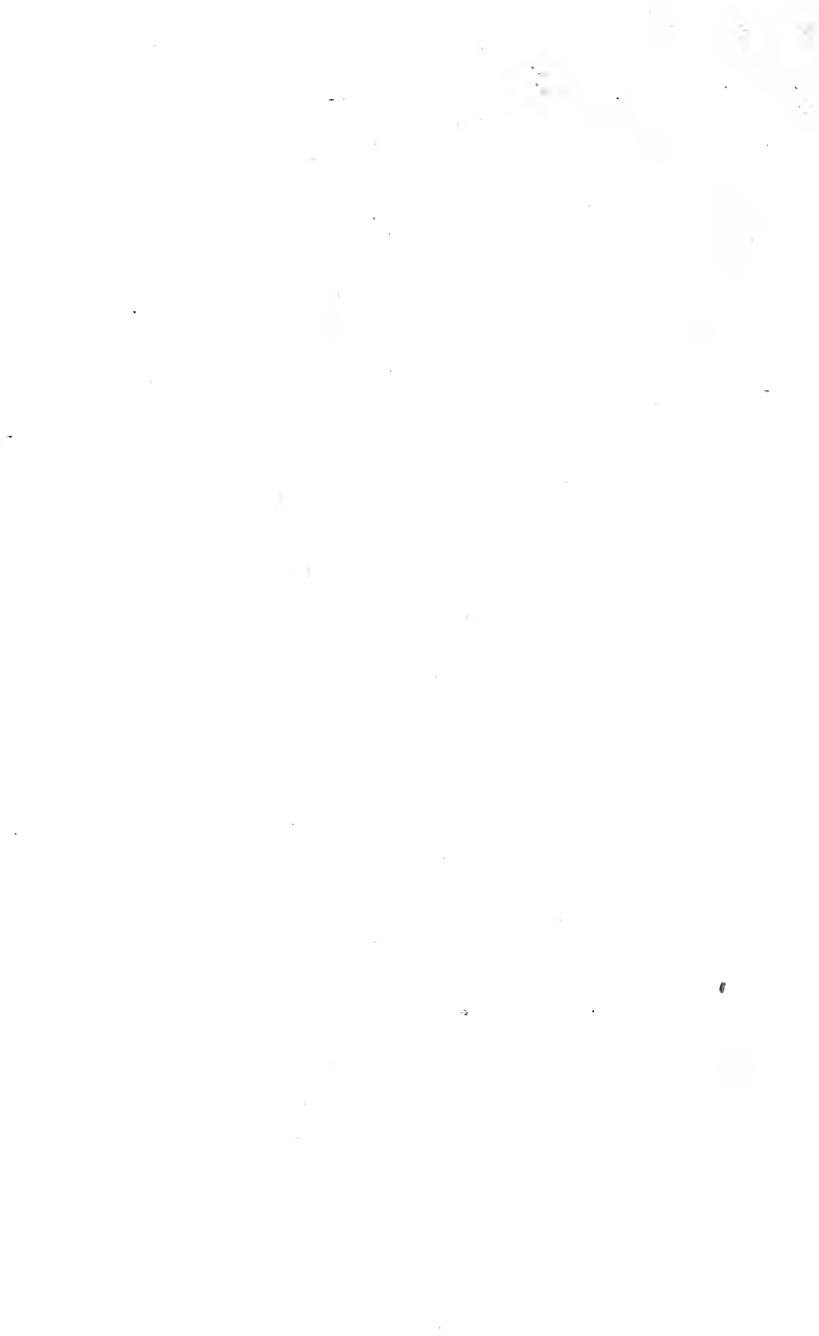


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which is in the collection of Mrs. Sotheby, is dated 1663. It does not resemble, in its technique, the work of the miniatures which were undoubtedly painted by the elder Hoskins in the period extending from 1630 down to 1650, and it seems almost certain that it was painted by another artist of the same name ; if so, there is but little doubt that the artist was the younger Hoskins.

As to whether we can distinguish the works of the father from those of the son by the difference in the signature is quite another matter. Vertue says that the father signed his name in monogram, and that the initials of I. H., standing separately with several curious variations, were those of the son. On the whole, I think Vertue was right. Most of the miniatures that are signed with the joint initials are certainly earlier, as Mr. Goulding¹ has pointed out, in point of date, than those bearing the signature J. H. Just a few, as he says, are contemporary with the early specimens marked I. H., and he adds that, with the exception of two miniatures painted in oil, he had seen none signed with the monogram which belong to a period later than 1630-40. The implication, therefore, is, that the elder Hoskins signed with the conjoined initials, and the younger with the initials separately, and not conjoined, or conjoined in a different fashion, not forming a monogram. The father's monogram is the H. with the I. run right through it.

Of the life of Hoskins himself, we know practically nothing. All we can say is that he was the uncle of Alexander and of Samuel Cooper, who were his pupils, that he made two drawings for the Great Seal of Charles I. which were preserved in the Royal collection, that he died in February, 1664/5, and was buried in St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden. The only two contemporary allusions to his actual work that Mr. Goulding in his researches was able to find are,

¹ Welbeck catalogue, p. 37.

first, one which appears in the account book of John Holles, the first Earl of Clare, which is preserved at Welbeck Abbey. In this it is stated that Lord Clare paid £14 "to Hoskins ye picture-drawer for 2. pictures in little." The other is a similar reference which is to be found in the Duke of Rutland's papers respecting the payment of £15 in 1658 to Hoskins for a portrait of Lord Roos.¹

It has even been suggested that there may have been three men bearing the name of John Hoskins, two of whom were limners. Mr. Kennedy points out that we know, from an entry in Pepys' Diary, that "Mr. Cooper's cosen Jacke" Hoskins was alive in 1668, and it is probable that he was still living in 1672, as he is mentioned in Cooper's will, which was proved in the July of that year. We know of no example of Hoskins' work later than 1663, and if the "cosen Jacke" was the artist who signed I. H., it is curious that there should be nothing in existence signed later than 1663. On the other hand, if it was "cosen Jacke's" father who died in 1664-5, we have to imagine the existence of a grandfather who painted miniatures. Two of the miniatures in the Duke of Buccleuch's collection appear to give us portraits of a John Hoskins the elder and a John Hoskins the younger. One, which is called a self-portrait of the artist, was engraved in 1802, as a portrait of John Hoskins the elder, and has at the back of it another representation of the same person as the central figure of a group with his wife and four children, perhaps representing the whole Hoskins family. The other, generally called a portrait of a man unknown, has the work "IPSE" in gold letters under the signature and date 1656, and this may surely be accepted as a self-portrait of the younger Hoskins.

I do not pretend to be able to distinguish with any certain degree of accuracy between the work of the two

¹ Hist. MSS. Com. Duke of Rutland's MSS., Belvoir Castle, Vol. iv. 540.

men. I am convinced in my own mind that there were two (even if not three), and in all probability their work could be distinguished by their signatures, but one special difficulty is in the way. The examples signed I. H. in monogram are hardly any of them dated. The examples signed H. the first stroke of which is surmounted by a dot, are also hardly any of them dated; in fact, I only know of two, one dated 1638, and one 1644, but of those signed J. H. with two separate letters, there are a long series of dated miniatures, beginning with 1632 and ending with 1663. In all probability, many of these were the work of the younger man, but at present we have no proof of it. Probably the portrait of Lord Roos painted in 1658 was by the younger Hoskins. The monograms, whichever form they assume, are not very easy at times to identify, as they are often painted in black on the darker part of the background, and the miniature has to be held sideways, so that the light may reveal the letters, which are frequently on the left of the miniature, facing the spectator, and not on the right, as the initials of the Olivers were usually placed. Sometimes they are placed so exceedingly close to the edge of the portrait that they are partially obscured by the frame, and in such instances, it is desirable that the miniature should be unframed, and the signature, in whatever form it is, will be exposed.

Richard Graham, in his appendix to the "Art of Painting," 1695, tells us that Hoskins "was bred a face painter in oil, but afterwards taking to miniature, far exceeded what he did before." As to his work, it is certainly of very high merit. His colour scheme is more quiet and sober than that of his predecessors, and his miniatures, as a rule, are simple and dignified; sometimes they may almost be termed magnificent; they are so broad in their execution, and so powerful. Simplicity and dignity in fact are the keynotes in Hoskins' work. His colouring is sometimes a little crude, but on the whole quiet and sober, while

the presentation of character is true, and invariably serious. In flesh tints, he favoured a peculiarly ruddy, rather brick-dust hue, which has at times become brown by the effect of light. His backgrounds are cloudy, or with foliage, or else of a peculiarly blue mottled effect, sometimes, but very rarely, with a curtain. There is no such thing, so far as I have ever seen it, as a smiling Hoskins, but many of his portraits may be termed pathetic, notably one belonging to Lord Exeter, of Charles II. as a boy. His faces are almost always thoughtful, those of women demure and quiet, those of men, serious, as befitted the times in which the artist lived. The largest miniature which Hoskins ever painted, perhaps one of his finest (by some critics it has been claimed as his very finest), is a portrait of Catherine Bruce, Countess of Dysart, painted in 1638. It is rectangular, and enclosed in the original box or casket in which it was first put. Whether the artist was peculiarly proud of this fine miniature, and thought it the best work he had ever executed, we cannot tell, but he signed it in a way in which, so far as my present information goes, he signed no other miniature, putting his name as "Hoskin" and elongating the first stroke of the "H" into a "J," so as to form a kind of monogram.

Other fine examples of his work exist in the collections of the Duke of Buccleuch, the Duke of Rutland, in the Royal collection and in those of the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Pierpont Morgan and Mrs. Sotheby. Among the treasures of the Pierpont Morgan collection are the portraits of Charles I. and Queen Henrietta Maria, painted by Hoskins, set in a wonderful enamelled case by Toutin.¹ The case is of peculiar interest, because the very etching for it is known still to exist. Another is a delightful portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria, in a contemporary frame, of a

¹ Morgan catalogue, I. p. 83.

very unusual shape, oval, divided into curved segments, the lines of which are closely followed by the bevelled glass in the frame, which is probably the original glass for the portrait.¹ The only other large miniature by Hoskins which is in any way comparable with the one at Ham House is another portrait of this same Queen, a large oval one at the Rijks Museum in Amsterdam.

Just occasionally, Hoskins varied his quiet, solemn scheme of colour for something a little brighter. Mr. Morgan has in his collection a portrait of Sir Charles Lucas,² signed by Hoskins with two separate initials and dated 1645, in which, across the white costume, has been thrown a rich crimson and gold scarf, with a very brilliant effect. This also is contained in its original frame, an enamelled locket, probably made as a memorial of Lucas for some member of his family, and having a representation of a man and woman standing near to their tombs, and crowned with a crown of martyrdom by an angel who is shown descending from the sky.

A portrait a little larger than usual is also one of the treasures of the Pierpont Morgan collection, and represents Moll Davis,³ whom Pepys declared to be a bastard daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire, and whom he pronounces "the most impertinent slut in the world." Before she attracted the attention of King Charles II. she used to perform in various plays, and was particularly celebrated for singing, with much feeling, the new song "My lodging is on the cold, cold ground." The title of this song gave point to many of the witty remarks that were made respecting her later life. She was the woman whom Nell Gwynn so hated, and on one occasion when they were supping with the King, Nell mixed a quantity of jalap with the sweetmeats which Moll Davis was eating, and by this means is said to have produced a revulsion

¹ Morgan catalogue, I. p. 84. ² *Ibidem*, p. 82. ³ *Ibidem*, p. 81.

PLATE X.

JOHN HOSKINS
(one died in 1665).

1. Queen Henrietta Maria (1609-1669).
In the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.
2. Called Rachel de Ruvigny, Countess of Southampton (1603-1639-40). Signed and dated 1648.
In the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T.



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of feeling on the part of the King, which was the immediate cause of her loss of royal favour. She was the mother of Lady Mary Tudor, who afterwards became the Countess of Derwentwater. She was not a beautiful creature, to judge, at least, from the big miniature which Hoskins painted of her, representing her in a bright blue costume turned up with yellow, and with auburn hair. In this particular case, the background is formed by greenish blue curtains, but a patch of the blue light that Hoskins so much loved can be seen in the background.

As an example of Hoskins' more dignified work, the portrait of Sir John Maynard¹ in the same collection may well be referred to. Here we get in the background the landscape with a tree, which Hoskins was almost the earliest painter to introduce, not quite the first of course, because Oliver introduced a garden, but a little patch of landscape with a single tree was really the idea of Hoskins, and was a very favourite scheme in his work.

There are two examples of Hoskins' work to be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum, one signed with the monogram, the portrait of a gentleman, name unknown, and another, which is not quite in its original condition, and represents Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke. This latter forms part of the Jones bequest. There is one portrait by him of Viscount Conway, dated 1653, in the Wallace collection, but the majority of his miniatures are in private hands, and contained in the collections already mentioned.

Particular care in purchasing miniatures by Hoskins must be taken to see that they have not been touched up. There is hardly any miniature painter's work amongst the earlier painters whose portraits are easier to touch up than are those of Hoskins, and very often the blue, especially of costume, or sky, or gown, has been altered or repainted. This, it will readily be recognised, means a grievous deterioration in the value of the portrait.

¹ Morgan catalogue, I. p. 79.

CHAPTER VI

SAMUEL COOPER

SAMUEL COOPER was the most important painter of miniatures in the English School, indeed I may almost call him the greatest painter of miniatures who has ever lived. I think in taking this view, I should be supported by most of the authorities on the subject; almost all unite in considering the works of Cooper the most notable miniature portraits that have ever been executed.

Of the life of the man himself, we have not very much information. He was born in London in 1609, and trained, with his brother Alexander, by their uncle, John Hoskins, who is declared to have become jealous of him, as very speedily he surpassed his master in skill. Aubrey, in his "Lives of Eminent Men," calls Samuel Cooper "the prince of limners," and says that he "drew his pictures as like as art could afford," and goes on to add of a portrait of Thomas Hobbes that it was "one of the best pieces that ever he did which His Majesty at his return bought of him, and conserves as one of his greatest rarities in his closet at Whitehall."

Graham, in his "Short Account of the Most Eminent Painters," goes still further, adding that Cooper was "equal to the most famous Italians," and adds that "hardly any one of his predecessors has ever been able to show so much perfection in so narrow a compass." He gives us the additional information that Cooper was a

musician, saying that "answerable to his abilities in this art was his skill in Music, and he was reckon'd one of the best lutenists, as well as the most excellent limner in his time."

John Evelyn, in his Diary, has an interesting allusion to Cooper, whom he calls "ye rare limner." He tells us that Cooper was called to make the drawing of the King's face and head from which the designs for the new coinage were to be made and that he had the honour to hold the candle while Cooper was preparing the crayon drawing, "he (Cooper) choosing the night and candlelight for the better finding out the shadows."

It is from Pepys,¹ however, that we obtain the most important references to Cooper, although, unfortunately, the portrait he is declared to have painted for the diarist of Mrs. Pepys cannot now be identified. As recently as in September, 1850, it is stated to have been in existence, but what has become of it since that date, no one seems to know. Pepys tells us that he called on Cooper on July 1st, 1668, "to know when my wife shall come and sit for her picture," and he goes on to tell us that on the 6th of the same month she gave her first sitting to the artist, Pepys himself, W. Hewer and Deb, Mrs. Pepys' maid, being present on that occasion. He then speaks of Cooper as "a most admirable workman and good company." A couple of days later, Pepys is again to be found at Cooper's studio in Henrietta Street "with my wife to Cooper's and thus saw her sit and he do do extraordinary things indeed." Two days later, the portrait was nearly completed, and he makes the following entry: "To Cooper's, and there find my wife and W. Hewer and Deb sitting and painting, and here he do work finely, though I fear it will not be so like as I expected." Three days more passed, and by that time the portrait has become much more like the sitter. Pepys

¹ Wheatley's edit. viii., pp. 55, 56, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65 and 78.

was more pleased and thus writes: "July 13 to Cooper's and spent the afternoon with them; and it will be an excellent picture," and then finally on August 10th, he makes this entry in his diary: "To Cooper's, where I spent all the afternoon with my wife and girl, seeing him make an end of her picture, which he did to my great content, though not so great as I confess, I expected, being not satisfied in the greatness of the resemblance, nor in the blue garment, but it is most certainly a most rare piece of work as to the painting. He hath £30 for his work—and the chrystal and case and gold case comes to £8 3s. 4d. and which I sent him this night, that I might be out of his debt." ¹

The other reference that Pepys makes to Cooper emphasises the statement Graham had given us as to the artist's capabilities in music. "Now I understand," writes Pepys, "his great skill in musick his playing and setting to the French lute most excellently and he speaks French, and indeed is a most excellent man." ² The allusion to his knowledge of the French language bears out the statement Walpole makes in which he tells us that Cooper lived long in France and Holland. It is, however, somewhat curious that, if this was the case, we know so very little of the miniatures painted by Cooper on the Continent, and few examples of his work are to be found in foreign collections, with the exception of those belonging to the Queen of Holland, the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam, and an important private collection in Sweden. On the other hand portraits by him abound in all the chief English collections, and the majority of the portraits which bear his signature are those of Englishmen or Englishwomen.

It is well known that it was Cooper who painted the most notable portrait of Oliver Cromwell, and the story has often been repeated how the Protector caught Cooper

¹ Wheatley's edit. viii. p. 78. ² *Ibidem*, p. 64.

making a copy for himself of the portrait and took it away from him. The original drawing is said to be the one in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, and the copy, that which is now in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch. It is to one of these portraits that Walpole refers in the oft-quoted passage in which he says that "if a glass could expand Cooper's pictures to the size of Vandyck's, they would appear to have been painted for that proportion." This passage appears in a lengthy account of Cooper's works which Walpole gives in his "Anecdotes of Painting" when he states that the miniaturist owes a great part of his merit to his careful study of the works of Vandyck, "but yet," says he, "may be called an original genius as he was the first who gave the strength and freedom of oil to miniature." "Cooper's miniatures," he says again, "are so bold that they seem perfect nature, only of a less standard."¹

There is unfortunately very little to add in the way of information concerning Cooper's life. We know that he lived in Henrietta street, Covent Garden, then a fashionable part of London. We know also that he had flattering verses addressed to him by a certain Mrs. Katherine Philips (1631-1664), a writer of verses, known in her day as the "matchless Orinda," and actually spoken of as the greatest poetess of which England could boast, and there are various other allusions to him, praising his work, in writings of the day. Of his actual career, however, we have very little knowledge at all, until the close of his life, and then the Duke of Rutland's papers at Belvoir reveal to us some facts about his last illness. In January, 1672, he had painted a portrait of John Cecil, fourth Earl of Exeter, and a desire had been expressed by Lord Exeter that he should execute a companion miniature of his wife.

¹ Walpole's "Anecdotes," Dallaway edition, II. 145.

PLATE XI.

SAMUEL COOPER
(1609-1672).

1. John, Earl of Loudoun (1598-1662).
2. James, Duke of Monmouth (1649-1685).
Both in the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.



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This was never completed, however, and we learn the fact from two letters. On April 9th, 1672, Mr. Charles Manners wrote a letter to Lord Roos, in which the following words appear: "I will hasten on Mr. Cooper all I can to the finishing of my Lady Exester's picture, and hee will surely doe it, God willing, but at the present the King and the Duke have put severall things into his hands, which take him off from all else." Probably, however, many of these several things were never executed by Cooper, for in a little more than a month, actually on May 4th in the same year, Mr. Manners wrote again to Lord Roos, and in that letter says, "It hath bin impossible for mee to sende my Lady Exester's picture though Mr. Cooper promised with all imaginable respect and kindeness to finish it out of hand, and actually began it, but just then fell dangerously sicke, and was confyned to his bed, and I very much feare hee cannot possibly outlive 3 days. If hee should live, your Lordship shall have it surely exactly compleated, if hee dye I shall redemaunde that which was put into his hands, and sende it to your Lordship."¹ As a matter of fact, however, we know, from Mary Beale's diary, that Cooper died the very day after this letter was written, as she writes on Sunday, May 5th, 1672, "Dyed this day Mr. Samuel Cooper, the most famous limner of the world for a face," and therefore the miniature of Lady Exeter was never completed, and there is no evidence to show that even the sketch commenced by the artist ever came into Lord Exeter's hands.

He had been appointed limner to Charles II., and the Exchequer accounts speak of the office he held and of the stipend he received from it.² On his decease we learn that the King was graciously inclined to grant Mrs. Cooper £200 per annum for her life, she, it is said, having agreed

¹ Morgan catalogue, I. No. 111, with facsimiles of both letters.

² Exchequer Accounts, K. R. Bundle, 441, 10 and 11.

PLATE XII.

SAMUEL COOPER

(1609-1672).

1. Christiana, wife of Samuel Cooper (*ob.* 1693. *Æt.* 70).
2. Sir Frescheville ¹Holles (1641-1672). By Samuel Cooper.
Signed and dated 1669.
Both in the Collection of the Duke of Portland, K.G.



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to deliver into his hands several pictures or pieces of her husband's limning of a very considerable value.¹

This Mrs. Cooper, the painter's wife, was Christiana, daughter of William Turner of York, and her sister Edith was the mother of Alexander Pope the poet. According to a document that for a long time was preserved in the Pope family, Mrs. Cooper is said to have handed over to her sister many sketch-books belonging to her husband, together with his colour boxes and colours, and some cups "of precious agate" in which he compounded his pigments, and there is still a tradition in the Pope family that all these treasures have been preserved by some member of that family, and were deposited for greater security at a bank, where it is said they still exist. Alexander Pope the linen draper, who married Mrs. Cooper's sister, was a man of substantial means, and is said to have been greatly interested in his wife's artist brother, and to have highly valued the drawings he received, stating that in his opinion they were of considerable importance and were to be kept in the family. Hence it is the tradition remains that they have been so retained, and it seems possible to hope that some day or other these treasures of inestimable importance in connection with the art of miniature painting may yet be discovered. Pope is stated to have erected the monument in Old St. Pancras Church to the memory of Cooper and of his wife. It was at Cooper's own wish that he was buried in St. Pancras Church, although he was living in the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

Mr. Foster, in his work on this artist, tells us that Cooper's will was proved on July 4th, 1672, and that by it he appointed his "dearly loved wife" sole executrix. He left to various members of the Hayles family 20s. each for a ring, and similar sums to his "cozon John Hoskins" and to his wife and daughter, and also to his "cozon

¹ Shaw's Calendar of Treasury Books, 1672-5, p. 180.

Francis Hoskins " and to his wife Mary. Mr. Foster also tells us that Cooper was possessed of various lands in or near Coventry which he bequeathed to Mrs. Cooper.

On the monument to his memory which is still to be seen, there is a long Latin inscription, in which he is termed the Apelles of England, the glory of his age and of his art, a consummate artist in miniature, and a man who possessed eminent mental endowments, exquisite genius, skill in many languages, and manners that were most charming.¹ We know something of his appearance, as a miniature in the Victoria and Albert Museum signed by him "S. C." and dated 1657, is stated to be his portrait. There is also a crayon portrait certainly representing Cooper, which was originally in the possession of Mr. Graham, a collector, and this was copied by Lens. The miniature is in the collection of the Duke of Portland, at Welbeck, and on the label Lens has written the following words: "Samuel Cooper, a Famous Performer in Miniature stil'd Van Dyck in little, he Died in London in ye year 1672, 63 year of his Age. Bernard Lens fecit." Another copy, on ivory, by Lens, of this same portrait is in the collection of the Marquess of Bristol at Ickworth, and on the back of that Lens has added that Cooper has "far exceeded all that went before him in England in that way, and been equell the most Famous Italians," together with the further information that the copy was done "from ye Originall in Creons by himself in ye collection of Mr. Graham." From Mr. Graham's collection the drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum appears to have passed to Queen Caroline, thence successively to Mr. Dalton, Horace Walpole, Mr. Strong of Bristol and to Alexander Dyce, coming to the Museum from the last-mentioned person.

There is, however, as Mr. Goulding has pointed out, a certain amount of doubt whether this portrait was actually

¹ Welbeck catalogue, p. 24.

drawn by Cooper himself, because Vertue, in one of his MSS.,¹ refers to a portrait in crayon of Cooper, perhaps not this actual work, but probably one similar to it, which, he says, Mrs. Pope, Mrs. Cooper's sister, remembered very well, and also recollected its being done, "not," he adds, "by Cooper himself, but by Jackson, [sic] who painted in that way to the life, and was related to Cooper." Another copy of this same portrait is in my own collection, and a little portrait, painted in sepia on a piece of paper which had been twice folded, is in the Pierpont Morgan collection, and claimed to represent Cooper, and to have been drawn by himself. It had a somewhat interesting provenance, which was not discovered until after the catalogue had been printed, as on an envelope in which this miniature had been contained, were written the words "Given mee by Mrs. Pope" in a handwriting which appeared to belong to the end of the eighteenth century.

Two other references to Cooper's work were discovered by Mr. Goulding. They concern an experiment on the part of the artist in painting in oil. Vertue thus writes: ² "Samuel Cooper, limner, tryd at oyl painting. Mr. Hayles seeing that, turn'd to limning, & told Cooper that if [he] Quitted limning, he would imploy himself that way for which reason Cooper kept to limning." It is possible that the picture that he experimented over was his own portrait, because Vertue adds thus: "A picture of Sam Cooper limner painted in oyl by himself, only the head, very like him, was in his house when he died," and then finally tells us "His widow sold all his goods to one Priestman, woollen drapper, corner of Henrietta Street, Covent Garden."³

Another curious experiment on the part of the artist is represented by a miniature in my own collection, depicting

¹ B. M., Add. MSS. 23070, 48b *old pagination*.

² *Ibidem*, 23069, 24b *old pagination*.

³ *Ibidem*, 23070, f. 39b, 21b *old pagination*.

PLATE XIII.

SAMUEL COOPER
(1609-1672).

1. Noah Bridges. Signed.
Collection of Mrs. Sotheby.
2. Col. Graham of Netherby. Signed and dated 1650.
In the Collection of Mrs. John Abercrombie.
3. The Duke of York, afterwards James II. Signed.
Collection of Mrs. Sotheby.



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Sir Thomas May, poet and historian, secretary and the historiographer to the Parliament. This is painted on a piece of rough mutton-bone. In its execution, Cooper entirely altered his ordinary technique, painting on this hard and slightly luminous material in a definite, rigid fashion, quite unlike his usual broad treatment. It is, in fact, so different from an ordinary miniature by Cooper, that had it not been for the evidence which came with the portrait from the Burrell collection, I should have hesitated to accept it as the work of Cooper at all. There was, however, no doubt as to whom it represented, nor as to its history, because there was a letter in the possession of the family which described it as an experiment on the part of Samuel Cooper, painted on a piece of bone just at the time when May was issuing his "History of the Parliament in England." That would be about 1647, and the miniature is still preserved in its original and contemporary silver locket.

As regards Cooper's miniatures, it must first of all be noted that many of his finest works were left incomplete, as for example the portraits of the Duke of Monmouth and the Duke of Albemarle in the Royal collection, and the two already mentioned of Oliver Cromwell in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire and the Duke of Buccleuch. Perhaps these unfinished portraits are the most striking. They are wonderful representations of character, full of inspiration and virility. Whether Cooper was actually indifferent to the manner in which his sitters were clothed, or whether it was, as has been suggested, that he had so little time given him for sittings that he had only opportunity to do his utmost for the faces, and had to leave all the rest, no one can tell, but whatever may have been the reason, these unfinished portraits—and to those already mentioned there must be added one that belongs to Lord Cobham, another of the Duchess of Cleveland in the Royal collection, a portrait belonging to Lord Gosford and a

sketch belonging to the Duke of Sutherland—are amongst his most important works. It is perchance, because of the actual absence of draperies and the necessity for all the effort to be concentrated upon the face, that they are so specially attractive, but no artist prior to the time of Cooper, and perhaps hardly any one since his time, has been so successful in laying bare in a few strokes the very character of the sitter, and in presenting a living portrait, full of truth and character.

When we come to deal with his finished paintings, we notice at once the quiet key he adopted in his colour scheme. The harmony is subdued and tender, exquisite silvery greys, beautiful dull browns, a sky background of mingled pale blue and greyish white and draperies of blue, brown or black, full of delightful shadows, and then, gleaming out from amidst these solemn, rather Quakerish surroundings, the stern, strong faces of his male sitters, or the quiet pathetic melancholy of the women who sat to him. Hardly any pure white is to be seen in his portraits. Even in one of his most wonderful portraits of women, that of Mrs. Middleton in Lord Beauchamp's collection, in which the pathetic figure is draped entirely in white, it can be found, on careful inspection, to be bathed in so delicate and subtle a shadow that though the effect is exquisitely white, yet the paint itself is not the solid dead white which a man of lesser experience might have used, but is suffused with a wonderful grey hue. Generally speaking, however, Cooper's women's portraits are not as impressive as are those of the men, but of the men, whether it be the younger, aristocratic type of face, clean-shaven, finely cut, exquisitely modelled, with a veil of long and wonderful hair falling on either side of the face, or whether it be the hard, strong, determined features of the Puritan, with a rigid simplicity of buttoned jerkin and white collar, the painter was equally at home, and presented the man to the very life. All that was good in a face received ample justice and the

nobler emotions usually ruled with him. A peculiar contrast in this way may be noted in two portraits in the Pierpont Morgan collection: one, the exquisite face of the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth, with every sign of vacillation, a weak mouth and a general air of voluptuousness and self-indulgence; the other showing the tremendous stern characteristics of John, Lord Loudoun, as set out in a fine miniature that was discovered behind some panelling in Loudoun Castle, and possesses all its colours fresh as they were first painted.

Cooper, it is said, used to declare that he could not paint hands, and it certainly is noteworthy that in the very few large miniatures he executed, the hands are the least satisfactory part, and in some he has endeavoured to hide them out of sight altogether. His largest portrait is perhaps the famous one of Charles II., belonging to the Duke of Richmond and Gordon. In this there are no signs of the hands, but in a somewhat similar portrait of the same King, equally large, one hand can be seen, and that undoubtedly is somewhat clawlike and inaccurately drawn. There is an unsatisfactory hand also in the portrait of Margaret Lemon in fancy costume, which Cooper drew, and which was at one time in the possession of Mr. Pfungst, and although the hands in the portrait of the Earl of Shaftesbury in the Victoria and Albert Museum are perhaps more satisfactory, it is yet clear that, even in these instances, Cooper has devoted far greater attention to the faces, and even to the costume, than he has to the hands.

It must not be supposed by what has just been written that I attach little importance to Cooper's portraits of women. These indeed, are undoubtedly remarkable and full of extraordinary charm, but yet not so startling in their magnificence as are those of the men, nor do they show quite the same insight into character which is noteworthy in the men's portraits. Moreover, the majority of his portraits of women are not

PLATE XIV.

SAMUEL COOPER

(ob. 1672).

1. Jane Myddleton (1645-1692).
In the Collection of Earl Beauchamp, K.G.
2. Abraham Cowley (1618-1667). Signed and dated 1553.
In the Collection of the Duke of Portland, K.G.



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in quite so good a condition as are the men's portraits. They have had more carnation used in them, and this madder lake, as is its habit, has faded, so that we do not see his women's portraits quite in the condition that we see those of the men. It would also appear that Cooper was not given to flattery, and as many of the women of that day had been marked by smallpox and other ravages upon their beauty, we do not retain so fine an idea of their charm as might otherwise be the case. It must be borne in mind, as well, that the standard of feminine beauty changes from period to period, and that comparatively few of the beauties of the court of Charles II. whom Cooper painted would now be regarded as being specially lovely women; their charm, in all probability, consisting more in expression, in piquancy and in wit than in actual physical beauty.

Cooper's miniatures as a rule are signed by his initials, sometimes the two letters set side by side, and other times conjoined in monogram form. Many of them are dated, and usually both the monogram and the dates are painted in gold. The characteristic of the painter's work lies in its broad, strong brush-work, and some of his most wonderful miniatures are those in which the face is surrounded with a wealth of long hair, which itself is represented with marvellous dexterity, each single line seeming to be separate from that preceding it. Almost all the faces are serious and grave, wellnigh to the point of sternness; even those of the cavaliers whom Cooper so cleverly represented are by no means cheerful. The impress of that Puritan life which in his time was crushing out so many of the joys of existence, and which bore in especial fashion so heavily upon the women of the day, was very clearly marked upon all Cooper's portraits. He made use of a peculiar brick-dusty ruddy red in his countenances, but it is seldom that this colour can be seen in its full strength. Only a few of his miniatures have been really shut away in cases and carefully guarded, but from those few we are able to realise

how extraordinarily fine his colouring must have been when the miniatures were first executed.

It will be well that any collector in purchasing a miniature reputed to be by Samuel Cooper should take particular care in examining the date. There are in existence two miniatures, both purporting to be his work, and both dated after his decease. In both these examples, it is clear that the majority of the work of the miniature was actually by Samuel Cooper himself, but some damage has happened to the portraits, and they have been skilfully repaired by an artist who was not aware of the date of Cooper's decease. He has copied the figures of the date, to the best of his ability, and with an unfortunate result. One of the portraits, representing Lord Shaftesbury, was an extremely fine miniature, and but for this unfortunate correction and alteration, would have been a very precious one. As it is, however, it is ruined as a work of historical importance, because the date it bears is impossible, and we have no knowledge as to the actual date. There have been many miniatures by Cooper sold in recent days which have been touched up, and these should be carefully avoided as their value has been seriously reduced by such additions.

Alexander Cooper was Samuel's elder brother, but his work is not so important, and the best examples of it are to be sought for out of England. The most notable of all is a series of miniatures representing Frederick V. the Elector Palatine and his family, in Berlin. It was for a while amongst the private possessions of the German Emperor, but later on was ceded to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. From this series there are three portraits missing, those of Prince Gustavus, Prince Edward, and Princess Sophia. The latter would have been specially interesting to Englishmen, as she was the ancestress of the Hanoverian sovereigns, and thus of the dynasty that now occupies the throne of England. The empty places for these three missing portraits still exist, and the whole

series forms twelve circular discs, which fold one over the other, and when folded together, are a little pile about a couple of inches high. The top and bottom discs bear the royal crown and monogram and the date 1633, and on each disc in black and white enamel, are the name and age of the person whose portrait is, or should be, contained in the disc, and also the record when the portrait was painted. The eldest, Charles, was painted on December 22nd, 1632, when he was fourteen; Prince Rupert was painted when he was twelve; his brother Maurice, equally distinguished in the English Civil Wars, was eleven; Philip, who was killed in battle in Germany, was five; Elizabeth, the friend of William Penn, was painted when she was thirteen; Louisa, afterwards Abbess of Maubisson, was ten, and Henrietta, afterwards Princess of Transylvania, painted on July 7th, 1632, when the little girl was but six. Of the three missing portraits, Prince Edward was painted when he was eight, Princess Sophia when two, and Prince Gustavus in the first year of his age.

At the time when this delightful series of portraits was executed, Alexander Cooper was resident in the Hague, and was a frequent visitor at the lodging of the "Queen of Hearts." Shortly after that, we believe that he was in England, because there is a miniature by him, in the possession of the Queen of Holland, representing James II. as a young lad which must surely have been painted about 1647, and then either in this country, or possibly when James was on a visit to Scandinavia. At about that time, Alexander Cooper went to Stockholm, and became portrait painter to Queen Christina, for whom he executed a great many miniatures. When in Scandinavia, some years ago, I was able to discover many documents relative to this artist, which are set out in a special article concerning him in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1905, and there is reproduced in that article a receipt in his own handwriting, which is almost the only piece of his writing known to

PLATE XV.

ALEXANDER COOPER

(ob. 1660).

1. A Lady, name unknown. Signed.
2. A Lady, name unknown. Signed.
3. A Man, name unknown, husband of the lady whose portrait is opposite to his. Signed.
All three in the Collection of the Queen of Holland.
4. Gustavus Adolphus (*ob* 1632). Signed.
In the Gothenburg Museum, given to the ancestors of the General who presented it to the Museum ; by the King himself.



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exist. From these documents we gather that Alexander had another name, that of Abraham, but he dropped the second name and signed himself as Alexander Cooper, and on his miniatures "A. C." Furthermore, certain of these documents alluded to him as the Jew portrait painter. Whether because his name was Abraham or whether there was actually Jewish blood in his veins we have no means of knowing, but it is clear, from the way in which he was employed at the Swedish Court, that his Jewish parentage, if it existed, did not interfere with his success.

He was not treated in satisfactory fashion by the Swedish Court. He had to appeal to various officials for the payment of his salary, and a pathetic letter written when he was ill and confined to his bed and in great need of money, is still in existence, and addressed by him to Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, praying that he might be given the money that was due to him. He appears to have left Sweden in 1656 for a while, and to have carried out some work in Denmark. In the following year, however, he was back in Stockholm, and there resided during the remaining three years of his life. It is probable that his death occurred as the result of some sudden illness, which overtook him while he was engaged in his professional work, because the record of his decease, which occurred in 1660, declared in pathetic language that he died "at his rooms in the inner quarter of the city, alone, while at work, and with his brush in his hand." There are a few other documents relative to Alexander Cooper, which are quoted by Mr. Foster in his work on Samuel Cooper already referred to. Two of his paintings are in the possession of the Queen of Holland and are depicted in colour in the little book recently prepared by Monsieur Fritz Lugt on that collection. Unfortunately, however, it is not known who either of them represents. Another anonymous miniature signed by Alexander Cooper is in the possession of the Duke of Buccleuch; a fine one is illustrated in Lemberger's book

on Scandinavian miniatures, and an important portrait of the Prince Palatine is in the collection of Mr. Whitcombe Green.

Alexander Cooper appears also to have been a skilful painter in enamel, and this information has come to light within the last few years. Queen Christina's correspondence with Paolo Giordano Orsini II., Duke of Bracciano, after having been inaccessible to scholars for many years, has been purchased by the City of Rome, and Baron de Bildt, the Swedish Minister, who is the principal authority in Europe on the history of Queen Christina, discovered amongst the letters, allusions to gifts made by the Queen to the Duke, of miniatures and an enamel by Alexander Cooper. Two of the portraits that the Queen sent were of herself, one in ordinary costume, and one in Coronation robes, and another was a copy of a picture of Titian in her possession. This seems to have been in enamel. We also learn from some papers preserved in Sweden that Cooper painted several portraits of Charles X., who succeeded Queen Christina, and that these were set in diamonds, and given to various ambassadors, notably to the French Ambassador, to the Danish, and to the Swedish Ambassador in Russia. Probably one of these was sent to Italy, because, quite recently, it has been discovered in Rome, set in a diamond étui, and signed and dated by Alexander Cooper. Another portrait of the same King is in the Gothenburg Museum, and he is represented in armour, wearing the sash of an Order. This was presented to the Museum by the descendants of the General to whose ancestors it had been given by the King himself. Of the portraits of Queen Christina painted by Alexander Cooper I have not been able to trace a single example, although it is quite clear from the documents that many of them were executed. One portrait of her, however, painted in oil on copper, was lent by a Mr. Henry Holt to the exhibition at South Kensington in 1865, and again to Leeds in 1868. I have not

been able to find it, and I am gravely doubtful as to whether it was Cooper's work at all, as we have no evidence that he ever painted in oil or on copper, but all his known miniatures are in water-colour.

CHAPTER VII

THE INTERREGNUM

I HAVE called the period after the time of Samuel Cooper, until the great revival of miniature painting in the eighteenth century, which was occasioned by the institution of the Royal Academy, the Interregnum, because, during that time, there lived no great master of miniature painting—no one who could in any way compete with Samuel Cooper, nor any who could take such a position as was afterwards assumed by the greater eighteenth-century men, such as Cosway, Engleheart, Smart, Plimer and Humphry. This is not to say, however, that the period was an unimportant one, or even that there were no eminent exponents of the art during the time that it covered. It was not so. There were a multitude of miniature painters between the time of Charles II. and that of George III.: some of them almost in the front rank; in fact, it is rather a question as to whether one man, Flatman, was not actually amongst the foremost when at his best, and another, Lawrence Crosse, in his own particular aspect, and at his own period, was at least equal in merit to many of those who had preceded him. A great part of the period is distinctly under the influence of Sir Peter Lely, and many of the miniaturists of that time were actually his pupils, notably Flatman, Sadler, Greenhill, Mary Beale and probably Charles Beale, and perhaps even others, about whom we cannot be quite so certain.

The man who succeeded Cooper in popular estimation, and who was certainly admitted and sworn as the King's

Limner after Cooper's decease, that is to say, in about 1673, was Nicholas Dixon, and Mr. Goulding has discovered a document regarding an order to the cofferer of the royal household for £200 per annum to be paid quarterly to this man, in lieu of diet or board wages, who, the document says, "having been lately admitted and sworn King's Limner *loco* Samuel Cooper, deceased." Dixon appears to have taken this salary, so Mr. Goulding tells us, for some few years, the latest receipt to come under his notice being one for 1678. Then there probably ensued some financial difficulty, because Dixon, who was at that moment living in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, mortgaged to John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, his limnings, seventy in number, on November 23rd, 1700, for the sum of £430. It seems probable that this money, or certainly the greater part of it, was never repaid by Dixon, because there are at least thirty of these limnings at Welbeck Abbey now, whence they came from the Duke of Newcastle to his daughter the Countess of Oxford, and to her daughter the Duchess of Portland. The mortgage is referred to by George Vertue in his MSS., in which he says that the *whole* collection of engravings, and limnings, most of which were large miniature copies, on vellum, after paintings by the old masters, were disposed of and bought by, and in the possession of, the Duke of Newcastle, and Vertue speaks of the painter as being in high reputation in the time of Charles II., in that of James II., and in the beginning of the reign of William. We do not know exactly when Dixon died, Vertue only telling us that this transaction took place a little before he died, and implying that he was in very bad health at the time the transfer occurred. As to what has become of the remainder of the seventy limnings that the Duke of Newcastle at one time possessed, it is impossible to say. Several notable collections own works by Dixon, and one, which is in the Pierpont Morgan collection, is a copy of an old picture; the others probably

PLATE XVI.

NICHOLAS DIXON
(1670-1726).

THE INTERREGNUM.

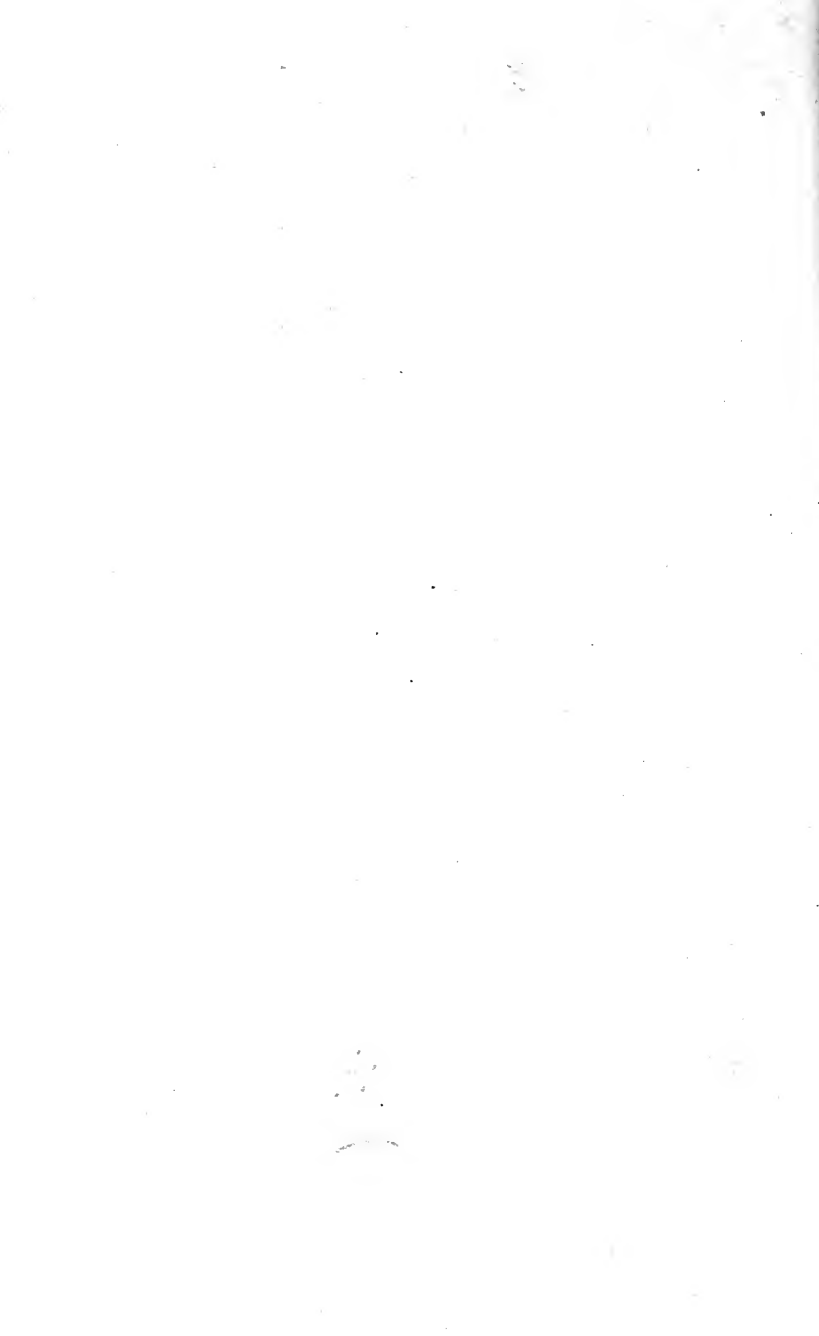
1. A Lady and Child.
Collection of the Earl Spencer, K.G.
2. Lady Crisp. Signed.
Collection of Mrs. Sotheby.



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still exist, and have not yet been attributed to the artists who painted them.

The collector will find a little puzzle awaiting his solution with regard to these very miniatures, as Mr. Goulding is inclined to think that one or two of the portraits which are usually given to Dixon, notably a whole-length representation of the Duke of Grafton in the Duke of Buccleuch's collection, dated 1676, were perchance the work of another painter. He reads the initials which form this signature as "D.M." instead of "D.N.," and thinks that the first and second strokes of the "M" are identical with those of the "D." He finds the same curious type of signature on a work belonging to Lord North, preserved at Wroxton Abbey, and also on a fine one which was sold at Christie's a year or two ago, after the decease of its owner, Mr. Pfungst. We have, however, no knowledge at the present time of any artist whose name began with "M." and whom we could suggest to accord with these initials. We are therefore rather more inclined to accept them as the work of Nicholas Dixon, and to wonder if he was perhaps trying to make a monogram of a possible middle name, or whether it was an unusual form of putting together the "M" and the "D." In either of the cases referred to by Mr. Goulding, the signature is not very clear, and it *may* almost equally represent "N.D." or "M.D." There are several of Dixon's miniatures, however, quite definitely signed "N.D.," one, for example, belonging to Lord Exeter, another to Lord Carlisle, a third in the Pierpont Morgan collection, and two or three in that of the Duke of Buccleuch. The work is broad and free and easy, and it certainly resembles that of Cooper in many respects.

Another difficulty arises in connection with the miniature painters named Cleyn. We know about the father, Francis, who was connected with the Royal tapestry works at Mortlake, and both Vertue and Evelyn speak of his children who were miniature painters. There is also

some evidence that he had a daughter named Penelope, and miniatures signed "P.C." are usually accepted as being her work, but the collector must hesitate in making such an attribution definitely, because there was an artist named Paolo Carrandini who also signed "P.C.," and, moreover, there was Penelope Cotes, but she belonged to a different period, and is therefore not very likely to be confused with the two former persons; who signed in the same manner. Penelope Cleyn had two brothers, Charles and John, and works by each of them are known to exist, signed with the initials, monogram fashion, as a rule, in gold. We are not clear about the history of Paolo Carrandini, and it has not at present been settled, with anything like precision, as to whether the miniatures signed by "P.C." are to be given to one or the other painter. There is a touchstone in existence, because, in the possession of Messrs. Parsons of Brompton Road, there was, some few years ago, a portrait of Mary of Modena which was signed in full by Carrandini and dated; but to make the matter even more complex, this portrait bore a striking resemblance in technique to another, which had always been attributed, and with some evidence in the way of family tradition, to Penelope Cleyn. Charles Cleyn signed with double "C's" interlaced, and the works executed by him and by his brother were almost always on vellum, and there are frequently quaint landscape backgrounds to be seen, sometimes a corner of a formal garden, with a fragment of statuary; while another notable point is the extraordinary pallor of the faces in the miniatures executed by these two brothers. Tradition says of Carrandini that he lived but a very few years, that he came over with Mary of Modena, that his miniatures all represent persons of her court, and that he died suddenly from the effects of poison in 1679; but we have no documents at present discovered to support either of these statements, and, in fact, we are inclined to believe that he

was in England prior to the time when Mary of Modena reached our shores.

Another interesting man was Balthazar Gerbier, who was an architect and painter to the Duke of Buckingham, and afterwards to Charles I., by whom he was knighted. Amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum is a letter from the Duchess of Buckingham, who writes to her husband, then in Spain, and says, "I pray you, if you have any idle time, sit to Gerbier for your picture, that I may have it well done in little." There was an extremely fine drawing by him in the Wellesley collection, representing a gentleman whose name is unknown, and who was painted at the age of twenty-two. It is signed and dated 1616, and one ought to be able to identify the sitter, because his arms are quite clearly displayed upon the portrait. One of Gerbier's finest miniatures is in the possession of the Queen of Holland, and is illustrated in colour in the little book that has been written by Mr. Lugt on that collection. It represents Prince Maurice, and was drawn in the same year as the Wellesley portrait on vellum was prepared. There is also another portrait dated at that time, representing Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., and there is a portrait of Frederick V. in existence, by Gerbier, and one of Henry, Duke of Gloucester, adorns the Pierpont Morgan collection. Yet another belongs to the Duke of Northumberland and represents the Duke of Buckingham. It may quite well be the very one alluded to above. There is also one in the Rijks Museum representing a Swedish diplomatist, and Dr. Staring knows that there existed at one time two other works by this same artist. Beyond these, I have not been able to trace with certainty anything by the hand of this painter. He had a great sense of colour, and a particular love for representing gold on scarlet, or orange, and when this was presented with a deep blue background, the result was somewhat magnificent. It seems clear that Gerbier was

PLATE XVII.

THE INTERREGNUM.

1. Sir Edward Spragge (?) (*ob.* 1673). By Lawrence Crosse
(*c.* 1650-1724).
Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry,
K.T.
2. Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723). By Susan Penelope Gibson
(Mrs. Rosse).
In the Collection of the Duke of Portland, K.G.
3. Alexander Pope (1688-1744). By Bernard Lens (1682-1740).
Signed.
From the Strawberry Hill Collection.



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a man who had his own ideas of colouring, and who was not afraid of them.

Then, we must not forget Richard Gibson, who, according to Walpole, taught Queen Anne to draw, and went to Holland to instruct her sister, the Princess of Orange, afterwards Queen Mary, and Sanderson, in the "Graphice," 1658, a work to which allusion has already been made, refers to a portrait by Gibson, and speaks of its being done "with elaborate and yet accurate neatness as may be a masterpiece to posterity." He is frequently known as Dwarf Gibson. He, again, was extraordinarily well represented in the Wellesley collection, by a drawing of his own portrait, signed, and dated 1690. It is a beautiful work, in crayon, which was, at one time, in the Tart Hall collection, so Walpole tells us, and afterwards came into the possession of Sir Thomas Lawrence, who valued it very highly. It is now in the National Portrait Gallery.

Gibson appears to have had a nephew, one William Gibson, another of Lely's pupils, whom Walpole mentions, and he had a daughter, Susanna, perhaps Susanna Penelope, who became the wife of a Mr. Ross or Rose, who was a jeweller. Vertue tells us that there were several works by her, and says that she signed them "S.P.R." I must confess that I have never seen a miniature signed with these three initials, unless they are conjoined in such a way that I have not recognised them, but I have seen one signed "S.R.," which I attribute to her, and I have always declared that a number of miniatures with a pocket-book, exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and attributed to quite another artist, were by Mrs. Ross, on evidence connected with the handwriting on their reverse, and supported by the statement that one of them is distinctly described by the artist as representing "my father, Rosse." In this opinion, I am supported by Mr. Richard Goulding, who has given considerable attention to these miniatures; but the question is by no means settled, because Mr.

Kennedy, who has written about the Buccleuch portraits, is not disposed to accept the attribution, and does not consider that the writing at the back of the Victoria and Albert Museum portraits is identical with that which ascribed a drawing of the Duke of Monmouth as a child to Mrs. Ross. He maintains that the vellum on which this particular portrait is painted is not older than the nineteenth century, but we are not all of us inclined to accept even that statement, and although a Mrs. Ross, who died in 1821, is said to have existed, yet we have no evidence whatever as to who she was, or where she lived or died. Nor is she mentioned in any of the standard dictionaries. Moreover, the statement on the back of the Buccleuch miniature which reads "Duke Montmouth, after Mr. Cooper per Mrs. Ross" is not in the least nineteenth-century style, and although it may frankly be confessed that the handwritings are not very similar, yet the inscription on the Buccleuch miniature may not necessarily have been in the artist's own handwriting, and looks indeed more like a statement of what the miniature is, than a signature, and if so, may have been the work of some one other than the artist. We do know of the existence of Gibson's daughter, Mrs. Ross; we have no evidence of the existence of any other Mrs. Ross; we know very little about the age of vellum, and therefore the problem has not yet been solved. As a rule, Vertue's opinion may be accepted with a good deal of confidence, but the remarks he makes in his MSS. concerning Dixon, Penelope Cleyne and Mrs. Ross are certainly rather bewildering, and we still await further evidence for a definite conclusion about either of these artists.

A remarkable piece of evidence has, however, recently come to light which helps to corroborate to a marked degree the theory just set out. It appears that one of the miniatures of the series is described as being the portrait of a Mrs. Van Vryberghe. A Dutch gentleman who was recently visiting England, a Dr. Staring, has been able to give the

information that Mrs. Van Vryberghe, with whose name and history he is very familiar, *was* a Miss Gibson, a daughter of Gibson the artist, and that she *had* a sister, one Mrs. Ross or Rosse. This further information, I am disposed to think, really settles the question.

Gibson's own signed work is very unusual, but there is a fine portrait of Lady Anne Carr, in the possession of Lord Beauchamp, which is signed, and another work, representing Lord Ogle, is at Welbeck. One of the best he ever painted is a portrait of Lady Carnarvon, a large one, clearly signed on the obverse, and the signature, curiously enough, very closely resembles the writing said to be that of Mrs. Ross, which is on the back of the miniatures at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Then there is a miniature painter, who signed "S.F." or "F.S." His miniatures have at one time been attributed to Francis Cleyn, the father of Penelope, but the second initial is clearly an "S" and not a "C," and therefore the tradition does not help us very far. There was a painter named Sadler, who has been mentioned in connection with them, but the general opinion about him was that his name was Thomas. There is a drawing in existence by Faithorne, undoubtedly the work of that artist, which is signed, not "W.F." as one would expect, but "G.F.," the name having been Latinised, and it is just a possible thing that some similar explanation may help us to determine the identity of miniatures signed "M.D." or "D.M." and "S.F." or "F.S."

Flatman deserves more attention. At his best, he was a good painter, not, perhaps, an inspired one, but sound and excellent. He had a somewhat curious career. A Londoner, he was born in Aldersgate Street in 1637. He was at Winchester, and then a scholar, afterwards a Fellow, of New College, Oxford, and in 1657 he entered the Inner Temple, having left Oxford, so the University records tell us, without a degree. At that time, however,

so I have recently been informed, New College, unique amongst the various colleges, possessed the power of granting a degree irrespective of the University, and these degrees are not recorded in the University records. In 1666 Flatman took his Master's degree in Cambridge, and the documents tell us it was given to him by King's letters, he being already a B.A. of Oxford. This statement, which appears to contradict the University books, may perhaps be explained by reason of that special privilege which New College then possessed. Flatman became a barrister, but interested himself in painting, and then in poetry. He declared himself as one who had no sympathy for women, and who was determined to live a bachelor, but in 1672 he met a lady, who is declared as "a fair virgin of some fortune," and he forthwith married her, bought an estate near Diss, and there settled down. He died, however, in St. Bride's parish, in 1688, and is buried in that church. One of the best miniatures that he ever painted represents Mr. (Edward?) Gregory, Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham, a man who is frequently mentioned by Pepys. There are several Gregorys alluded to in Pepys' Diary, and it is clear that not all the references can be to the same man: one, who is mentioned in 1666, must evidently be Henry Gregory, a member of the King's band; another, called "an understanding gentleman," is not, I am disposed to think, the person represented in the miniature, but our Edward Gregory is probably Pepys' old acquaintance whom he met at the Maypole in the Strand, at Marsh's in Whitehall, at the Dolphin, and at the Crown at Rochester, and with whom, on each occasion, he had a drink and a long talk. Oddly enough, there was a second Gregory who was Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham, one Jeremiah, but the man represented on the portrait painted by Flatman, which belongs to Mr. Frederick Wallop, and was one night, by his kind permission, exhibited at the Samuel Pepys Club, is probably a portrait of Edward Gregory.

Flatman's memory is preserved to us four rhyming lines, which alluded to his skill in the three arts of law, poetry and painting :

“ Should Flatman for his clients strain the laws,
The painter gives some colour to the cause.
Should critics censure what the poet writ,
The pleader quits him at the bar of Wit.”

Flatman's miniatures are usually signed with a tiny “F”; there is sometimes a “T” conjoined with it, but one needs to look exceedingly closely at the monogram to distinguish the upper part of the “T.”

Another artist not to be forgotten is David des Granges, who, it has been ascertained, was the son of Samson des Granges, a native of Guernsey, was born in London, baptized at the French Church, in Threadneedle Street, on May 24th, 1611, and was with Charles II., as his limner, in Scotland, in 1651. Mr. Goulding has discovered, in the Public Record Office, an application from Des Granges to the King some twenty years later, saying that there was due to him £76, and that out of that sum he had only received 40s. and £4, that he was then old and infirm, that his sight and labour were failing him, so that in consequence he was disabled from getting “subsistence or livelihood for himself and his children,” and that he had to “rely upon charity.” In his petition he prays the King to relieve the present necessities of himself and his miserable children, and there is a note signed by the Master of Requests, dated November 11th, 1671, saying that the Commissioners of the Treasury will take speedy and effectual course for making payment. The schedule attached to the petition describes the thirteen limnings Des Granges carried out, and in it the claim is for £72. A portrait of Charles II., the work of Des Granges, and dated 1651, is believed to have been one of these mentioned in this schedule, and is in the possession of Mrs. Lee, at Hartwell House.

His works are to be seen in the Royal collection, at Ham House, Madresfield Court, Wroxton Abbey, and in other collections. They are generally signed with the three initials "D.D.G." and sometimes but not always are dated. They are frequently painted upon a brown ground, although one at Windsor is on a blue ground, and another on a background of blue and white clouds, with some trees. Des Granges again seems to have had a rather unusual career, because, although it is clear that he was baptized in the Huguenot Church, and was acquainted with George Heriot, of Edinburgh, James I.'s jeweller, who was a man of similar faith, yet Des Granges did not continue in the Huguenot Church, but is referred to in 1649 by some French Dominicans, as "a worthy devout member of our Order" (probably a Tertiary), and as having been sent over to France to obtain some information respecting the Order, and the sittings for some portraits. The papers belonging to Inigo Jones mention Des Granges more than once, and in such fashion as would infer that they were personal friends. Certainly, one of the best miniatures that Des Granges ever painted is the portrait which he executed of Inigo Jones. It is now at Welbeck Abbey, with a repetition of it in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. The age of Jones is inscribed on the portrait as being sixty-eight, and the work is a delightful one, while it is quite possible that the fact of both the artist and the architect being Catholics may have been a link which first of all brought them together. In any case, this portrait in a very interesting fashion links together two notable men. Des Granges died in 1675, and it should be mentioned that he was also a painter in oil colours, and is referred to as such by Sanderson; while, at Mottisfont Abbey, in Hampshire, there was quite a large group, representing a lady and child, signed by him in full, and dated 1661. Two of his best portraits are in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam.

There were two, if not three, of the Beales. Mary Beale, who was a Miss Cradocke, was on very friendly terms with Lely, frequented his studio, watched him at work, and apparently used to obtain commissions for him, and persuade her friends to sit to the great artist. Of her husband Charles we know little, save that he held some appointment under the Board of Green Cloth, and is declared to have been a clever chemist, and skilful in the composition of certain pigments which were used by Lely and by the other artists of the day ; but we are specially grateful to Beale for the diaries he kept and for the information that they contain respecting his wife's work. At one time, there must have been thirty of these volumes in existence, but there is only one now available, that for 1681, which is preserved in the National Portrait Gallery Library. Vertue made considerable use of these diaries from 1672, and in consequence, from his papers, we obtain information respecting the work that Mrs. Beale (Dearest Hearte, as her husband called her in them) carried out, and the prices she obtained for her pictures. She was an able portrait painter, and had an extensive clientèle, largely, says Mr. Collins Baker, episcopal, or at least clerical, and she painted a considerable number of repetitions of Lely's works, some of which, at different times, have been assumed to be the works of the greater artist. She, like her husband, was interested in chemistry, and made many experiments and much research into the preparation of the pigments which she used ; she also tried different kinds of canvases. She was skilful in drawing, and one at least of her own portraits is in my own collection, a clever, almost surprising piece of skilful portraiture. The majority of her larger portraits are a little dull, and commonplace, and that characteristic must be applied to her miniatures, which have no special feature to make them important.

Her son Charles painted better, as regards limnings, than she did. He was educated by Flatman, and painted both in

PLATE XVIII.

THE INTERREGNUM.

1. Henry Somerset, first Duke of Beaufort. By Mary Beale.
Signed and dated 1674.
2. The Duchess of Buckingham. By Charles Beale (Fl. 1660-
1688). Signed.
Both in the Collection of the Earl Beauchamp, K.G.



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oil and in water-colour, but suffered from weakness of the eyes, and in consequence renounced work in 1689. There are several of his studies, in red chalk, for portraits in the British Museum, there are three important miniatures by him belonging to Earl Beauchamp, and others in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in the Duke of Buccleuch's collection, in the Royal collection and in those of the Duke of Newcastle and the Marquess of Exeter.

His brother, Bartholomew, is also said to have painted miniatures, but, after a few years, he gave up the pursuit of art, and decided to take up that of medicine, studying under Dr. Sydenham, and eventually setting up in his profession at Coventry. None of the Beales' miniatures are of very common occurrence. Mary Beale seems to have painted many portraits in certain families, and she occasionally produced limnings for the same people for whom she executed large portraits. Charles Beale does not seem to have practised for very long, Bartholomew for a far shorter period, and I know of no miniature by the latter artist about which I can be positive. I have seen one, which appears to be signed with a conjoined double "B," and which was certainly like the work of Mary Beale, and may have been perhaps executed by her son, Bartholomew.

Mrs. Beale died in Pall Mall about 1704, according to one account, but according to a more probable one, her death took place in 1697, and Walpole tells us that she was buried under the Communion Table in St. James's Church, but this appears to be an incorrect statement.

The Cradockes were closely connected with the family of George Fleetwood, the regicide, and possessed a portrait of him by Samuel Cooper, in a blue enamel and gold frame. This still exists and belongs to Mr. Gery Milner-Gibson-Cullum, who is the most recent and most accurate writer¹

¹ See a paper by Mr. G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum in the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Arch. Soc.*, xvi. 3, 1918.

upon Mary Beale. It came to him direct from Honoria Cradocke.

It would be quite impossible, within the space occupied by this small book, to refer to all the painters of portraits in miniature, but there are one or two men belonging to the early part of the eighteenth century who must on no account be overlooked. The chief, perhaps, amongst them, is the man whom Walpole styles "Lewis" Crosse, but who appears really to have been called Lawrence Crosse, and who possesses a double interest. He was not merely a painter of miniatures, but he was also a collector, and he got together a great many miniatures by Oliver, Hoskins, and Cooper. Walpole refers to them, and tells us that the collection was sold, by Crosse himself, at his house, the Blue Anchor in Henrietta Street. The combination of the painter and the collector is not a very common one. It betokens the existence of private means, and also of a somewhat greater interest in the work of other painters which, if I dare say it, is not always a characteristic of artists. Crosse appears to have been a man of very broad-minded sympathy, and a really serious admirer of the art of miniature painting, so that he was able to bring together quite a substantial collection. It is mentioned more than once in contemporary literature. We do not, however, know for what cause he decided to sell, nor what sort of prices he obtained for his miniatures, and we are not even certain as to the spelling of his name. Vertue does not give the final "e," nor does Lens in the MS. which he wrote in 1729, and in which he refers to the painter, and the only two signed portraits with which we are acquainted are those which belong to the Duke of Portland and to the Earl of Stamford, and they are inscribed by the artist on the reverse "L. Cross f." On the other hand, Walpole always speaks of him as "Crosse," and the name appears to have been spelled in this fashion in some records that are in existence concerning him. Several of

the miniatures which he collected were bought by Edward Lord Harley, in 1722, at Crosse's sale, and are now in the Welbeck Abbey collection. He is at the time of the sale declared to have been upwards of seventy years old, and Walpole tells us that he died in October, 1724. He also alludes to the personal resemblance that Crosse bore to Hoskins, and one wonders whether there was any family connection between the two men, and whether that may have accounted for the interest Crosse took in the art of miniature painting. His work is very different from that of his contemporaries, because it is almost covered with what Mr. Goulding calls "dot-like stipples." Some of his miniatures are really very beautiful, and the great wigs, which were characteristic of his time, are painted by him with extraordinary skill, while the lace ties that are seen below the chin are represented with extreme minuteness of detail and remarkable skill. There are some particularly good examples of his work in the Duke of Buccleuch's collection, notably portraits of the Duke of St. Albans, the Earl of Dalkeith, one which is called Sir Edward Spragge, and a fine one of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle. In the same collection there are also portraits, by him, of the Duchess of Marlborough and of Mary Hyde, Baroness Conway. There are two beautiful examples of his work in the University Galleries at Oxford, representing Mr. Pitts and Mr. Danvers. He combined the two letters forming his initials in a very pleasing monogram, which is generally to be found written in gold. The other interesting circumstance connected with Crosse is the fact that he it was, who received instructions, from the then Marquess of Hamilton, to repair a damaged miniature of Mary, Queen of Scots, and he was ordered to make it as handsome as he could. "It seems," says Walpole, "that a round face was his idea of perfect beauty, but happened not to be Mary's sort of beauty." The actual miniature which Crosse repaired and touched up, was sold at Christie's in

PLATE XIX.

THE INTERREGNUM.

1. Christopher Simpson (*ob.* 1669), violist and musical writer. By Thomas Flatman (1637 ?–1688). Signed.
In the Collection of the Duke of Portland, K.G.
2. Prince Maurice of Orange and Nassau (1567–1625). By Sir Balthazar Gerbier (1591–1667). Signed and dated 1619.
In the Collection of the Queen of Holland.
3. An Ecclesiastic, name unknown. An enamel by J. Petitot (1607–1691). Set in a frame made by Gilles Legarè.
In the Collection of the Countess of Dartrey.



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July, 1882, and the oval countenance of the unhappy Queen had been so entirely transformed that the portrait did not resemble Mary in the least degree. However, it was a pleasing head of a woman, in black velvet trimmed with ermine, and it was the original from which numberless copies have been made, and passed off as genuine portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots.

The other miniature painter who deserves special attention at this time was Bernard Lens, one of quite a number of artists bearing that name. There appear to have been three Bernards in succession. The first was the enamel painter, of whom very little was known, and who died, so Walpole tells us, on February 5th, 1708, aged seventy-seven, and was buried in St. Bride's, leaving behind him four or five MS. volumes of "Collections on Divinity," which afterwards found a place in the library at Strawberry Hill. He had a son, the second Bernard, the mezzotint engraver, who was born in London, in 1659, and who published, in connection with Sturt (who engraved the illustrations to a wonderful Book of Common Prayer), a broadside prospectus of their drawing school in St. Paul's Churchyard, a copy of which is now to be seen in the British Museum. It set forth in florid style, the value and importance of drawing, and recommended engineers, mechanics and professional men to enter their names as pupils of the classes which were being carried on. A son of this second Bernard was Bernard Lens, the miniature painter, who was born in 1662, and died in 1740. He was an accomplished drawing master, no doubt trained at his father's school in St. Paul's Churchyard. Amongst other persons, he taught Horace Walpole himself, and he bears eloquent testimony in his pages to the "virtues and integrity of so good a man, as well as an excellent artist." Lens also taught the Duke of Cumberland and Princesses Mary and Louisa, and Mr. Goulding has found out that he taught Edward Harley, afterwards second Earl of Oxford,

and in a letter referring to the classes, the latter states that Lens' fee was a guinea entrance, and half-a-crown for an hour's instruction, and that he was prepared to "come two or three times in a week." He is, in this letter, spoken of as a "sober, diligent man, and very careful." He was drawing master at Christ's Hospital, and was the author of a "New Complete Drawing Book," which was not published until after his death; it was a very popular work, and contains some sixty-two plates, etched by him, with full instructions for etching and for mezzotint work. After a while, he retired from the active exercise of his profession, and had two sales of the drawings, miniatures and pictures which he had collected.

He had three sons. For the elder, Walpole secured an excellent position in his own office in the Exchequer, and the two younger, Andrew Benjamin Lens and Peter Paul Lens, were both skilful artists in miniature. The elder Lens possessed the delightful habit of putting inscriptions at the back of his miniatures. Many of them are very fully inscribed. He copied various portraits, specially works by Cooper, and was careful to note that they were his copies, and when he had executed them; and on many of his miniature paintings he expressly stated where he had executed the work. There are two fine portraits by him in existence, one in the collection at Welbeck Abbey, another in the University Galleries at Oxford, and on the last he has carefully recorded the setting of his own palette, and done it so well that one is able to identify the colours, and see what exceedingly good pigments he was in the habit of using. There are several of his works at Welbeck Abbey, and what is more, he carried out for his pupil, when he became Earl of Oxford, several commissions, both for painting special miniatures, and for framing, and Mr. Goulding has discovered many of his bills, having distinct reference to the work which he carried out, and notably to the frames which he designed and executed for his patron's portraits.

The most notable point to make respecting Lens is that he appears to have been responsible for the introduction of ivory as a suitable material on which miniatures might be painted. There are fifteen of his works on ivory in the Welbeck collection, and there are eight in the collection at Ickworth Park belonging to the Marquess of Bristol, not all of them representing persons of Lens' own period, but many of them copies of other portraits, all well executed, with a certain amount of dignity, and carefully inscribed on the reverse. *He* also seems to have altered a portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots, and to have copied a portrait of the same Sovereign. Mr. Goulding discovered that Lord Oxford introduced Lens to the Earl of Pomfret, that he might copy a picture concerning Mary, Queen of Scots, and Walpole speaks of his drawing the portrait of a lady in the dress that had been worn by Mary, Queen of Scots, and of her complaining that, although the costume resembled that of the unhappy Sovereign, Lens was not painting the lady, as she had desired to be painted, like the Queen. To this the artist seems to have made reply. "No, madam, if God Almighty had made your ladyship like her, I would." There are three delightful examples of the work of Lens in the possession of Lord Spencer, at Althorp, and there are others in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, Earl Beauchamp and Earl Brownlow.

Of Lens' two younger sons we do not know much. Andrew Benjamin Lens drew an exceedingly good portrait of Jacob Tonson, the publisher, and his portraits of himself, his wife and his daughter, purchased from his great-niece, are in my own possession. Peter Paul Lens painted an interesting portrait of his mother, which was in the Wellesley collection. He was an odd creature, a life member of a strange Irish club called "The Blasters," and Mr. Strickland tells us that he was declared a votary of the devil, and that warrants were issued in Ireland for his arrest on charges

of blasphemy, that he escaped to England, and was not captured.

In the possession of the Newdegate-Newdigate family at Arbury, there were several works by Peter Paul Lens, miniatures and paintings in oil. He signed his works in two or three different ways, sometimes with a single "P," and sometimes with a double one, occasionally with a monogram composed of all three letters. When he died, the revival of the art in the early part of the eighteenth century was coming into pre-eminence, and to some of the lesser men who belonged to that revival, I shall have occasion to refer in a succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

RICHARD COSWAY, R.A.

THE collector must be prepared to find not merely that every fine miniature of the eighteenth century is attributed to Cosway, but that a portrait by Cosway is a rarity, and a thing very difficult to obtain.

During many years when miniatures were regarded as of but little account, the name of Cosway was the only one that had survived, and it was used indiscriminately.

Plimer was practically unknown; Engleheart fared little better; Smart and Grimaldi had been quite overlooked; but the beauty and charm of the work of Cosway, and the eccentricities of his much-advertised life, had caused his name to be remembered, and every old lady who had a miniature of her grandmother said it had certainly been painted by Cosway. It was really Dr. Propert and Mr. Jeffery Whitehead who revived the love of miniatures, and Dr. Propert was the first to investigate their history in his sumptuous book about them, published in 1887, and to produce definite information of value respecting them.

Even he, knew hardly anything of Plimer, and but little of many of the others, and what he said of them was not always accurate. His notes concerning Cosway, although generally correct, do not go very far, and it has thus been left for those who followed him to search

out the details concerning these painters, and to publish them.

It will be readily granted that, from their own special point of view, the miniatures by Cosway are the most wonderful creations of eighteenth-century miniature art.

Those by Smart are greater works of art in that the modelling is more perfect, and the draughtsmanship more accurate and true. Miniatures by Engleheart are often grander in dignity and possess a more interesting colour scheme ; and there are other men, such as Hill and Ozias Humphry, Andrew Robertson and Grimaldi, who painted miniatures at times that are quite in the front rank ; but for all that, Cosway takes the premier place, even though his portraits are sometimes marked only by their dexterity and their brilliance.

Cosway's works have, as has been well said, " the excellencies as well as the defects of his age."

Ozias Humphry said of him that he " inclined more to the neat, the graceful and the lovely, than towards the serene, the dignified and the stern " ; and this is a true criticism. Cosway's miniatures are *not* dignified portraits, and they are never stern, nor realistic, but they are always charming and graceful.

He was really the first miniature painter who realised the beauties and advantages that lay in the use of ivory. No one before Cosway had properly appreciated the charm of its brilliant surface, or the exquisite transparent effects that could be obtained upon it ; and once these advantages were accepted, he made use of them to the full.

He was a very skilful, although not an accurate draughtsman, but a great part of the charm of his portraits lies in the exquisite fashion in which the picture is placed upon the ivory, like a bit of gossamer that has been blown into position, poised in the air and allowed to drop upon the ivory. In brush-work Cosway was marvellously dexterous, and his effects were attained with great rapidity ;

but dexterity did not mean carelessness, and rapidity of action never implied thoughtless work. Brilliantly flippant much of his painting is, but strong in intention, exquisite in taste, and perfect in finish. Moreover, Cosway was almost the one artist of his day—Ozias Humphry being the only one who approached him, and he not of set intention—in realising the supreme merits of what may be termed an unfinished miniature, a sketch upon ivory in which the eyes and other leading features are completed in full portraiture, the hair put in in masses, but the draperies merely suggested, the tone of the ivory itself supplying all that was required in the high lights, and being left in its natural charm to give the effect of the flesh. Except Humphry, no one but Cosway could, by a few clever strokes, cause this ivory to assume the roundness and delicacy of the flesh, and by just drifting upon it, so to speak, a few perfect lines that depicted the eyes and mouth, nose and chin, could cause it to be transformed into a living portrait. It is difficult to describe in mere words the effect of this skill. Let the unfinished portraits of the Duchess of Devonshire and Princess Amelia in the King's collection, and the one of Madame Du Barry in the J. P. Morgan collection, speak for themselves. All that was necessary has been given in these superb sketches—the likeness is there, complete in every way, but in economy of line and in amazing skill there was no one who could possibly rival the artist.¹

Cosway worked almost invariably upon a clear blue and cloudy background, largely composed of a brilliant ultramarine blue flecked with clouds of flake white and cream. This he adopted for almost all his finest works, and the colour of the blue is an almost sure mark of his handling. Another point to be borne in mind regards his treatment

¹ One of the most beautiful Cosway miniatures in existence belongs now to Capt. H. W. Murray, of Winchester.

PLATE XX.

RICHARD COSWAY, R.A.
(1742-1821).

1. George Prince of Wales, afterwards Prince Regent, in fancy dress.
In the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.
2. Henrietta Scott, afterwards Duchess of Portland.
In the Collection of the Duke of Portland, K.G.
3. Madame Du Barry (1746-1793). Painted in London in 1791.
At one time in the possession of Miss Caroline Vernon,
and later on of Col. G. A. Vernon, of Harefield. Now in
the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.



1



2



3



of hair. It is never dry, wiry and hard, as is the hair painted by Plimer, nor is it so full of colour nor so rich as that in Engleheart's portraits, but it is drawn in masses, in wash; rather than in lines, in detail; and is light, easy and free, with delicate lines, almost resembling pencil drawn upon the wash-work: producing a delightful effect and one which, once recognised, is an unmistakable feature of the master's work.

Something must be said of Cosway's career, and of that of his clever wife, who was equally well known with him in the social circles about the Prince Regent.

Cosway was a Devonshire boy, born probably at Okeford, near Bampton, in 1742, for there he was baptized in that year. His father was, at the time of his birth, headmaster of Blundell's School, Tiverton, and there Cosway was educated and brought up. He seems to have been an only son, coming of a family originally Flemish, and some of his relatives owned considerable property in the town of Tiverton, one especially, who lived at Coombe-Willis and who possessed some good pictures, being a source of great attraction to the artist in his early school-days.

His uncle, who was Mayor of the town, and his godfather, one Oliver Peard, a trader in the town, finding out his artistic abilities, persuaded the elder Cosway to let the boy go to London for lessons, and promised to sustain him there. This happened when he was less than twelve years of age, so precocious was he; for in January, 1755, it was young Cosway, "then under fourteen years old," so goes the entry in the books, who gained the very first prize ever offered by the newly-founded Society of Arts, and who followed it two years later, and again in 1758 and 1759, by carrying off other money prizes offered by the same generous Society. Futhermore, in 1760, he captured a still more important trophy, carrying off, as the entry tells us, "in a most triumphant manner, and with a drawing of the highest possible merit," the prize

of Thirty Guineas offered for a drawing of the living figure by young men under twenty-four years of age. Small wonder, then, that Cosway, having more than justified all expectations, was sent to Thomas Hudson's studio, and thence to Shipley's Drawing School, and determining, as he himself writes, "to be, some day, the greatest artist in London," was able very soon to take engagements on his own account. Thus, in 1760, when only eighteen years old, he commenced to exhibit his portraits, and continued to do so down to 1806, a period of nearly half a century. He was one of the earliest Associates of the Royal Academy, and in 1771 became a full Royal Academician, but his supreme success dated from the moment when the Prince Regent took notice of him, admired a portrait he had painted of Mrs. Fitzherbert, and condescended to sit himself to the artist for his portrait. Cosway then suddenly became one of the most popular artists of the day, and left his home in Berkeley Street (or Berkeley Row as it was then called), to which, in 1781, he had brought his bride; for a more sumptuous dwelling in Pall Mall, and in Schomberg House he and Mrs. Cosway lived in great splendour. There it was that Mrs. Cosway started her evening concerts which, especially on Sunday evenings, were among the most popular reunions of the day, and are often alluded to in contemporary correspondence, notably in the letters of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and in those of Horace Walpole. It was at this time that Cosway was able to give full play to his passion for fine dress and admiration. "I have seen him," says J. T. Smith, "at the elder Christie's picture sales, full-dressed in his sword and bag, with a small three-cornered hat on the top of his powdered toupee, and a mulberry silk coat profusely embroidered with scarlet strawberries." Needless to say, he was oftentimes caricatured, and as the "Macaroni Miniature Painter," as "Tiny Cosmetic," or as "Billy Dimple," he

was criticised and satirised, many a clever print of the day representing him in conspicuous costume, gorgeous in colour and style.

Angelo tells an amusing anecdote illustrating the painter's vanity.

On one occasion, at the Royal private view, the President, Reynolds, was ill with the gout and unable to be present to receive the Prince of Wales, who came as the representative of his father. Cosway, to his great joy, was appointed to act for Sir Joshua, and he received the Prince, says Angelo, "in a dove-coloured suit, silver embroidered Court dress, with sword, bag, wig and *chapeau bas*. He followed the royal party through all the apartments, uttering a hundred high-flown compliments. When the Prince retired, the grand little man attended him to the carriage, and, in the presence of the crowd, retreated backwards with measured steps, making at each step a profound obeisance, when, sad to relate, his sword got between his legs, and he was suddenly prostrate in the mud. 'Just as I anticipated. Oh! ye gods!' exclaimed the Prince as he drove away."

It should be mentioned, as showing Cosway's love of carrying a sword, that in Zoffany's painting of the Academicians, no one but Cosway, save the President himself, is depicted wearing a sword. Cosway stands in the right corner of the picture, grandly dressed with lace ruffles, sword and tall cane.

In 1791, the painter left Pall Mall and settled in Stratford Place, first in the corner house, then No. 1, and lately No. 21; and then some three months afterwards in a house two doors further up the street, now called No. 20. The reason for his sudden change was as follows. The first residence had then, and until very lately, still possessed a stone lion erected on its exterior pediment, and this object at once attracted the attention of Peter Pindar, the cruel satirist of the day, who wrote the oft-quoted lines

which some reckless person affixed to the door of Cosway's new residence :—

“ When a man to a fair for a show brings a lion
’Tis usual, a monkey the signpole to tie on !
But here the old custom reversed is seen,
For the lion’s without and the monkey’s within.”

Poor, susceptible Cosway, who, Smith tells us, “ was, although a well-made little man, certainly very like a monkey in the face,” was horrified at the lampoon, sacrificed his lease and moved two doors further up the street.

Here, in his new premises, he allowed his love of display full opportunity.

He filled his rooms with wonderful and costly treasures ; had his furniture covered in magnificent Genoa velvet ; collected splendid examples of rare porcelain, armour, rock crystal, bronzes and Persian rugs ; and was so pleased with the effect of it all that he extended his purchases and obtained fine pictures, drawings, miniatures and prints. Indeed, he was not at all averse to combining the occupation of a dealer in works of art with the scarcely less lucrative employment of a popular portrait painter.

Smith, in his “ Life of Nollekens,” gives a gorgeous account of Cosway’s rooms when, at the zenith of his popularity, he lived and entertained like a prince.

Possessed, by this time, of ample means, he prepared to travel, and did it in grand style, taking with him to Paris both carriages and servants, and while there presented to the Louvre, to hide “ the bareness of its walls,” a magnificent series of cartoons by Giulio Romano which had come into his possession. For this gift he refused any acknowledgment, presenting to the Prince of Wales four rich pieces of Gobelin tapestry, that had been at once placed at his disposal in return for his gift.

I must not here continue the story, which is set out

elsewhere,¹ but it suffices to say that this career of splendour could not last, and presently the estrangement that took place between the artist and his royal patron produced an alteration in his circumstances; and then, to cloud his later years, there followed mental disorder of a grave order, hallucinations, mysticism, and eventually paralysis. Finally, he left Stratford Place; his superb possessions were sold, and realised, for the day, high prices; the artist and his wife moved into Edgware Road, into "a tiny but very cosy" house, and on July 4th, 1802, when out for a drive with a friend, Cosway had a final stroke of paralysis, and died in the carriage before he arrived home.

Mrs. Cosway was a certain Maria Hadfield, a Catholic girl, born in Florence, and brought to England, as a youthful prodigy in art, at the earnest solicitation of Angelica Kaufmann, who had a great admiration for her genius. She was patronised by Charles Towneley, the connoisseur, and at his house met Cosway, whom she married in 1781; Angelica, Towneley and Thomas Banks, R.A., all being present at the ceremony. There was but one child, Louisa Paolina Angelica, and she died at the age of six. Mrs. Cosway had frequently been in France and Italy during her husband's lifetime, and after his death she decided to make her home in the latter country, and founded a College at Lodi, near Milan, for the education of girls.

This, eventually, she handed over to a religious order, known as the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or in Italy as the Dame Inglese, and, attaching the buildings (which she bought and altered) to the Church, which was close at hand, she herself entered the Order and endowed it with her fortune. In 1834, the Emperor Francis I. visited the buildings, expressed entire satisfaction with

¹ See for all further details the two books I have written on Richard Cosway 1897 and 1905.

PLATE XXI.

RICHARD COSWAY, R.A.
(1742-1821).

1. Mrs. Parsons (*née* Huff).
At one time in the possession of Mrs. C. J. Pakenham Lawrell, and now in the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.
2. The two children of William, fifth Duke of Devonshire—
Georgiana, afterwards Countess of Carlisle, and Harriet, afterwards Countess of Granville.
At one time in the Collection of the Honourable Blanche Pitt.



1



2



them, and created the munificent Founder, a Baroness of the Empire. Many similar honours were eventually bestowed upon her, and the scholastic establishment she founded continued to increase, becoming a very prosperous and popular institution.

In these buildings the Baroness Cosway lived till the time of her death, which took place on January 5th, 1838, and she lies buried in a vault under the nuns' chapel.

The buildings still exist, and testify to her generosity and wisdom ; while the quaint interior decoration in the dining-room, which she caused to be carried out, enshrines a memorial tablet to her beloved husband, whose memory she never ceased to cherish. Many of her own artistic works and a goodly number of Cosway's drawings, with his books and papers, formed part of her gift to the house ; but access to the building is impossible, and none of its contents can be seen or disturbed. A full account of them will be found in the Memoirs already alluded to. Her own work was not specially interesting, and partook too freely of the sentimental and pseudo-classical spirit that was popular in her day. She copied some of her husband's works with some success, but lacked the strength, virility and charm that he possessed to a superlative degree.

It remains to say that Cosway was a clever, although lamentably inaccurate draughtsman, and that he has left behind him many fine pencil portrait drawings, in which the faces and hands are tinted, in miniature fashion ; as well as many skilful drawings of a classical or religious character. Some of these are signed in full ; others with the small " R " inside the big " C," which formed his monogram. His miniatures, with three exceptions, are, so far as I know (and I have examined scores of them), never signed on the face, but on the back, in a grand and pompous manner, an example of which appears as an illustration overleaf.

Of the three signed on the face, one bore, in addition, the pompous signature on the reverse ; another—a portrait

of Kitty Clive—is signed “R.C.,” and dated 1755 (and there is just a possibility that this is not by Cosway at all, but by Richard Collins); while the third is a work resembling an enamel, and was probably an experiment which the artist desired to mark in a distinctive fashion. His signature on correspondence in English possession is practically confined to one letter, one order, and one



note for payment of ground rent—all were in the Wellesley collection; but, somewhere in Ireland, probably in a religious house, there should exist a box full of his letters and papers which were gathered up by his wife in order that a memoir of him might be written, and then lost by the relative of her own into whose hands she committed their custody.

Some of the artist's papers and deeds, and his diploma as a Royal Academician, together with that of Mary Moser, R.A., with whom at one time he had intimate relations, are still preserved in Italy, and have all been seen and examined by me. One of his sketch-books also still remains. Specimens of his ivories, colours, brush, playing-cards and paper have been given by me to the Royal Academy, and rest in its library.

CHAPTER IX

ANDREW AND NATHANIEL PLIMER.

THE two chief rivals to Cosway as *the* miniature painters of the day were Andrew Plimer and George Engleheart. George Engleheart, as we shall see later, was painter to the King, while Cosway was chiefly concerned about the court and entourage of the Prince Regent, and, therefore, they did not come into so sharp a competition as did Cosway and Plimer. Andrew Plimer was at one time Cosway's pupil, but he soon grew to become a rival, and often some members of the same family had their portraits painted by Cosway, while others went to Plimer. The results have been a little curious, for, although Plimer's work differs materially from that of Cosway, yet it has been labelled frequently with his name, and there are many miniatures by Plimer which even now are attributed by their owners to the greater artist.

Andrew Plimer, the son of a clockmaker at Wellington, was born in 1763; Nathaniel, his elder brother, in 1757. There is a flavour of romance connected with their early story.¹ They were brought up as clockmakers, but much disliking² the business, they ran away and joined a party

¹ I endeavoured to gather up all the information available concerning him and his brother in a book which was published on "Andrew and Nathaniel Plimer" in 1903. It contains illustrations of a very large number of his works, including some of his clever drawings in pencil, larger paintings in oil, and of the big effective coloured drawings which he did towards the close of his life.

² "Misliking" they called it.

of gipsies with a menagerie, and wandered about with them in their caravans for many months, gradually drawing nearer to London. While with the gipsies, they are said to have painted scenery for a village play, and to have decorated the fronts and sides of the menagerie vans with figures of animals and men, which were so satisfactory that the gipsies begged them to remain with them, promising them every favour, and the hands of two of the prettiest girls of their tribe for their wives. During this period, it is said that they made their own brushes from bristles and horsehair, and the hair of the various animals in the menagerie; compounded their own colours from various plants; and, indeed, did not hesitate to steal decorators' paints in the towns which they passed. This went on for a couple of years. They wandered first through Wales and Western England, and then at last came to Buckingham, when they washed from their faces the walnut juice with which previously they had stained them, wrapped up their possessions into two red and yellow shawls, deserted their gipsy friends, and marched on into London. There, they were at one moment nearly starving, but eventually received some money from their parents, and at once commenced to take lessons in drawing. Eventually, Nathaniel entered the employ of Henry Bone, the enameller, as an assistant, and Andrew became personal servant to Cosway, in order to be near to the painter. He was engaged as studio boy in Berkeley Street, and was set to clean the studio and to grind and mix the colours. He pleased Mrs. Cosway, however, by his determination and his good manners, and she employed him to announce callers, and to assist her at her parties. A few days after the Cosways had moved into Schomberg House, the artist detected young Plimer trying to copy one of his miniatures, and found he did it so well that he sent him off to an engraver, who was probably John Hall, where he had further tuition. In 1783, he was back with the Cosways

PLATE XXII.

ANDREW AND NATHANIEL PLIMER.

1. Rebecca, wife of John, first Lord Northwick, and mother of
"The Three Graces," the three Misses Rushout.
In the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.
2. Mrs. Ker, of Blackshiels (1784).
In the Collection of Miss Ker.



1



2

at Schomberg House, and there he remained, probably in company with his brother, who is said by this time to have left Bone's studio, and for a year at least he took some lessons from Cosway, and also copied many of his miniatures. "Andrew will be my Elisha," said Cosway on one occasion; adding, with a characteristic touch of vanity, "if I am not constrained to carry my mantle up to Paradise with me." In 1785, Plimer started on his own account, setting up his studio in Great Maddox Street, now called Maddox Street, and afterwards resided in Golden Square, in two separate houses, first at No. 3, and then at No. 8.

He married in February, 1801, a Miss Knight, a member of an old Northamptonshire family, the wedding taking place at Wicken, in Northamptonshire, and Richard Cosway and his wife, Jeremiah Meyer, R.A., with another Academician whose name is unknown, went down to the little country place in a post-chaise to be present on the interesting occasion. He had five children, four daughters and a boy; the latter died when quite a child; and of the four children, only the eldest one, Louisa, married, her husband being a certain Dr. John Scott, of Edinburgh. Mrs. Plimer survived all her family save the eldest daughter, at whose house she died, in 1861, at the age of eighty-eight. The happy couple do not seem to have had time for a honeymoon, but in the following August they went away for a while together, and a portion of the diary of Mrs. Plimer, kept on that occasion, is still in existence.

A few years later, Plimer was living at Exeter, in a house a few doors above St. Sidwell's Church, and while there was regarded as a somewhat proud and reserved man, who would very seldom allow his four handsome girls to associate with the neighbours, and kept himself very much apart from those near to him. In 1818, he was back again in town, and then living in Upper York Street,

Montagu Square ; but a couple of years later, he started to travel about in pursuit of work, leaving his wife and children at home, probably in London. We hear of him at Reading, at Brighton, in Devonshire, Cornwall and Dorsetshire, in Wales and in Scotland. He was very successful ; had as much work as he could possibly carry out ; and he spent the last two years of his life in Brighton, where he died in January, 1837, at the age of seventy-four. He was buried at Hove. He left behind him a substantial fortune, which went to his widow for her life, and was divided, at her decease, between his heirs.

Of his brother Nathaniel we are not able to say quite as much. He resided in Great Marlborough Street in 1787. After that, he was to be found in Maddox Street ; then at 81, New Bond Street ; and eventually at 13, Paddington Street ; and he is said to have died in 1822. We do not know the name of his wife, but he had four daughters, one of whom married the artist Andrew Geddes, a clever portrait painter and able etcher, and had a family. He is declared to have been a man of very high temper, giving way at times to serious outbursts of violence, but beyond these few detached facts, we have nothing definite concerning Nathaniel Plimer's life and career as an artist.

The elder brother does not seem to have painted many miniatures, and the majority of those he carried out are small in size. A few of them are far finer in quality than are the works of Andrew Plimer, but most of them rank distinctly below those of his younger brother, both in point of beauty and quality of portraiture.

Andrew Plimer's works were based distinctly on those of Cosway ; the backgrounds adopted by the two painters are very similar : as a rule, a charming combination of blues and greys, with a somewhat cloudy effect, the blue being that keen, ultramarine blue which Cosway so constantly used. Some of Plimer's miniatures, however,

are painted on a very dark background of foliage and trees, but, generally speaking, the background is composed of blues, whites and greys. Two special features characterise his works; the first is with regard to the eyes of the sitters, especially those of the ladies, who sat to him. His own daughters had very large and remarkable eyes, full of expression, and he so frequently painted portraits of his girls that he seems gradually to have surrendered himself to the charm of these very expressive and brilliant eyes, giving them to many of his sitters. They are almost always of unusually large size, a little showy in their flaunting beauty, and having a trifle of an effect of the Society beauty who has doctored her eye by the use of belladonna. Then again, with regard to the hair, he never represented it in masses, as did Cosway, but in lines, each hair being clearly delineated in a somewhat hard and rigid style. There is far more cross-hatching in the faces, and especially in the shadows of the neck and shoulders, than was the case with the work of Cosway; and, moreover, he was exceedingly fond of the white muslin gowns so often worn in his day, which were open at the breast and neck, and are hardly more than bands on the shoulders, almost the whole of the neck and arm being revealed. It can hardly be that all the girls painted by Plimer wore these gowns, but clearly he preferred to delineate them in that costume, and he gave them full expressive eyes, a perfect mouth, a long neck, and a snowy bosom, and in this way produced an effect approaching monotony in his general work. Some of the loveliest of his portraits were those of his own children, and Mrs. Plimer, whose portrait he painted on many occasions, must herself have been a remarkably beautiful woman, while her youngest child, Joanna, was possessed of unusual charm and distinction. Few of his paintings are more beautiful than a large portrait of Joanna Plimer, which still belongs to the family, and a small one of her elder

sister, Selina, represented in childhood, as a cherub, and almost equally lovely, is in my own possession.

Plimer was rather given to painting groups, and the celebrated one, representing the three Ladies Rushout, known as "Three Graces," is perhaps his best-known work, a miniature which has done more than any other to make his name popular. In his early days he painted very small miniatures, and a group of five, representing different members of the Clayton family, in the collection of Lord Aberdare, show his work at its very best. Later on, he liked to paint large miniatures, especially groups of three persons, such as the group of the Affleck daughters, and one of the three daughters of John Simpson, of Bradley Hall, Durham, and other large ones. The miniatures are exceedingly effective, and look well in a collection, but Plimer was not a good draughtsman. In fact, it must be said that, as a rule, he was most inaccurate in that respect, although his male portraits are generally drawn better than those of the women. His smaller miniatures are certainly the more beautiful; the larger ones are showy and effective—monotonous, as I have already said; and a collection of miniatures by Plimer is thus rather tiring to examine.

CHAPTER X

GEORGE ENGLEHEART

IN the previous chapter I have said that Engleheart¹ must be regarded as one of Cosway's rivals, but as a matter of fact, they catered for two different classes in society. The smart and perhaps the more flippant people went to Cosway or to Plimer, who were the popular artists in the Court of the Prince Regent. The more seriously inclined sat to Engleheart. He painted George III. more than twenty-five times, and executed portraits of many other members of the Royal Family, while his fee-book, which is still in existence, includes the names of notable people of the day who represented most of the great families of England.

His principal work was done between 1775 and 1813, and, according to his note-books, during that time he painted nearly 5,000 miniatures. His earnings on the average were about £1,200 a year, rising in his best year, 1788, up to £2,200, and falling in the very worst of these thirty years to £800.

As regards this fee-book, it may be interesting to point

¹ In conjunction with a member of the Engleheart family, I gathered together in 1902 all the available information concerning this painter, represented a large number of his miniatures as the illustrations, and also gave facsimiles of some of the documents relating to his career. The same book contains a complete list of his sitters, extracted from his fee-book.

out how exceedingly important it is in connection with the life of Engleheart. It gives a complete list of all the portraits he painted in each year, together with the dates upon which they were painted, the names of the persons who paid for them, and the amounts which were received, and page by page is carefully reckoned up, so that we know exactly how many portraits he executed during the given period, and precisely how much cash he received for them. At the end of the year, he makes a still further balance sheet. The total number of miniatures which he produced between 1775 and 1813 runs up to the astonishing figure of 4,853 in all. Some years he was very busy; for example, in 1788, he painted 228 miniatures; in 1783 and in 1786, 208; in 1790, 192, and then his figures vary from about 150 down to about 80, the average being 100 more or less portraits per annum. By 1804, the numbers began to diminish. In that year and in 1810, he only painted 74 pictures. In 1812, he painted 70; in 1813, only 30, and the entries cease. His prices varied in somewhat similar fashion. In 1775, he had from three to four guineas, and the following year, from four to five. In 1777, he charged the King ten guineas, other people six; then in 1780, he started at five guineas, in the following year his minimum price was six, and by 1788, he had risen to eight guineas, and then he goes on slowly increasing his prices, until in 1803 he has from twelve to fifteen guineas, in 1809 from fifteen to seventeen guineas, in 1811 from eighteen to nineteen guineas, and during the last two years of his work from twenty to twenty-five guineas.

The King's portrait Engleheart painted many times, thrice in 1777, three times in the following year, and five times in 1783. Then he painted the King twice again in 1784, four times in 1785, three times in 1786, five times in 1787, and twice in 1788, and we find notes of his having executed portraits of the Princess Dowager of Wales, the Prince of Wales, and Princess Augusta as well. He also

painted the Queen several times, the Duchess of Wurtemberg, the Duke of Sussex and others.

Furthermore, there are many curious scraps of family history recorded in this fee-book, all of importance to the student of social life of the time.

Another very interesting feature of Engleheart's work is the fact that the careful preservation of his pigments and appliances has enabled us to know exactly what colours he used, and indeed to set out his palette just as he himself set it.

He himself was wise enough in his prosperity, to invest his savings in property in London, mostly in what is now known as Mayfair, and when in 1812 he retired with an ample fortune, he was sure of a steady income for the rest of his life, and his careful investments have been of great value to those who have come after him, and who have reaped the benefit of his discretion.

He came of a talented family, and one especially of his ancestors was a Court artificer, a very able modeller in plaster, and many of the wonderful ceilings at Hampton Court Palace owe their beauty to the skill with which he practised his handicraft. He settled down close to the Royal domain at Kew, and married the daughter of its Vicar, while his sister-in-law became the wife of a certain John Dillman, who was responsible for laying out the original gardens of Kew Palace.

Engleheart's brother, Thomas, was a worker in wax, and the dainty portraits that he produced, carved in this most fragile material, appear at least twenty times in the Royal Academy catalogues. Other members of the family became engravers, and several were artists, but George Engleheart was the only one who attained any great eminence. At the beginning of his life, he was a pupil of George Barret, R.A., and then he passed into the studio of Sir Joshua Reynolds. The influence Reynolds had upon him was very marked, and a whole-hearted affection grew

up between the two men. The President allowed Engleheart to copy in miniature many of his own fine oil paintings ; and, in fact, to some of these miniature copies, we owe all the information we possess regarding some lost pictures by Sir Joshua, and also respecting the appearance of the President's pictures when they were first completed.

Engleheart began to exhibit at the Royal Academy when he was still with Reynolds. In 1775, he started on his own account, and then commenced the long career, during which he became not only one of the leading miniature painters of the day, but also one of the most prolific. In July, 1813, yielding to the persuasion of his friends, he gave up the pursuit of portrait painting, and retired to a country house, at Bedford. Eventually he moved to Blackheath, where he died in 1829, in his seventy-eighth year, and was buried at Kew, close to his friend Jeremiah Meyer and his contemporaries and acquaintances Gainsborough and Zoffany. Even after he had retired, he did not entirely relinquish work, and several miniatures are in existence, which are dated later than 1813 ; two of them especially, which bear the dates 1816 and 1818, are as well painted as anything he ever did. Fortunately, his descendants have kept, not merely his fee-book, papers, letters and sketches, but a large number of his miniatures, and the appliances he used, his desk, brushes, palettes and pigments, so that we know more of the life and career of George Engleheart than of any other miniature painter.

The characteristic of his work is its absolute downright truth. There is no monotony about it, there is nothing extravagant or meretricious, but his portraits have a simple dignity, a straightforward character, and give the impression that they are accurate representations and not idealised. The workmanship is very different from that of Cosway ; it does not possess the sparkle and glitter, the brilliance and the fascination of his miniatures. For, indeed, graceful painting, lightness of touch, exquisite

transparency of colour, and the liquid quality of the tender gradations of tone, are the characteristics of Cosway, and are entirely different from the main features of the work of Engleheart. Engleheart's portraits are distinguished by careful drawing and rich colouring, and they possess a certain intellectual force in the expression. There is none of that rapid over-pleasant look that marks some of the portraits by Cosway and by Plimer; one never sees the smirk of a foolish mind, or the evidence of a weak and trivial attention. Engleheart found out whatever was good about the face of the sitter, whatever intellectual force there was in the character, and he set it down; and amongst all the crowd of eighteenth-century miniatures his works stand out as those most definitely marked by the impress of truth, and at the same time invariably pleasing in character and meritorious in colour. He was very careful about his pigments, and we know exactly what he used, and how well he tested them with a view to their permanence. He had a love for fine colour, and he appreciated a splendid costume, or a rich velvet coat, and set himself to carefully represent it. The elaborate hats of some of his girl sitters are exquisitely fashioned, and he seems to have taken an interest in the costume of the person who was to sit to him, so that one seldom sees any of his sitters robed in unbecoming fashion. The costume was always suitable to the age or position of the person who was wearing it. His miniatures are often signed in full on the reverse, and in many instances he added the date and his address to the signature. Others are signed on the face, low down on the right side as it faces the spectator, with the single letter "E," formed in easy flowing curves, a script "E" and not a square one. A few of his miniatures have "G.E." entwined, and one certainly has "G.E." in two separate square letters, this particular miniature being further authenticated by the usual signature in ink on the reverse. Once carefully

PLATE XXIII.

GEORGE ENGLEHEART.
(1750-1829.)

1. A Gentleman. Signed.
In the Collection of an anonymous collector.
2. Anne, daughter of Thomas Fisher, and afterwards wife of Francis Jack Needham, who in 1818 (after her decease) succeeded as 12th Viscount Kilmorey, and in 1822 became Earl of Kilmorey.
3. Frances, daughter of Thomas Fisher, and wife of Henry Pigot, her first cousin, afterwards Sir Henry Pigot.
Both the above were at one time in the possession of Gen. Sir George Higginson, G.C.B., and are now in the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.



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examined, Engleheart's work should easily be detected, and his portraits of men are particularly fine in a certain simple, quiet dignity which they possess. His women's portraits often represent the sitters in vivacious fashion. There are a few examples in which a husband and wife are depicted together in profile, and towards the latter end of his life, he executed some large drawings, in which the drapery is only very slightly indicated, and all the main attention is given to the face. His copies after Sir Joshua Reynolds are of considerable importance and value from the point of view of art students.

Engleheart had two pupils. One was John Cox Dillman Engleheart, and the other was his distant connection, Thomas Richmond. J. C. D. Engleheart went to his uncle's studio in 1798, and after a while set up a studio of his own in Newman Street, Oxford Street, removing later on first into Berners Street, then into Upper Berkeley Street, and again into Cavendish Square. He exhibited about 160 works at the Royal Academy, but when he was about forty-four years old, his health entirely broke up, he had to relinquish his profession, and he travelled about for some time on the Continent. On his return, he settled down at Tunbridge Wells, where he died in 1862, at the age of seventy-eight.

His works are very different from those of his uncle, and, moreover, he had not the advantages either of costume or coiffure which belonged to his uncle's period. His colouring was far hotter than was that of George Engleheart, and much more fanciful, but he was able sometimes to paint a simple straightforward portrait thoroughly well. Even then, the gorgeous backgrounds he loved so much and his dark rich colouring, itself a straining after the effect of oil painting, destroyed the charm and distinction that belong to his uncle's work. The best portrait he ever painted was one of Sheridan. He was a very skilful draughtsman with the pencil, and occasionally his pencil

drawings are to be found, and are always worth while acquiring.

Richmond was the father of two able sons, Thomas Richmond the younger and George Richmond, R.A. There were other members of the family who were talented, both in drawing and painting: Henry, George Engleheart's son, being a skilful architectural draughtsman, and Nathaniel and George, who were Engleheart's grandsons, having been responsible for some wonderful delineations of the form and colouring of some English moths. Probably no artists ever reproduced so perfectly the exquisite daintiness of some of the smaller moths in all their extreme minute beauty than did these two clever entomologists. So successful were they in handling the brush that they were able to paint, under each moth, its full name and the information respecting it, in beautiful square characters, that are still as perfect as though they were printed, instead of having been painted with a tiny brush.

CHAPTER XI

JOHN SMART

THE noblest and most dignified miniatures of the eighteenth century were undoubtedly those painted by John Smart. This is not to say that they are the most fascinating, nor, perhaps, those which will the most readily be appreciated. Smart's work needs to be understood before it can be properly admired, and at the first glance the ordinary collector will be more ready to exult over the brilliant work of Cosway; the flippant, flaunting beauty of the work of Plimer, or the solid, grandiose dignity of the portraits by Engleheart. On more careful examination, however, it will be found that no miniatures are so well worthy of study as are those of John Smart, and I think it will then be granted that the words *noble* and *dignified* which I have used concerning them, are justified. Moreover, in dealing with Smart, we have to do with an extremely accurate draughtsman, whose work, in consequence, is exceedingly satisfactory from that point of view. Again, we have a man who had evidently studied the anatomy of the human face with great care and close diligence, because no faces are represented on miniatures of the eighteenth century with such skill and accuracy, as are those depicted by John Smart. It was wisely said by John Russell, R.A., to one of his pupils, that the most important duty of a portrait painter was to learn thoroughly all that was to be known about anatomy, and then

to forget it, and the value of the advice will be appreciated when a few moments' consideration is given to the statement. The knowledge must be there, the artist must know where the bones of the structure have their place, how they are covered by the flesh, how the muscles act and react both on the bones and on the flesh structure, the position of the great centres of nervous energy, the contours of the flesh with all that they mean in representing that which lies under them, and then, when this information is acquired almost with a surgical accuracy, the harder and more technical details must be banished from the mind, and the knowledge itself must constitute a power by which proper delineation can be guided, and must not be forced in any way beyond what is absolutely necessary and true. Such was the manner of John Smart. We may feel certain that the old story that he was intended at first for a surgeon must have had some basis of solid fact. We do not know who his father was ; it is possible that he may himself have been a medical man, or a surgeon. It is merely a rumour that John was to be brought up to the surgical profession ; but the more one looks into his miniatures, the more one is convinced that the man who painted them had a thoroughly sound knowledge of the human body, for the bony structures are never misplaced, the faces and shoulders are never inaccurately given, the hollows of the neck and bosom, with all their subtle modelling, are perfectly rendered, and when a shadow falls, it falls exactly in the right place, and from exactly the right position, so that the portraits painted by John Smart are just perfect representations of the faces and figures of the sitters.

We know but very little about the history of Smart, and we would fain know a great deal more about the man who must be considered as the chief miniature painter of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the reputation, the brilliance, and the fascination of Cosway or the solid worth of Engleheart. We do know that he was born in Norfolk

at some small village near to Norwich, on May 1st, 1740, and that he died on the anniversary of the same day seventy years afterwards. He came from the country whence sprang Cotman and Croome and the later successors of that famous Norwich school, but he appears to have come to London very early in life, before he was fourteen, and perhaps for the surgical training already alluded to. In 1755 he gained a prize from the Society of Arts in one of their earliest competitions, and, oddly enough, divided the premium with Cosway, whose acquaintance he perhaps made at that time. Cosway produced a Head of one of the Virtues done in chalk, Smart an Academy Figure in pencil, and both of them were said to be under fourteen years old at the time.

He followed up this success by taking off another prize in 1757, and yet another in 1758. Then he seems to have become a pupil of an English miniature and subject painter, one Daniel Dodd, of whom also we know practically nothing, save that he was a member of the Free Society of Artists, and that he painted two large groups, one representing a Royal procession to St. Paul's, and another a meeting of the Royal Academy, neither of which can at present be traced.

From Dodd's studio, Smart migrated to St. Martin's Lane Academy, and then, in early days, began to exhibit with the Incorporated Society of Artists, later on becoming a Director and then a Vice-President of the Society. Furthermore, we know that he married one Edith Vere, and that he resided at 4, Russell Place, Fitzroy Square.

When working amongst the papers of Cosway, at the convent founded by his wife, I was able to ascertain, for the first time, that Smart was for a while a pupil of Cosway, although there was only one year's difference in their respective ages. Curiously enough, no miniature painter of his day shows less sign of following the habit, or the colouring, or the style of Cosway than does Smart, and I

PLATE XXIV.

JOHN SMART
(c. 1740-1811).

1. Sarah Tyssen (1756-1790). Signed and dated.
In the Collection of the Rev. R. A. J. Suckling.
2. The Infant Son of John Smart.
At one time in the possession of Mr. E. M. Hodgkins.
3. Called a portrait of Maria Cosway, dated 1784. M.C. on
reverse. Signed.
Formerly in the Collection of Mr. George Salting.



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am inclined, therefore, to believe that the pupilage must have lasted a comparatively short time. Oddly enough, Cosway himself seems to have appreciated Smart's work, and yet the miniatures painted by the younger man are so dissimilar from those of Cosway that one is almost surprised to find that the Academician admired the work of his pupil. Moreover, Cosway was not given to praising the work of others. He valued himself far too highly to do so, and he used to look down, with something approaching contempt, upon the artists who were his rivals and contemporaries. He would, of course, notice that Smart's miniatures lacked the brilliance and sparkle which he was able to put into his own pictures, that they were infinitely more serious, sombre, etc., quiet; and so it was that in two of his letters to his wife he unites, with his praise of Smart's work, curious pieces of criticism, which a comparison of the miniatures painted by the two men enables one to understand. "Honest John's faces," he says in one letter, "are still not round enough to my liking, but after a few days, I will get him to my way of thinking." "Faithful John," he says in another, "hard at work as ever, he fain will be great and methinks he is, as he takes such pains and care albeit he is slow and a bit washy." And then finally, "John Smart's women are too stiff still, but I like his portraits with all my heart." "Stiff" is perhaps a charge that may with some justification be applied to Smart's work. There is a certain formality and demureness about his sitters. "Washy" is almost the last word one would apply to them, but perchance Cosway means that the colouring was thin and, in his estimation, a little poor, not possessing the richness, and the showy brilliance, of his own. In other notes Cosway calls him "Honest John Smart" and "Good little John," and therefore we imagine that he was a person of short stature, probably also of very simple habits, and this can be understood with greater accuracy when we learn that he belonged to a curious and

little-known religious sect called Glassites or Sandemanians. This sect is known almost entirely, because Michael Faraday was one of the adherents to its special tenets. It was composed of persons who held very simple religious views, a little eccentric in some special features, but characterised by great devoutness of feeling, a careful adherence to the teaching of Holy Scripture as understood by themselves, a marked simplicity of ritual, and an intense attachment to the dictates of conscience and the regulations of duty. Faraday himself, in addressing one who had been a favourite pupil, cut off intentionally the pleasure of further correspondence with this man, because he felt sure that such correspondence tended to unsettle the person to whom it was addressed, and to lead him himself to attach a greater importance to some of his discoveries while narrating them to another, than he considered a simple Christian man should do.¹ The Sandemanians were not people of high education, nor perhaps even of great culture, and they belonged for the most part to what we now regard as the lower middle classes. They were sweet, quiet, kindly people, and methinks one can see perhaps something of their aspect of life in the simple Quakerish miniatures which Smart painted.

In 1783, we hear of the artist in Ipswich, and of his exhibiting at the Royal Academy for some five years, and then, in 1788, he went off to India. The East had, at that time, very special attractions for an artist. The Indian potentates were not only very anxious to have their portraits painted by English artists, but they were prepared to pay very large sums for that privilege, and to "shake the Pagoda-tree" was the ambition of every artist of the day, however simple and unworldly he may otherwise have been. Smart's journey to India was a rather disturbing element in the mind of Ozias Humphry, to whom I refer

¹ This information is from a very near relation of my own (D.W.) who received and cherished Faraday's letter.

in the next chapter, because the latter clearly recognised in Smart a superior craftsman to himself, and he was rather afraid that Smart would thus take away some of the choice commissions which he was eagerly anticipating. Humphry heard from Joseph Farrington, a Royal Academician of the day, that Smart intended to go no further than Madras. and if that was the case, Humphry said, it would not be of much consequence to him; but, he added, if Smart was going on to Calcutta, it would be a serious injury to them both; "I cannot with decency or the least satisfaction to myself take any steps to prevent him, though the object of my trip to India was to be frustrated by it." Ozias Humphry was an ambitious and somewhat avaricious man, and, in his desire to obtain riches, was at times unscrupulous. He was at the moment of writing, under a sort of engagement to Miss Boydell, and Smart was to have painted her picture. He did not want her to make the acquaintance of Cosway, as Cosway was a noted flirt, and she a particularly good-looking woman. He was inclined to recommend Jeremiah Meyer, but he would sooner Smart painted the portrait than any one else, because he was sure it would be a good portrait; so he went on, in a letter to Miss Boydell, to say, that one of his chief reasons for persuading her to sit to Smart, and to ask her friends to do the same, was not to help Smart at all, but rather that the artist might think "it prudent to defer his trip to India till next winter," by which time Humphry would have got the position that he coveted. As it turned out, Humphry was foolish to make this remark, because he showed his own selfishness in so doing, and thus annoyed Miss Boydell. The lady did sit to Smart, and the portrait containing her miniature reached Humphry in India and was pronounced to be a very satisfactory one. After a while, Humphry had to leave Calcutta, and then again Smart enters into the story, for in one of his letters he says he fears that his leaving Calcutta "may make room for Mr. Smart, who is

now at Madras," and he thinks that if Smart did come to Calcutta it would oblige him to have to paint in oil, in order to compete with Smart, because there was no oil painter there except Hickey, "a very weak painter in oil," and Zoffany, who was about to return to England, but the people who saw the "highly finished pictures of Smart" "grow nice and want good pennyworths," and then he finishes up by saying that as Smart did not paint in oil, but only in miniature, he must do something in order to compete with him. As a matter of fact, in this last statement, Ozias Humphry was in error, because Smart did occasionally paint in oil, once certainly, and a large picture of an Indian potentate, the work of John Smart, and signed by him, hangs in the smaller reading-room of the Oriental Club, giving us clear proof that Smart could paint in oil, although one is bound to say that the portrait, although important, is not a notable production, and is evidently the work of some one not accustomed to that medium in which it was executed. There are altogether many allusions in Ozias Humphry's correspondence, both to the fine miniature which Smart painted of Miss Boydell and which Humphry admired with great enthusiasm, and to his great dread of coming into competition with Smart, who was at that time his chief rival, and who, he said, drew better than he could. Beyond these few references in Humphry's letters, however, we know practically nothing of Smart's life in India. We are told that he visited the courts of many native Princes, and that he painted the Rajahs and the Viziers, their children and their wives, and in their very Palaces there should still be found by a skilful collector fine examples of Smart's work. He appears to have adopted, with punctilious attention, the idea of putting the letter "I" underneath the initials of his own name, on all the portraits he painted in India, and such portraits as those of Lord Cornwallis, a Mr. Thomas Cockburn, and of a Mr. and Mrs. White, and other Indian

officials, are proved to have been painted in that country by the presence of this initial.

In addition to miniatures Smart seems to have executed, both in India and in England, some wonderful pencil drawings, and it seems to be quite possible that, in his careful way, he prepared a sketch in pencil for each portrait, before he painted miniatures. A large number of these pencil portraits are still in existence, some in his sketch-books, and others separately framed. They came after Smart's death to a Miss Smart, who was possibly his sister, but who may perchance have been his daughter. She had a great friend, one Mary Smirke, daughter of Robert Smirke the architect, who lived near Fitzroy Square, and to this Miss Smirke, Miss Smart seems to have left whatever she possessed in the way of drawings and sketch-books. In consequence there are in the possession of two descendants of the Smirke family quite a large collection of pencil drawings by Smart.

One of them offers a curious problem with regard to Smart's family. It has been said that he had but one son, who was known as John Smart the younger. A certain Samuel Paul Smart, who also exhibited at the Royal Academy in the eighteenth century, was certainly not his child, and was very probably no relation at all to him. The son was also a person of quite small stature; a casual reference to him in the pages of *The Spectator* speaks of "little John Smart," and another similar allusion in a contemporary letter refers to "little John the clever painter," and the context shows that it was Smart the younger who was meant by that phrase. This John Smart the younger accompanied his father to India and died, in Madras, in 1809. There is, however, in the Smirke collection a delightful pencil sketch by John Smart which is inscribed: "John Dighton born at Matrosse, East India, June 1793, died in London March 1810. Painted a few days before his death by his grandfather John Smart," while on the

PLATE XXV.

JOHN SMART
(1740 ?-1811).

1. Lady Oakeley[†] (1762-1839) (*née* Beatson).
In the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.
2. Mr. Featherstonhaugh.
In the Collection of the Lord Hothfield.
3. Nelly Garnett (1770).
At one time in the possession of Mr. E. M. Hodgkins.
4. The Honourable Thomas Walpole.
From the Collection of the late Sir Spencer Walpole.



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back of the picture is a still further inscription : " March 25, aged 17, painted by Mr. Smart his grandfather." Moreover, there is a finished miniature of the lad in existence, also the work of John Smart, which has at the back of it the initials " J.D.S.," so whether the younger Smart had a son whose name was John Dighton Smart, or whether Smart had a daughter whose married name was Dighton, is not very clear, but the presumptive evidence is in favour of the first-named theory, and it may follow that the boy, after the death of his father in India, came back to England, and died himself in the following year.

The younger Smart was almost as clever as his father, but he appears to have painted very few miniatures. His own portrait was painted by his father as a child, and the miniature, inscribed on the back, " The infant son of John Smart," is in America, while a pencil sketch for it, slightly touched with colour,¹ is in the collection already mentioned. Some of the son's work was on a larger scale than that of his father, and one miniature especially, which was in the possession of Mr. Gerald Ponsonby, is unusually big, perhaps one of the largest of the eighteenth-century productions. Others represent a Mrs. Turning, dated 1810; Mr. Booty, a purser, dated 1797, and Mr. Michael Topping, a surveyor-general and astronomer of the East India Company, which was painted in 1796; but there are sketches by the younger Smart for Admiral Young, Lord Hawke, Mr. C. S. Wingfield, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Rallard, Captain Gregory, Mr. Alfred Clark, Sir Thomas Elliott, Lady Wentworth, and Lady Ratcliffe, of which the actual miniatures are unknown, and perchance some collector may yet be able to discover them.

While in India, both father and son are said to have adopted an extreme simplicity of life, spending very little upon their clothes and food, and to have been more tenacious than ever to the peculiar tenets of the Sandemianians' doctrine, taking every word of Scripture in its literal sense,

offering a stern objection to second marriages, and shunning cards, dice, and all games of chance, because of their definite opinion that the "lot" was a very sacred thing. These statements are preserved for us in a letter written by a certain Diana Dally to her friend from India, in which she writes of having met Mr. Smart and his son, and seems somewhat disposed to poke fun at them for their quiet simplicity.

It does not appear likely that Smart made anything in the way of a great financial success in India. Apparently he was not eager for such success, and was merely anxious to obtain what he regarded as a competence. His cool, soft-coloured, rather Quakerish miniatures were not as popular in the native courts as some of the more brilliant works of his contemporaries; but he painted the portraits of a considerable number of the English residents in India, as well as of natives, and he is said, upon good tradition, to have kept a book containing the names of the persons he painted, and recording the prices which he received for these portraits. Unfortunately, that book cannot be found; it would be of extreme interest if ever it could be traced.

When Smart came home from India, he appears to have made the acquaintance of an artist called Toussaint, who was not merely a clever miniature painter, but also a jeweller, and who devoted considerable attention to designing and making wonderful frames for miniatures, on several occasions producing special frames for works by Smart. A superb portrait that was once in the Marshall-Hall collection was in a frame designed by Toussaint; another, also his work, was in the collection of Miss ffoulkes, and it is said that the simple frame of pearls and diamonds in which was contained the portrait of Smart's son as a baby, to which allusion has just been made, was also the work of this able jeweller. Mr. Hodgkin had, at one time, several miniatures by Smart enclosed in elaborate frames of

unusually fine gold work, which were probably executed by the same man.

Smart exhibited many times at the Royal Academy, but, save in three or four instances, the names of his sitters are not given. He sent portraits of himself, of Miss Smart, and twice of his son, once as Mr. Smart, and once as Mr. Smart junior; to the exhibitions, and he exhibited portraits of Colonel Reynolds, and of Nollekens the sculptor, but beyond these few names, we cannot identify any of the portraits he sent to the exhibitions. His death I have already recorded, but where it actually took place, beyond the fact that it was in London, is not quite clear, and it is tantalising to feel that of the greatest artist of that period we know so little, and that the few scraps of information we do possess are all such as would lead us to believe that he must have been a man of extraordinary interest, unusual in his day and generation, both in his personal character and in his art, and one about whom we would gladly have far fuller details. Moreover, he was so careful that one may be sure the tradition that refers to his having kept a book of accounts and a list of his sitters is a firmly based one, and these documents are therefore the more eagerly to be desired.

Now, as regards his portraits, and as helpful to the collector, it may be well to say that almost all his portraits represent only the head and bust. There are practically only two examples with which I am acquainted where accessories of any sort find a place in Smart's work. In one, a portrait of a lady painted in India in 1787, Smart has represented her as holding a book between two of her fingers and resting her hand upon a walking-stick. In another, an example of the forget-me-not is introduced between two fingers, painted with marvellous skill, and so perfectly kept as an accessory that it is not instantly realised that the flower is in the portrait at all, the attention of the spectator being taken almost exclusively by the face.

The backgrounds are brown, greenish, grey, creamy-white, sometimes with a little mingling of greenish-brown, and in a few examples almost black, the more highly coloured being greenish-grey in a sort of mingled, slightly modelled effect. The details of the costume, such as the star of an Order, or the buttons of the coat, a silk or lace tie, a pearl necklace or jewels, are always painted with extreme minuteness and perfect skill ; but, as already mentioned, all such accessories occupy their fitting place in the portrait. They are never unduly prominent, they have almost to be sought for. When found, the skill with which they are represented is instantly recognised : but it is the faces that attract, and the incomparable skill with which they are delineated gives Smart his high position. Moreover, there is nothing monotonous about Smart's work. There is an infinite variety about the expression of the faces, and both amongst his men's and women's portraits there is hardly one that is represented sad, and there are many in which—for a wonder—an almost sly humour is clearly to be perceived. One is disposed to think that Smart was a happy man, for he introduced this element of quiet content into his portraits, just lighting up some of them with the faintest glimpse of humour. One feels sure that he had striven for truth in his portraiture, and had obtained it. The portraits are clearly not flattered. They are life-like. He was perhaps not quite skilful in composition ; at times the figures are set a little awkwardly inside the miniatures, and sometimes one feels that the miniature would have been better if a little more background had been shown at one side of the head, or a little less on the other, or more above or below, and one is inclined to think sometimes that the lighting is not quite as perfect as one would have expected from so skilful a draughtsman. It has even been said that the painting is a little laborious and smells a trifle of the lamp, and that the modelling is a little over-definite ; but I am disposed to think that these are points of hyper-criti-

cism, and that examination of a number of Smart's works will lead the collector to think that these delicate points of criticism are not wholly warranted, that Smart stands alone, complete and great in his work, and there is more real satisfaction in collecting his miniatures than in obtaining those of his contemporaries from the point of view in which they repay careful study, from the extreme dignity of their presentations, and the wonderful psychology of the miniatures, revealing to us, as they do, the very life of the person. The humour to which we have referred is more to be seen in the portraits of men than in those of women. In some of the women's portraits, the expression is a trifle sarcastic, even sardonic; the humour cannot be kept outside altogether, but it takes upon itself a rather bitter tinge, whereas in the men's portraits it is lighter and more charming. The texture of the flesh is incomparable, and one feels there is a strength in reserve, a certain grandeur in the reticence of the colour scheme, which is responsible for the high position one gives to Smart's work. It must be stated, moreover, that there are two periods to be marked in his miniatures; those which he produced about 1770 being marked by an exceedingly smooth finish which approaches to that of enamel, the stippling is exceedingly delicate, the purity of the colour well marked, and the miniatures that were painted within just these few years round about 1770 are amongst his finest, but not perhaps amongst his greatest works. Just at that time, there was a little over-elaboration, but they are quite wonderful and worthy of close examination, though a little later there was super-added a breadth which was lacking in 1770. It would be interesting to know exactly what was the pigment Smart used for his flesh tints. It was not the ordinary lake, nor the customary carnation. It gives a very natural effect, albeit a trifle inclined to a brick-dust hue. Once recognised, it forms an easy touch-piece for detecting Smart's work. It is impossible to describe the colour, but the collector who gives

some careful attention to the work of Smart will find the presence of this peculiar flesh tint almost invariable, and it will enable him practically in a flash to identify the work of this great painter.

It might be well, in conclusion, to mention the names of a few persons whose portraits Smart undoubtedly painted, but whose miniatures have not yet been found. We know of the existence of these miniatures because the preparatory pencil sketches for them are still in existence, and it may be of some service to the collector if we mention that miniatures by John Smart representing the following persons have yet to be found and to be identified. This may perchance add some zest to the search for them. The names are these :—

Miss Rawley, Mr. Stead of Tower Hill, Lord Craven, 1783, Mr. Roche, Mr. Maquer, Major Banks, Elizabeth Balchin, Miss Benet, Sir G. Carew, Mr. Batson, Mr. Fitzherbert, Sir John Lester, Mr. Jones, Mr. Ward, Miss C. Wolff, Lady Abington, Mr. Auriol (a member of the same family as that painted by Zoffany in India), Mr. Gambier, Mr. Aguilar, Sir Roger Twisden, Mr. Davidson, Mr. Read, Mr. Plomer, Mr. Tomkinson, Sir G. Armytage, Lady Oglan-der and Monsieur de Viapré.

There are two portraits of Smart in existence, one resembles a silhouette, and was the work of John Miers. It was drawn in 1799, and presented by Smart to his wife, having an inscription on the back of it to that effect. It was really a painting in Indian ink on ivory, representing him in a high-collared coat and frilled cravat. It was in the Wellesley Collection. The other portrait appears on a rare medal, and is declared to be the work of Smith M. Kirk, whose name appears on the exergue. It describes him as a miniature painter, and represents him as a man in middle life, wearing his hair in an elaborate pigtail. The medal has a plain reverse and is exceedingly scarce.

CHAPTER XII

OZIAS HUMPHRY, R.A.

THE only other artist of the eighteenth century who deserves a separate chapter to himself is Ozias Humphry ; he occupies as high a position as any of those in the second rank, and, indeed, in his finest work can be reckoned as important even as Cosway or Smart. The curious feature about Humphry's miniatures is that the unfinished ones, sketches for miniatures, are often finer and more important than his finished works. It is also a point of some importance, that, until quite recent years, his unfinished works had not received the attention they deserved, because a large proportion were hidden away from public sight, and known to very few persons outside quite a small circle. Humphry's sketches are brilliant impressions, but too many of his miniatures are over-elaborate, and too detailed in treatment. This is especially the case with the portraits he painted while in India. He was carried away by the glowing colour of the robes worn by the various native officials whose portraits he delighted to paint, and by the appearance of their jewels, chains, and daggers, and too often he elaborated these unimportant details, and so spoiled the general effect. Moreover, as a rule, his miniatures are too large. He was fond of the very largest sized oval that was at that time in use, and he aimed too much at producing a finished picture rather than an adequate portrait. When to this we add the statement that he gave up some considerable

time to copying in miniature large oil paintings, and that the chief commission that he ever received was to make miniature copies of a series of family portraits at Knole, it can well be believed that this work did not improve his skill in presenting a small and adequate portrait, but tended, by the production of elaborate copies of other work, to injure him in original work.

He was born at Honiton. His mother was a lace worker who appears to have carried on an important business, and to have been fairly successful. The father was a member of a well-known Devonshire family, and Humphry always took great interest in gathering up information respecting his ancestors, and in making use himself of the armorial achievements to which they were entitled. As a boy, he showed some considerable artistic skill, and his father was persuaded to send him up to London, where he studied for a while at Shipley's school in St. Martin's Lane. On the death of his father, he returned to Devonshire, and Mrs. Humphry hoped he would join her in the lace industry, and devote his talent for design to her assistance; but Humphry was not willing to do this, and, in 1762, he went to Bath, and was articled to Samuel Collins, the miniature painter. He boarded, in Bath, with Mrs. Linley, and made the acquaintance of her beautiful daughter, who afterwards became Mrs. Sheridan. There are interesting allusions to the various members of the Linley family to be found amongst his documents.

When Collins came to grief, Humphry proceeded to London, and there had his celebrated interview with Sir Joshua Reynolds, and was persuaded by him to start on his own account as a painter. Reynolds encouraged him in his work, and lent him one of his own pictures to copy. Humphry then became a member of the Society of Artists, and decided that he would settle down in London. Before doing so, however, he went back again to Bath, came into intimate connection with Gainsborough, with whom he

used to ride, and after making an interesting excursion to various places in the West and central parts of England, he came up finally to London, and took rooms at Covent Garden. One of his miniatures, exhibited in 1766, attracted the attention of the King, who purchased it, and then Humphry obtained commissions to paint portraits of the Queen, and of other members of the Royal Family. He had already made the acquaintance of George Romney, with whom he was to become particularly intimate, and it is probable that their studios were, at that time, adjacent to one another. The two men decided to visit Italy in company, and they set out in 1773, journeying first of all to Knole, where they had some commissions to execute for the Duke of Dorset, in whose house they appear to have remained for some little time. They then went on to Rome and Florence, and Humphry studied in Italy till 1777, when he was back again in London, having been preceded by Romney, who spent a far shorter time on the Continent than he did, and who was back on London in 1775. It was on his return to London that Humphry made the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson, and some interesting letters then passed between the two men.

In 1785, Humphry decided to leave England for India, having the desire to pass two or three years in that country, and if possible, to use his own words, "to acquire a competence which will give serenity to the thought of old age." He had heard a good deal from other artists, who had already "shaken the Pagoda-tree," of the success which had attended their efforts, and he went out in high spirits, expecting, not merely to gain the competence upon which he had set his heart, but to acquire a comfortable fortune. He was successful in his work in India, obtaining a great many commissions, but, unfortunately, some very large sums that were due to him from certain native princes were never paid, and the pleasure that Humphry derived from his sojourn in India was very much spoiled on account

PLATE XXVI.

OZIAS HUMPHRY, R.A.
(1742-1810).

1. " Charles Lee, Lord Viscount Dillon of Ditchley, Oxford."
2. " Marquis of Graham, Duke of Montrose."
3. " Mrs. Nesbitt of Norwood Common 1770."
4. " Mr. Hervey-Aston 1765."
Above four from the Turner Collection.
5. " A boy, name unknown."
In the Collection of Dr. G. C. Williamson.

N.B.—The inscriptions are as Humphry wrote them.



1



2



3



4



5

of this difficulty. There are masses of papers still in existence which deal with this heavy debt, and detail the many efforts Humphry made to obtain its payment. On more than one occasion he could have had payment of the principal sum, but he was stubborn enough to insist also upon the interest, and by this insistence he lost all chance of obtaining the original amount. His health broke down in India, and he had to return to England in 1788. The voyage home was an uncomfortable one: he was disappointed at his lack of success, he had become more irritable, and, moreover, his eyesight, which later on was to cause him such grievous trouble as to oblige him to relinquish his artistic pursuits, was even then a source of considerable inconvenience. On his return to London, he took up crayon painting, became a full member of the Academy in 1791, and in 1792 was appointed a portrait painter in crayons to the King. By 1797, however, he had to give up his artistic work, his blindness having then increased to a very serious extent. He lived for some thirteen years longer, however, and died at his residence on March 9th, 1810.

He is, perhaps, specially to be remembered at the present day by reason of the long and interesting lawsuit¹ that took place in 1917, concerning a picture which was at one time believed to represent Mrs. Siddons and Miss Kemble, and was attributed on circumstantial evidence to Romney, but which eventually proved to be a portrait of the Ladies Waldegrave, and the work of Ozias Humphry. Fortunately, Humphry's original signed sketch for the composition of this picture had been preserved, and its production in court² settled a very complicated question, which had been a dispute for several months.

Humphry had a natural son, one William Upcott, a well-known collector of books, MSS. and medals. He

¹ *Huntington v. Lewis and Simmons*, May 15th-24th, 1917.

² By the writer.

inherited, from Humphry, a considerable number of unfinished miniatures and sketches both on paper and on ivory, and also whatever property Humphry possessed at his death, together with many sketch-books, and an extensive correspondence. By good fortune, Upcott preserved, with the greatest care, the papers and documents relating to Humphry's career, binding them up into various volumes, many of which form to-day part of the library of the Royal Academy. We are therefore in a position to know more of the inner life of this eighteenth-century artist than we do of many of his contemporaries.¹ The documents revealed two interesting love stories, but did not show the artist in a very attractive guise. He was a man of fickle temperament, of somewhat miserly disposition and of a fretful and irritable temper, with the result that he was disappointed almost throughout his career. The collection of unfinished miniatures which he bequeathed to Upcott came eventually into the possession of Mr. Hampden Turner, and from them we can form an adequate idea of Humphry's skill, and thus give him a higher position as a miniature painter than for some years he possessed. Differing from most painters, he gave attention to almost every branch of art; some of his oil paintings are thoroughly satisfactory. In his crayon work, he took a high average. He drew skilfully in pencil, he attempted etching, water-colour painting, and even lithography, but it is on his work as a miniature painter that his reputation will rest, and some of his finest works, especially those on a very small scale, are of extreme beauty, and great excellence. He left behind him great evidence of his industry, and his drawings, miniatures and paintings are to be found in many collections.

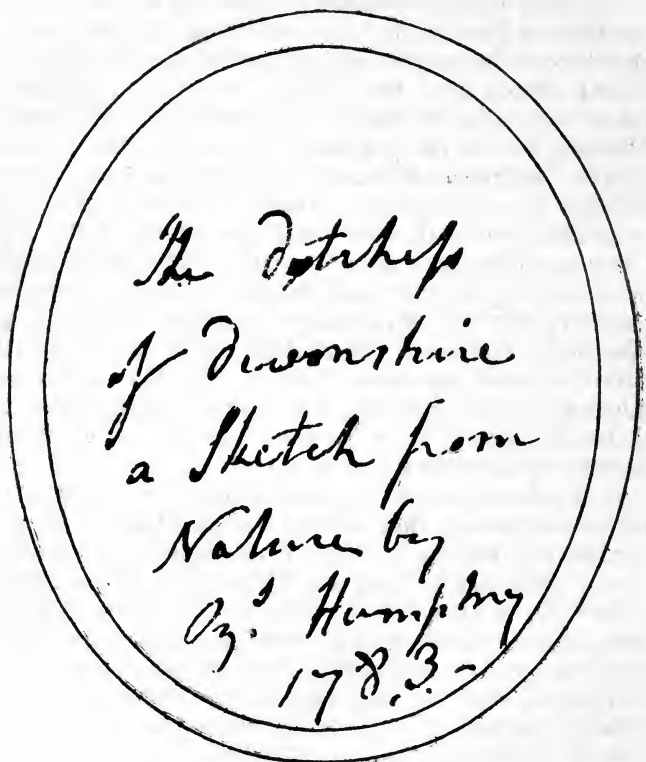
As already mentioned, he was skilful in copying, in miniature form, family portraits in oil, and, for the Duke

¹ *Vide* "Ozias Humphry, R.A.," by G. C. Williamson, 1918.

of Dorset, he produced a long series of such works, which have now found a place in the collection of Mr. Pierpont Morgan. There are many of his drawings in the British Museum, and in the possession of Mr. A. G. Fisher. One of his best crayon portraits is in the collection of the Gaekwar of Baroda, there are several portraits by him in the National Portrait Gallery, and five of his miniatures are in the collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle, others at Welbeck Abbey, at South Kensington Museum, and in the collections of Lord Hothfield, Lord Powys, the Duke of Rutland, Lord Sackville, Earl Spencer and Mr. Francis Wellesley. One of his best oil paintings is at Berkeley Castle, and others are at Knole Park, at Greenwich Hospital and at Ickworth. There is one of his miniatures in the Holburne Museum at Bath, another is owned by the Earl of Carlisle, one belongs to the Earl of Harewood, another to the Earl of Jersey, and there are two or three in my own collection. The bulk of his unfinished portraits, however, still remains in the possession of Mr. Hampden Turner, to whose ancestors it came, by bequest, from William Upcott.

It may be well to draw the attention of the collector to one curious feature that is easily recognised in Humphry's miniatures. He had the habit of giving what a contemporary critic called "greyhound-like eyes" to his sitters. Attention has already been directed to the fact that the eyes painted by Andrew Plimer were unusually large, somewhat staring, and a little meretricious in their prominence. Humphry's work, on the other hand, is distinguished by entirely different characteristics. The eyes are long and narrow, a little inclined to resemble, in their extreme narrowness, those of an Oriental. It is not easy to explain exactly the way in which they differ from the eyes painted by many of his contemporaries, but if the collector gives some careful attention to the illustrations, notably those in colour, of various unfinished miniatures by Ozias Hum-

phry, the characteristics will be readily noted, and this curious painting of the eye will be a help in distinguishing his work from that of any of his contemporaries. He appears seldom to have painted the eyes really wide open.



There is a half sly look about them, which gives a somewhat sleepy appearance to the faces of many of his women sitters. The backgrounds to his miniatures are usually dark, sometimes green or brown or blue, but always

inclining to the darker, denser shade of colour, and these are produced by somewhat elaborate stippling. He had a clever sense of composition, and, as a rule, the portraits are admirably set upon the ivory. They are very seldom full face, generally three-quarter, but very often in profile. The easiest way to detect them is by looking for the dreamy, sleepy look which marks them out from the work of any of his contemporaries. His best portraits are on an exceedingly small scale, and these are particularly well worth securing. Few artists of the day could surpass him in the rapidity with which he was able to obtain and preserve a likeness.

A reproduction of his usual signature is given overleaf.

CHAPTER XIII

WILLIAM WOOD

WILLIAM WOOD was a popular miniature painter in the Eighteenth Century about whom hitherto very little has been known, but who was responsible for, at least, 1,200 miniatures and also for many interesting drawings and water colours.

He has been alluded to in several books of reference, and various statements have been made, some of them accurate and some based on erroneous information or confusion with someone else, wholly incorrect. Amongst those who have at times fallen a victim to inaccurate information I am bound to include myself, but I may add that I have always known that somewhere or other, in Suffolk, manuscripts concerning Wood were in existence, and I hoped some day to obtain and make use of them. Far and wide I made enquiries and was at length successful; and now, as I possess definite information concerning Wood in his own handwriting, which has never before been published, it seemed well to take advantage of the appearance of this book, and give a chapter of almost wholly new material, upon a painter who deserves to be recognised. Moreover, from his four ledgers which are now in my possession, I have extracted a list of his sitters and it appears as an appendix to this book. Details of almost every portrait are carefully given by Wood, and to the owners of any of the miniatures I shall be happy to supply the complete information which the artist has written down. In many instances it is full of interest.

Wood kept his accounts with praiseworthy exactitude. He numbered his miniatures from 5,000 for the first miniature down to 6,211, the last he chronicles, and his drawings from 10,000 down to 10,149, the last mentioned, in his fourth volume. He worked from 1790 to 1808, and he describes in most instances the size of the miniature, the pigments he used in his preparation, the dates when he began and completed it, the price he was paid for it, and other details concerning its frame, the person to whom it was delivered, its condition and appearance in later years and so on. Moreover, in many instances, he attaches to the page a tracing of the actual portrait, so that identification is easy and certain. He prefaces his first ledger by drawings of the six sizes of ovals which he used; they measure 2, $2\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3, $3\frac{1}{4}$, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ in length, and were called by him sizes 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. He then alludes to certain abbreviations he uses. S. W., he says, is "a kind of white prepared from silver by Reeves."

B. W. is a "white prepared from bismuth," and this he adds is "bad."

F. W. is "the common flake white."

O. W. "is another on a lead basis."

C. W. "is common river water."

D. W. "is distilled water."

C. R. "is creamlets white, prepared by Mr. Turner of Millbank, on a lead basis but perfectly durable."

He then adds "a sufficient quantity of gum is united with the colours, to make them bear out, and a twelfth of white sugar candy to make them work more freely." The other pigments to which he alludes are Reeves' Constant White, Gamboge, Madder Lake, Gardner's Brown, Prussian Blue, Bone Black, Scott's Cake Bistre, Blackman's White, Blackman's carmine, Townsend's Purple, Godfrey's Ultramarine, Mapoul's Vermilion, Bartram's Mineral Blue and Dragon's Blood. To some of these colours I make allusion in a later chapter.

The first Miniature Wood recorded was "a copy from an old picture said to be a head of Ben Jonson ; in purple drapery and olive ground." This he says he painted for himself, in January, 1790. He left it with a Mr. More, he says, "for shew," fetched it back on March 4th, 1791, and then sent it to someone else. "The first miniature I ever painted," however, he numbered 5001, and says it was "a copy from Sir Joshua's portrait in a Classical Dress." This he also did in January, 1790, and presented it to Mr. John Kerby, of Stafford Street. Then followed three more copies from works by Reynolds, one of which he sent to Bristol, another to Champion's Library, Margate, and a third to Silver's Library, Margate, all "on shew." Two of these he re-touched, one in 1796 and the other in 1799. He tells us of one of them that the coat was "in body colour, of Indian ink and silver white," and the curtain in the background of "vermilion and Indian red glazed with lake and burnt umber," and that they all had "gum arabic water passed over" them. There followed a portrait of his sister in black drapery, "the lights scratched off with a point," which he sent to Bristol "on shew," where later on he obtained many commissions, and then came his first commission, a portrait of "Sir Jacob Woulfe in a dark coat with an olive background when about 60." He painted this on February 11th, 1790, and was paid a guinea for it, and from that moment success appears to have been assured. In the same year for a portrait of Mr. Hodgitts, of Dudley, he had 2 guineas, but by September his price had gone up to 2½ and 3 guineas, and this seems to have been his fee until 1792, when it rose to 5 guineas. A little later on it was 7 guineas, and then 10, and in the last two years of which we have any records it varies from 10 up to 15 guineas, according to size and subject, with an occasional 20 for a large drawing, but for ordinary miniatures, as distinct from drawings, does not appear to have ever exceeded 15 guineas. The interest of these

books kept by Wood is twofold. From the artist's point of view it is instructive to learn his methods. For example of one (5402) he thus writes :

" Col. J. Stuart, of 2nd Foot-guards, in uniform, averted eye, ultramarine in head, mineral blue in sky, Mapoul's vermilion in the coat. Facings and stock of Turner's new creamlet. Exhibited in 1797. Epaulet added to the left shoulder then. About 35, sixth size. Finished March 18th, 1796. Delivered March 19th, 1796, £6 6s."

We could hardly wish for fuller details. Of another, the entry reads thus (5429) :

" Miss Fanny Lambton, of Charlton near Greenwich, in a white frock with pink sash. Right hand up. Dark curled hair and averted eye. Mapoul's white in eyes, ivory scraped and rubbed with cuttlefish bone, age about 2, 7th size. Finished July 8th, 1796. Delivered on the 15th, £8 8s."

Sometimes no special colouring is noted, for example of a miniature still belonging to the Earl of Durham we read thus (5334) :

" The two children of Mr. Lambton, of Durham, in one picture. Pink sashes ; the eldest standing and the youngest sitting on a bank, ages about 3 and 2. 8th size. Finished March 27th, 1795. Delivered 31st. £16 16s. (being for two persons)."

Similar entries give us various items of detached information, thus : " Dress of burnt carmine ;" " used a red behind the black drapery ;" " no vermilion, only a madder red ;" " much gum in the vermilion ;" " epaulet of King's yellow ;" " some gallstone in the hair ;" " gamboge in the flesh ;" " lace of coat brown ochre and King's yellow ;" " coat of indigo ;" " hair of Cologne earth ;" " ivory rubbed with garlick ;" " red in the dress of mixed Indian red and lake ;" " Townsend's purple for the dress ;" " coat umber and creamlet ;" " dress Reeves' constant white ;" while to add to the importance of all this, we have

many entries by him, recording how the colours have stood. Of a miniature painted in 1796, of Mr. Charles Pepys, of Wimpole Street, in a blue coat, he wrote later on thus :

“ In January, 1800, examined this and found the ivory green in its hue, which I attribute to the garlick, the white perfect, no injury from touches of gum arabic on the hair. B's carmine has faded, but the madder and vermilion prevent its being discovered by other than my own eyes.”

Again, of one done in 1798 he writes :

“ Examined it in May, 1802, and did not discover any bad effect from the gum employed. The hair and general colouring has remained dark and glossy.”

Of another he writes : “ I found it had acquired a kind of insipid fogginess, indeed there was a little mildew on its surface, both of which I attribute to my having breathed upon it when I painted it. Glazed the dark parts with very thin and pure gum arabic.” Of the changes in respect to other colours he writes thus : “ Townsend's purple had become cold and blue ; ” “ mineral blue has faded ; ” “ Reeves' white is quite permanent ; ” “ the madder red is not good ; ” “ the carmine has become brownish ; ” “ the lake on the waistcoat has stood perfectly ; ” “ decided in future not to breathe on my work ; ” “ Soaked the ivory in alum water but find no special benefit therefrom ; ” “ White sugar candy is better than gum ; ” “ The constant white and the madder red have stood well ; ” and so on.

In later years, he took to referring to his colours by numbers, but as the volumes do not contain a key to these numbers, his notes, which grow fuller and fuller in detail as they go on, cease to have the special artistic value which those on earlier pages possess. He also records the fact that he has made many experiments, thus : “ Put yellow paper behind the head ; ” “ put silver leaf behind the face ; ” “ polished the ivory with rust ; ” or “ with glass paper,” or “ with cuttlefish bone,” or “ with sandpaper,”

or "on my hand." Again, to continue this phase of interest, he speaks of destroying certain miniatures in which the pigments have not stood and of painting others for his clients in their place, although such entries only happen in the first early years. He often tells us, moreover, later on in his ledgers how he altered miniatures; for example, on the portrait of Mrs. Hyde, late of Bengal, daughter of Lady Frances Seymour, painted in 1797, he writes: "In April, 1801, I removed Hair from the neck and threw a furred satin cloak over the left arm." To Col. Nightingale's miniature he added "a cross belt." On the one of Mr. Bouchier, of Harley Street, late of Bombay, he substituted "a dark brown coat" for the "light coat;" on that of Mr. Glennies, of Mincing Lane, he "exposed the ear." On Captain Smith's he altered the uniform, "he being now a Colonel," while on Sir John Stuart's he "removed the Star and Crescent and added the Ribband and Star of the Bath."

This last entry brings us to the personal interest of many of the entries, as apart from the artistic. He speaks of "Meridith Townsend, of Fairford," "late dissenting Minister at Stoke Newington," as "his uncle." Of Mr. Kelly in "a buff waistcoat and blue coat about 60" as the "Doorkeeper of the House of Commons." Of a Mr. Stubble as the artist "who helped me paint this." Of Sir William Lemon, whose portrait he executed in August, 1798, "shooting himself in the following March." Of Abraham Newland, whose portrait he did in 1791, being "of The Bank," he being in fact the person who signed the bank-notes of the day, and of whom it used to be said that although a person might "sham Abram," he dared not "sham Abraham Newland."¹ He refers to the por-

¹ Abraham Newland, one of the most famous Chief Cashiers the Bank ever had. Newland is said to have composed an epitaph for himself in these terms:

Beneath this stone old Abraham lies,
Nobody laughs and nobody cries.

traits of the Misses Dashwood as being painted "at Wooton." Of that of Mr. Josiah Thomas, of Bristol, having been "presented to his child, my God-daughter, *Ætat* 20." Mrs. Sampson, of Blackheath, he describes as the wife of Captain Sampson, of the Earl St. Vincent East India Co., Captain Butler as "brother to the Earl of Ormond, and in the 14th Light Dragoons," Mrs. Browne as "now living with Major Thornton," Lord Edward Fitzgerald (a miniature now at Maynooth) as "brother to the Duke of Leicester, and copied from a bad crayon picture." Of Miss Barnard, whose portrait he painted at the request of a Mr. Hicks, and for him, he mentions that she was Mrs. Hicks when she sat for him much later on. Mr. Holmes he describes as sub-Dean to the Chapel Royal, St. James', Master Norman he declares was the son of Lady Elizabeth Norman, and grandson of the Duchess of Rutland, who brought the child for his portrait and "paid for it." In this way he fills his pages with odd scraps of personal information, of peculiar interest in tracing the miniatures and of great value to the descendants of those who sat to him. There are numerous instances in which whole families are recorded, and his pages refer to engagements, to marriages and to babies, linking up

Where he has gone and how he fares,
No one knows and no one cares.

It was of him that Dibdin wrote :

There ne'er was a name so bandied by fame,
Through air and through ocean or through land,
As one that is wrote upon every bank-note,
And you all must know Abraham Newland.
O, Abraham Newland !
Notorious Abraham Newland !
I've heard people say "Sham Abram you may,
But you mustn't sham Abraham Newland."

On his retirement in 1807, Newland refused a pension, but accepted a service of plate valued at £1,000. He died in the following year, leaving legacies to many of his old colleagues. For a quarter of a century he never slept outside the Bank. Romney painted a portrait of him when he was a young man. It is now in a collection in Bristol.

one portrait with another in interesting fashion. Furthermore he mentions several other artists, as we find him engaged in copying other portraits in miniature. In 1791 he copied a miniature by George Engleheart of a lady. In 1794 one by Cosway belonging to Mrs. Wood and one painted in oil by Smart of Mr. Watts, of Bengal. The miniature of Mr. Sparkes, deceased, of Blackheath, was, he says, by Mr. Humphries (*sic*), and was brought to him in 1793 to be copied, and miniatures by Robinson, of Dublin, Trumbull, Plimer, of Captain Robertson; Miss Fouldstone, afterwards Mrs. Mee; of Col. Keppel and John Downman, all came under his attention. Moreover, he tells us that he copied in miniature a crayon picture by Russell, of the late Miss Knight, of Brompton, and two oil portraits by Dance, one representing Mrs. Fenwick, also one in oil by Trumbull of Col. Lawrence at the surrender of Charles Town, and one in pencil and colour by Downman of the late Mr. Way, of Richmond Green, "for the Cambridges."

Of the man himself we glean but little from his ledgers, except perhaps a sense of satisfaction in his neatness, precise habits, caution, and his love of examining his miniatures in later years to see how they have stood, and to record in his pages his impressions concerning them. We know that he wore a blue coat with a red collar and a straw-coloured waistcoat, because he painted his own portrait in that attire more than once. We find that he journeyed to Bristol in 1791, and again in 1803, and that he was in Gloucester in 1798. In these places he had many clients, and his pages abound in allusions to Bristol merchants and their families. There should be a goodly proportion of his miniatures to be found in that Western city. We gather that he was a somewhat vain man, as he often painted his own portrait, and as often destroyed it, "not being really like," or "not true in likeness and colouring." We know that he was born at Ipswich in 1768, or at least either in the town or near to it, and he is declared

to have come from an old Suffolk Catholic family and to have been specially welcomed in Catholic circles. As to this part of the story I have my doubts, as there are no Petres, Traffords, Blounts, Throgmortons, Holdens (of Lancashire), Ropers, Towneleys, or any other notable Catholic names amongst his sitters, and I believe in this he has been confused with another artist, but the tradition may be a true one, and it certainly has some evidence in support of it, and there certainly are Jerninghams amongst his sitters.

Of his skill there is evidence in the fact that he exhibited year after year in the Royal Academy, and as he has recorded the names of the portraits he sent in his ledgers they supply many that are missing in the Academy Catalogues where his exhibits are chronicled. In some instances Wood's statement falls short of what the Academy Catalogues set forth, and either he has not noted down all the portraits he sent in, or he sent in some later on, after he had prepared his notes and his lists. The Academy Catalogues abound in allusions to a portrait of a lady or a gentleman, without name, or refer to a frame with say five or seven portraits in it, and many of these anonymous works can be named from Wood's ledgers. Of 107 of his works noted in the Royal Academy Catalogues only sixteen have names attached to them, but many of the rest can now be identified.

To the Royal Academy of 1788 he is declared to have sent in a portrait of "a lady" which was certainly not a miniature, as his first was not painted till 1790, according to his own statement. There is no initial given to the Wood who appears in this entry, and who was then residing in Knightsbridge, and I have the gravest doubt as to whether the entry refers to our artist. It is much more likely to refer to another person of the same name.

His exhibits in 1791, when the entry certainly refers to William Wood, were of Mr. Jackson, of Chancery Lane

(5058), and of Abraham Newland, of the Bank (5062), and this latter miniature on its return to the Academy he altered, at the request of Mrs. Comthwait, who was, I believe, Newland's niece and for whom he painted it, putting on, says he, "a new coat of cream and a yellow waistcoat." He also sent in portraits of Dr. James Wright, of the East Indies (5049), James Sumner, Esq., of Hampstead (5050), Mr. Campbell, of Argyle Street, nephew to the Duke of Argyle and late of the Guards (5059), and of Colonel Small of the 84th Foot (5065). Wood was then living at 30, St. James's Place. The Academy Catalogue mentions that he exhibited six portraits that year, and these are the names of all the sitters. To the Exhibition of 1792 he sent in the portrait of Mr. Kelly, Doorkeeper of the House of Commons (5120), his own portrait, "the summit of my own corporeal parts," he grandly styles it (5126), a fancy dress portrait of a female in a white turban (5138), Mr. Stuart M. Fraser, of Bombay (5139), a portrait of his father (5140), and one of Sir William Skeffington, of Skeffington, Leicestershire (5142). The Royal Academy Catalogue for that year only chronicles five, but Wood writes in his ledger that he sent in six.

In the following year his exhibits were a portrait of his sister in a white dress (5158), of Mr. Allen (5188), of Master W. Gilpin, of Paddington (5207), of Mrs. Lindsell, of Wimpole Street (5208), of Mr. John Parker, of St. Paul's Churchyard (5213), and of an anonymous lady painted for Mr. Sheriff (5216). The year 1794, in which for the first time he fastened a tracing of a miniature into his ledgers, is notable for the fact that he painted four eyes of Lady William Russell to be set as rings (5314), and to the Academy he forwarded portraits of Miss King, of Portland Street (5256), Miss Reeves, of Hadley (5262), his own sister again (5266), Col. Small, in full Highland uniform (5276), another portrait of himself (5277), one of Mr. Comberbach, of Craven Street (5285), and a drawing in pencil $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches of

Mr. Thomas Bartley, of The Temple, with the head and hands tinted, 10009. It was in this year that he painted two groups of the Lambton children (5334), and a drawing of the eye of one of them for a ring (5332). He then was living at 8, Cork Street. The Academy catalogues refer to eleven exhibits that year, but Wood, it will be seen, notes down only seven. Perhaps the Lambton miniatures were sent in late.

To the Exhibition of 1795 we have but one allusion in Wood's ledgers, and that is to a portrait of Mr. Benion of Wroxham (5336), although the Royal Academy Catalogues tell us that he sent in five anonymous works. We possess the complete list, however, for 1796. It was composed of portraits of Mrs. George Cambridge, of Twickenham (5363), Mr. Charles Pepys, of Wimpole Street (5384), Mrs. Evans, of Willingdon (5389), Major Davis of the 93rd (5390), Mr. Mann, of the Royal Artillery (5397), Mr. Riggs, of Russell Place (5405), and a third portrait of his own sister (5409). This last portrait he sent in again to the Academy in the following year and with it portraits of Col. James Stuart, of the 2nd Foot-guards (5402), Miss Knipe, of Limpsfield (5436), Mr. George Herbert, of 1st Life-guards (5468), Mrs. Jones (5470), Mr. Charles Rivington, of Southgate (5482), and Miss Taylor (5486). The Royal Academy Catalogue gives seven entries, Wood alludes to all of them. There is a longer list of exhibits for 1798, including portraits of Master Thomas Stopford, of Sloane Street (5503), the Hon. Charlotte Augusta Keppel, of Pall Mall (5505), "Shaick Emaun Bux, a Bengal Consumah, in white muslin with a scarlet turban"¹ (5511), Miss Watts, afterwards Mrs. Adam Gordon (5524), Mrs. Francis Henderson, of Ealing (5525), Mr. James Watts (5546), Cynthia, "a fancy head, surrounded by floating

¹ This man was Khansamah, butler to Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, who embarked for India at Cowes on November 8th, 1797. Evidently the man came to England and sat for his portrait, as Wood was never in India.

clouds," which Wood exhibited in 1807 at the British Institution, and eventually sold to Mr. Chamberlayne, of Southampton (5565), and Mr. William Abington, of East India House, which he gave to his sister on her marriage to that gentleman on April 20th, 1799 (5567). In 1799, the Academy Catalogue gives seven exhibits, and Wood refers to all of them. The portraits he chronicles are those of Mr. Munden, of Covent Garden Theatre (5539), Mr. William Ramsay, Secretary to the East India Company (5595), Miss Maria Holmes, of Westcombe Park, Greenwich (5616), Admiral Cumming, of Greenwich (5622), Miss Letitia Knox, of Soho Square (5628), Mr. John Dougan, of Welbeck Street (5635), and Mr. Jefferies, of Basinghall Street (5656). The 1800 Exhibition had seven exhibits from Wood, which included a second portrait of Miss Watts, of Hollis Street, as by then she had become Mrs. Adam Gordon (5513), and others of Mr. George Billingshurst, of the 7th Dragoons (5697), Mr. John Vaux, of Austin Friars (5709), (misprinted Vair in the Royal Academy Catalogue), Mrs. Campbell as "The Circassian," in a white dress with a large turban, and in which Wood says for experiment sake all the colours were worked with pure distilled vinegar instead of with water, and a new Chinese lead colour used for the whites of the costume (5711), Lt.-Col. Crewe, of Crewe Hall, Norfolk (5723), a Chinese man, a servant to Mr. Hobson of the East Indian Armistion, whose own portrait Wood had painted in 1798 (5727), and Mr. Keighly, of Hertford Street, Mayfair, whom Wood says had a "glowing and healthy complexion" (5730).

There was only one exhibit in 1801 as far as the books record, a portrait of Miss Sarah Ann Acraman, of Bristol. In the carelessly compiled Royal Academy Catalogue, this is called a portrait of "a young gentleman." By 1802, however, when Wood was back again in London, the numbers mounted up. In that year we find he exhibited portraits of Mr. Fletcher, son of Sir H. Fletcher, of Cumber-

land (5756), Master Lewis Way, of Richmond Green, commissioned, he records, by "the Cambridges" and mounted by "Gray of Sackville Street," the boy who afterwards became first a barrister and then an English Protestant minister in Paris, especially interested in the conversion of Jews (5780); Mr. Joseph Clay, of Old Broad Street (5787), three children of the Acraman family as cherubs, a very successful portrait which in 1807 he exhibited again at the British Institution (5793), Miss Ann Captal, of Bruton Street (so far as the name can be made out in Wood's ledger) (5843), Mr. J. D. Paul, of The Strand, Banker¹ (afterwards the notorious Sir J. Dean Paul, of Strahan) Paul and Bates, who failed in 1856, having been found guilty of fraud, and who were all sent to penal servitude (5863), and Mr. Robert Jackson, of Earl Street, Blackfriars, a portrait which Wood mentions was handsomely set by the Crown jewellers Rumbell and Bridge (5900).

The Royal Academy catalogues refer to a portrait of a Miss Menage, a dancer, "in her celebrated hornpipe," but this I feel quite sure must have been exhibited by another artist named Wood.

In 1803 there were five exhibits according to Wood's ledgers, a miniature of a Mr. Miller, of America (5821), with which Wood was dissatisfied, three other miniatures and a drawing. The portrait of Miller, Wood retained when it came back from the Academy, and painted a fresh one from it for his client. The drawing was on vellum in black lead with chalk, and measured $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It represented Mrs. Robert Bristow, of Great Queen Street, Westminster. He regarded it as a very happy effort, and made a charming sketch of it against the entry in his ledger. Its number was 10045. The Royal Academy Catalogue refers specially to the portrait of the lady. The other three miniatures were portraits of Lt.-Col. Dyke,

¹ The Bank was at the Golden Anchor in the Strand and was eventually taken over by the London and Westminster.

of the Coldstream Guards (5936), Mrs. Cresswell (Letitia), of Duke Street, Manchester Square (5944), and Mrs. Cooke (5967). Three miniatures are referred to in connection with the Academy of 1804, the portrait of Miss Johnston (6052), wearing a necklace, painted in distilled vinegar, and those of Mr. Hummell, jun. (a musician) (6020), and of Capt. Stirling, of the Foot-guards (6038). In the following year the Academy Catalogue states that Wood exhibited five portraits. He records them as portraits of Miss Williams, commissioned by Capt. Birch (5804), a Mr. W. Williams, of the East Indiaman Warley, a sitter who had sat to Wood twice before (5970), Capt. Hood, of the Third Life-guards, grandson to Lord Hood, which was commissioned, Wood tells us, by Lady Hammond (6044), Maj.-Gen. Sir John Stuart (6073), and Mrs. Hay Drummond, of Hadleigh (6080).

For 1806 there are no exhibits at all, but Wood sent in three miniatures and three drawings in 1807. The miniatures were those of Mr. Thompson, dentist, of George Street, Hanover Square (6112), Miss Smith (6126), and Mrs. Benjamin Wyatt, of Buckingham Street, Fitzroy Square (6136). The drawings were portraits of Lady Hartwell, wife of Sir F. Hartwell, Bart., which was presented to her son, Houblon Hartwell, on July 4th, 1806, and engraved by Evans in 1809 (10083), a drawing on thick Bristol board; one of Miss Anna Phipps, of Cork Street, when about four years old, on yellowish vellum, which Wood gave to her brother Wathem Phipps, who was his godson, on January 10th, 1807, and whose portrait at the age of 3½ he painted a little later as a companion work (10090), and a head only of Mr. Robert Cockerell, of Westbourne House, Paddington, on Bristol paper (10093). This was the last year in which Wood exhibited at the Royal Academy, but to an exhibition in Brook Street, in 1808, he sent in three miniatures and five drawings. The miniatures were those of Miss Sophia Simpson, of John

Street, aged 21, on dark opaque ivory (6169), of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester in General's uniform, commissioned by Sir William Beechey, after his large portraits of the prints (6189), and of Captain Richard Peirson, of the Royal Navy, son, he says, of the late Sir R. Peirson, and who had sat to him already in 1805 on a commission from Miss Peirson (6205).

The drawings were as follows: Cupid reading, in a Landscape. A whole length on Bristol stamped paper with Galliards crayons, stumped on, usual miniature water-colours and red and black chalk pencils, a drawing $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. on which Wood says he inscribed "Mon grand ami" in "allusion to the number of sitters produced by Love," and of which he was very proud (10023). Two heads of the Misses Gordon, of Harley Street, aged 6 and 5, which he did for himself on thick Bristol paper (10092), a finished drawing of his design for a Pyramid, to illustrate his Essay on Sepulchral Monuments which was engraved by Moses to illustrate the Essay and was drawn on Winchester's imitation of Dutch cartridge (10108), a portrait of Miss Brooke, of Cork Street, at the age of 24, done on tragacanth'd Bristol card and for which she sat at his particular request (10102), and finally a drawing of a head of Dr. Clarke, of New Burlington Street, on white vellum (10096).

The Exhibition at 20, Lower Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, was in connection with a Society of Associated Artists in Water-colour of which Wood was the founder, and for which he acted as President for one year only, being succeeded to the Chair by David Cox. It was a short-lived effort to unite Miniature Painters with those who practised the comparatively new art of Water-colour Painting; and although it lasted but some five years, it yet prepared the way for the Water-colours Society, which followed it, and which eventually became known as the Old Water-colour Society.

Its second Exhibition was at 101, New Bond Street, and Benjamin West was the guest of honour at the opening dinner at the Portland Coffee House. The third and fourth and fifth Exhibitions were at 16, Old Bond Street, and then the Society collapsed. Andrew Roberts had been its secretary, and Wood was spoken of in its minutes as that "worthy and indefatigable gentleman" to whom the Society owed "its very existence," but he had passed away before the Society got into difficulties, and was therefore spared the misery of seeing his pet creation disappear.

In this same year Wood published his *Essay on National and Sepulchral Monuments*, now a very rare book, and in the following year, that is to say on November 15th, 1809, he died at the early age of 41. He was therefore only 19 when he commenced to paint miniatures, and he must have led a most industrious life to produce all the portraits which are carefully chronicled. From 1807 he appears to have taken greater interest in water-colour drawing than in miniature portraits, and the works of his latest two years are entirely landscapes. In March, 1809, he was in Northern Wales, hard at work sketching, and he chronicles, in most painstaking manner, exactly how he prepared 23 drawings which represent the most important places and the most picturesque scenes in that country. Then on returning to London he was attracted by lithography, "drawing in chalk or pen and ink on stone," as he calls it, and produced two works representing *Two Choristers*, impressions of which he distributed to 33 friends and carefully notes down their names. The list includes Princess Elizabeth, Mr. Caleb Whitefoorde, Sir John Stuart, Lady Sophia Grey, Mr. Cambridge, and Miss Lushington. Finally, at the end of his life he interested himself in planning and laying out gardens and parks, and the last entry in his book is a plan for the Tower Bank and Shrubbery at Shrubland Park, which he had commenced to plan in 1807, and about which he has left a lengthy and instruc-

tive essay in manuscript. His notes on his water-colour work are marked with the same precision and allusion to pigments as characterise his miniatures, and there is no doubt he was a careful and methodical man in every respect, as well as an artist of no mean repute, as his drawings and miniatures remain to testify. Into whose hands his ledgers fell after his decease, I am unable to state, but the owner was evidently a personal friend, because there is a note in the final volume, in that person's handwriting, stating that at Wood's request he had selected one of his drawings as a memento, and had picked out the drawing of the Pyramid (10108), which was used to illustrate the Essay, as a worthy remembrance of his departed friend. Two of Wood's miniature portraits are in the possession of the Earl of Dysart at Ham House, three are in America, in the Pierpont Morgan collection, one in Lincoln in the Ward Usher collection,¹ one of his drawings belongs to the King's at Windsor Castle, another is the property of the nation, at South Kensington. A few other miniatures by him are known in various collections, but the bulk of his work has not hitherto been identified. Many of his portraits are no doubt attributed to the wrong artist, and it will be interesting for the collector, to whom this book is addressed, to find out the miniatures that Wood painted, and to gather up information concerning them.

One of the very few contemporary references to Wood occurs in a letter written by Frances Lady Jerningham, who was one of the daughters and heirs of Edward Sulyard, of Haughley in Suffolk, in 1800, in which, after mentioning that George Jerningham's wife Fanny was sitting for her picture to Hoppner, she adds: "Wood the miniature painter has done her also for me tolerably well. It is very difficult to make a good picture of so handsome a person. There is certainly no woman in town so handsome as she is,

¹ Called a portrait of Abdul Khan and dated 1799. There must surely be some other name to follow Abd, ul = "Slave of the" ?

Miss Jennings the celebrated beauty not excepted. She has her health much better since she has been in town, and will return here (that is to Costessey) in the autumn to lie in."

Wood's ledgers give us the information concerning the portrait in question, and they also add the fact that the same painter copied in miniature the painting which Hoppner had executed in oil. The first miniature was begun on May 19th, 1800, and was finished on June 20th. It was quite a large miniature, painted with what Wood called "the averted eye." He says that she had "a cool-toned brunette complexion," that there was a good deal of red in the picture, that she had dark hair, and that the lady wore a wreath, by which no doubt it could be identified, as it is not one of the portraits of which Wood gives a tracing. At the back of it, in order to increase the effect, he put a piece of what he calls "warm white paper." He had nine guineas for the portrait. The copy after Hoppner was No. 822, and was begun on February 27th, 1801, finished on March 10th, and delivered and paid for on the 28th. The price he obtained for it was eight guineas.

It was an equally large miniature to the other one, and the lady, who on this occasion he declared to have had brown hair, and a fine clear complexion, was dressed in loose yellow drapery. She had evidently very beautiful eyes, because he refers with particular care to the efforts he made and the pigments he used in order to present a truthful representation of these special features of her face. He regarded the miniature as a strong one, and said that it had to be painted on ivory very highly polished in order to produce the effect. The background to it was composed of black and gamboge, and as it was a copy of an oil painting, all the colours were richly treated with gum.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LESSER MEN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IT would be impossible in such a book as this to refer even to a title of the miniature painters who exhibited at the Royal Academy in the eighteenth century. Their works may very likely constitute the greater part of the amateur collector's possessions, and where he is able to identify the signature or initials, he will have to look up the history of the painter, in question, in the various books of reference. Thus he will find whether the artist exhibited at the Royal Academy, and trace his exhibits, in the hope of discovering the special portrait amongst them, or will investigate the various miniature painters whose initials may correspond to those on the portrait he has purchased, to ascertain who was responsible for that particular picture. Where the miniature has no signature nor initials, and there is no clue to its identity to be discovered from the paper at its back, then he will have to content himself with taking the advice of those qualified to assist him, or form on his own judgment an opinion as to the artist, although he must heed not to be too emphatic if there be any doubt whatever as to the correctness of his attribution. The lives of all the principal painters are described in the various books of reference on the subject, and much information, often very brief and scrappy, concerning the lesser known men can be obtained from the dictionaries of artists, and similar books; but in its early days the Academy was full of the work of various

miniature painters, some of whom can be identified, and many are wholly unknown, and it will be impossible, save in a book of very large proportions, to deal, even in the briefest possible fashion, with more than a small proportion of them. There are perhaps about half a dozen who ought to be singled out for special reference, prominent among whom is Samuel Shelley. A miniature by this painter realised, quite recently, a record price, fetching nearly six hundred pounds at Christie's. No portrait by Shelley has hitherto ever reached a sum even approximating to that price. This happened to be a very remarkable work, perhaps the best he ever painted, and there was a great demand for it on the part of several collectors. Shelley's best miniatures almost always represent groups. He certainly did paint single portraits, and sometimes quite well : one of the Marchioness of Thomond is a charming little portrait, but his best represent two or more persons, and generally, a mother and child.

He was a Londoner, born in Whitechapel in 1750, the son of a shoemaker, and was mainly self-educated. He gained a premium in the Society of Arts in 1770, but he went to no art school save, to use his own words, "the one which every man may attend who studies good pictures." He exhibited about 140 works at the Royal Academy, became a well-known man, and was responsible for the formation of the Society of Painters in Water-colours, the first meeting of which was held at his own house. He was possessed of a somewhat irritable temperament, and, after being associated with the Society he had founded, was concerned in the formation of a rival Society. He was keen-eyed, a bright and rather amusing man, a good singer, and one who could tell a good story, and in consequence was very popular. His work and his fees steadily increased, and from Whitechapel he migrated to more and more aristocratic positions, coming at last to settle down in George Street, Hanover Square, where he died in 1808.

PLATE XXVII.

THE END OF THE STORY.

Sketch in water-colour on ivory for a portrait in pastel of George IV when Prince Regent. By John Russell, R.A. (1745-1806).
Collection of Dr. G. C. Williamson.



His miniatures have one curious characteristic. He frequently used the ovals lengthwise, so that his miniatures can be recognised in the cabinet by the mere appearance of their position and shape, lying on their side, as it were, rather than erect upon the major axis of the ellipse. His colouring was on the pale side, quiet, grey and light, but many of his groups are really delightful.

The man who was the first to exhibit miniatures at the Royal Academy was an artist named Scouler, who has only recently become well known. His miniatures are always small—indeed, exceedingly minute—and are often very beautiful. He one day produced a sketch of George III. on his own thumb-nail, when at the theatre. He painted his own portrait several times on very small pieces of ivory, and he is also known for a notable portrait of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in my own collection.

Another painter who should be mentioned was the quarrelsome Nathaniel Hone, a passionate man, who got into serious difficulties with the Royal Academy on account of his painting called "The Conjuror," which was supposed to be an attack upon the personal character of Angelica Kauffmann, and so, indirectly, upon Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was much attached to that fair artist. The Royal Academy insisted upon the removal of the work, and, subsequently, Hone opened an exhibition at 70, St. Martin's Lane—the first one-man show of which we have any references—and produced a special catalogue,¹ which he sold himself. In it, he gives in detail the whole story; copies the letters he received from Angelica Kauffmann and from the authorities of the Royal Academy; gives his own explanation; and appeals to the public to do him justice. At this exhibition, he exhibited many of his portraits, but after it was all over, he made up the quarrel with the Academy, and continued to exhibit there down to

¹ In the writer's possession is the painter's own copy.

the time of his death, which occurred in 1784, in his sixty-seventh year.

Another notable man was Jeremiah Meyer, who, in painting his miniatures, was fond of a peculiarly cold shade of blue, by which sometimes his works can be recognised. He was a Würtemberg man, and came to England when he was fourteen. He was, for a while, a pupil of Zincke, who received £200 for two years' training, then he worked for a little time in Reynolds' studio, and in 1763 became naturalised, later on being appointed miniature painter to the Queen, and then enamel painter to the King. He is rather well remembered by reason of his daughter, Mary Meyer. She was a very popular girl, although very much of a tomboy. She it was who, when sitting to Sir Joshua, managed to rip up, rather cleverly, the seams of a large pillow of feathers on which the President was in the habit of reclining, and, in consequence, when he suddenly sat down to rest and to judge of the effect of the picture he had been painting, he was covered with feathers, which clung to his velvet jacket in all directions. Mary Meyer's father, who was present, is said to have been extremely angry, and to have attempted immediate corporal punishment, but the girl, who was very pretty and amusing, was rescued from her father's hands by the President, who declared that it was only the act of a mischievous kitten. On another occasion, this same young lady, dressed up in male costume, stopped a solitary rider on Hounslow Heath, demanding his purse. Unluckily, the man she accosted happened to be George Engleheart, the miniature painter, who knew her parents well, and he took possession of her, and, making her ride pillion behind him, handed her back to the care of her parents.

Bogle was another notable man, who painted extremely beautiful miniatures. He is called by Cunningham "a little, lame man, very poor, very proud, and very singular."

His works are exquisitely modelled, with exceedingly minute handling.

Horace Hone, who was Nathaniel Hone's nephew, was also a skilful miniature painter.

James Nixon founded his work upon that of Reynolds, and his miniatures show striking resemblances to those of the great President.

John Donaldson was an eccentric and extraordinary Scotsman, a chemist, a vegetarian, a poet and a preacher. His work can often be distinguished by eccentricities in colouring, which make it different from that of any other artist of the day.

J. Hill, about whom we know very little, was capable at times of superb work. One of his miniatures, in Lord Hothfield's collection, representing the first Lord Gwydyr in a scarlet coat with gold buttons, is as fine a portrait as any miniaturist of the day was able to produce, but Hill was a very unequal artist, and seldom worked up to that high level.

William Grimaldi, a member of the great Genoese family of dei Grimaldi, was miniature painter to George IV., but was especially renowned for his work in enamel, which was of unusual excellence. He produced a great many miniatures, many quite agreeable and well painted.

W. S. Lethbridge, who as a lad was apprenticed to a house painter, and later on studied at the Academy School, was a very skilful painter, and was responsible for a well-known portrait of Dr. Wolcot (Peter Pindar).

Amongst Irish artists, Walter and Charles Robertson were capable of exceedingly good work. They were the sons of a Dublin jeweller, who was noted for producing elegant designs in hair, and even likenesses in that somewhat unpromising material. Other Irish painters were John Comerford, who was perhaps the best of the Irish school; and Bull, who was a student of the Dublin Society's schools.

PLATE XXVIII.

THE END OF THE STORY.

1. The Artist's nephew. By William Singleton (Fl. 1770-1790).
Exhibited at the R.A. in 1787. Signed.
Formerly in the Wellesley Collection.
2. Colonel Graham. By John Bogle (Fl. 1769-1803). Signed and
dated 1797.
Formerly in the Wellesley Collection.
3. Philip and John, elder sons of J. B. Church, M.P. for Wendover.
By Richard Cosway, R.A. (1742-1821).
Formerly in the Wellesley Collection.
4. John Flaxman, R.A. By Ozias Humphry, R.A. (1742-1810).
Formerly in the Wellesley Collection.
5. A Man, name unknown. By John Smart, Junior (*ob.* 1806).
Signed and dated.
Collection of Dr. G. C. Williamson.
6. The King of Rome as a Child, 1811-1832. By J. B. Isabey
(1767-1855). Signed.
In the Collection of the Duke of Portland, K.G.



1



2



4



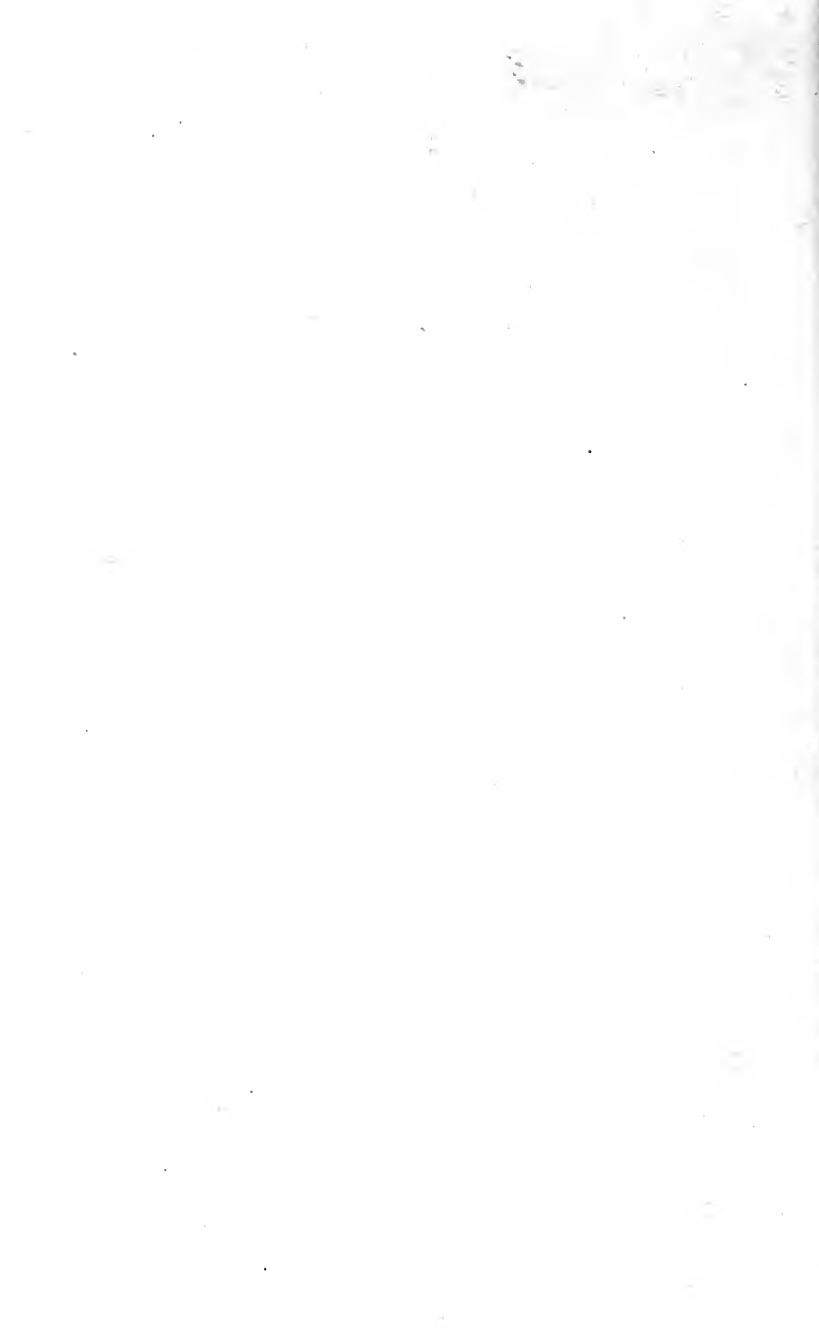
3



6



5



Other clever painters were Adam Buck, who drew many of his best works in exact profile; Thomas Day; John Plott, the naturalist, who drew snails and shells with such exquisite skill; John Alefounder, who was a constant exhibitor at the Royal Academy in the eighteenth century, and many of whose portraits were engraved, and who was the son of a gold frame maker; George Chinnery, who went out to the East and painted many of his best miniatures in Cochin-China and Macao and Siam; Samuel Collins, a disgraceful man, but a clever artist, to whom Ozias Humphry was apprenticed; Daniel Orme, an Irishman, whose works are marvels of elaborate stippling; Paul Jean, the Guernsey painter; Bowyer, whose work somewhat resembles that of Smart; and Barber Beaumont, who was at one time a painter of theatrical celebrities, and who did some skilful miniatures. All these are men who must be mentioned, but about whom further details should be sought in larger books of reference.

Finally, it may be well just to refer to Louis Vaslet, who practised at York in 1770, and at Bath in 1775, and who, on several occasions, was painting in Oxford, because his principal works were in pastel; and his miniatures betray a curious flocculent, loose technique, and a cold colouring that marks out a painter in pastel who only very occasionally painted miniatures.

CHAPTER XV.

THE END OF THE STORY.

THE notable man of the concluding period of miniature art was Andrew Robertson, who forms an interesting link between the great men of the eighteenth century and the miniature painters who were the last of their order, since he came into contact with Cosway, Humphry and Shelley, and received commendation from all of them. Robertson is also particularly interesting from a painter's point of view, because he left behind him a quantity of documents concerning his art, and some very interesting letters about the painters of the day, all of which were published by his daughter, Miss Emily Robertson, who only died a short time since, and who brought out an interesting—"Life and Letters" of her father.

He was a Scotsman, born at Aberdeen in 1777, and was intended at first for the medical profession, but he was much interested in art, and when only sixteen determined to throw up the idea of medicine and to study landscape and sea painting. Even by that time he had produced some miniatures, which he used to carry about with him, and, presently, making up his mind to submit them to Raeburn, he knocked at the great painter's door, gave a shilling to the servant to allow him to slip into the studio, and then, boldly presenting himself before Raeburn, produced his miniatures, and, to his great joy, received

high praise for them. He did not, however, succeed at first in his profession, and when he went back to Aberdeen his principal occupation was that of painting scenery for various theatres. His elder brother, Archibald, had, prior to this time, migrated to America, and was successful there, and he advised Andrew to go up to London and study at the Royal Academy. This he did in 1801, but, even by that time, he had been so industrious that he himself tells us, he had painted over four hundred miniatures. When he came to London, West sat to him for his portrait, and many of the other miniature painters of the day gave high praise to his productions.

He adopted quite an unusual method of working in water-colour, not wholly satisfactory from the point of view of the present day, because his determination was to resemble painting in oil, and his technique was so puzzling that some of the artists to whom he submitted it were by no means sure that the work was not in oil; in fact, he tells us that Ozias Humphry took out a strong glass and examined the miniatures, feeling quite certain in his own mind that they were not executed in water-colour. Robertson's great desire was to produce strong, full-coloured portraits, and he used very rich and, at times, somewhat hot pigments. His miniatures are frequently not oval, but rectangular, and he seems to have preferred this shape to the more usual one. He was successful and popular, especially as he had struck out a new line in his portraits—something that people had not seen before. He put a great deal of himself into his miniatures—always a satisfactory thing for an artist to do, especially in view of the identification of his miniatures by those who are to follow him—and Robertson's miniatures can, in consequence, be readily picked out by reason of their strong and forcible qualities, and the unusual power and warmth of their colouring. He was an interesting man, ever ready to help his brother artists, and quite

early in his life he attached himself to the Volunteer Movement and to various Musical Societies.

His two brothers, who also painted miniatures, were Archibald and Alexander. Archibald is said to have been taught miniature painting by Charles Sherriff, and he was also one of West's pupils, while Alexander studied under Shelley. Both of these men went out to America and there settled down and died.

Robertson's principal pupil was Sir William Ross, who is generally regarded as the last of the miniature painters, as he lived down to 1860—not actually so, because there were others who outlived him, but one of the last who attained anything like popularity. Some of the best of Ross's work is to be seen at Windsor Castle, and several of his finest miniatures were in the possession of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. It was in his time that the method was introduced, by which a shaving of ivory, taken from a tusk, was slowly pressed by hydraulic pressure until it became very nearly flat, and by this means Ross and Thorburn and Newton, especially the two former, were enabled to have very large pieces of ivory, far larger than it would at first have been thought possible to have obtained. The difficulty, of course, with regard to these pressed-out pieces of ivory is that the material is apt to make endeavours to return to its original curve, and there is, in consequence, grave danger of these large pieces of ivory splitting and re-curving. This has happened to almost all Ross's largest miniatures; almost invariably there is a split in the thin ivory, and sometimes, unfortunately, several of them.

His work was extremely minute—what artists call "tight"—and, unfortunately, the style of costume and of coiffure was not in his favour. Fashion was not kind to people in the Early Victorian days, and, moreover, the desire of the sitter, especially when groups were concerned, was in favour of a somewhat stiff formality.

Ross also was weak in his treatment of atmosphere, and his productions are unsatisfactory from that point of view. In that Thorburn was far better, but he, again, was rather inclined to produce a picture rather than a portrait, and to introduce accessories in the form of landscapes in the rear, which tended to detract from the dignity of the portrait. None of these latter men were helped by the costume of their sitter. Thorburn broke away most from convention, determining to give to his sitter as simple and dignified, almost classical a style of costume, as the fashions of the day would permit. His was extremely fine work, very highly finished. He was a wonderful draughtsman. He also was a Scotsman, born in Dumfries, in 1818, and he shared with Ross the popularity of the day. He was not content with the curved pieces of ivory, and desired even larger tablets on which to paint, and, therefore, many of his miniatures were composed of two and even more pieces of ivory, skilfully joined one to the other. In this way, he obtained large superficial area, and avoided the risk attached to the shavings of ivory pressed flat, which were so popular with Ross. Thorburn became an Associate of the Royal Academy, and exhibited, year after year, from 1837 down to 1884. He died in the following year.

Others who should be mentioned were Chalon, the Swiss, who was a member of the Society of Associated Artists in Water-colour, and who exhibited miniatures in 1800 at the Royal Academy, and painted a considerable number, which were very popular and extremely skilful in execution. There should have been a large collection of Chalon's work, the property of the nation, but, unfortunately, the arrangements that he proposed to make for bequeathing his portraits did not materialise, and when he died, in 1860, his works were scattered.

Newton, who was miniature painter to William IV. and Queen Adelaide, and who became Sir William Newton

in 1837, and died in 1869, was another favourite miniature painter of the day, and he also was successful in joining together a number of pieces of ivory, and thus producing a large tablet. William Dyce, R.A., who died as late as 1864, executed a few miniatures, and some charming drawings in miniature style.

Holmes, who painted Lord Byron, and who was a clever musician ; Egley, who was responsible for over two hundred miniatures, most of which were exhibited at the Royal Academy ; and Severn, who is best known for his wonderful miniature of Keats, and who died in 1821, are others who deserve mention ; but gradually, the introduction of photography, and the rapidity with which by the new art a portrait could be executed, spoiled the profession of the miniature painter, and for some time miniature painting practically died out, the artists just named having been the latest exponents of the original art.

In later years there has been a revival, but modern miniatures do not come within the scope of this book.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MINIATURE PAINTERS IN ENAMEL

IT was my good fortune, some years ago, to see the commencement of a collection of miniatures, and I gathered from the amateur, who was entering with some enthusiasm into his pursuit, that he had accepted a strange and wholly erroneous idea concerning miniatures in enamel. It is possible that he may not stand alone in the opinion he had of these interesting portraits, and it may be well, therefore, to state wherein he was in error, and to give an explanation of the circumstances which attend the production of portraits in enamel. He had an impression that they were more or less mechanical productions. He did not range them as low as, for instance, chromolithographs or three-colour blocks, but in some mysterious way he had acquired the idea that they could be reproduced in any number, that they were not worth collecting, because a dozen collectors could probably have exactly the same example, and that they did not represent artistic or determinate effort on the part of one painter, as did the ordinary miniatures. The fact that they were executed on metal seemed to him, in his ignorance, to imply that they were mechanical productions, and their very brilliance of colour had led him to think that they were quite modern. He did not in the least grasp the fact that a painted enamel portrait is just as much a fine piece of artistic effort as is an ordinary miniature, painted on ivory, and was amazed to understand that the painter in enamel needs to be, if

possible, the more dexterous artist of the two, and certainly the more courageous : dexterous, because the colours he uses very seldom resemble the tints that will hereafter be produced on the enamel, and courageous, because the whole of his carefully planned and beautifully executed work may be ruined by some fault either in the colouring, the plate, or the furnace, and may all have to be done over again. It was my pleasant task to explain to this particular collector how the miniature painter in enamel deals with the finely powdered colours he has in use, and using them, paints with a brush, upon the surface of the piece of metal, or upon some prepared enamel surface, the portrait he determines to produce, and how careful he has to be that the colours which, upon his brush, may look dull, drab or monotonous, should be the right ones which in the finished, burned enamel, should yield the blues, reds and yellows which he intends. I then had to explain how the enamel was carefully deposited in the kiln, how risky was the firing, how gradually the vitrification of the different colours took place, and how carefully they had to be watched in the furnace, and, finally, how often, by some accident, a masterpiece, the result of infinite labour, care and attention, might be transformed into an apparently worthless production. He was glad to learn that enamelled miniature portraits were just as interesting to a collector as were paintings upon ivory, card, paper or chicken-skin. Moreover, he learned also that they possessed advantages over the ordinary miniature. They could be hung in positions in the room which were denied to the ordinary portrait. They were practically unaffected by either light or heat, and therefore could be exposed to the full sunlight, and the case containing them needed neither blind nor shelter. They could even be washed, and cleansed in that way from dust or dirt, and provided that the enamel was not chipped, either by the careless use of a tool in opening the frame, or from the result of a fall, the miniature was indestructible,

and permanent in every way, while finally, in collecting miniatures on enamel, he would not find such a strenuous opposition on the part of other collectors, as there were many persons who did not specially care for enamel portraits, and therefore did not compete in their purchase, and at no time had they ever realised the high and somewhat excessive values to which the other portraits had approached.

In dealing with enamel portraits, we have to start at the other end of the story, because the art was not an English one at its beginning, and its greatest proficient were perhaps the two or three men who were responsible for its introduction into England. It was probably commenced by the painters in Limoges, who produced large portraits in bright colour on white enamel, and so prepared the way for the art to develop, in the seventeenth century, into that of producing small portable portraits, such as we are more generally inclined to consider as miniatures. Taking, no doubt, the original idea from the enamellers at Limoges, it was developed by a celebrated goldsmith named Jean Toutin, who was also a most wonderful designer, and he, with the help of his own son, Henry, and of a painter who at first worked in pastels, named Gribelin, was the first whom we can definitely claim as a painter of small portraits in enamel. There grew up around him a school of similar painters, who worked more especially in Blois, and in Tours, and a considerable part of their labours consisted in enamel painting on the exterior cases of the elaborate watches of the period of Louis XIII., which were decorated with allegorical and floral designs of extreme beauty, and, in some instances, with portraits of the patrons for whom these very costly examples of horology were prepared. There speedily, however, came to the front a Swiss, named Jean Petitot, who was born in Geneva in 1607, and was apprenticed in early days to a jeweller, named Bordier, who was little older than himself, but was

so clever in his work that he had attained a considerable position in Geneva. These two young men, Petitot and Bordier, worked in their native town on enamelling goldsmiths' work, mainly with regard to watchcases, but, not satisfied with their progress, they determined to do better. They proceeded to enter France, and for a while worked with Jean Toutin, learning what he had to teach them, and in their turn giving him information. Then they crossed to England, provided with letters of introduction to the physician to the King, Turquet de Mayerne. This celebrated man, who was an accomplished chemist, made the two artists free of his workshop, placed at their disposal various discoveries he had made, and assisted them in every possible way. So far as can be known, their first important work was the preparation of a St. George for Charles I., but their aim was to produce fine portraits, and this they were speedily successful in accomplishing. No more exquisite portraits have ever been painted in enamel than those produced by Petitot and his friend, and later on, by his son. Their minuteness of execution is amazing, and the skill with which the vitrification in the kiln was arranged to take place is such as has never been equalled. Many of Petitot's best portraits do not exceed the size of a halfpenny, some are far smaller even than that. Others, quite a few, are very large, but, in almost every case, they are marked by rarely beautiful colouring, by an extreme delicacy of technique, and by an extraordinary charm which distinguishes them from all other work of the period. The largest Petitot probably ever prepared is the portrait of the Countess of Southampton, which Walpole calls "the most capital enamel in the world." It is now at Chatsworth, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. It is a copy of a portrait by Vandyck, and bears Petitot's signature. Another, almost as large, was at one time in the possession of the Crown, and is now one of the chief ornaments of the Pierpont Morgan collection. It is a

signed portrait of the Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, dated 1643. Of the little ones, there exist a very large number, and they embrace portraits of Charles I. and of his Queen, and of almost all the persons of eminence in this country who were connected with the Court. After the execution of the King, Petitot left for Paris. His friend Bordier, however, remained in London, and while there Bordier carried out certain important commissions from Cromwell and his followers, including, it is believed, the portraits of Milton and Cromwell, and perhaps the famous Naseby jewel which belongs to Lord Hastings.

When in Paris, Petitot entered into a combination with another Bordier, Jacques by name, and these two became the most eminent painters in the city, were given apartments in the Louvre, employed by Louis XIV., and painted all the most eminent personages of that brilliant Court. The attachment between the two friends lasted for thirty-five years, and was only put an end to by the death of Jacques Bordier. There were many unhappy difficulties concerning Petitot towards the end of his life. He was resolute in his attachment to the Reformed faith, and, when disaster overtook the Huguenots of France, he was arrested with his niece, and eventually, in the poorest of health and great despair, placed his signature to an act of abjuration, and was permitted in 1687 to leave Paris, and again to reach Geneva. Then there were difficulties with regard to what the Consistory of the Reformed Church considered as apostasy; but the pressure of circumstances was taken into full account, Petitot was received back into the Huguenot communion, and, regaining his customary high spirits, set to work at his old profession, acquitting himself most brilliantly. He received various commissions from John Sobieski, King of Poland, and from notable and well-to-do people who lived near to Geneva. His means rapidly increased, and he was full of energy when, on April 3rd, 1691, in the act of painting on the

PLATE XXIX.

ENAMELS.

1. Le Comte de Grignan (1669-1714). By Jean Louis Petitot (1652-1730?).
In the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.
2. A Royal Prince, name unknown. By Jean Louis Petitot (1652-1730?).
In the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.
3. Louis XIV. By Jean Petitot (1607-1691).
In the Collection of an anonymous collector.
4. Oliver Cromwell, contemporary English Miniature Artist, unknown.
5. Queen Victoria (1819-1901). By Henry Bone the younger.
Nos. 4 and 5 are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
6. Charles II. By Prieur, after S. Cooper. Signed and dated 1669.
In the Collection of the King of Denmark.



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enamel the portrait of his faithful and devoted wife, he was seized with an attack of paralysis, and passed away during the succeeding night. He was succeeded in his profession by his son, who was almost his equal in skill, and there are some wonderful works by the younger Petitot in various collections, notably in those of the Countess of Dartrey and of Earl Beauchamp, and there are others in the Royal Collection, in Paris, in various Rothschild collections, in Berlin, Vienna, Dresden and Budapest. There are three of the elder Petitot's drawings in existence, all of which are in the Pierpont Morgan collection; beyond these, I know of no work of his, save the enamels, with the exception of a wonderful MS. journal which still remains in the possession of the Petitot family, and which has in it certain drawings made by the artist in Indian ink, and two delightful portraits.

Another painter in enamel who must be mentioned is Pierre Prieur, who was connected by family with Petitot, having married Marie, the elder daughter of Petitot the elder. Prieur was in England in 1669, painting a portrait of Charles II., and another of Lady Castlemaine. Previous to that time, he appears to have been working for the King of Denmark, and in the following year we hear of him in Poland, painting a portrait of the King of that country which was intended as a present for the Danish monarch. In 1671, Prieur was again in Denmark, executing some remarkable commissions for portraits of the elder children of Frederick III. Then he visited Spain and journeyed to Russia, where I found several examples of his work, all dated 1676, and finally, he returned to Denmark, and there he is believed to have died in 1677. His work in England is very rare. There is one example of it at Windsor Castle, and there were two in a private collection, but one of them has been temporarily lost sight of. The Morgan collection contains two fine examples. Prieur's work is particularly brilliant, and he had the secret of a remarkable blue, which

is a feature of his portraits, and does not seem to have been known to the other painters in enamel of the day.

The younger Petitot was said to have studied for a while under Samuel Cooper, but there is no evidence for this statement, and his miniatures do not give me the impression that would lead to its acceptance. It is declared in a work dealing with enamel of that particular period, that sometimes these portraits, exquisitely painted upon a background of rough white enamel, laid upon the tiny morsel of gold or silver plate, had to be fused seven or eight times, on every occasion with the grave risk of complete failure. The marvel of their beauty is therefore increased, and their value in the eye of an understanding collector cannot but be greatly enhanced.

There were many more enamellers in France, following these especial few, and such names as Cheron, Arlaud, Massé, Aubert, Liotard, Rouquet and others, are well known.

In England, the art commences about the time of Queen Anne, and its first important exponents were both foreigners, Boit and Zincke, Boit having been a Swede, born in Stockholm in 1663, and Zincke, his pupil, a native of Dresden, some twenty-one years younger, who came to England in 1706. Boit was a man of an adventurous character, but procrastinating to the last degree. He aimed at producing an enamel which would measure 24 inches by 18, and represent Queen Anne surrounded by her Court. It was intended to commemorate the victories of the Duke of Marlborough; the design for it was prepared, Boit had a considerable advance from the Crown, and erected a special furnace, with adjacent workshops. His principal difficulty was in obtaining a preparatory ground of white enamel suitable for his purpose, and this he never seems to have succeeded in doing. He did, however, commence to paint the enamel, and produced a considerable part of it, but Queen Anne's husband,

who was probably responsible for the idea, died, Prince Eugene, whose portrait was to come into the enamel, refused to sit, and other troubles ensued. Then Queen Anne died, Boit got into difficulties, and left England for France, where he passed the remaining years of his life, and carried out some interesting and important portraits.

Zincke, who was his pupil, was responsible for a very large number of small paintings in enamel. He was certainly the first worker in England to produce fine portraits in this fascinating manner. His peculiar blue, and an almost equally striking pink, are characteristic of his work, and enable one to identify it almost in a moment. He must have been a prolific worker, as there are examples of his productions in almost every notable collection. Walpole tells us that he increased his prices over and over again, but everybody desired to sit to Zincke, and it was of very little use increasing his fees, because he appears to have had just as much work as ever.¹ One of his pupils was a man named Prewitt, who executed some excellent portraits, and was, if anything, a better draughtsman than his master, and possessed of a somewhat less ostentatious scheme of colouring.

Two other foreign painters who worked in England were J. H. Hurter and his younger brother, J. F. C. Hurter. Both these men were constantly employed by the then Earl of Dartrey, and in the possession of the present Countess of Dartrey there are more examples of their work than are to be found in any other portrait collection. The younger Hurter left England for Russia in 1785, and is said to have died in that country.

The first miniature painter who exhibited at the Royal

¹ The Will of Sir John Bosworth, of Epsom, Co. Surrey, dated 22 February, 1752, proved 12 August, 1752, by his sons, the Rev. John Bosworth and Samuel Bosworth, mentions a bequest to the testator's son John of the snuff-box with his mother's picture enamelled by Zincke set in the lid.

Academy was Gervase Spencer, who is stated to have been originally a valet, or footman, but whose skill in portrait painting attracted the attention of his master, who gave him the necessary education, and he speedily became an exhibitor at the newly founded Academy, and a very popular worker, both in enamel and as an ordinary miniature painter. The duller shades of green particularly appealed to Spencer, and his colouring is always of a quiet and refined type. His portraits are usually signed by tiny square initials. He died in 1763.

One of his successors was Henry Spicer, a Norfolk man, who carried on the work of the enameller down to the time of his death in 1804. He was a painter in enamel to the Prince of Wales, was a resident in Dublin for some few years, and a successful and remarkable miniature painter. He does not appear to have produced many portraits. He is said to have been very slow in his accomplishment. As a rule, his miniatures are signed on the back, and in this branch of miniature collecting the collector has one special advantage in the fact that, as a rule, an enamel painter gave his signature, and also frequently the date and his own address, burnt in in black on the bluish green back of the portrait. It is not difficult, therefore, as a rule, to identify a portrait in enamel.

Others who should be mentioned are Samuel Cotes; Jeremiah Meyer, who was another of Zincke's pupils, and enameller to George III., who produced excellent work of a very fine character; Nathaniel Hone, and his nephew, Horace Hone, who died in 1825; Michael Moser, who was a jeweller and medallist, and responsible for one of the great seals of England, and Samuel Finney, who in 1765 was appointed enamel painter to Queen Charlotte, and who was an exceedingly successful man, acquiring a considerable fortune, and eventually able to redeem some family estates in Cheshire, where he settled down to the quiet life of a country magistrate. Others were John Howes,

W. Bate, Birch, who produced a fine portrait dated 1793, Hatfield, one of whose best works is dated 1780, and Thomas' and William Craft, who worked on rather a larger scale than other painters of the day, and some of whose portraits measure as much as seven inches by five.

We then come to one of the latest, and in some respects one of the greatest enamel painters in England, Henry Bone, a Cornishman, born at Truro in 1755, and who was for a while a decorator of fine china, working at Plymouth, and eventually in Bristol, painting landscapes and flowers on porcelain. In 1780, he came up to London, and there decorated watch cases, buttons and brooches, but speedily found that his *métier* was with regard to portraits, and he gathered about him an important clientèle, and was for a long time the most popular enamel painter of the day. George III. made him his enamel painter, and he then set himself, not only to produce portraits, but to copy the works of the older masters in enamel, and was extraordinarily successful. He was gifted with a magnificent sense of colour, and he painted a long series of reproductions of other works, many of which can be still seen at Kingston Lacy near Wimborne, and at Woburn Abbey, Windsor Castle and in the Oxford University Galleries. His paintings are exceedingly brilliant, and the great series of some eighty-five portraits, copies of the famous people at the Court of Elizabeth, had never been equalled, and can surely never be surpassed. The greater part of the collection at Kingston Lacy consists of this series, which was purchased in 1856, long after the death of Bone. Henry Bone was an Associate of the Academy in 1801, a Royal Academician in 1811, and painter in enamel to George III., George IV. and William IV. He was succeeded by his two sons, H. P. Bone and R. T. Bone, who continued in their father's profession, bringing the art of the enamel painter almost down to modern times. Two other enamel painters who should have been mentioned were Richard Collins,

who was a pupil of Jeremiah Meyer, and John Plott, who was a pupil of Nathaniel Hone. These lived well into the nineteenth century, Plott dying in the early part of it, and Collins surviving to 1831.

The last important Englishman to work in enamel was William Essex, who first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1818, and was appointed miniature painter and enamel painter both to Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, and who exhibited steadily at the Academy away down to 1862. He was an expert enameller, an accomplished chemist, and a very clever artist. His pictures were not merely portraits of the notable people of the day, but they also included landscapes and classical subjects. The last few years of his life were passed at Brighton, where he died in 1869, at the age of eighty-five, leaving behind him a notable treatise on enamel painting, which is of considerable importance and is frequently used at the present day.

The student of portraits in enamel will do well to give particular attention to the collection at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the main portion of which came by bequest to the Gallery in 1897 from the Rev. W. Bentinck L. Hawkins; it has been skilfully arranged and ably catalogued, and, as it includes examples of all the notable English enamels from the time of Oliver Cromwell down to those of H. P. Bone and Essex, it is worthy of the closest attention. It embraces examples of several important foreign painters in enamel, notably of a Milanese artist, who lived and worked in London in the latter part of the eighteenth century, one Gaetano Manini; and perhaps Zincke's finest work finds a place in its cases, a portrait of Catherine Shorter, the first wife of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, and mother of Horace Walpole, from whose collection at Strawberry Hill the portrait came. It is set in a wonderful gold frame with enamelled flowers, and the companion portrait, which represents Sir Robert Walpole, is in the collection at Knowsley, belonging to Lord Derby.

Several of the portraits represent important historic personages, such as the Earl of Mansfield, Dr. Johnson, Inigo Jones, Alexander Pope, Sir William Hamilton, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the Duke of Wellington, and the collection is brought down to the most recent period by important examples representing the Prince Consort and Queen Victoria, the latter being a notable picture by Essex.

CHAPTER XVII

SOME FOREIGN MINIATURE PAINTERS

IT is probable that the collector for whom this book is intended will devote his chief attention to the works of English artists, and will not be specially interested in those who were not connected with this country, but as his collection increases, he will be sure to endeavour to purchase some of the best French miniatures, and there are opportunities occasionally for acquiring good examples of foreign art, at comparatively small prices, well worthy of being added to a carefully selected collection.

The finest French miniatures are eagerly desired by the chief collectors in Paris, and therefore, as a rule, fetch high prices. Of some artists, it may be said that hardly any of their best portraits exist outside a particular region with which they were connected; for example, of the work of Sergent I only know of one miniature which is not in France, and that is a well-known portrait of Marie Antoinette, which adorns the Pierpont Morgan collection. Of the work of Füger, the great Viennese painter, all the best examples are still to be found in Vienna, either in the Academy, or in the great collection which Dr. Figdor was able to bring together.

Of the Swedish painter Hall, his very best works are still in Sweden, although as he settled in France in 1766, and spent many years there, there are many of his notable works in Paris. One beautiful example can be seen in the Wallace Gallery. There are several in the Pierpont Morgan collection, and a few in other collections in England.

Other Swedish artists, such as Sparrgren and Gillberg, are known almost exclusively in Sweden. It is the rarest possible thing to see anything by them, or by Brenner or Signac, outside Sweden. The best work of Guerin, Fragonard, Drouet, Dumont and Augustin, still remains in France, and is in the highest possible repute in that country.

Isabey's work has always been popular in England, and there are some good examples of his miniatures to be found here. He was a particularly interesting portrait painter because, attached for some time to the Court of Marie Antoinette, he yet lived long enough to paint portraits of Napoleon I., to have the Empress Josephine and the Empress Marie Louise both to sit to him, to see Louis Philippe, and to paint portraits of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., so that his experience ranges over a long and eventful period of French history. His miniatures are very easy to recognise, because the soft gauzy white drapery that veils so many of his portraits is very characteristic. Moreover, he was partial to a peculiar shape, using very long ovals of ivory, practically elliptic, and measuring about 5 in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ as a rule. He also produced some exceedingly clever sketches for portraits, on pieces of paper of similar shape, and even on ivory. His signature is constantly forged; some of his work is not difficult to copy, although hardly anyone but himself could produce the exquisite film-like quality of his draperies. The miniatures that are signed "Isabey" alone, without the initial, and where the lines have the same thickness all along, and the thicker or thinner up and down strokes are not clearly visible, may be viewed with some suspicion, because Isabey's own actual signature, although he adopted three methods of signing it; has distinct up and down strokes in the writing, a very easy flow to the tail of the "y," small square-headed capitals, and a certain freedom which is wholly different from the forged signatures.

The miniatures of Fragonard are very interesting, and

PLATE XXX.

FOREIGN ARTISTS.

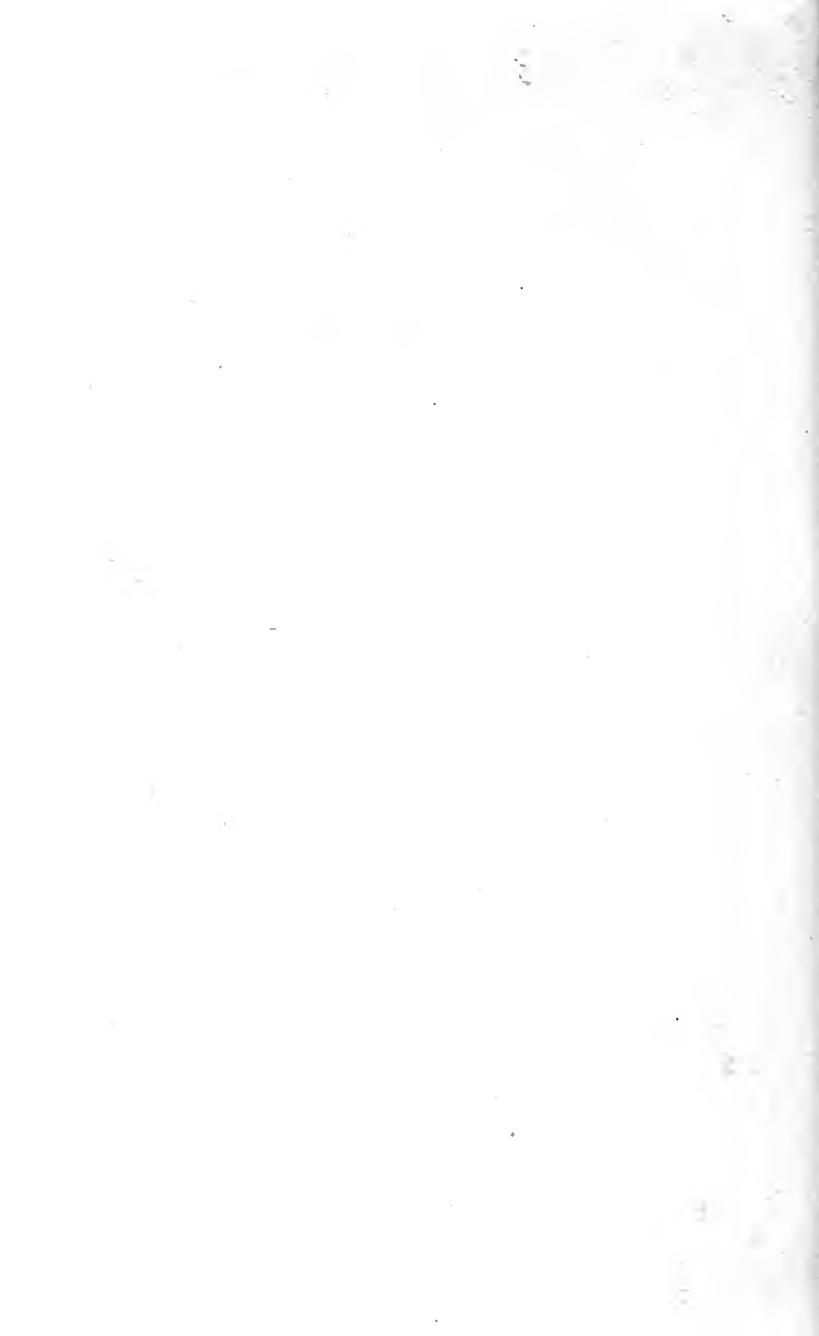
1. The Countess Sophie Potoçki (1765-1822). By P. A. Hall
(1736-1793).
In the Collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.
2. A Boy, name unknown. By Dumont (1751-1831).
In the Wallace Collection.



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differ entirely from those of any other artist of the day. They are painted with a very full brush in bold, light, sketchy manner, the tints so daintily placed upon the ivory as to give the effect of having been blown upon the material, and resting there with a featherlike lightness. He used a great deal of yellow in many of his miniatures. It is fine, sketchy work, and of great beauty. Some of his portraits are said to have been the work of his wife, Marie Anne Gerard, who was also a professional miniaturist. Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether husband or wife was responsible for the portrait in question, but there was an exhibition of his works in 1907 in which some of Madame Fragonard's miniatures were exhibited in the same room, and a certain consensus of opinion was obtained, by which the two groups were differentiated the one from the other.

There is a well-known portrait by Fragonard in the Wallace Gallery called "The Child with the Fair Hair." The original sketch for that forms a large miniature in the Pierpont Morgan collection, and, in that miniature, Fragonard shows another curious characteristic. He had a habit of sketching out the portrait, and then finding that the piece of ivory did not allow sufficient space for a suitable background; in this particular case, and in others, he pieced on similar pieces of ivory, so as to enlarge the space behind the head of the sitter. This characteristic is a notable one, and has sometimes been the means of identifying his portraits.

Hall, the Swede, who did his best work in Paris, painted in a rich, loose fashion, and was fond of landscape backgrounds, or the representation of a garden and some trees. His colour scheme was extraordinarily fine, and hardly any miniatures painted in France are of greater artistic merit than those for which he was responsible.

Augustin, who was born in 1759, was one of the greatest of the French miniature painters. He began producing

miniatures when quite a boy, and was in steady practice down to the time of his death in 1832. The greatest collection of his miniatures in existence is that which Mr. Pierpont Morgan acquired from his heirs and it includes a wonderful series of sketches and unfinished miniatures, as well as many portraits of himself and completed miniatures of persons of high importance at that time in Paris. A full account of this artist, with illustrations of his work and details concerning his career, can be found in the fourth volume of the Pierpont Morgan Catalogue.

Two of his pupils were Laurent and Pinchon, both notable men.

Another great French miniature painter was Dumont, or rather one ought to say that there were two Dumonts, François and Tony, both clever painters, and it is not easy to distinguish between the works of the two. Yet another was Vestier, whose daughter François Dumont married, and who was responsible for some extremely fine miniatures.

Pierre Prud'hon (1758-1823) and his great friend Constance Meyer, were also responsible for some notable miniatures, and other French artists who ought to be named were Rouvier, Villiers, Hoin, Perrin and Jacques, but about all these portrait painters it is well to refer the collector to the works mentioned in the bibliography, especially to the important book on French miniature painters by Henri Bouchot, which can be obtained in two editions, either with or without illustrations.

The chief Spanish painter to be mentioned is Ferdinand Quaglia, who was the Empress Josephine's favourite miniature painter, and was especially successful in painting velvet and fur; while, among German artists, Chodowiecki must not be forgotten (1726-1801) and, in enamels, Dinglinger and Thienpondt. Amongst native Dutch miniature painters the chief, perhaps, is the seventeenth-century artist named Lundens.

CHAPTER XVIII

PLUMBAGO DRAWINGS

A MINIATURE need not, necessarily, have colour. There is one group of miniatures, to be considered in this chapter, which are entirely lacking in colour, and are monotone in hue, either the delicate black of graphite or pencil, the brownish tint of Indian ink or sepia, or the gleaming grey tone of silver point.

To these might be added certain others drawn in pencil and crayon, in which perchance two, or three at the most, faint colours are introduced either by crayon or wash.

It was at one time suggested that the drawings included in this group were not portrait miniatures strictly speaking, but were prepared either as studies for miniatures in colour or larger portraits, or else as the preparatory studies for the use of engravers, but these theories have been generally laid aside.

It may, moreover, be assumed that many of the pencil portraits usually termed Plumbago Drawings, carried out on paper or vellum and drawn with a finely pointed piece of graphite, by such artists as Loggan, White, and Forster, were actual *ad vivum* portrait miniatures complete in themselves, not studies for any other works, and as truly deserving of consideration in a book on miniatures as are the portraits in water-colour more usually accepted under that name.

It is, of course, difficult to know where to draw a line for the collector, and impossible to determine amongst

these drawings which should be considered as a miniature and which should be discarded.

Each collector must please himself. One may include all portraits drawn in pencil, crayon, Indian ink, silver print or wash, provided they are small, and of handy proportions. Another may confine his attention to the drawings made in graphite, and reject the rest. The latter may perhaps be technically the more correct, but the former will possess the more interesting and instructive collection.

In England there has been a regular school of artists who worked in plumbago ; Loggan, Forster and White being perhaps the most notable amongst them. In other countries, notably in Holland, there have been many artists proficient in this art ; but the difference is, that while we know of no miniatures in colour by the three men just named we find that most of the Dutch and French plumbagoists worked *also* in colour, only occasionally confining their attention to the production of pencil or plumbago portraits. I must not imply in this statement, however, that the artists just named who worked—so far as we know—exclusively in plumbago were the only English artists who adopted this form of drawing. Such was not the case. Those who painted in colour also executed at times, fine pencil portrait drawings which may well be termed miniatures. We know, for example, of one fine pencil drawing by Samuel Cooper, and there are several in existence by Faithorne, by Richardson, by Lely, and by George Vertue, all of whom are known to draw in colour, while amongst engravers who executed such portraits we may mention Abraham Blootelling, George White, Greenhill and others.

Let me now treat in some detail of those artists who may be claimed with some definite assurance as miniaturists in plumbago.

Of these probably David Loggan is the chief. He was a native of Danzig, born in 1635, and he came to England

some time before 1653 and was naturalised in this country. His chief talent lay in engraving, and he was appointed Engraver to the University of Oxford in 1669 and to that of Cambridge in 1690. His fame rests upon his two splendid series of engraved views of the Colleges known as *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675, and *Cambrigia Illustrata*, 1676-1690. He was, however, a very skilful artist in preparing *ad vivum* portraits, which he executed as a rule on vellum and generally signed and dated. They are delicate, dainty works, exquisite in detail and remarkable, amongst other qualities, for the manner in which the lace on the cravats is delineated. So perfectly is this rendered that a skilful lace worker could work on a pillow from it and produce a fabric exactly resembling that represented in the portrait.

It is clear that some at least of Loggan's portraits were carried out with a view to engraving, one of the four belonging to the University of Oxford "being apparently the original of an engraving of great iconographical interest." Another in my own collection, which was as recently as 1848 in the collection at Windsor Castle, is clearly the original for the portrait of Charles II. which was engraved for the patents and charters of the day, but, on the other hand, many of Loggan's fine drawings were not so intended, and were just fine portrait miniatures, executed in plumbago. In the Wellesley collection there were portraits of Cardinal Mazarin (signed and dated 1659), Mrs. Perwick (signed and dated 1655), Ralph Bathurst (signed and dated 1681), and a portrait of Charles II., while in my own collection, besides the portrait of Charles II. already mentioned, and another of the same monarch sketchily drawn, there are similar ones of Sir Bibye Lake (signed and dated 1678), Charles, sixth Duke of Somerset (signed and dated 1682), Henry, Lord Grey de Ruthyn (signed and dated 1683) and James, Marquis of Douglas.

The drawing of Cardinal Mazarin was discovered in an old house at Chelsea close to where the Duchesse de Mazarin

PLATE XXXI.

PLUMBAGO DRAWINGS.

1. Plumbago Drawing of Charles, Sixth Duke of Somerset (1662-1748), commonly called the proud Duke. By David Loggan (1635-1700?). Signed and dated 1682.
2. Plumbago Drawing of "Elizabeth Keyt, 1st wife of Thomas Charles, 5th Viscount Tracy, and Mother of the Honble. Jane, wife of Cecil Hanbury, Esq." By Thomas Forster (Fl. 1695-1712). Signed and dated 1703. "Framed by Orme, Feb. 7th, 1704."

Both in the Collection of Dr. G. C. Williamson.



D.L. 1682

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lived. The one of Mrs. Perwick contained some of Loggan's most marvellous drawing of lace ; the bodice in the portrait is exquisite in its delicacy and charm.

Robert White was Loggan's pupil and adopted his master's manner of drawing, excelling him perhaps in the delineation of hair. His portraits are stronger and more forcible than those of Loggan, not so dainty nor so refined, but magnificent in their virility.

There are twelve of his works in the Print Room at the British Museum, the most notable being the well-known portrait of John Bunyan. In the Duke of Portland's collection there are three signed portraits, Charles II. (1684), the Duke of Monmouth, and Robert White himself (1679). Mr. Wellesley also had a superb Charles II. (1702), and portraits of James II., William Dobson the painter, and of a Judge and a Bishop, as well as two other signed portraits of men whose names are unknown. The examples of White's work in my own collection are a portrait of Joseph Addison (1672-1719) the original from which the well-known engraving was made, and portraits of Queen Catherine of Braganza, Henrietta Anne, daughter of Charles I., and Thomas Thynne.

Of the third great draughtsman in plumbago, Thomas Forster, we know very little indeed. He was rather later in date than the other two, and appears to have flourished between 1695 and 1712, but who he was and what was his history and who were his masters, we do not know. His work is amazing and wonderful. He used very hard graphite, pointed to an almost microscopic sharpness, and, working as he did mainly on vellum, it must have been almost impossible to erase a mark or a line. Occasionally his portraits are touched with a little grey wash, especially about the draperies, but all the rest is in fine and exquisite line. I believe that my own portrait of Viscountess Tracy (signed and dated 1703) is as fine an example of his work as any

known, and besides that I have three other works ; but Mr. Wellesley possessed a wonderful series of his portraits representing members of the Bulteel family, and, in addition to these, he had ten others, including portraits of Dr. and Mrs. Hay, the Duke of Gloucester, Queen Anne's son ; Lord Halifax, General Crofts, the son of the Duke of Monmouth ; James Drake the writer (a superb portrait), Lord Henry Scott and others. Most of these were signed and dated works. The one of Lord Henry Scott was minute, only measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. ; the others his more usual size, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. There are two belonging to the University of Oxford, one fine one of William III. at Welbeck Abbey, and several in the Holburne Museum in Bath.

These three great names do not, however, exhaust the list of the English exponents of this exquisite art, but before I pass to the lesser men, some attention must be given to John Faber and his son, of the same name.

The Fabers were mezzotint engravers, and, like Loggan, the elder Faber, who came from The Hague, worked in Oxford and Cambridge, producing in each place an important series of portraits of founders. Both drew portraits that are almost miraculous in detail and finish, but they are not in plumbago but in Indian ink, and are as a rule adorned with elaborate explanatory legends, signatures and dates.

In the possession of works of Faber, Mr. Wellesley's collection stood supreme. His portrait of Mary II. was extremely fine, and those of the five Dutch Admirals, drawn separately, and his portraits of Sir George Rooke, Sir James Wishart, Lord Athlone and General Hill left little to be desired. The Rijks Museum in Amsterdam owns three of Faber's drawings, the British Museum also has three. I have one, a portrait ($5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{6}$) of Charles I., "Done from ye Original Painting in the Possession of ye Honble. George Clarke in Oxford," which is as fine an example of

Faber's skill as any collector could desire to possess. I also possess two portraits of William III., and two by the younger Faber of George I. and George II., but Mr. Wellesley had twenty by the father and five more by the son, including the earliest dated one that is known, that of a portrait of the King of Saxony, dated 1688.

Some of them were executed in Holland, as five testify to their execution at The Hague in 1692, and two at Amsterdam in 1693 and 1696, but others were drawn in London or at Chatham, as the legends upon them set forth. Those of the younger Faber were probably all completed in London, and included portraits of George I., George II., and Joseph Addison, one of them being partly in Indian ink and partly in plumbago.

It is hardly doing justice to William Faithorne, the famous engraver, to place him amongst the lesser men, more especially as the plumbago drawing in the Wellesley collection which he drew of Sir John Reresby was one of the finest examples of this art that I have ever seen, but the grouping is rather a matter of necessity. In the first group were those whose portraits are exclusively in plumbago or in a kindred material, in the later group those whose portraits in plumbago were only a part of their art, or those artists who specially drew for engraving afterwards and not so much for the purpose of making an *ad vivum* portrait for its own sake. Whether Faithorne's portrait of Reresby, a wonderful production, was intended to form the basis for a print one can hardly say, but another splendid example of his work in pencil, a portrait of Charles II., that was in the same collection, was almost certainly a finished study for an engraved work.

Forster had a relation named Charles Forster, who drew in 1711, but whether son or brother to the greater man no one can tell; and White had a son—George White (1684–1732). I have portraits by each of them, a notable one

PLATE XXXII.

PLUMBAGO DRAWINGS.

Drawing in Indian Ink by John Faber the elder (1650-1721) of Charles I. Inscribed:

" Carolus I Mag: Brit: Fr: and Hib: Rex. Done from ye Original Painting in the Possession of ye Honble. George Clarke in Oxford by J. Faber";

and also described on the reverse as depicting the King " as he sat his trial in Westminster Hall, January 23, 1648. A Drawing with the Pen by J. Faber."

Collection of Dr. G. C. Williamson.



by George White representing Queen Anne. Then there is the Scottish draughtsman, David Paton (fl. 1650-1700), whose finest productions belong to the Earl of Dysart and Lord Hamilton of Dalzell, but by whom I have a portrait of Mary, Marchioness of Douglas, and Mr. Wellesley had two of the Earl of Dalkeith and Sir John Dalrymple; and there were several painters in colour who were responsible occasionally for portraits in pencil, plumbago or crayon that may be termed miniatures. Of these Mary Beale (1632-1697), Jonathan Richardson (1665-1745), Balthaser Denner (1685-1749), William Pether the mezzotinter (1738?-1821), J. Verbruggen (fl. 1737), George Vertue (1684-1756), Thomas Worlidge the engraver (1700-1766), and George Glover, another engraver (fl. 1625-1658), may be mentioned.

It will have been noticed, however, that Loggan and Faber both came from the Continent to England, and the former sojourned a while in Holland, while the latter claimed it as his birthplace. Furthermore, Simon de Pass (1595?-1647), another plumbagoist of repute, and his brother William both came from Holland, and it is easy to understand that in the Netherlands the art was more constantly practised than in England, and that some of the finest pencil miniatures in existence were therefore produced by Dutch artists. They were not, strictly speaking, plumbagoists, for the use of the hard graphite as Loggan, White and Forster used it, is very much an English art; but we shall notice that a large number of Dutch artists were proficient in producing portraits in pencil that can be considered as miniatures.

Abraham de Blois drew Nell Gwynne; William Jacobszoon Delff, Maria Strich, the teacher of Calligraphy; Gerard Dou the portrait of Anne Spiering, daughter of his patron the Swedish Minister at The Hague; Hendrick Goltzius that of Robert Earl of Leicester; Jan Liebens that of the

Earl of Essex ; Crispin de Pass of Hendrick Goltzius ; Gesina Ter-Borch of Moses Ter-Borch, and Johannes Thopas, Pieter Van der Bauch, Jan Van de Velde, Jan Wandelaar and Jan Wienix may all be mentioned, and these by no means complete the list as examples of Dutch artists who practised this special art.

A place must certainly be found for the eminent engraver, Abraham Blootelling, by whom a signed portrait, certainly a miniature, is in my own collection ; and there are many other Dutchmen who might also be mentioned. Sweden produced one man of high eminence in Charles Bancks, who drew portraits in Indian ink. I have a signed work by him depicting Oliver Cromwell, which, however, although a fine portrait, is not an *ad vivum* one ; but France, in the person of Robert Nanteuil (1623-1678) came very close to exceeding all others in skill, and his portrait of Charles L'Abbé de Monveron, from the Wellesley collection, was one of the finest pencil portraits that could ever have been drawn.

This branch of the art can also boast of several anonymous proficient, whom it would be very interesting to identify.

There is a wonderful study, at Oxford, of Archbishop Plunket, "made on the eve of his execution," which has been given to Edward Lutterell, and a portrait of a man which, it is believed, was drawn by Loggan, while an unfinished head of Charles II. has been given to Faithorne ; but besides these there are several plumbago, pencil or crayon or Indian ink miniatures bearing no signature, and which therefore cannot be attributed to any of the known artists, although it is quite possible that some one of them may have been responsible for the works in question.

Fortunately for the collector it is difficult if not impossible to forge these plumbago or pencil portraits. The labour and skill involved is too great for it to be worth while, and all that the collector has to guard against is

the possibility of copying by photography, when the presence of a thick curved glass of very inadequate clearness may increase the difficulty of the problem. As a rule, however, these drawings are not forgeries, and in case of any doubt a careful investigation of the supposed drawing, *out of its frame*, with the aid of a magnifying glass, should soon reveal its authenticity or the reverse.

There must be many pencil portraits still remaining hidden in old scrapbooks, as a while they were wholly disregarded. They can be found in their black wooden frames in many an old house, but still oftener, unframed, in portfolios or scrapbooks, and in such places they must be sought for.

They are of peculiar beauty and charm, and the collector will readily fall a victim to their fascination. The difficulty is, as already stated, what to reject, as almost all portrait drawings are beautiful. Some, of course, are quite large; too large perhaps for the collector's cabinet, but even in such case they can adorn his wall. The great treasures are, however, the drawings in plumbago or Indian ink by Loggan, White, Forster, Faber, De Pass, Paton and Faithorne, and these need an assiduous searcher, but the joy of obtaining an example is very great, and its possession a never-ending satisfaction to the collector.

CHAPTER XIX

THE COLLECTOR

ADVICE to the collector of miniatures falls naturally under three heads: how to obtain the miniatures, how to preserve and care for them, and how to understand them, and it may be well to give some detailed information on all of these three points.

First of all, then, as to collecting. There are two methods by which this may be accomplished. The collector may either buy here and there, wherever he may be, such miniatures as may take his fancy, purchasing them in the small curiosity shops of the town, or at the pawnbrokers, or buying them at auction sales, and may gather in quite a considerable number of miniatures, good, bad and indifferent, by such a method of procedure. He may start with a natural eye for what is delightful, what the French so cleverly call *flair*, picking out that which pleases him or appeals for one cause or another, or he may simply buy under such circumstances freely, without any special selection or idea of beauty, but simply because the things are miniatures, or are called miniatures, and their possession will increase his collection and give him a considerable number of pretty things with which to adorn his rooms. An alternative to this method is to buy under the advice of an expert, or a first-rate dealer, and to buy selected fine things that are recommended to him. Which procedure the collector adopts must, to a certain extent, depend upon the size of his purse. If he has ample means, and is able to indulge in his hobby to his heart's content, he will

probably without any hesitation, especially if he be wise, select the second method, but the ordinary collector will probably be forced by circumstances to select the first plan. He will have a certain amount of funds at his disposal, which he will not mind expending upon a collection, treating it as a hobby upon which he is able to spend no more than a fixed proportion of his means, and he will naturally desire to obtain for this expenditure either as large a collection as possible, or as choice a selection as he can. If he does happen to be gifted with *flair*, he will probably succeed in purchasing some quite interesting and probably important portraits, and on the whole this system of general collecting is the one which I am inclined to recommend to the ordinary collector, especially at first. It is by far the better method for acquiring information and knowledge of the subject, and such knowledge will be a source of pleasure to the collector as the years go on. Moreover, by such a method, the collector will train his own judgment and will gradually pile up a mass of experience, which will become increasingly useful to him. I do not quite say all should be fish that comes to his net. The indiscriminate purchase of everything that is called a miniature is by no means to be commended. It is, moreover, a somewhat costly plan, because, if the collector starts with the idea that he is going to buy everything that is offered to him in these smaller shops, and thus to have a very large collection, in the hope of securing one or two fine things amongst the lot, he will have to expend a very considerable sum of money.

Hence one has to advise a course rather between the two extremes; general collecting, but at the same time with discretion. It may be taken for granted that no one will begin to collect miniatures in a serious fashion without some sort of knowledge of his subject, which, however negligible, will yet surely enable him to reject Baxter prints, coloured photographs, eighteenth-century coloured

stipple prints, modern chromo-lithographs, illustrations cut out from the colour plates of books on miniatures, and other similar deceptions, all of which are at the present day framed up in miniature frames, and sold as miniatures. I can hardly conceive of a collector who starts seriously without sufficient knowledge to refrain from such things, and he will then devote his attention to portraits which are strictly speaking miniatures, instead of to these, which by no stretch of imagination can be included under this description. Granted, then, that he has sufficient judgment to make the necessary rejections, I advise a general collection. It will be well to scrutinise, rather carefully, what he purchases, even under these circumstances, because I must warn him that there are many coloured illustrations of miniatures, framed in miniature frames, under rather thick glass, which are palmed off as actual miniatures, and which do require a certain amount of care, or the collector may easily be beguiled. I speak with a certain bitterness of these forgeries, for they are nothing less, because in many instances they are actually illustrations from my own books and from those of other writers, and I have had them offered to me, over and over again, by dealers who were ignorant of my identity, and who strongly recommended these coloured illustrations, in some instances hand-coloured on vellum, taken from costly books, as original productions of the art of the miniaturist.

Putting aside these, however, because very early the collector should learn to identify them, he has a wide field for collecting, and in it he may frequently be successful. He will purchase, wherever he may happen to be, the miniatures which take his fancy, and which he thinks are delightful, and worthy of a place in his collection, and then, as his knowledge increases, he will sift the collection, gradually getting rid of the inferior things, and purchasing better in their stead. In some cases he may, by this process, obtain quite important miniatures, or damaged

miniatures by important artists, and these latter will be of considerable service in forming his judgment, and helping him to acquire even finer things. At the outset, he must not imagine that the days for obtaining bargains have yet wholly passed. It is not so; every collector has, in his experience, purchased bargains occasionally. The chances do not occur very often; those who sell the miniatures are often better qualified, or at least as well qualified, as the purchaser, to judge of the value of the particular portrait in question, but the reverse is sometimes the case, and there have been miniatures discovered in pawnbrokers' shops or in small country auctions, and obtained for a few shillings, which were worth as many pounds; while as long as collecting goes on, these chances are pretty sure to occur, even though admittedly less frequently than they used to happen. The collector should make up his mind that in any fresh town he visits, if he has the opportunity, he will rummage amongst the old curiosity shops and pawnbrokers, and see what spoil he can obtain. He must start with the information that many of those who keep these shops are prepared for him already, and that they possess clever copies of miniatures, all nicely framed and mounted in the old fashion, with which to beguile him. Let him remember that there is a steady and increasing market for old *frames*, that these generally fetch their full value, and the explanation of this is that there are indigent artists who are ready to make copies more or less skilful, of old miniatures, and that there are unscrupulous dealers who are ready to put these copies into old frames, with dusty, grubby glass over them, in the hope of inducing the ignorant collector to pay high prices for their wares.

In no other way than by slow and painfully acquiring experience, can the small general collector learn how to reject these copies in forming his collection.

There are a few general rules which no doubt he will quickly learn. He will have to bear in mind the date of

the introduction of ivory, and know that a miniature painted on that substance must, at least, be later than the time of Queen Anne, Bernard Lens having had, so far as we know, the honour of introducing the use of ivory for miniature painting. He will know that a miniature painted on a playing card should belong to Elizabethan or to Stuart times, and he will, after a while, be able to pick out, by the shape of the pips on the card or by its texture, the original from the forgery, if, by good chance, he happens to come across a genuine Elizabethan miniature, and is able to examine the back of it. Then he will begin to accustom himself to a certain knowledge of costume. If he finds a portrait of a man in undoubtedly Elizabethan costume, or in that of Stuart times painted on a large piece of ivory, he will at once decide in his own mind that it is either a reproduction of an earlier painting, prepared for illustration in one of the portrait books of the time of George III., or else it is a forgery, wholly modern, for painted on that substance, it could not possibly be a portrait prepared *ad vidum*. The same thing would apply if he found a portrait of a man in armour, he would know that it must belong to an earlier period than the use of ivory would warrant. And so, from the first, the material upon which the miniature is painted will have some sort of information about it which will convey knowledge at once to his own mind. Ideas of technique and knowledge of colouring must come much later. Information about signatures is also a matter of later acquisition, but at the same time he ought to start with some general knowledge of these, and he should use some judgment as to where he buys his portraits. A collector, a little while ago, purchased in Nice, of all places in the world, three miniatures purporting to be works by Cosway, Plimer and Engleheart, forgetful of the fact that in such a town as Nice preparations are made to beguile the unwary, and to have fine showy objects, at high prices, for the

delectation of those who have money, all at once, to spend, and who perhaps spend it without much judgment. Paris, Brussels, Nice, are not quite the cities where one would expect to find important English eighteenth-century miniatures, especially at bargain prices. Purchasing on the Continent must always be effected with a rather graver sense of responsibility than in England, because there are regular schools of copyists in many places, especially in Brussels, and some of the copies are done with extreme skill and accuracy. Let it be remembered, with regard to one miniature painter, what has already been mentioned, that Cosway practically never signed on the face of the miniature, and therefore anything signed by him in that fashion may at once be rejected. The same thing would apply to a full-length signature by Plimer or Engleheart, as these men signed with their initials, and many of the forgeries bear their full names. Furthermore in buying miniatures, it is as well to have with one a card on which may be marked the dates of birth and death of certain notable artists, as a guide to collecting, and if, on this card, the names also of some of the kings and queens and of some of their more notable followers should also be mentioned, it would be all the better, for I myself have been offered a portrait of Elizabeth painted by Samuel Cooper, and a portrait of Queen Anne painted by an important late eighteenth-century miniaturist, and a card of reference of dates will prevent a purchase of this kind being made.

The general collector should be recommended, in forming his collection, to buy freely. He must make up his mind to be taken in, sometimes—even the best experts have occasionally to confess to a slip—and this course is sure to happen to the young collector—but he will buy his experience, and it will thus be the more precious to him. It will be well not to buy at too high a price—if the miniature offered is a really early one, he will hesitate and, I hope,

take some one else's advice—but on the whole, it is well to sweep into the early collection a large number of portraits, more or less good, and then gradually to reject those that are not satisfactory, and to retain those that are important, in this way building up a fabric of real experience, very precious and very valuable.

The other type of collector, to whom allusion has already been made, will pursue quite a different method. He will determine to have only of the best. He will possess means, more or less substantial, at his disposal, and will wish to use these means to the best possible advantage. He will consequently find out some reliable dealer or friendly expert, will make arrangements for the benefit of their advice, and will buy only under such advice. There are great advantages, no doubt, in this form of collecting, but it is one that can be adopted by very few people, and I am inclined to question whether, in purchasing in this fashion, there is anything like the joy to the collector, as compared with the satisfaction of the general collector who enters with great avidity into the pursuit of his hobby, and who slowly builds up his collection. I very much doubt whether the more careful collectors can thus acquire anything like the amount of knowledge that the general collector may hope to obtain. Reliance on other people is not the best method of obtaining experience. Still, the possession of fine things is always a joy, and slowly the general collector, surrounded only by choice examples, will polish his taste, and acquire a knowledge of what is really first-rate, which probably it will be difficult for the other man to obtain; but, for many years, the special collector must place his reliance on those who guide him, because the ordinary means of buying experience are denied to him. Here, again, it may be well to offer a word of caution as to the selection of the dealer or expert. Some kind of business arrangement should be entered into with the person who is employed. It should not be to the

dealer's advantage to offer to the collector the highest priced portraits. The fee that he should obtain ought not to be based upon the intrinsic value of the portrait, otherwise the temptation comes that the dealer will recommend a highly priced miniature, even though he may be a little doubtful of its authenticity, or its condition, by reason of the commission which will accrue to him from the purchase. It will not be difficult to enter into some plan by which a definite fee for each miniature purchased ; or a fee covering a certain number of miniatures ; or a fee for advice, irrespective of purchase ; may be arranged, and the purchase, if it can be planned, should not be made exclusively, or even generally, from the adviser. It would be well if the special collector could obtain the services of an expert who would have no interest in the purchase, and whose privilege it would be simply to give an opinion to the best of his knowledge. He might then be asked to substantiate his opinion by a statement of the reasons which cause him to form it, and from these documents or verbal statements the collector will gradually possess criteria upon which to base his experience.

We now arrive at the second question, the miniatures having been purchased, what should be done with them ? Here I want to urge the collector to make up his mind to *open* every miniature which he collects. It will not be easy for him to do so ; some of them are so skilfully fastened into their frames that to open them and remove the miniature is a matter requiring some judgment and skill. It will be well to take the advice of an ordinary working jeweller in such a matter, but not to hand the miniature to the man in question, and to leave it with him. This for several reasons, the chief being that it is important that the collector should see everything that is contained in the frame, not only the miniature itself, but all the paper or cardboard that is used for the backing. One can never tell what may be found inside the frame, and the opening

of the miniature should take place in the presence of the collector, or the jeweller should be told that every scrap of material that is found inside the frame must be retained for the owner's inspection. To remove the tiny little pins that fasten the two halves of the gold frame together is generally a matter of some difficulty which can only be accomplished by means of jewellers' tools. After a while, perhaps the collector will learn how to do it himself; but even if he does, he will be wise to take the advice of a craftsman. Then, having opened his portrait, he will examine it with a magnifying glass with great care. He may, perhaps, descry the initials of the artist, painted on the extreme edge of the portrait, and in many instances covered up by the mount or the frame. He will determine the material upon which the miniature is painted, whether ivory or cardboard, paper or vellum, and he may by that means find out its period and character. He will be almost deceived at first by some of the materials which so cleverly imitate ivory. Unless he possess rare judgment, he will mistake some of these compositions for actual ivory, until he has the miniature actually in his hand; and even then he must be careful, because there is a material now in use which so closely resembles ivory that even an able expert is occasionally puzzled by it. Its presence will, however, enable him to know at once that the object in his hands is a modern forgery, because no such material was known in the eighteenth century. Then he will scrutinise the pieces of paper that have been used at the back of the miniature, or to set it in its frame, because, in some instances, he will find written upon them information of value. Sometimes, the artist gives his name and address and date upon such backing paper; sometimes the name of the sitter, and his or her position in life, is marked; sometimes, if the artist has himself put the miniature into its frame, there are bits of paper upon which portions of his own sketches are preserved, used in backing up; and occa-

sionally, there are notes in the handwriting of the artist, or of some other person, of the greatest possible importance. There was once a lady who sat to Cosway, and the artist, after commencing the portrait, had a quarrel with his fair sitter and refused to finish the work. He sent the portrait back again to the lady, a Mrs. Whittington, with an inscription written upon it which conveyed his opinion of her character. It read thus: "Impatient of advice, excessive pride upon a false foundation, a specious exterior, an unfeeling heart, inconstant, ungrateful; and the writer of this may justly add; as he has woefully experienced it, cruel and mercenary." Here, indeed, was a revelation, proving how bitter was the quarrel between the artist and his sitter, and how revengeful was the artist himself. It did not appear from this particular miniature that the inscription had at first been seen by the lady in question, because the piece of paper containing it was covered over by another; but a later possessor had discovered it, and had given a glass back to the miniature (a wise arrangement, often to be recommended), and through this glass could be seen the whole of the inscription, which a long time before the artist, in his bitter feeling, had written. It is not often, of course, that such a piece of evidence as this comes to light, but on a portrait belonging to the Duke of Portland was found an inscription reading thus: "The finishing this picture and another, which Mr. Graham took away, is not paid for," and this statement, although proved not to be in the handwriting of Cooper himself, who painted the miniature, is yet one of great importance, and gives us the information that the miniature belonged to Graham the collector. On another similar portrait, representing a young girl of about sixteen, some one, presumably the artist (although we cannot be absolutely certain of his handwriting), has written the words "Tiresome, fidgety," and it is to be presumed that these two adjectives refer to the girl who sat for the miniature. Yet on other in-

stances there are notes by the artist as to his having painted other portraits of the same person, or brief biographies, or allusions to the fact that he had painted the lady before her marriage, and giving her maiden name, or statements that the miniature had been painted in Bath, or Bristol, or wherever the sitting took place, or that it had been finished in London, or that it had been framed by Orme or some other framer of the day, or a statement of its cost, or a number which may refer to a numbered list in the artist's own notebook. All these interesting things can only be found when the miniature is opened, and they should be recorded very carefully by the collector in his notebook. This notebook he should start as soon as he takes up collecting, and in it he should put down the date when he purchased the portrait, where it was obtained, what he gave for it, what was the result of the examination, and whose work he considers it to be, and then this last piece of information may be altered in the light of later experience or in the judgment of some expert whom the collector may consult. If he is quite certain whom the portrait represents, it will be well to incur the small cost of inscribing the name upon the frame, but here we enter upon a question of some complexity. An expert of the highest repute, Mr. Charles F. Bell, who has charge of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, in an essay dealing with historical portraits, used these words: "In no branch of iconography is so much caution and scepticism required as in dealing with miniatures," and in this statement Mr. Bell is undoubtedly correct. The dealer and the collector are both far too apt to give names to the portraits. A named portrait is, of course, more interesting than one that has no name. It is more delightful to look at a miniature and to say it represents Lord Clarendon, Queen Anne, Samuel Pepys, Queen Elizabeth, the Duke of Marlborough, or Kitty Fisher, than to have to say "it represents a man or a woman whose names are unknown to me"; but at the

same time it is dangerous, nay more, it is even fraudulent to attach a name to a miniature about which there is considerable doubt. It is permissible to say, "Believed to represent Lord Clarendon," or the person whose name the portrait is supposed to bear, or the phrase may be varied to the effect that it is suggested this represents so-and-so, or the initials on the back appear to suggest that the portrait represents such-and-such a person. There may be cases, and there probably will be many such, in which the authenticity of the portrait is known. The collector may buy from the family, portraits of members of that family, and it may be reasonably clear as to who the pictures represent, and in cases of unimportant persons, Mr. and Mrs. John Smith, and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Robinson, it will not be so serious an error to put the names that are given to the collector on to the portraits as it will be when these names represent persons of historic importance, who have occupied great positions in the world. In any case, if a minor dealer presents the collector with a miniature and says "This represents Queen Anne, or Samuel Pepys," the statement should be received with the utmost caution, and the name should not be fastened upon the miniature until very careful investigation has been made by its new owner.

The miniature having been opened, all that was found within the frame should be replaced, not a scrap should be left out. The portrait should then be closed up with great security, so that the damp cannot reach the miniature. The glass should be dried carefully, and with particular care if the day on which the opening takes place happens to be a moist one, because it is of the highest importance that no moisture should be introduced into the miniature, it may start a fungoid growth which will be very detrimental in later years. The opening and the replacing should, if possible, take place in a warm room, and the glass, the mount, and the frame should be held for a

moment or two before the fire to ensure their being absolutely dry. Then the miniature should be deposited in a cabinet or in a glass case, and here again a few words of caution are advisable. Miniatures, especially those painted on ivory, are very liable to change in colour. They should never be placed in a cabinet or case opposite to a window. They should never be hung in that position in the room which is in some ways the most natural for them, over the mantelpiece, because they should not be exposed to the changes of temperature that particularly belong to that wall of the room. This is a recommendation that is constantly ignored. Over and over again, miniatures are to be found on the mantelpiece, or hung in frames over the mantelpiece, wholly regardless of the fact that, during a certain season of the year, that wall is warmer than any other wall in the room, while throughout the summer it has no more warmth than the other walls, and, in fact, being an inside wall and not exposed to the light of the sun, is even colder than other walls of the room which may have a southern aspect. Miniatures should be guarded from extremes of temperature. Ivory is liable to curve under heat; if it gets very dry, the colours may perish from it; if it gets damp, there may come a fine growth on the ivory, or on the glass, which may interfere with the colour. To sum up, a collection of miniatures should be treated with the care that beautiful objects demand, and housed with as scrupulous attention as one would give to the most precious or to perishable things. The best method for protecting miniatures is to have them in a little cabinet away from direct light, illuminated perhaps by an electric lamp, which can be put on when necessary, and when not needed, may be switched off and guarded by a curtain or a blind which falls over the case, and protects its contents from the heat or the actinic effect of sunlight. To each miniature should be attached a label bearing a number. This may be a small gummed label, fastened on to the glass,

or on to the back of the portrait, or, better still, a little metal label attached to the ring, and the label should correspond as to number with a catalogue which the collector should himself prepare. However small the collection, it should be catalogued, and the catalogue should contain all the information that can be gathered up. From time to time, no doubt, the collector will vary his information, and the catalogue will show evidence of increasing knowledge and experience, but it should be in existence from the beginning, as a help to the memory of the collector, as a guide to his knowledge, and as a means of identification.

Finally, we come to the third section of the subject, the study of the portraits. As regards the persons depicted, a collector should make up his mind to examine books of portraits, collections of drawings and collections of prints. If he is going to collect in serious fashion, he should take out a ticket, if resident in London, for the Print Room at the British Museum, and should often visit that delightful room, and examine all the known engravings or drawings of the person whose portrait he imagines he possesses. He will sometimes find he has in his possession the actual miniature from which an engraving is made, but, in more instances, he will find that the evidence is in the contrary direction, and will have to relinquish the idea that the portrait represents the person whose name he would so gladly have attached to it. Attention given to portraits will gradually help him to decide. He can do so in no other satisfactory fashion.

As to the artist who painted the portraits, he will do well to give careful study to the information contained in this book, and in others written upon the subject. He will do well to form, slowly but steadily, a library of books dealing with miniatures. Some are quite inexpensive, and could readily be obtained. For others he may have to watch the catalogues of the second-hand booksellers for

a long period, and his search may eventually be rewarded. Some, and the best of all, may probably be beyond his reach. Some are only privately printed, and others that are issued are very costly, but he should take every opportunity of examining them, if the chance occurs, and most could be found, for the advantage of the London resident, either in the British Museum or in the excellent Art Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum. For those living in the provinces, there are, of course, greater difficulties, but in many places there are good reference libraries being formed, and also collections of prints and drawings of great value to the iconographer. Brighton, for instance, is well served in this respect; no provincial town could afford much better opportunities for research. Birmingham and Liverpool, Bradford, Sheffield, Bristol, Bath, Plymouth and many other places are in like position, and these towns, and numerous other places, have collections of prints and drawings and of books of reference that will be found of great value to the collector. For those who live in yet more remote places, the difficulties, of course, are increased, but even they have chances, more or less frequent, of coming to the larger towns, and working at the subjects that interest them, and many of the books of reference dealing with miniatures are illustrated, more or less completely, and so are of great importance in training up judgment.

Study is essential; the collector of miniatures is not a person who simply buys a few pretty things for the adornment of his room without any knowledge of who they may represent or who painted them. If he is to be a collector, he should be a student, and he must have a broad outlook. He must not be swayed by fashion, buying only the works that happen to be popular at the moment, a fault that perhaps belongs more to the wealthy collector than to the general one, but still it has attached itself to each class. The special collector was at one moment paying exorbitant

prices for the works of Plimer, because, at that instant, they were in great demand and everybody wanted them, the result, of course, being that miniatures by Plimer fetched an abnormal figure, and the ordinary collector could not touch them. The same thing applies to the works of all artists, whether the collector be fond of oil or water-colour drawings or miniatures; but the satisfactory collection is that which contains examples of various periods, arranged if possible in chronological order, and affording a comprehensive view of the rise and progress of an exceedingly interesting branch of art. There is a charm and a fascination about these little treasures which cannot readily be equalled by anything else a collector may fancy. They can be found wherever he may go. He may add to his collection almost every month of his life, and may in time obtain quite a large number of miniatures which will delight him every time he examines them, and from which he may learn many a secret of colouring and method or technique. Moreover, if the idea is any satisfaction to him, he may rest assured that he is investing his money in excellent fashion, because selected miniatures are likely not merely to fetch their value if sold again, but generally speaking to show an advance upon the sum originally given for them, and a collection carefully and judiciously formed is likely to be a wise investment if ever it is to come into the market. This is perhaps the lowest point of view, but is none the less one that has to be borne in mind. It may safely be set aside by the collector from general consideration, as apart from it, he will find great joy in bringing together these dainty fragile objects, in looking up the history of the persons whom they represent, and of the painters who prepared them, of studying the different methods by which they were executed, and then of acquiring gradually to a full and definite appreciation of their fascination and beauty.

CHAPTER XX

COLLECTIONS AND COLLECTORS

ARISING out of the information given in the preceding chapter, it seems desirable to add some notes with regard to collections, because one of the chief methods by which those who are interested in miniatures may acquire the necessary knowledge concerning them is by the study of other miniatures in various collections, and by thus gradually training the eye to determine the character and style of each painter. This, in England, is not so easy as it should be. We have no national collection of miniatures giving a comprehensive chronological view of the rise and progress of the art. There should be such a collection, undoubtedly, but at present the nearest approach to it is to be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, especially in connection with the Salting bequest. This famous bequest contains examples of the work of many of the greatest miniature painters, and, moreover, examples which show them at their very best. As an instance, no finer representation of the work of Holbein could be desired than the portrait of Anne of Cleves, which he painted, so far as can be stated, at Duren, in July, 1539, for Henry VIII. In the same collection is to be seen a delightful full-length portrait by Nicholas Hilliard, and portraits by the same artist, both of Hilliard himself and of his father and of other persons. Moreover, there is close at hand the portrait of the great Flemish illuminator, Simon Binninck, painted by himself ;

some landscapes, also his work; and the two wonderful portraits of the little girls which are attributed to his daughter, Lavina Teerlinck, and were painted at the English Court. Close beside these portraits may be found works by Isaac and Peter Oliver, by John Hoskins (notably those of Lady Catherine Howard and the Earl of Dorset), and some very fine ones by Samuel Cooper, two of the best representing Algernon Percy, Lord High Admiral, whom Clarendon described as "the proudest man alive," and the Earl of Sandwich, who fought at Naseby, and was blown up in his ship in 1672. The same collection contains five miniatures by Flatman, and representations of the work of Dixon and of Crosse; while, in another case, there are several portraits by Cosway, one or two of them being important; with typical works by Smart, some by Plimer, and examples of the work of Bogle, Hone, Nixon, Humphry, Jean and Engleheart. On the whole, this collection offers a fairly satisfactory view of miniature painting, supplemented as it is by miniatures by other artists in another part of the museum, and by the very fine French works in the Jones collection, although it could have been wished that circumstances had permitted the grouping of the miniatures in proper chronological fashion. The regulations binding these testamentary bequests prohibiting such a scheme, the student must make the best of the arrangement in force, journeying to different parts of the same museum, in order to acquire knowledge which could much more easily, had it been possible, have been gathered up in one room.

The National Portrait Gallery contains a few miniatures, but they have not been collected because of the artists who painted, but exclusively on account of the persons whom they represent.

The British Museum Print Room contains fine examples of the plumbago portraits which are alluded to in a separate chapter, and the student of this particular

class of portraiture cannot adequately appreciate his subject without proper study of these examples.

The Wallace collection at Hertford House possesses a large number of miniatures, mainly French portraits, but including representations, amongst others, of the work of painters as far apart as Holbein and Cosway. From the point of view of the foreign painters, however, this collection is highly important, and, as it has been skilfully catalogued, the cases will be found worthy of very careful study.

In the Ashmolean Museum there are two large cases of miniatures, particularly rich in examples of the various workers in enamel, but also containing many fine specimens of English miniature art. There are a few in the National Gallery in Ireland, some in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle, and a small but interesting collection in the Holburne-of-Menstrie Museum at Bath; this latter collection including half-a-dozen particularly fine portraits and some interesting examples of the work of the artists in plumbago.

Generally speaking, miniature painting is not strongly represented in the provincial galleries. There are a few examples at Birmingham, and almost every provincial gallery contains one or two miniatures, but they have not been selected specially to represent the work of the artists, but, as a rule, possess other claims for consideration. During recent years, the collector has, however, had the advantage of seeing one of the most notable collections of miniatures under particularly favourable circumstances, inasmuch as the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry has lent his collection to the Victoria and Albert Museum, and a series of cases contain the famous miniatures, clearly exposed for public view. Moreover, the opportunity was taken to prepare a more accurate catalogue of this collection than has hitherto been in existence, and to the enterprise of the editor of "The Studio" we owe the

fact that this catalogue (the work of Mr. Kennedy, an official at the South Kensington Museum) was produced in illustrated form, and made available, for the first time, for the assistance of the student. The collector should most certainly obtain this catalogue, which was issued by "The Studio," both in cloth and in paper, in 1917.

Another owner, Earl Beauchamp, with similar generosity, permitted his miniatures also to be exhibited at South Kensington, and the public, therefore, had the opportunity of viewing and of studying these two famous collections, both of which had hitherto been closed to the ordinary sightseer. This has been a great advantage to the collector and the student.

Occasionally, an opportunity may occur for the inspection of yet other collections. The King owns a very famous collection of miniatures, which is at Windsor Castle. It comprises some of the choicest works of Holbein, and many of the finest miniatures which Cosway ever painted. It is not, in any sense, a chronological collection. There are many omissions in it. The early period is particularly well represented, and some of the best artists of the eighteenth century display in this collection their very finest works; but, on the other hand, many men are not represented at all, and, moreover, a considerable number of miniatures at one time at Windsor no longer rest in the castle, but have been scattered, by previous generations, far and wide. There is only a hand catalogue in existence, and this has been privately printed for the use of the Royal Family, and is not available for the use of the collector.

Another important collection is that possessed by the Duke of Rutland, at Belvoir Castle. It also has some notable miniatures in it, specially the two portraits of Sir Walter Raleigh and his son; and, naturally, it includes portraits of many members of the Manners family, and of persons closely connected with the same house. There

is a catalogue of the miniatures in existence, but it also was privately printed for the use of the family.

Yet another important collection is that belonging to Lord Hothfield, and again there is a privately printed catalogue in existence, but occasionally the collector, properly accredited, may be afforded the opportunity of examining the miniatures in this famous collection. It has one distinctive quality, inasmuch as it is confined to the period of the eighteenth century and thereabouts. There are practically no representatives of Elizabethan or Stuart miniatures. There are a few recent ones, but, on the whole, it is representative of the miniature painters who exhibited at the Royal Academy and other kindred exhibitions in the eighteenth century.

There are some fine miniatures at Castle Howard, belonging to Lord Carlisle—these also have been catalogued for the use of the family; and the same remark applies to the miniatures at Goodwood, belonging to the Duke of Richmond and Gordon; to those at Woburn, belonging to the Duke of Bedford; to the collection once at Devonshire House, the property of the Duke of Devonshire; and to those at Burghley, belonging to the Marquess of Exeter. At Ham House there is a tiny little room which contains a very famous collection of miniatures. These are family portraits of the utmost importance, none of which have ever been exhibited away from the house; and most of them hang still in the little room and on the actual tapestry-covered walls, where they were originally placed when painted, in Elizabethan or Stuart times, and sent home to their owners. In some instances they still hang on the little hooks that were sewn into the tapestry by the *châtelaine* of the day, when she received the precious portrait and hung it in the place that had been selected for it. There is an account of the miniatures in an important book¹ that was published on Ham House, written by Mrs.

¹ In this the present writer had the privilege of assisting.

Roundell, and there is no collection of miniatures so important in its own particular way as is this little one. Ham House is not, however, shown to the public, and the room in which the miniatures are contained is so small that it is almost hopeless for a collector to expect any opportunity of entering it.

Mr. Ward Usher has some fine miniatures in his possession in his house at Lincoln. He has been one of those wise collectors who, for years past, has sifted his collection with the greatest possible care, rejecting anything that was unsatisfactory and retaining only the very best. He has published a sumptuous book,¹ and many of the miniatures are illustrated in colour, the reproductions having been made from his own exquisite copies in water-colour of the portraits in his possession.

The Baroness Burdett-Coutts owned a considerable number of fine family miniatures, and added to them many remarkable works that she purchased on the Strawberry Hill sale. All these are still in the possession of Mr. Burdett-Coutts, who survives her. The remaining portion of the Strawberry Hill collection was scattered in various other collections, but an important moiety, mainly portraits of the Digby family, came into the possession of Mr. Wingfield Digby, of Sherborne Castle, and still belongs to him. It includes some very famous miniatures, to which Horace Walpole attached the utmost importance.

Earl Spencer has some very fine miniatures at Althorp Park; there are some notable ones in the possession of Lord Derby; some wonderful examples, especially in enamel, belong to Lady Dartrey and many fine French portraits are at Mentmore, belonging to the Earl of Roseberry. Others are at Waddesdon, in the possession

¹ A volume dealing with his precious possessions called *The Usher Collection*. The present writer was responsible for the preface to it.

of Miss Alice de Rothschild; and some exceedingly important early miniatures are at Minley Manor, the property of Mr. Laurence Currie.

I must not forget to mention the collection at Ecton, belonging to Mrs. Sotheby, because, in certain respects, it is one of the greatest treasures in England. It comprises examples by the earliest masters, including one by Holbein, and others by Isaac and Peter Oliver, Hoskins, Cooper and the like. It is mentioned by Walpole, in his "Anecdotes of Painting," as then in the possession of an ancestor of the present owner. It was collected gradually, with great skill and judgment, at a time when there were very few collectors of miniatures in existence, and contains some of the finest miniatures there are in the country. It is impossible for the ordinary collector to see it, but all the portraits in it have been photographed, and, at some time or other, there will probably be produced a book dealing with the collection in its entirety.

Another choice little collection in England is that at Nuneham, belonging to Viscount Harcourt. Some of the miniatures in both these last mentioned collections have been, by kind permission, included as illustrations in this book.

Most notable of all, perhaps, is the collection at Welbeck Abbey, belonging to the Duke of Portland; and this has been the subject of a specially good catalogue, probably the best that has ever been compiled of any collection of miniatures; the work of the librarian, Mr. Goulding, who has been engaged in the work for many years. The catalogue has been published in two forms: one for the private use of the Duke of Portland and his friends, which is inaccessible to the collector; the other in Vol. IV. of the Walpole Society's "Proceedings," a work which is only issued to subscribers to the Walpole Society, but which may, occasionally, be obtained second-hand. The collector should make every possible effort to obtain this

catalogue, because the information it gives, and the illustrations of the portraits, are almost essential to a proper appreciation of his subject.

There are a few other collections in existence, notably those belonging to Sir Edward Marshall-Hall and to Mr. Cunliffe; but there are many other persons who own fine miniatures, and the collector will be well advised not to neglect any opportunity of increasing his knowledge by the inspection of miniatures belonging to other collectors. As a rule, there is no particular difficulty to a really serious, properly-accredited collector, in obtaining a sight of some of the treasures gathered up by others. Most collectors are ready not merely to show their treasures, but to discuss them with those who are interested in a similar pursuit.

Captain H. W. Murray, of Winchester, has some exceedingly lovely specimens, including one of the finest works by Cosway I have ever seen.

On the Continent the collector will find a considerable number of beautiful examples of foreign work in the Louvre, but there is no collection equal in value to that possessed by the Queen of Holland. It is very seldom that these miniatures can be seen, but Mr. Lugts' book on the collection is very well illustrated, and is referred to in the bibliography. There are many fine miniatures in the Rijks Museum in Amsterdam, and they are well worth careful scrutiny. The Louvre collection will be found particularly important with regard to enamels by Petitot.

In Denmark there are choice collections of miniatures in the National Museum, the Frederiksbourg Palace, the Rosenborg Palace, and in the private collections of various members of the Royal Family.

In Sweden, they can be studied in the National Museum, and the Historical Museum at Stockholm, and in the National Museum at Gothenburg. There used to be a fine collection in Finland, belonging to Monsieur Sinebrychoff,

but whether these have escaped the general destruction in that unfortunate region, I am not able to say. There *were* also some exceedingly fine miniatures in Russia, not only in the Hermitage Gallery at Petrograd, but in many of the private collections. There is no information, however, available concerning these, and I fear that many of the collections in that country that I have studied in past years have now disappeared altogether. There were several collectors of miniatures in Berlin before the War, but I have no information now as to what has become of their treasures. The same thing applies to Vienna. One of the museums there contains a wonderful series of the works of Füger, and there were some very important miniatures by him—some of the best he ever did—in the private collection of Herr Doktor Figdor, while there were other notable collectors in the city, but what has happened to them or to their collections, I am unable to say.

In Italy, both in the Uffizi and in the Pitti Palaces, in Florence, there are collections of miniatures. The ascriptions on some of them are a little astonishing. Miniatures are given to Titian and Correggio, and to Tintoretto and Bronzino, upon what appears to me to be very slight evidence indeed, as we have¹ very little knowledge, of a definite character, whether these great masters ever painted miniatures. Certainly, some of the miniatures in Italy bear a resemblance to the larger works which were undoubtedly by the same artists, but whether the miniatures are small reproductions by their pupils, or later copies, is a question that has not yet been settled. Many of these miniatures are painted in oil, and of oil miniatures we know very little. There must have been quite an important school of miniature painters in oil in Holland, as well as in Italy, and many of the works were executed on small pieces of copper and silver, but of the painters of these portraits, or of their works, we have

very scanty information, and there is still an opportunity for the preparation of a scholarly book dealing with the miniature painters in oil.

There are a few notable collectors in Rome and in other parts of Italy. In Roumania, there are a few miniatures to be found both in Bucharest and in Sinaia, or there certainly *were* some before the War, and it is believed that the collections are more or less intact at the present time.

In Spain, there are some fine miniatures to be seen in the Royal Palace, and there are a few in the Prado Museum. There are also important portraits in the possession of many of the Spanish grandees, and there are a few other collectors in that country, and one certainly in Portugal.

America possesses, in the famous collection of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, the largest and perhaps the most comprehensive of all the collections, because it includes examples of miniatures painted in England from the time of Holbein down to that of Rossetti, and in France from the work of Janet, who painted for Francis I., down to the painters of the nineteenth century, with especial reference to Augustin, who was one of the very last great men to paint miniatures in France. The collection is a very large one, and includes many notable works, both in the English and the French schools. One of the finest works Holbein ever painted, the portrait of Mrs. Pemberton, is in this collection, and certainly the most notable series of the works of Plimer that has ever been brought together. Furthermore, there are important representations of the work of Hilliard, Oliver and Hoskins; some splendid examples by Cooper; and specimens by those who succeeded him, such as Dixon, Crosse, Lens and Spencer. The eighteenth-century painters are also well represented, and the collection is brought down to practically recent days. In foreign miniatures, it is equally complete, including some fine enamels by Petitot; some exquisite examples of some of the rarer workers in enamel; splendid

works by Hall, the Swede ; by Dumont, Isabey, Guerin and other great Frenchmen ; and a collection wholly unrivalled of the works of Augustin, including many unfinished miniatures, and an amazing series of his drawings and sketches. This famous collection has been exhaustively catalogued by me, and the catalogue, in four folio volumes,¹ can be studied at the various museums. Mr. Morgan's is not the only important collection in America, although it is far and away the chief ; but there is a collection at Pittsburg ; a very fine one in New York belonging to Mr. George Gould ; there are some few miniatures at Boston ; a collector lives at Cleveland, and another at Santa Barbara ; and there are several well-to-do men in the States who are just beginning to understand the charm and fascination of miniatures.

¹ One edition contains hand-coloured illustrations, which will be found of service to the collector.

CHAPTER XXI

FORGERIES

THE student of English miniatures, in the future, will have a more difficult task than I have had in the past, in classifying them, and in attributing them to their rightful artists. The demand for old portrait miniatures has, of course, produced the usual result, and there have been many forgeries. In some instances, these have been intentional: for example, a dealer has purchased a fine English miniature, and the person who has sold it, having made it one of the conditions of sale that a reproduction should be supplied in lieu of the original, and even, in some cases, framed in similar fashion to that in which the old portrait was framed; the condition has been carried out. For this purpose, leading dealers have employed skilful miniature painters to make reproductions, as accurately as possible, of the fine miniatures they have purchased; and the modern painter, having had his instructions to copy the old miniature as well as he could, has done his utmost, and sometimes has produced a work calculated to deceive "even the elect." Sometimes the reason for the forgery has not been quite as satisfactory. There was one dealer, well known in London, who claimed to be a collector of miniatures by Cosway, and it used to be wickedly stated that the one thing his collection did not contain was a genuine Cosway miniature. It was quite well known that in a small room, at the back of his shop, sat a skilful miniature painter, whose name I also happen to know, carefully copying the miniatures which

the dealer purchased, so that in almost every case he was able to sell the same miniature two or three times over—that is to say, one person got the original, and others, who paid an equally high price, got the copies that had been made from it.

Of these facts there is no doubt, and the result has been disastrous, because, as I have already stated, some of the copies are well painted and excellently calculated to deceive. That being so, it is important to know how the forgeries can be detected, and I have given much time to the investigation of this problem. Fortunately, one is able to determine quite definitely what colours were in use at the time the original miniatures were painted, and what have been discovered and used since the eighteenth century. It is equally fortunate that some of the modern colours can be determined at a glance, provided that the investigator has carefully studied them beforehand, and is in possession of the necessary knowledge; but, even if the eye failed and the knowledge is incomplete, it is possible, by the aid of chemistry, to determine, in many cases, whether the colour on the miniature be the right pigment or not. It is not impossible, in very doubtful cases, to remove a tiny scrap of the colouring from the edge of the miniature, to analyse it in a test tube, and then determine what the pigment may be. This operation requires, of course, the greatest possible care in a miniature. It is not so difficult to accomplish in a pastel portrait, and pastels have recently been forged quite as skilfully as miniatures. As a rule, close up to the edge of a pastel picture, one may remove (dexterously, of course) quite a substantial portion of the dry colour—very much more than one would dare to take in the case of a miniature—and then no deep knowledge of chemistry is needed to determine the nature of the pigment. Experience, however, is of the greatest possible importance in this determination, because it is not always possible to remove even the slightest portion of the

pigment, and then, in these cases, no reliance can be laid on laws and regulations. Facility can only be acquired by dint of careful study and examination of miniatures.

I have looked at miniatures all over Europe, and have studied them as carefully as I was capable of doing. I have also experimented with almost all the colours that have been or are now used, with the result that I can claim to be able to recognise many of the colours, used by the modern forger, at a glance. But this experience I can neither convey nor transmit, and it can only be acquired by those who follow me in the same arduous paths. I can, however, point out some general principles relative to the use of pigments.

The chief colour in which the forger makes a mistake is blue. The old painters used indigo ; ultramarine ; smalt, which has been in use since 1590 ; and Prussian blue, or Antwerp blue which came into use about 1720, and which always has a slightly greenish tinge. The modern painter uses cobalt blue, about which we knew nothing till 1804 ; ceruleum (or cerulean), which was introduced in 1861 ; blue verditer, which came in later still ; or artificial ultramarine, which was introduced in 1844 ; and, therefore, if we can once determine which blue is used in a miniature, we can be quite sure as to its authenticity or otherwise. Let it be borne in mind that there was no Prussian blue before 1704, or in general use before 1720 ; therefore one must not look for that slightly greenish colour on the Elizabethan or Stuart miniatures. There, the blue would be indigo, ultramarine, or smalt. Smalt becomes pale and grey ; it contains cobalt and a silicate of potassium, and is very apt to whiten in tone. Real ultramarine has very little violet in it, and stands both the light and exposure to sulphur ; indigo oxidises and browns slowly, eventually vanishing if exposed to strong or continual light, leaving behind it perhaps a ghostlike effect of blue, and sometimes nothing at all, in places where one could have felt quite

sure blue originally was. Cobalt is distinctly purplish in its tone by gas or by candle-light ; ceruleum, which is a cobalt and tin product, is again greenish and not purple by gas or candle-light. Artificial ultramarine, which did not come in till about 1830, is also somewhat of a purple or green tone, instead of being the clear, definite blue which the real lapis-lazuli ultramarine was. Cosway used a very fine, pure ultramarine. I have had a portion of his original colour and have analysed it. It is almost impossible to get such a blue nowadays, and if it could be obtained, its cost would be prohibitive. In consequence, the modern forger invariably uses ceruleum or the artificial ultramarine for the bright blue patches which occur on the background of Cosway's best miniatures ; and, if the blue can be identified, the expert's task is ended. There is no need to examine the other colours, because if he is assured by his own experience and eye, or better still by chemical analysis, that these modern blues have been used, he may be quite satisfied that the miniature in question is a modern production.

There are, again, cases in which an eighteenth-century miniature painter, or Elizabethan or Stuart painter, had used indigo, and the colour having browned and lost its brilliance, the forger has been called in to touch up and repair it. He is not at all likely to have used indigo in carrying out his work. He may have used smalt. He is quite likely to have used a very untrustworthy colour—verditer—in which the blue tone will rapidly become green ; but whatever he has done, if he has supplied a new blue in place of the indigo, he has spoiled the miniature as a work of art, and as an object of historic value, and, therefore, his restoration may be dismissed quite as definitely as if it were fully a forgery.

The next most important colour, both in the miniature and the pastel picture, is the yellow, and here the modern *pastel* painter invariably goes wrong. It is not so very

long ago that I was called in to examine a large pastel portrait, the subject of an important dispute in the Law Courts before the Lord Chief Justice, and I recognised, almost immediately, that the yellow in the picture, of which there happened to be a good deal, was that known as Indian yellow, a strange colour which is prepared as a salt of magnesia from the urine of cows in India that have been fed on mango leaves, an important and lovely colour,—but one we knew nothing about till the time of Victoria, whereas the pastel picture in question was signed and dated 1780. Fortunately, in this instance, it was quite easy to obtain a portion of the dry colour, to analyse it, and ascertain its nature, with the result that there was no more need for further evidence, and the picture was at once accepted as a forgery.

The old painters used the ochres, or gamboge, or the lead colours which we know as Naples yellow and Chrome yellow, the former comparatively seldom, although, perhaps, it is one of the oldest yellow pigments known. Both Naples yellow and Chrome yellow are salts of lead, Naples yellow being an antimoniate, and they both of them blacken quickly. Orpiment is also used, and that, which is a sulphide of arsenic, fades to a peculiar primrose tint. The ochres and yellow lake, which is a bark pigment, are permanent. The gamboge bleaches by light and darkens by the influence of ammoniacal fumes. It also has a peculiar gleaming effect in lines, which sometimes enables one to recognise its use.

The modern forger does not dream of using gamboge; he knows well how speedily it fades. He does not care to use the ochres, because the colour is not sufficiently brilliant or transparent for his purpose, but he prefers to use a cadmium yellow, which was not introduced until 1817, or that beautiful transparent cobalt and potassium salt known as aureolin, which came into use in 1862, even if he does not condescend to use

vanadium yellow, which is an absolutely modern pigment, one of the products of tar. Cadmium, if it is used, becomes greyish and faded in colour, and, if adulterated with Indian yellow, slightly brown. The lead colours are affected by the use of ammonia, but the eye is the best guide for detecting the modern yellows, and the presence of cadmium, of aureolin, Indian yellow or vanadium yellow is quite sufficient, of course, in many cases to enable the expert to dismiss the miniature as unworthy of further investigation.

In the case of greens, the question is not quite so easy. The modern miniature painter is very fond of a chromium salt called viridian, or an arsenic salt known as emerald. One was introduced in 1838; the other in 1814; and, therefore, neither of them is to be found on the eighteenth-century pictures. The arsenite of copper, known as Scheele's green, came into use about 1780, and, therefore, it is possible to find that colour on eighteenth-century pictures, but it was very little used. As a rule, the greens used by the old painters were verdigris, an acetate of copper, a quite unmistakable colour; malachite, an equally unmistakable green; or a green earth. But I have not found the greens as easy to determine as some other colours, and great care must be taken not to confuse them with the blues, which have become greenish in tone with time, and which may, therefore, lead the investigator off the right lines.

The reds used were red lead, ochres, cinnabar, fine vermilion, cochineal (which came into use about 1550), and the vegetable lakes, or lacs. There have not been many modern reds substituted for these, but it should be noted that the old vermilion was very superior in quality and in brilliance to the more modern article, and there is a certain sharpness about old vermilion which, once recognised, can never be forgotten.

As regards white, that used was, of course, white lead,

flake white, which becomes yellowish, greyish, or brownish. Zinc white is an unchanging pigment, and barytes is also a permanent colour, but these were not in use in the eighteenth century, and there was no zinc white till about 1790, while it was really not used as an ordinary pigment until about 1840; therefore, if the white is pure, clear and brilliant, there is every probability that the portrait is a modern production.

In blacks, the old masters used lamp black, which is an exceedingly opaque colour, bone black or ivory black; Indian ink, which is really a form of lamp black, and the oldest black of all; and sepia, or what we call graphite, or black lead. It is important, in examining blacks, to notice where the black touches a brilliant colour. The charcoal blacks decolourise the edges of other colours where they impinge upon them; lamp black does not. The colour of Indian ink, once known to the eye, can always be verified; the brownish tinge of sepia is also unmistakable; while the peculiar metallic gleam of graphite can seldom be missed. Indigo black, which has a curious bluish tint, was not used, and if that is to be seen, the picture may be condemned.

I happen to know exactly what colours were used by Plimer and by George Engleheart, as their colour boxes have been preserved by their descendants. Certain of their colours were presented to me when I was preparing their biographies, and I acquired others from another source. I was also fortunate enough to obtain some of Cosway's pigments in Italy from the place where his widow died, and all these I subjected to very careful examination and then presented them, with some of Cosway's ivories, paper and brushes, and some relics of other artists, to the Royal Academy, where, in the Library, they find a permanent resting-place.

Plimer obtained his colours from Robertson and Miller, of 31, Long Acre, or from The Art Colour Manufacturing Co.,

of 27, Hatton Wall; purchasing a few of them from Newman, of Soho Square.

Both Robertson's and Newman's are still in existence, and oddly enough, the latter house, one of very long standing and high repute, was founded by a man named Robertson, perhaps a connection of the founder of the first-named important colour-maker.

Plimer's colours were flake white, lamp black, Indian ink, Vandyck brown, burnt sienna, bistre, burnt carmine, a fugitive colour made from the carmine in Cochineal; three other Cochineal colours, crimson lake, scarlet lake and pure carmine; vermilion (mercuric sulphide) and Venetian red, with a third red which appears to be compounded of stannic oxide, chalk, and a little chromate of potassium. This latter pigment was a permanent one, but the cochineal colours account for the strange brownish hue which has come over all the carnations in Plimer's miniatures when they have not actually—as has happened in many cases—entirely flown away.

In blues, Plimer used ultramarine, smalt; a potash blue, known as Turnbull's blue, a colour which has a tendency to fade or become greenish; and chessylite, or blue verditer, in its native state, not the artificial preparation given that name. Lumps of this material were found in his colour-box.

In greens, he used the newly-discovered arsenite of copper, known as Scheele's green. It had only just come into use (1778), and by reason of its lovely colour was very popular, but it was a most unsatisfactory colour in every way. It was a deadly poison; in water-colour it quickly oxidised; and it was blackened by all the cadmium yellows, as the artists very quickly began to find out. He also used malachite green, which has just the same fault when cadmium comes into contact with it, and which, although fine in hue, is not a safe or reliable pigment; and he used the native green oxide of chromium, an

expensive and not very satisfactory colour. At the very end of his life he seems to have used aureolin, which was just coming into occasional use as a curiosity, but was not a pigment in general use.

Plimer's ultramarine was superb in quality. I have never seen finer or more costly than what I found in his colour-box. His colours were mostly put up in tiny, thick, squat bottles; he ground almost all his own pigments upon a block of Mexican onyx, mixed them in an agate bowl, and spread them upon palettes of Mother-o'-Pearl or ivory. He was a luxurious person!

Engleheart, on the other hand, kept all his colours in small, specially-made, round, ivory boxes with screw lids; used only ivory palettes, ivory mixing-bowls, small ivory basins in sets, to fasten on to his palette; and had ivory rests on which to place his brushes.

He obtained his vermilion, Indian ink, flake white and gamboge direct from China, and his paper packets of these pigments bore labels to that effect, a Mr. Taylor obtaining them for him. His vermilion was of the very finest possible, and must have been in his day a most costly pigment.

He also used a very fine ultramarine, smalt, lamp black, blue black, indigo, Prussian blue, sepia, iron black (prepared from rust), Indian red, Naples yellow, chessylite, malachite, Scheele's green occasionally, and, of course, the cochineal and madder colours, the siennas and the ochres. His carmines have generally fled, and his lakes have in many cases revealed the under-painting of green; while his yellows, when they were gamboge, have usually vanished more or less completely. Where he used verdigris or Scheele's green, the result has been as unsatisfactory, but his greens, obtained from green earth and malachite, have stood well.

It is interesting to notice that in the treatise on modern miniature painting, written by Mr. Alyn Williams, the

President of the Royal Society of Miniature Painters, the colours especially recommended for use are viridian, ceruleum, cobalt, orange, cadmium, aureolin, rose madder, and Chinese or zinc white, not one of which, with the possible very occasional use of a form of Chinese white, were in use by the painters of the eighteenth century, and he expressly mentions the use of peroxide of hydrogen for bleaching ivories. This is, of course, quite a modern procedure, and ivories bleached by peroxide can be easily detected by any chemist who has a proper knowledge of his profession.

It must not, however, be forgotten that it is far easier to detect what pigment has been used in pastel-work than in water-colour. In the former the colours are pure, simple, and well-defined ; in the latter there are admixtures which complicate the problem ; but with care and precision, many of the wrong pigments can be detected, however tiny is the portion that is under examination ; and in some instances the practised eye can detect the pigments at a glance, by reason of the changes that have taken place in them, their oxidation, or their fading, or the hues they assume under artificial light, or, as a last resource, in the spectroscope.

Again, careful attention in judging miniatures must be given to the appearance of the ivory. The earlier masters did bleach their ivories sometimes ; they experimented in various directions ; they sometimes roughened the surface of the ivory, very slightly, to give it a little tooth, by which the colours would bite on to it ; and sometimes, on the other hand, they polished it to a bone or egg-shell gloss. These characteristics can be recognised at a glance. The modern ivory is, as a rule, bleached, and to a very pale colour. It is also polished both sides ; the old ivories were *seldom* polished on more than one side. The old ivories have yellowed, and are stained a little at the edge where the gold beater's skin has touched them ; generally,

in fact, all round the edge, where they have been fastened up to the gold-beater's skin. If the ivory has yellowed, it should be noticed whether it has yellowed in the right place. If the change of tint has taken place as much under the gold-beater's skin as in the centre, then the yellowing is artificial and intentional, and the miniature must be discarded.

As regards the portraits painted on cardboard, they are, as a rule, painted direct on to pieces of old playing-cards, or else on to a thin parchment, or chicken-skin, mounted upon pieces of old playing-cards; and a careful scrutiny will generally enable the expert to determine whether the playing-card is a genuine old one or not, because playing-cards are not easy things to copy, and the quality of the card and the irregularity of the printing will enable the old ones to be detected. It should be noticed, moreover, that the modern cardboard is rather more porous than the old; that the colour on a forged miniature sinks into the cardboard more than it does in the old ones, and does not lie as much on the surface. In the old one, the colours can be felt above the card. The old test of a pin can also be used with regard to an antique miniature, but it must be employed *very* discreetly. The pigment on an Elizabethan portrait is quite hard; on a modern miniature, far softer.

The playing-cards on which the Tudor miniatures are painted must be examined, not only for their composition and quality, but as regards the printing upon them. The red suits, hearts and diamonds, do not differ so completely in the old suits from those used in modern days, but the clubs and spades were differently drawn in Tudor days. Even if they are forged, and such a thing is not infrequent, the raw or broken edge of the older print is very different to the sharp definition of the forgery on the modern card, and the irregular and incomplete printing of the pip to the modern (or forged) solid black effect.

CHAPTER XXII

THE AMERICAN MINIATURE PAINTERS

THIS handbook would scarcely be complete without some reference to the miniature painters who practised in the United States, though the amateur collector is not very likely to come across examples of their work. They are, however, to be found occasionally in sale rooms ; and, in fact, it was announced that some examples of the best of the American miniature painters were likely to be offered during this very year in London. It will be well, therefore, to give such information as is here available concerning the American miniature painters. The best of them was, undoubtedly, Malbone, who has a high reputation both here and in America, and has been compared with some of the best English and French artists. He was born at Newport in 1777, and, while yet a boy, painted a scene for a theatre. At seventeen, he was fully established as a portrait painter at Providence ; thence he migrated to Boston, and afterwards to New York, Philadelphia and Charleston, going to the latter city in conjunction with Washington Allston. In 1801, he and Allston came over to England, mainly with the view of seeing Benjamin West, who was at that time President of the Royal Academy. He was much interested in their work, and advised Malbone to remain in England, but the latter was not very happy in this country, and so returned to Charleston, where he became an accomplished painter of miniatures. One of his best-known portraits

is that of Matilda Hoffmann, the girl to whom Washington Irving was engaged, and he also painted the portrait of Rebecca Gratz, a young Jewess, who was referred to by Irving, and who is stated to have been the original type for the character of Rebecca of York, in Sir Walter Scott's novel, "Ivanhoe."

The work of Malbone is light, delicate and sketchy; it is graceful in colouring, and has a particular charm. He was pronounced to be very skilful in obtaining a likeness; and his work was in such great demand that he injured his health by his assiduity at his profession, and eventually had to abandon the art altogether. He went to Savannah, where he died, in 1807, at the age of thirty-seven. During the last few years of his life, he worked in conjunction with a personal friend, one James Fraser, who was also quite a skilful miniature painter. Fraser was originally brought up as a lawyer, but gave up the study of law for art. Meeting with Malbone, they appear to have joined forces, and worked for a while together. Fraser also lived at Charleston, and there, it is stated, he died.

The next notable miniature painter of America was really an Englishman, Thomas Sully. He was born at Horncastle, in Lincolnshire, in 1783, and died at Philadelphia in 1872. Some of his best work was done at Charleston, where his parents had settled when he was quite a small boy. His principal education was carried on at Richmond, in Vermont, and, later on, he lived at Norfolk, returning every now and then to Charleston to see some of his old friends. He married, in 1806, his brother's widow, and then went to New York and Boston, in the latter city receiving some instruction from Gilbert Stuart. Then he came over to England, attracted, as were the other men, by the presence of Benjamin West, and he studied in this country for some time, not returning to New York till 1810, and then quickly moving to Philadelphia, where

he died. He is better known as a portrait painter than a miniaturist, and there is no doubt that his finest work was shown in larger portraits, some of which are of considerable beauty ; but he produced some delightful miniatures, and some brilliant sketches on ivory, probably preparatory for miniatures.

He had a nephew, Robert M. Sully, who was born in Petersburg, Vermont, and instructed by his uncle. He practised mainly in Virginia ; but he also came over to England, in 1824, and made the acquaintance of Northcote, whose portrait he painted, and who encouraged him to study in this country. Very little is known of his work in miniature, and his larger portraits are not frequently to be met with, but are of unusual importance.

The best known of the American painters is probably Gilbert Stuart, who was American born, having first seen the light in the State of Rhode Island, in 1755. He also came over to England to West, and worked in the President's studio for some years, rising into considerable eminence as a portrait painter, and having a wide acquaintance among the higher class of English society. His work was appreciated even during the lifetime of Sir Joshua Reynolds, with whose productions it was sometimes compared, and with favourable results to Stuart. He went back to America in 1793, just at the time when he was at the height of his popularity here, but he preferred to be back in his own country, and was especially desirous of painting a portrait of Washington, which eventually proved to be his greatest work. He had painted, while in England, portraits of Reynolds, Alderman Boydell, Dr. Fothergill, and many other people, and when he returned to America he painted the President of the United States several times, and became exceedingly popular on account of his splendid work. For a while he was in Philadelphia and Washington, and then, in 1805, he went to Boston, and there it was that he died.

It has always been known that he painted a few miniatures, but there was nothing very definite to which his name might be given, until a portrait of John Henderson, the actor, came into the Wellesley collection, and this portrait, which was engraved by Coyt in 1787, and is fully described in the "Proceedings" of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1915, is an extraordinarily fine piece of work, painted on a curiously prepared piece of canvas, and signed by Stuart on the reverse. There is another miniature by him, representing John Knox, which is in the Drexel collection at Philadelphia; and he is said to have painted one or two more, but of that it is impossible to speak with certainty. Of Knox he certainly painted two miniatures, because one of them came up for sale in February in Philadelphia, and was an exquisite little work, representing the General in uniform, with his left hand resting upon a cannon. It was rather large for a miniature, measuring about 8 in. \times 5 in., but was painted in miniature fashion, and was exceedingly interesting. Perhaps the most notable small thing Stuart ever painted was the portrait of Washington, which he executed, in water-colour, on silk—a tiny thing, about 5 in. \times 4 in. It formed part of the flag that the people of Germantown decided to present to the militia of the community. It was painted in a barn which was fitted up as a studio, in Main Street, Germantown, Pennsylvania. Stuart was responsible for the whole of the flag, it is stated, but there is no question of his having painted the portrait of Washington which appeared on one side of it; and later on, after the flag had done service, it was presented to Mr. Bringhurst, who was the owner of the barn where the work was executed, and came down, in direct succession, to the member of the family who sold it this year. The flag was cut up amongst various claimants of the Lehman family, the portrait, of course, being by far the most interesting part of it.

John Trumbull is probably the best known of the actual American miniature painters. He again was an American born, having come into the world at Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1756, but he, like all the rest, came over to England to see Benjamin West. Unluckily, in this journey in 1780, he went first of all to France, and brought with him to West a letter from Benjamin Franklin, which caused his arrest for treason, and for a while Trumbull found himself in prison, but eventually, through the efforts of West and Copley, he was permitted to return home. In 1784, he was back again in England, studying under West, and then, after journeying about on the Continent, he went back to New York, where he settled down, and eventually died in 1843.

His miniatures are very acceptable works, especially those where he left the portrait, to a certain extent, incomplete, just sketching in the draperies and accessories, and devoting all his attention to the head, which is, as a rule, drawn with superb mastery. A portrait of General Mercer, in miniature, is often considered to be one of his finest works, and he painted, of course, portraits of both General and Mrs. Washington. He was aide-de-camp to Washington during the Revolutionary War. One of his miniatures is in the Pierpont Morgan collection; another was in the Wellesley collection; and they are in high repute in America, and well worthy of the value that is given to them. As a matter of fact, Trumbull's miniatures are better executed than are his oil paintings; and Mr. Charles Henry Hart, who knew more about American paintings than any other man, said that he attributed the fact to the unfortunate circumstance that Trumbull, towards the latter part of his life, had only one eye; that he did not see form and proportion quite normally, more especially as the sight of that one eye was somewhat astigmatic; but in the miniatures, which he could hold up much closer to his face, he was a great deal more successful.

There has been more than one account of Trumbull's arrest while in England. Some writers have stated that it was because he brought over the letter from Franklin ; while others that it was more or less connected with the acquaintance with Major André. Whatever the reason may have been, he appears to have spent nearly seven months in prison ; but it did not alter his opinion of this country, and he came back again as quickly as he could, and then made the acquaintance of Lawrence, and worked with him for some time.

Another notable American miniature painter was Charles Wilson Peale, who was born in Chestertown, in 1741, and died in 1827. It is hardly necessary to state that he, like all the rest, studied under West. The President was always interested in his fellow-countrymen, and had quite a little group of them in his studio at different times. Peale was an interesting man, perhaps the most versatile of all the American artists, because at various times he practised coach-building, harness-making, clock and watch-making, silversmiths' work, dentistry and taxidermy, giving an enormous amount of interest, during the whole of his life, to anything connected with natural history, and becoming quite successful in setting up birds and other creatures in their natural mode. He was introduced to Copley in 1766, when the artist was in Boston, and there Peale made his first attempt at artistic work, painting a miniature of himself. At that moment he was also studying under Hesselius, the son of Gustav Hesselius. He was with him about a year, and then he came over to England. At first, he did not give up his attention to portrait painting, but he studied modelling in wax and cast moulding in plaster, and then mezzotint engraving ; but he found that his chief skill was in portraits, and so entered West's studio, and worked hard under him for some time. Then he came back to America, settling at Annapolis in 1769, and three years afterwards went to Mount Vernon and

painted the earliest known portrait of George Washington, executing, at about the same time, several miniatures of the President for Mrs. Washington, to be worn as bracelets or brooches. Thence he went to Philadelphia, and there he opened what was called Peale's Museum, in which he set up many of his natural history specimens, and for which he painted a great many pictures.

He had two brothers, each of whom painted a little in miniature, St. George and James; and the work of the younger brother is highly esteemed. Peale had three sons whom he called Rembrandt, Raphael and Titian, and a daughter, Ann. All three of them were artistic, Rembrandt being specially skilful in larger portraits, and eventually becoming President of the American Academy. He is said to have painted thirty-nine copies of his father's portrait of Washington, and seventy-nine copies of the portrait he himself painted of the President, the original of which he produced in 1795. He and his brother Raphael, like their father, both came over to England and studied under West. The daughter, who married Dr. Stoughton, and afterwards General Duncan, also practised miniature painting, and was successful. She appears to have exhibited under both names, as Mrs. Stoughton and as Mrs. Duncan.

Another artist, who has more or less been forgotten until recent years, was Hugh Bridport, who was born in London, but was induced by Thomas Sully to come to America and settle down at Philadelphia in 1816, where he painted a considerable number of portraits, some of them works of great beauty. One of his best was of Dr. Conwell, the Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia, and another was of Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the brother of Thomas Hopkinson the poet, who was the author of "Hail, Columbia." Several of Bridport's miniatures came into the market this year, and fetched high prices. They are works of unusual strength and merit.

Bass Otis, a New England man, who was born in 1784, and died in Philadelphia in 1861, is said to have painted a few miniatures, but there is no very definite evidence on this score. He certainly produced some charming portraits, especially of children, and he was interested in lithography, and was one of the earliest to practise that art in America.

There were various other painters who may just be mentioned. There was a Miss Goodridge, who was a pupil of Gilbert Stuart; Benjamin Trott, who, in the early nineteenth century, was painting at Philadelphia; Saint Menin, the clever engraver of profiles and portraits; Robert Field, John Walters, John Ramage, George Freeman, Mary Wrench, and others; but all the most notable have been already referred to, with one exception, James Sharples, with whom should also be associated his wife, and perhaps their son James, and their daughter Rolinda. Sharples, who is often known in the States as Sharpless, as he added a second "s" to his name while in America, derives his especial fame from the fact that Washington sat to him for a portrait in 1796, and that this was so successful that for years afterwards both he and his wife and daughter were busy making copies of it. Sharples was an Englishman, who was born in about 1750, and was intended for the Catholic priesthood. He exhibited in the Academy in 1779 and 1785, and then, marrying a lady of French extraction, determined to settle in America. He was captured en route, and had to spend some time at Cherbourg. He reached New York in 1796, became an American citizen, and was exceedingly popular, painting a large number of miniatures and small portraits. He died in New York in 1811, and then Mrs. Sharples returned to England and exhibited miniatures of Washington and Dr. Priestley at the Academy. She became a woman of some means, owing to certain legacies, and had to do with the foundation of the Academy of Arts in Bristol, eventually bequeathing to it a considerable sum of money

and many of her pictures. She had three children, who were born in America; James returned with her and painted a few miniatures in England, and Rolinda also. They both of them practised at Bristol, and died there in 1839 and 1838 respectively. The third child, Felix, who also was responsible for a few miniatures and some larger pictures, appears to have remained in America and died there.

CHAPTER XXIII

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The standard work on French miniatures. Large 4to, richly illustrated.

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Anecdotes of Painters in England. (1808.)

Intended as an addition to Walpole's "Anecdotes" and giving some important information respecting English miniature painters of the eighteenth century.

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One hundred early American Paintings. (1918.)

A most useful book of reference concerning American artists, well illustrated and very reliable.

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Limited edition, richly illustrated.

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150 copies only. Very handsomely illustrated with photogravure plates. An important work, issued at a high price, and valuable for its illustrations.

GOULDING, R. W.

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Do. do. Published in the Walpole Society's "Proceedings, Vol. IV. (1916.)"

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The standard work dealing with Austrian miniatures. Illustrated in the same sumptuous fashion as the following books by Lemberger. Limited edition.

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Do. Meister Miniaturen aus Fünf Jahrhunderten, 1911.

Do. Portrait Miniatures of Five Centuries.

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trated, and have plates in colour. The editions were limited.

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For a more recent work on Isabey see under Callimaki.

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Privately printed, 50 copies only. Contains illustrations of several fine miniatures.

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Information concerning American miniature painters of considerable value.

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Do. Richard Cosway, R.A.

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- Do. *Portrait Miniatures*, a handbook for collectors, with 194 illustrations. (1897.)
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The same book in French with certain additions.
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Richly illustrated, and with plates in colour. (1919.)
- Do. *John Zoffany, R.A.*
Richly illustrated and with plates in colour. (1920.)
Written in collaboration with Lady Victoria Manners.

WILLIAMSON, G. C.

Miniatures at Belvoir Castle.

Written in collaboration with Lady Victoria Manners. (1904.) Privately printed.

Do. Miniatures at Devonshire House.

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Do. Miniatures at Castle Howard.

Written in collaboration with Cecil, fourth Earl of Liverpool. Privately printed. (1905.)

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5 vols., edited by Dr. Williamson. (1903, 4, 5.)

Do. Collection of Miniatures belonging to Lord Hothfield, with biographies of the Artists. (1915.)

Privately printed.

Do. William Grimaldi, 1751-1830. Miniature Painter. Enamel painter to George I. His history, life and works, with many plates. *In the Press.*

Do. Daniel Gardner, 1750-1805. Portrait Painter in Gouache and Pastel. Miniature Painter and Etcher. His history, life and works, with many plates. *In the Press.*

Also various catalogues of exhibitions of miniatures and of the miniatures exhibited in various galleries, public and private.

YOXALL, J. H.

Collecting Old Miniatures. (1916.)

Small, convenient handbook.

Two very rare books, also bound together, may be mentioned. Both of them are of great interest to the student of miniature painting. At present one perfect copy only is known, and by the kindness of its owner, Mr. H. C. Levis, illustrations of the two title pages are given here. "An Introduction to the General Art of Drawing, with a treatise on Limning, etc., 1674"; and the actual treatise, "The Art of Limning, etc., by Mr. Gerhard of Brugge, translated from the Dutch by J. L., 1674."

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
General Art
OF
DRAWING

Wherein is set forth

The Grounds and Properties, which of this infallible and judicious ART are necessary to be known and understood.

BEING
Not only Profitable unto them that Practise Drawing;
VIZ.
Picture-Drawers, Engravers, Carvers, Stone-Cutters, Jewellers, Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, &c.

By Alle

To all Lovers and well-affected, as well to this as to other ARTS (flowing from thence) a commodious Knowledge Communicated: With an Illustration of twenty five Copper-Prints of Figures, for young Learners to practise by.

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An Excellent Treatise of the Art of Limning, in which the true Grounds, and the perfect Use of Water-Colours, with all their Proprieties, are clearly and prettily taught.

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AND
PERFECT USE
OF
Water-Colours
WITH
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And now truly Translated from Dutch into English by J. L.
Published by ROBERT FICKER.

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Printed for Rob. Price, and are to be sold at his Shop Adjoining to Cripples-Gate within; Where likewise is very good Choice of *Italian, French, Dutch and English* Prints. 1674.

DEALING WITH PIGMENTS.

CHURCH, SIR A. H.

The Chemistry of Paints and Painting. (1901.)

A wonderful book, full of information and written by the man who was in his day the very highest authority on the subject. Sir Arthur Church was Professor of Chemistry to the Royal Academy. He died in 1915.

LAURIE, DR. A. P.

The Pigments and Mediums of the Old Masters. (1914.)

Dr. Laurie succeeded Sir Arthur Church in his position, and in this book has given a vast amount of authoritative material and set forth the results of his life-long study of the subject.

The student cannot afford to be without both these volumes.

Madderton's Notes for Artists are also to be commended. In No. 18 is an important article on varnishes used by the old masters, by Dr. Laurie, and in Nos. 13 and 14 are two articles by the author, on cracking and vehicles. Madderton's catalogues of colours often contain notes of some value bearing on the use and permanence of pigments.

APPENDIX

COMPLETE LIST OF ALL THE PERSONS WHO SAT FOR THEIR PORTRAITS TO WILLIAM WOOD (1768-1809)

Extracted from his ledgers and never before published.

N.B. Full details of any miniatures will be gladly given upon application by the author of this book. Of those marked **T.** there are tracings preserved in the ledgers, most valuable for identification.

- Ambrey, Mrs. (Edgware Road), 11
Alexander, Mr. (Haymarket), 29; Mrs., 39, 146
Atkinson, Mrs. (Great Russell Street), 41
Allen, Mr. Jas. (Bristol), 84; Mrs., 101
Acraman, Mr. (Bristol), 85; Miss Sarah Ann, 788; Miss, 793; Thos., 793; Mrs. John, 6155
Abercorn, son of Duke of, as Cherub 111
Allen, Mr., 188
Absalom, Mr. (St. Swithin's Lane), 245
Adamson, Miss, 264
Atcheson, Mr. (Inner Temple), 322
Allen, General John (Verdmont, N. America), 403
Ashe, Dr. Hoadley (Eling, near Southampton), 462, 479
André, Mr., 495
T. Abernethie, Miss Margaret (Banff), 535, 561 (now Mrs. Grant)
Abernethie, Mr. John (Lothbury), 542
Acraman, Mr. Daniel (Bristol), 550; Mrs., 789
T. Abington, Mr. William (East India House), 567
T. Akers, Miss Isabella (St. Kitts), 638, 6036
Akers, Mrs. Jane (Howland Street), 639
Arnold, Mr. Edwd. (son to General Arnold, of Glo'ster Place, Marylebone), 764
Arnold, Mrs. (wife to General A. American), 732
Alt, Mr. (late of Antigua), 784
T. Arbuthnot, Mr. (Edinburgh), 786; Mr. Geo., 828; Mr. Robert, 839
T. Aylmer, Lord, 860
Aprece, Miss (daughter of Sir Thos. A.), 864

- Apreece, Lady (wife of Sir T.),
895
 Ashe, Miss Laura Hoadley
(daughter of Dr. Ashe), 910
 Abington, Miss Sophia
(Wood's niece), 917
 Atkinson, Mr. (Calcutta),
6074
 Armstrong, Mrs. (Bahama
Islands), 6119
 Aldebert, Mr. (Stamford Hill),
6120, 6146
T. Adams, Mr. Fredk. (E. I. Co.
Naval Service), 6134
 Ainslie, Capt. (E. I. Co. 9th
Native Infantry), 6175
 Adams, Miss (Swansea), 6184
 Acraman, Mr. (copy of Carlo
Dolci picture), 6201
 Allan, Mr. and Mrs. (Edin-
burgh), D 099
 Abel, Head of, after Gains-
borough, D 039

 Barksdale, Miss Ann, 17
 Barksdale, Miss Jemima, 18
 Burrell, Mr. (Brighton), 61
 Bouchier, Mr. (Queen St.,
Mayfair), 71
 Bower, Ensign, 14th Foot,
81
 Braide, Mr. (Bristol), 89
 Budson, Mr. (Bristol), 95
 Brodie, Mrs. (Golden Square),
131, 166
 Bracken, Mrs. (Ipswich), 145
 Birch, Mr., Junr. (Fulham),
178, 248
 Brail, Miss (Queen Anne
Street, E.), 194
 Burns, Mrs., Senr. (Queen
Street, Mayfair), 179
 Burns, Mr. W. Stukely (Po-
land Street), 201
 Burns, Capt., 202
 Burns, Mrs. Stukely (Eton
Street, Pimlico), 236
 Bardsley, Mrs. (Manchester),
238

 Benjoin, Mr. Geo. (Jesus
Coll., Cam.), 261
 Bowden, Mr. (Milk Street),
278
 Basilico, Mr. (Fludyer Street),
287; Mrs., 312
 Beauvais, Mr. (Chiswick), 306
 Bramley, Mr. I. C. (Alders-
gate Street), 310
 Benion, Mr. (Wrexham), 336
 Bateman, Miss (Chiswick),
346
 Burton, Miss (Chester Place),
352
 Byng, Mrs. (New Road), 353
 Barnard, Miss, 378 (now Mrs.
Hicks, 396)
 Branton, Mr. (Aldersgate
Street), 388
 Browne, Mrs. Hawkins
(Bridgenorth), 400
 Bruce, Mr. (Sloane Street),
431
 Bellamy, Mrs. (Clapham), 444
 Berckemeyer, Mrs. (Ham-
burg), 447; Mr., 456
 Bradshaw, Mrs., 449 (see
Cooke)
 Bell, Miss (Lincolnshire), 454
 Bingham, Capt. Robert (see
Parker)
 Belcher, Mr., 483
 Bingham, Capt. Joseph
(R.N.), 488
 Bruce, Capt. Hy. (Dragoons),
499
T. Barrett, Mr. C. R. (11th
Light Dragoons), 508
 Bux, Shaick Emaum (A Ben-
gal Consumah), 511
T. Beak, Mr. (Gerrard Street),
527
 Bullock, Mr. (11th Light
Dragoons), 533; Mrs., 534
 Beckwith, Col. Ferdinand,
549
 Burton, Mrs. (Percy Street),
592
 Bouchier, Mr. (Harley Street,
late Bombay), 613

- T. Beresford, Capt. (2nd Life-guards), 641
 Beauvais, Mrs. (Chas. Street, Berkeley Square), 644 ; two sons, Lewis and Alexander, 837
 Bent, Miss (Plymouth), 652 (see Farmer)
- T. Bourke, Mr. Robert (1st Foot-guards), 687
- T. Billinghurst, Mr. Geo. (7th Dragoons), 697, 708
- T. Bruce, Capt. (39th Foot, Sloane Street), 700
 Bellasyse, Mrs., 703
 Burton, Major-Gen. (3rd Guards, Brook Street), 705
- T. Bramley, Mr. Collingworth (Aldersgate Street), 706
- T. Bateman, Mr. (Bunhill Row), 715
- T. Barnard, Mr. † Lockart (Philpot Lane), 728
 Brichzeke, Mrs. (Beckenham, Kent), 738, 777
 Byles, Mr. (Halifax), 754, 6019
- T. Bannister, Mr., Junior (Great Russell Street), 759
- Baker, Miss Elizabeth (Canterbury), 760
 Burnett, Mr. (Scotland), 766,
 Bussell, Revd. Mr. (Fenchurch Street), 769
- T. Beachcroft, Mrs. (Grafton Street, Bond Street), 806 ; daughter Kitty, 986 ; Col. Matthew, son, 995 ; Mrs., 6009
 Bartlett, Miss (Bristol), 808
- T. Bourke, Mrs. Richard (Somerset Street), 814, 941 ; Mr., 937
 Boyle, Lord (son of Earl of Shannon), 826, 979 ; Lady B., 971
 Baker, Mr. Edwd. (Wilts), 876.
- T. Blunt, Mr. (Old Pay Office, Broad Street), 892.
- Brunton, Miss Louisa (Norwich), 911, 920
 Bristow, Mrs. (late of Madras), 930
 Blount, Mrs. Ed. (née Wright, q.v.), 957
 Browne, Col. (12th Light Dragoons), 962
 Brooke, Mrs. Louisa (Nacton, near Ipswich, Suffolk), 998. wife of Capt. B., R.N., daughter of Lady Middleton
- T. Bush, Mr. (Bristol), 6013
- T. Butler, Hon. Capt. Chas. (brother to Earl of Ormond, 14th Light Dragoons), 6023.
- T. Bruce, Dr. (New York), 6025
- Bell, Miss (Manager of Drury Lane Theatre), 6031
 Browne, Mrs. (living with Major Thornton), 6064
 Birch, the late Mr. (Thorpe, Norfolk), 6069
 Bulkely, Miss Charlotte (Lisbon), 6087
 Burrard, Mrs. (Lymington, Hants), 6091
- T. Button, Mr. Philip (Stifford, near Grays, Essex), 6104
 Beachcroft, Miss F. (Mrs. Dunlop, of Stockwell), 6111
- T. Birch, Capt. (E. I., Ship Britannia), 6117
- T. Burnaby, Colonel (1st Foot-guards, Lowesby Hall, near Leicester), 6118
 Billinghurst, Miss, 6122
 Baker, Mrs. (Devonshire Street), 6125
- T. Blair, Mr., (Glo'ster Place, Portman Square), 6129 ; wife, 6130
 Birch, Miss (Jamaica Place, Limehouse), 6131
 Brook, Revd. Mr. Thos. (Hambrook, Bristol), 6140
 Brooke, Miss Fanny (Sodbury, Bristol), 6141

- Brook, Mr. Hy. (Hensham or Henbury, Bristol), 6143;
 wife, 6153
 Bishop, Mr. John, 6144
 Bamfylde, Mr. Geo. W. (son of Sir Chas. B.), 6171
 Bloss, Lady (wife of Sir Robert Bloss, Gabalva, Glamorgan), 6176
 Birch, Mrs. J. (Gower Street) and Child, 6195
 Boughe, Mrs., 6208
 Bartlett, Mr. Thos. (Temple), D. 09
 Brooksbank, Mr. Henry (Chesterfield Street), D. 032 (see D. 034)
 Bristow, Mrs. Robert (Great Queen Street), D. 045
 Brooke, Miss (Cork Street), D. 102

 Cox, Miss (Brook Street), 13
 Child, Mr., 19
 Clergyman, 25
 Cornthwaite, Mrs. (Bank), 30
 Campbell, Mrs. (Surrey Street), 44
 Clidsdale, Dr. Jas. (Edin.), 55
 Campbell (Argyle Street, nephew to the Duke), 59
 Callcott, J. W., Esq., M.B. (Kensington Gravel Pits), 80
 Coldwell, Miss, 83
 Coulstring, Mr. (Bristol), 91, 175
 Colman, Miss (Tottenham), 102
 Coxwell, Mr. (Temple Bar), 105
 Capper, Mr. (Oxford), 117
 Clifton, Mrs. (Cross Street, Hatton Garden), 143
 Chase, Miss (Kensington), 148
 Cood, Mr. (Mawbey Place, South Lambeth), 161
 Cox, Mrs. (Lower Grosvenor Place), 183

 Chase, Mrs. (Kensington), 184, 190
 Cracroft, Mr. Charles (Abergavenny), 210
 Cox, Mr. (New Court, Crutched Friars), 223
 Cockburn, Miss (Great Ormond Street), 259
 Calcroft, Mr. (Great Marlbro' Street), 273
 Comberbach, Mr. (Craven Street), 285
 Clifford of Chudleigh, Lady, 293
 Calverley, Mr. (of Chester), 294
 Cadell, Mr. (Edin.), 317.
 Cambridge, Revd. George (Twickenham), 333; Mrs., 363
T. Coulthurst, Revd. Dr. (Halifax), 344
 Carr, Mr. (Surgeon E. Indian), 393
 Codrington, Miss, 435
 Clarke, Capt. (E. I. Army), 440
 Carew, Mr. (Ireland), 442
 Clarke, Mr. Robert, 473
 Chaffin, Mr., 474
T. Cotgrave, Miss Fanny, 523; her son, Master Hewitt, 963
T. Cooper, Mr. (Ely Place), 529
 Campbell, Mrs., (wife of Archibald C., of Whitton Dean), 547
 Chaplin, Mr., 552
 Cynthia (see 565 and 6181)
 Campbell, Mr., 604
 Coles, Mrs. (Camberwell), 609
 Cossar, Mr. (Millbank, Westminster), 617
 Cumming Ad. (Greenwich), 622
 Coppinger, Mr. (Cork Street), 626
T. Campbell, Mr. Chas. (Aldermanbury Postern), 633
 Clarke, Revd. S. (Hanover Square and Hants), 657

- T. Cleaveland, Master Sam (Warborne House, Hants), 663; Mr. R. F., 710; Master Thomas, 823
Caittar, Mr. (Bread Street), 680
- T. Cuppage, Master Bruce (Sloane Street), 686
- T. Cochran, Mr. (Halifax), 692
Cary, Mr. John (Lincoln's Inn), 694
Circassian, The (Mrs. Campbell), 711
- T. Collins, Mr. (1st Life-guards), 718
- T. Crewe, Lieut.-Col. (Crewe Hall, Norfolk), 723
- T. Chinese Man, 727
- T. Crofton, Master Morgan (Middy, R.N.), 740
Cockburn, Mr. (Strand), 744; Mrs., 748
Crofton, Sir Hugh (Ireland), 747
- T. Cunyngham, Col. David (60th Foot, Park Street, Grosvenor Square), 752, 813
- T. Clay, Mr. Joseph (Old Broad Street), 787
Cazalet, Mr. (late of Petersburg), 797
Cooke, Mrs. (alias Bradshaw, see 449, Baker Street), 812, 848, 857, 871, 959, 960, 967
Cooke, Revd. Richard (Duke Street, Portland Place), 829, 2nd wife of D. 144
Casstel, Miss Ann (Bruton Street), 843
- T. Collins, Mr. (1st Life-guards), 718
Chalmers, Sir Geo. (see Bartlett)
Camp, Mrs. (New Bond Street), 869
Capel, Hon. and Revd. William (Watford, Herts), 852
- Cockerell, Miss Ann (Saville Row), 868
Crompton, Mr. Jas., 885 (Tooks Court)
Clarke, Miss Sarah (Granddaughter Mr. Sydenham, Bond Street), 888
Clay, Miss (Broad Street, City), 896
- T. Crozier, Mr. (Bombay Artill.), 908
Cooke, Miss Barbara (Duke Street, Portland Place), 918
Cochran, Sen., Mr. (late of Halifax), 926
Castle, Miss Catharine Louisa (Bruton Street), 928
Cresswell, Mrs. Letitia, (Duke Street, Manchester Square), 944; adopted son, 974
Cambridge, Rev. Geo. Owen (Twickenham), 982
Cumberland, Mrs. (wife of Capt. C. (R.N.)), 6002
Caulfield, Mrs., 6012
Clay, Mr. (Burton-on-Trent), 743
- T. Cleaveland, Mr. Rich. Francis (Royal Mounted Artillery), 6060
Chester, Bishop of, 6095 (see McDermot)
Colson, Mrs. (Streatham Common), 6099
- T. Cunningham, Mr. (Bedford Square), 6123
Coorga, The Rajah of, 6127
- T. Crawford, Capt. (late of Calcutta, 12th Foot), 6138
Cuppage, Mrs. (daughter of Col. Bruce), 6157
- T. Currie, Major (54th Foot), 6206
Colmans, the two Miss (St. Pancras), D. 022
Clarke, Mrs. (Swakeley), D. 035

- Clarke, Dr. (New Burlington Street), D. 071, D. 087, D. 096
- T.** Cockburne, Revd. Dr. (son-in-law to Sir Robert Peele), D. 077, D. 078
- Cockburne, Mrs., D. 079, D. 082
- Clarke, Mrs. M. A. (Duke of York's Mistress), D. 088
- Cockerell, Mr. Robert (Westbourne House, Paddington) D. 093
- Cartwright, Capt. Edmund, D. 095
- Chippendale, Mrs., D. 097
- Carne, Mrs., D. 103
- Dresdale, Mrs. (Edin.), 32
- Daniel, Mr. (Foster Lane), 35
- Dodd, Mrs. (Lime Street), 67
- Dorival, Miss (Queen Ann Street, E.), 156
- Dubois, Mrs. (Ealing), 185
- Delaval, Mr. J. B. (St. Paul's Churchyard), 189
- Dew, Mr. (Bristol), 211
- Dalton, Mrs. (Devonshire Street), 279
- Dalton, Mr., 281
- Donaldson, Mr., 300
- Dunbar, Mr. (1st Foot), 324
- Dressing, Mrs. (Pimlico), 328
- Davis, Mr. (New Road, Jeweller), 330
- D'Arcy, Mr. (Chester), 355
- Dyer, Mr. Jun. (Apothecary, Bristol), 362
- Douglass, Mr., Jr. (Bedford Street, Bedford Square), 373, 423
- Davis, Major (93rd), 390
- Davis, Mr. Wm., Jr. (Rupert Street, Goodman's Fields), 450; Mrs., 472
- Davie, Sir John, Bart., 484
- Douglas, Sir Chas. (Bart. of Kelhead), 516
- Dunbar, Miss Louisa (Banff), 541
- Darby, Mrs. (Lime Street) 573
- Dashwood, Master Ed. (son to Mr. D. of Calcutta), 608
- Dashwood, Miss Charlotte (Wooton), 610
- Dashwood, Amelia, Louisa and Thomas (Wooton), 611
- T.** Dongan, John, Esq. (Welbeck Street), 634, 883; Mrs., 635, 659, 667, 775; Dr. (brother), 991
- Devis, Mrs. (Devonshire Place), 643
- Douglas, Mrs. (Charlotte Street), Fitzroy Square, 673
- Deare, Mrs., 674, 691
- Dixon, Capt. (Royal Artillery), 695
- T.** Dowling, Mr. (Bristol), 717
- Darell, Miss (see Nightingale)
- Durham, Mr. W. H. (Bermudas), 796
- Davis, Col. (25th Light Dragoons), 824, 830
- Dudgeon, Mr., 835
- Dalton, Mr. (near Preston, Lancs), 853
- T.** Dufraayer, Mr. (Dominica), 873
- T.** Duncan, Mr. (Edin.), 906, son, 972
- T.** Dyke, Lieut.-Col. (Coldstream Guards), 936, 976
- T.** Drake, Revd. Mr. (Amersbury), 977
- Dick, Mrs. John (Montagu Street, Russell Square), 997
- Dalling, Miss Ann (daughter of Lady D.), 6016
- Davies, Mrs. (sen.) (Leytonstone), 6078
- Drummond, Mrs. (wife of Revd. Dr. Hay D., of Hadleigh) and two children, 6080, Square
- T.** Dunlop, Mr. (Temple), 6100; Mrs., 6111

- T. Dursley, Lord** (eldest son of Earl Berkeley), 6114
Drake, Revd. Mr. (Amersham), 6166
Drake, Mr. Thos. (M.P., Amersham), 6177
Douglass, Mr. Andrew (son of Sir A. S. D.), 6179
Drinkwater, Mr. John (Irwell House, Manchester), 6186
Davis, Miss Helen (Devonshire Place), 6200
Dowdall, Capt. (31st Foot), 6207
T. Drake, Mr. Chas. (Amsterdam, brother to M.P.), 6211
Dupuis, Miss Elizabeth (Pimlico), D. 019
Dormer, Mrs. (niece to Col. Kirkpatrick), D. 044
Doherty, Mrs. (daughter of Mrs. Holmes), D. 047

Evason, Mrs. (Streatham), 37
Elmes, Miss (Titchfield Street), 155
Eden, Miss (Newcastle), 167
Edwards, Mr. J. P. (Bristol), 176
Evans, Mrs. (Duke Street, Manchester Square), 198
Eye, An, 227 (see 314)
Elphinston, Mr. Jno. (Edin.), 288, 289
Edwards, Mr. Nathaniel (Derby), 342
Edridge, Mrs. (Marlboro' House, Vauxhall), 385
Evans, Mrs. (Hillingdon), 389 (see above)
Ellison, Mrs., 391
Elliott, Mr. (Royal Artillery), 553
Evans, Mrs. (Grafton Street, Fitzroy Square), 732
Eames, Mrs. John (Paternoster Row), 879
Elken, Mrs. (Paddington), 880
Egerton, Capt., 6105

Everest, Mr. Geo. (Crickhowell, Brecon), 6132
Evans, Miss Mary (Clapham), 6197
Eastwick (niece to Mrs. Kent), D. 114

Fancy, as Mrs. Robinson, 6, 74, 78, 82, 565
Foster, Mr. (Oxford Street), 115
Fraser, Mr. (Bombay), 132 ; (Mr. Stuart), 139
French Emigrant, 141
Ford, Mr. (Windsor), 147
Flude, Miss (Blackheath), 275
Ferrers, Miss (Conduit Street), 286
Fountain, Mrs. (Rochester), 340
Farnham, Edward, Esq., 347, 348
Foskett, Mr. (Gray's Inn), 379
T. French, Capt. (Coldstream Guards), 381
Fownes, Mr. (Asia E. Indian), 398
T. Flint, Miss (Feversham), 418
T. Flint, Major (E. I. Army), 425
Feilding, Mrs. (daughter of Lady Charlotte Finch), 433
Forth, Mr. (8th King's Dragoons), 460
T. Falconet, Mr. (Clapham), 494
Farquhar, Mrs. (Doctor's Commons), 498 ; Mr., 500
Fenwick, Mrs., 538
Fendall, Miss Harriet (Great Portland Street), 576
Fitzgerald, Lord Edward (brother to D. of Leinster), 589
T. Fownes, Mr. J. J. (Temple), 712
Fletcher, Mr. (son of Sir H. F., of Cumberland), 756 ; Mrs., 844

- Fordyce, Mr. (E. I. Co. Artillery), 772
 Farmer, Capt., 798 (see Bent)
 Fletcher, Mr. Jas. (late E. I. Co.), 855, 938
 Forrester, Master Geo. (son of Mr. and Lady Catharine Manners F.), 929
T. Fletcher, Mr. (Gloucester Place), 964; Mrs., 965
T. Fryer, Mr. (Nottingham Place), 6021
 Fletcher, Mr. (Etherington), 6027
 Finch, Mrs. (Shrewsbury), 6107
 Folkestone, Lord (see 6182), 6188, 6190
 Fitter, Mr. (Tavistock Street, Bedford Square), 6192
 Fletcher, Mr. Thos. (Liverpool), 6202
 Franklin, Mrs. (wife of Capt. F., E. I. Co., Navy), 6209
T. Fordyce, Mr. Chas. (Cleveland Row), D. 010; Mrs., D. 012
 Fordyce, Mr. (Surveyor, Crown Lands), D. 016

 Goldsmid, Louis (Stamford Hill), 24, aged 20 months
 Green, Mr. (Halifax, Yorks), 77
 Glover, Miss, 116
 Griffiths, Lieut. (Coombe House, Teddington), 159
 Gillan, Dr. (China Embassy), 162
 Goss, Mr., 180
 Gilpin, Master Wm. (Paddington), 207
 Guy, Mrs. (Walcott Place), 212
 Guy, Mr. (Chief Mate, Northumberland E. I.), 230
 Greer, Mr. (Ireland), 304
 Glennie, Capt. (Artillery Co. and Mincing Lane), 360

 Gowland, Mrs. (Warren Street, Fitzroy Square), 380
 Graham, Col. (Verdmont, N. America), 399
 Gardner, Miss, 461
 Gibbs, Mrs. (see Knipe)
 Gordon, Mrs. Adam, 513
 Gibson, Revd. Mr., 536
 Grant, Mr. (see Abernethie)
 Gibbons, Mr. H. O. (Carey Street), 570
T. Gibbons, Revd. Mr. (his brother), 571
 Garrow, Mr. Wm. (Totteridge), 579
 Greenley, Miss (Merthyr, Glam.), 590, 672
 Garrett, Miss Rebecca (Stoke Newington or Colchester), 603
 Gilman, Miss Joanne (Islington), 671
 Gillebaude, Revd. Mr. (Spital Square), 696
T. Grant, Mr., 726
 Gayer, Capt. (67th Foot), 745
 Gorman, Miss Maria (New Broad Street), 751
 Griffenhoofe, Mr. (Eton), 765
 Groves, Mrs., 776
T. Gale, Mr. Thos. (Middy Lower Brook Street), 825, 958
 Greenley, Miss Eliza (Titley, near Kingston, Radnor), 845
 Garrow, Miss Eliza (daughter of the Counsellor), 903
 Gosler, Mrs. (Upper Norton Street), 952
 Graham, Miss (Chelsea Coll.), 953
 Godfrey, Capt. (Mounted Royal Artillery), 6034
 Goodrich, Miss Mary, 6056
T. Grant, Mr. Geo. (Berks) 6063
 Gilman, Miss (Ward of Mrs. Scott), 6081
 Gilman, Miss Emily, 6082

- Gloucester, H.R.H. The Duke of, 6189, 6203
- Gosling, Mrs. (Somerset Place), D. 084, D. 101
- Hodgitts, Mr. T. W. (Dudley), 10
- Harward, Mr. (Northend), 42
- Handasyde, Lieut.-Captain (Chatham Barracks), 46
- Hemming, Mr., 135
- Hopkinson, Benj. (W. Ind.), 151
- Harmar, Mrs. (Hertford Street), 187
- T.** Harmar, Mr. Rich., 205
- Hobhouse, Mr. Benj. (near Bath), 225
- Harcourt, Genl. (Portland Place), 240
- Hardwick, Mr. (Oxford), 263
- Hervey, Mr. Will (America), 318
- Hotchkiss, Mr. Rich. (Edin.), 321
- Hornsby, Mrs. L. (Cornhill), 329
- Hoskins, Mrs. (Lime Street), 359
- Holman, jun., Mr. (Leytonstone), 364, 365
- Harris, Mrs. (St. Paul's Churchyard), 369 *
- Hereford, The Bishop of, 375
- Hicks, Mr. (Bedfordshire), 387; Mrs. (see Miss Barnard)
- Huxham, Mr. (? Coll., Oxon), 408
- Hilton, Mr. (Lancs.), 412; Mrs., 675
- Holgate, Mr. (Lincoln), 467
- Herbert, Mr. Geo. (1st Life-guards), 460
- Hill, Capt., 471
- T.** Hughes, Miss (Bath), 496
- Headley, Mr. (Newcastle), 497
- Hyde, Mrs. (Bengal), daughter of Ly. Francis Seymour, 514
- Hyde, Miss (Maria, daughter of above), 515
- Henderson, Mr. Francis (Ealing), 519; Mrs., 520, 525
- Hagh, Mr. Joseph (Halifax), 548
- Home, Mr. (Bishopsgate Street), 557
- Haddley, Mr., 566
- Holman, Mr. (Covent Garden Theatre), 588
- Hingeston, Mr. (Cheapside), 602
- Holmes, Miss Maria (Westcombe Park, Greenwich), 616
- Hobson, Mr. (East Indiaman, Armiston), 627
- Hay, Miss, 636
- Hawkins, Miss Mary (Nass, near Canterbury), 676, 833; Miss Eleanor, 841
- T.** Hopkins, Mr. (Greek Street, Soho), 678, 684; Mrs., 677, 729; Mr., 693
- Harvey, Mrs., 689
- Hodson, Sir Robert, 690
- T.** Hill, Mr. (Edin.), 720
- T.** Hooker, Revd. Mr. (Rottingdean), 731
- T.** Huckell, Mr. (Ely Place), 822
- Henry, Miss, 669
- Hadden, Mr. Jas. (Aberdeen), 850; Mrs., 851
- Holland, Capt., R.N., 865
- T.** Hope, Mrs. Wm. (late of Amsterdam), 889, 890, 934, 949
- T.** Higginson, Mr., 912
- T.** Hobart, Hon. Geo., 925, 933; Hon. Mrs., 927 (daughter of Col. McLean)
- T.** Hole, Mr. W. (Surgeon, Islington), 947
- T.** Huggan, Mrs. (Scotland), 955
- Hals, Mrs., 6001

- Hammond, Miss (daughter of Sir Andrew S. H.), 6006
- T.** Hummell, Mr., Jr. (Musician), 6020
- Hood, Capt. (3rd Footguards, grandson to Lord Hood), 6044
- Hammond, Capt., R.N. (son of Sir A. H.), 6055, 6149
- T.** Holmes, Revd. Mr. (Sub-Dean Chapel Royal, St. James'), 6059
- Headford, Marquis of, 6062
- Hartwell, Mr. (Holden, son of Sir F. H., Somerset Place, Strand), 6075, D. 116
- T.** Hookham, Mr. Thos. Jordan (Bond Street), 6083, 6106
- T.** Hart, Mr. Geo. (King's Road, Fulham), 6097
- Higginson, Miss Martha and Miss Louisa (Harley Street), 6101
- Hamilton, Mr. (71, Mark Lane), 6158
- Hare, Mr. (Bristol), 6194
- Harding, Mr. (Tamworth), 6198
- Holmes, Mrs. (Buly, Worcestershire), D. 026
- Hannell, Miss Mary (Paddington), D. 041, D. 042
- Hartwell, Lady (wife of Sir F. H.), D. 083
- Hook, Mr. William (Redcliffe Parade, Bristol), 6154
- Innes, Col. (E. I. Co., Madras Establishment), 6145
- Jourdan, Maria (aged 2), 33
- Jackson, Mr. (Chancery Lane), 58, 70
- Jones, Mr. (Bristol), 86, 90; Mrs., 174
- Jordan, Mr., 181
- Johnston, Mrs. (Queen Anne Street), 193, 195
- Johnston, Major (E. I. Co. Corps of Engineers), 196
- Jones, Mr. (Place House, Swansea), 200, 203, 215 (as Calvert Jones, 6084, T.)
- Jones, Miss (Gloucestershire) 290
- Jones, Mr. Hy. (New Inn), 343
- Jones, Mr. (Marshal of the King's Bench), 351, 432; Mrs. and Mr., 413.
- Jones, Mrs., 470
- Jelf, Mr. J. (Banker, Gloucester), 612
- Jeffries, Mrs. (Basinghall Street), 656
- Jerningham, Mr. Geo. (son of Sir Wm.), 682, 832, after Hoppner
- Johnston, Mrs. (Chas. Street, Grosvenor Square), 713
- T.** Jamison, Mr. (East Indian, Armiston), 716
- Jordon, Mrs. (Barbadoes), 737; Mr., 742
- Jenks, Miss (Welbeck Street), 820
- T.** Jackson, Mr. Robert (Earl Street, Blackfriars), 900; Mrs., 939
- T.** Jackson, Mr. Wm. Ward (Normanby, Yorks), 6003
- Jones, Mrs. (wife of Capt.) (18th Light Dragoons), 6035
- Johnston, Miss, 6052
- Jebb, Mr. (nephew to late Sir Rich. Jebb), Scots Greys, 6152
- Jarman, Mr. Thos. (Bristol), 6193
- Jordan, Misses (Harley Street), D. 092
- Kaly, Mr. Wm. (Edgware Road), 8
- Kerby, Mrs. (Stafford Street), 9
- Keeble, Miss Jane (ward of John Petrie), 64
- Kirton, Mrs. (near Bristol), 100

- Kelly, Mr. (Doorkeeper, House of Commons), 120
 King, Miss (Portman Street), 256, 410 (as Mrs. Kent), D. 037
 Knipe, Mr. Robert, 414
 Knight, Revd. Mr. (Rector of Tewkesbury Abbey), 417
T. Kingscote, Mrs. (near Leatherhead), 421
 Knipe, Miss (Limpsfield), 436, 512 (afterwards Mrs. Gibbs)
 Keppel, Col., 437
 Keppel, Miss Charlotte Augusta (Pall Mall), 505; Miss, 605
 Kershaw, Mr. (Halifax), 532
 Kelly, Capt. (24th Foot), 537
 Kensington, Mr. Henry (Lombard Street), 593
 Knox, Miss Letitia (Soho Square), 618, 628
 Keighly, Mr. (Hertford Street, Mayfair), 730; Mrs., 770
 Kirkpatrick, Major Jas. Achill (E. I. Co. Army), 846, 854
T. Kelly, Master Thos., 870
 Kemble, John, 954
T. Kennedy, Hon. Robert, 6043
 Kirkpatrick, Miss Barbara (Holydale House, Kent), 6061, 6088
 Kay, Mr. Joseph (Architect), 6159
 Kellott, the late Mrs. (Cork), 6187
T. Kirkpatrick, Miss Clementina and Miss Barbara, D. 030
 Kirkpatrick, Miss Eliza and Miss Julia, D. 031
 Kent, Mrs., D. 037
 King, Miss Emily (sister to above), D. 038
 Kirkwall, Viscount, D. 113
 Kirkwall, his two sons, D. 146
 Lucina, Mrs. (Newman Street), 104; Mr., 107
 Lagemann, Mr. William (Bristol), 123
 Locket, Mr. (Surrey Street), 125
 Legge, Miss, 133
 Luard, Mr. (Earl Talbot, East Indiaman), 144,
 Luard, Captain (Georgiana East India Packet), 374
 Lockart, Mr. Geo. (Surrey Street), 164
 Leon, Mrs., 182
 Le Rich, Mr., 191
 Lindsele, Mrs. (Wimpole Street), 208
 Lynn, Mr., 232
 Lovidge, Mr., 265
 Lambton, Mr. (Durham), 334
 Lambton, Master (Berkeley Square), 322
 Long, Mrs. (Teddington), 337
 Loveden, Capt. (Berks Militia), 366; Mrs., 370 (as Mead), 878
 Lowndes, Mr. (Hampstead), 382, 459
T. Lorimer, Miss Margaret (Strand), 401
 Lambton, Miss Fanny (Charlton, near Greenwich), 429
 Legh, Mr. Wm., 485
 Laurence, Col. (American Light Infantry), 501 (done from Turnbull's picture)
 Lillington (see Spooner)
 Levington, Mr. Robert (N. Y.), 510
 Lisle, Miss (niece to Lord Cholmondeley), 555
 Lodge, Miss Jane, 569
 Lorne, Marquis of (his eye), 572
 Lemon, Mr. Wm. (son to Sir W. L.), 606. Shot himself next March
 Laurens, late Governor, 665
 Leighton, Mr. (Brompton), 739; Mrs., 773
 Livien, Mr. (Fenchurch Street), 749

- Levis, Mrs. (Jamaica) (or
Levian), 761
Leake, Mr. (Guildford Street),
849
Little, Col. (E. I. Co., Army),
861
- T.** Lucas, Mr. (Dominica), 872
Langham, Miss Charlotte
(Roehampton), daughter of
Lady L., 882
- T.** Littledale, Mr. Joseph (Harley
Street), a writer to Bengal,
893
- T.** Lettsom, Mr. Sam (son of Dr.
L.), 902
Lushington, Miss Mary (daugh-
ter of Sir S. L.), 916, 931
Littledale, Mr. Chas. (Harley
Street), 921
Lushington, Miss Amelia
(daughter of Sir S. L.), 922
- T.** Leys, Mr. (Strand), 923
Lutyens, Mr. N. L. (Temple),
932
- T.** Langford, Capt. (R. N.), 943
Littledale, Mr., Senr. (Wim-
pole Street), (The Father of
893, 921), 956
Littledale, Miss Hannah (Har-
ley Street), 6024
Langford, Mrs. Geo. (wife
of Capt. L., R.N.), 6032
- T.** Laurie, Capt. Robert, R.N.,
6070
Linton, Mrs., 6077
Lindergrun, Mr. John (Ports-
mouth), 6090
- T.** Lambert, Mr. (Lamb's Con-
duit Street), 6093
- T.** Leather, Sir George (29,
Manchester Street), 6094
Leake, Mr. Robert (14th
Foot), 6163
Landroth, Mr. (of Grenada),
for Mr. Arbuthnot, 6165
Lushington, Sir Stephen, the
late, 6173, 6174, 6183
Lushington, Sir Henry (Har-
ley Street, son of Sir S. L.),
6178
- Luard, Mrs. (wife of Col. L.,
of the Georgiana E. I.
Packet), D. 018
Lindsell, Mr. Robert, D. 094
- Magdalen (after Sir T. L.), 20
More, Mr., 27
More, Miss (New Street,
Covent Garden), 38
Maitland, Mr. W. (Fenchurch
Street), 63
Martin, Mr. (Bristol), 88, 130
Monk, Mr. (Attorney-General,
Canada), 169, 171
Maitland, Mr. W. (Gough
Square), 218
Movin, Mr. (Geo. Street, St.
James's Square), 222
Maitland-Maitland, Mr. (Lon-
don Street, City), 228 (Sur-
geon, Adelphi), 526
Maitland, Mr. David (Fen-
church Street), 234
Montague, Mrs. (Bryanston
Street), as Juliet with
dagger, 235
Mundy, Miss (Portland
Street), 272
Millington, Mr. (Chelsea), 291;
Mrs., 311
Maude, Hon. Mr. (Berkeley
Square), 296
Mendhurst, Miss (Brighton),
327
Martinius, Mr. (Merchant,
Green Lettice Lane), 338;
Mrs., 367
- T.** Morrogh, Mr. (America), 341
Morrison, General (Chiswick),
345
Manby (or Manley), Mr.
(Gray's Inn), 357
Mann, Mr. Cornelius (Royal
Artillery), 376, 397
Malcolm, Mrs. (see Stopford)
Mathias, Mr. H., 422
- T.** Martelli, Mr. H. (Chancery
Lane) 458
Morell, Mrs., 475

- Meyrick, Mrs., 477
 Mansfield, Mr. (Lincoln), 480
 Martin, Miss Mary (Marylebone New Road), 502
T. Mann, Capt. Gotha (Royal Artillery), 518, 6089, 397
T. Munden, Mr. (Covent Garden Theatre), 539
 Mansfield, Mrs. (Leicester), 562
 Martyr, Mr. Joseph (Blackheath), 577
 More, Miss Louisa (Linley, Salop), 596
 Moultrie, Mrs. (Great Portland Street), 614; late Governor, 629
 Moresby, Miss, 619
 Morris, Mrs. and Capt. (Charlotte Street), 632
 Missing, Mrs. (nr. Chichester), 637
 Meek, Mr. (Basinghall Street), 688
 Middleton, Mrs. (Crowfield Park, Suffolk), 701
 Moore, Mrs. (Brooke Street), 707
 March, Mr. (Salt Hill, Berks), 741
T. Mordaunt, Master (Leadenhall Street, E. I. Cadet), 758
 Meadows, Capt. (East Indianman), 790
 Metger, Mr. (Altona), 792
 Marsh, Mr. (Stock Exchange), 817
T. Miller, Mr. (America), 821, 827
 Mortimer, Mrs. (Upper Norton Street), 831, 886
T. Mead, Major Hon. John (son of Earl of Clanwilliam), 874
 Mead, Mrs. (see Loveden)
 Miller, late Mrs. (wife of Capt. M.), 940
 Montague, Mrs. (daughter of Sir Wm. Rush), 980; Master, 983
T. Mainwaring, Mr. (Jeweller, Chancery Lane), 990
- T. Murray, Mr.** (Rotterdam), 6040, 6110
 Massey, Mrs. (now living with Marquis of Headfort), 6058
 Morley, Mr. (16th Light Dragoons), 6115, 6133
 Martyr, Mr. Joseph (Greenwich), 6121
 Mills, Capt. (14th Light Dragoons), 6167
 Mansell, Mrs. (Spring Street, Baker Street), 6170
 Mowbray, Mr. Geo. (brother of Mrs. Geo. Smith), 6191
 Morincourt, Mr. R. N. (Greenwich), 6196
 Mulgrave, Lord, D. 013
 Mohammed Sheik, D. 033
 Morley, Mrs., D. 065
 McDonald (43rd), Mr., 249
 Mackenzie, Col. (New Cavalry), 299
 Mackenzie, Mr. Colin (Edin.), 305
 Mackenzie, Mr. Alexander (N. Y.), 335
T. MacEvoy, Miss (Manchester Street), 640; Mr. (Santa Cruz), 650, 651
T. Mackenzie, Mr. Alex (Ross-shire), 899
T. Mackenzie, Mr. Wm. (as Surgeon to Madras), 6046
T. Mackenzie, Mr. Kenneth (Ross-shire, N.B.), 6067
T. McDermot, Master, 6098
 McGee, the late Mr., 6151
- Newland, Abraham (The Bank), 62
 Newman, Mr. (Henley Park, Surrey), 204
 Nichols, Mr. (Surgeon, Brompton), 319, 489; Mrs. 325
T. Ness, Mr., 392
 Nodes, Mr. (Bond Street), 441
T. Nightingale, Col., 343, 757

- Niblett, late Mr. (Gloster), 625
 Newman, Revd. Mr. (Ipswich), 668
 Nightingale, Mrs. (daughter to Sir Lionel Darrell), 762
 Nard Comte de (Emigré), 781
 Norman, Master Chas. (son of Lady Eliza N., and grandson to Duchess of Rutland), 809
 Nussey, Mr. (Woodbridge, Ipswich), 847
T. Neilson, Mr. (Hunter Street, Brunswick Square), 6086, D. 060

 Osbaldeston, Mr. (Springfield Grove, Sussex), 377
T. Oliphant, Mr. (Keston, near Hounslow), 6050
 Oswald, Miss (near Edinburgh), 6113
 Oliphant, Mrs., eye of, size of a shilling, 6148
 O'Callaghan, Mr., 6164

 Prate, Mr., 34
 Parker, Master Jno. (aged 10), 47
 Parker, Mr. Jno. (Ireland), 48
 Petrie, old Mrs. (Soho Square), 52
 Petrie, Major (72nd), 66
 Paine, Mr. (Bristol), 87
 Platt, Mr. (Bristol), 90
 Powell, Master, 165
 Parker, Capt. John, 186.
 Parker, Mr. Jno. (St. Paul's Churchyard), 213
 Peters, Dr. (Pimlico), 239
 Peters, Mr. Birdsey (Pimlico), 242
 Pange, Marchioness of (Emigré), 252
 Parker, Mrs. (Green Park, Youghal), 255; Mr., 369
 Priestley, Mrs. (Bishopsgate Street), 258
 Parker, Mrs. (Halifax), 282
 Passingham, Capt. R. (Chester), 331, 349
T. Parker, Mr. Jno. (Attorney, Halifax), 339
 Pattenson, Mr. (Cumberland), 356
 Pepys, Mr. Wm. (Eton Coll.), 358
 Pepys, Mr. Chas. (Wimpole Street), 384
 Pheasant, Mr. (Sheffield), 411
 Parker, Miss (Croomes Hill, Greenwich), 424; Miss Sarah, 463 (see Bingham)
 Passingham, Mrs. Robert (Chester), 438
 Pomeroy, Hon. Geo., 439
 Payne, Mr. Jno. (Richmond), nephew to Dowager Lady Northampton, 517
 Pearson, Miss Hannah (daughter of Sir R. P., Greenwich Hospital), 568, 907
 Pearson, Miss Mary (daughter of Sir R. P., Greenwich Hospital), 575
 Pattenson, Mr. C. (Cumberland), 584
T. Phipps, Mr. Jno. Wathen (Cork Street), 586, 803; Mrs. Eliza, 794, D. 110
 Petre, Miss (Shrewsbury), 591
 Panting, Mr. F. (Shrewsbury), 598
T. Parker, Mr. Oxley (Chelmsford), 601
 Peyton, Mrs. (Edin.), 658
 Priest, Miss (Bristol), 666
 Pearson, Mr. (Surgeon, Armiston, East Indiaman), 714
 Prajer, Miss Harriet (A Jewess), 724
 Pearce, Miss Eliza (see Groves)
 Palmer, Mr., 795
 Page, Mr. (Great St. Helens), 801

- Payne, Mrs. (Wigmore Street), 810, 856
 Philips, Mr., (father of Major Passingham), 816
T. Peacock, Mr. Sandford (Devonshire Street), 840; Mrs. Geo. (Rachel), 842
 Paul Mr. J. Dean (Banker, Strand), 863
T. Pole, Mr. Peter (Bedford Square), 891
T. Pearson, Mr., 901
T. Pearson, Mr. (Bombay), 905, 6057
 Phipps, Miss Georgiana, as a Cherub (Cork Street), 951, 969
 Parker, Vice-Admiral (the late Sir Wm. Parker, Bart.), 6008, 6011; Lady P., 6010
 Peacock, Mrs. Geo. (daughter of Lady Dalling), 6015
 Pearson, Capt. (R.N., son to late Sir Rich. P.), 6205, 6108
 Plowden, Servant to Mr., 6137
 Paxton, Mr. Archibald (Buckingham Street, Strand), 6139
 Pordon, Miss (Berners Street), for Mr. Kay, 6172
 Peters, Mr. Birdsey (New York), D. 011
 Pole, Hon. Mrs. (Hanover Street), D. 014
 Phipps, Miss Anne (Cork Street), D. 021, D. 090
 Phipps, Hon. Col. Edmund (brother to Lord Mulgrave), D. 036
 Phipps, Watkins (Godson to W. Wood), see D. 090, D. 112
 Phipps, Mr. D., 120
 Pott, Miss (Castle Street, Southwark), D. 123
 Rogers, Mrs. (Bristol), 94
 Ross, Capt., 108
 Redwood, Mr. (Charlotte Street, Portland Place), 109; Mrs., 112
 Ross, Mr. (Crown Street, Westminster), 118, 121; Mrs., 128
 Raymond, Mr. Stephen (Potton, Beds), 160
 Redwood, Mr. (Dragoons), 219
 Russell Copy after (Miss Knight of Brompton), 220
 Roberts, Capt. Fr. (Frigate, Success), 221
 Reeves, Miss (Hadley), 262
 Robins, Miss (near Oxford), 298
T. Rawlins, Miss (Portland Street), 301
 Reeve, Mr. (Leeds), 307, 308
 Russell, Lady Will (2 eyes of), 314
 Ramus, Mrs. (Baker Street), 386
 Riggs, Mr. (Russell Place), 405
 Rimington, Mrs. (Southend), 406; Mr. Chas., (Southgate), Middlesex, 486
 Rawden, Miss Eliz. (niece to Earl Moira) (aged 3), 415
 Roberton, Capt. Peter (8th Foot), 419
 Ricketts, Mr. (Bombay Marine), 430, 662
 Rush, Mrs. (Wimbledon), 445
 Rawden, Col. Geo., 556
 Russell, Mr. Robert (Exeter), 455
 Richardson, Mr. Hy., Jr. (Derby), 544; Mrs., 545
 Robinson, Mrs. (Bullwell, Notts.), 578, 580, Mr., 661
 Rickards, Miss Maynard (Abergavenny), 587
 Robinson, Mrs. (Nottingham), 594
 Ramsay, Mr. (Sec., E. I. Co.), 595
 Rooke, Mrs. (late of Cheltenham), 615

- T. Rush**, Sir Wm. (Pall Mall), 624, 973
 Rolleston, Master Chas. (Pimlico), 655
 Ricketts, Miss Eliza, 698
 Russell, Miss (Exeter), 733
 Ross, Old Mr. (Streatham), 755
 Rutland, Dowager Duchess of, 768
 Rycroft, Lady (Clarges Street), 774
 Riddell, Mr. Ralph, 778 (friend of Jerningham), 862
 Rand, Capt. (E. I. Co., Army), 838
- T. Roche**, Mr. (Cork), 867
 Robinson, Mr. (Manchester), 881
- T. Robertson**, Capt. (after Plimer), 914
- T. Radcliffe**, Revd. Mr. (Limehouse), 942
- T. Rowles**, Capt. (E. I. Co., Cavalry), 975
- T. Riddell**, Mr. Ralph (Northumberland), 994
- T. Ramsey**, Col. Wm. (1st Ceylon Regt.), 999
 Ridley, Mr. (son of Sir M. R., Bart.), 6004
- T. Ryves**, Capt. (8th Light Dragoons), 6017; wife, 6096
 Rooke, Miss (Cheltenham), 6041
 Rockox, Nicholas, after Rubens (aged 64), dated 1624, 6065
- T. Rolfe**, Mr. Edmund (Norfolk), 6068
 Ray, Miss (as an Interesting Story), 6160
 Rowley, late Capt. G. (E. I. Co., Army), 6161
 Rawlinson, Mrs. (Mistress of Lord Folkestone), 6182, D. 104
 Rolls, Mrs. (Paragon Kent Road), D. 055
- Sutherland, Capt., 21
 Sainsbury, Miss (Ludgate Hill), 36, 28
 Shakespeare, 43
 Summer, Jas. (Hampstead), 50 Mrs., 73
 Steward, Lieut. (71st Foot), 51
 Smith, Mrs. (Duchess Street), 53, Master G., 56
 Scott, Mrs. (Forge Longtown, Cumberland), 54
 Seaton, Master Andrew, 60
 Small, Col. (84th Foot), 65, 276, 448, 377, when Major-General
 Seton, Mrs. (Devonshire Place), 68; Miss, 371; Miss Kitty, 563
 Stevens, Mrs. Jas. (Bristol), 97
 Spence, Mr. (E. I. Co.), 113
 Slaney, Moreton, Esq. (Salop), 119
 Shirley, Mr., 136
 Saunders, Mr. (Taunton), 137
 Smith, Mrs., 138
 Skeffington, Mr. (Skeffington, Leicester), 142
 Stripling, Mr. (Jeweller, Lichfield), 157
 Stevens, Mr. Wm. (Bristol), 173
 Shirreff, Mr., 206, 216
 Sydenham, Mr. (Frith Street, Soho), 214; Mrs., 559
 Spencer, Countess, 229
 Stevens, Mr. (Shrewsbury), 231
 Stock, Miss (Islington), 237
 Savage, Miss (Pimlico), 241
 Sparkes, Miss Julia (Blackheath), 250
 Sparkes, Master Hy., 251
 Sparkes, Mr., 253
 Smith, Mr. John (Camberwell), 260, 268
 Sparkes, Mr. Joseph (Essex Street, Strand), 267, 292
 Sparkes, Miss (Blackheath), 270

- Sparkes, Mr. John (Blackheath), 274
 Salmon, Mr. (Barnes), 297
 Seton, Mr. Daniel (Devonshire Place), 315
 Slaney, Mr. Plowden (Salop), 323
 Smith, Mr. (Berks), 383
 Stuart, Col. Jno. (2nd Footguards), 402, 434 (as Sir John, K.B.), 6180
 Smith, Miss, 464
 Sperling, Revd. Jas., 465
 Schneiders, Miss (Southgate), 469
 Savage, Mr., 476
 Smith, Mr. Geo. (Saville Row), 487
 Sawyer, Miss Frances (Heywood House, Bucks), 492, 493
 Stopford, Master Thos. (Sloane Street), 503; Mrs., 507, 560
 Spooner, Mr. (Warwickshire), 506, Lillington afterwards
 Self, Mrs. Jas. (Trowbridge), 522, 531
 Saxe, Mr., 540
 Sydenham Revd. Humphrey, 554
 Shute, Mr. (Frenchay, near Bristol), 574
T Salisbury, Mr. Edward (Lancaster), 583
T. Starkey, Revd. Mr., 597
 Service, Miss (Finsbury Square), 60
 Shepherd, Mrs. (late of Leeds), 607
 Swan, Mr. (Belfast), 621
 Salisbury, Mr. Henry (Manchester), 649
 Schneiders, Miss (Southgate), 679
 Silvester, Miss (Dominica), 704.
T. Slaughter, Mr. (Worcestershire), 725, 736
 Salisbury, Mr. (Dorsetshire), 734
T. Saltau, Mr. Geo. (Green Lettice Lane), 735
 Scott, Mrs., 767
 Sorell, Miss, 771
T. Slack, Mr. Thos. (Braywick, Bucks), 783, 946; wife, 1000
 Shepherd, Mr. Thos. (Cloth Factor), (Basinghall Street), 805
 Shuttleworth, Mr. (Sun Tavern Fields), 807
T. Sykes, Capt. (R.N.), 815
 Smith, Miss - (demi-dark daughter of Mr. Alexander, of Calcutta), 819
T. Shepherd, Master Joseph (Leeds), 858
T. Stuart, Mr. Jas. (Solicitor-General, Halifax), 904
T. Stuart, Mr. (Alderston, Haddington, Scot.), 915
T. Snell, Revd. Thos., 919, 6102
T. Stavis, Mr. (Great Abshott, Titchfield, Hants), 950, 6018
 Sowle, Miss Sarah (Ward of Dr. Cherson), 968
 Sebright, Mrs. Marianne (Hertford Street, Mayfair), 984, 6124, 6128
 Seward, Miss Elizabeth (first cousin of Kitty Beachcroft), 987 (afterwards Mrs. Mathew B. 6009
 Skreen, Mr., friend of, 988
 Stopford, Miss (Kensington), see Wyatt
T. Shuttleworth, Mr. Geo. Ed. (Austin Friars), 834, 993
 Sydenham, Mr. Thos. (Bond Street), 996
 Slack, Mrs. Thos. (Bloomsbury Square), 6000
 Squires, Mr. (brother of Mrs. Dongan), 6007
T. Stock, Mr. Wm. (Redcliffe Parade, Bristol), 6014

- Seward, Mrs. (Milman Street, Bedford Row), mother-in-law to Col. Beachcroft, 6029
- T.** Sheddon, Mr. Geo. (Bedford Square), 6033; wife, 6039
- T.** Sheddon, Mr. Wm. (Gower Street), 6037
- T.** Stirling, Capt. (Foot-guards), 6038
- T.** Sheddon, Mr. Bridger (Gower Street), brother of 6033, 6040
- T.** Scott, Master Hy. (147, Leadenhall Street), 6042
- T.** Smith, Mr. Jas. (Baker Street, late of Bombay), 6045; wife 6066
- T.** Samson, Mrs. (Blackheath, wife of Capt. S., of Earl St. Vincent, E. I. M., Capt., 6204), 6049
- Smith, Mrs. J. J. (born Miss Wiple), 6051
- Slack, the late Mrs. (Brayswick), 6053
- T.** Stuart, Major-General Sir John, 6073
- Smith, Mrs. (Castle Barr House, near Ealing), 6079
- T.** Slack, Mr. Senr. (Bloomsbury Square), 6085
- Savage, Miss (Weymouth Street), 6109
- Sebright, Miss (Hertford Street, Mayfair), 6116
- Smith, Miss, 6126
- Stowell, Capt. (2nd Life-guards), 6150
- Shuttleworth, Mr. John (St. George's E., son of 807), 6156
- Simpson, Miss Sophia (John Street), 6169
- T.** Sampson, Capt. (E. I. Co., Navy), 6204
- Sheane, Capt., 6210
- Simmons, Mrs., D. 046
- Stancliffe, Mr. John (Temple and Caius Coll.), D. 029
- Stuart, Miss (Sloane Street), D. 043
- St. Aubyn, Lady, D., 105
- Stanley, the late Sir John (Cheshire), D. 107
- Traile, Mr. (Edin.), 57
- Townsend, Meredith (Fairford), 79, 114
- Thistle, Mr. (Bristol), 93
- Thomas, Mr. Josiah (Bristol), 98, 103; Mrs., 99
- Taunton, a Mr., of, 110
- Thornton, Miss Ann (Beaumont Street), 122
- Tickell, Mrs., 134
- Thornton, Ed., Esq. (Grenada W. I.), 149, 153
- Templer, Capt. Hy. (Prince's Light Dragoons), 150
- Tebbs, Mr. (Paternoster Row), 168
- Truman, Miss (Pimlico), 246
- Townley, Mr., 271
- Treves, Mrs. (Calcutta), 302, 303
- Tremenheere, Miss (Jermyn Street), 313; Mr., 320
- Thomas, Mrs. (Fulham), 427
- Taylor, Miss, 482
- Trundell, Miss, 585
- Tarleton, Hon. Major-Genl., 630, 646; Mr. Thos., 645, 6030
- Tebbs, Mr. (Bond Street), 642
- Topham, Mrs. (Chertsey), 664
- Trumbell (M. P.), see Laurens
- T.** Tufton, Hon. Mr., 681, 699
- Taylor, Capt. (7th Dragoons), 750
- Taylor, Mrs. (Fulham), 799
- Turner, Mrs. (Queenhithe), 818
- T.** Thoyts, Mr. John (Blues), 894
- Taswall, Eye of Mr. (Madras Civil Establishment), 966
- Tarleton, Capt., Thos. 6030
- Thompson, Miss (Knightsbridge), 6047

- T. Thomas, Mr. Chas. (Earl St. Vincent, E. I. M.), 6054
- T. Thompson, Mr. (Dentist, Geo. Street, Hanover Square), 6112
- Turner, Mr. Chas. (Jeweller, Holles Street, Bond Street), 6147; Mrs., 6168
- Tupper, Mr. (New Burlington Street), 6199
- Thomas, Little Mary Ann, of Bristol, D. 04
- Unknown, 129, 354, 451, 456, 478, 859, 887, 897, 981
- Usborne, Mrs. (Finsbury Square), 350
- Vaux, Jno. (Austin Friars), 709
- Vestal, A, at the altar, 913
- Wharton, Miss Eliz. and Miss Margaret (Yorks), 416
- Wallis, Miss (Covent Garden Theatre), 420
- Williams, Mrs. Jas. (Bedford Square), 426
- Windsor, Mr., 446
- Warrell, Miss H., 452
- Watson, Miss (Sloane Street), 453, 491
- Waller, Revd., 466
- Ware, Mrs. (New Bridge Street), 428
- T. Williams, Mr. Robt. (Lamb's Conduit Street), 481; Mr. W. Senior, 490; Miss Grace, 581
- Whyatt, Mr. (Queen Anne Street), 504
- Watts, Miss (afterwards Mrs. Gordon), 513, 524
- Wright, Mr. (Merchant, Hull), 521
- Worswick, Mr. (Lancaster), 528
- Wistinghausen, Mr. (Bow Lane), 530; Master Edmund), 6092
- Wells, Mr. Jas., 546
- Welstead, Mr. Chas. (Custom House), 558
- Whingate, Miss Kitty (Granddaughter to Ly. Franklin), 564
- Watson, Miss (Faulkbourne Hall, Essex), 582
- Watson, Mr. (King's Dragoon Guards), 599
- T. Wright, Mr. Geo. (Rochford Hall, Essex), 620
- T. Williams, William (Warley E. I. Navy), 647, 811, 970
- Worswick, Mr. Rich. (Lancaster), 648
- Wausey, Miss (Lothbury), 654
- Weston, Capt. (H.M.S. Tamar), 660
- Welsh, Mr. Wm. (Fenchurch Street), 670
- T. Ward, Col. (Foot-guards), 683
- Wightman, Mr. (Temple), 719; Mrs., 722
- T. Wilkinson, Mr. Thos. (Durham), 721; Mrs., 746
- Walker, Mrs. (Teabroker, Old Broad Street), 753
- T. Williams, Mr. Locker (son to Lieut.-Governor of Greenwich) (8th Light Dragoons), 763, 785
- T. Way, Late Mr. Gregory (Richmond Green), 779, 791, 866; Master Lewis, 780, 875; Mrs., 898
- Worsley, Miss Charlotte (daughter of Lady W. and Co.), 800. Square
- Wathen, Mr. (Kensington), 802
- Williams, Miss, 804
- T. Williams, Mr. Jas. (Bedford Square), 836, 6022
- White, Mrs. D. (Finsbury Square), 653
- T. Warner, Mr. (Sloane Street), 924

- T. Wood, Mr.** (Cork), 935
T. White, Revd. Thos. (Devonshire Place), 945
 Wright, Miss Frances (Mapledurham, Oxon), 957 (see Blount)
T. Wright, Mr. (White Street, Boro), 978
T. Weekes, Revd. Mr. (Barbadoes), 6028 (or Wickes)
T. Way, Master Wm. (Great Ealing, M'sex), 6071
T. Way, Mr. Felix (Old Broad Street), 6072
T. Wathen, Mr. Nat. (Stroud, Glos.), 6076
 Watson, Revd. Mr. (Manningtree, Essex, nephew of Col. Bullock), 6135
 Wyatt, Mrs. Benjamin (Buckingham Street, Fitzroy Square), 6136
 Wentworth, Mr., 6142
 Wood, Mr., Senr., D. 08
 Watts, Mrs. (afterwards Mrs. Brooksbank) (Harley Street), D. 034
T. Wyatt, Mr. (Queen Anne Street E., late of Calcutta), 985
 White, Miss (Somerset Street), 992
 Wood, Miss, 5, 22, 40, 72, 158, 266, 409, 623; Mrs., 631
 Woulfe, Sir Jacob, 7
 Wright, Mr. (Tooley Street), 23
 Wood, Mrs. (Surrey Street), 26
 Wood, W. (Self.), 45, 277
 Wright, Dr. Jas. (E. I.), 49
 West, Mr. R. L. (Newman Street), 76
 Wood, Mr., Senr., 140
 Williams, Revd. Mr. (Abergavenny), 152, 154
 Walton, Mrs. (Norton Street), 170
 Wistinghausen, Mrs. (wife of 530), 6103
 Wright, Miss (Jermyn Street), 177
 Wolsley, Admiral, 197
 Whitaker, Mr., 217
 Weatherall, Mr. (Serjeant's Inn), 224
 Wood, Mrs., 226
 Watson, Mr., 233
 Whitley, Mrs. (Bond Street), 269
 Watts, Miss (Devonshire Street), 280
 Wynne, Mr. (Wales), 295
 Worswick, Mr. (Lancaster), 309
 Willyams, Mr. J. B., 316
 Wiple, Miss (Southampton Street), 326
 Whittle, Mr. (Belfast), 361
 Wingfield, Capt. (The Guards), 372
 Woolcomb, Mr. (near Plymouth), 394
 White, Capt. (80th Foot), 395
 White, Mr. (Somerset), 404
T. Weatherell, Miss (Southend) 407
 Ximenes, Mrs., (Margaret St.), 961
 Yough, Mrs. (Oxford Road), 192
 Yates, Miss Fanny (Carlisle), 243
 Yates, Miss, 244
 Yonge, Miss Maria (Lamb's Conduit Street), 368
 Young, Mr. (Philadelphia), 509
T. Yonge, Mr. Jas. (St. James' Street), 551, 6026
 Yates, Capt. (50th Foot), 909, D. 121
 Yonge, Mrs. (wife of Capt.), 6005; Major Yonge, 6185
 York, H.R.H., The Duke of (done for Mrs. Clarke), 6126

INDEX

- Abercombe, Mrs. John—Mins. 68
 Abdare, Lord—Min. 122
 Abergavenny, Baron G. N.—Port. 14
 Abington, Lady—Port. 146
 Abington, William—Port. 165
 Academy, Royal—Exhibitors, etc., Alefounder J., 181; Bone, H., 197; Chalon, 185; Cosway, R., 103, 115, 249; Egley, 186; Engleheart, G., 126; Essex, W., 198; Hone, N., 177; Humphry, O., 152, 157; Lethbridge, W. S., 179; Robertson, A.S., 183; Scouler, 177; Shelley, S., 175; Spencer, G., 195, 196; Smart, J., 136, 143; Thorburn 185; Wood, W., 164
 Acraman, Miss S. A.—Port., 167
 Acraman Family Children, 168
 Addison, J., 211; 209
 Affleck Daughter—Group, 122
 Aguilar Mr.—Port., 146
 Albemarle, Duke of—Port., 69
 Alefounder, J., 181
 Alençon, Duc d'—Port., 25, 30
 Allen, Mr.—Port., 165
 Allston, W., 254
 Alnwick Castle—Sherborne MS., 8
 Amelia, Princess—Port., 105
 America—Collections, 241, 242, *see also* Morgan, etc.; Painters, 254-262
 Amsterdam, *see* Rijks Museum
 Ancaster, Earl of—Port., 12
 André, Maj., 259
 Anne, Queen—Instruction by R. Gibson, 87; Enamel by Boit, 194; Hilliard Portraits, 34; "Limner," 4; Oliver, I., portrait, 40; Son's portrait, 210; White, G., portrait, 213
 Anne of Cleves, Queen—Henry VIII portrait, 12; Portrait of by Holbein, 12, 232
 Argyle, Duke of—Nephew's port., 165
 Arlaud—Enameller, 194
 Armada Jewel, 28
 Armytage, Sir G.—Port., 146
 Art Colouring Manuf. Co., 249
 Ashmolean Mus.—Bone, H., 192; Curator, C. F. Bell, 226; Enamels, 198, 234
 Athlone, Lord—Port., 210
 Atkinson, S.—Gold Mines in Scotland. 29
 Aubert, 194
 Aubrey, *Lives of Eminent Men*, 58
 Audrey, Lady—Port., 124
 Augustin—Miniatures by, 19, 201, 203, 204, 241, 242; Pupil, 204
 Auriol, Mr.—Port., 146
 Baker, Collins—Port., 93
 Balchin, Elizabeth—Port., 146
 Bale, S.—Holbein Port., 12
 Baltimore, G. C.—Port., 44
 Bancks, Charles—Port., 214
 Banks, Maj.—Port., 146
 Barnard Castle—Mins., 234
 Barnard, Miss (Mrs. Hicks)—Port., 162
 Baroda, Gaekwar—Coll., 153
 Barret, G., 125
 Barry, Madame Du—Port., 105, 106
 Bartley, Mr. T.—Port., 166
 Bate, W.—Enameller, 197
 Bath, Holburne Museum Coll., 153 210, 234
 Bathurst, Ralph—Port., 207
 Batson, Mr.—Port., 146
 Bauch, Pieter Van der, 214
 Baxter Prints—Sold as Mins., 218
 Beale, Bartholomew—Mins. attrib., 95
 Beale, Charles, 93, 94, 95
 Beale, Mary—Beaufort, Henry Somerset, 1st Duke of, 94; characteristics of portraits, 93; Cooper, Samuel, 63; death, 95; Lely, Sir Peter, 80, 93; plumbago drawings, 213; Portraits painted by, 93, 95; Self-portrait, 93
 Beauchamp, Earl—Collection, Beale, C., 94, 95; Beale, Mary, 94; Cooper, S., 70, 72; Gibson, R., 89; Hilliard, L., 33⁹, 34; Len, B., 101; Loan to S. Kensington, 235; Petitot, J. L., 193; Shute, J., 36; Streets G., 18
 Beaufort, Henry Somerset, 1st Duke of—Port., 94
 Beaumont, B., 181
 Beechey, Sir W.—Port., 170
 Bell, C. F., 226
 Belvoir Castle Coll. of the Duke of Rutland—Cooper, S., 61; Hoskins, J., 52, 54; Humphry, O., 153; Manners Family, 235; Oliver, I., 41; Raleigh Miniatures, 235
 Benet, Miss—Port., 146
 Beninck, Simon—Port., 5
 Benion, Mr.—Port., 166
 Berkeley Castle, 153
 Berkshire, Thomas Howard, Earl of—Moll Davis, 55
 Berlin Collections, 240
 Berwick, Duke of—Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, 30
 Berwick, James Fitzjames, Duke of—Portrait of, 48
 Bettes, John—Mins. by, 17, 19, 36
 Bettes, Thomas—Min., 36
 Bibliothèque National—Casar MS., 9^a
 Bildt, Baron de—Hist. of Queen Christina, 78
 Billingshurst, Mr. G.—Port., 167
 Binnic, Simon—Daughter, 11, 233; Landscapes, 233; Portraits, 11, 21, 232
 Birch, Enameller, 197
 Birch, Capt.—Port., 169
 Blarenbergue, Van—Mins., 20
 Blois Enamellers, 189
 Blois, Abm. de—Neil Gwynne drawing, 213
 Blootelling, A.—Ports., 206 214

- Bogle, J.—Graham, Col., 180; Min. painting, 178, 179; Salting Bequest Mins., 233
- Bohemia, Frederick, Elector Palatine—Port., 45
- Bohemia, Queen of—Port., 45
- Boit—Enamel work, 194; Pupil Zincke, 194, 195
- Bone, Henry—China decorator, 197; Copies of Old Masters, 197; Elizabeth's Court, ports., 197; Plumer, N., 117; Royal Enamel Painter, 197
- Bone, Henry (jun.)—Queen Victoria, 192
- Bone, H. P. and R. T., 197
- Booty, Mr.—Port., 141
- Bordier, Jacques, 190; Cromwell, Oliver, 191; French Court of Louis XIV, 191; Mayerne, Turquet de, help given by, 190; Milton, John, 191; Watch-cases enamelled, 189, 190
- Bossan, John—Mins. attrib. to, 18, 35
- Boston—Min. Coll., 242
- Bosworth, Sir J.—Snuff-box, 195
- Bourchier, Mr.—Port., 161
- Bouchot, Henri—Book on French Mins., 204
- Bowyer, Min. painter, 181
- Boydell, Alderman—Port., 256
- Boydell, Miss—Port., 137
- Bracciano, Paolo Giordano Orsini II., Duke of—Corres. with Queen Christina, 78
- Bradley, *Dictionary of Miniaturists*, 3
- Brandon, Alicia (Mrs. Hilliard)—Marriage, 27; Port., 22, 27
- Brandon, John—Daughter married N. Hilliard, 27
- Brenner—Colls. of Mins., 201
- Bridges, Noah—Port., 68
- Bridport, Hugh—Conwell, Dr., Bishop of Philadelphia, 260; Hopkinson, Francis, 260; Life and Work, 260
- Bringhurst, Mr.—Flag with Washington Port., 257
- Bristol, Earl of—Port., 36
- Bristol, Marquess of, *see* Ickworth Pk. Coll.
- Bristow, Mrs. Robert—Port., 168
- British Institute—Exhibits by W. Wood, 167, 168
- British Museum—Books on Miniatures, 229, 230; *Cæsar's "De Bello Gallico" MS.*, 9^a; Humphry, O., drawings, 153; Oliver, I., drawings, 41; Plumbago portraits, 233; Print Room, 229; Regimine Principis, De, MS., 8; White, R., 209
- Bronzino—Mins., 240
- Brooke, Miss—Port., 170
- Brounckhurst, Arthur San—Gold mines in Scotland, 29, 31; Paintings, 32
- Browne, Mrs.—Port., 162
- Brownlow, Earl—Collection, 101
- Brussels—Forged Miniatures, 221
- Bucleuch and Queensberry, Duke of, Collection—Anonymous Mins., 17, 18; Beale, C., 95; Cooper, A., 77; Cooper, S., 61, 69; Crosse, L., 86, 97; Dixon, N., attributed, 83; Hilliard, N., 20, 20^a, 21^a, 22, 28, 33; Hilliard, R., 27; Holbein, H., 10, 12, 13, 14; Hoskins, J., 52, 54, 56; Loan to the V. and A. Museum, 234; Oliver, I., 39, 41; Oliver, P., 44, 45; Ross, Mrs., 88
- Buchanan, George—Port., 32
- Bucharest—Min. Coll., 241
- Buck, Adam, 181
- Buckingham, Duch. of—Min., 85; Port., 94
- Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of—Port., 85; Holbein's Port. of Jane Seymour, 12
- Bull, Min. Painter, 179
- Bulteel Family—Ports., 210
- Bur, Leonard—Port., 10
- Burdett-Coutts, Baroness—Family Mins., 237; Ross, Sir William, Mins., 184; Strawberry Hill Collection, 39, 237; Vandyck copy by P. Oliver, 43
- Burghley Collection, *see* Exeter, Marquess of *Burlington Mag.*—N. Hilliard, 24
- Burrell Collection—Min., 69
- Butler, Capt.—Ports., 162
- Byron, Lord—Port., 186
- Cæsar's "De Bello Gallico" MS.*—Portraits attributed to J. Clouet, 9
- Cambridge, Mrs. George—Port., 166
- Cambridge, Mr.—Litho., 171
- Campbell, Mr.—Port., 165
- Campbell, Mrs.—Port., 167
- Captal, Miss Ann—Port., 168
- Carew, Sir G.—Port., 146
- Carlisle, Lord, Collection—Dixon, N., 83; Humphry, O., 153
- Carnarvon, Lady—Port., 89
- Caroline, Queen—Port., 66
- Carr, Lady Anne—Port., 89
- Carrandini, Paolo—Life, 84; *Mary of Modena*, ports., 84; Mins., 84
- Castlemaine, Lady—Port., 193
- Catherine Howard, Queen—Ports., 10, 12, 13; White, R., 209
- Catherine Parr, Queen—Port., 12
- Cavendish, Thomas—Port., 39
- Chalon—Min. painter, 185
- Chamberlayne, Mr.—Purchase of mins., 166
- Chandos, Lord—Port., 39
- Chantilly—*Cæsar's "De Bello Gallico" MS.*, 9^a
- Charles I—Copies of Old Masters by P. Oliver, 43, 45; Enamellers Petitot and Bordier, 190; Faber J., 210, 212; Gerbier, B. (as Prince Charles), 85; Great Seal of, drawings by J. Hoskins, 51; Hilliard, N., portrait of Queen Elizabeth, 33; Hoskins, J., 50, 54; Oliver, P., 45; Petitot, J., enamel, 191
- Charles II—Cooper, S., Ports., 59, 63, 71; Davis, Moll, 55; Diploma Deed, 6; Faithorne, W., 211, 214; Goodwood port., 5; Granges, D. des, 91; Hoskins, J. (as a boy), 54; "Limnings" Coll., 4; Loggan, D., 6, 207; Oliver, P., story of wife, 42; Prieur, after S. Cooper, 192, 193; White, R., 209
- Charles X of Sweden—Port., 78; Isabey, 201
- Charlotte, Queen—Enamel painter, S. Finney, 196; Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, 30
- Chaucer, Geoffrey—Port., 8
- Cheron—Enameller, 194

- Chinnery, George—Mins., 181
 Chodowiecki—Mins., 20, 204
 Christ's Hospital—Drawing Master B. Lens, 100
 Christina, Queen—Corres., 78; Ports., 75, 77, 78
 Church, J. B.—Sons P. and J., port., 180
 Clare, John Holles, 1st Earl of, 52
 Clark, Alfred—Sketch port., 141
 Clarke, Dr.—Port., 170
 Clarke Hon. G.—Charles I port., 210
 Claverton, Mrs.—Min., 27
 Clay, Mr. Joseph—Port., 168
 Clayton Family—Ports., 122
 Clench, Sir John—Port., 41
 Cleveland, Duchess of, 69
 Cleveland Min. Coll., 242
 Cleyn, Charles—Mins., 84
 Cleyn, Francis—Mins. attrib. to, 89; Royal Tapestry Works, Mortlake, 83
 Cleyn, John—Mins. by, 84
 Cleyn, Penelope—Mins by attrib. to, 84
 Clive, Kitty—Port., 114
 Clouet, Jean (Janet)—Casar's "De Bello Gallico" MS., ports., 9; Cossé, Charles de, Maréchal de Brissac, 10; Mins. by, 17
 Clovio, Giulio—Grimani Breviary, 5, 6
 Cobham, Lord, Collection, 69
 Cockburn, Thomas—Port., 138
 Cockerell, Mr. Robert—Port., 169
 Collins, Richard—Min. att. to, of Kitty Clive, 114; Pupil of J. Meyer and J. Plott, 198
 Collins, Samuel, 148, 181
 Comberbach, Mr.—Port., 165
 Comerford, J.—Min. painter, 179
 Comthwait, Mrs.—Min., 165
 Conway, Baroness—Port., 97
 Conway, Viscount—Port., 57
 Conwell, Dr., Bp. of Philadelphia—Port., 260
 Consort, Prince—Enamel port., 199
 Cooke, Mrs.—Port., 169
 Cooper, Alexander—Anon. mins., 77; Charles X of Sweden, 78; Christina, Queen, 78; death, 77; enamel portraits, 78; Elector Frederick and Family, 74, 75; Gustavus Adolphus, 76; Hoskins, John, uncle, 51; James II, port., 75; Palatine, Prince, 78; Sweden, 75, 77
 Cooper, Mrs.—Port., 64
 Cooper, Samuel—Albemarle, Duke of, 69; Bridges, Noah, 68; Characteristics, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74; Charles II, 59, 71; Cleveland, Duchess of, 69; Cromwell, Oliver, 60, 69; Cowley, Abraham, 72; Death, 63, 81; Exeter, 4th Earl of, 61; Exeter, Lady, 61; Fleetwood, G., 95; Forged Miniatures, 221; Graham, Col., of Netherby, 68; Genius and ability, 58, 61; Hobbes, Thomas, 58; Holles, Sir F., 64; Hoskins, John, 51, 58; Inscription on Min., 225; James II as Duke of York, 68; Lemon, Margaret, 71; Life, 58, 61; London, John, Lord, 62, 71; May, Sir Thomas, 69; Monmouth, Duke of, 62, 69, 71; Monument to, 65, 66; Morgan Collection, 241; Musical ability, 58, 60; Myddleton, Jane, 70, 72; Oil painting, 67; Pencil drawing, 206; Pepys, Mrs., 59, 60; Percy, A., Lord High Admiral, 233; Pupil Jean L. Petitot, 194; Royal Limner, 63; Sandwich, Earl of, 233; Self-portraits, 66, 67; Shaftesbury, Earl of, 71, 74; Signature, 73; Sotheby Collection, 238; Touched-up Miniatures, 74; Unfinished Portraits, 69, 70; Wife, Christiana, Portrait, 64; Wife, Royal Pension, 63, 64; Will, 65
 Copley—Intro. to C. W. Peale, 259
 Cornwallis, Lord—Port., 138
 Correggio—Mins., 1240
 Corvus, Johannes—Mins., 17
 Cossé, Charles, Maréchal de Brissac—Port., 9, 10
 Cosway, Richard—Academician, 108
 Amelia, Princess, 105; Barry, Madame Du, 105, 106; Caricatures and Satires on, 108, 110; Characteristics, 104, 105, 107, 126, 127; Church, Philip and John, 180; Concerts and Receptions by Mrs. Cosway, 108; Correspondence, 114; Clive, Kitty, 114; Death, 111; Devonshire, Duchess of, 105; Devonshire, 5th Duke of, Children, 112; Exhibits of Portraits, 108; Fitzherbert, 108; Forged Mins., 220; George, Prince of Wales, 106; Ivory Mins., 104; Life, 107; Mins. copied, 163; Murray Coll., 239; Parsons, Mrs., 112; Pigments used, 246, 249; Plimer, Andrew, 116, 117, 119; Pomp and Vanity, 108, 109, 110; Salting Bequest Mins., 233; Scott, Henrietta, Duchess of Portland, 106; Signature, 113, 114; Smart, John, 133; Society of Arts Prizes, 105, 133; Training, 107, 108; Wallace Collection, 234; Whittington, Mrs., 225 Windsor Castle Coll., 235
 Cosway, Maria—Port., 134
 Cosway, Mrs.—Artistic Ability, 111, 113 Coll. at Lodi, 111; Concerts and Receptions, 108; Honours, 113; Marriage, 111
 Cotes, Penelope—Mins. by, 84
 Cotes, Samuel—Enameller, 196
 Cowdroy Fire, 39
 Cowley, Abraham—Port., 72
 Cox, David—Soc. Assoc. Artists in Water-colour, 170
 Cradockes—Connection with George Fleetwood, 95
 Craft—Enameller, 197
 Craven, Lord—Port., 146
 Cresswell, Mrs. (Letitia), 169
 Crewe, Lt.-Col.—Portrait, 167
 Crisp Lady—Port. 82
 Critz, John de, 38
 Crofts, General—Port., 210
 Croker, John—Wife's port., 22
 Cromwell, Oliver—Ports. of Bancks, Charles, 214; Bordier, 191; Cooper, S., 60, 69; Unknown Artist, 192
 Crosse, Lawrence—Ability, 80; Characteristics, 97; Collector, 96; Conway, Baroness, 97; Dalkeith, Earl of, 97; Danvers, Mr., 97; Marlborough, Duchess of, 97; Morgan Coll., 241; Newcastle, J. Holler, Duke of, 97; Pitts, Mr., 97; St. Albans, Duke of, 97; Salting Bequest,

- 233; Signature, 97; Spragge, Sir Edward, 86, 97
 Cronne, John—4
 Cumberland, Duke of, 99
 Cumming, Admiral—Port., 167
 Cunliffe, Mr.—Collection, 239
 Currie, Mr. Lawrence—Coll., 24, 34, 238
 Curt, Dr.—Mins., 37, 38, 41
 Dalkeith, Earl of—Ports. by Crosse, L., 97; Paton, D., 213
 Dally, Diana—142
 Dalrymple, Sir John—Port. 213
 Dalton, Mr.—Crayon port., 66
 Dance—Oil ports., 163
 Danvers, Mr.—Port., 97
 Dartrey, Countess of, Coll. French Portraits, 237; Petitot, J. L., Enamels, 98, 193
 Dartrey, Earl of—Enamels, 195
 Dashwood, Misses—Port., 162
 Davidson, Mr.—Port., 146
 Davis, Maj.—Port., 166
 Davis, Moll—Port., 55
 Day, Thomas, 181
 Delf, W. Jacobszoon—Port., 213
 Denmark, King of—Prieur's Enamel of Charles II, 192
 Denmark Collections of Mins., 239
 Denner, Balthasar—Plumbago drawings, 213
 Dent-Brocklehurst Coll., 12
 Devonshire, Duchess of—Port., 105
 Devonshire, Duke of, Coll. at Chatsworth—Cooper, S., 61, 69; Granges, D. des, 92; Hoskins, J., 54; Lens, B., 101; Petitot Enamel, 190
 Devonshire, 5th Duke of—Min., 112
 Devonshire House Coll., 236
 Derby, Lord—Coll., 42, 237
 Dibdin—Verses on A. Newland, 162
 Digby, Mr. Wingfield—Coll., 237
 Digby, Sir K. and Lady—Ports., 43, 44
 Dillman, John—Kew Palace gardens, 125
 Dillon of Ditchley, Charles Lee, Viscount—Port., 150
 Dimier, M. Clouet, J., MS. ports. attrib. to, 9; Cossé, Charles, Maréchal de Brissac, portrait, 9
 Dinglinger—Enamel portraits, 20, 204
 Dixon, Nicholas—Collections mins. by, 83; Crisp, Lady, 82; Grafton, Duke of (att.), 83; Lady and Child, 82; Mortgage of Mins., 81; Morgan Collection, 241; Royal "Linner," 81; Salting Bequest, 233; Signature, 83
 Dobson, William—Port., 209
 Dodd, Daniel—Groups painted by, 133; Pupil, John Smart, 133
 Donaldson, John—Min. painter, 179
 Donne, Dr., *The Storm*—Min., 23
 Dorset, Duke of—Family Ports., 149, 152; Hoskins, John, port., 233; Oliver port., 46
 Dou, General—Port. of Anne Spiering, 213
 Dougan, Mr. John—Port., 167
 Douglas, Marquis of—Port., 207
 Douglass, Marchioness—Port., 213
 Downman, John—Port. of, 163; Way, Mr. port., 163
 Drake, James—Port., 210
 Drouet—Coll. mins., 201
 Drummond, Mrs. Hay—Port., 169
 Dumont, F. and T.—Mins. by, 19, 201, 202, 204,
 Dyce, W.—Mins. and drawings, 186
 Dycle, Alex.—Port., 66
 Dyke, Lt.-Col.—Port., 168
 Dysart, Countess of—Port., 54
 Dysart, Earl of—Port., 213
 Dysart, Earl of, Ham House Coll.—Family Ports., 236; Granges, D. des, 92; Hoskins, J., 49; Oliver, I., 40; Wood, W., 172
 Edinburgh Univ. Lib.—N. Hilliard MS., 26
 Edward VI, Portraits of—Holbein (att.), 15; Shute, John, 36; Streetes, Gwillim (att.), 18
 Elizabeth, Queen—Gold Mines in Scotland, 29; Great Seal, 2nd, des. and engr. by N. Hilliard, 24; Hilliard, N., portraits, 24, 26, 30, 33; Oliver, I., portrait, 38; Prayer Book, 30; Unknown Artist, portrait, 18
 Elizabeth, Princess—Litho., 171
 Elliott, Sir Thomas—Sketch, 141
 Engleheart, Geo.—Augusta, Princess, 124; Characteristics, 104, 126, 127, 129; Copies of Mins., 163; Death and burial, 126; Feet-books, 123, 124; Fisher, Anne, 128; Fisher, Frances, 128; Forged Mins., 220, 221; George III, 123, 124; Life and Family History, 125, 126; Notable Sitters, 123; Pigments used, 249, 251; Pupil of G. Barret, 125; Pupils, 129; Reynolds, Sir J., 125, 126, 129; Royal Painter, 116; Salting Bequest Mins., 233; Signature, 127; Sussex, Duke of, 125; Trick of Mary Meyer, 178; Wales, Prince of, 124; Wales, Princess Dowager of, 124; Wurtemberg, Duchess of, 125
 Engleheart, H.—Archit. Draughtsman, 130
 Engleheart, John Cox Dillman—Draughtsmanship, 129; Life, 129; Pupil of G. Engleheart, 129; Sheridan portrait, 129
 Engleheart, N. and G., 130
 Engleheart, Thomas—Wax Ports., 125
 Egly—Min. painter, 186
 Essex, Earl of, Port. of—Liebens, J., 213, 214; Oliver, I., 46¹¹
 Essex, The Countess of—Port., 40
 Essex, William—Academy, Royal, 198; Royal Painter and Enameller, 198; Treatise on Enamel Painting, 198; Victoria, Queen, port., 199
 Evans—Engraving of Min., 169
 Evans, Mrs.—Port., 166
 Evelyn—Cleynton Family, 83
 Evelyn, John, *Diary*, 59
 Exchequer Accounts—S. Cooper Stipend^{as} Royal Linner, 63²
 Exeter, 4th Earl of—Port., 61
 Exeter, Lady—Port., 61
 Exeter, Marquess, Coll.—Coll., 236; Dixon, N., 83; Hoskins, J., 54; Oliver, I., 39, 41; Oliver, P., 45; Three Youths portrait, 5
 Faber, John—Athlone, Lord, 210; Charles I, 210, 212; Drawings, 215; Dutch Admirals, 210; English Visit, 213; Hill, General, 210; Mary II, 210; Mezzotint Engravers, 210; Rooke, Sir George, 210

- Saxony, King of, 211; William III, 211; Wishart, Sir James, 210
- Faber, John (jun.)—Addison, Joseph, 211; George I, 211; George II, 211; Mezzotint Engraver, 210
- Faithorne, William—Charles II (att.), 211, 214; Pencil Drawings, 206; Reresby, Sir John, 211; Signature, 89
- Faraday, Michael—Religion, 136
- Farquhar, Miss Helen, 28
- Farrington, Joseph—Letter from O. Humphry, 137
- Featherstonhaugh, Mr.—Port., 140
- Fenwick—Port., 163
- foulkes, Miss, Coll.—Mins., 142
- Field, Robert—Mins., 261
- Figdor, Doktor—Füger Mins., 200, 240
- Finland—Coll. of Mons. Sinebrychoff, 239
- Finney, Samuel—Enamel, 196
- Fisher, Anne—Port., 128
- Fisher, A. G.—Drawings, 153
- Fisher, Frances—Port., 128
- Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, 162
- Fitzherbert, Mr.—Port., 146
- Fitzherbert, Mrs.—Ports., 108
- Flatman, Thomas—Ability, 80; Career, 89, 90; Gregory, E., 90; Port. of by O. Humphry, 180; Pupil C. Beale, 93; Salting Bequest, 233; Signature, 91; Simpson, Chris., 98
- Fleetwood, George—Port., 95
- Fletcher, Mr.—Port., 167
- Fliccius, Gerlack—Mins., 17
- Florence—Collections in the Uffizi and Pitti Palaces, 240
- Fothergill, Dr.—Port., 256
- Foster, Charles—Drawings, 211
- Foster, Thomas—Bulsteel Family, 210; Characteristics of Mins., 209; Crofts, General, 210; Drake, James, 210; Drawings, 215; Gloucester, Duke of, 210; Halifax, Lord, 210; Hay, Dr. and Mrs., 210; Queen Anne's Son, 210; Monmouth, Duke of, 210; Plumbago Mins., 205, 206; Scott, Lord H., 210; Tracy, Viscountess, 208, 209; William III., 210
- Foster, J. J.—Book on S. Cooper, 49, 65, 77
- Fouldstone, Miss—Port., 163
- Fragonard, Mme.—Mins. by, 203
- Fragonard—Characteristics of Mins., 203; Child with Fair Hair, The, 203; Colls. of Mins. by, 201; Ivory for Mins., 203
- Francis I—Casar "De Bello Gallico," port., 9; Cosway, Mrs., 111, 113; Janet, Mins., 241; Treaty Port., 5, 6, 10
- Franklin, B.—Letter to West, 258
- Franz, Arnold—Port., 16
- Fraser, James—Mins. by, 255
- Fraser, Stuart M.—Port., 165
- Frederick III of Denmark, 193
- Frederick V, Elector Palatine—Port. of by Cooper, A., 74, 75; Gerbier, B., 85
- Freeman George—Mins., 261
- Füger—Col. of Mins. by, 20, 200, 240
- Gainsborough and O. Humphry, 149
- Gallic Wars MS.—Preux de Marignan Portraits, 9
- Gambier, Mr.—Port., 146
- Garnett, Nelly—Port., 140
- George I.—Port., 211
- George II.—Port., 211
- George III.—Enamellers J. Meyer and H. Bone, 196, 197; Port., 123, 124
- George IV.—Cosway, R. (when Regent), 106, 108; Enameller, H. Bone, 197; Grimaldi, William, Min. painter, 179; Russell, John (when Regent), 176
- Gerbier, Sir Balthazar—Buckingham, Duke of, 85; Characteristics of Mins., 85; Charles I. when Prince, 85; Frederick V., 85; Gentleman, Name Unknown, 85; Gloucester, Henry, Duke of, 85; Maurice, Prince of Orange and Nassau, 85, 98; Royal Architect and Painter, 85; Swedish Diplomatist, 85
- Germantown, U.S.A.—Flag with Washington's portrait, 257
- Gibson, Richard—Carnarvon, Lady, 89; Carr, Lady Anne, 89; Daughters, 89; Ogle Lord, 89; Instruction to Queen Anne and Queen Mary, 87; Self-Portrait, 87
- Gibson, Susan Penelope (Mrs. Rosse)—Identification, 87, 88; Kneller, Sir G., 86 Min. attrib. to, 87, 88
- Gibson, William—Pupil of Lely, 87
- Gillberg—Mins. by, 20, 201
- Gilpin, Master W.—Port., 165
- Gheeraerts, Marcus—Daughter, 38
- Godfrey, Sir E. B., 49
- Goltzius, Hendrick—Min. of Robert Earl of Leicester, 213; Port., 214
- Goodridge, Miss—Mins., 261
- Goodwood Collection, see Richmond, Duke of Gordon, Misses—Port., 170
- Gosford, Lord—Port., 69
- Gothenburg National Museum, 78, 239
- Gould, Mr. George—Min. Coll., 242
- Goulding, Mr. R.—Information re Cooper, 66, 67; Dixon, N., 81, 83; Gibson, S. P., 87; Granges, D. des, 91; Lens, B., 99, 100, 101; Welbeck Abbey Coll., 20, 238
- Glennies, Mr.—Port., 161
- Gloucester, Duke of—Port., 85, 210
- Gloucester, H.R.H. Duke of, 170
- Glover, George—Plumbago Drawings, 213
- Grafton, Duke of—Port., 83
- Graham, Mr.—Inscription, 225
- Graham, Col.—Port., 180
- Graham, Col., of Netherby—Port., 68
- Graham, Richard—*Art of Painting*, J. Hoskins, 53; *Account Eminent Painters*, S. Cooper, 58, 66
- Granges, David des—Charles II., 91; Colls. containing Mins. by, 92; Jones, Inigo, 92; Life, 92; Oil portraits, 92; Royal Linner, 91; Signature, 92
- Gratz, Rebecca—Port., 255
- Greenhill—Pencil drawings, 206; Pupil of Sir P. Lely, 80
- Greenwich Hospital—Mins., 153
- Gregory, Capt.—Sketch, 141
- Gregory, E.—Port., 90
- Grey, Lady S.—Litho., 171
- Grey de Ruthyn, Lord—Port., 207
- Gribelin—Enameller, 189
- Grignan, Comte de—Port., 192

- Grimaldi, William—Enameller, 179
 Grimani, Cardinal—Picture, 5, 6
 Guerin—Mins., 19, 201, 242
 Gustavus Adolphus—Port. 76
 Gwydyr, Lord—Port., 179
 Gwyn, Nell—Davis, Moll, hatred of, 55 ;
 Port., 213
 Halifax, Lord—Port., 210
 Hall, John, Engraver, 117
 Hall, P. A.—Characteristics of Mins., 203 ;
 Colls. of Mins., 200, 242 ; Potoćki, Countess Sophie, Min. by, 202
 Ham House Coll., see Dysart, Earl of
 Hamilton, Marquess of—Min. of Mary Queen of Scots, 97
 Hamilton of Dalzell, Lord—Port., 213
 Hamilton, Sir W.—Enamel port., 199
 Hammond, Lady—Port. of Capt. Hood, 169
 Harcourt Collection—Elizabeth, Queen, port., 18, 35 ; Sydney, Lady Mary, 35
 Hardie, Martin—Norgate Treatise on *The Art of Limning*, 26, 27
 Harewood, Earl of, Coll., 153
 Harleian MSS., British Mus.—Portraits contained in, 8¹, 9¹, 85
 Harley, Edward, Lord—Purchase Crosse Coll. of Mins., 97
 Hart, Mr. C. Henry—American Min. Painters, 258
 Hartwell, Lady—Port., 169
 Hastings, Lord—Naseby Jewel, 191
 Hatfield—Enameller, 197
 Hatfield Papers—Letters of N. Hilliard, 32
 Hawke, Lord—Sketch, 141
 Hawkins, Rev. W. Bentinck L., Coll.—Enamels bequest, 198 ; Holbein, Hans, 12 ; Teerlincq, Lavina, 11
 Hay, Dr. and Mrs.—Ports., 210
 Haydocke, Richard—*Lomazzo*, 25, 26, 35, 38
 Henderson, John—Port., 257
 Henderson, Mrs. Francis—Port., 166
 Henrietta Anne (d. of Charles I.)—Port., 209
 Henrietta Maria, Queen—Amsterdam Mus. port., 5 ; Hoskins, John, 50, 54, 56 ; Petitot, Jean, 191
 Henry VIII.—Anne of Cleves Port., 232 ; Rolls of Pleas port., 5, 6 ; Unknown Artist port., 18
 Henry, Prince, son of James I., 40
 Herbert, George—Port., 166
 Heriot, G.—James I. jeweller, 92
 Hermitage Gall., Petrograd, Coll., 240
 Hervey-Aston, Mr.—Port., 150
 Hesselius, Gustav—Son, 259
 Hesselius (jun.)—Student of Peale, 259
 Higginson, Sir George, Coll., 128
 Hill, General—Port., 210
 Hill, J., Min. Painter, 179
 Hilliard, Lawrence—Allusions to, 32, 33 ; Characteristics of Mins., 33 ; Hudson, Lord, attrib., 21 ; Mins. signed by, 33 ; Royal "Limner," 33 ; Treasury payment for five ports., 33
 Hilliard, Nicholas—Alençon, Duc d', 80 ; Anne of Denmark, Queen, 34 ; Armada Jewel, attrib., 28 ; Brandon, Alicia (Mrs. Hilliard), 22, 27 ; Characteristics of Mins., 28 ; Colours and their preparation, 26 ; Croker, John, and his wife, 22 ; Elizabeth, Queen, 24, 26, 30 ; Father, Richard, 21, 27, 232 ; French Court Work, 25 ; Gold Mines in Scotland, 29, 31 ; Goldsmith's Craft, Medals, etc., 24, 28 ; Great Seal (2nd) of Queen Elizabeth, 24 ; Hudson, Lord, attrib., 21 ; Identification of Mins., 20 ; Irish Seal design, 24 ; Letter re son to the Earl of Salisbury, 32 ; Marriages, 27 ; Morgan Collection, 241 ; Pupils, 35, 38 ; Repute, 23 ; Royal "Limner," 24, 25 ; Self-portraits, 20, 22, 28, 34, 232 ; Somerset, Edward Seymour, Duke of, 20, 28 ; Treatise on Min. Painting, 25, 26 ; Will and Legacies, 28
 Hilliard, Richard—Port., 21, 27, 232
 Hobbes, Thomas—Port., 58
 Hobson, Mr.—Chinese Servant's port., 167
 Hoccleve's MS—Chaucer's port., 8
 Hodgkins, E. M., Coll.—Hilliard, N., 22 ; Smart, J., 134, 142
 Hodgitts, Mr.—Port., 158
 Hoffman, Matilda—Port., 255
 Holn—Mins., 204
 Holbein, Hans—Abergavenny, Baron, 14 ; Anne of Cleves, 232 ; Audley, Lady, 13 ; Bur, Leonard, 10 ; Catherine Howard, Queen, 10, 12, 13 ; Catherine Parr, Queen, 12 ; Characteristics of Mins., 15, 16 ; English Visits, 11 ; Forgeries, 15 ; Henry VIII., 12 ; Howard, Lady Mary, 13 ; Katherine of Aragon, Queen, 12 ; Morgan Collection of Mins., 241 ; Pemberton, Mrs., 12, 241 ; Self-portraits, 10, 12 ; Reskymmer, 13 ; Seymour, Lady Jane, 11, 12 ; Sotheby Collection of Mins. by, 238 ; Suffolk, Duke of, 13, 14 ; Suffolk, Duchess of, 12 ; Suffolk, Henry Brandon, Duke of, 13 ; Touched-up Ports., 16 ; Youth, friend of Sir T. More, 13, 14 ; Wallace Collection of Mins., 234 ; Windsor Castle Coll., 235
 Holland—Oil Min. Painters, 240
 Holland, Queen—Collection by Mr. Lugts, 239 ; Cooper, A., 76, 77 ; Cooper, S., 60 ; Gerbier, B., 85, 98 ; Holbein, H., 13, 14 ; Oliver, I., 41 ; Value of Collection, 239
 Holland, Mrs.—Port., 40
 Holles, Sir F.—Port., 64
 Holmes—Min. of Lord Byron, 186
 Holmes, Miss Maria—Port., 167
 Holmes, Rev., Sub-dean Chapel Royal—Port., 162
 Holmes, Sir Richard—N. Hilliard and the Goldsmith's Craft, 24
 Holt, Henry—Queen Christina port., 78
 Holyrood Castle—Scottish Kings' Portraits in Gallery, 32
 Hone, Horace, Enameller and Min. Painter, 179, 196
 Hone, Nathaniel—"Conjuror, The," painting, 177 ; Enameller, 196 ; Personal Exhibition of Mins., 177 ; Pupil J. Plott, 198 ; Quarrel with R.A., 177 ; Salting Bequest Min., 233
 Hood, Capt.—Port., 169
 Hood, Lord—Grandson's port., 169
 Hopkinson, Francis—Dr. Conwell, 260

- Hopkinson, Thomas—"Hail Columbia," 260
- Hornbolt, Luke and Susanna—Ports., 11, 17
- Hoskins, John—Bequest in S. Cooper's Will, 65; Charles I., 50, 54; Charles II. (as a boy), 54; Characteristics, 53, 54, 57; Coll. of Mins., 49, 54, 238, 241; Contemporaries, allusions to, 51, 52; Conway, Viscount, 57; Davis, Moll, 55; Dorset, Earl of, 233; Dysart, Catherine Bruce, Countess of, 54; Gentleman, Name Unknown, 57; Great Seal of Charles I., drawings, 51; Henrietta Maria, Queen, 50, 54, 55, 56; Howard, Lady Catherine, 233; Life, 51; Lucas, Sir Charles, 55; Maynard, Sir John, 50, 57; Pembroke, Mary Sidney, Countess of, 57; Pupils, 51, 58; Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, 50; Self-portrait, Buccleuch Coll., 52; Signature, 51, 52, 53; Southampton, Rachel de Ruigny, Countess of, 56; Touched-up Mins., 57; Will and bequest to son, 48
- Hoskins, John (jun.)—Berwick, Duke of, 48; Dysart Coll. Mins., 49; Godfrey, Sir Edmund Ber y, 49; James II., 47, 48; Roos, Lord, 52, 53; Self-port., 52; Signature, 51, 52, 53
- Hothfield, Lord, Collection—Humphry, O., 153; Import. of Coll., 236; Smart, J., 140
- Howard Castle—Coll. of Lord Carlisle, 236
- Howard, Lady Catherine—Port., 233
- Howard, Lady Mary—Port., 13
- Hoppner—Port. of Mrs. George Jerningham, 172, 173
- Howes, John—Enameller, 196
- Hudson, Thomas—R. Cosway, 108
- Hummell, Mr.—Port., 169
- Humphry, Ozias—Academy, Royal, member, 151; Artistic training and capabilities, 148, 152; Boy, Name Unknown, 150; Characteristics of Mins., 105, 147, 153-5; Collections of Mins. by, 153, 233; Copies of Oil Paintings, 148, 152; Cosway, Richard, criticism of, 104; Crayon work, 151, 152; Dillon of Ditchley, Viscount, 150; Documents and Correspondence, 152; Flaxman, John, 180; Friendships, 149; Hervey-Aston, Mr., 150; Indian Visit, 137, 138, 149, 151; Italian Visit, 149; Large-sized Mins., 147; Life, 148, 149, 151; Montrose, Duke of, 150; Nesbitt, Mrs., 150; Oil Paintings, 138, 152, 153; *Ozias Humphry*, by G. C. Williamson, 152; Pupil of S. Collins, 148, 181; Reynolds, Sir Joshua, interview with, 148; Royal Painter, 149; Salting Bequest Mins., 233; Sketches from Mins., 147; Sparkes, Mr., 163; Unfinished Mins., 152; Waldegrave, Ladies (lawsuit picture), 151
- Hunsdon, Lord—Port., 21
- Huntington v. Lewis and Simmons—Law-suit *re* Picture, 151
- Hunter, J. H. and J. F. C.—Enamels for the Earl of Dartrey, 195
- Hyde, Mrs.—Port., 161
- Ickworth Park Coll. of the Marquess of Bristol—Humphry, O., 153; Lens, B., 66, 101
- Incorporated Society of Artists—John Shute, 133
- Ireland—National Gallery Mins., 234; Seal design by N. Hilliard, 24
- Isabey, J. B.—Characteristics of Mins., 201; King of Rome as a Child, 180; Mins. of Historical Interest, 201; Mins. by, 19, 242
- Italy—Miniature Coll., 240; Oil Miniature Painters, 240
- Jackson—Port. of S. Cooper, 67
- Jackson, Robert—Port., 164, 168
- Jacques—Mins. by, 204
- James I.—Brownckhurst, Arthur Van, Paintings, 31; Hilliard, N., Licence for Royal Drawings, etc., 24, 25; Jeweller, George Heriot, 92
- James II.—Brownckhurst, A. Van, port., 32; Cooper, Alex., 75; Cooper, S., as Duke of York, 68; Elizabeth, Queen, Prayer Book, 30; White, R., 209
- Janet-Morgan Coll., 241
- Jean, Paul—Min. by, 181, 233
- Jefferies, Mr.—Port., 169
- Jerningham, Frances, Lady—Letter, 172
- Jerningham, Mrs. George, 172, 173
- Jerningham, Sir Henry—Holbein's Min. of Lady Mary Howard, 13
- Jersey, Earl of, Coll., 153
- Johnson, Dr.—Enamel Port., 199; Friendship with O. Humphry, 149; Sketch, 141
- Johnston, Miss—Port., 169
- Jones Collection—French Mins., 233
- Jones, Inigo—Enamel port. of, 199; Port. of, by David des Granges, 92
- Jones, Mr.—Port., 146
- Jones, Mrs.—Port., 166
- Jones Bequest—Port., 57
- Jonson, Ben.—Copy of head in min., 158
- Josephine, Empress—Isabey, port., 201; Quaglia, Min. Painter, 204
- Joseph, Mr., Coll.—Holbein's port. of Queen Katherine of Aragon, 12
- Kaiser Friedrich Mus., Germany—Port. by A. Cooper, 74
- Katherine of Aragon, Queen—Port., 12
- Kauffmann, Angelica—Quarrel of N. Hone and the R.A., 177
- Keats—Port., 186
- Keighly, Mr.—Port., 167
- Kelly, Mr.—Port., 161, 165
- Kennedy, Mr.—Buccleuch Coll., 20, 235; Pepsy Diary, reference to "Jacke" Hoskins, 52
- Kensington Museum, South, Collection—Beauchamp Coll. on Loan, 235; Hoskins' Port. of James II, 47, 48; Humphry, O., 153; Oliver Mins., 46; Wood, W., 172
- Keppel, Col.—Port. of, 163
- Keppel, Hon. Charlotte A., 166
- Ker, Mrs.—Port., 118
- Kerby, John—Min., 158
- Kew Palace Gardens—Design, 125
- Kilmorey, Earl of—Wife, 128
- King, H.M., *see* Royal Coll.
- King, Dr. John, Bishop of London, 35
- King, Miss—Port., 165
- Kingston Lacy Coll.—Enamels, 197
- Kirk, Smith M.—Port., 146

- Kneller, Sir G.—Port., 86
 Knipe, Miss—Port., 166
 Knight, Miss—Crayon Port., 163
 Knoie Park—Ports., 148, 153
 Knowsley, Derby Coll., 198
 Knox, John—Ports., 257
 Knox, Miss Letitia—Port., 167
 Kratzer, Nicholas—Port., 16
 Lake, Sir Bibye—Port., 207
 Lambton, Miss Fanny—Port., 159
 Lambton Children—Ports., 159, 166
 Laurent—Pupil of Augustin, 204
 Lawrell, Mrs. C. J. Pakenham, 112
 Lawrence, Col.—Port., 163
 Lawrence, Sir Thomas, 87
 Lee, Mrs., Hartwell House Coll.—David des Granges' port. of Charles II., 91
 Leeds, Duchess of—Queen Elizabeth's port., 30
 Legaré, Gilles—Frame for enamel, 98
 Lehman Family—Flag with Washington's Port., 257
 Leicester, Duke of—Brother, 162
 Leicester, Robert, Earl of—Port., 213
 Lely, Sir Peter—Beale, Mary, 93; Pencil Drawings, 206; Pupils, 80, 87
 Lemberger, Book on Scandinavian Mins., 77, 78
 Lemon, Margaret—Port., 71
 Lemon, Sir William—Port., 161
 Lemon, Esmé, Earl of, 31
 Lens, Andrew Benjamin—Miniature Painter, 100; Self-portraits and family, 101; Tonson, Jacob, 101
 Lens, Bernard (Enameller)—*Collections on Divinity*, MS., 99; Enamel Painter, 99
 Lens, Bernard (Mezzotint Engraver)—Drawing School, 99
 Lens, Bernard (Miniature Painter)—Copies of ports., 66, 100, 101; Drawing Book published by, 100; Drawing Master, pupils, 99, 100; Ivory, use of, 101, 220; Mary Queen of Scots, 101; Morgan Coll., 241; Oxford, Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of, min. for, 100; Pope, Alexander, 86
 Lens, Peter Paul—Miniature Painter, 100; Mother, port. of, 101; Oil Paintings, 102; Signature, 102
 Lens MS.—Lawrence Crosse, 96
 Lester, Sir John—Port., 146
 Lethbridge, W. S.—Academy School Student, 179; Wolcot, Dr. (Peter Pindar), 179
 Liddell, Mrs. Thomas—Min., 27
 Liebens, Jan—Port. of the Earl of Essex, 213, 214
 Limoges—Enamellers, 189
 Linsell, Mrs.—Port., 165
 Linley, Mrs.—Daughter married Sheridan, 148
 Liotard—Enameller, 194
 L'Isle, Lord de—Frame and inscription for portrait of R. Hilliard, 27
 Lockey, Nicholas—Attributed Miniatures, 35; Bishop of London, John King, 35; Sydney, Lady Mary, attributed, 18
 Lockey, Rowland—Miniatures attributed, 35; More, Sir Thomas, Family Group, 35; Pupil of N. Hilliard, 35
 Loggan, David—Attributed portrait, 214; Characteristics, 207, 208; Charles II., 6, 207; Colls. of Portraits by, 207; Douglas, James, Marquis of, 207; Drawings, 215; English Visit, 213; Engraver to the Universities, 207; Grey de Ruthyn, Lord, 207; Lake, Sir Bibye, 207; Life, 206; Mazarin, Cardinal, 207; Oxonia Illustrata and Cambria Illustrata, 207; Perwick, Mrs., 207; Plumbago Miniatures, 205, 206; Pupil R. White, 209; Somerset, 6th Duke of, 207, 208
 Lomazzo—Translation of by R. Haydocke, 25
 Louis XIII.—Enamelled watches, 189
 Louis XIV.—Enamellers, J. Petitot and J. Bordier, 191; Portrait, 5, 192
 Louis XVIII.—Ports., 201
 Loundon, John, Earl of—Port., 62, 71
 Louisa, Princess—Pupil of B. Lens, 99
 Louvre—Miniature Coll., 239; Petitot enamels, 239; Romano, Giulio, cartoons, 110
 Lovell of Tichmarsh, Lord, 8
 Lucas, Sir Charles—Port., 55
 Lugt, M. Fritz—Book on the Queen of Holland's Collection, 77, 239
 Lundens—Mins. by, 20, 204
 Lushington, Miss—Litho., 171
 Lutterell, Edward—Study of Archbishop Plunket, 214
 Lydgate, John—Port., 9
 Madresfield Court—Mins. by David des Granges, 92
 Malbone—Characteristics of Miniatures, 255; Gratz, Rebecca, 255; Hoffmann, Matilda, 255; Life, 254
 Manini, Gaetano—Enameller, 198
 Mann, Mr.—Port., 166
 Manners, Charles—Cooper's Portrait of Lady Exeter, 63
 Manners Family—Ports. at Belvoir, 235
 Mansfield, Earl of—Enamel Port., 199
 Maquer, Mr.—Port., 146
 Marie Antoinette, Queen, Portraits of—Isabey, 201; Sergent, 200
 Marie Louise, Empress—Port., 201
 Marlborough, Duchess of—Port. 97
 Marlborough, Duke of—Enamel to commemorate Victories, by Boit, 194
 Marshall-Hall, Sir Edward—Coll., 142, 239
 Mary, Princess—Pupil for drawing of B. Lens, 99
 Mary, Queen of Scots, Portraits—Crosse, L., 97; Lens, B., 101
 Mary of Modena—Port., 84
 Mary II., Queen—Instruction given by R. Gibson, 87; Portrait of, by J. Faber, 210
 Massé—Enameller, 194
 Maurice of Orange, Prince—Port., 85, 98
 May, Sir Thomas—Port., 69
 Mayerne, Turquet de—Help given to J. Petitot and Bordier, 190
 Maynard, Sir John—Port., 50, 57
 Maynooth Collection—Min., 162
 Mazarin, Cardinal—Port., 207
 Measen, Gilbert Laing—Gold Mines in Scotland, 31
 Menage, Miss—Port., 168
 Mercer, Gen.—Port., 258

- Meres, Francis—R. Lockey, 35
 Meyer, Constance—Mins., 204
 Meyer, Jeremiah—Characteristics, 178 ;
 Daughter Mary, 178 ; Enameller to
 George III., 196 ; Marriage of R. Cosway,
 119 ; Pupil, Richard Collins, 198 ; Pupil
 of Zincke, 178 ; Reynolds, Sir Joshua,
 178 ; Royal Painter, 178
 Middleton, Mrs.—Port., 70
 Miers, John—Port., 146
 Miller, Mrs.—Port., 168
 Miller-Gibson-Cullum, Mr. Gery—Beale,
 Mary, 95, 96 ; Cooper, S., port. of G.
 Fleetwood, 95
 Milton, John—Port., 191
 Miniature Painters, Royal Society of, 251, 252
 Minley Manor, *see* Currie
 Monmouth, James, Duke of—Cooper, S.,
 portrait, 62, 69, 71 ; Dukedom, 6 ; Ross,
 Mrs., portrait as a Child, 88 ; Son's por-
 trait, 210 ; White, Robert, 209
 Montagu, 2nd Viscount—Son's port., 39,
 46
 Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley—Port., 177
 Montrose, Duke of—Port., 150
 Monveron, L'Abbé de—Port., 214
 More, Sir Thomas—Family Group port., 35 ;
 Friend's port., 13, 14
 Morgan, J. Pierpont, Collection—Armada
 Jewel, 28 ; Augustin, 204, 241, 242 ; Betts,
 T., attributed, 36 ; Collection, 93 ; Clouet,
 Jean, 10 ; Cooper, Samuel, 63, 67, 71, 241 ;
 Cosway, Richard, 105, 106, 112 ; Crosse,
 241 ; Dixon, N., 81, 83, 241 ; Dumont,
 242 ; Engleheart, G., 128 ; Fragonard,
 sketch, 203 ; Gerbier, B., 85, 242 ; Hall,
 P. A., 200, 202, 242 ; Hilliard, L., 33² ;
 Hilliard, N., 25, 241 ; Holbein, H., 12, 241 ;
 Holbein Period Miniature, 16 ; Hoskins, J.,
 48, 50, 56, 57, 241 ; Humphry, O., 153 ;
 Importance of Collection, 241 ; Isabey,
 242 ; Janet, 241 ; Lens, B., 241 ; Oliver,
 P., 45, 241 ; Petitot Enamels, 190 ;
 Petitot, J. L., 192, 193, 241 ; Plimer, A.,
 118, 241 ; Prieur, P., 193 ; Rossetti, D. G.,
 241 ; Sergent, 200 ; Smart, J., 140 ; Spen-
 cer, 241 ; Teerlinck, Lavina, 11¹ ; Turnbull,
 J., 258
 Mornington, Lord—Port., 166.
 Mortlake Royal Tapestry Works, 83
 Morton, Earl of—Gold Mines in Scotland, 31
 Moser, Mary—Relations with R. Cosway, 115
 Moser, Michael—Jeweller and Medallist, 196
 Mottisfont Abbey—Port., 92
 Munden, Mr.—Port., 167
 Murray, Capt. H. W.—Collection, 105, 239
 Myddleton, Jane—Port., 72
 Nanteuil, R.—Plumbago port. of Abbé de
 Monveron, 214
 Napoleon I.—Port., 201
 Naseby Jewel, 191
 Nesbitt, Mrs.—Port., 150
 New York—Min. Collections, 242
 Newcastle, Duke of—Dixon, N., mortgage of
 mins. to, 81 ; Port. of, by L. Crosse, 97
 Newcastle, Duke of, 95
 Newdigate—Newdigate Family, Arbury
 Collection, 102
 Newland, Abraham—Bank, Chief Cashier
 161 ; Port. of, by W. Wood, 161, 165
 Newman—Plimer's pigments, 250
 Newton, Sir William—Ivory Surface for
 Miniatures, 186 ; Royal Painter, 185
 Nice—Forged Miniatures, 220, 221
 Nightingale, Col.—Port., 161
 Nineteenth Century—Alexander Cooper, 75
 Nixon, James—Miniature painter, 179 ;
 Salting Bequest Mins., 233
 Nolakens, Sculptor—Port., 143
 Norgate, Edward—*The Art of Limning*, 26
 Norman, Dr. Philip—Article on N. Hilliard
 24, 25, 27
 Norman, Lady Elizabeth—Son, Port., 162
 North, Lord—Collection, *see* Wroxton Abbey
 Northcote—Port. of, 256
 Northumberland, Duke of, 85
 Northwick, 1st Lord—Wife, 118
 Numismatic Chronicle—"Nicholas Hilliard
 Embosser of Metals in Gold," by Miss H.
 Farquhar, 28
 Nuneham, Coll. of Viscount Harcourt, 238
 Oakeley, Lady—Port. of, by J. Smart, 140
 Occliffe—Port. in MS., 8
 Ogländer, Lady—Port., 146
 Ogle, Lord—Port., 89
 Oliver, Isaac—Anne of Denmark, Queen, 40 ;
 Characteristics, 37, 39, 45, 46 ; Christ,
 Entombment of, 41 ; Clench, Sir John, 41¹ ;
 Death, 38 ; Dorset, Lord, 46 ; Elizabeth,
 Queen, 38 ; Essex, Earl of, Port., 46 ;
 Essex, Countess of, 40 ; French Origin, 37,
 38 ; Hair in Portraits, treatment of, 46 ;
 Henry, Prince, son of James I. (as a Baby),
 40 ; Holland, Mrs., 40 ; London, Residence
 in, 38 ; Marriage at Rouen, 38 ; Montagu,
 2nd Viscount, son's portraits, 39, 46 ;
 Morgan Collection, 241 ; Oil Portraits
 attributed, 39 ; Pupil of N. Hilliard, 35,
 38 ; Salting Bequest, 233 ; Sidney, Sir
 Philip, 45 ; Signature, 41 ; Sotheby Col-
 lection, 238 ; Talbot, Sir Arundel, 41
 Oliver, Mrs.—Port., blacklead, 42
 Oliver, Peter—Baltimore, George Calvert,
 Baron, 44 ; Bohemia, Queen of, 45
 Characteristics, 37, 43, 45 ; Charles I., 45 ;
 Copies of Old Masters, 43, 45 ; Digby, Sir
 K. and Lady, Ports., 43, 44 ; Haio in por-
 traits, treatment of, 46 ; Life, 42 ; Pala-
 tine, Elector, 44 ; Port. of, in blacklead,
 42 ; Salting Bequest, 233 ; Signature, 43 ;
 Sotheby Collection, 238 ; Vandyck group
 copy, 43 ; Wife and Charles II., 42
 Orme—Frame to Miniature, 208
 Orme, Daniel—Stippled Miniatures, 181
 Ormond, Earl of—Brother, 162
 Otis, Bass, 261
 Oxford, Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of—
 Lens, B., Mins, 100 ; Pupil of B. Lens, 99
 Oxford, New College—Degrees granting, 90
 Oxford University Galleries—Bone, H., 197 ;
 Crosse, L., 97 ; Dixon, N., 81 ; Forster
 T., 210 ; Lens, B., 100
 Palatine, Elector, Ports.—Cooper, A., 78 ;
 Oliver, P., 44
 Paris—Forged Miniatures, 221 ; Louvre, *see*
 that title

- Parker, Mr. John—Port., 165
 Parsons, Mrs.—Port., 112
 Parson, Messrs.—Miniature by Paolo Carrandini, 84
 Pass, Crispin van de (elder)—Engraved Port. of Queen Elizabeth, by Oliver, 38; Port. of Hendrick Goltzius, 214
 Pass, Simon de—Plumbago Dr., 213, 215
 Pass, William de—Plumbago Dr., 213
 Pastel Portrait dispute, 247
 Paton, David—Drawings by, 213, 215
 Paul, Sir J. D.—Fraud Case of Paul and Bates, 168; Port., 168
 Peale, Ann—Mins., 260
 Peale, C. Wilson—Artistic Abilities, 259; Life, 259; Taxidermy Work, 259, 260
 Peale, James, 260
 Peale, St. George, 260
 Peale, Raphael, 260
 Peale, Rembrandt, 260
 Peard, Oliver, and R. Conway, 107
 Pemberton, Mrs.—Port., 12, 241
 Pembroke, Countess of—Port., 57
 Penn, William, 75
 Pepsy, Samuel—Cooper's Port. of Mrs. Pepsy, 59, 60; Davis, Moll, 55; Gregory, E. H., 90; Hoskins, "Jacke," cousin of Cooper, 52; "Paintings in little," 4; Portrait, 160, 166
 Percy, A., Ld. High Admiral—Port., 233
 Perrin—Mins. by, 204
 "Peter Pindar," *see* Wolcot, Dr.
 Perwick, Mrs.—Port., 207, 209
 Pether, Wm.—Plumbago Drawings, 213
 Petitot, Jean—Ability, 19, 190; Apprenticeship to Bordier, 189; Charles I., 191; Drawings by, 193; Ecclesiastic, 98; French Court of Louis XIV., 191; Henrietta Maria, Queen, 191; Huguenot Faith, 191; Life, 21, 189, 190, 191; Louis XIV., 5, 192; MS. Journal, 193; Mayerne, Turquet de, 190; Morgan Collection, 241; Richmond and Lennox, Duchess of, 191; Southampton, Countess of, 190; Watchcases enamelled, 190; Enamels by, in Collections, 193; Grignan, Le Comte de, 192; Royal Prince, name unknown, 192; Study with S. Cooper, 194
 Peirson, Capt. Richard—Port., 170
 Petrograd, Coll. of Mins., 45, 240
 Pevison, Sir R.—Port., 170
 Pfungst, Mr., Coll.—Cooper, S., 71; Dixon, N., 83
 Philadelphia, Drexel Coll.—Port. of John Knox, 257
 Philip and Mary—Rolls of Pleas port., 5, 6
 Philips, Mrs. Katherine—Verses, 61
 Phipps, Miss Anna—Port., 169
 Phipps, Wathern—Port., 169
 Pigot, Sir Henry—Wife, 128
 Pinchon—Pupil of Augustin, 204
 Pinkerton—Medal to commemorate Peace with Spain, by N. Hilliard, 28
 Pitt, Hon. Blanche—Min., 112
 Pitts, Mr.—Port., 97
 Pittsburg—Min. Collection, 242
 Plimer, Andrew—Afleck Daughters, group, 122; Characteristics, 120, 121, 122; Clayton Family, 122; Copies of Miniatures, 163; Cosway, R., 116, 117, 119; Daughters, 121, 122; Forged Miniatures, 220, 221; Group Portraits, 122; Ker, Mrs., 118; Life, 116, 117, 119, 120; Marriage, 119; Morgan Collection, 241; Pigments used, 249, 250, 251; Pupil of R. Cosway, 116; Rebecca, wife of John, 1st Lord Northwich, 118; Rushont, Three Ladies, "Three Graces," 122; Salting Bequest Mins., 233; Simpson, John, Miniature Group of Daughters, 122
 Plimer, Nathaniel—Characteristics of Mins., 120; Life, 116, 117, 120
 Plomer, Mr.—Port. of, by J. Smart, 146
 Plott, John—Naturalist Painter, 181; Pupil of N. Hone, 198
 Plunket, Archbishop—Port., 214
 Poland, John Sobieski, King of—Enamel's by J. Petitot, 191
 Pomfret, Earl of, 101
 Ponsonby, Gerald—Port., 141
 Pope, Alexander—Cooper, S., Sketch-books, etc., owned by Family, 65; Enamel Port., 199; Port. of, by Bernard Lens, 86
 Pope, Thomas and William—Portraits, by I. Oliver, 39
 Portland, Duke of, Welbeck Abbey Coll.—Catalogue of Coll., 238; Cooper, S., 66, 72, 225; Cosway, R., 106; Crosse, L., 96; Dixon, N., 81; Elizabeth, Queen, Prayer Book, 30; Flatnam, T., 98; Gibson, S. P. (Mrs. Rosse), 86; Hilliard, N., 34; Isabey, J. B., 180; White, R., 209
 Portrait Gallery, National—Beale's Diary, 93; Humphry, O., 153; Min. Ports., 233
 Portugal—Miniature Colls., 241
 Portugal, Doña Maria, Infanta of, 36
 Potočki, Countess Sophie, 202
 Powys, Lord, Collection—Mins., 153
 Prado Museum—Mins., 241
 Prewitt—Pupil of Zincke, 195
 Prieur, Pierre—Castlemaine, Lady, 193; Charles II., after S. Cooper, 192, 193; Frederick III. of Denmark's Children, 193; Marriage with Petitot's daughter, 193; Mins. by, 19; Poland, King of, 193; Travels and work abroad, 193
Privy Seal Book—"Twelve Medals in Gold," 28²
 Propert, Dr.—Cosway, R., 103; Holbein's Port. of Jane Seymour, 12; Miniature painting Investigation, 103
 Prud'hon, Pierre—Mins. by, 204
 Quaglia—Min. painter to Empress Josephine 20, 204
 Raeburn—Mins., 182
 Raleigh, Sir Walter—Port., 235
 Rallard, Mr.—Sketch, 141
 Ramage, John, 261
 Ramsay, Mr. William—Port., 167
 Ratcliffe, Lady—Sketch, 141
 Rawley, Miss—Port., 146
 Read, Mr.—Port., 146
 Record Office, Public—D. des Granges, 91
 Regrave, Samuel, S. Kensington Museum—Port. of James II., 47, 48
 Reeves, Miss—Port., 165

- Regent, George, Prince, *see* George IV.
 Regimine Principis, De—MS. Brit. Mus., 8
 Reresby, Sir John—Port., 211
 Reskymeer, Mr.—Ports., 13
 Reyner's "Fœdera"—N. Hilliard, 24⁴
 Reynolds, Col.—Port., 143
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua—Comparison with G. Stuart, 256; Copies of Pictures done by W. Wood, 158; Enamel portrait, 199; Humphry, O., interview with, 148; Port. of, by G. Stuart, 256; Pupil, J. Meyer, 178; Quarrel of N. Hone and the Royal Acad., 177; Student, G. Engleheart, 125
 Rich Family—Mins. of, by R. Hilliard, 27
 Richardson, J.—Plumbago Dr., 206, 213
 Richmond, George, R.A.—Father, 130
 Richmond, Thomas—Pupil of G. Engleheart, 129; Sons, 130
 Richmond and Gordon, Duke of, Coll. at Goodwood—Coll., 236; Cooper, Samuel, Port. of Charles II., 5, 71
 Richmond and Lennox, Duchess of—Port. by J. Petitot, 191
 Riggs, Mr.—Port., 166
 Rijks Museum, Amsterdam—Coll., 239; Cooper, S., 60; Faber, J., 210; Agerbier, B., 85; Granges, D. des, 92; Hoskins, J., 5, 55; Oliver, P., 45
 Rivington, Mr. Charles—Port., 166
 Robertson, Alexander—Min. Painter, 184
 Robertson, Andrew—Characteristics of Mins., 183; Life, 182, 184; *Life and Letters*, by Miss Emily Robertson, 182; Ross, Sir William, 184; Scene Painting, 183; Sec. of Soc. of Assoc. Artists in Water Colour, 171; West, Benjamin, 183
 Robertson, Archibald, 183, 184
 Robertson, Capt.—Port., 163
 Robertson, Miss Emily—*Life and Letters* of Andrew Robertson, 182
 Robertson, Walter and Charles—Min. Painters, 179
 Robertson and Miller, 249, 250
 Robinson—Mins. copied by W. Wood, 163
 Roche, Mr.—Port., 146
 Romano, Giulio—Cartoons, 110
 Rome—Collections, 241; Queen Christina's Correspondence, 78
 Rome, King of, as a child, 180
 Romney, George—Friendship with O. Humphry, 149; Newland, A., port. of, 162; Italian Visit, 149
 Rooke, Sir George—Port., 210
 Roos, Lord—Cooper's Port. of Lady Exeter, 63; Port., 52, 53
 Rosebery, Earl of—Coll. at Mentmore, 237
 Ross, Sir William—Characteristics of Mins., 184, 185; Ivory used by, 184; Pupil of A. Robertson, 184
 Rossetti—Min. in Morgan Collection, 241
 Rothschild Collections, 193, 238
 Rouen—Capture by the Guises, 38
 Roumania—Min. Colls., 241
 Roundell, Mrs.—Ham House Mins., 237
 Rouquet—Enameller, 194
 Rouvier—Mins. by, 204
 Royal Collections of H.M. the King—Beale, C., 95; Cooper, S., 69; Cosway, R., 104; Elizabeth, Queen, Prayer Book, 30; Granges, D. des, 92; Holbein, H., 13, 14; Hoskins, J., 51, 54; Oliver, I., 38, 39; Oliver, P., 43, 45; Petitot, J. L., 193
 Rudyard, Sir Benjamin—Port., 50
 Rumbell and Bridge—Frame, 168
 Rushout, Three Ladies, 122
 Russel, Antony—Story of Mrs. P. Oliver and Charles II., 42
 Russel, Theodore—Purchase of Paintings from Mrs. P. Oliver, 42
 Russell, John, R.A.—Anatomy, Study of, 131; Crayon picture of Miss Knight, 163; George IV. when Regent, 176
 Russell, Lady William—Eye Ring Mins., 165
 Russian Collections, 240
 Rutland, Duchess of—Grandson's Port., 162
 Rutland, Duke of, Coll., *see* Belvoir
 Rymer's "Fœdera"—N. Hilliard, 28
 Sackville, Lord—Mins., 153
 Sadler—Mins. attributed to, 89; Pupil of Sir Peter Lely, 80
 S. Albans, Duke of—Port. of, by L. Crosse, 97
 S. Martins-in-the-Fields—Register of death of N. Hilliard, 23
 Saint Menin—Port. Engr. and Painter, 261
 Salting Bequest—Binninck, S., 232; Bogle, 233; Cooper, S., 233; Cosway, 233; Crosse, 233; Dixon, 233; Engleheart, 233; Flatman, 233; Hilliard, N., 20, 21³, 232; Hilliard, R., 27; Holbein, H., 12, 232; Hoskins J., 233; Humphry, O., 233; Jean, 233; Nixon, 233; Oliver, I., 41, 233; Oliver, P., 233; Plimer, 233; Smart, J., 134, 233; Teerlinck, Lavinia, 18, 233
 Salisbury, Earl of—Letter fr. N. Hilliard, 32
 Salisbury Lectionarium—Port., 8
 Sampson, Mrs.—Port., 162
 Sanderson, William—*Graphic*, Gibson, R., port. by, 87; Granges, D. des, 92; Hoskins, Father and Son, 47, 49
 Sandwich, Earl of—Port., 233
 Santa Barbara—Mins., 242
 Sartoris, Mrs.—Min., 27
 Saxony, King of—Port., 211
 Scott, Dr. John—Marriage with L. Plimer, 119
 Scott, Henrietta, Duchess of Portland—Port., 106
 Scott, Lord Henry—Port., 210
 Scouler—Montague, Lady Mary Wortley, 177; Small Mins. by, 177
 Segar, Francis and William—Mins. by, 17; Queen Elizabeth Port., attrib., 18, 35
 Sergeant—Queen Marie Antoinette, 200
 Severn—Min. of Keats, 186
 Seymour, Lady Frances—Daughter, 161
 Seymour, Lady Jane—Port., 12
 Shaftesbury, Earl of—Port., 71, 74
 "Shaick Emaun' Bux"—Port., 166
 Shaw, Dr.—*Denisations and Naturalisations*, 38¹
 Shaw's Calendar of Treasury Books, 65
 Sharples, Felix—Mins. by, 262
 Sharples, James—Life and Work, 261; Washington, George, portrait, 261
 Sharples, James (jun.)—Mins., 262

- Sharples, Roinda—Mins. by, 262
 Shelley, Samuel—Characteristics, 177; *Life*, 175; Robertson, Alexander, 184; *Sale of Min.* by, 175; Thomond, Marchioness, 175
 Sherborne MS.—Ports., 8
 Sheridan—Port., 129
 Sheridan, Mrs.—Beauty, 148
 Sheriff, Mr.—Port., 165
 Sheriff, Charles—Pupil A. Robertson, 184
 Shipley's Drawing School—Cosway, R., 108; Humphry, O., 148
 Shorter, Catherine—Port., 108
 Shute, John—Architecture, *Treatise on*, 35; *Death*, 36; Edward VI., 36; Mins. by, 17, 19; Portugal, Dofia Maria Infanta of, 36
 Sidney, Sir Philip—Port., 45
 Siferwas, John—Illuminator of Sherborne MS., 8; Salisbury Lectionarium, 8
 Signac—Collections of Mins. by, 201
 Simpson, Christopher—Port., 98
 Simpson, John—Daughter's Port., 122
 Simpson, Miss Sophia—Port., 169
 Sinaia—Miniature Collections, 241
 Sinebrychoff, Mons.—Collection, 239
 Singleton, William—Nephew's Port., 180
 Skeffington, Sir William—Port., 165
 Small, Col.—Port., 165
 Smart, John—Academy, Royal, exhibits, 136, 143; Anatomy, Knowledge of, 132; Artistic Training, 133; Boydell, Miss, 137; Characteristics of Mins., 104, 131, 143-6; Cockburn, Thomas, 138; Cornwallis, Lord, 138; Cosway, Maria, 134; Daughter, 143; Draughtsmanship, 131; Featherstonhaugh, Mr., 140; Frames for Mins. made by Toussaint, 142; Garnett, Nelly, 140; Indian Visit and Work, 136, 137, 138, 141, 142; *Life*, 132, 133, 135, 136, 141, 142; Missing Mins., List of, 146; Nollekens, Sculptor, 143; Oakeley, Lady, 140; Oil Painting, 138; Pencil Drawings, 139; Ports. of, 146; Reynolds, Col., 143; Salting Bequest Mins., 233; Society of Arts Prize, 133; Son, Ports., 134, 141, 143; Tyssen, Sarah, 134; Walpole, The Hon. Thomas, 146; Watts, Mr., 163; White, Mr. and Mrs., 138
 Smart, John (jun.)—Booby, Mr., 141; *Death in India*, 139; Large Mins., 141; *Life*, 139; Man, name unknown, 180; Ponsonby, Gerald, 141; Ports. of by Father, 134, 141, 143; Sketches for Ports., 141; Topping, Michael, 141; Turning, Mrs., 141
 Smart, Samuel Paul, 139
 Smirke, Mary—Pencil drawings, 139
 Smith, Capt. (Col.)—Port., 161
 Smith, J. T., *Life of Nollekens*—Richard Cosway, 108, 101
 Smith, Miss—Port., 169
 Society of Arts, Prizes won by—Cosway, R., 107, 133; Smart, J., 133
 Somerset, 6th Duke of—Port., 207
 Somerset, E. Seymour, Duke of—Port., 20, 28
 Sophia, Princess—Port., 74
 Sotheby, Mrs., Coll. at Ecton—Cooper, S., 68, 238; Dixon, N., 82; Greatness of the Coll., 238; Hilliard, N., 30; Holbein, H., 238; Hoskins, J., 50, 54, 238; Hoskins, J. (jun.), 49, 51; Lockey, R., 35; Oliver, L., 40, 238; Oliver, P., 44, 45, 238
 Southampton, Countess of, 190
 Southampton, R. de Ruigny, Countess of—Port., 56
 Spain—Miniature Collections, 241
 Sparkes, Mr.—Port., 163
 Sparrgren—Mins. by, 20, 201
Spectator—Smart "Little John," 139
 Spencer, Earl, Althorp Park Coll.—Col., 237; Dixon, N., 82; Humphry, O., 153; Lens, B., 101; Oliver, I., 39
 Spencer, Gervase—Academy exhibits, 196; Characteristics of Mins., 196; Morgan Collection, 241
 Spicer, Henry—Enamel, 196
 Spiering, Anne—Port., 213
 Sprague, Sir Edward—Port., 86, 97
 Stafford, Lord—Port. of, 16
 Stamford, Earl of—Min., 96
 Staring, Dr.—Gerbier, B., 85; Vryberghe, Mrs. Van, 88, 89
 State Papers—Hilliard, L., 33; Hilliard, N., 25¹
 Stead, Mr.—Port. of, by J. Smart, 146
 Stirling, Capt.—Port. of, by W. Wood, 169
 Stockholm Historical Museum Coll., 239
 Stopford, Master Thomas, 166
 Strawberry Hill Coll.—Hilliard, R., 27; Lens, B., 86, MSS., 99; Oliver, I., 39; Oliver, P., 43; *Sale of Coll.*, 237; Zincke, Enamel, 189
 Street, John—Port., 170
 Streets, Gwillim—Edward VI. port. (att.), 18; Mins. by, 17
 Strich, Maria—Port., 213
 Strickland, Mr., Collection—Lens, P. P., 101; Lockey, R., 35
 Strong, Mr.—S. Cooper, port., 66
 Stuart, Col. James—Port., 159, 166
 Stuart, Maj.-Gen. Sir John, 161, 169, 171
 Stuart, Gilbert—Boydell, Alderman, 256; Fothergill, Dr., 256; Henderson, J., 257; Knox, J., 257; *Life*, 256; Pupils, 255, 261; Reynolds, Sir J., 256; Washington, G., 256, 257; West, B., work in studio, 256
 Stubble, Mr.—Artist, 161
Studio, The—Catalogue by Mr. Kennedy of the Buccleuch Collection, 234, 235
 Sturt—Engravings to a Book of Common Prayer, 99
 Suckling, Rev. R. A. J., Coll., 134
 Suffolk, Ch. Brandon, Duke of—Port., 13, 14
 Suffolk, Duchess of—Port., 12
 Suffolk, Hy. Brandon, Duke of—Port., 13
 Sully, Robert M.—English Visit, 256; Port. of Northcoote, 256
 Sully, Thomas—Bridport, H., 260; Instruction received from G. Stuart, 255; *Life*, 255; Miniatures, 255, 256
 Sulyard, Edward—Heirs, 172
 Sumner, James—Port., 165
 Sussex, Duke of—Port., 125
 Sutherland, Duke of, 70
 Swedish Collection, 239
 Sydenham, Dr.—B. Beals, study with, 95
 Sydney, Lady Mary—Ports., 18, 35
 Talbot, Sir Arundel—Port., 41

- Tart Hall Collection, 87
 Taylor, Miss—Port., 166
 Taylor, Mr.—Engleheart's Pigments from China, 251
 Ter-Borch, Gesina—Port., 214
 Teerlinc, Lavinia—Child, 18; English Court Painter, 11²; Ports. Girls, 11, 233
 Thienpondt—Enamels, 20, 204
 Thomas, Josiah—Port., 162
 Thomond, Marchioness—Port., 175
 Thompson, Mr.—Port., 169
 Thopas, Johannes—Plumbago Dr., 214
 Thornburn—Characteristics, 185; Ivory surfaces, 185
 Thynne, Thomas—Port., 209
 Tintoretto—Mins. attributed to, 240
 Titian—Mins. attributed to, 240
 Tomkinson, Mr.—Port., 146
 Tonson, Jacob—Port., 101
 Topping, Michael—Port., 141
 Tours—Enamellers, 189
 Toussaint—Frames des., 142
 Toutin, Henry—Enameller and Pastel Painter, 189
 Toutin, Jean—Enamelled case for Mins., 50, 54, 189; Fellow-workers, 190
 Townsend, Meridith, Port., 161
 Tracy, Viscountess,—Port., 208, 209
 Trott, Benjamin—Mins., 261
 Trumbull, John—Aide-de-camp to Washington, 258; Imprisonment, 258; Lawrence, Col., 163; Life, 258; Mercer, Gen., 258; Mins. copied, 163
 Tudor, Lady Mary, Countess of Derwent-water—Mother, 57
 Turner, William—daughter m. S. Cooper, 65
 Turner Collection—Mins., 150, 152, 153
 Turning, Mrs.—Port., 141
 Twisden, Sir Roger—Port., 146
 Tysen, Sarah—Port., 134
 Upcott, William—Collector of Books, MSS and Medals, 151; Humphrey, O., 152, 153
 Usher, Mr. Ward—Collection, 237
 Vander Doorts, Catalogue—L. Hilliard, 33
 Vandyck, Copies of Pictures—Oliver, P., 43; Petitot, J., 190
 Vaslet, Louis—Mins., 181
 Vaux, Mr. John—Port., 167
 Velde, J. Van de—Plumbago Drs., 214
 Verbruggen, J.—Plumbago Drs., 213
 Vernon, Col. G. A. and Miss Caroline Vernon, 106
 Vertue, George—Cleyn, Penelope, 88; Cleyn Family, 83; Cooper, S., 67; Crosse, L., 96; Dixon, N., 81, 88; Hilliard, Treatise on Limning, 25, 26; Hoskins, Father and Son, 47, 49, 51; Oliver, I., Oils, 39; Oliver, Mrs. Peter, and Charles II., 42; Pencil Drawings, 206; Plumbago Drawings, 213; Ross, Mrs., 88
 Vestier—Mins. by, 204
 Victoria, Queen—Ports. by Bone, H. (jun.), 192; Essex, W., 198, 199
 Victoria and Albert Museum—Art Library, 230; Beale, Charles, 95; Buccleuch Coll., 234; Cooper, S., 66, 71; Gibson, Susan P., 87; Hoskins, J., 57; Jones Coll., 233; Oliver, I., 41; Oliver, P., 45; Salting Bequest, *see* that title
 Viapré, M. de—Port., 146
 Vienna—Collections, 240
 Villiers—Mins., 204
 Vosse, Cornelius de—Gold Mines in Scotland, 29, 31
 Vryberghe, Mrs. Van—Port., 88
 Waddesdon—Collection of Miss Alice de Rothschild, 238
 Waldegrave, Ladies—Port., 151
 Wales, Prince of—Port., 124
 Wales, Princess Dowager of—Port., 124
 Wall, John—Goldsmith, 24
 Wallace Collection, Hertford House—Dumont, 202; Foreign Mins., 234; Fragonard Mins., 203; Hall Mins 200; Holbein self-portrait, 12
 Wallop, Frederick—Flatman's portrait of Edward Gregory, 90
 Walpole, Horace, and Walpole Collection—Cooper, S., 60, 61, 66; Crosse, "Lewis," 96, 97; Digby Family Portraits, 237; Elizabeth, Queen, Prayer Book, 30; Gibson, R., self-portrait, 87; Hilliard, R., 27; Holbein, H., 12; Hoskins, J., 57; Lens, B., 101; Mother, Portrait of, by Zincke, 198; Oliver, I., 39, 40; Petitot Enamel, 190; Pupil for drawing of B. Lens, 99; Shute, J., 35; Smart, J., 140; Sotheby Collection, 238; Zincke enamels, 195
 Walpole, Sir Robert, Earl of Oxford—Enamel Port. of wife with himself, by Zincke, 198
 Walpole, The Hon. Thomas—Port., 146
 Walpole Society—Hilliard, N., Article on, 24, 25, 27; Welbeck Abbey Coll. Catalogue, 238
 Walters, John—Mins., 261
 Wandelaar, Jan—Plumbago Dr., 214
 Ward, Mr.—Port., 146
 Ward Usher Coll.—Min., 172
 Warrack, John—Rhind Lectures, 29
 Washington, George—Aide-de-camp J. Trumbull, 258; Peale, C. Wilson, port., 260; Stuart, G., ports., 256, 257
 Washington, Mrs., Portraits—Peale, C. Wilson, 260; Trumbull, J., 258
 Water-colours, Soc. of Assoc. Artists in—Chalon, member, 185; Collapse of Society, 170, 171; Exhibitions, 170, 171; Founded by W. Wood, 170
 Water-colours, Soc. of Painters in, 175
 Watney, Vernon—Port. of Lady J. Seymour, 12
 Watts, Mr.—Port., 163
 Watts, Mr. James—Port., 166
 Watts, Miss (Mrs. Adam Gordon), 166, 167
 Way, Master Lewis—Port., 168
 Way, Mr.—Port., 163
 Welbeck Abbey Collection, Catalogue—Cooper, S., 66; Dixon, N., 81; Forster, T., 210; Gibson, R., 89; Granges, D. des, 92; Hilliard, N., 20, 24, 28; Holles, J., Account Book, 52; Hoskins, J., 51; Humphry, O., 153; Lens, B., 100, 101; Oliver, I., 39; Oliver, P., 43, 45
 Wellesley Collection—Bogle, J., 180; Cosway, R., 114, 180; Faber, J., and son, 210,

- 211; Faithorne, W., 211; Forster, T., 210; Gerbier, B., 85; Gibson, R., self-portrait, 87; Humphry, O., 153, 180; Lens, P. P., 101; Loggan, D., 207; Nanteuil, R., 214; Paton, D., 213; Singleton, W., 180; Stuart, G., 257; Trumbull, J., 258; White, R., 209
- Wellington, Duke of—Enam. Port. of, 199
- Wentworth, Lady—Port., 141
- West, Benjamin—Malbone's visit to, 254; Peale Family, 259, 260; Portrait of, by A. Robertson, 183; Pupil, A. Robertson, 184; Stuart, G., 256; Trumbull, J., 258
- Whas John—Scribe of the Sherborne MS., 8
- Whitcombe Green Coll.—A. Cooper, 78
- White, George—Drawings by, 211, 213
- White, Robert—Addison, Joseph, 209; Bunyan, John, 209; Catherine of Braganza, Queen, 209; Characteristics, 209; Charles II., 209; Collections of Works by, 209; Dobson, William, 209; Drawings, 206, 215; Henrietta Anne (daughter of Charles I.), 209; James II., 209; Monmouth, Duke of, 209; Plumbago Mins. by, 205, 206; Pupil of D. Loggan, 209; Self-portrait, 209; Thynne, Thomas, 209
- White, Mr. and Mrs.—Port., 138
- Whitefoorde, Caleb—Litho., 171
- Whitehead, Jeffery, 103
- Whitehead, Mr.—Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, 30
- Whitting, Mrs.—Port., 225
- Wienix, Jan—Plumbago Drs., 214
- William III., Portraits—Faber, J., 211
- Forster, T., 210
- William IV.—Enameller Henry Bone, 197; Miniature painter Sir W. Newton, 185
- Williams, Alyn—Treatise on Modern Miniature Painting, 257
- Williams, Miss—Port., 169
- Williamson, Dr. G. C.—Collection, Bancks, Charles, 214, Blootelling, Abraham, 214, Cooper, Samuel, 67, 69, Faber, John and Son, 210, 211, 212, Forster, Charles, 211, Forster, Thomas, 208, 209, Humphry, Ozias, 150, Lens, Andrew B., 101, Loggan, David, 207, Russell, John, 176, Smart, John (jun.), 180, White, George, 211, White, Robert, 209; Ham House Collection of Miniatures, Catalogue by Mrs. Roundell, 236¹; Morgan Collection Catalogue, *see* Morgan; *Plimer, Andrew and Nathaniel*, 116¹; *Usher Collection*, *The*, preface, 237¹
- Windsor Castle Collection—Bone, H., Enamels, 197; Humphry, O., 153; Importance of Collection, 235; Loggan, D., 207; Oliver, I., 41; Oliver, P., 43, 45; Prieur, P., 193; Ross, Sir W., 184; Wood, W., 172; *see also* Royal Collections
- Wingfield, C. S.—Port., 141
- Wingfield-Digby Collection—Oliver, I., 39; Oliver, P., 43
- Wishart, Sir James—Port., 210
- Woburn, Collection of the Duke of Bedford, 197, 236
- Wolcot, Dr. (Peter Pindar).—Port. of, by W. S. Lethbridge, 179; Satire on R. Cosway, 109
- Wolff, Miss C.—Port., 146
- Wood, Mr. (sen.)—Port., 165
- Wood, Miss—Port., 165, 166
- Wood, William—Academy Exhibits, 164–170; Barnard, Miss (also when Mrs. Hicks), 162; Bouchier, Mr., 161; Browne, Mrs., 162; Butler, Capt., 162; Copies of Miniatures, 163; Dashwood, Misses, 162; Essay on Sepulchral Monuments, 170, 171, 172; Eye Miniatures, 165, 166; Fancy head "Cynthia," 166; Fancy Miniatures, 170; Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, 162
- Gardens and Parks, 171; Glennies, Mr., 161; Hodgitts, Mr., 158; Holmes, Mr., 162; Hyde, Mrs., 161; Jermingham, Mrs. George, 172, 173; Johnson, Ben, copy of old picture, 158; Kelly, Mr., 161; Lambton, Miss Fanny, 159; Lambton children, two, 159; Landscapes, 171; Lemon, Sir William, 161; Life, 163, 171; Lithograph, 171; MSS. and Ledgers, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 172; Newland, Abraham, 161; Nightingale, Col., 161; Norman, Master, 162; Pepys, Charles, 160; Pigments used by, 157, 159, 160; Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 158; Sampson, Mrs., 162; Self-portrait, 165; Sister's portrait, 158; Smith, Capt. Col., 161; Stuart, Col. James, 159, 166; Stuart, Maj.-Gen. Sir John, 161, 169, 171; Thomas, Josiah, 162; Townsend, Meridith, 161; Water-colour Work, 171, 172; Woulfe, Sir Jacob, 158
- Woulfe, Sir Jacob—Port., 158
- Worldidge, Thomas—Plumbago Drs., 213
- Wrench, Mary—Mins. by, 261
- Wright, Dr. James—Port., 165
- Wroxton Abbey, Collection of Lord North—Dixon, N., 83; Granges, D. des, 92
- Wurtemberg, Duchess of—Port., 125
- Wyatt, Mrs. Benjamin—Port., 169
- Young, Admiral—Port., 141
- Zincke—Enam. Min. Ports., 195; Pupil of Boit, 194, 195; Pupils, J. Meyer and Prewitt, 178, 195; Shorter, Catherine, 198; Walpole, Sir Robert, 198
- Zoffany—Painting of Academicians, 109



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