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J.M.W. TURNER'S ALMSHOUSE AND GALLERY AT TWICKENHAM

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From the fog of false ideas about J.M.W. Turner's bequests has gradually emerged a clearer appreciation of the facts, and not least about his proposed almshouse and gallery at Twickenham, though uncertainties remain. A newspaper report after his death in 1851 stated: 'The testamentary papers are interspersed with drawings and elevations of buildings.'[1] A.J. Finberg in 1939 referred to the drafts for those papers, and, though scholars knew about that, no one looked for them until I did, finding the drawings still with the fascinating drafts in a dusty bundle.[2]

There are four sheets of paper each with drawings on both sides:

R. Dark blue paper, with drawings in ink: (a) elevation and plan (Fig. 1); (b) details of elevation and plan.
S. White paper, with drawings in ink (Fig. 2): (a) elevation and plan; (b) elevation.
T. White paper, with faint drawings of a church (?) tower etc.
Ti. Light blue paper, with drawings in ink of castle ruins.

The latter (T and Ti) are rough sketches of castle ruins and other less defined subjects and perhaps do not relate at all to the Twickenham project. Turner is unlikely to have followed Soane's example at Pitzhanger Manor of creating ruins.[3]

Patrick Youngblood identified the site as on the present Fifth Cross Road, leading off the A311.[4] The main façade would have faced south-west. The plan in S (a) indicates a 'Hollow' at the back. This seems to have been levelled off since, perhaps when Appleby Close was built a generation ago. The land amounted in all to 96 perches (3/5 of an acre), though Turner contemplated building only on the three freehold strips and not on the fourth copyhold one.[5]

Drawings R and S are clearly for the proposed almshouse and are presumably by Turner, who is known to have considered architecture as a profession and to have been the architect of his own villa at Twickenham and his house in Queen Anne Street, and maybe a lodge at Farnley Hall, Yorkshire.[6] They confirm the supposition by Dr John Gage that 'the style of building he now considered was not the neo-classical style he had occasionally practised himself, but English Tudor.'[7] Gage's argument was that such a style was considered English, and Turner had provided, by his second Will in 1831, that his almshouse should 'at all times decidedly be an English institution.' However, as he noted, that style was the popular one of the time for almshouses. One such was the Booksellers' Provident Retreat at Abbot's Langley, Hertfordshire.[8] A surviving example is the King William IV Naval Asylum at Penge, founded in 1847 and designed by Turner's executor Philip Hardwick.[9] The style was advocated in *Designs for Parsonage Houses, Alms Houses Etc. Etc.* (1827) by T. F. Hunt, a former pupil of Sir John Soane, of which Turner had a copy (Fig. 3).

Hunt emphasised the cheapness of the Tudor style, which Gage says Turner would have found an attraction. Turner, however, seems to have designated a considerable portion of his wealth for the building (as opposed to the endowment) of the almshouses – about £10,000 at first, rising to about £26,000 at his death.[10] The comparable figures for the endowment

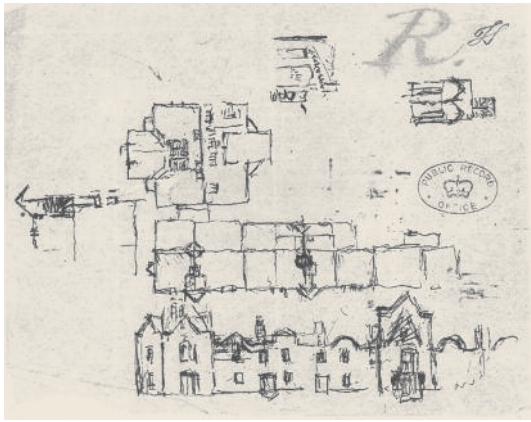

Fig. 1. A sketch (R) of a proposed almshouse and gallery at Twickenham by J.M.W. Turner. *National Archives, PROB37/1547.*

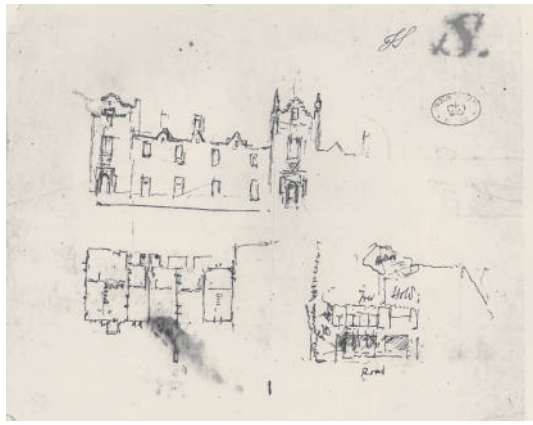

Fig. 2. Another design (S) by Turner for an almshouse and gallery at Twickenham. *National Archives, PROB37/1547.*

were £7,500 and nearly £43,000.[11] Presumably he was aware of the change in amounts, and reckoned that as he grew wealthier it was rational to devote a larger proportion to the endowment.

Turner's 1832 codicil provided for 'the Erection of the Gallery to hold my Pictures and places, Houses or apartments for one two three or more persons'. One of the plans – R(a) – shows a series of rooms, presumably for the almsmen, and two larger ones with skylights for the pictures (Fig. 1). His object for the latter, he added in the 1832 codicil, was 'to keep my Pictures together' in a way to be left to his executors. He added that the building for their reception should be 'respectable and worthy of the object which is to keep and preserve my Pictures – as a collection of my Works.'

The chief model was evidently the Dulwich gallery and almshouses designed by Turner's friend Sir John Soane two decades earlier. It was properly named 'Alleyn's College of God's Gift', and in 1831 Turner named his foundation 'Turner's Gift'. Soane had influenced the design of Turner's Twickenham villa.[12] He had built Dulwich for £10,000, as economically as possible, without much ornament and in a classical style.[13] Turner's drawings, however, show designs in which cheapness was not the overwhelming consideration. There is notably a gatehouse tower in the centre, a feature not found in many humbler almshouses such as the one given by T. F. Hunt. In the Dulwich project the gallery was predominant and the almshouses subsidiary. Turner in 1829 likewise placed his gallery in the centre, but he reversed the emphasis, as was the case with his house and gallery in Marylebone. Galleries were commonly built in the classical, particularly Grecian, style. So it was natural for Dulwich to be classical and Twickenham mediaeval. Or so one might think.

Turner resigned as chairman of the Artists' General Benevolent Institution two months before he made his first will in 1829. There had been a dispute over whether its funds should be hoarded or distributed, Turner being for the first, the majority for the second.[14] One may conjecture that he hoped that the Benevolent Institution would build a grand institution which, if not a rival to the army and navy hospitals, would do something similar for the artists' profession. In 1832–4 there was an unrealised scheme for an Artists' College with rooms for a hundred decayed artists and their widows and a gallery for the reception of their works.[15]

It was estimated that £5,000 would pay for between ten and twenty tenements at the Artists'

College. Turner's initial scheme in 1829 was to have six 'houses' and a gallery, with £100 p.a. going to five decayed artists. That might suggest an estimate of £2,500 for the almshouses and £7,500 for the gallery. Turner's will of 1829 only mentioned a gallery in the event of the National Gallery declining the gift of his pair of Carthage pictures to hang between two Claudes. If declined, they were 'to be placed in a Room expressly built for them on any pieces of ground Freehold. The centre to be the Gallery for them and each side small houses for the custodie or Keeper and five other decayd English artists (Landscape Painters only) and single men, at Twenty pounds per annum.' It would seem strange to build a gallery for just two pictures, and so one may guess that he was already thinking of including more than two.

To understand Turner's thinking one has to consider his resources and how they expanded. In 1830 he had amassed a fortune of nearly £18,000, and at his death there was over £73,000 invested in the Bank of England. What did he mean in 1832 by the provision to keep all his works together at Twickenham? Did he mean to include just his finished pictures or the unfinished ones and drawings as well? The two galleries in his plan could not show all of them, but he might have envisaged rotating displays, as he did in his house and gallery, if his gift of his 'Turner's Gallery' by his 1848 codicil failed.[16]

In a draft for his second codicil in 1846 he provided that his 'funded property is to be laid out in purchasing Ground and Building thereon as place sufficient to hold all my finished Pictures, to be called Turners Gallery – in a fit seeable distance of or in London.'[17] This might suggest that he thought of abandoning the Twickenham site, perhaps because it was too small, and substituting a radically new scheme. If the gallery at Twickenham had also just been for the finished pictures, that would have entailed the abandonment of the idea of such a gallery when in 1848 he left the pictures to the National Gallery; the unfinished oils and drawings would then be sold to increase the endowment of the almshouse, as provided for the residue of the estate in the will of 1831. Vice-Chancellor Kindersley avoided this difficulty of interpretation by deciding that all the works 'are to be deemed as well given for the Benefit of the Public.' Of course the almshouse (and gallery) were to be a private institution, but the gallery would have been open to the public as at Dulwich or Soane's house museum, and candidates for the almshouses could be Royal Academicians or non-Academicianss.[18]

In any case drawing R(a) (Fig. 1) should probably be dated 1832–48. This hypothesis would be difficult if the claim by Robert Cumming – that Turner's first codicil was invalid because it was unsigned and therefore his idea of a Turner Gallery was abandoned in those years – was true.[19] But it was not. In 1832 there was no need for instruments dealing with personal property to be witnessed, the codicil was incorporated in his third codicil, and both codicils were admitted to probate in 1852. No correction of this error was ever published.[20] This is understandable, as Turner specified that the bequest of Turner's Gallery failed unless it was built within ten years of his death, as was the case.

In that event the pictures were eventually to be sold, and out of the proceeds £1,000 was to be given to the Royal Academy and £500 each to the Artists' General Benevolent Institution, Foundling Hospital and Orphan Fund. The Foundling Hospital was another example of a 'hospital' combining charity and art, but in a classical building. By the Orphan Fund Turner evidently meant the foundations of Dr Andrew Reed, a Congregationalist minister in East London. The first of these was the London Orphan Asylum, now Reed's School, Cobham.[21] That opened at Clapton in 1825, designed by William Southcote Inman in a Greek Doric style, since become the Salvation Army Congress Hall. Then in 1827 Dr Reed established the Infant Orphan Asylum, which in 1843 moved into a building at Wanstead – scene of Turner's architectural baptism by Thomas Hardwick – designed by Gilbert Scott in a Jacobean style (later

Royal Wanstead School, then Snaresbrook Crown Court). In 1847 Reed began to raise money for the Asylum for Idiots at Earlswood.[22]

From these examples and others which Turner must have known – including Sir William Turner's outstanding classical group of buildings at Kirkleatham – it is clear that almshouses were built in different styles, though the earliest were mediaeval.[23] Moreover functionalism held less sway than Sir Nikolaus Pevsner supposed. If Turner's gallery in Queen Anne Street was strictly functional, that was for reasons of cost. As Soane stressed, functionalism was not the only consideration.[24] The Picturesque and Poetical involved associations and setting, qualities to which experts today are largely blind. That they were not then is evident from the literature on museum building and the evidence given to the 1861 House of Lords Select Committee on the Turner Bequest.

One cannot believe that Turner shared such disregard. Just as Twickenham was the home of the muses, in the persons of Alexander Pope and James Thomson, celebrated in his pictures, so Trafalgar Square, his alternative home for Turner's Gallery, was at the nation's political and artistic centre. Marylebone, home to his house and gallery, lacked these attributes, and was besides unsuitable, the house being too small and impermanent. As a temporary alternative he provided for leaving his works there, to be rotated in the small gallery.

In the draft codicil of 1839–44 Turner provided that, if his almshouse scheme failed, his funded property should go to the Royal Academy, 'provided they obtain a Charter continuing them an independent body', and they built 'an insulated Wing' to hold the Diploma and other pictures (his included presumably), failing which the gift should be to Dulwich Colledge to build a place 'to hold my best Pictures', his Perspective Lecture drawings going to the British Museum and the Carthage pair to be offered to the National Gallery. In that eventuality he left three pictures – *Bay of Baiae* (1823), *Ulysses deriding Polyphemus* (1829) and *Orange Merchant* (1819) – to the Royal Academy, or alternatively to Dulwich College.[25]

This last idea, featuring works in the Franco-Italian, Modern-Romantic and Dutch styles, casts light on Turner's first bequest to the National Gallery. For that in 1831, and finally, he substituted for one of the Claudian Carthage pictures a marine one in the Dutch style, evidently wanting not simply to challenge comparison with Claude, but also with the other great school of landscape, the Dutch. At the National Gallery the two pictures, he might have imagined, would have been hung in a room of masterpieces of all the schools, as today in the great room at the Wallace Collection. This makes the current display of them, in a little antechamber with just the two Claudes, true only to the letter and not the spirit of that bequest.

Turner's proposal also illustrated his historicist approach to art, which meant that he ransacked past styles to express what he wanted without keeping to any one. That of course was also the approach of late Georgian architects, and would have influenced Turner in the matter of his own architectural designs. In the choice for the Twickenham almshouse and gallery the considerations of cheapness or Englishness do not provide a complete explanation. Classical Dulwich was built cheaply, and many English almshouses were not mediaeval/Tudor.

Another clue may be suggested by the use of the word 'college'. In his first formulation, in his 1829 will, he calls his foundation a 'College or Charity', as Dulwich sometimes was. There were many truly collegiate institutions in England – two of them at Winchester (Winchester College and the Hospital of St Cross) – but those that would have been most familiar to him were the Oxford colleges. Turner visited Oxford regularly from the age of 12 until he was 64, the place having many associations with his family and with the friends whom he appointed executors.[26] Lady Chantrey in 1842 chose Oxford for the Chantrey Gallery, a parallel to Turner's similarly ill-fated gallery for the National Gallery.[27] Oxford was also particularly redolent of that antiquarianism

Fig. 3. A design for an almshouse in the Tudor style by T.F. Hunt. (*Designs for Parsonage Houses, Alms Houses Etc. Etc.*, 1827).

which had coloured Turner's earliest work.[28] If one looks at the almshouse sketches, one can see a greater similarity to those in his Oxford Sketchbook of *c.*1834–8, as in a drawing of Merton College, than to T.F.Hunt's humble almshouse design highlighted by John Gage (Fig. 3).[29] Turner himself was a professor – of perspective at the Royal Academy 1807–37 – and, like other artists, he may have wished that he had been better educated, but have hoped at any rate that his teaching would be part of his legacy, although that would be more by way of example in his paintings than in his lectures.[30]

Turner's schemes were not, as is popularly supposed, particularly confused, eccentric or new. The Twickenham one conformed to the usually unhappy precedent of the many British institutions with a dual function – the National Gallery and Royal Academy building designed by Wilkins, Cockerell's University Galleries and Taylorian Institute at Oxford, and many more. This arose out of the fact that he had a dual purpose – to help poor professional artists and to preserve a permanent gallery of his works. It dawned on Ruskin after learning of his testamentary provisions that Turner was perpetually juggling these priorities. Thus his readiness to sell some pictures was not because he cared nothing about keeping his works together, as has been claimed, but because he wished to maximise the funds for the almshouse.

Whether Turner thought the almshouse and gallery complementary we can only guess. There was a long tradition of art in hospitals going back at least to the Hôpital de Beaune. Hogarth had been active on this front, at the Foundling Hospital and St Bartholomew's Hospital, though, as in Trollope's satire *The Warden*, the benefit accrued more to the managers than to the inmates. The idea that art can be therapeutic is not simply a modern one. Certainly at Greenwich the naval pensioners would look at the pictures, and they are depicted as doing so in the Turner room at the National Gallery in 1883.[31]

There were precedents for all the other aspects of the testamentary dispositions. Any changes he made were practical responses to changing circumstances, his own and those of the National Gallery. What characterised them was largeness of vision, public spiritedness and wide sympathies. In his final formulation of rules for the charity, made in

his 1844 indenture, he said simply that it was 'for the relief of decayed and indigent Artists being Painters in Oil who …shall have been born in England.' They should be aged 55 and above and have exhibited for five successive years at the Royal Academy and preferably, but not necessarily, be RAs or ARAs. This 'Hospital Alms House or Institution' was 'to be called … Joseph Mallord William Turners Charity.'[32] What would have been its fate if the Mortmain Law and an oversight had not prevented its establishment we can only guess.

Turner's intention was not mere preoccupation with the present, as seems to be the case with today's art world, but the Burkean one of giving equal weight to past, present and future. Though his bequests were, contrary to what A.J.Finberg believed,[33] clearly to perpetuate his own name, and though they gave more than a nod to his great predecessors, they were also to benefit and inspire future generations. That his wishes were thwarted and that he long had more influence in France than in Britain was a further example of the 'Fallacy of Hope.' This at least validated his belief that the artist-poet should be prophetic.

NOTE: TURNER'S GALLERY AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY

To understand the interplay between Turner's resources, his schemes and public policy, one has to consider the history of his second (main) bequest to the National Gallery.

In 1830–1 Turner had considered bequeathing his Turner's Gallery – the chosen pictures to be listed – to the National Gallery.[34] Then he had about fifty unsold finished pictures, but by 1848, when he reverted to the idea of the Turner's Gallery at the National Gallery, Charles Barry having just made an ambitious plan for its rebuilding, he had doubled that number.[35] He abandoned the idea of a list, either because he wanted to include all hundred or because he planned to paint more, as he did in 1850.

Fig. 4. Sir James Pennethorne's design for a Turner Gallery at the National Gallery, *c.*1860–1. *Private collection, whereabouts unknown.*

The gift was made 'provided that a Room or Rooms are added to the present National Gallery'. It is sometimes claimed that Turner envisaged only one room, forgetting that a room could be small or, like the Grande Galerie of the Louvre, very large. In 1860 or 1861 James Pennethorne produced a design in a classical style such as Barry had used for a 'grande galerie' extension at the National Gallery, which may have been made partly with the Turner Bequest in mind (Fig. 4).[36] That summer he was a witness before the House of Lords Select Committee on the Turner Bequest. He said that 3,500 ft. would be needed, costing £25,000. The gallery would be 136 ft. long, presumably showing the Turners in two rows, as in his drawing. The functional and cheap gallery in Turner's house, of 1819–22, showed twenty pictures mostly in a single row and measured 55ft. by 19ft. Folding doors opened into the drawing room, 20ft. by 35ft., which could be used as an extension, and other pictures were exhibited in the dining room below it.[37]

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NOTES

1 Kensington & Chelsea Libraries, Chelsea Miscellany, 152 (3).

2 A.J. Finberg, *The Life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A.* (2nd ed., 1961), 9 444, n.1. National Archives (NA), PROB37/1547. Henry Harpur and Francis Drake found them on the day of Turner's death in a sealed envelope in a box in his Marylebone house. Harpur had been his solicitor *c.*1840–9, and Drake acted for the executors. Drake in his deposition, 15 June 1852, only mentioned specifically the valid will and four codicils, marked A–E, now separately archived as PROB 1/96.

3 Susan Feinberg Millenson, *Sir John Soane's Museum* (1987), p. 10., fig. 5.

4 Patrick Youngblood, 'The Painter as Architect: Sandycombe Lodge,' *Turner Studies*, 2(1), (Summer 1982), p. 22, and by personal communication. The map of the 1819 Twickenham Enclosure Award is in Richmond-upon-Thames Library. The relevant detail of the site is shown in a plan with Turner's 1844 deed of gift of land for the almshouse: NA, C54/13088/7, pp. 28–32.

5 The copyhold parcel (21 perches) was adjudged to Thomas Price Turner, Turner's senior surviving male heir, by the court order, 19 March 1856 (NA, C1040/1724–7). This had been given to Turner by the 1818 Enclosure Award. Turner quickly bought three adjacent plots to the South. His freehold land was awarded in 1856 to his heir-at-law, John Turner.

6 It is commonly stated that Turner altered the house at Queen Anne Street. But the documents in the Howard de Walden Estate Office indicate it was a new build, and street plans show that there was no earlier house on the site. His designs for the gallery there were discussed by Dr John Gage, *Colour in Turner: Poetry and Truth* (1969), ch.9 and fig. 68.

7 John Gage, *J.M.W. Turner 'A Wonderful Range of Mind'* (1987), pp. 130–1.

8 *The Literary Gazette*, 22 November 1845, p. 595.

9 Clive Berridge, *The Almshouses of London* (1987), p. 57. (cf. p. 56, The Free Watermen and Lightermens' Asylum, 1840–1, Penge High Street). On Turner and the Hardwicks, see Whittingham, *Georgian Group Journal*, 19 (2011), pp. 190–1.

10 Selby Whittingham, 'Turner's Wealth, I: After his death', *J.M.W. Turner, R.A.*, 2 (1993), pp. 129–45. Turner gave his 3% Consols for the building and his Reduced 3% for the endowment by his first codicil, 1832. The growth of those investments over the years is charted in the Bank of England ledgers.

11 Selby Whittingham, *An Historical Account of the Will of J.M.W. Turner, R.A.* (2nd ed., 1996), pp. 34–5.

12 P. Youngblood, *loc. cit.*. Madeline Helmer has plausibly suggested that the model for the plan of that was the 'House designed for an Artist' in Soane's *Sketches in architecture containing plans and elevations of cottages, villas and other useful buildings* (1793): 'J M W Turner's Sandycombe Lodge and the "House designed for an Artist": an architectural precedent discovered,' *Sir John Soane's Museum Newsletter*, 28 (Autumn 2011), p. 10.

13 G.–Tilman Mellinghoff, 'Soane's Dulwich Picture Gallery Revisited', in John Summerson, *Soane*, (1983), pp. 77ff; Giles Waterfield, *Soane and After: The Architecture of Dulwich Picture Gallery*, (1987). Dulwich was a Jacobean college with a gallery over almshouses, and a mediaeval style had been mooted for the new gallery, which was to be part of a quadrangle with the old college on another side.

14 Walter Thornbury, *The Life of J.M.W. Turner* (2nd ed., 1877), p. 355. Andrew Robertson led the opposition to Turner, backed by Cockerell and Hardwick.

15 *Literary Gazette*, 1 and 22 February, 22 March 1834. The chief opponent again was Andrew Robertson. The chief promoter was George Clint, who resigned as ARA in 1835 and was patronised by Turner's future agent, Thomas Griffith.

16 Whittingham, *An Historical Account: Documents,* I, doc.23, p. 52, draft codicil, 1839–46?

17 *Ibid.*, 12, p. 36.

18 *Ibid.*, 11, pp. 31–5, indenture, 1844. (National Archives, C54/13088/7, pp. 28–32).

19 Robert Cumming, 'The Greatest Studio Sale That Christie's Never Held?', *Turner Studies*, 6(2)

(Winter 1986), pp. 3–8; *Christie's Review of the Season. 1987*, pp. 152–5.

20 Everyone has been blamed for the failure to carry out Turner's wishes except the real culprits, the nation and its institutions. A favourite target is his 'greedy relatives'. It is never remarked that not only did they receive some of Turner's money as a result of the almshouse gift being invalid, but that the Royal Academy received £20,000 (now £1m?), which it was supposed to devote to helping artists in distress, but has now ceased to do so.: Selby Whittingham, 'The Royal Academy's Regular Irregularities', *The Jackdaw,* 43 (November 2004), pp. 14–15; 'Art Charities Strike Gold', *The Jackdaw*, 57, April 2006, pp. 20–1.

21 Turner had also written Artists General Benevolent *Fund,* but must surely have meant the *Institute* and not the Artists Benevolent Fund, with which he had never been associated. It has been strangely stated that Turner arranged a merger between the A.G.B.I. and A.B.F in 1818, though the latter continued as a separate body until recently: *The Oxford Companion to J.M.W. Turner*, ed. Evelyn Joll *et al.* (2001), p. 10.

22 David Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660–1960* (1965), pp. 158–60.

23 The Gipsoteca e Casa Canoviana at Possagno were preceded there by Canova's classical temple, which had a charitable purpose, in a classical style, making, as Francis Haskell noted, one of the happiest ensembles among artists' foundations. Turner, who had an introduction to Canova from Sir Thomas Lawrence and whose pictures were admired by Canova, may have been aware of this scheme.

24 Millenson, *op. cit.,* chap. 5, 'The Poetry of Architecture'.

25 Document 23 (cit. n.14 above). James Fenton, who has an axe to grind against the RA treating independence as a priority, claims that that concern was an invention of the twentieth century, whereas it was always one dear to Turner: *School of Genius: A History of the Royal Academy of Arts*, (2011), pp. 20, 294.

26 Selby Whittingham, *Brentford to Oxford: J.M.W. Turner's early career under the guardianship of his uncle J.M.W.Marshall* (2010).

27 Selby Whittingham, 'Chantrey, Westmacott and Casts after the Antique', *Journal of the History of Collections,* 5(1) (1993), pp. 89–92; Selby Whittingham, 'Breach of Trust Over Gifts of Collections', *International Journal of Cultural Property,* 4(2) (1995), pp. 257–60, 262–7. The current treatment of the Chantrey casts, as wall decoration, is contrary both to the terms of the gift and to the purpose of a portrait gallery.

28 Professor Rhodri Windsor-Liscombe has remarked on Turner's 'unique romantic yet antiquarian idiom' in an unpublished paper, '"Then architecture spreads her guile": Turner and Architecture'. He also pays due regard to Turner's early understanding of Gothic. It was perhaps in the 1830s at Oxford that Turner with 'great contempt … dismissed … mechanical ideas from the realm of the picturesque', when Froude suggested to Turner and Sir Richard Westmacott that the pointed arch was 'the natural suggestion of a row of round arches seen in perspective': Whittingham, *Brentford to Oxford, op. cit.,* pp. 39–40; Thomas Mozley, *Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement* (1882), I, p. 298.

29 Colin Harrison, *Turner's Oxford*, 2000, pp. 88–90. In this otherwise comprehensive account the vital personal associations are largely missed, as they were by Andrew Wilton in a lecture at the Ashmolean in conjunction with the exhibition, and earlier by Patrick Youngblood, 'The Stones of Oxford: Turner's Depiction of Oxonian Architecture', *Turner Studies*, 3(2) (1984), pp. 3–21.

30 While Ralph Wornum told the 1861 Select Committee that the unfinished oils were mostly rubbish, Sir Charles Eastlake declared that they could be instructive to student artists.

31 Giles Waterfield (ed.), *Palaces of Art: Art Galleries in Britain 1790–1990* (Dulwich Picture Gallery and National Gallery of Scotland, 1991–2), ch. 12, and colour plate.

32 Whittingham, *An Historical Account…, op. cit.,* Appendices, 2, 42; NA, C33/1040/1724v–7.

33 Finberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 452–3.

34 Whittingham, *An Historical Account: Documents,* 1, docs. 5,6,7, pp. 10–11, 18, drafts for second will, 1830.

35 Turner evidently followed the Barry project closely. He had taken an interest in museum design and the rehousing of the Royal Academy. William Wilkins had consulted him amongst others about the original National Gallery/ Royal Academy building: R.W. Liscombe, *William Wilkins 1778–1839*, (1980), p. 204.

36 Geoffrey Tyack, '"A gallery worthy of the British people": James Pennethorne's designs for the National Gallery, 1845–1867', *Architectural History*, 33 (1990), p.129, fig. 8.

37 Selby Whittingham, 'Turner's Second Gallery', *Turner Society News*, 42 (November 1986), pp. 8–12.