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The Print and the Spread of the Picturesque Ideal

Tim Clayton

Although the picturesque is conventionally traced to Claude, Salvator Rosa and Nicolas and Gaspar Poussin little attention has been paid to the means by which people became acquainted with their work. In this paper I will argue that in the eighteenth century prints were the principal means of assimilating visual information, and in the course of a breakneck gallop through the scenery of the period I will point out some of the most influential and Picturesque landscape prints.

By 1700 books about art told the general public why they should collect prints. Roger de Piles, translated in 1706, informed them that prints were 'the Depositories of all that is Fine and Curious in the World', and advised that:

'for those that to be more Happy, and more Gentleman-like, would form their Goût by the study of good Things, and have a reasonable Tincture of the fine Arts, nothing is more necessary than good Prints.'

Collecting prints enabled the would-be virtuoso to assess the work of different painters far more effectively than by buying paintings, for:

'when at a vast charge a Man has fill'd a large Chamber with Pictures of different Manners, he cannot have above two or three of each, which is not enough to enable him to make a nice judgement of the Character of the Painter, or the extent of his Capacity; whereas by means of Prints, one may easily see the Works of several Masters on a Table, one may form an Idea of them, judge by comparing them one with another, know which to chuse, and by practising it often, contract a Habit of good Taste.'¹

To this end gentlemen filled portfolios with prints, or bound them in albums to which they would resort to 'shorten the time we employ in recollecting those things that have escap'd our Memory, and to refresh it with a glance of the Eye'.²

For professional designers a print collection was indispensable and every artist had one. Prints were, of course, also used as decorative furniture for the wall and collected as works of art in their own right, but a utilitarian defence of engraving was the Enlightenment commonplace, expressed succinctly by l'Abbé Gougenot in 1749:

'Engraving is to the fine arts what printing is to science and literature. In the same way that through the one works of genius circulate and are communicated to every part of the globe, so by the other the rarest compositions of painting and sculpture are infinitely multiplied, and through engraving the whole world can enjoy what would otherwise be the exclusive property of one man.'³

The print was the published record of a design, and the form in which it would be considered most frequently by the wider public, foreigners and posterity. For this reason most artists attached considerable importance to prints of their work. It seems to me, therefore, that if we are to study art 'in the public sphere', or indeed if we are to see the Picturesque through eighteenth century spectacles, we should pay close attention to prints as well as, or even instead of, paintings.

First we need to know what was available and when. Landscapes by Nicolas Poussin

(1594–1665), who in about 1700 was rated second only to Raphael, were the first to have any great currency here. The bulk of prints after Poussin were engraved in France between 1660 and 1700.⁴ They were being imported into England before the outbreak of war in 1689 but came in greater numbers after 1711, when a flood of foreign engravings accompanied the preliminaries of peace. Poussin was frequently mentioned in the newspaper advertisements of importers – in 1710, for instance, Joseph Smith advertised ‘the Landskips of Poussin, the old and new ones’ – and ‘compleat Setts’ were circulating in the trade by 1725.⁵ By 1790 English engravers had only added about a dozen prints to Poussin’s *oeuvre*, since it was not worth duplicating an existing French plate, and new Poussin paintings were not easily acquired.

Sets of etchings by Salvator Rosa (1615–73) could still be bought from his heirs in the eighteenth century and were imported eagerly.⁶ A number of Rosa’s paintings had also been brought in. Joseph Goupy raised a subscription for six etchings ‘from several rare original pictures of Salvator Rosa in the Collections of the Curious’ in 1724.⁷ Goupy published four more Rosa landscapes, the three that belonged to the Earl of Derby were etched by Hamlet Winstanley in 1730, and Pond published one around 1745. All these plates were eventually acquired by John Boydell who also undertook the publication of about a dozen paintings for his *Collection of the Most Capital Paintings in England* in the 1760s and 1770s.⁸

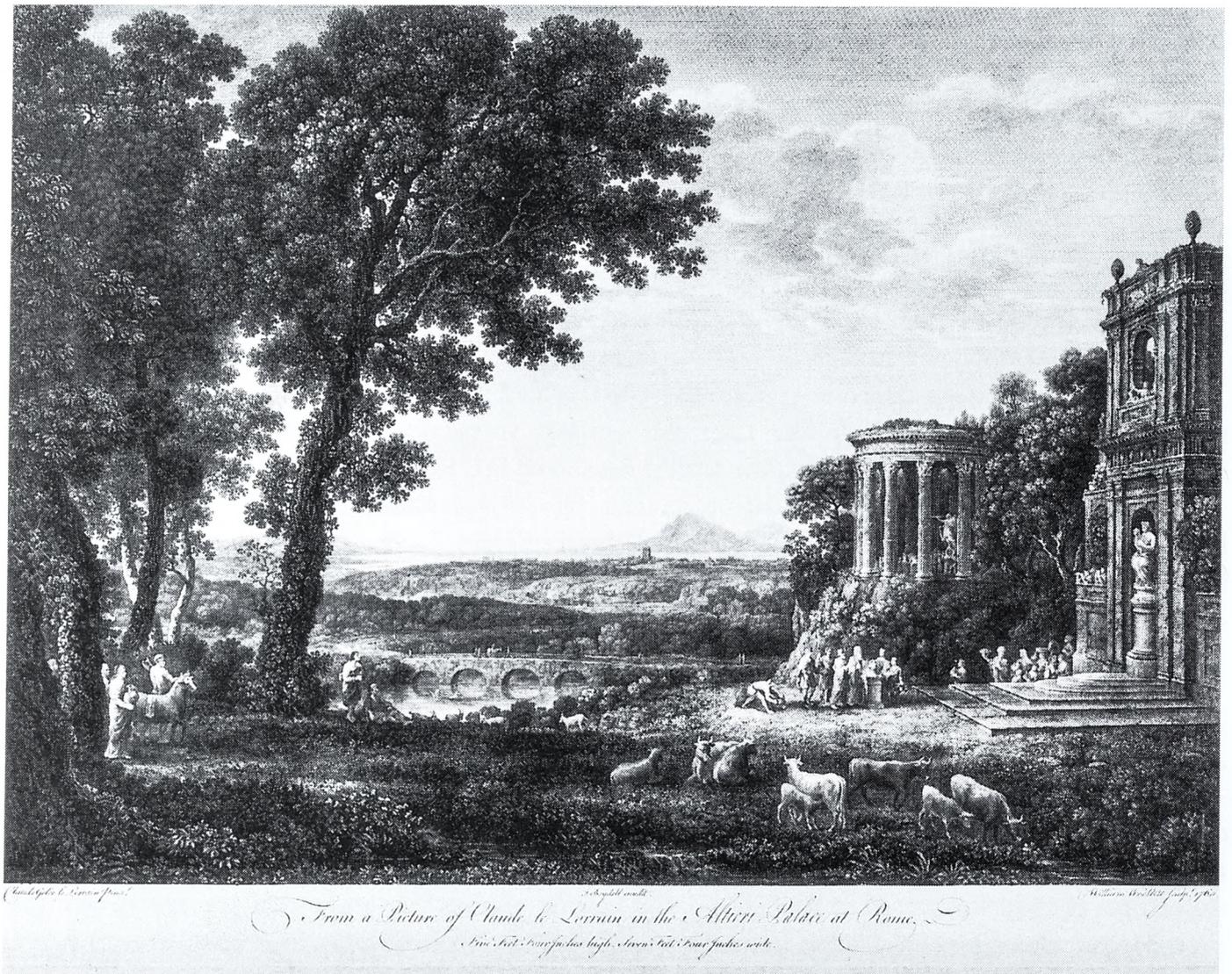


Fig. 1 William Woollett, *The Temple of Apollo*. 1760. Engraving after Claude.

In publishing terms, Claude (1600–82) was an English discovery. (Fig. 1) His own little etchings were familiar enough in England for Gilpin to dismiss them as ‘the dirty shapes of something which he could not express’ (an opinion echoed more moderately by continental critics),⁹ but little else had been published until Charles Knapton and Arthur Pond reproduced ten paintings between 1741 and 1746.¹⁰ While a small group of paintings in French collections were published by Le Bas and Moyreau, a further 35 Claudes had been engraved in England by 1787, of which seven were published by Vivares and about twenty were undertaken by Boydell. In 1777 Boydell also published the two hundred drawings in Claude’s *Liber Studiorum*. Continentals followed the English example with engravings published at Mannheim, Dessau, Rome, and Paris in the 1790s.¹¹

Gaspard Dughet (1615–75) was a similar case.¹² Charles Knapton published two circles in 1741 and thirty more prints were included in Knapton and Pond’s landscape series. At least another eleven paintings had been published by 1777. The series by Knapton and Pond ‘had uncommon success from the proper Choice of the Originals, the Masterly Execution of the Prints, and the cheap Price put upon them’,¹³ and probably, therefore, reached a broader audience than any earlier classical landscapes.¹⁴

There were other influences at work in the 1740s. Flemish and Dutch landscape was fashionable in France and Germany. Prints engraved by Le Bas after landscapes by David Teniers (1610–90), Philips Wouvermans (1619–68), Nicolaes Berchem (1620–83) and others were imported, as was Moyreau’s ‘*Oeuvre*’ of about a hundred prints after Wouvermans. In 1748 Thomas Major, who had been working for Le Bas in Paris and continued to import his prints, commenced *A Collection of Prints Engraved from the finest Paintings of the Greatest Masters Chosen out of the most Celebrated Collections in England and France*. This eventually included twenty one prints after Teniers, five after Berchem and four after Wouvermans. Prints of paintings by Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714–89) were much appreciated in England. Major engraved three, but a great many more were imported. Baléchou’s *Tempête* and the *Ports of France* series by Cochin and Le Bas were considered triumphs of modern French engraving.

From about 1740 the Rembrandt craze had a significant impact. Enthusiasm for Rembrandt’s prints reached a fever pitch in 1757 when Worlidge and Bickham etched copies of *The Hundred Guilder Print* and *The Deposition* on the grounds that examples of these rare prints had recently sold for 30 and 50 guineas respectively.¹⁵ Rembrandt’s landscapes with their dilapidated barns inspired many copies – George Smith of Chichester’s is evidence of the notice he took of Rembrandt – and in the wake of Rembrandt other Dutch landscape etchers became fashionable. The painter Thomas Smith of Derby had a large number of prints by Antonie Waterloo (c.1610–90) and Herman van Swanevelt (c.1620–1690), for instance, in his collection.¹⁶

From Venice etchings by Marco Ricci (1676–1729) were imported and English sets were etched by Chatelain and Roberts. Their Italianate Picturesque pastoral sold well enough for another exponent, Francesco Zuccarelli (1702–88) to move here from Venice. In England Zuccarelli’s paintings were published by Francis Vivares, who had been a pupil of Zuccarelli’s Venice publisher, Josef Wagner.¹⁷ Vivares became famous for his engravings of Claude,¹⁸ but he took on the full spectrum of landscape in the 1750s, reproducing paintings by Berchem and Aelbert Cuyp (1620–91) as well as by Zuccarelli and Pierre Patel (1605–76) ‘the French Claude’.

A final influential foreigner was Jean Pillement (1728–1808) a long series of whose pretty drawings of rural scenes were engraved and published in London between 1757 and 1764 by

Peter Canot. Their rickety structures and pretty poverty provided a further ingredient for the Picturesque cauldron.

However, I think it is possible that the influence of foreign artists has been exaggerated. From the very beginning there was something patriotic about the Picturesque: it was about finding qualities in English landscape (actual or painted) to rival those of the great foreign painters. The message articulated on Peter Crosthwaite's map of Ullswater of 1783 – 'Henceforth let British Youths their native Isle explore, Before they visit France' – was already implicit in the prints published during the War of Austrian Succession, which first drew attention to the natural beauties of Britain.

In stimulating an appetite for British beauties Thomas Smith of Derby (d.1767) was a pivotal figure. A subscription for 'eight of the most extraordinary Natural Prospects in the Mountainous Part of Derbyshire and Staffordshire, commonly called the Peak' was proposed in June 1743.¹⁹ Subscribers were given free letterpress explanations of the sites which placed a Georgic emphasis on the economic value of the Peak's fine pasturage and marble.²⁰ However, these landscapes, whose publication preceded the revised edition of Thomson's *Seasons* and Joseph Warton's *Enthusiast* (both 1744), saw the first English appearance of the precipices and cascades that Burke would later call Sublime. *A Prospect in Dove-Dale*, for instance, showed Salvator Rosa crags, a thundery sky, rapids on the river and the caves called Dove-Dale Church, and Reynard's Hall of which Smith's letterpress explained 'the ascent to this Cavern is very steep, yet it is frequently visited in the Summer season by the Gentry in these parts'. (Fig. 2)

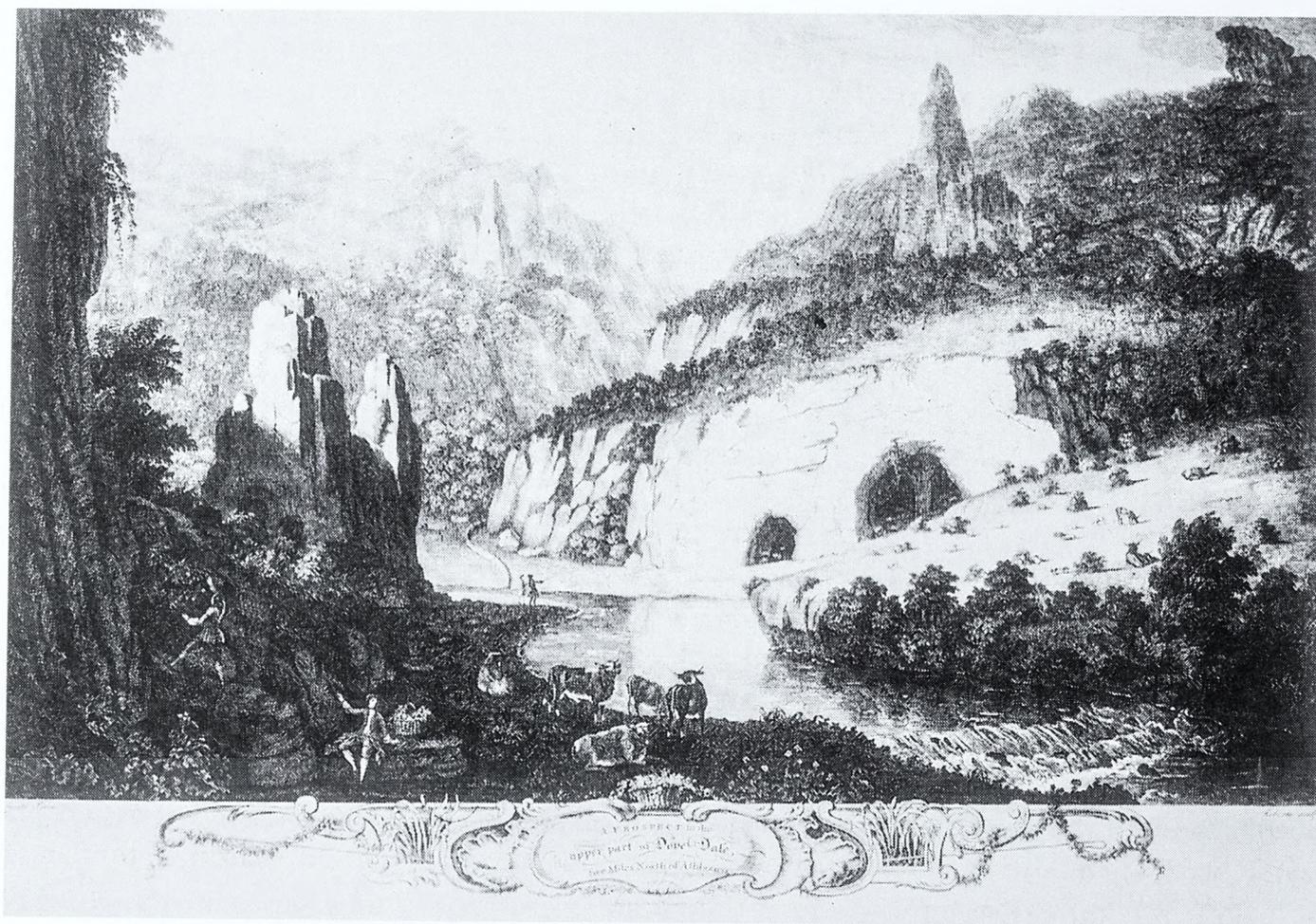


Fig. 2 Henry Roberts, *A Prospect in Dove-Dale*, 1743, republished 1769. Engraving after Thomas Smith.

Topographical prospects were now being made to look like landscape paintings. In 1745 William Oram (d.1777) proposed a set of eight views in Yorkshire and Derbyshire, having taken great pains 'in the Choice of Prospects as well as in the Points of View, in order to render them the most Picturesque that have hitherto appeared: the whole not considered with Respect only to any one Object, as a Town, Bridge or River; but to such only as would make beautiful Pictures'.²¹ Fifteen years before Gilpin first examined the face of the country by the rules of picturesque beauty', Oram was explaining the principles of 'Picturesque' composition to his subscribers. Incidentally, his offer to post prints to 'all such Subscribers as shall happen to be out of Town before the Twenty-fifth of May next . . . (by leaving the Name of their Country Residence)', gives us an idea of the sort of people he expected to subscribe.

Smith published a second set of four Derbyshire views in 1745 in which *A View of Anchor Church* showed a genuine hermitage to inspire landscape gardeners. In 1747 he added two views of beautiful ruined abbeys, Fountains and Kirkstall, and two ruined castles, Kenilworth and Tinmouth. Unlike Samuel Buck's earlier ruins Smith's were shown moodily draped with ivy and overrun with tourists. His print of Lord Lyttelton's ornamented park at Hagley (1749) appeared in the wake of Thomson's tribute to the garden in the 1744 edition of *The Seasons*: 'With woods o'erhung, and shagged with mossy rocks / Whence on each hand the gushing waters play, / And down the rough cascade white-dashing fall / or gleam in lengthened vista through the trees'.²² Smith's view was taken from Thomson's Seat, a feature with which Lyttelton had marked the poet's favourite spot. 'Four Romantick Views' of vast rocks and cataracts followed in 1751. All told Smith published some fifty large prints of natural landscape, parks and ruins.

Other printsellers soon caught on. John Tinney published a view of the Wrekin in 1748. John Boydell took advantage of his journey to Oswestry to be married by taking the first four views of the Welsh mountains and four cheap views in the Peak (1749).²³ Smith's principal engraver, Francis Vivares, travelled to Malham to take what he called two 'Romantick Views in Yorkshire' (1753). Most significant in view of later developments were the *Six Views* of Windermere, Derwentwater, Haweswater, Ullswater and Bywell Bay (1752–54) by William Bellers. In 1755 Bellers published an almost equally influential view of the Picturesque ruins of Netley Abbey.²⁴ In 1761 Smith himself produced stormy etchings of the lakes entitled *Four Views in the North of England*.²⁵

More attention was paid to Wales after Richard Wilson (1713–82) designed and distributed a set of six prints of its mountain peaks and ruined castles in the late 1760s.²⁶ These achieved wider circulation after their republication in 1775 by Boydell. About then Wilson's pupil Thomas Jones (1742–1803) produced *Six Views in South Wales, Drawn after Nature*. In the 1770s the supremacy of engraving for landscape was challenged by the invention of aquatint, a process designed to reproduce wash drawings. Paul Sandby (1730–1809) published 36 aquatint views in Wales between 1775 and 1777. Picturesque aquatint views, which were often sold coloured to look like watercolours, proliferated in the 1780s and 1790s. Francis Jukes was a specialist in this field, publishing many sets like Thomas Walmsley's *Views in North Wales* (1794). William Byrne's engraved *Twenty Views of the Lakes* (1784–9), John Warwick Smith's aquatint *Views of the Lakes in Cumberland* (1791–5) and William Green of Ambleside's aquatints provided further incentive for visitors as tourism in the lakes really got under way.

After reading Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* travellers began to pay as much attention to the

people as the landscapes. Henry Bunbury was the first to design prints of the peasants along the tourist routes, with Snowdonia and the Vale of Llangollen as his favourite hunting ground.²⁷ In the late 1780s and 1790s prints of Picturesque rustics, in stipple or in mezzotint, became the staple diet of consumers.

It was only during the 1770s that views of the Alps began to reach the English market. In 1773 William Pars published *Five Views in Switzerland and Savoy* engraved by Woollett and republished by Boydell ten years later. In 1780 the Swiss engraver-publisher Johann Ludwig Aberli sent the London printseller William Faden an account of his Alpine landscapes, then amounting to twelve plates. In that year William Coxe's *Sketches of Swisserland* recommended the Basle printseller Chrétien de Mèchel to English travellers as their best guide to Switzerland.²⁸ De Mèchel, a pupil of Aberli, also began to publish Swiss views in large numbers. By the 1790s one London printseller, Mrs Diemar, retained her own artist, Bellange, to produce etched Alpine views for sale through her shop in the Strand.²⁹

Prints taught tourists what to appreciate in gardens or in the natural landscape. Gilpin's 1748 *Dialogue upon the Gardens at Stowe*, a discussion between an admirer of nature improved by art and a lover of the rugged nature of the north, was easily understood by someone familiar with Thomas Smith's prints and with Bridgeman or Bickham's views of Stowe. When the poet Thomas Gray undertook a northern tour in 1769 he followed in the steps of the printmakers. At Crow-park on 4 October Gray concluded that 'Smith judged right, when he took his print of the Lake from hence, for it is a gentle eminence, not too high, on the very margin of the water and commanding it from end to end, looking full into the gorge of *Borodale*'. Gray went on to visit Gordal 'not without shuddering' and was delighted to find that at the alehouse where I dined, in Malham, Vivares, the landscape-painter, had lodged for a week or more. Smith & Bellers had also been there, and two prints of Gordale have been engraved by them'.³⁰

While Thomas Smith kept to prospects, his contemporary George Lambert (1700–65) not only painted Picturesque topography, including views of Dover and Saltwood Castles, but he also published 'Pictures of his own Composition' which, like the landscape presented to the Foundling Hospital in 1757 and published in 1759, became recognizably English.³¹ In this respect Lambert was followed by Thomas Gainsborough (1727–88) and George Smith of Chichester (1714–76), whose work was linked by Francis Vivares when he paired Gainsborough's *The Rural Lovers* with George Smith's *The Hop Pickers* in 1760.

As engravers turned their attention to contemporary English painters in the late 1750s, prints after these painters further defined a vernacular Picturesque, sometimes by contrast. William Austin paired a Zuccarelli with a Gainsborough in 1756 and Joseph Wood proposed Gainsborough's *The Gipsies* as a pair to the first landscape after Richard Wilson, *The Lake of Nemi* in 1758.

In 1760 the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce presented a prize of 50 guineas to the best landscape painting submitted to them and hosted an exhibition organized by the artists of Great Britain in which the prize-winning pictures, were shown with other paintings.

The prize for landscape was awarded to George Smith of Chichester. (Fig. 3) After a remarkable newspaper controversy in which the merits of Smith's painting were measured against those of Richard Wilson's *Niobe* (which had been exhibited but had not been entered for the competition) Boydell decided to publish both paintings, together with the painting by John Smith that had won the second prize, and a second composition, *Phaeton*, by Wilson.



Fig. 3 William Woollett, *The First-Premium Landscape*. 1762. Engraving after George Smith of Chichester.

This group of prints proved outstandingly successful both in England and abroad, where *Niobe* especially was appreciated. A detailed review of *Niobe* was translated for the leading German art journal, the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, and the 1760s saw considerable European demand for English landscape.³² In 1767 Woollett, Vivares and Mason were listed as engravers and Gainsborough, Wilson, Smith and Pillement as designers of prints offered to the collector Karoline Luise of Baden-Durlach by Chrétien de Méchel.³³ Already, by 1763, the *Critical Review* had boldly concluded that ‘If the French are before us in history-engraving, we excel the whole world in that of landscape’.³⁴

The vogue continued. At least ten more landscapes by George Smith had been published by 1770 and his collection of *Fifty-three Etchings* was republished by Boydell in 1770. Five engravings after George Stubbs (1724–1806) by Woollett were advertised as landscapes by their publisher Thomas Bradford between 1768 and 1771. Stubbs’s landscapes were resolutely naturalistic, although his *View of Creswell Crag*, published in 1769, was both topographically exact and Picturesque.³⁵

George Smith’s ‘retir’d and antiquated cots’, to borrow Payne Knight’s phrase, have an unimproved charm that is still quintessentially Picturesque. He was known in Germany by

1770 as 'the English Gessner', for his combined talents as a pastoral poet and a painter, but *The Apple Gatherers*, engraved by Woollett in 1768, was not illustrated with his own verses. (Fig. 4) Like several other landscape prints of the 1760s it was accompanied by lines from Thomson's *Seasons*:



Fig. 4 William Woollett, *The Apple Gatherers*. 1768. Engraving after George Smith.

Hence from the busy Joy-resounding Fields,
In chearful error, let us tread the maze
Of Autumn unconfin'd; and taste, reviv'd
The breath of Orchard big with bending Fruit.

In this glad Season, while his sweetest Beams
The Sun sheds equal o'er the meeken'd Day;
Oh! lose me in some green delightful Walks
Where simple Nature reigns.

Increasingly confident devotion to 'simple Nature' after 1770 closed the gap between imagined landscape and topography. In this process the influence of the engraver, William Woollett (1735–85) was considerable. Woollett took his many pupils sketching from nature in Suffolk and Kent. In Suffolk they stayed with the Revd Charles Davy who was tutor to Sir George Beaumont. Both patrons befriended not only Woollett's pupil, Thomas Hearne (1744–1817), but other pupils who subsequently engraved Picturesque landscape such as Benjamin Pouncy and John Emes.

Hearne became the principal heir to the vernacular Picturesque tradition. About 1785 he painted watercolours of Payne Knight's estate at Downton, and in 1794 illustrated his poem

The Landscape.³⁶ His 'Collection of Views taken from the most interesting and Picturesque Subjects in the Antiquities of Great Britain', undertaken with the engraver William Byrne in 1778, placed equal stress on aesthetic and historical appeal. *Lanercost Priory* was illustrated with verses by the Revd Charles Davy (portrayed in the print), Woollett's patron and Suffolk host. The set of engravings of *Rural Sports* of 1780 showed Picturesque views from nature of just the kind that Woollett and Hearne had sought out on those Suffolk sketching tours.

One final thought on the interpretation of prints. When David Solkin sought to interpret Richard Wilson's *Solitude* he discounted the verses from Thomson that appeared on the print on the reasonable grounds that since the print was published in 1778, long after Wilson painted the picture, Wilson probably had nothing to do with their selection.³⁷ Although George Smith used to stay with Thomas Bradford, who was at once his publisher and his London picture dealer, I do not know who selected the verses for *The Apple Gatherers*.

However, I would approach the issue from another angle. Since the print was the version by which the public remembered *The Apple Gatherers* then, whoever selected them, the verses engraved with it significantly influenced interpretation of the image. The print was the picture that was studied by contemporaries who understood the engraver's intricate and varied language far better than we do. One of the most obvious differences between prints and paintings is that prints are a composite of words and image. Immediately after the passage quoted on *The Apple Gatherers* Thomson digressed characteristically to praise 'Pomona's bard' John Philips, author of *Cyder* (1708) 'who nobly durst in rhyme-unfettered verse / With British freedom sing the British song'. In *The Apple Gatherers* Thomson's verses point with patriotic pride to the unaffected Englishness of Smith and Woollett's Picturesque.

NOTES

A PICTURESQUE TEMPLATE

- 1 William Gilpin, 'Observations on the River Wye' (1770): MS notebook, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- 2 William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye* (1782), p. 1.
- 3 Robert Southey, *Letters from England: by Don Manuel Espriella* (1807): reprinted in Malcolm Andrews ed., *The Picturesque: Literary Sources & Documents*, Helm Information, 1994, vol. 3, p. 82. A number of quotations will be drawn from this anthology, hereafter abbreviated to 'Andrews, *Picturesque*'.
- 4 John Stoddart, *Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland* (1801), vol. 1, p. xii.
- 5 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 42–3.
- 6 John Lettice, *Letters on a Tour through various Parts of Scotland* (1794), p. 474.
- 7 William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye*, 1782, p. 18.
- 8 William Gilpin, *Essay on Prints* (1768), p. x.
- 9 Letter to Joshua Reynolds, 2 May 1791: reproduced in Gilpin, *Three Essays* (1792): Andrews, *Picturesque*, vol. 2, p. 19.
- 10 William Gilpin, 'Observations on . . . several parts of North Wales' (1773), MS notebook, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- 11 R.H. Newell, *Letters on the Scenery of Wales*, 1821, p. 50.
- 12 James Plumptre, *The Lakers: An Opera* (1798): Andrews, *Picturesque*, vol. 3, p. 75.
- 13 Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes*, 1778: 2nd Ed. revised & enlarged, 1780: Andrews, *Picturesque*, vol. 1, p. 283.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 290.
- 15 William Gilpin, Dedication to *Three Essays*. 1792: Andrews, *Picturesque*, vol. 2, p. 6.
- 16 'On Picturesque Travel', *Three Essays* (1792): Andrews, *Picturesque*, vol. 2, p. 25.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 18 Letter to Thomas Wharton, November 1769: Andrews, *Picturesque*, vol. 1, p. 232.
- 19 William Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, 1805–6, Book XI, ll. 146–64.
- 20 *Quarterly*, IX (1992), pp. 123–41; A.V. Griffiths, 'The Rogers Collection in the Cottonian Library, Plymouth', *Print Quarterly*, X (1993), pp. 19–36.
- 3 *Lettre sur la peinture, la sculpture, et l'architecture*, 2nd edn, Amsterdam 1749, pp. 136–7. La Gravure est aux beaux Arts, ce que l'Imprimerie est aux Sciences et aux Belles Lettres. Comme par l'une, les ouvrages de l'esprit circulent et se communiquent dans toutes les parties de l'Univers, de même par l'autre, les plus rares compositions de Peinture et de Sculpture se multiplient à l'infini, et tout le monde, par elle, peut jouir de ce dont un seul homme, sans elle, seroit unique possesseur.
- 4 For prints after Poussin see G. Wildenstein, 'Les graveurs de Poussin au XVII^e siècle', *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XLVI, 1955, pp. 81–371, G. Wildenstein, 'Catalogue des gravures de Poussin par Andresen', *Gazette des beaux-arts*, LX, 1962, pp. 139–202, and M. Davies and A. Blunt, 'Some Corrections and Additions to M. Wildenstein's "Graveurs de Poussin au XVII^e Siècle"', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, LX, 1962, pp. 205–22. See also E. Waterhouse, 'Poussin et l'Angleterre jusqu'en 1744' in ed. A. Chastel, *Nicolas Poussin* (CNRS, Paris, 1960), I, pp. 283–95.
- 5 *Evening Post*, 18–21 March 1710; *Daily Post*, 3 May 1725.
- 6 See A. Griffiths, 'On some Albums of Etchings by Salvator Rosa', *Print Quarterly*, IX, 1992, p. 251. Some English prints after Rosa are described in J. Sunderland, 'The Legend and Influence of Salvator Rosa in England in the Eighteenth Century', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXV, 1973, pp. 785–9, and by Sunderland in M. Kitson *et al.*, *Salvator Rosa*, exh. cat., London, Hayward Gallery, 1973.
- 7 *The Daily Post*, 3 February 1724.
- 8 Boydell announced his acquisition of Goupy's plates in the *London Evening Post*, 18 January 1755. See *A Catalogue of Prints published by John Boydell*, 1773, pp. 46–8.
- 9 Gilpin, *An Essay on Prints*, 1768, p. 41; cf. Claude in M. Huber, *Notices Generales*, p. xiv 'les esqiffes décharnées des objets'.
- 10 On Pond's landscapes see L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: the Rise of Arthur Pond*, 1983, pp. 138–42.
- 11 These observations are based on the account of Claude in M. Huber, *Notices Générales*, 1787, and on the collection of prints after Claude in the British Museum.
- 12 See Anne French, *Gaspard Dughet called Gaspar Poussin 1615–75: a French landscape painter in*

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- 1 Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters, to which is added an Essay towards an English School*, transl. B. Buckeridge, 1706, pp. 54–65.
- 2 Few collections survive intact, but a good number can be partly reconstructed from sale catalogues. See T. Clayton, 'The Print Collection of George Clarke at Worcester College, Oxford', *Print*

- seventeenth century Rome and his influence on British Art*, exh. cat., London, Kenwood, 1980. French notes (p. 9) that 'the late seventeenth century Wilton House book of prints contained eight Gaspards, as against twenty two Elsheimers and thirteen Brills'.
- 13 *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, V, 1767, p. 158.
 - 14 At 5s. for each 'number', of four prints they sold well to fashionable retail printsellers such as James Regnier and Samuel Simpson (L. Lippincott, 'Arthur Pond's Journal of Receipts and Expenses, 1734–1750', *Walpole Society*, LIV (1988), pp. 220–333). When Boydell eventually acquired the worn plates he raised their price to 2s. each and 2s. 6d. for the Claudes (*Part the second of a Catalogue of Prints published by John Boydell* (1776), pp. 75–6).
 - 15 *Public Advertiser*, 6 December 1757 and 24 December 1757. See Christopher White, David Alexander and Ellen D'Oench, *Rembrandt in Eighteenth-century England*, exh. cat., Yale Center for British Art, 1983.
 - 16 Darres auctioneer, *A Catalogue of the valuable Collection of Prints, Books of Prints and Drawings, of the Celebrated Artist Mr. Smith of Derby, lately Deceased*, 13 January 1768.
 - 17 At least eighteen Zuccarellis were published in England between 1752 and 1790. Others could be imported from Venice.
 - 18 See, for example, M. Huber, C. Rost and C. Martini, *Manuel des Curieux et des Amateurs de l'Art*, IX (1808), p. 161: 'Il excelloit sur-tout dans les estampes d'après Claude Lorrain'.
 - 19 *London Evening Post*, 18 June 1743. In 1757 Smith renewed the copyright by engraving a new date on the plates and they were republished again by Boydell with renewed copyright in 1769.
 - 20 *Daily Advertiser*, 7 May 1744.
 - 21 *General Advertiser*, 19 March 1745 and 12 August 1745. Like Smith's set these were sold to subscribers for a guinea. They could also be had coloured from the paintings.
 - 22 *Spring*, 11. 904ff.
 - 23 Listed in *A Catalogue of Prints published by John Boydell*, 1773, pp. 54–5. He also published six Welsh castles.
 - 24 *London Evening Post*, 17 June 1755.
 - 25 These were accompanied by eight pages of letterpress description, of which an example survives in Carlisle Public Library.
 - 26 The views in Wales are usually said to have been published in 1775 by Boydell, but the set was reviewed in the *Neue Bibliothek* in 1769 (IX, p. 166), suggesting that it had been distributed soon after some of the engravings were exhibited in 1767.
 - 27 See, for instance, John Baldrey's pairs of stipples, *Peasants of the Vale of Llangollen* (1781) and *Welch Peasants* (1788), and Tomkins's *A Girl of the Forest of Snowden* (1785).
 - 28 W. Coxe, *Sketches of Swisserland* (1780), pp. 439–40. Cited in L. H. Wüthrich, *Christian von Mehel: Leben und Werk eines Basler Kupferstechers und Kunsthändlers (1737–1817)*, Basel and Stuttgart, 1956.
 - 29 *A Catalogue of all the Valuable Copper Plates. . . being the entire stock of Mrs. Diemar printseller and publisher in the Strand*, auction sale by Christie, 1 June 1799, pp. 4 and 8.
 - 30 Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley eds., *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, 3 vols., Oxford 1935, letters 508* and 511A, journal to Joseph Wharton. Gray inherited Thomson's print collection.
 - 31 On Lambert see Elizabeth Einberg, *George Lambert 1700–1765*, exh. cat., London, Kenwood 1970. On the Foundling Hospital see David Solkin, *Painting for Money* (London 1993), pp. 163–74.
 - 32 *Critical Review*, XII (1761), p. 312; *Bibliothek*, 8 (1762), pp. 160–1. The reviews in the *Bibliothek* are considered in T. Clayton, 'Reviews of English Prints in German Journals 1750–1800', *Print Quarterly*, X, 1993, pp. 123–37 and a general account of German appreciation for English prints is given in A. Griffiths and F. Carey, *German Printmaking in the Age of Goethe*, exh. cat., London, British Museum, 1994.
 - 33 G.F. Kirscher, 'Das Karlsruher Schloss als Residenz und Musensitz', *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg*, Reihe B, 8 Band, Stuttgart 1959, p. 47.
 - 34 XVI, 1763, p. 313.
 - 35 See J. Egerton, 'George Stubbs and the landscape of Creswell Crags', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXVI, (1984), pp. 738–44. The prints are described in C. Lennox-Boyd, R. Dixon and T. Clayton, *George Stubbs: the Complete Engraved Works* (1989), pp. 88–100.
 - 36 Ann Bermingham considered that Hearne's unimproved landscape 'borrows heavily from the typical Gainsborough landscape' (*Landscape and Ideology: the English Rustic Tradition 1740–1840* (Berkeley 1986), p. 57), but Brian Stewart's assertion that the illustration 'is based directly on George Smith's premium painting of 1760' (in *The Smith Brothers of Chichester*, exh. cat., Chichester 1986, p. 51) merits close attention, as does his observation (p. 53) that 'when the theorists enthused about "the roughness of texture, variety, intricacy and irregularity" it was more applicable to

the engravers' interpretation of the work than to the actual painting'.

- 37 D. Solkin, *Richard Wilson: the Landscape of Reaction*, exh. cat., London, Tate Gallery, 1982, p. 70.

PICTURESQUE WOODLAND MANAGEMENT: THE PRICES AT FOXLEY

- 1 For discussions of these different modes of management see for example Oliver Rackham *Ancient Woodland: Its History, Vegetation and Uses in England*, London 1980; Charles Watkins *Woodland Management and Conservation* Newton Abbot 1990; N.D.G. James *A History of English Forestry*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1981.
- 2 See, for example, Susanne Seymour 'The spirit of planting': Eighteenth-century parkland improvement on the Duke of Newcastle's north Nottinghamshire estates *East Midland Geographer* 12 1989, pp. 5–13; Charles Watkins 'An historical introduction to the woodlands of Nottinghamshire' in C. Watkins and P.T. Wheeler (eds) *The Study and Use of British Woodlands* Rural Geography Study Group of the IBG 1–24 1981. See also Stephen Daniels 'The political iconography of woodland in later Georgian England' in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds) *The Iconography of Landscape*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 59–60.
- 3 See the essays in Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins (eds) *The Picturesque Landscape. Visions of Georgian Herefordshire*. Department of Geography, University of Nottingham, 1994.
- 4 Uvedale Price *Essays on the Picturesque* 3 Vols (London 1810) Vol. 2, pp. 247–8.
- 5 For fuller discussions of the Foxley estate see Denis A. Lambin 'Foxley: the Price's estate in Herefordshire', *Journal of Garden History* 7 (1987) pp. 244–270; and Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins 'Picturesque landscaping and estate management: Uvedale Price and Nathaniel Kent at Foxley' in Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds) *The Politics of the Picturesque*, Cambridge University Press 1994, pp. 13–41.
- 6 For Herefordshire agriculture see E.L. Jones 'Agricultural conditions and changes in Herefordshire, 1660–1815' *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* 37 1962, pp. 32–55; William Marshall *The Rural Economy of Gloucestershire; including its Dairy: together with the Dairy Management of North Wiltshire and the Management of Orchards and Fruit Liquor in Herefordshire*, London 1789; and Joan Thirsk (ed) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* Volume V 1640–1750, 1984 I Regional Farming Systems.
- 7 The list of improvements has a strange history. It was discovered by Bryan Little on the flypage of a copy of James Gibbs' *Book of Architecture* which he saw in an antiquarian book dealer's shop in London in the 1950s. He made a transcript of this list, but did not purchase the book, which cannot now be traced. Little made use of information from this list in a BBC Midland Home Service radio broadcast on 20 May 1956. The script of this broadcast was discovered by the authors in Hereford City Library. Bryan Little kindly provided a photocopy of his full transcript of the marginalia when we wrote to him in 1988. The 1770 survey is entitled *A book of survey containing the Manors of Yazor, Mancellacey, Bishopstone . . . with the contents and yearly estimates of Uvedale Price Esq. of Foxley . . . in the year of our Lord 1770* Hereford County Record Office (HCRO) D 344. This is referred to as the '1770 survey'. The 1774 survey by Nathaniel Kent is entitled *A Survey of Foxley and its appendages in the County of Hereford, the estate of Uvedale Price Esq.* This survey was discovered by Major D.J.C. Davenport in 1988. It is a small bound volume. The following statement is on the last page: 'This estate was surveyed, modelled and set by me upon the agreements contained in this book in the year 1774' Signed Nath. Kent, Fulham 20.9.1774'.
- 8 Oliver Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, 1980, p. 201.
- 9 *Hereford Journal* 18 March 1795.
- 10 Nathaniel Kent *1774 Survey*.
- 11 John Clark *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hereford* London 1794, p. 32.
- 12 John Duncumb *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hereford* London 1805; Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust *A Herefordshire woodland survey*, Hereford 1984.
- 13 HCRO B 47/- D303–07.
- 14 HCRO B 47/- H70–1 D97.
- 15 See Table 1.6 on p. 38 of Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds) *The Politics of the Picturesque*, Cambridge 1994, for the valuation of timber in this exchange.
- 16 Uvedale Price to Sir George Beaumont, 14 August 1812, Coleorton MSS.
- 17 HCRO Knight papers T74 728.
- 18 HCRO Knight papers T74 728 5.
- 19 See David Whitehead 'Sense with sensibility: landscaping in Georgian Herefordshire' in Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins (eds) *The Picturesque Landscape* Department of Geography, University of Nottingham 1994, pp. 16–33.
- 20 E.W. Brayley and J. Britton *The Beauties of England and Wales*, London 1805, p. 581.
- 21 Uvedale Price to Sir George Beaumont, 11 November 1812, Coleorton MSS.
- 22 Letter from Price to Samuel Rogers May 25 1823. In P.W. Clayden (ed) *Rogers and his contemporaries* London, Smith Elder 1889, pp. 356–7.