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Military Themes in British Painting 1815 - 1914.

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Abstract.

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This thesis examines the treatment of the British Army and military themes, in painting, during the period 1815-1914. All the works discussed were exhibited at the Royal Academy, which, although it underwent modifications in status, remained the nearest equivalent to a State Institution for Art in Britain. All the paintings shown there were painted with the knowledge that they were to be seen by the controllers of the Academy and the dominant classes of society. It will be inferred then, that the paintings shown there may be taken to have been acceptable to ruling class ideologies, and are therefore instructive of "official" attitudes to military art.

Representations of the contemporary Army, in this period, fell into two main categories - battle paintings and genre depictions of soldiers. Chapters one to three survey battle paintings; studying the relation of this genre to the Academy; the relative popularity of the genre and the career patterns of its practitioners. The critical reception of battle pictures at the Academy and certain important public competitions will be noted and considered in the context of contemporary ideologies about art and about the Army and its men.

Chapter four discusses the vital concept of "heroism" and its treatment in English military art. In particular, the reasons for the popularity of certain military figures above their peers, in academic art, will be explored. It will be argued that the process of "hero-making" in art was not determined by professional success alone, but was often the result of the intervention of patrons, publicists and pressure groups. It will be shown that contemporary ideologies of heroism and art-historical convention precluded innovation in representation to correspond with technological developments in warfare. Battle paintings of heroes remained rooted in the conventions of "chivalry" until the end of the First World War.

Chapters five and six study genre representations of the soldier. Paintings of the "recruit", the "veteran" and the soldier and the family are discussed in relation to contemporary ideologies of the soldier held by the dominant classes. This thesis seeks to show that the military genre pictures, exhibited at the Royal Academy, are significantly related to developments in ideas about the Army and society, and that the uncertain status of battle painting was reflective of the equivocal attitude towards the Army and the Empire in this period.

Table of contents.

Abstract.....	2
Table of Contents.....	3
List of illustrations.....	4
Acknowledgements.....	8
Introduction.....	9
Chapter One. Battle painting 1815 - 1854.....	19
Chapter Two. Battle painting 1854 - 1874.....	78
Chapter Three. Battle painting 1874 - 1914.....	117
Chapter Four. Images of Hercism in nineteenth century military painting.....	186
Chapter Five. Genre paintings of soldiers.....	240
Chapter Six. Domestic paintings of soldiers.....	297
Notes.....	332
Appendix A: Check list of military paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy 1815 - 1914.....	356
Appendix B: Biographical index of battle painters exhibiting at the Royal Academy 1815 - 1914.....	370
Bibliography.....	380
Graph A "Percentages of battle and military pictures of total exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1815-1914"...	384
Graph B " Military paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy 1815-1914".....	385

ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Denis Dighton, The Battle of Waterloo, 1816,
(The National Trust. Plas Newydd, Anglesey)
2. George Jones, The Battle of Waterloo, 1820
(Royal Military Hospital, Chelsea)
3. James Ward, The Battle of Waterloo, an allegory,
(Royal Military Hospital Chelsea), ph. Witt Library.
4. Luke Clennell, Sauve qui peut, engraving
(British Museum)
5. Abraham Cooper, The Battle of Bosworth, ph. Witt Lib.
6. J.M.W.Turner, The Field of Waterloo, (Tate Gallery).
7. Edward Armitage, The Battle of Meeanee, (Coll. Her
Majesty the Queen), ph. Witt Lib.
8. William Allan, The Battle of Waterloo, from the English
side, (Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst).
9. Thomas Sydney Cooper, Battle of Waterloo, Kellerman's
Brigade, (Williamson Art Gallery, Birkenhead).
10. Thomas Jones Barker, Duke of Wellington at Sorauren,
(Strathfield Saye)
11. Thomas Jones Barker, Return through the Valley of Death
ph. Witt Library.
12. Thomas Jones Barker, General Williams Leaving Kars,
(National Army Museum, London).
13. Thomas Jones Barker, Riderless Horse after the Battle
of Sedan, (Southampton Art Gallery).
14. Edward Armitage, Battle of Inkermann, (private coll.)
15. George Jones, The Relief of Lucknow, (Tate Gallery).
16. Edward Armitage, Retribution, (Leeds Town Hall),
ph. after engraving Witt Lib.
17. Louis William Desanges, Major Gough winning the VC,
(Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst), ph. National Army
Museum, London.
18. Louis William Desanges, Private Sims winning the VC,
(Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst), ph. National Army
Museum, London.
19. Elizabeth Thompson, (Lady Butler) Calling the Roll after
an Engagement, Crimea, (Coll. Her Majesty the Queen).
20. Elizabeth Thompson, The Battle of Balaclava, (City
Art Gallery, Manchester).

21. John Charlton, After the Battle, Sedan, ph. Witt Lib.
22. Elizabeth Thompson, Scotland Forever!, (Leeds City Art Gallery).
23. Elizabeth Thompson, The Dawn of Waterloo, (private collection).
24. Richard Caton Woodville, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir, (Coll. Her Majesty the Queen). ph. Witt Lib.
25. George Douglas Giles, The Battle of Tamaai, 13 March 1884, (National Army Museum, London).
26. George Douglas Giles, The Battle of Tamaai, 14 March 1884, (National Army Museum, Chelsea)
27. Robert Gibb, The Thin Red Line, (Dewars Whiskey Ltd.) ph. Witt Lib.
28. Walter Calcott Horsley, The French in Cairo, ph. Witt Lib.
29. Walter Calcott Horsley, A Friendly Power in Egypt, ph. Witt Lib.
30. John Charlton, Routed! Boers Retreating ph. Witt Lib.
31. John Charlton, Saving the Guns at Maiwand, (Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle).
32. Richard Caton Woodville, Charge of the Light Brigade, ph. Witt Lib.
33. Elizabeth Thompson, The Defence of Rorke's Drift, (Coll. Her Majesty the Queen).
34. Charles Edward Fripp, The Battle of Isandlwana, (National Army Museum, London).
35. William Barnes Wollen, Last Stand of the 44th at Gundamuck, ph. Witt Lib.
36. Benjamin Robert Haydon, Napoleon on St. Helena, (Coll. Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth), ph. Witt Lib.
37. Marcus Stone, On the Road from Waterloo to Paris (Guildhall, London).
38. George Harvey, An Incident in the Life of Napoleon ph. Witt Lib.
39. George William Joy, Wellington at Angers, ph. Witt Lib.
40. George Jones, The Battle of Meeanee, (National Army Museum, London)
41. George Jones, Truckee, (National Army Museum, London).

42. G. F. De Prades, Lord Cardigan at Balaclava, (Deene Park, Corby).
43. Frederick Goodall, Gordon's Last Messenger, (Gordon School, Woking).
44. George William Joy, The Death of General Gordon, (Gordon School, Woking).
45. Vereker M. Hamilton, The Attack on the Peiwar Kotal, (location unknown).
46. Edward Rippingille, The Recruiting Party, (City of Bristol Art Gallery & Museum).
47. Henry Liverseege, The Recruit, (National Army Museum, London).
48. W. H. Gore, 'Listed, (Guildhall, London).
49. Elizabeth Thompson, 'Listed for the Connaught Rangers, (Location unknown).
50. Henry Collins, In Close Pursuit of a Deserter, (Smith Gallery, Stirling).
51. J.H. Henshall, A Deserter, ph. Witt Lib.
52. J.E. Millais, The Peace Concluded, (private coll.)
53. David Wilkie, Chelsea Pensioner receiving the London Gazette Extraordinary of 22nd June 1815, announcing the Battle of Waterloo, (Apsley House, London).
54. Hubert Herkomer, The Last Muster, (Lady Lever Gallery, Port Sunlight).
55. P.R. Morris, Peaceful Days, ph. Witt Lib.
56. Henry Stacy Marks, The Ornithologist, ph. Witt Lib.
57. Thomas Faed, From Hand to Mouth, (private coll), ph. after engraving Witt Lib.
58. John Faed, A Wappanschaw, (Scottish National Portrait Gallery).
59. J.C. Horsley, Pride of the Village, (Tate Gallery).
60. Thomas Webster, Returning from the Fair, ph. Witt Lib.
61. Frank Dadd, Gold Lace has a Charm for the Fair, (Tate Gallery).
62. John Faed, In Time of War, (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool)
63. Frederick Goodall, A Letter from Papa, (Tunbridge Wells Museum and Art Gallery).
64. Henry Nelson O'Neil, Eastward Ho! (Private Coll)

65. Frank Holl, Ordered to the Front, (location unknown), ph. Witt Lib.
66. Henry Nelson O'Neil, Home Again!, (Private Coll.)
67. J Noel Paton, Home!, (Coll. Her Majesty the Queen). ph. Witt Lib.
68. J.E.Millais, The Black Brunswicker, (Lady Lever Gallery, Port Sunlight).
69. J.D.Luard, Nearing Home, (Location unknown) ph. Witt Lib.
70. J.N.PATON, In Memoriam, (location unknown), ph. Witt Lib.
71. William Mulready, The Convalescent from Waterloo, (Victoria and Albert Museum).
72. W. Calderon, A Son of the Empire, ph. Witt Lib.
73. Phil Morris, Sons of the Brave, ph. Witt Lib.
74. Frank Holl, Did you ever kill anybody, Father?, ph. Witt Lib.
75. Lucy Kemp-Welch, In sight! Lord Dundonald's Dash on Ladysmith, (Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter).

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MILITARY THEMES IN BRITISH PAINTING 1815-1914.

INTRODUCTION.

"Of all the phases of Art, there is none so barren as the Military, and none in which English painters have found themselves so peculiarly abroad." ¹

This survey of military themes in British painting in the nineteenth century starts with the two related contemporary mythologies, so neatly summarised by William Michael Rossetti; that military art was a "barren" area of activity and that British artists were unwilling and unable to work in the genre. The two statements about British military art will be shown to be interwoven with the pervasive myth of British anti-militarism. All nineteenth century writers on the Army and the State, before the Boer War, agreed that Britain was not a military nation and that ² she did not relish war. This belief was reiterated even in the face of the phenomenon of "jingoism". The term was first coined in 1878, but had its roots in the war fervour before ³ the Crimean campaign in 1854. This feverish desire to go to war was attributed, by such men as Disraeli, as a healthy national pride and a desire to use military strength for ⁴ good causes. The words of the popular song from which jingoism took its name, stressed that "we don't want to fight, with the implication that war had to be forced upon ⁵ the British. Britain was favourably contrasted with nations such as France and Prussia, where a distinct military caste held considerable political influence and soldiers were

6

highly respected. In England, it was pointed out, the Army was officered by gentlemen, acting from a spirit of public duty and responsibility. Alan Skelley has shown in his book The Victorian Army and Society, the extent to which the pre-Crimean Officer class was composed of the landed gentry and aristocracy, in effect, the power-holding group.⁷

It is clearly simplistic then, to argue that because there was no distinct military lobby, that the Army had no power and was divorced from the power structure. Indeed it will be contended here that although the Army was verbally "attacked" by members of Parliament, and must be limited to preserve "the Constitution and Liberty", the Army in the pre-Crimean era remained intact and even strengthened. All Governments, whether Whig or Tory, continued to pay lip-service to the mythology of the national anti-militarism, and used the "no standing Army" rhetoric whilst continuing to use it as an instrument of State control, for the suppression of political and social unrest.

In spite of these political efforts to show that the Army was controlled and marginalised for the preservation of constitutional freedoms, it is clear that the power-holding group in early nineteenth century England saw the interests of the Army as indistinguishable from their own. Indeed it was because the Army was so closely linked with the aristocracy and land-owning gentry, the traditional power-holding class, that it was the target for attack, both from working class radicals and from the emergent political force of the urban bourgeoisie. The struggle for control over the Army, which will form one of the central themes of this thesis, has been widely described by liberal historians as "the democratisation" and rationalisation of an

8

institution run down by incompetent aristocrats. The evidence of this thesis supports the argument that this "democratisation" was merely an element in the struggle for control over the Army. In the years after Waterloo, there was increasing pressure from bourgeois financiers and intellectuals to infiltrate the political and social structures of power, and that the attacks on the Army were merely articulated in terms of "democratisation" and re-organisation to assert their right to participate. In the Cardwell Reforms, of the early 1870s, this process reached its fullest development, and major changes were instituted, aimed at "opening" the officer class to gentlemen from the middle classes, and making the Army a popular career for "decent" working class men.
9

It will be argued that the relationship of the Army to the State and the ideologies underpinning and surrounding it, may be shown to have a significant relation with works of art on military themes, shown at the Royal Academy. The nature of this link, however, is by no means a straightforward one in which the pictures unproblematically reflect the ideologies of the ruling class. The pictures themselves work ideology in a specifically pictorial way and play a role in negotiating ideas about the military in Britain.

The complexity of the history of battle painting in the immediate post-Waterloo period will be made clear in Chapter One, where it will be shown that whether or not the genre should exist in Britain was the subject of debate. The pervasive myth of anti-militarism, made it impossible for the State to endorse the patronage of overtly propagandistic

battle paintings, in the High Art manner favoured by the regime of Napoleon in France. Such patronage as there was, was sporadic and administered by sub-groups or individuals from the ruling class. At the same time, the lack of battle painting compared with France was noted and the conclusion drawn that this dearth of battle painting was a "reflection" of the anti-military "nature" of the Nation. So that although the Army was constantly involved with wars throughout the century, the activity was not constructed as resulting from a "warlike" spirit, but as the exercising of a God-given role as arbiter of justice and, in the Empire, as the taking up of the "white man's burden". In the High Victorian era, the mythology of anti-militarism was retained in the form of a ritual shunning of military professionalism, but was in competition with a need to assert national superiority in all forms of endeavour.

This thesis will examine oil paintings on military subjects, exhibited at public metropolitan venues in the century, 1815-1914. The medium under analysis has been limited to oil paintings because that was the form in which most public art was presented, and it is with the creation of works for public rather than private consumption, and the reception of those works, that this thesis is primarily concerned. It has therefore been decided to leave out discussion of prints, sculptures and watercolour painting, interesting and valuable though such research might prove to be.¹⁰ Because of the imprecise nature of such terms as "increasing popularity" and "higher numbers" when applied to works of art, it has been decided to use the exhibits of the Royal Academy Annual Summer exhibition to provide a statistical frame work for the argument of this thesis. The

selection of this institution may seem to be a blind acceptance of the Academy's own contemporary self-evaluation as the forum for all "important" art in England in the period.

"All in all we are bound to accept the Annual Exhibition of the RA as a manifestation - a visible record- of the state of British art; but it by no means follows that the annualists, so to speak, are invariably capable men and give us on all occasions such a synopsis as will satisfy cultured people."¹¹

Although the limitations of focusing on a single exhibiting body are readily acknowledged, the choice of the RA offers two major advantages. Firstly the RA has the unique quality of continuous documentation - the exhibitions, which occurred without interruption throughout the period, were always accompanied by a catalogue which detailed the artist, his/her location and the title of the picture. These catalogues have provided the material for a statistical analysis of the occurrence of the military genres at the R.A. (see below). Secondly the R.A. for almost all the nineteenth century was regarded as the foremost venue for the exhibition of paintings, and thus occupied an important place in the social life of the metropolis. It is essential to be able to gauge, even in outline, the kind of audience which received the paintings discussed here.

The RA audience did not remain the same over the hundred year period, but it is reasonable to state firstly that a large section of the art-buying public in ^{London} _^ were ^{to} _^ consistently present at the summer exhibition. In the early part of the century, the RA exhibition formed part of the London Season. It was a fashionable occasion at which members of the aristocracy and upper-middle classes, ¹² gathered. This social group was constituted by a large

proportion of Government ministers, members of the judiciary, members of both Houses and Parliament, and officers of the Army. The Academy, in the pre-Crimean period then, could count upon the most influential and wealthy in the land as among its audience.¹³ The audience of the RA, of course, did not remain fixed over this long period of time. From the 1820s, members of the bourgeoisie were increasingly observed to be patronising contemporary artists. It is almost a cliché to quote Lady Eastlake's comment on the increasing participation of the industrial bourgeoisie in the art market after about 1830.¹⁴ Of course, this class had long bought paintings; from local artists and metropolitan artists of lesser status. But the intervention of this class in the exalted circles of Academy art, may be seen as further evidence of their growing wealth and social confidence. It was in this period, after Waterloo, that this class whose wealth derived from commerce and industry, began to demand greater participation in the processes of Government. The broadening of the RA audience after about 1830, then, did not mean that its constituency was any the less powerful and influential. In the mid 1850s the summer exhibition was still a required part of the Social curriculum.

"Some slight acquaintance with the pictures is, however, essential for anyone who aspires to the high aim of making himself agreeable in society. Of all the stereotyped commonplaces of conversation, the Royal Academy Exhibition is the most fruitful and convenient."¹⁵

In the 1870s the supremacy of the RA was under attack from sections of the "art world" who deplored its encouragement of "old fashioned" forms of painting, and its exclusion of "avant garde" artists.¹⁶ Rival exhibition galleries had, of course, existed throughout the century, but even such

organisations as the British Institution did not disrupt the received notions of the Academy, about what constituted "good" and "important" art.

The Grosvenor Gallery, and its successors, the New Gallery and later, the ^{New} English Art Club, espoused forms of representation which promoted "aesthetic" values over didactic or narrative, and thus established a real alternative kind of contemporary art exhibition. Despite these changes, it would be difficult to show that the position of the RA in relation to the political and social power-holding groups really changed. The RA Banquet continued to be patronised by the Monarchy and members of ¹⁷ the Forces and the Government. It was only in the terms of a limited elite within the elite, critics and a few patrons, that the Royal Academy lost its supremacy.

This issue of audience is crucial in establishing that the pictures shown at the RA at the very least could not have been antithetical to the ideologies of the "power-¹⁸ holding" class. It must be noted that the term "ruling-class" used through out this thesis, does not denote a single homogenous group of people with unified aims, but is rather the association of interest groups and classes, who may be perceived to have controlled the means of production at a given time. It is not the function of this thesis to try to prove which group dominated, at which time. It will be shown that the works of military art which were shown at the Royal Academy may be shown to be significantly related to the contending ideologies of different sections of the ruling class. The Royal Academy may be examined as the site of struggle between conflicting ideologies within

the dominant group and those of elements contending for admittance to its circles. Works which were hung there would not have presented a view which seriously countered the dominant ideology of the ruling class audience, although modifications of existing mythologies did appear, as will be discussed below. The relation of the Academy to the State requires some examination. There can be no doubt that, despite the vaunted independence of the institution, the RA did consider itself to have a uniquely close relation to the Monarchy and the other chief institutions such as the Army and Navy. This was manifest in the Annual Banquet, at which representatives of these institutions were invited, to consolidate the bond. In the same way, as has been observed above, the RA was the main art forum which received ¹⁹ the patronage of the ruling class, throughout the century.

An important element in this thesis, then, will be to examine the works of art, on military themes, in relation to ruling class ideologies of the Army, the Empire and war. The first three chapters are devoted to a chronological survey of battle paintings, integrated with a study of contemporary military and political history. The chapters will link the debate over the status and importance of battle painting to contemporary debates over the role of the British Army and its function in the Empire. The last three chapters will also discuss the Army and ideology, but in relation to the representation of heroes and examples of military genre painting.

II

The richness of the material available made a variety of approaches possible, even imperative. The methodology selected here is picture-centred, rather than based on the

works of individual artists. At the same time, almost nothing is known of the practise of nineteenth century battle painters, compared for example to that of genre or landscape painters. Accordingly biographical outlines of all the battle painters mentioned in this thesis are provided in appendix "A". This will allow the narrative to flow, without the intrusion of important details about patronage, career pattern and training.

An important theme which runs through this thesis is French military art. France, during the first eighty years of this period was the cynosure of British military artists, the school against which British critics measured the national school, and the place from which innovations were imported and modified. In every generation after Waterloo, British battle painters visited France and often were trained there. It is not as a study of Anglo-French artistic relations that this narrative has been written, although this was clearly an important element in the production of British military art in this period. Issues of artistic "influence" have been passed over in favour of a discussion of the way works were received and understood in Britain. France and French military painting was, however, an inescapable element in that process. The existence of a French tradition of battle painting was simultaneously admired, despised and condemned. France's position of economic, military and political rival to Britain was scarcely displaced by the few occasions on which the nations were military allies. It will be shown that military painting, or the "absence" of it, was one of the ways in which nationalistic commentators articulated Britain's moral

superiority over France.

The statistics presented in the thesis in the form of graphs, are designed to do no more than provide a skeleton for a discussion of the broader issues. The graphs provide statistics for "A"; the relation of the numbers of battle, genre and general military pictures at the Academy; and "B", the proportion of military pictures to the total number of exhibits at the Academy. The creation of such graphs involves a process of limiting and excluding, as well as drawing up criteria for the inclusion of pictures, which might well appear quirky. Bearing in mind the necessary limitations of compiling and interpreting statistics, the figures do reveal important and significant trends in the exhibition and production of military paintings in this period. The figures show, for example, the numerical dominance of genre painting over battle painting in the pre-Crimean period. Lalumia in a recent and useful book on Crimean war images, states that the turning away of artists from battle to genre painting was a result of their ²¹ disillusion with the Crimean War. This is clearly not so, since the phenomenon can be noted much earlier. The statistics also register that in the so-called "Age of Imperialism", images of triumphant Imperialism were massively outnumbered by nostalgic celebrations of the Napoleonic era. This issue will be discussed at some length under the heading of Nostalgia in Chapter Three. The term "contemporary" has been designated to mean within twenty-five years, that is a generation. To facilitate an understanding of the graphs a "check-list" of the military paintings enumerated is included as Appendix "B".

Chapter One.

Battle Painting 1815-1854

This examination of battle painting in British Academic art begins in 1815, the year after the first defeat of the French, and the exile of Napoleon Bonaparte to the island of Elba. In that year Napoleon left his island exile on Elba and reassembled his grand army. After the Hundred Days, Napoleon was conclusively defeated by an Allied Army of Belgian, Prussian and British troops, under the command of the Duke of Wellington.¹

It might have been expected that the Peace celebrations of the summer of 1814 would have stimulated the patronage of pictures celebrating Wellington's victories in the Peninsular. In this year however there were no State projects for battle paintings, nor was there an increase in the number of battle pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy. In fact, the exhibition contained only two paintings based on the late war in the Peninsular. Only one of these was by a British artist.² This interesting circumstance will be explained in terms of two separate but related issues. The first is the status of battle painting within the hierarchy of British Academic art; and the second is the issue of the lack of patronage, either from the State or motivated individuals. The status of the genre of battle painting in British art was, as will be shown, the subject of some confusion. In France the patronage and encouragement of the Emperor Napoleon had elevated battle painting to the level of History painting. A recently published book gives a useful account of the history of

battle painting in Britain and Europe, and therefore this
will not be rehearsed in detail here. Lalumia's main points
are that there was no indigenous battle painting in Britain
prior to the nineteenth century, and in preceding
centuries such works as were produced were by specially
imported painters from France or the Low Countries. It will
be contended that due to the absence of a thriving tradition
of "High Art" battle painting, the genre was associated with
a lower ranking genre which was in common currency,
topographical painting. Topographical painting of battles
had its origin in map-making and sketches of troop
formations and was regarded as being "documentary" of the
facts of historical events.

There was one "High Art" form of military painting
which had flourished in England in the late Eighteenth
century was the "exemplum virtutis" painting, such as West's
Death of General Wolfe and Cop y's Death of P rson. These
works showed the inspiring deaths of military heroes on
battle fields, expiring in the pictorial poses based on
Renaissance depictions of the dying Christ. The innovations
of this genre, presenting a contemporary hero in modern
dress, but in terms of the tradition of High Art, were not
permanently absorbed in Britain as they had been in
France. Although such works were occasionally produced to
depict the death of Nelson and Moore, no such pictures
were commissioned as part of the post-war celebrations.
These works cannot be seen as "battle" pictures, since the
military events were of little significance except as a
context for the sacrifice of the hero.

The supreme British hero at the end of the war was the
Duke of Wellington, who was constructed in the "national"

mythology as the Saviour of Europe, a superhuman who had achieved the unthinkable - the defeat of Napoleon. Wellington as the Commander in Chief of the Allied Army was regarded, at least by the British Government, as the sole victor of Waterloo, and it was believed that he played a dominant role in "redrawing the map of Europe" at the ⁹ Congress of Vienna. Much of the Peace Celebrations were devoted to honouring this national hero. The Prussian commander, Prince Blucher was also feted. Personally a popular figure, he was symbolic of the Alliance of nations ¹⁰ which had defeated Napoleon. The Prince of Wales, Regent for the latter years of the war during his father's insanity, was eager to associate himself and his dynasty with the victories, despite the fact that the monarchy had had less in administrative and personal terms to do with the war than ever before.

It will be shown that the Regent's desire to appropriate the Peninsular, Trafalgar and Waterloo victories, resulted in patronage for a genre of battle painting not legitimized in the tenets of Academic theory. In the immediate aftermath of the war, however, the Regent patronized or supported a range of projects, which excluded battle painting. The schemes were designed to celebrate Napoleon's defeat and emphasise Britain's leading role in restoring the Bourbon monarchy and beating back the forces of anarchy ¹¹ and revolution.

The painter Benjamin Robert Haydon noted bitterly, in his diary, that History Painting had not benefitted from the expenditure of money stimulated by the Peace celebrations.

"It is a most extraordinary thing... that in all these monuments and pillars, neither mayor, minister nor

prince has said a word about painting."

Haydon was incorrect: a number of schemes had been mooted which might have led to the commissioning of History paintings. Lord Castlereagh, the Prime Minister, had obtained a vote from Parliament to devote five hundred thousand pounds "for the erection of a Waterloo monument, in which painting, sculpture and architecture were to have been ¹³ united". This grandiose project was never executed due to the inability of the committee to resolve upon a plan which met with the approval of the Royal Academy. The reluctance of the Academicians to connect their institution with the project suggests misgivings about the way the Academic ¹⁴ painting would be utilized to celebrate the victory.

In 1814, after the first defeat of Napoleon, the Regent had proposed to commission a series of paintings for Windsor Castle on the theme of the Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty to the throne of France.

"It was first proposed that the Restoration of the Bourbons should be commemorated in two historical compositions on a large scale, "not inferior to that of West lately finished"....But the project was again cancelled and the Prince commissioned the portrait painter Lawrence to produce a series of "full and three quarter length portraits of the Monarchs, Statesmen and General Officers who contributed most conspicuously to bring the Revolutionary war to its happy and glorious conclusion".¹⁵

The Regent's motives for abandoning the project for commemorating the victory in two historical paintings are not documented, but nevertheless require some speculation. Certainly, he met Lawrence for the first time in this period ¹⁶ and was favourably impressed by his talents. Moreover, the new scheme allowed for the Regent's person to be included among the heroes who had brought about the victory. The decision to eschew historical compositions was part of a

broader trend so frequently bewailed by Haydon and other enthusiasts who believed that the genre was the indicator of the strength of the "National School". The reference to the recent compositions lately finished by West was not to his famous and highly successful Death of General Wolfe but to his commission from George III for thirty-five paintings expounding the theme of the History of Revealed Religion. This elaborate scheme had floundered for a complex set of political, religious and practical reasons. John Dillinger has attributed part of West's unpopularity with the Royal Family to his known admiration for Napoleon and sympathy for Republican France. West had forcefully expressed the opinion that the lack of state support for his work contrasted unfavourably with the flowering of history painting in France, especially in the art of David. It seems admissible to argue that during the war, the genre of military History painting had come to be particularly associated with Napoleon and thus pro- Napoleonic sentiment. The victorious British wished to differentiate themselves from French militarism which had led to the commissioning of overtly propagandistic battle paintings. As will be shown below, a critic appraising Ward's allegory of Wellington's victories found it to be too full of "extravagance" and "flights of fancy" to suit the sober temperament of the nation. The argument about the form that military art might take in Britain was thus complicated by the feeling that military History painting was the domain of the French and reflected their militaristic and excessive national character. It will be argued below that this association underpinned many of the objections to History painting schemes which were planned in the immediate post-war period.

In France the genre of military painting had been raised to the level of History painting as a result of a calculated programme of patronage on the part of Vivant Denon, Napoleon's virtual Minister for the Arts.²¹ Since the Emperor's reputation was founded on his prowess as a general and his reputation for invincibility, it was obvious that the art of his regime should express these aspects of the leader in the most portentous and glamorous manner.²² The process of raising the status of the genre of military painting commenced by Napoleon was further assisted by the restored Bourbon monarchy. Louis XVIII embarked on "a generous programme of official support designed to make up for the lack of private patronage and at the same time to raise the level of French painting by encouraging artists to attempt works of the noblest and most strenuous kind".²³ The French Government wished to demonstrate that the highest branch of art flourished under the Bourbon regime and they were willing to cultivate that branch with generous commissions. This policy acknowledged that large scale paintings on historical and "national" themes were not the province of the private patron.

In England the artistic importance of History painting was also acknowledged. West's conviction that the production of History paintings was the truest indication of a flourishing national school, formed part of a wider discourse on the relation of art to the state of the nation, and in particular to the notion of a distinctively English national school. The arguments around these issues have been ably expounded elsewhere and need only be lightly summarised here.²⁴ The theoretical basis for the academic hierarchy of

genres had been formulated by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his Discourses, delivered before the Royal Academy between 1769-
25

80. Reynolds had not explicitly located battle painting in his post-Albertian construction of a table of artistic importance. The definition of History painting in England had not broadened as it had in France to absorb "national themes", including the representation of contemporary battles in modern dress.

If military themes did not have a thriving existence within the parameters of High Art in Britain, it is clear that there was a market for the representation of military subjects. The Printsellers' List shows that there were numerous battle sketches and costume studies available at the cheaper end of the art market. This type of production was outside Academic practice although inevitably patronized, in part, by the same audience. This art form had evolved from topographical sketches, and combined the portraits of certain military figures with carefully delineated troop dispositions. The link with the lowly esteemed genres of topographical landscape and portraiture undoubtedly located this type of battle painting, even when executed in oils and on an "important" scale, as an academically negligible practice. It will be shown that because this type of battle painting eschewed the conventions of Baroque or Renaissance battle painting, it was thought to be without conventions and thus to be purely documentary. As will be shown, the work of artists like Jones was frequently discussed in terms of "illustration" and this language employed to establish the work's closeness to perfect accuracy. In this discourse it was assumed that "topographical" battle paintings were documentary, and that

military pictures could be read on two levels; in terms of "truth" and in terms of "Art". Implicit in this division was the belief that any battle painting which aspired to the status of art must necessarily have abandoned any relation to the historical event, and conversely, that any work which was outside the High Art tradition must be read as a neutral transcription of the event.

"...who ever saw a battle-piece that was a work of art except in Greek sculpture, or from the hands of an M. Angelo or Leonardo."26

There is some evidence that those persons most deeply committed to the encouragement of a national school, and in particular to fostering History painting, were concerned to integrate battle painting into the highest echelons of art, on the model of France.

The British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom, had been formed in May 1805 by important members of the Royal Academy and members of the aristocracy who were patrons and amateurs of art. The B.I. was thus constituted of some of the most influential connoisseurs of the age, who were members of the ruling classes. The interests of the B.I. then, were inevitably different from that of the Royal Academy, which was only indirectly influenced by the Establishment. The B.I. was overtly committed to the elevation of the national character through the influence exerted by great art. The B.I. catalogue for 1811 declared that the exhibitions organised by the Institution were:

"calculated to raise the standard of morality and patriotism; to attract the homage and respect of foreign nations, and to produce those intellectual and virtuous feelings which are perpetually alive to the welfare and glory of the country."28

In 1815 the Directors of the BI announced that instead of the usual premiums for the best pictures in a range of genres, there would be a special premium for pictures "illustrative of our recent successes" in the war. As will be shown, the reviews of the exhibition which resulted from the competition were deeply disapproving of the whole project, holding to the view that battle paintings were vainglorious and incompatible with the anti-militarism of the British character. It will be perceived that the desire of the British Institution Directors to have pictorial celebrations of the military victories over-rode both the resistance to battle painting as a genre and this supposed reluctance to commemorate national military achievements.

This competition, as the only major patronage for battle painting in the post-war period, must occupy a central position in any discussion of the development of the genre prior to the Crimean War. One aspect of the exhibition frequently discussed in the Press was the "low quality" of the artists who took part. By this they meant that very few well-known Academic artists participated. The committee had offered a handsome prize of one thousand guineas for the best sketch, in addition to offering the opportunity to work it up into an oil painting to hang at the prestigious Royal Military Hospital at Chelsea. Despite these temptations none of the leading historical painters of the day, such as Henry Howard and William Hilton, competed. The absence of any member of the Royal Academy, except for James Ward, might in part be attributable to the bitter rivalry which existed between the two institutions at this date. It might also be argued that the History painters did not feel that the production of sketches "illustrative" or corrected

with "recent military" events was the proper subject matter for their genre.

The competitors included two established battle painters, J.A. Atkinson and the Prince Regent's "Military Painter" Denis Dighton. There were two foreign competitors, J.T. Masquerier and Sauerweid. The remaining competitors were Samuel Drummond, William Brooke, William Findlater, Douglas Guest, F.P. Stephanoff, James Howe and Thomas Mullichap. The four premium winners were Luke Clennell, James Ward, George Jones and Abraham Cooper. All but one of the fifteen entrants chose to illustrate some aspect of the recent Waterloo campaign, in preference to the Peninsular wars which had culminated in the first Peace in 1814. The subjects chosen throw interesting light on what the painters considered appropriate for such a prestigious public competition. Jones, Clennel, Howe, Dighton and four others, all sent in paintings described merely as The Battle of Waterloo. It is probable that most of these pictures depicted a panoramic view of the battlefield at a crucial moment or focused on an especially significant incident. Findlater selected the charge of the Scots Greys, which some authorities saw as the turning point of the battle. Masquerier painted one of the earliest versions of the meeting between Wellington and Blucher at La Belle Alliance. Abraham Cooper selected the battle of Ligny, which had occurred two days before the Battle of Waterloo, and Stephanoff painted a scene which showed Blucher in desperate danger in the same battle. The only departure from the Waterloo campaign was by Thomas Mullichap who had reverted to the retreat across Spain by Sir John Moore's Army.

The British Institution competition received slight attention from the Press, and of that very little was favourable. Much of the criticism was levelled at the concept of the competition which was considered to be inappropriate to British genius.

"The British Gallery was yesterday opened for private inspection...We certainly are not disposed to undervalue the taste or talents of our fellow-countrymen; but we must say, that we never witnessed an exhibition less calculated to excite a favourable idea of British genius. There are unquestionably a few good pictures, but the collection on average betrays equal poverty of intellect and imagination in our native artists."³¹

The critic was evidently aware that the competition provided a forum in which British productions would be compared to those of the continent. It should also be noted that the invocation of the qualities of "intellect . and imagination" suggest that the critic is placing battle painting in the domain of History painting. An unattributed paragraph from a contemporary newspaper or journal suggests that this location for the genre was not undisputed.

"We have heretofore (sic) insisted on the total inadequacy of battle subjects in eliciting the higher powers of the artist. We have likewise adverted to the folly of that species of patronage which affects to encourage art, not from an impression of its own intrinsic importance but collaterally as a medium for the celebration of our military exploits..."³²

The reviewer is clearly resistant to battle painting as a genre, since they considered it did not require the exertion of imagination and intellect which were the hall-marks of History Painting. He/she is also disapproving of patronage for such blatantly celebratory subjects. The competition, by its very terms, demand pictures "illustrative of our successes" was cutting across the mythology that Britain did not glory in war and only fought out of duty, and with a painful recognition of the horrors of war.

A number of the entrants in the British Institution are now known only by name and have been impossible to trace. It seems likely therefore that the competition attracted a few amateur artists or perhaps battle artists who worked in the provinces and did not exhibit in London. The artists whose case histories can be reclaimed, suggest that there were two basic routes into battle painting, via sporting art or history painting. The study of these painters' career patterns reveals that it was almost impossible to sustain a specialist practice as a battle painter without the support of a generous patron.

The case of Denis Dighton demonstrates the desire of the monarchy to own battle paintings of recent national victories, and shows that this requirement was not modified by a desire to patronise High Art or Historical painters. Dighton's special relationship with the Regent pre-dated his career as a painter. The Regent, who had been a friend of his mother's, had bought him a commission in the Army, when he was only seventeen. His military career was short lived, for by the age of nineteen, in 1812, he had returned to civilian life, and was exhibiting genre scenes at the Royal Academy.³³ By 1814, Dighton was exhibiting battle paintings as "Military Painter to H.R.H. the Prince Regent". Dighton's Academy picture for 1816, entitled, as was his B.I. entry, The Battle of Waterloo, was appended "painted from sketches made on the ground a few days after the action: and from information from the Duke of Wellington and the Marquis of Anglesea's (sic) staffs, Royal Engineers Department etc". The Regent sent Dighton to Belgium shortly before the end of the campaign and evidently ensured that he had every facility for collecting information. The Regent seems to

have owned all the paintings which Dighton exhibited, and may have used them to reward especially favoured subjects. A larger copy of Dighton's British Institution picture was presented to the Marquis of Anglesey. The picture represented the Marquis leading the final charge against the French cavalry on the evening of the Battle of Waterloo. It was at this point that the Marquis had his leg blown off. Presumably a representation of this celebrated scene was 35 felt to be an appropriate gift from his grateful monarch.

Dighton's technique in this painting suggests that he had very little experience in using oil paints, and that he was uncertain in his use of colour. His use of light and shade is also curious and disturbing. The horizon line is lit a livid yellow by the setting sun, and the zones are articulated by strands of white cannon smoke. The foreground figures, instead of being conventionally spotlit, are half submerged by shadow. The major figure is the Marquis, isolated from the others by a shaft of sunlight falling upon him and by a swirl of smoke behind him. The general's pose is dynamic: he has reined-in his horse and leans far back in his saddle to address one of his aides. All around him are groups of skirmishing cavalrymen, indicating that the general has heroically exposed himself to danger. The artist's treatment of uniform show the greatest attention to detail, and he has used the differences in colour to simplify the otherwise chaotic mass of figures. In the right foreground a line of red-coated British soldiers bayonet French soldiers, dressed in white with brass helmets. Behind them a French square can be seen, crumbling before the onslaught of the British cavalry. In the centre distance

there is a curiously out-of-scale figure on a white horse. This is clearly meant to be read as the Emperor Napoleon, who at this point realised that the battle was lost and fled to avoid capture. The event was of such significance to the victorious British that the erratic perspective was not remarked upon by any reviewer.

Dighton's prestigious title of battle painter to the Regent suggests a more elevated status than perhaps may be accurate. Since his patron bought all his works he never established a broader market for his pictures and was thus entirely dependent on his good graces. The price he could command for his works was low. The unsuccessful British ³⁶ Institution picture earned him only fifty pounds. John Pye in his Patronage of British Art, recounts how this situation brought about Dighton's ruin.

"He displayed considerable talent, and his pictures, exhibited from year to year in the Royal Academy, having attracted marked attention and admiration, he became buoyed up with the hope of becoming a member of that body...He was, however, yet young when Sir Benjamin Bloomfield through whom his works had been placed before the Prince, was removed from the position he had held in the royal household....but few of Mr. Dighton's drawings were shown to his royal highness after this change took place."³⁷

It seems likely that Dighton's fall from Royal favour also prevented him finding new patrons for his work. He is reported to have fled to France, to avoid his creditors, and ³⁸ he died insane two years later, in 1827. Whatever the relations between Dighton and his patron, it is clear that the Regent felt the need to have at his disposal, at least in the immediate war years, an artist who could delineate the Army's victories, in the lasting medium of oil paint. Dighton's lack of technical experience and Academic training suggests that the Regent regarded the illusion of accurate

depiction of a battle as a higher priority than the cachet attached to the patronage of an established Academic artist.

The only other battle painter of comparable experience to enter the competition was John Augustus Atkinson. Atkinson's early life had been spent at the court of Catherine the Great at St Petersburg, and it was there that he first practised as a battle painter.³⁹ It is noteworthy that three artists who produced battle paintings in late Georgian Britain had received their first experience in the genre in Russia. William Allan (see below CH 2) as a young and experienced painter spent some time in the Scottish community at St Petersburg. It was through this connection that he received a number of commissions from the court to produce battle pieces. Sauerwied, another competitor in the B.I. competition, was a Russian national who had also had his first experience of battle painting at the Russian court. Although little work has been done on this topic, it seems safe to state that the Russian court provided a valuable training ground for artists wishing to work in this genre and may be compared to Louis -Philippe's Versailles project which initiated so many English battle painters of the next generation.

Atkins n returned from Russia about 1801 and established a practise as a designer and engraver of prints. From 1803 Atkinson exhibited regularly at the R.A., showing military scenes from British history as well as more recent episodes such as The Battle of Lasswaree gained by General Lake over the Mahratta forces 1 Nov 1803 (RA, 40 1805). Farington states that Boydell's partner, Harrison, commissioned Atkinson and a portrait painter called Devis to go to Belgium, two months after Waterloo, "to collect

portraits and matter for forming a picture of the Battle of Waterloo from which a print had been advertised to be made".⁴¹ Atkinson had probably been at the war front at some time during the Peninsular campaigns gathering material for an earlier project The Battle of Salamanca (RA, 1813). The expense involved in sending two artists to Brussels suggests that Harrison believed that the costs incurred were of less importance than getting the project executed in a very short time. Farington's remarks suggest that the artists were to take responsibility for different aspects of the commission, a not uncommon practice when a work was complex, and time of great importance. The collaboration was successful and the picture was finished in time to send to the Royal Academy in 1817. John Burnet engraved the picture and it was published on Waterloo Day 1819.

Atkinson seems to have used his practice as a painter of genre and costume scenes to fund his production of battle pictures. There is no documentary evidence about the sale of his battle pictures, but there are no examples in an public collection in Britain, suggesting that they were not greatly valued. His entry in the B.I. contest was based on the Battle of Vittoria, a subject that he had probably executed or researched earlier since he was engaged in Brussels during 1815.

The four winners of the competition, Clennell, Ward, Cooper and Jones, all merit examination. Their careers exhibit the variety of routes into the genre of battle painting, the financial difficulties in sustaining a practice in the genre, and the continuing uncertainty over its Academic status. The most famous and academically

successful of the winners was George Jones. His career, which spanned the period from after Waterloo to the Indian Mutiny, shows the impact of State patronage on battle painting and that the genre did not enjoy any widespread popularity in the open commercial market. A detailed account of his family background and career are given in Appendix A. Jones (1786-1869), as one of the most prolific battle painters of the first half of the period, will figure frequently in this thesis. Jones came from a family of artists, his father was Engraver Extraordinary to the Prince of Wales. Jones' ambition to be a painter must have been formed early since he entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1801, aged 15. His first exhibits at the Royal Academy in 1803 suggest ambitions to be a painter of Historical subjects: A Design for the First Volume of
43
Telemachus and Christ and the Woman of Samaria. In 1808, Jones joined the Army, finally gaining a Captaincy in the South Devon Militia. His company formed part of the Allied Army of Occupation in Paris in 1815.
44 Jones returned to his civilian career in 1815, coinciding with the announcement of the B.I. competition. During his military service Jones had continued to send exhibits to the Royal Academy and the B.I. and had compiled many books of sketches of foreign cities, uniforms and ideas for battle- paintings.

Jones was obviously determined that his contribution would have maximum impact at the British Institution competition, since he alone submitted two sketches. They depicted different moments at the Battle of Waterloo. In the accompanying catalogue, Jones claimed that his work was documentary. "The information relative to the sketch ...was obtained at the Headquarters of the British Army in France

45

and the local Representation drawn on the spot." This strategy located Jones within the tradition of topographical artists who accompanied troops. Thus Jones wished his work to be received as an authentic document.

Jones' approach was successful: he was awarded a premium of £500, a special prize, given in addition to the 1000 guineas won by Ward. The existence of a "second prize" was announced as an afterthought some weeks after Ward's and it is interesting to speculate upon the reasons for this change in plan. As will be shown, Jones' art occupied the opposite end of the spectrum from Ward's. It might have been that the Directors felt that by rewarding both extremes they were being even-handed. In effect, by choosing to give Ward the first prize they were giving History painting precedence over the topographical tradition and thus endorsing traditional value structures.

Jones worked up his premium-winning sketch into an oil painting sixteen by twenty feet (457.2 x 335.2 cm) which was presented to the Royal Military Hospital at Chelsea. The Fig 2 picture was completed in 1820, a remarkable achievement for an artist working without studio assistants. His knowledge of the Waterloo campaign was encyclopaedic, in 1817 he published a book entitled The Battle of Waterloo, with those of Ligny and Quatre Bras, described by eye-witnesses and by the series of official accounts, published by authority, a compilation informed by a sense of reverence for the achievements of the British Army and the Duke of Wellington in particular.

A comparison between the 1816 works of Dighton and Jones reveals that Jones was technically the more competent

battle painter. In terms of composition, Jones was innovative, achieving a synthesis between the Baroque battle scenes of Van der Meulen, in which the viewer is on a higher level than the field, and the panoramic battle field view. The adoption of this device enabled him to set out the troop formations without the sense of crowding usually created by telescoping the action. Jones retained the traditional Baroque device of wounded figures in the foreground but diminished their impact with the wider background. In the finished painting at Chelsea (the sketch is lost), he corrected the sense of space by creating an enormous area of sky which occupied over half the canvas. The most original aspect of Jones' work was the very high standard of his landscape painting and his strong sense of design removed the picture away from the stiff formulas of the topographical sketch. Like Dighton's, Jones' work depicted the closing stages of the battle, but Jones chose to focus on the Duke of Wellington, making the crucial signal to pursue the fleeing French troops. The Duke is shown on a horse at the top of a small hillock, set a little apart from his Staff. His figure is the cynosure and all the action devolves from it. Jones showed Wellington making the gesture, a well-documented wave with his hat, a device which economically explains the narrative and links the halves of the canvas. It also served to make a non-fighting commander into a dynamic hero. The issues surrounding the representation of contemporary military heroes in British nineteenth-century painting are considered at length below, see Chapter Four.

Jones' picture went unnoticed by reviewers of the B.I. exhibition, while Ward's essay in the Grand Manner received

a great deal of praise. It seems clear that Jones's work did not fit into the reviewers' perceptions of "Art" and therefore was deemed unworthy of consideration. Jones's paintings appealed to a different constituency; shortly after the Chelsea painting he was commissioned to produce another version for the United Services Club - surely a most critical and expert audience who admired his attention to detail and his hero-worship of Wellington. Jones continued to think of himself as a military man who also painted. His contemporaries were amused at the way he modelled his dress and appearance on the Duke. He retained strong links with the military, attaching himself particularly to the Napier and Moore cliques. As will be shown below, he produced many battle paintings designed to make a point for a military audience.

James Ward, the winner of the thousand guineas premium was the oldest and most experienced of the four winning artists, and the only one who was already a member of the Royal Academy. Ward had received his first art-training in the studio of the engraver, John Raphael Smith. Ward's early paintings had been closely based upon the rural genre scenes of his brother-in-law, George Morland. Ward had made his reputation, however, as an animal painter specialising in portraits of prize farm animals for the Agriculture Society. He also achieved success with mezzotints of horses and landscapes and was appointed painter and engraver of Mezzotints to the Prince of Wales.

After 1805, probably in an attempt to gain election to the Royal Academy, Ward introduced religious and mythological themes into his repertoire. He also

experimented with Romantic, dramatic animal pieces after the manner of Stubbs. Ward's Fighting Bulls at St. Donat's Castle was inspired by Rubens's A View of the Chateau de Stein Autumn, a masterpiece which had been acquired in 1803

51

by Sir George Beaumont. Ward's huge canvas of "Gordale Scar" (1811) was an essay in Sublime landscape. The work combined careful topographical research with subtle manipulation of scale to achieve a monumental landscape. At the bottom of the towering cliffs were a range of domestic and wild animals, including a huge white bull, symbolic of the British nation and a wild goat to recall a poem by

52

Gray. Ward's essays in the "higher" genres were very successful. He was elected ARA, in 1807 and made a full Academician three years later. He acquired an enormous reputation. In the estimation of some of his contemporaries, Ward was a genius. whose powers could justly be compared to those of Rubens. It was in this spirit of self-confidence that Ward entered the British Institution contest. In his

Autobiography, Ward described his decision to paint an allegorical celebration of the victory.

"As an observer of the signs of the times, and considering the battle to be the crowning act of Great Britain's greatness, I conceived the allegory, determined to be the poet as well as the painter of the subject. My success exceeded my expectation, for the praise bestowed on the work was unbounded, and it was pronounced the first premium sketch. This annoyed many, and among the rest, Northcote, who told me "There was nothing but rubbish in it".⁵³

The decision taken by the Directors of the B.I. indicates that they believed that an allegory was the appropriate form for the celebration of a nineteenth-century victory. This taste was undoubtedly the product of the reverence for High Art and classical culture which formed part of the education of the aristocracy at this time. As Fullerton has shown, the

Directorate of the B.I. was dominated by a group of land-owning aristocratic connoisseurs, such as the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Aberdeen, Richard Payne Knight and Sir George Beaumont. The prestige and influence of the Institution was materially extended by the personal power of the Directors. Uwins, an Academy man, saw them as "the contemptible aristocracy" who "know, that by combining within their own body all the rank and opulence of the kingdom, they have it within their power to kill and make alive; they know that artists are needy men and that sooner or later they must submit".⁵⁵ The Directors saw their duty to be the promotion of "higher" forms of art, believing that they would influence taste and production. Their notions of artistic greatness were modelled upon the continental old masters. Allegory, as a form practised by the greatest old masters, had all the right cultural hallmarks of quality; it demanded intellectual invention on the part of the artist and the intellectual participation of the audience in decoding its meanings; further it demanded a cerebral rather than a sensual response. It will be seen that in the late Georgian era both these standards and the right of the aristocracy to impose them were being challenged.

The genesis of Ward's Allegory is complex and is recounted in detail by Fussell as "The Waterloo Allegory Fiasco".⁵⁶ Its full title was The Genius of Wellington on the car of War supported by Britannia, attended by the Seven Cardinal Virtues, commanding away the demons Anarchy, Rebellion and Discord with the horrors of War. The view of Waterloo presented by Ward's allegory was calculated to appeal to the Tory supporters of the Duke of Wellington,⁵⁷ Fig.3

among whom were the Dukes of Bedford and Northumberland and

58

the other B I Directors. Ward implied that the victory was the result of the sole effort of Wellington, and moreover that the spirit of "Britannia" and all the cardinal virtues attended him. Waterloo was treated as being more than a battle between European powers - as a victory for aristocratic and monarchist stability over the Republican forces of "Anarchy, Rebellion and Discord." As the war receded these views were increasingly being attacked by
59
Liberals and Radicals. Criticism of Ward's creation was directed against the form rather than the content.

"The notification of this picture in the catalogue is accompanied by a prolix narration descriptive of the various parts of which it is composed. This necessity to fly from canvas to paper for explanation is, in itself a defect, but one necessarily arising out of the uncontrolled (sic) use of allegory." 60

Despite the widespread reservations about the propriety of allegory for the national school, and the criticisms of Ward's work in particular, it is very probable that Ward's picture would eventually have hung at Chelsea beside Jones', since the Directors had no reason to be deterred by adverse reviews. After receiving the commission, however, Ward's ambitions for it grew.

"The first plan was for a painting 14'x12', but Ward found that his complex conception would be cramped on this relatively small scale. It was accordingly agreed that the canvas should be 20'x14' but even this would not allow life size figures so the size was eventually made 35'x21'." 61

One critic had foreseen that the composition would not well work up into a large-scale work.

"The subordinate parts have such important actions assigned to them and are withall so numerous, that they create confusion; a fault that we have observed likely enough to occur in subjects of this kind, even the most limited ones, but which the exuberance of the artist's fancy has here carried to excess." 62

The length of time taken to complete the project worked against Ward. He finished in 1821, one year after Jones's picture was in place. It was exhibited at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, where it had a very poor reception: "critics came to mock and the public to jeer". The aim of the exhibition was to earn money by selling tickets at the door and to attract subscribers to a proposed engraving. So few subscribers were forthcoming that the notion of an engraving had to be abandoned. The failure of the picture to please or impress "the public", i.e. the predominantly bourgeois audience of the Egyptian Hall, was attributable to two causes; the resistance to allegory as an alien form and, more importantly, the current unpopularity of the Duke of Wellington. Many reviewers were annoyed that Ward's picture could only be understood by recourse to the printed pamphlet which explained the fifty or so figures. The reviewer of the Literary Gazette was willing to concede that "the design is unquestionably one which could only have emanated from great genius; but whether in this instance misdirected, or happily called forth, will in our opinion, be the source of much controversy". The reviewer reiterated the belief that allegory was antipathetic to the national character.

"The English character is perhaps rather cold, resting too much on calculation, on precedent, on judging by sober rules. With the mass, the flights of fancy are extravagance, the bolder concepts of art folly, the ideal, unnatural; and the imaginative absurd."⁶⁴

This quotation is interesting, sounding as it does like an elitist attack on the taste of the "mass" public, who would not like the work because it conformed to the tenets of History, which they would be unable to understand.

When the painting was taken to Chelsea, it was found to be impossible to find space to hang it without cutting or

folding it. Ward suggested that Soane's newly built gallery should be pulled down and rebuilt to accomodate it. The Directors refused but paid for the allegory, which was housed at Chelsea in a truncated form. It was eventually given back to Ward's descendants and is now lost.⁶⁵

The episode of Ward's allegory is extremely suggestive of the changing climate of the art market in the immediate post-war period. The aristocratic connoisseurs of the B.I showed themselves to be out of sympathy with the majority of urban middle-class art consumers. Although most reviewers, presumably also educated with reverence for the Grand Manner, were careful not to entirely demolish Ward's effort, the prevailing mood was one of impatience with an inaccessible and grandiose work.

Ward's ill-fated work was not the only allegory among the British Institution entries. Douglas Guest, a painter and writer on art, submitted an interesting sketch. His aim were so comprehensive that it is difficult to imagine how they were fitted on to a canvas less then four feet square. His meaning was also amplified by a lengthy text. Unlike Ward, who was committed to the "pure" allegory, Guest attempted to combine allegory and historical incident.

"The object aimed at has been to unite, in one complete work, the most interesting events of that memorable Battle and to illustrate by Allegory or poetical allusions its importance and principal facts; to record the names of those who have so bravely fallen, and by a beautiful combination recall the most vivid images and recollections."⁶⁷

After setting out this programme, Guest described what sound like carefully researched battle incidents, chosen for their exciting or "telling" quality. Evidently they were placed close together on the canvas, and shown occurring

simultaneously, with no concern for the conventions of time or place.

"The machinery or poetry used in the illustration are thus introduced in the upper part of the picture. Victory with wings, places over the point of the upraised 'sword' of her Hero (Wellington) a wreath of laurel, in her left hand she bears the lily, the emblem of the House of Bourbon, accompanied by the Palm Branch, the type of Peace - also History recording in golden letters the names of the fallen with Fame and Eternity.etc."68

Guest received no critical notice whatever for this epic work.

The third recipient of a premium in the British Institution competition was Luke Clennell (1782-1840). Clennell, like Ward and Cooper came to battle painting only after establishing a practice as an animal painter. In Clennell's case, the B.I. competition was the culmination of a decade's effort to "elevate" himself from engraver to history painter.⁶⁹ Clennell was the son of a Northumbrian farmer, and began his artistic training in the studio of the famous local engraver and designer Thomas Bewick. Clennell served an apprenticeship with Bewick before moving to London in 1804. It seems to have been soon after his arrival in London that Clennell began to pursue his ambition to achieve prestige as an artist. In the words of T.H.Ward "...being ambitious he resolved to be a painter".⁷⁰

The position of the engraver in the late Georgian art world as inferior to painters was under attack from such men as John Landseer, who lobbied for engravers to be given equal status with painters in the R.A.⁷¹ Despite this and other moves to gain recognition for the talents of engravers, it remained true that, in the collaboration between artist and engraver, it was the artist who received recognition. Whatever the final impetus, Clennell began to branch out into the practice of painting. After 1810 he exhibited watercolours at the London exhibitions where his subject matter was mostly landscape and sporting scenes.

Clennell's first military subject was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1816. The Baggage Waggon was an essay in the Sublime - showing a group of soldiers and camp-followers lashed by a fearful storm. The timing of its exhibition suggests Clennell's desire to win public approval by

presenting a military scene at a time when there was military fervour. The Baggage Waggon is not a battle painting but a generalized genre scene with no attempt to define the historical location or the locale. Clennell had already established strong links with the Directors of the B.I. prior to the 1816 competition. He had developed his capacity as a painter in oils through studying at the annual display of Old Masters in the Winter Exhibition. He had also received a commission from one highly influential Director, Francis Egremont, Earl of Bridgewater. This was for a large scale representation of the Banquet, given at the Guildhall 18th June 1814, for the Allied Sovereigns who had defeated Napoleon during the Peninsular War. The painting featured portraits of over four hundred guests, a task which presented an enormous task for a comparatively inexperienced artist.

Clennell painted his Overthrow of the French Allied Army Fig 4 at Waterloo - Sauve qui peut, while he was working on the Bridgewater commission. This sketch, which was awarded, with Cooper's, a premium of one hundred and fifty guineas. It is lost and known only by an engraving. The reviewer in the New Monthly Magazine and Universal Register admired the sketch as "a very spirited charge of cavalry, which from want of identity, might be called any battle in which the Life Guards were engaged". The critic's remarks about the lack of identity implies that it was judged according to the criteria for topographical battle painting and fell short of them. Clennell's departs from that genre by showing only foreground activity. Jones' painting had laid out the battle in almost cartographic form, displaying the activities of

other regiments and their relative positions. The uniforms in Clennell's work were carefully studied but the faces and gestures of the soldiers themselves were standardized and repetitious. Clennell's horses indicate a debt to Rubens and probably to the eighteenth-century Dutch and French battle paintings derived from the Baroque tradition. One admiring contemporary suggested more recent influences.

"The overthrow of the French Army at Waterloo, painted by Mr Clennel, is a striking proof of the vigour and versatility of that gentleman's powers. It detracts something from its praise of originality, by having its general grouping and some of its figures imitated from Mr West's noble picture of "Death on the Pale Horse". The men sounding the trumpet of retreat, the tumultuous mixture of men, horses, ammunition etc in the flying French and the onward attack of the conquerors, with the judicious mass of shade thrown over the defeated group and the bursting of shells in the distance, all feed in the mind the fuel of ideal war and describe to us an enemy driven before the victors "as chaff before the wind." 76

It may be seen that to a large extent, the critic's enthusiasm was aimed at Clennell's representation of an "ideal war" - one in which the British won the battle effortlessly. Clennell's work occupies a different category to that of the topographical tradition or History painting. It derived from the essentially decorative and non-descriptive battle pieces of Salvator Rosa, whose influence is discernible in the melee of horses, fallen men, flying hooves and swords. The figures are heaped upon one another with no attempt at logic. The cavalrymen are charging neatly in serried rows, with their sabres and helmets precisely parallel.

Sauve qui Peut was Clennell's final work. In 1817 he lapsed into insanity at the age of thirty-six. He was supported by the Artist's Benevolent Fund, some members of which arranged for William Bromley to engrave the BI

picture, the proceeds being used for the support of his
77
children."

The fourth winner of a BI premium, Abraham Cooper was the most successful practitioner of battle painting in the long term. A considerable mythology exists around Cooper, all his nineteenth century biographers describe him as
78
being "self-taught". In view of the evidence which exists about Cooper's training it is difficult to escape the conclusion that those writers on art believed that non-academic art training was of negligible value and the artist who struggled to eminence without it was virtually "self-taught". In fact Cooper's experience and education must have been closer to that of the majority of artists in the late Georgian period, than for example Jones'. Cooper did not come from a family of artists, his father was a tobacconist in Holborn. After leaving school at thirteen, Cooper worked with his uncle at Astley's Amphitheatre, a
79
popular place of entertainment specialising in hippodrama. Astley's staged reconstructions of battles such as Waterloo, with hundreds of horses and riders. Cooper was, at first, self-taught, and is said to have learnt by sketching the horses at Astley's. He may have received several commissions for horse-portraits before placing himself under the guidance of a famous painter of sporting and animal
80
subjects, Henry Marshall. The precise duration and nature of Cooper's apprenticeship with Marshall are not known, partly because Cooper's admirers were anxious to stress the informal nature of his art training. An obituary in the Athenaeum states that Cooper "made his first picture so late in life as twenty-two years of age (1808) the subject being a favourite horse belonging to Sir H. Meaux, the likeness of

which he took for love." This passage, which again constructs the painter as a talented amateur, seems overly romantic. Cooper began exhibiting at the RA, and the BI, in 1812, only three years later. His progress in the art world was rapid: by March 1816 Cooper had been elected Chairman of the Artist's Benevolent Society. This post had previously been held by the already eminent Mulready. Cooper had attained a certain status within London art circles although not within the Academy.

82

Cooper's exhibits at the BI and RA, were mostly animal portraits and sporting subjects. He also experimented with literary subjects which had some equine elements. In 1813 he exhibited Tam O'Shanter illustrating the poem by Burns: a dramatic, supernatural tale about an impious drunk who was pursued by a witch. The literary subject gave Cooper the opportunity to attempt a "higher" genre while working on a form for which he was celebrated. A reviewer praised it as "a cabinet picture, so estimable for its spirited drawing, and lightness and freedom of pencilling, (which) considerably increased the well-earned reputation of its

83

painter".

Like all the other premium winners, Cooper's entry was his first documented essay in battle painting. It is in the context of a battle painter attempting to break free from the academically less prestigious genres that his entry should be considered. His chosen subject was The Battle of Ligny - an unusual choice, since most competitors had opted for Waterloo, as the more significant event. Ligny had been fought two days before Waterloo. Cooper selected the moment when the Prussian leader Marshal Blucher was in danger of

being killed. In the catalogue Cooper appended the following paragraph.

"The dangerous situation and narrow escape of Prince Blucher when his horse was killed by a musket shot and the French cuirassiers were, on repassing him, driven back by the Prussian cavalry; an Adjutant General alone remained with him and resolved to share his fate".⁸⁴

This quotation, with a few minor changes, seems to have been taken from a book published in 1815, The Life and Campaigns of Field-Marshall Prince Blucher of Wahlstatt. by J E Marston. This book was, in part, a translation from a German biography but contained considerable additions. The book makes it clear why Ligny was recognised as a suitable subject by the British Institution judges.

"The battle of Ligny was marked by the peculiar fury and hatred with which the Prussians fought the French. The mutual animosity was beyond comprehension. The slaughter made by the Prussians was immense; they refused to take quarter, as much as the French refused to give it; and it may be easily supposed that there never was such havoc made as here, for, where men fight with equal desperation, the loss on both sides is always terrible.⁸⁶

Ligny gave the artist an opportunity to depict a very savage battle without offending his audience by representing the British killed or killing. The passage draws attention to the vicious fighting at the battle in such a way as to imply that it was part of their national characters to fight in such a committed and cruel way.

Blucher was a popular figure with British painters in the post-Waterloo period. His portrait appeared in the Waterloo gallery at the command of the Prince Regent. He was symbolic of the Alliance which had overthrown Napoleon. The most popular subject for the celebration of this kind of theme was "The Meeting of Wellington and Blucher at La Belle Alliance after the Battle of Waterloo", one of several versions of this was commissioned from

Macrise to decorate the House of Lords, in the reign of
87
Victoria under the aegis of a German Consort.

Cooper's Ligny received an enthusiastic review in The Examiner, whose critic devoted over one hundred words to its praise, the longest review received by any B.I. picture.

"The Battle of Ligny by Mr Cooper, strikes us as the most originally felt and best executed battle-piece in the rooms. The grouping is compact without being crowded and the flash and sparkle of firing with the local general spread of colour and light are impressive and true. Advance, retreat, attack, defence and death, are in unison with the particular nature of the event. Nature has been closely copied in the stiffened and cowed action of the wounded horse and in the horse which is standing with downward look on Blucher, whom a soldier is most naturally relieving from the weight of an animal under which he has fallen. Among its other beauties is particularly noticeable the unobtrusiveness of the stiff military modern dress and that off-hand neatness of execution which is always found in Nature, but so little in the battle-pieces in the exhibition." 88

The painting was sold to the 5th Duke of Marlborough, a friend and an admirer of the Duke of Wellington, who as part of his refurbishment of Blenheim Palace adorned a room in "Waterloo blue" as a tribute. Presumably Cooper's painting adorned this room, displayed as a compliment to Wellington
89
and as a reminder of his favourite ally, Blucher.

Cooper maintained an enormous output, showing about 300 pictures at the RA between 1812-88. Of these approximately fifty were battle-pieces. Cooper's most frequent field of subject matter was the British Civil War and his diploma picture for the Royal Academy was Marston Moor. The most striking thing about Cooper's battle paintings in comparison with Jones' is the difference in scale. Jones' "Battle of Waterloo" canvas~~es~~ were approximately fifteen by twenty feet. The British Institution catalogues, prior to 1853, carry the measurements

of paintings, and these show that nearly all of Cooper's battle pictures to be cabinet size about two or three feet square. The function of such pictures was clearly very different from those of Jones. Jones' picture for the United Service Club was hung at the head of a fine staircase, where it would be seen by all members on their way to the library. Cooper's battle pieces were meant to be admired from very close quarters and to be hung at eye-level.

This examination of the artists who participated in the British Institution competition reveals how unresolved the battle painting was in the post-Waterloo period. The first prize winner was an Academician working in a tradition related to the ideals of High Art, but Jones' picture was in a genre very new in British art and whose status was low. The scale and technique used by Cooper and Clennell were also outside the parameters of High Art, but the patronage they received from the Directors of the B.I. suggests that the "elevation" of the national school was secondary to the desire to obtain pictures which celebrated the nation's military glory.

An examination of the catalogues of the Royal Academy exhibitions in the immediate post-war years reveals very few battle pictures that had not been executed for the B.I. competition. It must be supposed that the works which did not sell were sent to the RA in search of buyers. One genre which emerged briefly in this period was the landscape painting which featured a contemporary military event. Military landscape paintings do not generally fall within the scope of this thesis, since they are often, like Clennell's The Baggage Waggon, not historically located. Turner's The Field of Waterloo (RA 1818) must be considered ⁹¹ ~~Fig b~~

as a different genre, since it was specifically located, in the manner of a historical subject. The large scale of the painting 58x94" further implies that the picture was to be read in the category of Historical landscape.

Within months of the victory, Waterloo had become part of the European tour for British gentlemen of sensibility. A contemporary guidebook explained

"Waterloo has become a kind of pilgrimage and there is scarcely an interval of ground between that place and Brussels which is not consecrated by some event or circumstance...to interest the feelings of an observer."⁹²

The process of turning Waterloo into a place of worshipful meditation for patriotic Englishmen was assisted by writers and poets. Southey in his Pilgrimage to Waterloo; Scott, in his Field of Waterloo, supplied the reader with a wealth of historical detail with which to imaginatively reconstruct the battle. More significantly, the writers imbued the place and the battle with a wealth of symbolic meanings: as a place where democracy and order triumphed over demagogue and chaos, and as a place where Britain established ascendancy over France.

When Turner visited Waterloo in 1817, he took with him Campbell's Travellers' Guide. The author of the guide suggested that the tourist should follow a certain route across the area, reading passages of prose and poetry as he progressed, which would bring to life episodes from the battle, or arouse suitable emotions. The emphasis of the guidebook was on the sensibility of the traveller. Turner chose to depict the night after the battle; drawing upon Byron's Childe Harold for inspiration Turner appended a quotation to the catalogue entry at the picture's exhibition

in 1818. The Byron quotation is not purely patriotic, rather it questions the morality of war and the cruel losses sustained in the course of winning the victory. Campbell also described the field after the fighting had ceased. Camp-followers swarmed on to the field to search for their men among the wounded, dead and dying. Local peasants also came, with Sisters of Mercy to succor the fallen. After nightfall, a more sinister group of people came to pick over the bodies looking for valuables.

"During the night, tribes of unfeeling wretches had assembled for the purpose of plunder, the soldier while breathing his last, was inhumanly stripped and his agonies were terminated by the chill of the night, or if he resisted, he perished by the hand of a brutal depredator and the moon beam, that glittered on the polished cuirass "served only to discover sights of woe".⁹⁶

Turner chose an anti-heroic aspect of the battle- showing soldiers not as glamorous warriors but as vulnerable pawns. These aspects of mankind, helplessness and the evil which emerges in moments of extremity were of particular interest to "Romantic" artists. The Field of Waterloo represents humans as small and insignificant beneath the immensity of the night sky. A sense of evil is created by the weird ambiguity of the lighting. A burst of light from a flare illuminates a small group of struggling bodies and small torch-flames fall on other figures in the gloom. Robbers, kind villagers and searching relatives are indistinguishable from one another in the darkness. Turner's work then is close to the sentiment of Byron's poem. It should not, however, be read as an anti-establishment attack on Waterloo, since as has already been stated the disinclination of Britain to go to war, for moral reasons, was a convention in the nation's mythology. Turner was, then, reinforcing, rather

than disrupting this mythology, by dwelling on the human sacrifice of the battle won at Waterloo.

In relation to this genre of military landscape, it is important to notice that they also were often read as being topographical, in the sense of being true delineations of fact, rather than Historical landscapes, as Turner's classical subject landscapes were. Of Clarkson Stanfield's The Battle of Roveredo (RA 1851) a critic wrote lines praising the treatment of the snow-capped Alps, "which look down from their serene and inaccessible heights on the strife and bloodshed below". The writer then launched into some very technical criticism of the way the painter represented the battle, with many admonitions about the real nature of the conflict.

"We are thus particular in the examination of this picture, because, when military subjects are selected by artists and designated by names, dates and places, they are bound to something like, historical fidelity and a battle which is accurately described in every narrative of the campaign ... cannot be treated as a pure work of fiction."⁹⁸

It is admissible to use a criticism from 1851 to bear on Turner's much earlier work because of the relative immobility of the genre of military painting after Waterloo up till the beginning of the Crimean War. The genre was deemed to be lowly, and seen, by adherents of Academic principles, to be connected with "inartistic" spheres of activity such as panoramas, dioramas, and topographical sketching. Such works as did emerge in this period did so as a result of sporadic Royal and State interventions. As will be shown, these interventions were motivated by the need to use the battle paintings as propaganda, rather than by the desire to foster an artistically important, neglected genre.

The Prince Regent's scheme for the adornment of St

James' Palace is an example of battle paintings being used for the purposes of State propaganda. The Regent bought or commissioned paintings of the principal military and naval battles of the reigns of his father, George III, and his grandfather, George II. The visitor to the Court would pass first into the George II ante-chamber, adorned with naval battles by De Loutherbourg, then through the George III room, hung with Turner's version of the Battle of Trafalgar. The actual and psychological climax was the Throne room, the George IV room, with two battle paintings by George Jones, Vittoria and Waterloo, hung either side of Lawrence's portrait of the monarch in his coronation robes.⁹⁹ The King's plan successfully appropriated these victories for his own reign, although at those times he had been Regent rather than Monarch.

The King's decision to inaugurate such an important State scheme caused difficulties within the Royal Academy. One of the artists chosen by the King, Turner, was already a prominent member of the institution. As a practitioner of Historical Landscape, Turner was a staunch adherent to the Academic tradition. Jones, on the other hand was a young artist, working the genre of military painting in an undesirably "low art" manner. On the other hand, there were powerful arguments for admitting an artist so greatly honoured by the King into the Academy. Jones received the commission in 1822, was elected an ARA that year and was made a full Academician in 1824.¹⁰⁰ The St. James' Palace scheme was bitterly criticized by a number of groups, but on very different ground. Turner's Battle of Trafalgar, as Finberg relates at length, was attacked by naval experts at

Court, who repeatedly asked him to alter technical details. Jones, as an "expert" himself, does not seem to have had to grapple with any such technical quibbling. No references to the rival aesthetic merits of the pictures are to be found. Mrs Arbuthnot, the friend of Wellington, noted that Jones' pictures were the least awful part of the arrangement at the Palace, but the nature of their slight superiority was not stated. It seems possible to surmise that the King had chosen Jones as an artist who could execute a "truthful" representation of a battle, on a large scale, in an intelligible manner which would please military experts. Jones was clearly the chosen artist of the Establishment. In the 1830s he received a further prestigious commission to produce a naval battle for the Greenwich Hospital. His later career which is discussed below, (see chapter two and four,) was blighted by the inability to either obtain more commissions for battle pictures or to sell the ones he produced speculatively.

The status of battle painting, in the first three decades after Waterloo was, as has already been stated, ambiguous. The Royal Academy did not exhibit more than one such picture in five years, in that period, implying both that the artists were not active in the genre and that patrons were unwilling to purchase such works. Conversely, George Jones benefitted from a succession of commissions for battle pictures from sections of the ruling class allied to the monarchy and the Forces. His admission to the RA was undoubtedly accelerated, if not secured, by his success in obtaining such commissions. All of Jones' works in these commissions were large scale representations of battle in the detailed, "documentary" manner of his BI picture, and all were hung in

prominent positions. Clearly, his pictures were purchased as "proof", accurate accounts, of national victories. Yet the style of his works were not overtly propagandistic in the manner of Gros' celebrations of Napoleon, their use of the technique's of topography gave them the illusion of being truthful accounts of history. The status of battle painting was still very much an open issue in Britain in the 1830s. The only works which appeared regularly were in the manner of Cooper's "skirmish" scenes, which were on a small scale in the manner of Salvator's "bandit" scenes, and did not require to be read as either History or "document". In the following decade the issue of the status of the genre, and whether it was one which was compatible with the British "character" was raised in relation to the schemes to redecorate the Palace of Westminster. The importance of the Palace, and its central situation in the political life of the country, ensured that the questions if and how the military heritage was to be depicted was given a public airing. Reviews of the 1847 exhibition provide valuable evidence of the continuing debate about the status of battle painting as a genre and what constituted a "good" essay in this genre. It will be seen that the terms of the debate had shifted from those of the 1820s and had become more rigorously tied to issues of "truth" and "art".

In 1834, the ancient Palace of Westminster, home of the two Houses of Parliament, burned down. The rebuilding and decoration was recognised as an opportunity for large-scale patronage of the arts. Such patronage would provide "encouragement" to painters and sculptors for the greater good of British art. It was, then, perceived as the perfect

occasion upon which "desirable" forms of art could be called forth. Such enthusiasts as Benjamin Robert Haydon lobbied for the scheme to foster History painting. The scheme to rebuild the Houses of Parliament and the debates which raged over all aspects of the design have been described in detail elsewhere.
105

It is important to note the intense interest displayed by the Press in the Westminster projects, reflecting a new concern on the part of the urban bourgeoisie over the visual arts.
106 The two elements most closely connected with this concern were the desire to compete as a nation in the production of Great Art, and the growing mythology that art could exercise a beneficial effect on the working classes by exerting a moral influence. Both these concerns underpinned the establishment of a Royal Commission set up to consider the interior decoration of the Palace. The terms of the Royal Commission make plain a broad programme to use the competitions to "facilitate the Promotion of the Fine Arts in
107 this Country". The members of the Commission were for the most part notable connoisseurs and collectors, "art experts" and painters. The chairman of the Commission was the new Prince Consort, Albert, who was imbued with contemporary
108 German theories on painting and art history. The makeup of the commission was less rigidly aristocratic than that of the Directors of the British Institution twenty years before, the new ingredient being industrialists and scholars. The decisions made by the Commission showed a predictable bias towards History painting as the most desirable and important branch of art.

In April 1842 the Commission announced a cartoon design competition was to be held, with the subjects to be drawn

from either British History or the most venerated national authors, Shakespeare, Milton and Spenser. The designs were to be executed in charcoal as the basis for wall paintings.¹⁰⁹ An analysis of the competition entries reveals that painters shied away from the depiction of contemporary or even fairly recent history. Only one cartoon took its subject from a period later than 1500 and the majority were placed before the Norman conquest. This shunning of contemporary history reveals how far apart the British and French schools were in the first half of the nineteenth century, and how completely the example of West and David, who had married the principles of History painting with recent themes, had been ignored by British artists. It is probable that, on one level, contemporary themes were felt to be too colloquial for such a prestigious context. Roy Strong, in his book on recent historical themes, has shown that far from being neutral figures, many historical characters were politically loaded and their characters used to exemplify meanings that were sometimes contradictory. A personality such as Cromwell, though, whose meanings were so explosively relevant was undoubtedly more tendentious than a more distant figure such as William the Conqueror.¹¹⁰

No battle-paintings or contemporary military subjects were submitted for the cartoon competition. The remarks of Hallam in his Observations on principles which may regulate the selection of paintings in the Palace of Westminster (1844) suggests that the situation of battle painting within the category of History painting was by no means undisputed.

"Some indeed have, perhaps a notion that nothing but parliamentary or at least civil history should be

commemorated on these walls. But the majority would probably be willing to let Trafalgar or Waterloo find a place;...Yet with this extension it may be suspected that really good subjects would not be found over numerous. Battles we have, of course, but I cannot reckon battle pieces the greatest style of historic art, and since the introduction of field artillery and scarlet coats, they are much less adapted to it than they were."¹¹¹

Hallam plainly considered that modern warfare was undignified and the costumes glaringly coloured. It is difficult to decide what he would consider "really good subjects", those which could be depicted without artillery or scarlet coats, or those which had pleasing historical associations. Hallam added a scathing reference:"Versailles ¹¹² may show us what they are good for." French battle painting was very much in the minds of British painters and critics during the period of the Westminster project. Louis-Philippe had commenced the rearrangement of the paintings commissioned by Napoleon for Versailles. He also commissioned artists to produce enormous battle paintings to supplement those of David and Gros. Louis-Philippe's aim was to create a military museum celebrating French successes ¹¹³ in the domain of war. Surprisingly, no British artists refer to Versailles in diaries or letters, but interest in the museum was intense enough to warrant the printing of an English-language guide to the paintings, published in ¹¹⁴ 1843. It is likely then that Charles Barry, architect of the Parliament buildings, had Versailles in mind when he proposed that Westminster Hall should be made into a pantheon of naval and military heroes. In his paper before the Select Committee of 1841, Barry pointed out that such a plan fitted well with the Hall's traditional function as a ¹¹⁵ repository for war trophies. Barry proposed the commissioning of twenty statues of British statesmen and

twenty-six of naval and military commanders. He proposed that above and between the statues, there be hung twenty-eight large paintings (sixteen feet by ten) whose subjects "might relate to the most splendid warlike achievements connected with English history and these as well as the statues that are proposed to divide them may be arranged ¹¹⁶ chronologically..."

Barry's scheme was decidedly similar to Louis-Philippe's arrangement at Versailles, where the paintings orchestrated a chronological tour through French history. Barry's scheme would have overtly linked military achievement with the national glory. This equation would undoubtedly have been unpopular with those politicians who held the view that a standing army was potentially an anti-democratic instrument. In the early 1840s the Army's popularity with the bourgeoisie was very low. In 1840, the first of a number of moves to reduce the aristocratic influence over the Army was launched in a move to abolish officer promotion by purchase. In the early 1840s most military activity was either at a very great distance, or too close to home. The army was often used to suppress unrest in provincial industrial towns, and the institution was regarded by many sections of the middle and working classes as a Government tool for enforcing ¹¹⁷ repressive laws. Barry's equation of Britain's greatness with her military tradition was likely to be badly received by the elements of the bourgeoisie as well as the Radical press, who were beginning to locate the Army as a centre for class struggle.

Barry's motives for proposing such a pro-military scheme may not only have been influenced by a desire to

emulate France. His scheme had a decidedly Gothic Revivalist flavour.

"With reference to futher effect in Westminster Hall if the proposed arrangements of painting and sculpture were adopted in connexion (sic) with a display of armourial bearings and ancient armour on the sides and above the windows, trophies and banners etc suspended from the roof, ornamental glass and tessalated pavement and decorative painting, the whole would have a peculiarly striking appearance and arouse old and interesting associations connected with our national history." 118

Mark Girouard has shown that the Gothic revival was instrumental in constructing the contemporary officer as a desirable figure. By stressing that "military virtues" such as discipline, dedication and self-sacrifice were essentially chivalric, it was possible, in terms of this ideology to interpret colonial skirmishes as Christian crusades. It will be shown below in chapter four that these terms had been applied to Moore early in the 1820s but the language of chivalry was increasingly self-consciously used by elements within the Army in the 1840s. William Napier, whose brother led a controversial campaign in Scinde in the early 1840s, was particularly fond of describing his Imperialist flurries in the terms of Medieval knighthood.
119

The only work depicting near contemporary military history in the completed Houses of Parliament was Maclise's waterglass painting The Meeting of Wellington and Blucher etc. Maclise was to paint this and the The Death of Nelson. The paintings were conceived as part of an integral scheme for the Royal Gallery with the subjects to the "military history and glory of the country". It is noteworthy that most of the subjects described by the phrase were not battle pictures. Of the eighteen scenes only three showed a battle in progress; the majority showed some aspect
120

of the aftermath of war: Edith finding the dead body of Harold, Edward the Black Prince entering London at the side of King John of France and Lord Cornwallis receiving the sons of Tippoo as hostages.¹²¹ It will be noted from these titles that war is not perceived as glorious only when it led to a military or political advantage for Britain. Four of the Frescoes dealt with the deaths of military or naval heroes in battle, Harold, Nelson, Wolfe and Abercrombie. The preponderance of tragic-heroic death scenes suggests a bias towards moral rather than practical victories, and is part of the discourse of British anti-militarism.

The competition for portable oil paintings for the Houses of Parliament was important in defining the position of battle painting in the hierarchy of genres in the late 1840s. The competition was to have been judged in 1846 but this was postponed for a year, to allow the artists more time to prepare. This was doubtless because of the labour required to produce canvases of eighty square feet. A reviewer pointed out that the unsuccessful paintings were very unlikely to be sold, since their dimensions would "disqualify them for reception in ordinary-sized buildings and even those who have large mansions are generally ¹²² indisposed to receive them".

There were one hundred and twenty entries, of which sixty-nine depicted specific historical events. The remainder were described as "ornamental or fancy", a category which suggests that historical or didactic subjects were deemed most suitable for the competition. For the first time in the Westminster Hall competition there were representations of recent battles. The majority of the

military paintings, though, were connected with the activities and especially deaths of individual heroes. There were two versions of "the death of Nelson" and two "the death of Sir John Moore".(see below Chapter four)

Three battle paintings and the reviews they received are of particular relevance to this essay. It will be shown that the criticisms of this exhibition reveal conflicting notions about the function of battle-painting, about the desirability of the genre in general and of attitudes to foreign influences upon British battle painting. The three painters, Sir William Allan, Thomas Sidney Cooper and Edward Armitage are considered individually since their career patterns and choice of pictorial sources indicate the range of practitioners of the battle painting genre in the early 1840s. The reviews of their pictures suggest that the Westminster Hall competition should be considered in the context of the continuing dispute about the existence and nature of the "English School".

Thomas Sidney Cooper was an animal painter who had established a successful practice in sheep and cow subject. Cooper trained at the Royal Academy Schools before moving, in 1827, to Brussels. There he came under the influence of a Belgian animal painter, Verboeken, and studied the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century. In 1831 he returned to London and began to exhibit his prolific output at the Suffolk Street galleries, the British Institution and the Royal Academy. His biographer, Sidney Sartin, asserts that in the 226 paintings exhibited at the RA between 1833 and 1902, only one, "Hunting Scene" 1902, was not either a cow or sheep picture.¹²³ During Cooper's time in Brussels he experimented with "pure" landscape and portraiture, but his

success in the genre of animal painting made it impossible for him to forsake it, as a mature artist. This tendency for artists to become "type-cast" as a practitioner in only one genre is discussed at length below (ch 3) His Westminster Hall battle painting represented therefore a dramatic departure for Cooper. The artist, in his entertaining autobiography, does not discuss his motives for entering the competition, but it must be concluded that he, like Ward, hoped to demonstrate his facility for working in other genres. Cooper's status as a master of a lower-class genre made it unlikely that he would receive full academic honours. He had been elected ARA. in 1845, at the comparatively late age of 42, and he may well have hoped that not only new commissions, but academic acceptance would result from the competition.

His entry The Defeat of Kellerman's Cuirassier and Carabineers, was an episode from the Battle of Waterloo. It is known that Cooper obtained permission from Captain Siborne to make sketches from his wooden model of the battle. William Siborne, a veteran of the Battle, had constructed a large map with wood figures, much like those now used for war games. The model was displayed at the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution in 126 Whitehall. Siborne was also the author of a History of the War in France and Belgium 1815 which contained minute details of the Battles of Quatre Bras, Ligny, Wavre and 127 Waterloo. This book was the standard source for battle painters as late as 1914 and was used by, among others, Elizabeth Butler. Cooper's profoundly practical, fact-seeking approach is reminiscent of Jones, but also of

historical genre painters of this generation such as E.M.Ward. Cooper is known to have scoured pawn-brokers' shops for authentic costumes and weapons. He also "borrowed" a Life Guard from Albany barracks as a model, to ensure that he achieved a correctly military bearing in his ¹²⁸ figures. Sartin has shown that Cooper drew extensively on contemporary and historical sources for the individual figures in the painting; "the riderless horse in the foreground of his picture is derived from bronze reproductions of Guillaume Cousteas's "Chevaux de Marly" ." Sartin cites similar debts to the sporting prints of Alken and Wolstenholme; the French Romantic painters, Gros, Delacroix and, in particular, Gericault. Cooper owned ¹²⁹ several examples of horse lithographs by Gericault.

The finished painting is minutely detailed in style and far-removed from any of the pictorial sources postulated by Sartin. The canvas, eight foot by ten, contains approximately eight hundred figures. The principal innovation in the painting is the absence of a central group from which the rest of the action could devolve. This can be traced to the artist's use of a map-like layout for his information. One of the most praised aspects of the painting, but one which can be only seen on close inspection, is the carefully studied action of the horses and riders.

Cooper's battlepiece did not win a prize in the Westminster Hall competition, but its critical reception was very favourable. The Art Union Journal described it as "among the best pictures of its kind that has ever been painted".

"Mr Sidney Cooper's picture of "The Defeat of Kellermann's Cuirassier and Caribineers" (109) must be regarded as the best production from that artist's

easel. It was trying ground for one hitherto occupied with the more peaceful animals to grapple with the striking and varied movement of cavalry. Mr Cooper has done his work well and if it may be objected that his men are not in sufficiently accidental looking combinations, he cannot at least be charged with allowing his subject to degenerate into caricature or contortion - so common in battle treatments." 130

A book reviewer in the Literary Gazette & Journal of the Belles Lettres found the painting "realistic". Although ostensibly discussing a new memoir, A Voice from Waterloo by Sergerant Major Cotton, the reviewer broke off to eulogise Cooper's work.

" It seems as if artist had been present with the writer (Sgt Major Cotton) and had transferred in the most graphic and spirited manner to the canvass(sic) what he had committed with such particular effect to the paper. The chivalrous encounters, the almost single combats, the groups of cavalry slaughterings, the flight, the rally, the rush of riderless horses, the dying and the dead scattered among the trampled corn - all told the terrible tale of the last charge and effort of the French to retrieve the discomfiture of the day....It is indeed such a battlepiece, and upon the largest scale such as has never been produced before by English painter, if by the greatest foreign master in this style of art."131

The language of the review is extraordinarily enthusiastic: 132

"one may easily imagine he hears the cannon boom".

Reviewers who were not pleased by Cooper's picture, such as the critic of the Art Journal, were willing to concede that 133 it was a "very faithful statement of the fact". The use of the words "statement" and "fact" seem to imply that it was believed that a battle painting could in some way "record" the actuality of a battle. There can be little doubt that the antiquarian approach adopted by Cooper, and the clarity of each figure set in careful relation to the others, gave the illusion of authenticity. Cooper's painting demanded to be interpreted in this way because it manipulated the language of reportage. The work demanded to be "read", each small group at a time. This can be linked to Frith's

technique in constructing huge detailed scenes which were admired by contemporaries as being scenes of modern life.

The second major contemporary battle painting in the 1847 competition was also of the Battle of Waterloo. Its painter Fig 8 William Allan had been trained at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh at the same time as David Wilkie. Allan's route to battle-painting was very similar to Atkinson's (see above). Allan visited the Russian court in St. Petersburg and through the Royal Physician, Sir Alexander Crichton, received Royal patronage. Allan was still in Russia during the invasion of the Napoleonic Army in 1812, and witnessed the horrors of the campaign and the winter retreat. On his return to Scotland shortly after, Allan sold genre scenes of Russian peasant life. He was also working on several historical pictures commissioned by the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia.¹³⁵ The most crucial influence on Allan's career was his close friendship with Sir Walter Scott, formed around this time. Under the influence of the novelist, Allan turned to the depiction of Scotland's national history. "He devoted his great energy and sense of romance to the history of his native land."¹³⁶ Allan became absorbed by stories of medieval chivalry, a current fashion with the English aristocracy. Allan attended and later painted the famous Eglinton tournament, a mock-chivalric joust attended by many prominent members of London society. It seems likely in view of the close relationship between artist and novelist that the inspiration to depict Waterloo also came from Scott. Scott had devoted several works to the exploration of the personality cult of the Emperor The Field of Waterloo and The Life of Napoleon.

Allan's first Waterloo picture The Battle of Waterloo 18 June 1815 from the French Side was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1843. The work was favourably received.

"This picture contains a very correct notion of the battle. It is in the proper sense of the word "graphic"; it is painted after the manner in which some of the battles of the campaigns of Marlborough and his contemporaries are represented. The divisions, battalions and regiments are all defined and the plan and circumstances of the battle may be traced with accuracy. As a work of pictorial art it also has high claims, it is full of life, the distances well preserved, the groups well arranged and the general composition combined." 138

The critic clearly believed that in painting a battle an artist had two distinct functions; to inform and to please aesthetically. Allan's picture is considered to be successful in fulfilling its "documentary" function and its merits as a "work of art" are considered as a secondary bonus. This distinction is crucial to understanding why, despite the popularity of their works with some critics, Allan and Cooper did not succeed in the Palace of Westminster competition. Their paintings . . . failed to conform to the tenets of History painting. One of the basic lessons was that all figures should be idealised. Reynolds in the Third Discourse recommended continuous study of the great masters to the aspiring painter.

"By this means, he acquires a just idea of beautiful forms; he connects nature by herself, her imperfect state by the more perfect. His eye being enabled to distinguish the accidental deficiencies, excrescences and deformities of things, from their general figures, he makes out an abstract idea of their forms more perfect than any one original; and what may seem a paradox, he learns to design naturally by drawing his figures unlike to any one object. This idea of the perfect state of nature, which the artist calls the Ideal Beauty, is the great leading principle by which works of great genius are conducted." 139

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Reynoldsian notions of

the hierarchy of genres and the eighteenth-century definitions of what constituted History Painting were being challenged (see below Ch2). The Palace of Westminster competitions represent a late attempt to construct a British school of History painting in the Reynoldsian sense. The intended destination of the paintings and the national importance of the building seemed, to a generation of men whose ideas were based on Reynoldsian Academic theory, to demand History painting. The reviews of the exhibition show a split between those critics who accepted Reynoldsian art theory and those whose criteria for "good" art was based on notions of fidelity to nature and "truth". If High Art was based on the idealisation of natural forms mediated through a study of the Great Masters, then "factual" battle paintings could not approach the status of High Art. Topographical battle painting was seen to be important for retelling the "truth", for recording the particular. The critic of the Athenaeum believed that such paintings as Cooper's should occupy a category quite distinct from History.

"... with excellencies of such a peculiar nature as this picture possesses, it was as injudicious to put it in the same category with historical works of natural and colossal proportions as it was to include in the same Sir William Allan's great work." 140

The reviewer believed that its merit rested on the "truthfulness" of the painting.

"Without any question, of all the representations of the day or place - this is one of the most successful. We cannot attempt the praise of a work so full of detail as this - every particular of which exhibits the almost exhaustless resources of the artist's invention. In the conduct of the groupings, while strict regard has been paid to such situations as the history of the event prescribes, Sir William has contrived to show how the incidents of military manoeuvre may be modified in line or perspective or by the inequalities of ground. The conventionalities to which we have been too commonly

treated in these matters Sir William Allan has dispensed with; filling his picture with episodes at the bidding of his own imagination, that offer no contradiction to its severer facts."¹⁴¹

The only battle picture to win a premium in the Westminster Hall competition was perceived by many critics to belong to the tradition of History painting. Edward Armitage, its painter, had studied in the Paris studio of Paul Delaroche.¹⁴² Armitage's time in France had coincided with a number of projects which had used paintings to celebrate the national glory. Armitage had participated in the decoration of the hemicycle in the Ecole des Beaux Arts. Delaroche, the son-in-law of Horace Vernet, was involved with the Versailles project. It will be seen that Armitage's training was very different from that of either Cooper or Allan. His aspiration to be a history painter was aided by his education in France. His absorption of the tenets of History painting had won him spectacular success in the earlier Palace of Westminster competitions. His cartoon The Landing of Julius Caesar had won him £300 and the commission for his two frescoes in charcoal ^a The Spirit of Religion¹⁴⁴

The subject of Armitage's entry was The Battle of Meeanee, the most decisive of Sir Charles Napier's battles in the Scinde campaign. Napier's successes in Scinde were perceived, at least initially, as restoring British prestige in the Indian subcontinent, after appalling defeats in Afghanistan and India.¹⁴⁵ Armitage's choice of subject was shrewd since it stressed that Britain's military genius was continuous, not a thing of the past only. (The Scinde campaign is discussed below ch4)

Meeanee won Armitage a further premium for £500. The committee expressed a desire to buy the painting to hang at

the Palace, but were forced to allow the Queen to buy it. The enthusiasm of the committee suggests that they accepted the painting as a "History" painting of a battle. A critic who disliked the painting attacked it as merely fact, thus challenging its appropriation for the revered category.

"It is one of those huge battle pieces like Horace Vernet's in the galleries of Versailles...This though the record of an historical incident is not an historical picture in the true sense of the term. It has no elevation or abstraction but renders common circumstance with great imaginative power." 146

Armitage's picture is said not to be History because it "records" "common circumstance". "To have invented and filled so large a canvas with details is itself an art - but not of the high standard demanded by the commissioners for a first class prize." 147 The critical reception of the Palace of Westminster competition reveals the contemporary confusion as to what constituted a History painting. A further source of confusion was the assumption that the ability to produce History painting was the true test of the strength of a national school. Thus the critic of the Athenaeum, voicing anti-French views, was forced to argue that Vernet's art was not true History painting either. Marcia Pointon, writing on the Exposition Universelle, held in Paris only seven years later, has shown that French critics attacked the British on similar grounds. The English school was condemned as being concerned with "genre", with material things, with the reproduction of fact". 148

The Armitage painting represented a problem for those critics and connoisseurs who were anxious for a British school, since it was obviously influenced by contemporary French art. Admiring Armitage's picture was tantamount to accepting France as perpetuator of the Grand Tradition. The

success of Armitage's picture indicates that the judges of the competition were willing to accept it as a battle painting in the Grand Manner, thus tacitly endorsing the French school which had inspired it. In the next chapter it will be argued that the emergent theories of painting, popularised by Ruskin, not only challenged the notion of the superiority of History painting but condemned the Grand Manner as insincere, inhuman and un-British.

A new type of criticism, one which was to become increasingly familiar after the Crimean war, emerged in relation to Armitage's controversial canvas. This was to attack a work on some ground connected to the event it depicted - a confusion between the work and the subject. In this interesting passage, which is quoted at length, the author first attacks the artist for selecting the subject and then the events of the battle. It must be remembered that the Scinde campaign was so close in time as to still be a cause of controversy.

"In this picture, the choice of subject, instead of illustrating a glorious event, will hold up the British Army and Sir Charles Napier to the reprobation of mankind. We must protest against this misapplication of the Fine Arts. Nor do we think that the veteran Napier would allow the artist to escape his sarcastic sneer for this derogating from his discipline as a general and his moral rectitude. Was there nothing to deserve admiration in the battle of Meeanee? Nothing to select but "single combats, where no quarter was given, none called for, none expected"? English soldiers, themselves in absolute disorder, bayoneting a fallen foe! Was there no generalship, no humanity, no "true courage" on that day in Englishman's breasts to animate an artist's genius ?"149

Clarke objects to the picture because it focuses on chaos, violence and anger, not because he believes that such things did not occur at Meeanee, but because their representation reflects badly upon Napier and the Army. He suggests that other incidents from the battle might have

been represented, incidents which were more "national" and "characteristic". It is clear that, in Clarke's view, chivalrous action and magnanimous behaviour are more "true" of the British Army than "absolute disorder, bayonetting a fallen foe". "A few lines of Dibdin's illustration of that virtue in which he represents a brave soldier weeping over a wounded prisoner" is a truer depiction of the British 150 soldier than Armitage's scene of "butchery".

The issues raised here are complex and go beyond the mere preference for one means of representation over another, although the anti-History painting discourse is undoubtedly implicit here. The writer, Clarke, is anxious to see a controlled presentation of the British ordinary soldier. He has constructed a "true" picture of the behaviour of the soldiers and attacks Armitage for showing "butchery". There is no evidence that Clarke's "truth" was based on anything more concrete than his own notions of the chivalry of the British soldier.

It will be shown that the Palace of Westminster picture competition was very significant in the history of British battle painting for two reasons. The contest marked the last occasion on which High art battle painting would triumph over the "topographical" school and the theoretical basis for the success of Armitage's picture was already being replaced by a more "realistic" aesthetic. Also, and perhaps more importantly in terms of the social and political location of the Army, the "British soldier" was beginning to be thought of as an archetype, of deeper significance for his moral than for his fighting qualities. In the first three decades after Waterloo there were a number of attempts

to establish a British school of painting and, as has been shown, battle painting was, in some sense, perceived to be related to this. The confusion reigned over the precise status of battle painting, and further, which genres of it were to be discouraged. Historical battle painting which was, in terms of accepted art theory, the most desirable form, had been built up in France, and was thus inappropriate for the British school. Battle painting was then a site for ideological struggles between classes and interest groups. The nature of the debates can be seen to have shifted from whether battle paintings were art at all to which forms adequately described the character of the British military effort. In the post-Crimean period, a new view of the meaning of the Army to the nation strengthened this perception of battle painting as ideological.

It has been shown that the uncertain status of battle painting made it hard for artists to sustain a practice in the genre alone. The routes into battle painting were, for the most part, from low ranking genres, indicating that it represented a branch of High Art which could be most approached by artists with skills in the representation of horses. The only artists who consistently worked at battle-painting in this era were Abraham Cooper and George Jones. Cooper produced small, very lively scenes of combat, often exploiting the picturesque qualities of historical costume. It was left for Jones to be the major battle painter of the period, it was to him that the principal commissions went, and he that most consistently produced "important" scale pictures of contemporary subject matter. Jones experienced considerable difficulties in sustaining his battle-painting and had to resort to producing more commercial

topographical views and genre pictures. This problem of the uncommerciality of battle painting was to contribute, in the next generation, to the emergence of new forms for the representation of war.

CHAPTER TWO.

Battle-painting 1854-74

The Crimean War (1854-56) was a watershed in British civil-military relations. In previous wars, events had only been followed at some considerable distance with the majority of the population only aware of the war in so far as it meant increased taxation, higher prices or the press-gang.¹ During the forty years which had elapsed since Waterloo, communications in Britain had reached new levels of speed and efficiency. Technological developments such as the railways, the Penny-post and, above all, cheap newspapers meant that the war overseas could be closely followed by a mass audience.² The Press had achieved greater influence as a medium for the mobilisation of opinion, and was instrumental in fanning the flames of bourgeois and working-class enthusiasm for the war. The aims of the Crimean war were ill-defined. A confrontation between Russian and Turkish monks over the Holy places in Constantinople had been the sparking point for a conflict between the two nations, and France and Great Britain entered the war in support of Turkey. The motives of the two Powers for this intervention were rather different. In the case of France, the new Emperor, Louis Napoleon, was eager to bolster his regime by winning military glory in emulation of his namesake, Napoleon I. The British were motivated partly by the desire to frustrate Russian expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean.³ The immense enthusiasm for the war suggests that there was a spirit of war-fervour which had little to do with the issues at stake. The figure of the Czar was the focus for much hatred, embodying as he did a number of loathsome qualities as a despotic monarch, an Orthodox

Catholic and a foreigner.

The anti-Peelite Tories called for the war as an assertion of British power but also as an attempt to embarrass Peel's administration. Through a powerful Press campaign they demanded that Britain take assertive action against Russia. Lord Aberdeen, the Prime Minister, was forced by public pressure into declaring war. This pro-war enthusiasm, which emerged for the first time in this period was named as "jingoism" in the late 1870s. There were street demonstrations calling for war and opponents of war were burnt in effigy.⁷ There has been no adequate research which would help to identify the interest groups and classes involved here, but it seems to have been a trans-class movement. A strong element in the fervour must have been the need to prevent France appropriating the glory. Since the late 1840s Britain had been re-arming to "defend" against a French attack. This must have substantially contributed to a general feeling that forty years of peace was too long. In fact the Army had been very active in those years, but in remote colonies such as Canada, New Zealand, Africa and India.⁷ Many commentators welcomed a European war as an opportunity for Britain to assert her authority and reclaim her position as arbiter of Europe which had been won on the field of Waterloo.⁸

A number of writers went further and urged war as a positive good, seeing its aggressive activity as a moral purgative for the nation, "war, so long as it is righteous war is a natural even beneficial experience". Tennyson in his poem Maude saw war as the embodiment of

"....higher aims
Of a land that has lost for a little her lust for gold,

And love of a peace that was full of wrongs and shames,
Horrible, hateful, monstrous, not to be told;
And hail once more to the banner of battle unrolled!"¹⁰

This sentiment seems to be a condemnation of the bourgeois obsession with trade and commerce, yet Tennyson's audience was constituted of sections of this class. It is clear, then, that Tennyson was articulating a moral justification for nationalist aggression, couched in the terms of chivalrous defence of a weaker nation. The mythology that Britain was not a militarist nation and therefore did not seek war, made it necessary for pro-war parties to adopt the position that the nation was roused to fight in defence of Turkey. Britain was seen as the fair and just arbiter of world affairs, entering the war from ¹¹ altruistic motives.

The catastrophic events of the first winter of the war are well-known. The military events of the war paled into insignificance against the revelations of indifference and incompetence among the commissariat and senior officers. News of the huge losses from cold, disease and starvation was relayed to the public at home by William Howard Russell, ¹² correspondent for The Times. Russell's revelations came as an enormous shock since an easy victory had been confidently expected. A Commission of Enquiry was demanded and the ¹³ Government was forced to resign.

A group of influential businessmen and some Liberal Members of Parliament formed together in May 1855, bemoaning the losses and "waste" of the War and calling for the Army ¹⁴ to be run on "business principles". The group claimed to be non-political, but the attack was directly aimed at the aristocracy who controlled the upper ranks of the Army. The group argued that incompetence of the kind manifested in the

Crimea could be avoided if officers were selected on the basis of ability rather than by purchasing their commissions. A recent book has argued that, far from being a neutral exposer of military incompetence, Russell and the editor of The Times deliberately exaggerated conditions at the Front for the benefit of anti-aristocratic elements in the emergent middle-classes. It seems clear that the war was the site of struggle between party and class interests within Britain, and it will be shown that this was to have a profound influence on dominant ideologies of the Army.¹⁵ The war caused a sharp increase in the number of military paintings in the Royal Academy in the following year.¹⁶ Matthew Lalumia, in a recent book on painting in the Crimean period, has asserted that

"Victorian art dealing with the Crimean war abandoned the heroicizing modes of traditional battle art for depictions that were at once more realistic, in terms of graphic truth to nature and more Realist, in terms of the subjects chosen and the manner in which they were treated. The resulting anti-heroic vision of the war stemmed from the current concern for the fate of the army in a daunting and unpopular war."¹⁷

As has been shown in the previous chapter, the "heroicizing modes of traditional battle art" were in the 1840s already dominated by representations of war that were read as "factual" and "realistic". Only in such public, state-patronised spheres such as the Westminster Hall competition did battle art in the "Grand Manner" meet with success. In no sense though could topographical battle paintings be described as "realistic", although it might be conceded that such works as Barker's Charge of the Heavy Brigade, in their obsessive interest in detail, did reflect the current trend towards archeological exactitude.¹⁸ It will be noted from Graph B that genre representations did

numerically dominate battle paintings at the RA during the Crimea, but since the trend had started in 1830 it hardly seems sensible to attribute it to a new distaste for "heroic" images. It will be argued here that, while Academic battle painting continued to suffer from lack of state or private patronage, the genre of battle painting, pioneered in the post-Waterloo period, received new impetus from the intervention of printsellers in the art market.

The disasters of the war did not diminish the public's interest and there was, as there had been during the Waterloo campaign, a high demand for "documentary" images of the war. Agnews, the Manchester publishers and printsellers, had been swift to perceive that photography could supply this need much faster than had the topographical artists making prints. Roger Fenton, who had initially trained as a classical painter under Delaroche,²¹ was chosen by Agnew to take photographs of the Front. His brief was to take pictures of "the people and scenes of historical interest".²² Fenton made the expedition under the special patronage of the Queen and Prince Albert and it may be argued that the desire to please his Royal patrons was one reason for the blandness of the finished photographs. Fenton directed his lens towards the agreeable aspects of the war; French and British soldiers amicably drinking beer; well-fed soldiers cooking supper over a camp-fire and commanding generals looking cool and competent in smart uniforms. It is said in Fenton's defence that the limitations of his medium precluded his taking action shots of the battles, but there can be no doubt that he eschewed chaos, disease and death. His orders from Agnews were for

photographs in the mode of "art" representations of war: landscape; camp-scenes; merry-making soldiers and generals in command. He also photographed "local-colour"; oriental troops from Tartar and Montenegro and transport camels .²³

The Royal Academy exhibition of 1855, fourteen months into the war, displayed only five battle scenes of the Crimea.²⁴ Unfortunatly none of these can be located, but certain things can be deduced from the titles and their artists. George Jones exhibited Balaclava - conflict at the Guns and The Battle of the Alma; this latter picture was exhibited with an explanatory note in the catalogue, "design for a large picture".²⁵ Since no larger version of this is known it must be assumed that Jones was unsuccessful in this speculation. The work was probably an oil sketch which carefully delineated troop formation and topography. Abraham Cooper exhibited Repulse of the Cossacks by the 93rd.²⁶ Since no critic mentioned the painting it may be concluded that it did not differ startlingly from the small pictures of hand-to -hand conflict that he had been exhibiting steadily since 1817. The third picture was by T.L.Barker, a representation of a troop-horse standing beside its fallen master. This work will be considered below.

The only new artist to be encouraged by the war to experiment with a new genre was Henry Selous (1811-90). Before 1854 Selous had practiced in a number of genres , particularly landscape and portraits. In 1843 he has won a £200 premium in the cartoon competition for the Palace of Westminster.²⁷ This, with his bias towards Shakespearean and other literary subjects, suggests that he aspired to be a history painter. From 1851 he worked almost exclusively on scenes from history, particularly Scottish history (see

below ch 3). It is as part of this transition from landscape to historical subjects that Selous' 1855 entry must be considered therefore. The Glorious Charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava Oct 15 1854 was the artist's first, and last known, battle painting. The absence of any critical attention and his failure to show any more pictures in the genre suggests that Selous's experiment was both academically and financially unsuccessful. The timing of the picture suggests that it was a speculative venture. The battle had taken place in mid-October 1854 and the news took three weeks to reach England. Selous must have worked very swiftly to prepare a canvas for the RA, in April the following year. It may have seemed to Selous that the enthusiasm aroused by the victories at Balaclava would have created a market for his picture. There is no evidence to suggest that this was true. On the contrary the dearth of battle paintings of anything more than cabinet size, at subsequent Academy exhibitions suggests that the Academy audience were unwilling to buy large battle paintings in any style.²⁸ In the pre-Crimean period, large scale, and sometimes "Grand Manner" battle paintings had been commissioned by groups who felt that the victories of the nation should be exhibited in a public forum. The propagandistic intention behind the British Institution competition and the St. James's Palace scheme forced Academic art debate on the status of the genre in to the background. The Palace of Westminster, and the critical discussion of the battle paintings made for it, demonstrated that the question of the desirability of the genre, to an anti-military nation was also still unresolved.²⁹ Large

scale battle painting did enjoy a revival in the Crimean period, though outside the Academic or State systems. This was due to the patronage of print-publishers and dealers, several firms of which commissioned ambitious works from Academic artists with a view to having them engraved and widely distributed. The Crimea was not the first war to receive this attention. As has been noted above, Boydell's company had sent Devis and Atkinson to the field of Waterloo in 1815. In the 1830s Abraham Cooper had done a version of Waterloo for the print-sellers Messrs. Moon, Boys and 30 Groves. Art dealers had had an increasingly important 31 impact on the contemporary art market from the 1840s. In some ways, the intervention of dealers in the art-market was liberating since it freed artists from exposure to the the caprices of the patron. The relation between painter and dealer might take many forms: a dealer might buy a work from the artist's easel, which implied that it had been painted speculatively with no patron in mind. Alternatively a dealer might acquire the right to an unexecuted work on the grounds that a similar work had sold successfully. This competition for the works of living artists did much to send up prices and increase prestige, but it also led to artists being caught up in a genre at which they were successful. It is noteworthy that far fewer artists moved between genres in the 1860s than had done in the 1830s. Consequently, despite the increase in the numbers of artists exhibiting at the RA in this period proportionately fewer experimented with battle paintings, and in the late 1870s artists found themselves "typecast" in the production of one genre. This will be discussed below in chapter three.

At the outbreak of the war the astute Ernest Gambart

commissioned Armitage to go to the Crimea to produce two oil paintings which could be engraved and mass produced. Gambart's choice of this artist is indicative both of the wealth of the dealer and the importance he attached to the project. Although the fee he paid Armitage is not known, at this time the artist was one of the most important Academic painters of the day, having enjoyed a number of successes in the prestigious Palace of Westminster Competitions. His Battle of Meeanee had been purchased for the Royal ³² ~~Fig. 7.~~ Collection by the Queen. There can be no doubt that Armitage was the leading exponent of battle painting in the Grand Manner at this time. Gambart evidently wanted to commission battle paintings which would go beyond topographical and military "reportage" into the sphere of High Art. Armitage was sent to the Front to gather "facts", a new departure for ³³ an artist working on High Art representations. Evidently the criterion of "truth" had become an indispensable ingredient for any artist working on a military representation.

Armitage's two battle-paintings Inkermann and Balaclava ^{Fig. 11} were exhibited in Gambart's Pall Mall Gallery in 1856, just after the close of hostilities in the Crimea. They formed part of a "Crimean Exhibition" designed to appeal to a public patriotically celebrating the peace, and congratulating themselves on a victory. Armitage's pictures were displayed with a portrait of the Queen by Barrett, underlining the relation of patriotism to monarchism. The bulk of the exhibition was made up of William Simpson's watercolours. These had been commissioned by the dealer Colnaghi to be engraved and published in the

form of a book entitled The Campaign in the Crimea. The book was published at the same time as the Crimean exhibition, which presumably provided Colnaghi with valuable ³⁴ publicity.

Armitage's paintings, commissioned expressly to be ³⁵ engraved, were not. The Art Journal attributed this omission to the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny and the consequent diversion of interest away from the Crimea. Since there was frequently a long delay between war and image it is interesting to speculate whether Gambart was not in any case dissatisfied with the finished paintings and believed that they might not sell as engravings. The paintings attracted a great deal of critical attention but the reviewers were very divided as to the merit of the works. One critic referred back to Meeanee

"in which he portrayed with marvellous power of drawing and skill in combination of forms and incidents the excitement of a soldier together with the spirit of an artist and the fidelity of a photographer. Mr Armitage works in the school of Vernet, and draws a battle as Sir Walter Scott would have described one. In his Battle of Inkermann we have a picture on canvas equal in merit to the celebrated description of the same great occasion by the Correspondent of the Times." ³⁶

The critic evidently believed Armitage's painting was a "documentary" work since he compared it to two media believed to convey pure "fact" - the photograph and the news report. It is interesting that the name of Vernet was frequently mentioned in relation to British battle painting, to express approval or disapproval. It is difficult to gauge what the prevailing view of Vernet's art was at this period. He was invoked in relation to Barker's spirited but organised scenes of cavalry but also to Armitage's very different "melee" scenes. What is clear is that British battle painting was always compared with what was thought to

be French battle painting, although the perception of this seems to have varied widely. Articles on Vernet began to be published in art journals from around this date.³⁷

A second writer found the painting to convey an "imperfect conception of the battle".³⁸ The reason given for this reservation is most interesting. Armitage had abandoned the "panorama" view of the field and troop dispositions in favour of the "close-up".

"it is historically true that our troops were opposed to and beat an overwhelming force of the enemy; but the vast disproportion does not appear in the pictures. We can perfectly understand the predilection of the painter for large figures; but perhaps, with all the facilities which he has enjoyed, it might have been better to have shown more of the field and more of the dispositions of the enemy: this would by no means have enfeebled his description of the incidents he has introduced."³⁹

The critic has noted, in the passage, that the battle artist has a level of choice in which "incidents" he represents and in which style. He does not draw the conclusion that this exercising of choice must logically prevent a painting being purely factual. It would seem that the "panorama" of the battlefield, popularised by George Jones, was believed, at least by this critic, to be the form which was closest to the "truth". It is useful to quote at length from a third critic, who clearly admired the paintings and recognised the attention Armitage had paid to detail.

"The most notable feature ...of the exhibition are by Mr Armitage of the Balaclava charge and the fight of Inkerman. The artist has treated both subjects with the strictest attention to truthfulness, as far as that was possible. Portraits of some of the most distinguished heroes of the two combats are of course introduced. Of the two pictures, perhaps that of Inkerman is the more successful in bringing before us the incidents of the event. The cold, drizzling grey mist, the Russian myriads, stealing furtively up the sides of the heath-clad hill, the bristling of bayonets and the confusion of hand-to-hand engagement, are well represented.⁴⁰

Only one image of one of the paintings, Inkerman has been

41
traced. It is clear from this rather poor quality photograph that the work was an uneasy compromise between the Grand Manner and the demand for documentary "truth". The centre of the painting is filled with a jumble of rifles and busbys, men struggling desperately across the canvas. Some of the heads are clearly carefully studied portraits and are detailed, whereas others are idealised. There are fallen men, trampled by the troops in the foreground, treated with "realism"- that is they are shown dying unheroically, but near them are dying men, reclining with Classical poses reminiscent of West's dying Wolfe.

It may only be speculated whether Gambart was not very disappointed with Armitage's pictures. In commissioning a prominent History painter, Gambart was following a familiar tradition established by Boydell's commissions for the ⁴² ambitious Shakespeare project. The dealer's choice of an artist trained in France, who had been rewarded for producing a battle painting in the Grand Manner, bought by the Queen herself, surely indicates that he wanted an heroic interpretation similar to the style of Meeanee. As has been shown, the finished works were in a rather different style, and were, in any case, received as "factual" representations of the battles.

The career of Thomas Jones Barker is an example of an academic battle artist whose career was more successfully directed through the intervention of dealers commissioning for the print market. Barker (1815-82), unlike his two contemporary battle specialists, Jones and Desanges, (see below), was able to sustain a practice in his chosen genre without deviating into other genres. His survival in the

under-patronized field of battle painting is attributable to two causes; his ability to modify military themes to suit the market and the constant support of picture dealers. Like Armitage, Barker had studied in France, entering the Paris studio of Horace Vernet himself in 1834. Barker returned to England in 1845, when he began to exhibit at the Royal Academy. His exhibits showed a strong bias towards equine subjects; hunting scenes and historical battles. Barker's first essay in recent battle painting was Wellington at Sorauren (1853). It might be objected that ⁴³ Waterloo, some forty years before, was scarcely "contemporary" as defined in this thesis, yet on the eve of the Crimean war, Waterloo was fresh in many minds, as the most recent and glorious battle of modern history. Further the Iron Duke had recently died (1852) and the elaborate funeral celebrations had given rise to a wave of Waterloo nostalgia. The Second Duke of Wellington was reported to be anxious to commemorate his father's exploits and it was he who purchased Barker's painting. ⁴⁴ It is not known whether he commissioned the work originally.

With the outbreak of the Crimean war Barker began to produce more military subjects, perhaps hoping, as did Selous, that enthusiasm for the war would result in patronage for military pictures. In the previous five years the number of battle paintings at the RA had been the lowest since the beginning of the century. Barker's first two Crimean pictures were chosen to reveal his facility for equine subjects. An Incident in the Battle of Balaclava (RA, 1855) was based on the proverbial loyalty of horses. It was exhibited with the sentence "I observed one horse stand fully an hour beside his dead master." The quotation

purported to be from a soldier's letter from the Front, but it seems more likely that Barker invented it to update a theme already invented by Vernet. Vernet's The Trumpeter's Horse (1817) depicted a horse, with military tack, standing anxiously beside the corpse of his master. The moral to be drawn was that the devotion of the animal was superior to that of his human comrades. This early work by Barker was essentially an extension of horse-painting, connected to a military subject. It belongs to the "after the battle" genre rather than to battle painting, yet it was read as closer to the latter form (see below). Barker's other exhibit in the 1855 exhibition was another small-scale horse picture, The Charger of Captain Nolan, bearing back his dead master to ⁴⁶ Rq II the British Lines. This use of animals to express moral ideas was common in the mid-Victorian period. Barker's use of horses can be compared to Landseer's War and Peace (1842), pictures which contrasted the two states in terms of the ⁴⁷ experiences of animals. In Peace sheep are able to graze in tranquil security, but in War two noble horses struggle in the ruins of a shelled building. The horse in such representations functioned on two levels as an animal and as an embodiment of innocent nature. The topic of military or battle paintings which use horses in this way will be explored further in Chapter Three. In the subsequent seven years Barker did not show another military picture at the RA. Instead he moved into painting huge scale military subjects for picture dealers. The first two of these were The Allied Generals before Sebastopol and General Williams leaving Kars, ⁴⁹ both commissioned by Agnews. The works were not battle paintings but "an assemblage of portraits,

skilfully and most ingeniously brought together by an artist who is unrivalled in this way. Nearly all the persons represented sat to him and he had the valuable aid of Mr Fenton in reference to minor accessories. Fenton's photographs were also used by Augustus Egg for a similar project. Barker's pictures in this manner were successful with both critics and public. In the form of engravings, executed by C.G. Lewis, they grossed "£10,000 for each plate". This high level of interest in Barker's military subjects indicates that there was a huge market for "documentary" works, especially with authentic portraits. Barker was influential for battle painters of the next generation and should be seen as a direct link between the French and such late Victorian battle painters as John Charlton and Ernest Crofts. It is curious that despite his fame as a military painter and his undoubted success he did not achieve election to the RA. It seems likely that his branching out into other spheres of art and other forums for exhibition was frowned upon.

" A large panoramic picture by Mr Barker - the subject The Horse Race down the Corso during the Carnival is now exhibiting at the Auction Mart in Cheapside - the now recognized trysting-place for City men - who in feverish intervals between the rise and fall of stock and other commercial pulsations, devote a few minutes to toying with the Fine Arts. To look implies generally to think and so Art adult education goes on; not that Mr Barker's gaudy, lean, showy style of rather flimsy Art will very much help forward the good cause. There is a sort of careless, Vernet vigour, muscular action, and strong swarthy, red and blue colour about the treatment..."⁵³

This scathing review, which particularly associates Barker's "vulgarity" with Vernet, seems equally outraged by the picture and the type of audience by whom it was enthusiastically consumed. Barker, by working in a frankly more commercial style and in a more commercial environment

put himself outside the Academic environment. His career indicates that the new forms of military art which were being evolved in the 1850s met with considerable resistance from elements of the Academic hierarchy.

"The Indian Mutiny"

The "Indian Mutiny" broke out in 1857, before the British Army had recovered from the severe losses of the Crimean War. In terms of national pride, the Mutiny or the Sepoy Rebellion, as it will hereafter described, was a shattering blow. It gave the lie to long-held racist beliefs that the Indian population really welcomed British rule, that all the natives recognized the "natural" authority of the white races and lastly that the Indian would never dare ⁵⁴ to attack the Englishman. The rising was limited to a very few regiments of Sepoys, in the Bengal Army who were aided by some Indian rulers, hopeful of dislodging British ⁵⁵ rule. The adoption of the sweeping term "Indian Mutiny" is an indication of the disproportionate blow to British morale and the blind vengeance later wreaked on the population. British domination in India was exactly a century old in 1857, but in the previous two decades the style of control had subtly changed. The "old style" of British officer, in the pay of the East India Company, had traditionally tried to blend in and adopt native customs where appropriate. From the 1840s it was increasingly the trend for officers to bring their wives and families to India, and a much more distinct racial barrier grew up with the British rigidly ⁵⁶ apart from the Indian high caste. At the same period there was an influx of enthusiastically evangelical missionaries who attempted to discredit Indian traditions and religion.

Rumours abounded that the British would attempt to force Hindus to accept Christianity and would abolish the caste system. In a climate of suspicion, the well-known incident of the animal-fat greased cartridges was merely the catalyst for the uprising.⁵⁷
⁵⁸

To the British the most shocking aspect of the rebellion was that white women and children were in the power of the rebels. The dreadful massacre at Cawnpore led to calls for revenge and these were later answered by the indiscriminate slaughter of innocent village people. This passage, quoted at some length, gives some indication of the strongly racist terms in which the "mutiny" was discussed. The passage is taken from the Church of England Magazine , quoting a Rev. Dr. Wilson of Bombay. The priest uses quotations from the Bible to imply that the "rebels" were possessed by demons, and far from being an Imperial assertion of power, the British drive to recover India was a religious mission.

"Europeans in India....have fallen not merely into the hands of men, but into the hands of ignorant, fanatical and diabolical men, - men of the very worst gentile type, men whose atrocities and cruelties show that "they are filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciouness".... Without provocation, and without offence on their part, and without remonstrance or warning on the part of those in whom they were confiding their own as well as the general defence, they have been betrayed, murdered, butchered and destroyed, without reference to age, sex, or employment, or condition."⁵⁹

In Britain a kind of hysteria set in, with many wild stories circulating about Indian atrocities, especially about the sexual violation of English women. The rebellion was seen to transgress all "natural" laws governing the coexistence of white and black races. The Indian population were believed to be inherently inferior but, if treated firmly, like naughty

children, they would accept and even appreciate the British control of their country. This myth of Indian "acquiescence" was in part exploded by the rising, and the British were brought to perceive how insubstantial was their hold over the colonies. Only by acting harshly, to gain revenge, could the British feel that the challenge to their supremacy in India had been beaten off.

In Academic art, representations of the Rebellion genre scenes outnumbered battle paintings. This was, in part, because the Rebellion had been characterised more by guerrilla fighting rather than set-piece battles, but it was also a reflection of the newspapers' obsession with the individuals caught up in the Revolt rather than perceiving it to be a political and military struggle. The sense of outrage at the unfair behaviour of the Sepoys could be better expressed by visual representations that hinted at the breaking of taboos. Paintings such as J.N. Paton's In Memoriam, considered below in Chapter Six, work the notion of white women in the hands of black men to stand for the other "taboos" of power and control that were shaken by the revolt.

The production of other kinds of images of the Revolt was impeded by the scarcity of any visual information. As we have seen "authenticity" was an increasingly valued commodity in military paintings. In view of the distance it would not have been possible to send an artist out to get information and be able to produce a work in time to have any topical impact. The ingenuity of the print-dealers (and the very considerable rewards they could expect) is indicated by the way that Agnews circumvented the problem. The only European artist in India during the Revolt was a

Swede, Egon Lundgren. Agnews purchased hundreds of his sketches and put them at TJ Barker's disposal. Barker's picture was The Relief of Lucknow, showing the encounter between the three most popular heroes of the campaign, Havelock, Outram and Campbell. Outram and Havelock had become trapped in Lucknow after attempting to lift the siege, and it was Sir Colin Campbell's force of Highlanders who finally rescued them and the British garrison. The meeting between the three men had been absorbed into the national mythology as an example of British "sang-froid".⁶² Campbell, having force-marched hundreds of miles in gruelling conditions, against "overwhelming odds", "walked forward to greet them, raising his cap and holding out his hand, "How do you do, Sir James?"⁶³ The choice of this subject is further evidence of Agnew and Barker's ability to produce highly commercial subjects for engraving. In the aftermath of the Revolt, the blood-chilling massacres and reprisals were less frequently recalled than the so-called heroic activites of Havelock and Campbell. Barker's painting was nicely calculated to appeal to patriotic notions of British heroism under pressure without recalling the grim events that called it into being. It will be shown, below, Chapter Six, that an artist would be bitterly criticized for attempting to recall very grim aspects of the war. Barker's carefully selected view of the war was regarded in some quarters as totally successful. The formula was the same as his Crimean group pictures, it showed hundreds of portraits, integrated into a setting with pretty local-colour. "...a work which looks as if it must have been painted photograph fashion, on the spot, at the very moment when Sir Colin was

grasping the hand of Havelock..." This reviewer went on to recommend that the picture be aquired for the National Gallery. "These collections are destitute of pictures of the most impressive and engaging interest, so long as they comprise no British historical department."⁶⁶ This issue of calls for a military painting collection will be discussed below.

The provenance of The Relief of Lucknow is better known than any other painting by Barker, many of which were lost or destroyed after the First World War. It was initially displayed in Agnew's Gallery in 1860, presumably in an attempt to attract subscribers to the engraving. It was sold, for an unknown sum, to a private collector, Mr S. Mendal, who later gave it to Glasgow City Art Gallery. It was destroyed during an air raid during the Second World War.⁶⁷

George Jones was much slower in embarking on two similar paintings with Revolt subjects. In 1865 he exhibited, at the RA, Lucknow, study for a large picture in progress.⁶⁸ This sketch showed Lord Clyde leading the sick and wounded sufferers away from the liberated city towards his camp. The picture was exhibited at the RA in 1869, accompanied by a quotation from Lord Clyde, as well as an assurance that "This and the companion picture of Cawnpore were painted for and entirely under the direction of, the Late Field Marshall Lord Clyde, who died before their completion".⁶⁹ Lord Clyde, formerly Sir Colin Campbell, did not live to take possession of the large ⁷⁰ pictures which were eventually given by Jones' widow to the Tate Gallery.

One of the most remarkable "public" pictures of the Revolt was Edward Armitage's huge painting Retribution. The work

was an allegory of the revenge which many people thought the British could justifiably take on the Indian nation. It depicted a bare-breasted female embodiment of Britannia driving a sword through a tiger, emblematic of India. At the feet of the two huge figures lay a British woman and two children.

"Mr Armitage's Retribution (531) is allegory rather than history and is less adapted to popular taste than the last mentioned work. It is statuesque rather than picturesque in treatment - but is on the whole, an undeniably fine work; the subject, a female who may be Britannia, Justice or the East India Company, according to the fancy of the beholder, about to execute vengeance on a tiger which she grasps by the throat..."⁷¹

Fig 16

Armitage donated the painting to Leeds Town Hall shortly after its completion in 1858. This sort of uncommercial activity was presumably designed to re-establish his reputation as a painter of national subjects in the Grand Historical manner. As has been shown above, his Crimean battle paintings, although critically well received did not constitute an advance in his career as a History Painter. Retribution may have been an attempt to establish his ability to paint an "elevated" theme on a large scale. As his biographer pointed out, "owing to his independent position Armitage was never obliged to conform to the chance variations of fashion but was absolutely free to follow his own artistic ideals."⁷²

The small number of Sepoy Revolt pictures exhibited at the RA underline the conclusions drawn from the slightly earlier Crimean war; that large scale works were still almost unsaleable whatever the subject, and such works of this scale as were made sprang from unusual circumstances. In the case of the Barker painting, it was commissioned by a dealer who wanted not only a basis for an engraving, but the

prestige that an oil painting could confer. In the case of Armitage, his work was not painted to sell but to demonstrate the artist's abilities. Only Jones's pair of pictures was commissioned - by a hero eager to recall his finest hour. After the death of this patron, no other buyer came forward to buy them.

It will be seen then, that battle painting in Britain did not burgeon in response to the military activities of the Crimean and Sepoy emergencies. Such artistic activities as were called into being by them were isolated and short-lived. In the case of Barker, his paintings were commissioned because a market existed for engravings, not the oil canvases. There was one artist however, whose battle paintings enjoyed considerable popularity with the middle-class public, although this did not bring him either commercial success or Academic honours.

Louis William Desanges, like Barker, was a crucial figure in the process of assimilating French military art into the British vocabulary. Although Desanges met with resistance from the art Establishment, in the form of the Academy, his example was crucial in the shaping of the Academic artists of the next generation, particularly Elizabeth Butler (see below chapter 3).

In spite of his name, Desanges was a London artist, born there in 1822. His antecedents though were French and aristocratic; his great-grandfather, the Marquis Desanges,⁷⁴ had settled in England in 1742, as a political exile. The artist was willing, when it seemed useful, to exploit his claim to the title "Chevalier". Desanges was an aspirant history painter, competing unsuccessfully in the Westminster Hall competition. He was also unsuccessful in getting such works as his Excommunication of Robert, King of France etc⁷⁵ hung at the Royal Academy. Desanges abandoned History for portraiture and showed his first work at the RA in 1846. Portrait of An English Lady, was stylistically influenced by Ingres, and owed much to that artist's modelling and treatment of texture. Desanges established a successful practice as a painter of Society ladies. A critic later commented acidly on this move into a more rewarding genre.

"Mr L.W.Desanges, many years ago, gave hopeful indications of being able to achieve some very praiseworthy results as a painter in the higher paths of art, but the seductions of money-making beguiled and turned him aside to the allurements of fashionable female portraiture, which he generally invested with a pseudo-sentimentality...."⁷⁶

Despite this excursion in a lower ranking genre, Desanges did continue to produce works with Biblical and historical subjects. According to the only biographical material on the artist, a short study in the Art Journal of 1863, it was

through his practice as a portrait painter that the artist began his series of battle pictures. He was working at this time in the home of Robert Loyd-Lindsay, Equerry to the Prince of Wales. Loyd-Lindsay had been one of the first men to win the Victoria Cross, by saving his regimental colours at the Battle of the Alma.⁷⁷ The financing of this large project for fifty pictures is not clear, but it seems likely that Desanges hoped for patronage either from the State or the Royal Family. In view of the monarchy's policy of associating themselves with the Victoria Cross and "their" Army, it is not unlikely that some help was offered.

Desanges' project was to depict the incidents which had won for the Victoria Cross for their perpetrators. His production of the pictures was done at high speed: the first award ceremony took place in Hyde Park in June 1857 and Desanges exhibited the first twenty-four works at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly in April 1859.⁷⁸ Of these, eight were large-scale "finished" works and the rest were oil sketches for larger pictures. It seems that the artist may have been forced to abandon the idea of "working-up" the sketches and have gone on to execute more paintings on the smaller scale. By 1862, when the full series was exhibited at the Crystal Palace,⁷⁹ he had completed the fifty pictures. The series was at one stage sold to an unknown patron, but remained almost constantly at the Crystal Palace until about 1880.⁸⁰ Given the popularity of the Crystal Palace as a place of amusement and edification for a predominantly bourgeois audience, the series must have been the best-known images of war in the mid-century.⁸¹ By 1900 they had passed into the possession of Robert Loyd-Lindsay, then Lord Wantage, who presented

them to Wantage Town Council.

The history of the series, highly popular, yet unsaleable is part of the familiar pattern for battle paintings in this period. The works were not engraved but reproduced by ⁸³ photography. The choice of this medium, suggests that the series was designed to appeal to the lower income bracket of the middle classes, since engraving was a more common form of reproduction for connoisseurs. The Illustrated London News recommended the works, not as an artistic achievement but "to all those who have a wholesome patriotic regard for ⁸⁴ the character and renown of our brave army". Another review of the paintings suggested that photography was the appropriate medium since it could show action and portraiture, implying that the omission of "painterly" ⁸⁵ qualities was not here of paramount importance.

The belief in the documentary nature of Desanges' series distracted most reviewers from observing the artist's bias towards certain sections of the forces and modes of representing them. A recent writer has echoed nineteenth-century critics in assuming that "the democratic appeal of soldiers of all ranks deemed martial heroes in art ensured ⁸⁶ the gallery's success". Desanges' series covered the chronological period from 1856 to 1862, when 302 Victoria Crosses were awarded. Since the completed series comprised no more than fifty pictures it is clear that the artist must have been forced to select particular heroes for representation. The criteria for this selection may, partly, be reconstructed by an analysis of his choice. In the Crimean campaign 1854-56, 111 Victoria Crosses were awarded, ⁸⁷ 96 of which went to the Army. A rough computation of the ranks then held by the VC winners, yields 29 officers, 24

non-commissioned officers and 33 other ranks. Although the terms of the creation of the V.C. emphasised that it was open to both services and to all ranks, it is clear that there was a bias towards officers and NCOs since obviously they were far outnumbered by the ranks. A list of the V.C. pictures in the 1900 Wantage catalogue shows that in the Crimean pictures Desanges represented 10 officers, compared to 9 NCO and only 4 private soldiers. In the whole series of fifty works there were only six paintings which took the heroism of the private soldier as their subjects. It will be argued that far from representing private soldiers "democratically", on terms of equality with officers, Desanges' pictures relegated the ranks to an inferior status. To an extent he was merely exaggerating the class bias inherent in the system by which the medal was awarded. The military hierarchy constructed the role of ordinary soldiers as merely supportive and discouraged individual initiatives from the ranks. In Desanges' series four out of the six working-class V.C. winners were shown distinguishing themselves by rescuing superior officers and in one case fellow soldiers. Such representations did not disrupt contemporary mythologies of common soldiers as brave and enduring but functioning only through the guidance of the military commanders and existing only to serve them. The 1865 Official Guide addressed the problem of how to classify private soldiers who stepped outside the parameters of their class by winning the Victoria Cross.

"The private, graced with such a distinction, is no longer a plebian. He is not one of the multitude. Even if his social and military rank remain unchanged he is raised morally much above his former self." 90

Desanges' series incorporates a similar sense that a

heroic working-class soldier lifted himself beyond his peers. The oil sketch of Private Sims winning the V.C. is a Fig R. crudely executed work in which only the figure of the hero is clearly delineated. The Official Chronicle of the Deeds of Personal Valour (1865) gives a very general account of Sims's achievement;

"For having on the 18th June 1855 after the regiment had retired into the trenches from the assault on the Redan, gone out into the open ground under heavy fire, in broad daylight and brought in wounded soldiers outside the trenches." 91

Desanges' sketch omitted the Redan and placed the scene in a featureless setting. Sims confronts two Russian infantrymen over the wounded form of an officer, who is gazing imploringly up at the hero. Sims is thrusting pugnaciously towards the enemy; the dangerous nature of the confrontation implied by the gesture of another wounded comrade who tries to restrain Sims. The possible fate of the wounded officer without the intervention of Sims is indicated by a group behind the main actors where a Russian bayonets a fallen Englishman.

The sketch of Private Sims, like the five other representations of private soldiers, was never worked up into a large-scale "finished" picture. Indeed, a list of the eight large works out of the first batch of twenty-four shown in 1859 gives only one N.C.O. and seven officers. This additional discrimination in favour of officers was undoubtedly dictated by Desanges's financing of his project. It appears that the artist would approach the family of a VC hero to commission a portrait from him. Desanges's reputation as a fashionable portraitist probably made people eager to own likenesses of their relative

wearing the newly acquired honour. While executing the commission, Desanges would make one for his own later use, as well as using the time to get a first-hand account of the
92 action from his sitter.

It seems likely that at least the first eight large oil pictures were executed on this basis and that Desanges hoped that they would stimulate patrons to order similar works. As we shall see, the series was mooted as a possible basis for a gallery of British heroism. Desanges's heroes then were predominantly the "distinguished young officers", rich enough to command his services as a portrait painter. A glance at their backgrounds reveals that they came mostly from the
93 upper-middle classes, rather than the aristocracy. The artist's work can be understood in terms of the contemporary class struggle for control of the Army. The aristocracy, as has been discussed above, were attacked by the bourgeois press for "inefficiency" during the conduct of the Crimean War. The emergent class was represented by Desanges as behaving with exemplary efficiency and unfailing cool courage. This image was satirized by a contemporary critic.

"Irresistible colonels and indomitable majors do terrible acts with that calm grace the Greeks ascribed to the immutable gods and revolver a rebel with the look of Apollo shooting Python."
94

Desanges presented the acts of heroism as "natural" and effortless. Major Charles Gough rescuing his brother Hugh, ^{Fig. 17} winning the V.C. is balletic in movements and devoid of all expression except boredom. The artist is here articulating a view of these upper-middle-class men as a race of "natural" warriors, predestined to be effortlessly heroic. Desanges showed his young patrons with the noble passionless faces

also attributed by the Victorians to the medieval knights of chivalry. The intersection of notions of chivalry with Victorian constructions of heroism is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four see below. Desanges' contemporary "knights" are represented as infinitely superior beings, separated from both their enemies and their social inferiors by their physical beauty and natural heroism. This extended to a strong sense of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon over other races, whether allies or enemies.
95

Desanges' innovation in this series was to focus on a single action by a few protagonists. This change is clearly linked to a new set of constructions around the notion of "heroism", and particularly to the idea of the chivalrous deed, which need not be in any way productive of a victory. The convention also overcame any difficulty which might have been raised about the representation of destruction and death, since the showing of an act of courage was a patriotic duty and could be seen as didactic. Although, as has been shown, Desanges's series was not "democratic" in the sense that it was widely thought to be, his subject matter did shift in its focus away from aristocratic generals towards middle-ranking and middle-class officers. In these new departures in British art, Desanges was clearly influenced by French military painting,
96 particularly Vernet and Charlet. It is not the purpose of this thesis to chart specific borrowings, it is here enough to note that the adoption of smaller scale and more tightly focused individual acts came from this source as did the use of bravura brush strokes. Desanges' work was extremely influential upon the battle painters who worked in the 1870s, providing as he did a formula which allowed the

"close-up" focus on a dramatic incident, which allowed a psychological study of national heroic character.

Desanges's series was the focus for considerable lobbying for the establishment of some kind of national collection of battle paintings. Prominent in this was the Art Journal.

"We have intimated that this series of war pictures was a ⁹⁷ on the part of the artist, but it is one of great national interest and ought to be therefore duly recognised and appropriated by the country."

In the early 1860s a move was made to buy the pictures to keep them together. The prime movers were some members of the Junior United Service Club. Their manifesto, published in the Art Journal again suggests that the "Art" qualities of the series were felt to be dubious and not an important factor in their acquisition.

"This small collection of pictures affords us an easy opportunity of publicly prolonging a record of their deeds (the V.C. winners). Whether we care much or little about Art, such pictures form the nucleus of an entirely novel collection, a pictorial Gazette, improving to the living and invaluable to their successors. The consideration of such deeds not only elevates the mind but gives a just pride in our countrymen. Let us prove ourselves worthy of our noble Queen's ideas, by aiding her in perpetuating it. "98

The idea of using the Junior United Service Club as a repository for a collection of military pictures came to nothing. The Art Journal suggested that the Crystal Palace might be an appropriate venue;"they fill but a very small portion of the space that might with ease be devoted in the Crystal Palace to a grand collection of national historical pictures, representing British naval and military achievements, as well as the minor and more personal incidents and exploits in the greater and more comprehensive
⁹⁹ battles." The writer makes it clear that, as always, it is

with French military art and with Versailles in particular that Britain's military art was compared.

"..if once it were determined to regard Mr. Desanges' collection as the nucleus of a grand national gallery, the Crystal Palace might soon prove as formidable a rival to Versailles, with its military pictures, as it does with its high-soaring and beautifully varied fountains."¹⁰⁰

Even this appeal to national pride was resisted by the art world of the 1800s. In the previous decades there had been similar moves to establish a national collection. Siborne's wooden model of the Battle of Waterloo had been given to the United Service Institution in Scotland Yard, as the first exhibit in a museum and gallery which was never completed.¹⁰¹ After the Crimean War, Lord Elcho had proposed that William Simpson's ninety watercolour sketches of the war be purchased for the nation as a "visual history". Colnaghi, the dealer who had commissioned the sketches, offered them to Palmerston's Government at a loss, but the gesture was refused.¹⁰²

It is clear that though a small body of interested persons considered that the lack of an English military Gallery reflected badly on the nation, there was a more general resistance to establishing such a collection. The objections may be divided into three basic categories; a genuine reluctance to glorify war; a conviction that military art was not "good" art and more pervasively that the British were not a military nation and that was why no such collection existed. Some commentators offered a combination of excuses for the absence of a strong school of military art in this country. William Michael Rossetti, reviewing the Academy exhibition of 1861, invoked the mythology of anti - militarism but also disputed whether war

was a suitable subject for Art.

"The military is one of the most hopeless and barren phases of art and British painters have always shown themselves peculiarly abroad in it."¹⁰³

Rossetti noted that, by contrast, the French "excelled" at the genre.

"art can hardly thwart its own best purposes more than by dealing with masses of red-coats and pipe-clay, bayonet-thrusts, gashes, blood, agonized and distorted features and widespread slaughter. Yet these are the essentials of the subject, anything short of them is a mere trifling with it, half-hearted and self-condemnatory. British painters have never fully grappled with military art, they have only hovered around the edges, touching and trimming."¹⁰⁴

Rossetti's paragraph contains an interesting contradiction: he laments the poor performance of British art in the military genres, yet is offended by the gruesome details which, he insists, are an essential part of the subject matter. His use of the phrase "self-condemnatory" is most revealing, surely implying that the practice of battle painting involved a guilt-provoking celebration of war. Rossetti makes a double-edged insinuation that the French excel at the genre only because they like war and do not have the scruples which make the British hesitate.

The notion that British painters failed at battle-painting because of their superior moral sense and refined sensibilities was not confined to Rossetti. Richard Redgrave commenting, in his Journal, on the Exposition Universelle of 1855, compared British and French art. He noted a

"marked difference between the French and English in their choice of subjects. French art shows a people familiarized with blood, and with the horrors of war. Subjects from their former Russian war, and their present one *<in the Crimea>* abound everywhere. Even in their religious pictures, martyrdoms of the most dreadful character seem to please them more than tender and devout subjects.

"Now on the English side taking our pictures generally, there is nothing of this sort. Battles there are, and murders but such subjects are rare; and wounds and

deaths far less prominent than in French subjects of the like nature. The pictures more generally speak of peace, of a placid life, of home. Our subjects are undoubtedly of a less elevated and of a lower and more familiar character in England, but they are works which a man can live with and live to look upon obtruding no terrors on his sleeping or waking fancies."105

A comic dialogue in the Art Journal of 1856, between "Amicus" and "Magister", overtly linked French militarism with that country's thriving school of battle painting. "Our neighbour's military tastes and the delight they take in the pomp and circumstance of glorious war, familiarizes them, no doubt, with such crimson results" ¹⁰⁶ *<as battle scenes>*.

This equation was frequently drawn in the 1850s and 60s and always with a note of ambivalence. The French excellence in battle painting might be taken to prove only their blood-thirstiness, and moral inferiority, but might it not suggest that they had more military victories to celebrate?

"As a nation we are not famous for immortalising ourselves in painting, though we have, shut up in our books, a list of victories, which some of our neighbours would have devoted many miles of canvas."108

The debate about the importance and desirability of battle painting as articulated by Redgrave is suggestive of a reassessment of the hierarchy of genres. The notion that History painting was the only desirable pursuit for a great artist was under attack as early as 1840 when critics like Thackeray were able to argue that the national taste was not at fault in preferring small domestic scenes,

"A young man has sometimes a fit of what is called "historical painting", comes out with a great canvas, disposed in the regular six-foot heroical order; and having probably half-ruined himself in the painting of the piece, which nobody, (let us be thankful for it!) buys, abuses the decayed state of taste in the country and falls to portrait painting or takes small natural subjects, in which the world can sympathise and which he is best able to grapple...Art is a matter of private enterprise here, like everything else; and our painters must suit the small rooms of their customers and supply them with such subjects as are likely to please

This kind of reaction against the High Art lobbying of such men as Haydon was given a theoretical reinforcement by Ruskin in the second volume of Modern Painters published in 1856.

"it does not matter whether he toil for months upon a few inches of his canvass(sic) or cover a palace front with colour in a day, so only that it be with a solemn purpose that he has filled his heart with patience or urged his hand to haste. And it does not matter whether he seek for his subjects among peasants or nobles, so only that he behold all things with a thirst for beauty and a hatred of meanness and vice." 109

Ruskin's emphasis on sincerity gave theoretical acceptability to the genres of art which already dominated the art market. The strain of Modern Painters was that "true criticism of art can never consist in the mere application of rules". Thus "the difference between great and mean art lies, not in definable methods of handling or in styles of representation or choices of subject but wholly in the nobleness of the end to which the effort of the painter is addressed." 110 Before this, C.R. Leslie, a less influential art theorist, wrote in his Handbook for Young Painters (1855) that

"The essence of vulgarity, is pretension and it...generally aspires to the high places of Art, where it shows itself in evry species of false sentiment. It openly affects the superfine - it produces the mock heroic - and all the numerous mistakes of the exaggerated for the grand and the poetic." 111

A critic writing for the Art Journal in 1867 was able to confidently opine that mere "decorative styles" had frequently been confused with the essentials of High Art which were "nobility of thought, simplicity and severity of treatment". 112 It was possible therefore that works of "less ambition" might be closer to the true meaning of High Art than those which "vainly strive to comply with the ancient

114

traditions". Despite this argument around the notion of what constituted High Art it is plain that the term had come to be interchangeable with "Good Art". The invoking of the older term was merely a device for proving its redundancy.

The situation of battle painting in this theoretical debate was not overtly discussed. The deficiencies of various strands of battle painting had been expressed by critics in the context of the Palace of Westminster competitions. Despite the liveliness of the dispute, consensus had never been reached as to what constituted a desirable form of battle painting for Britain, doubtless due to the persisting mythology of anti-militarism.

The inability of either Barker or Desanges to gain admittance to the Royal Academy elite suggests that there was still resistance to their genre at a number of levels. Yet, as will be shown, the style evolved by Desanges was very close to that of the academically successful artists of the next generation. A number of adjustments in the art theory had taken place in the intervening decade from about 1865-1875. The new acceptance of the "personal" picture has been noted as one factor. The concept of factual accuracy which, in the twenties, had been taken to signify paucity of imagination, became in Ruskinian theory the one of the hall-marks of good art. The call for "historical accuracy" affected all branches of historical painting at roughly the same time, undoubtedly under the influence of the explosion of archeological and historical research and the popular interest in these subjects. This topic is discussed below in chapter three.

As well as these theoretical adjustments which gathered

strength in the decade 1865-75, the new bourgeois estimation of the Army was a critical factor in creating a market for military painting. As has been shown the class struggle for control of the Army was an important factor in the re-estimation of the Army. The Volunteer Movement, begun ⁱⁿ 1859, marked a significant phase in the "militarisation" of bourgeois ideology. In addition, the value of the Army was enhanced by the growing perception that other European powers were able to present a significant challenge to British supremacy. The most shocking evidence of new developments in the power structure of Europe and indeed in the nature of war itself emerged from the Franco-Prussian War of 1869-70.

Bismarck's moves to unify Germany under Prussia by fighting a series of small European wars had been regarded sympathetically in Britain in the 1860s. This was due to the strong political links between the two nations, strengthened by the dynastic alliances of the Royal Families. There was also a frequently voiced belief that the German national character was closest to the British. ¹¹⁵ France was the traditional enemy, and the notion of permanent menace from across the ¹¹⁶ ^{Chanel} had been reawakened by the establishment of a Second Napoleonic Empire in 1851. The war between the two European powers was regarded as advantageous to Britain, in that it curtailed the supposed expansionist aims of Napoleon III. The nature of the war was alarmingly new, however; and fought upon new principles; drawing upon Army Reserves and moving mass armies swiftly using the railway system.

"Eye-witnesses have told how, day after day...the railway lines of Germany bore the mighty host in endless succession; how mass after mass of armed men, attended

with all the material of men, rolled rapidly, yet in order."¹¹⁸

The events of the war were closely monitored in Britain with the help of the Press, especially the illustrated newspapers. Scores of Special artists were despatched to follow the armies and to keep an avid readership up to date with the events of the war. The annihilation of the French army and the fall of Napoleon III were thus reported in shocking detail.

This thesis is limited to the analysis of British representations of the British Army, but it is instructive to notice in passing that this foreign war provided subject matter for a number of British military painters.¹¹⁹ Despite the pro-Prussian sentiment which prevailed in the Press and the British Government's policies, the war was perceived to have radically changed the nature of warfare, and military commentators urged the re-organisation of the Army to cope with the challenge.¹²⁰ The Cardwell Reforms, passed shortly after the war, were the most far-reaching acts of legislation for the Army during the whole of the nineteenth century, and were the culmination of moves to "democratize" the Army. As has been stated above, this term largely meant that the officer class should be open to all "gentlemen" by virtue of merit rather than by wealth. The reformed army was increasingly constructed in bourgeois mythology as a desirable, patriotic institution which should be the object of national pride.

"When Mr Cardwell became Secretary of State for War in December 1868, he entered upon office determined to make the Army popular with the classes from which it obtained recruits. It was his resolve also to make the officers feel that they belonged to a great profession, in which as in all others, men could secure advancement only by diligent study and hard work, zeal and well-grounded knowledge of their duties."¹²¹

The Cardwell Reforms have been so often the subject of analysis by military historians that it is unnecessary here to do more than note that their principal effect was to establish officer promotion by "free" competition and a Reserve force.¹²² The Army Enlistment Act of 1870 made provision for a nucleus of reserves which might be activated in an emergency. This was perceived as an economical way of having a larger Army without paying full price for it, and also as a means for being able to offer shorter terms of service to the ranks.¹²³ Under the Act, the minimum term of service was now three years and the maximum twelve, but of those twelve, a soldier might opt to serve in the Reserve. It will be observed below, see especially chapter five, that this Act removed the "bound for life" aspect of enlistment. A secondary aim of this measure was to attract the longed-for "better-class" of recruit to the Army, artisans rather than drifters. This strategy was only marginally successful, since, despite the efforts of the dominant classes to glamourize the Army, it remained unpopular with the working classes and was still regarded by them as the resort of the desperate or vicious.¹²⁴

It is clear then that the period from the Crimean War to the Cardwell Reforms was a watershed in British civilian-military relations. In the era after the Reforms, the Army was increasingly constructed in ruling-class ideology as the instrument for the heroic conquest of the Empire. It has been shown that battle painting also underwent a process of transition in this twenty year period. A number of crucial changes took place, including the assimilation of French battle painting into British subject matter and an

over-turning of the ideological domination of History painting. It was in the following decades however, that a new generation of battle-painters was to emerge and establish battle painting as an important genre.

Chapter Three.

Battle Painting 1874-1914

"Good Art directed to a noble and national purpose."

The final chapter in part one of this thesis will examine battle painting in the period from 1874, the year of the important Ashanti expedition, to 1914, the start of the First World War. In this forty year period, designated by historians the Age of Imperialism, there was a dramatic increase in the numbers of battle paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy exhibition. As will be noted from Graph One, battle pictures had appeared at a rate of no more than three per five year period prior to 1855. In the post-Crimean period, the rate increased to four, but by the early 1880s, the figure had increased to twelve per five year period.¹ Even allowing for a general rise in the number of exhibits, see Graph Two, it is clear that battle-painting enjoyed a higher level of popularity. It will be argued that the new popularity of battle painting was, in part, linked to the pro-military and pro-Imperial ideologies of the upper and middle classes. It is not adequate simply to read the works as "jingoistic" reflections of contemporary military aggression. As will be shown, the ways in which the paintings related to the dominant ideologies was more complex than this, and also the meanings conveyed were less directly affirmatory.

It must be noted that contemporary commentators who remarked on the increase in battle paintings at the RA, attributed this to the influence of one artist, Elizabeth Thompson, (hereafter referred to as Butler, the married name she used for most of her career). In 1874, her second

Academy picture Calling the Roll After an Engagement, Crimea Fig 11 enjoyed a remarkable success. The work was admired by many leading Academician, taken to the sick-bed of the national heroine Florence Nightingale, and bought by the Queen herself. Kilvert recorded in his diary that there was a continual press of people around the picture until a policeman had to be employed to protect it and to keep the crowds moving. Not since Wilkie's Chelsea Pensioners had a military painting enjoyed such success.

"It represents a muster of foot-guards while the call is read by a sergeant, himself wounded, and passing slowly along the thinnned ranks. One soldier stands still and full of thought; another weeps for, it may be a lost brother; one offers tough consolation to his neighbour; and one, next to the last, binds up his own badly wounded wrist, and has a face full of rude sympathy for those who suffer more. One, in agonies, leans on his rifle, while another supports himself on his companion's arm. At this instant a man has fallen, fainting or dead and his next man stoops to see which it is. 5

To what might the popularity of this work be attributed? The artist's choice of the Crimean campaign had been influenced by recent reassessments of the war as having been won by "the ranks". In particular, Kinglake's mammoth History of the Crimean War had endorsed the view of the bourgeois media during the campaign, that the aristocrats who had commanded the Army had failed their country and that only the heroism of the ordinary soldiers had won the war. As has been shown above this mythology had played an important part in the emergent middle-classes' claim to control the Army, and had formed part of the pressure campaign which culminated in the Cardwell Reforms. The Army of 1874, senior ranks of which were to help further Butler's career, was the new generation of officers, made possible by the change in power structure in the post-Reform era. 6

Butler's reputation was boosted by the favour shown to

her picture by the Royal Family. The Prince of Wales had made flattering reference to her work at the Royal Academy Banquet, prior to the opening of the exhibition. The Queen not only bought the picture, but sent the artist a diamond bracelet as a token of her admiration. This kind of publicity made the artist a celebrity, as well as making her work the focus of the Exhibiton. Over a quarter of a million photographs of the painter were sold in a week, and the Press speculated on her private life. It has been noted above that the Queen regarded the Army in the Crimea as "hers", and was anxious to retain her official position as its figure head. In the aftermath of the war, she had instituted a Victoria Cross medal, open to all ranks, and had personally visited wounded soldiers in hospital. It seems clear, then, that the monarchy was eager to associate itself with the anti-aristocratic sentiment which underpinned Butler's painting.

Butler's work, then, formed part of this discourse which elevated "the ranks" into national heroes. Rather than her work "happening" to hit a vein of popularity, which then "inspired" other artists to follow her example, the Royal patronage of the painter showed that they were keen to encourage the production of such works of art.

The Army hierarchy also greeted Butler as an ally, giving special military displays to allow her to sketch them in action, "lending" her soldiers as models, uniforms to work from, as well as their "expert advice" It seems safe to say that Army authorities approved of the representation of their history produced by Butler. Other painters, recognising this positive climate, turned to the

production of similar images. Butler's art will be considered at greater length below.

It is possible to discern a very few basic types of battle picture in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. It is worth noting that all of them were first exhibited by Elizabeth Butler whose influence cannot be over-estimated. The basic types were "the last stand"; "the charge" (with and without heavy guns); "after the battle"; and the "march past". It will be shown that almost all battle pictures produced in this period were derived from these basic prototypes. It must also be noted that there were important differences in the ways in which these types were applied and a wide range of meanings could be drawn from them. It is necessary to explore the alternative meanings of late Victorian battle paintings in terms of the ruling classes' obsession with the Empire and Britain's military and social role within it.

The period of British history from approximately 1870 to the beginning of the First World War is often designated the "Age of Imperialism". The use of this term should not be taken to mean that there had not been colonial expansion in early periods of British history. Vast tracts of land with great wealth in mineral and other resources had been appropriated by Britain in the first three quarters of the ¹¹ nineteenth century. The phrase "The Age of Imperialism" further implies that all British people in this period were united in reading this as the most significant aspect of their era. In fact it is clear that the term was coined to describe the economic and political interests of a limited section of the upper and middle classes. It

has been pointed out that the rise of "patriotic" Imperialism was coexistent with the emergence of working-class and feminist politicization.

"The ruling class sought in patriotism a means of defusing the consciousness of the working class. The call for loyalty to the state rather than to any section of it was seen as a way of both reducing class conflict and of facilitating the imposition of greater demands on the citizen by the state."¹²

Patriotic emotion was focused on loyalty to the Empire, the Queen and by extension the Army as the instrument of Empire. Benjamin Disraeli, the Tory Prime Minister, was influential in his appeal to national pride, asserting that it was "England's Mission" to civilize the Empire in her own image, thus making imperialism seem more of a moral duty than a fiscal policy.¹³ His appeal to lower-middle-class voters, after the broadening of the franchise in 1867, was based on the prestige to be gained in Europe from the policy of expansionism.

"It is whether you will be content to be a comfortable England, modelled and moulded upon continental principles and meeting in due course with an inevitable fate or whether you will be a great country, an Imperial country, a country where your sons, when they rise, rise to paramount positions, and obtain not merely the esteem of their countrymen but the respect of the world."¹⁴

Disraeli's dark allusion to the "inevitable fate" threatening an isolationist Britain is clearly connected with a fear that other Powers, notably Germany and the United States, were increasingly able to challenge Britain's economic and military supremacy. The expansion of the Empire was seen as providing valuable markets for British industry, at a time when Britain was falling behind in production, implementation of new technology and organisation. The time of glamorous

exploration and conquest overseas also coincided with economic and agricultural depression at home and the
concomitant social unrest.¹⁶

The British Army partook of the aura of glory created around the notion of Empire by the Press and politicians. The popular illustrated journals particularly represented British soldiers as bold conquerors, subduing "savages" for their own and Britain's good. The middle-class construction of "Tommy Atkins", was thus extended into the role of Imperial warrior. "Tommy" in the post-Crimean period was regarded as being honest, Christian and instinctively moral, although ignorant and crude. If these sterling qualities were to be found in the humblest representative of Britain abroad, did it not "prove" that Britain had a moral duty to conquer the world
¹⁷ and reshape it in Britain's image? Rudyard Kipling's stirring poetry was important in encoding "Tommy" as an Imperial hero. While exploiting the "amusing" working-class eccentricities and coarseness of the common soldier, Kipling stressed that the greatness of the task of fighting for the Empire worked to exalt "Tommy" beyond
¹⁸ the station he might have enjoyed in civilian life.

Charles Kingsley, in his Sermons for the Times, traced this process of elevation from the pride that was fostered around the concept of the Regiment "... the talisman which has harmonized and civilized from the mire the once savage boor".¹⁹

The theme of the corporate body of soldiers being far greater than they would be as individuals is surely a device for distancing "the Army" from the class of men who made up its ranks. "The Army", "The Regiment" and "The Colours" were

all constructs in ruling class mythology which could be used, simultaneously, to deify and dehumanize the military.

Garnet Wolseley took an almost mystical view of the role of British soldiers in the Empire- a view which presupposed the desirability of Imperial conquest. He saw the Empire as having been colonized , "claimed", by the corpses of the British soldiers buried there - a precursor of the "foreign
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field that is forever England".

"How many such gallant British soldiers lie thus buried all over the world, marking the routes of the armies that have made our Empire what it is. These men die that England should be great and they die without a murmur and it is their valour and their self-sacrifice that enables tradesmen to make fortunes.."21

It is evident that radical changes had taken place in the middle and upper-middle class view of the Army; changes that dated from the Crimean war but were reinforced by the growing emphasis on Britain's Imperial mission. It might be argued that the virtual canonisation of "Tommy Atkins" was designed not only to encourage recruitment and affirm the Imperial policy but to defuse the soldiers' working - class consciousness. There is substantial evidence to suggest that the newfound militarism was by no means the nation-wide phenomenon claimed by such commentators as Wolseley, and that many sections of the working class
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remained profoundly suspicious of the Army. Historically the Army had been an instrument for Government repression of strikes and demonstrations and this sense of soldiers
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as the enemy is well documented as late as the 1880s. Poor recruiting figures similarly demonstrate that, despite propaganda and real improvements in conditions, the Army was still regarded, in the 1890s, as the resort of the
24
desperate or the depraved.

The upper-middle classes' enthusiasm was

undoubtedly reinforced by the cult of masculinity. Army officers were represented in the Press as vigorous, manly fellows whose masculinity proved that Britain was neither effete nor decadent. Violence was regarded as a natural concomitant of masculine commitment to the Imperial cause.

"You cannot have omelettes without breaking eggs; you cannot destroy the practises of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition...without the use of force; but if you will fairly contrast the gain to humanity with the price which we are bound to pay for it, I think you may well rejoice in the result of such expeditions as those which have recently been conducted with such signal success in Nyasaland, Ashanti, Benin and Nupe ..." 26

The means by which the Empire was taken was seen to be justified by the end, at least in the minds of such men as Joseph Chamberlain. The ability of the British to seize foreign lands was regarded as evidence that the nation was still "healthy" and "manly".

The period 1870-1914 also contained a powerful alternative discourse of anti-Imperialism, supported by a broad range of political and religious groups, including Liberals, Radicals, Socialists, Liberal-Catholics and Quakers. Some strands of anti-Imperialist thought were linked to pacifism and anti-militarism. A case study of one particularly well-documented battle painter reveals how anti-war and anti-Imperialist discourse modified criticism of her work within an important but isolated social group - the Liberal Catholic circle connected with Wilfred Scawen Blunt. Butler, as has been shown above, achieved the highest celebrity of any military painter since Wilkie. Elizabeth Butler's sister was the poet Alice Meynell, who with her

husband, Wilfred, was involved in a large number of literary projects, including a Liberal Catholic periodical Merrie
England.³⁰ The editorial policy of the journal was strongly anti-Imperialist.

"We may accept it then as a settled fact ... that the people of England have ceased to be flattered by the thought of Empire"³¹

The concern in Liberal-Catholic and other circles about the Empire seems to have been centred on the moral problem involved in using violence to achieve political ends. The traditional line of the Catholic Church on war was not pacifist but ^{one} of support for war fought in defence of "just" cause. Merrie England, in the main, argued that wars fought to gain or retain colonies did not fall into the category of "just" wars.

Wilfred Scawen Blunt, the fiercely anti-Imperial poet, novelist and historian, was closely associated with the Meynell circle. During the 1880s Blunt was evolving his ideas about the immoral exploitation which took place in the British Empire - retreating slowly from his earlier belief in the moral rectitude of the nation and the

"...common English creed that England had a providential mission in the East and that our wars were only waged there for honest and beneficent reasons. Nothing was further from my mind that the English could ever be guilty, as a nation, of a great betrayal of justice in arms for our mere selfish interests..."³³

It was this disillusionment which informed his controversial book The Secret History of the British Occupation of Egypt.³⁴ Butler's husband, Sir William Butler, found the book "illuminating", since it argued that the occupation of Egypt had not been set in train by altruistic concern for the fate of the region but it had been financiers who had instigated the

Elizabeth Butler's own writings do not reveal any disquiet with current Imperialism, but they do reflect a common contemporary equivocation over the issue of war.

"My own reading of war - that mysteriously inevitable recurrence throughout the sorrowful history of our world - is that it calls forth the noblest and basest impulses of human nature." 36

This attitude was commonly voiced by liberals who revered the Army but who were aware of the reformist view. General Sir Garnet Wolseley, a military colleague of William Butler's, believed that "war with all its horrors exercises a healthy influence on all classes of society".³⁷ This is close to the Tennysonian view that in war-time the ennobling, chivalric influence of the soldier temporarily supercedes the petty influence of merchants and businessmen.³⁸ This view was disrupted by the claim of such men as Blunt that war was waged at the desire of Mammon, rather than to purge its influence.

A critic writing of Butler's picture Balaclava, which ³⁹ ²⁰ showed battered and wounded men after a bloody engagement, stressed that the inspirational lessons of war still outweighed its evils.

"Here is war, son of its glitter if you will, but so shorn that the brave virtues which make war so terrific a good, so potent an educator, so worshipful an influence, shine out with a power making all the heart in a man rise to the godlikeness of self - sacrifice. The wreck of a Brigade (the Light Brigade) may be standing on the Causeway Height, but compassion at the sight is swallowed up in exultant pride."³⁹

This approach to wars and battle pictures was one which stripped the politicians and military hierarchy of all responsibility for waging war and the conduct of them. Butler chose to see war as "inevitable" rather than arising

from political activity, in the same way as the critic saw Balaclava as merely a didactic incident in British history. This was clearly an attempt to depoliticize war and to play down any controversial aspects which might have obtruded upon the enjoyment of an exciting battle picture or war report.

Butler's art may thus be read as a compromise between the anti-war ideologies of her immediate family circle and her chosen genre. She achieved this compromise in two ways; by selecting only subjects that carried a suitably moral and inspiring meaning and by evading the depiction of actual bloodshed. Butler's oeuvre was concentrated upon three main areas of military history, listed here in order of numerical prominence: the Napoleonic Wars; the ⁴⁰ Crimea and the Nile Expedition. The first two were major wars fought against a European enemy with similar weapons and conditions of service. One of the chief complaints of the anti-Imperial war lobby was that the native opponents were almost invariably not trained soldiers and were forced to face rifles with only spears and ⁴¹ clubs. Butler's experiments with colonial subjects brought her severe criticism from her family. Her husband, for example, was enraged by her choice of After the Victory - Lord Wolseley and his staff riding into Tel - el - Kebir. Refusing to be flattered by the depiction of himself, with Wolseley, as a conquering hero, he objected that Tel-el - Kebir had been a grotesquely easy victory gained by well equipped forces over an unprepared, non-⁴¹ professional party of defenders. Butler did not exhibit this work and destroyed it "in a fit of remorse"⁴² after her husband's death. The Defence of Rorke's Drift one

193

of Butler's least critically successful works, was also a source of conflict between her anti - violence principles and her patron's expectations of a battle-painting. The work is considered in greater detail below. The picture was commissioned by the Queen, who clearly specified the subject she wanted. Despite the importance of her patron, Butler demurred and was at first unwilling to paint the subject, "...it was against my principles ⁴³ to paint a conflict". Butler proposed alternative subjects from the Zulu war which would allow her to evade the depiction of hand-to-hand fighting. The Queen insisted and Butler was forced to accept the original subject. A piece of art-world gossip from a contemporary magazine suggests that Butler's compromise was not acceptable to her patron and that the artist was forced to make changes.

"Miss Thompson's work suffers from not giving the main idea of the engagement in question and rumour says that a certain great personage for whom the picture was painted, expressed disappointment at there being so few Zulus in the composition, whereupon Miss Thompson stuck a few more into the corner of the picture." ⁴⁴

The lack of violence in Butler's paintings was, then, a deliberate strategy, designed to ^maccommodate the conflicting ideologies of anti-Imperialism and pacifism as well as patriotism and militarism. The Meynells, who edited the Magazine of Art, were prominent critics of Butler's work, and they frequently ran articles which eulogised her paintings or attacked "conventional" depictions of war and to try and point up what they saw as Butler's innovation.

"War seen from a distance, from the distance of conventionality and heartlessness, whether by writer or by painter is both stupid and inhuman." ⁴⁵

Alice Meynell, writing as "John Oldcastle" in 1879, stated her misgivings about the morality of artists earning their living by painting death and misery. In the early 1870s Butler had been pressured by her mother into an abortive attempt at religious subject matter. Meynell's article associated her sister with a contemporary group of French battle painters, Detaille and de Neuville, "young reformers".

"From the most conventional, heartless, and insincere of the arts they made it the most human, the most intensely true and the most realistic....the situation and the emotions of war... are so great, so dramatic, so strong, being matters of life and death - that they need only realisation to be the highest objects of the highest art." 46

It is interesting that although Meynell's formula for the "highest art" was in direct opposition to the Great Tradition of High Art battle painting she still felt the need to underpin her preferred style with this terminology which conveyed the suggestion of artistic merit and intellectual importance. Butler's method was, theoretically, based on genre painting in its stress on unidealized individuals. Her art alluded to but did not attempt to delineate the progress of a battle, but rather the sentiments and emotions of the men caught up in the event. Alice Meynell again endorsed this approach.

"Art has rightly nothing to do with the history of war, it should be concerned only with its anecdotes. Art should go into the byways of battle. It must love the soldier and love him individually, not in battalions." 47

Butler's art has in recent art historical works been described as celebratory of flag -waving Imperialism. Her marriage to an important soldier is treated as "evidence" that her art was uncritical of the

military and that she personally relished war. It is clear that Butler had a strong moral resistance to depicting bloodshed, and that she regarded her art as celebratory only of the virtues which emerged during the extreme situation of war. Contemporary reviews of her work by the Meynells and other critics show that her approach was recognised and admired, in some circles, as a response to anti-war discourses in the 1870s and early 1880s. It might be argued that Butler's work attempted and failed to respond to the increasingly extreme "patriotic" militarism of the 1890s, after which date she lost popularity with the critics.⁴⁹ It is important to stress, however, that Butler's art was not read in this way by the majority of her audience, who merely appreciated her choice of subjects and the entirely positive and flattering representation of the Army. It is clear that Butler's imitators, Stanley Berkeley and Ernest Crofts among the earliest, neither appreciated nor emulated her anti-violence stance. The forms which Butler invented which were the most stirringly patriotic and the least concerned with the horrors of war were most frequently taken up by her imitators. Berkeley, for example, produced a number of versions of the frontal charge, clearly derived from Butler's The Charge of the 1922 Scots Greys at Waterloo (known as Scotland Forever!). I can find no painting which imitates the melancholy foreboding of Butler's The Dawn of Waterloo, a picture which ¹⁹²³ represents the cannon fodder as tragically young and unprepared. At the end of the 1880s, when Butler produced this dramatic anti-war image, other battle images were manifesting a much cruder racism and imperialism, with which

her work was out of key. There were other forms of representation which allowed artists to comment upon the horrors of war without depicting them. She is, however, much the best documented battle artist of the era, being herself an author and intimately connected with journalists and writers. The sporting artist, John Charlton, moved into military subject matter by refining and developing the genre which had been used by Horace Vernet and Thomas Jones Barker in the previous half -century. Charlton began his art training in Newcastle, a city which since the days of Bewick and Clennel had had a thriving artistic tradition. Charlton built up a successful practice as an animal painter before settling in London in 1874. Two years later he began to contribute sketches to the illustrated journal The Graphic. It seems likely that it was through his connection with this publication that he developed an interest in military subjects, a prominent feature of its illustrations. In 1883 he showed his first known battle piece British Artillery entering the enemy's lines at Tel-el-Kebir.^{13th. September 1882}, at the Royal Academy. This subject was apparently chosen to give the artist maximum scope for his ability for depicting horses in action, providing a bridge between his established activity as a sporting painter and his excursion into his new genre. His choice of subject may well have been influenced by the example of T.J.Barker, who had adopted a similar strategy for moving into the "higher" genre in the early 1850s. Like Barker, Charlton chose to make the move when a high level of interest in a contemporary war ensured him of a market for his

work. Charlton appears to have been heavily indebted to Barker, both for his approach and in borrowing directly from the older artist's subject matter; in 1884 he exhibited After the Battle, Sedan which depicted abandoned horses roaming after the battle. Barker had shown the earliest version of this subject Riderless War -Horses, 1873 after the Battle of Sedan in 1873. No critics appear to have recalled Barker's earlier experiment in the genre, 55 acclaiming Charlton's work as innovative. Charlton's strategy, like Barker's, was to "suggest" the battle, the feelings of the absent human protagonists and their fate through the depiction of their horses. A lengthy discussion of Charlton's Bad News from the Front (RA1887) describes the artist's method and is suggestive of how this type of "battle" painting was "read".

"This subject was suggested by a description sent from the seat of war to the Graphic; for which newspaper, I believe, Mr. Charlton's original study in black and white was made...In the limpid half-light, the long stretches of barren hills and the empty saddles of horses that stoop to bury their nostrils in the cool stream as they ford it.(sic) Mr. Charlton tells us a story that is as perfect and poetical in sentiment as it is artistic in his way of treating it. In imagination we see the fight in the first flush of dawn when half a score of troopers on outlying picket were surprised by a sudden swoop of natives, the hasty rush for horses, which they had barely reached before the fierce spearmen were on them, the stubborn stand on foot and the stampede of riderless horses across miles of...sandy hills before they reached the welcome pool."⁵⁶

The critic here bases the success of the picture on the assumption that the viewer would be able and willing to imagine the events that led to the abandonment of the horses. Another critic believed that the "vivid suggestion of the unseen but tremendous tragedy" stimulated the imagination so that the desired emotion was aroused "without requiring intermediate processes

57

of thought for its full realisation". Charlton was able to rely on the "correct" interpretation of his painting because of the powerful network of mythologies surrounding the relationship of horses to humans. The loyalty of horses was "well known", that is was a familiar element of Victorian discourse, and there was a long tradition of representing animals as "faithful unto death" which reinforced this popular belief. Landseer's The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner; Horace Vernet's The Trumpeter's Horse and Harvey's Incident in the Life of Napoleon all showed that animals could display superior qualities of "humanity".⁵⁸ Charlton could rely on his viewers "knowing" that the horses would not have strayed or bolted, but that they could only have been driven away from their masters by some enemy. The critic quoted above was able to construct a narrative around the limited information given by the artist by drawing upon the imagery and cliches of newspaper war journalism. The phrase "sudden swoop of natives" and the "stubborn stand" had such common currency that they seemed to be factual, to be actual ^sdescriptions of the way all British soldiers confronted their colonial enemies.

Charlton's pictures were, like those of Butler, always described as battle paintings. Since both artists in different ways and for different motives evaded the representation of fighting, this suggests that the term "battle painting" had a much broader definition than we have hitherto understood. The work of Elizabeth Butler, in particular, can be shown to have been modified by the conflicting ideologies on war, Imperialism and the

military, which pervaded her social group in the 1870s. It is clear that, despite Butler's enormous importance as the first of the "new generation" battle painters and as the establisher of "new" military genres, her followers did not share her moral objection to depicting violence. The genres which she had used to convey sadness over war were used by them to celebrate it.

In the period 1874-1918 the illustrated press had an important impact on academic battle painting in a variety of ways. A large number of the most respected and popular battle painters were in some capacity connected with one of the illustrated papers. These publications were, in some cases, vital source of additional employment, to sustain an ^e academic career. In the largest number of cases academic [^] artists had worked previously for a paper, which provided a kind of "apprenticeship" in the increasingly specialized field of military representation.

This thesis has not hitherto considered the influence of other media and art forms upon battle painting, nor is it intended here to try and prove that newspaper illustrations directly influenced the appearance of battle pictures, although some ideas on that will be put forward. Rather the newspaper illustration industry will be cited as an important economic factor in the working life of many late nineteenth-century battle painters. The close relation between the academic genre and commerical art will be shown to have had a detrimental effect on the status of battle painting.

French Impressionism, the aesthetic theories of "Art for Art's sake", combined with the opening up of alternative exhibiting venues for the "new art" all called into doubt

whether the narrative, didactic and highly finished art favoured by the Royal Academy was the most important and progressive art of the age. The rise of aestheticism has been too well chronicled to require repetition here. It is enough note that ^{at} _^ the very time battle painting seemed to have gained popularity within the academic milieu, that institution and its values were being undermined by other increasingly influential sections of the art world. The poor rate of success achieved by battle painters in the elections for the honours of Associate and membership of the Royal Academy will be cited as evidence that the artists within the Academy were biased against battle painting, rather more than other narrative genres. It will be suggested that the prejudice stemmed partly from the genre's associations with topographical tradition (see chapter one). The close relationship which was perceived to exist between battle painting and the illustrated press must have contributed to the low status of battle painting. The illustrated weekly newspaper had originated in the 1840s with the first publication of the ⁶⁰ Illustrated London News, by Herbert Ingram. The ILN soon proved itself to be enormously popular: in 1843, only one year after its inception, its circulation had ⁶¹ reached 66,000. In 1881, despite the competition which had sprung up in emulation of Ingram's enterprise, the most notable of which was The Graphic, the ILN was averaging a weekly circulation of 70,000. The ⁶² circulation of The Graphic was only slightly lower. The social group towards which the ILN was directed was the middle to upper middle classes, presumably with a

metropolitan bias. These social strata would undoubtedly overlap, to some extent, the Academy -visiting and art -buying public. The Royal Academy Summer Exhibitions were extensively reviewed in the ILN. and carried reproductions of Academy pictures.

The most important single subject in the ILN. and The Graphic was colonial warfare, military scenes formed nearly forty percent of all illustrations in an average year from 1875, and almost every issue carried information and illustrations of the campaigns currently being fought ⁶⁴ in outposts of the Empire. In the post -Crimean era, the desirability of sending out an artist to produce sketches at "the seat of war" was recognised. Speed of coverage and the claim for "absolute fidelity" to the facts became important factors in the circulation war. Prior to this development, journalists' reports had been amplified by no more than "an artist's impression", executed in the ⁶⁵ newspaper office in London. The growth of war illustration as a media form called into being a new race of artists who had to combine the skills of explorer, soldier and journalist with artistic ability. These "special artists", as they were called, became media personalities in their own right, some publishing racy autobiographies or writing articles about their adventures. Archibald Forbes, Frederick Villiers and Melton Prior were all famous for the daring with which they pursued pencil -worthy military news across often dangerous ⁶⁶ and hostile country.

The illustrated papers continued to employ artists based in London, to "work up" sketches sent back by front -line artists into material suitable for publication.

"The task of finishing sketches for publication was very skilled and was an exercise of the imagination. The sketches sent back from the front were often rough and ready. It required knowledge to transform the sketch into a comprehensible picture. Luke Fildes and Hubert Herkomer were among a number of highly accomplished artists who did this kind of work in their youth."⁶⁷

Frederick Villiers was the former type of illustrated press artists - a front line "Special". Villiers became a well - known personality in the late Victorian newspaper industry. He was a relentless self-advertiser, always emphasising his own courage and skill in producing his sketches, thus increasing his readers' sense of their value. His arch rival, Melton Prior, frequently included a self - portrait in his own sketches,⁶⁸ presumably to underline his participation in the drama.

Villiers's art - training was the conventional one for an academic artist. He attended classes at the South Kensington School of Art, as well as a number of evening classes, as a prelude to gaining admittance to the

Royal Academy Schools.⁶⁹ His first experience of military art was a project to paint a panorama of the Franco-Prussian War, 1869-70. He went to Paris, with a forged passport, to gather sketches and information. In this, his first adventure, he showed the resourcefulness and disregard for authority which was to characterise his career as a war artist. After five years study at the R.A. Schools, Villiers applied to be sent to cover the Serbo -

Turkish War for The Graphic.⁷⁰ In the next fifty years Villiers was almost constantly abroad covering British -

colonial and other wars.

Villiers exhibited two battle paintings at the Royal Academy, in 1882 and 1883, so far as is known his only excursions into academic art. These were painted at his studio at Primrose Hill, during the brief interludes ⁷¹ between his working trips. The first painting was based on the Afghan War 1878-80, which Villiers had covered ⁷² for The Graphic This work depicted The Road Home -the return of the Imperial Brigade from Afghanistan. The title suggests that the work showed soldiers on the march ⁷³ rather than engaged in a battle. The second picture seems however to have been a battle scene, Fighting Arabi with his own weapons -Tel-el-Kebir. The battle of Tel-el-Kebir was the culminating battle in the British expedition to suppress the Arabi Rebellion in 1882. General Sir Garnet Wolseley had crushed Arab resistance at the desert fortress of Tel-el-Kebir in a daring night attack. The British contingent forced the numerically superior Arab force to surrender. The battle was greeted by Wolseley's admirers as proof of his powers of generalship and vindication of the Cardwell ⁷⁵ Reforms. Villiers, who was evidently willing to participate in the celebration of Wolseley's command, based his painting on sketches he had made on the spot. He also sold some sketches of the same battle to the British based ⁷⁶ French battle painter Alphonse de Neuville. Woodville, another Special artist at the front, also made sketches and photographs for De Neuville, who had been given a commission for an oil painting of the battle and had been ⁷⁷ too ill to make the arduous journey to the Sudan. This episode, recorded in the autobiography of Villiers,

is most revealing of the practice of academic battle painters who seem to have had a symbiotic relation to newspaper artists. The high reputation of the newspapers for fidelity to the facts undoubtedly increased the pressure on academic painters to achieve maximum accuracy in depicting events they possibly had not seen. Certainly, in the 1880s, critics were more likely to condemn a battle picture for its inaccuracy, although, as will be shown, what constituted "truth" in such contexts was by no means straightforward. Such transactions as the one outlined above appear to have been quite common. Villiers further recounts that another of his sketches, "finished" in London by John Charlton, was purchased by a "lady artist" who "paid a good sum for the rights of painting the subject."⁷⁸ This tantalising reference is the only information known about the practice of buying the rights to a pictorial motif.

Without referring to the missing pictures by Villiers, it is impossible to pronounce on the artistic relationship between them and his newspaper sketches. It seems likely, in view of Villiers constant struggle to enhance his reputation, that he moved into the field of oil painting to demonstrate his ability in the sphere for which he was trained. In this he was probably stimulated by his close association with the architect and artist Waterhouse, with whom he shared a studio. His excursion into battle painting does not seem to have been successful, if getting critical attention was his object, since none of the newspapers or journals mentioned them in reviews of the exhibitions, nor do they seem to have been engraved or

reproduced in the form of photogravure. Ironically perhaps, in view of the considerable support and help given to academic artists by the illustrated newspapers, the connection may have materially lowered the prestige of the genre within the Academy. Naturally it is difficult to quantify a nebulous commodity like "prestige", but as will be shown below, battle painting was, from the late 1870s, increasingly dismissed as "inartistic" and too "factual" to be suitable for the category of art. It is noteworthy that no artist who specialized in contemporary battle pieces was admitted to associateship of the Academy in this period, in spite of the greater number of practitioners in this genre. Artists like Wollen and Crofts, who specialized in historical battle scenes, were granted
80 this accolade. In the first half of the century, Jones and Cooper had quite early in their careers received admission to the Academy, when they were specialising in contemporary military subjects (see above Chapter One). None of the battle painters of the two succeeding generations had achieved similar recognition from their fellow Academicians. Some degree of academic prejudice against battle painting seems the only reason that an artist of the celebrity of Richard Caton Woodville, enhanced by Royal Patronage, should fail to gain honours within the Academy. Woodville's credentials as an academically trained artist were impeccable. He had studied in Dusseldorf with the religious -subject painter
81 Gebhardt from 1876 to 1877. Woodville probably worked as an illustrator and later as a "Special" to subsidise his Academic paintings. Woodville was regarded as highly skilled in making "artist's impressions" of events he had

not witnessed. In 1879 he drew a "two page spread (which) showed the gallant prince in a highly romanticized pose, facing the onset of the Zulus with his back to the wall of the gully; the caption was "At Bay":⁸² Since no one had witnessed the death of the French Prince Imperial, the use of an "artist's impression" was acceptable. An artist in the region could not have done more than supply "local colour". Woodville's impression was satisfactory to his audience because it fulfilled current expectations that the Prince had died nobly. It was said by a contemporary of Woodville that his work represented "an artist's victory over many a British defeat."⁸³ He was adept in transforming authentic-seeming detail into highly romantic art. The chief quality embodied in his art was moral conviction - he whole-heartedly believed in the righteousness of the Imperial cause. Like Elizabeth Butler, Woodville revered soldiers and their trade. Woodville's style as an illustrator, which has been described by Peter Johnson as "Boys' Own Paper", is reflective of his fervent admiration for all things military.⁸⁴ The soldiers in his drawings are always heroes; chivalrous, handsome and brave; their actions always graceful. Woodville, himself clearly influenced by Desanges, spawned many imitators.

Woodville began to exhibit at the Royal Academy in 1879. His first battle pictures such as Before Leuthen December 3rd 1757 and Blenheim were executed in a highly refined, detailed manner, reminiscent of Meissonier. After 1881, the year in which he showed his first contemporary battle picture, his work began to be described by critics

as "careless". At this time, Woodville appears to have been trying to synthesise the dashing freedom of his newspaper drawings with the demands of an academic audience.

" I painted with fewer and larger figures, much broader in the brushwork and in its execution, so as not to hamper the movement and to give an idea of the rush of men." 86

A fellow artist noted that his approach to painting one of these battle pictures was close to that of an illustrator.

"There is no man so rapid in his work or who works in such a unique manner. I have seen him sit down before a huge canvas and start in the centre of the cloth with the pivot figure of his picture and finish it straight away....Woodville apparently has the whole composition fixed and centred in his brain and with wonderful rapidity conveys it to the canvas as faithfully and directly as the lens of a camera registers a subject." 87

This technique stands in strong contrast to Butler's more traditional approach in which she built up a composition only after taking scores of painstakingly detailed sketches. Woodville's innovations met with disapproval in some quarters. The influential critic G.A. Sala of the Daily Telegraph attacked his technique as " slapdash". The issue of "finish" had been given great publicity in the recent Ruskin versus Whistler libel case. In the course of giving evidence, the art Establishment had reinforced the ideal of workmanship over inspiration as the vital ingredient of a good painting. A work of art must be seen to have involved effort and expertise in its manufacture. Perhaps disappointed by the failure of his experiment in evolving a new style of battle painting, Woodville reverted to a tighter, more detailed and highly finished technique. The quality for which Woodville was praised by all critics was "dash", which must be taken to mean the illusion of lively movement, conveyed by

drawing rather than painting, enabling the artist to avoid accusations of carelessness. Paradoxically, in diminishing the "painterly" qualities of his art, Woodville moved closer to the newspaper illustrations for which he was famous. From the mid 1880s Woodville's work was often condemned as "pass(ing) little beyond the province of newspaper illustration".⁸⁹ This accusation was also levelled at other painters with very different styles and without any professional connection with the illustrated press, a fact which suggests that the similar subject matter of the two media, and the fact that a number of artists worked in both spheres, may have had a detrimental effect on the status of the battle painting genre generally. Battle painting was undermined as a practice by the association with a form that was considered to be both documentary and intellectually facile.⁸⁹ At a time when the increasing interest in the military assured battle painters of a market stronger than they had enjoyed since 1815, military painting enjoyed progressively less critical attention.

The rise to prominence of war illustration was contemporaneous with the development of photography and its application to military subjects. Matthew Brady had taken photographs of the battle fields of the American Civil War and, as was shown in the preceeding chapter, Roger Fenton took many pictures of the Crimean War which were used as "evidence" of the state of the war.⁹⁰ Fenton and Brady were able to capture only static subjects, piles of corpses, rows of tents, or posed soldiers, because of the length of time needed to obtain an exposure. It is noteworthy that after about

1860 there were no Academy paintings of the topography of battlefields, probably because photography was able to fulfil this role. Photography was not able to usurp all the functions of graphic illustration, however. Artists were increasingly preoccupied with methods of portraying action.

The discourse of battle painting as documentation was still current in the 1880s, and the journalistic background of painters such as Woodville was used to reinforce the claim that an artistic production could be an authentic record of a military event. This discourse was appropriated for a number of uses, beyond merely decrying the artist's production. In this review from the Illustrated London News, Woodville's own employer, the assumption of absolute fidelity to the facts on the part of the illustrator / battle artist is utilized to flatter the Royal Family and to increase the prestige of the monarchy. The Queen had commissioned Woodville to depict her son, the Duke of Connaught, at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir. fig 24

"The Guards at Tel-el-Kebir - a very admirable battle piece....The moment represented is when the Duke of Connaught advanced his brigade preparatory to attack into a hollow from a ridge, the range of the latter having evidently been ascertained by the enemy's gunners. The shells bursting in various directions, the men falling from the rifle fire, the steady advance of the brigade nevertheless, and the coolness under this hot fire of the Duke, are doubtless all perfectly authentically recorded by our Special Correspondant: while as a picture this is certainly an advance on anything Mr Woodville has exhibited." 91

The critic has made the familiar separation of "artistic" value from the authenticity content. "Absolute truth" is now considered to be achievable because the painter was an eye - witness, or in the case of other artists, had expert

knowledge of military affairs. There is here a discernible shift from the theoretical stand point of battle painting critics in the 1840s, when if a battle painting was factual it was devoid of artistic merit. The intervention of newspaper illustration and the growth of "art for art's sake" meant that battle painting was marginalized as a lower genre of interest only for its factuality. Any aesthetic value which a painting might have is regarded as only supplementary to the criteria of truth. The battle - painter G.D.Giles, who is discussed at length below, was a former soldier, a fact which modified all reviews of his picture. The notice quoted at length below is typical in its assumption that because Giles had witnessed the event his art could be the perfect visual reproduction of the reality.

.... Giles' Battle of Tamai (1068) has a double merit. It is the work of an officer who was actually present at the scene he depicts and saw the critical position in which the British square found themselves for a few minutes - and it is also by far the best battle piece, from an artistic point of view in the exhibition. 92

Giles' pictures were described in the language of record and the capturing of truth, as "vivid and striking transcripts of striking scenes".⁹³ Some critics did acknowledge that specialist training as a journalist or a soldier was able to do no more than help the artist to create an illusion of "truth". Still even in such passages as this there remains an assumption that experts such as war- correspondants must be able to paint "more truthfully" than other painters. Of de Neuville's Tel-el-Kebir a critic wrote that

.... the terrible story is told with a wealth of incident and with a verisimilitude beguiling the

spectator into the belief that he is an actual witness of the scene - that could only have been compassed by one who had made acquaintance with war de pres, as did M. de Neuville during the Franco - Prussian war. " 94

The illustrated newspapers thus had a vital impact upon the genre of academic battle painting in the 1880. A significant number of academic artists were able to support their practice by working either as front line Specials or as home -based finishers. In either case the painters were provided with a specialized apprenticeship which provided them with a useful background to their oil painting. In some cases, such as that of Woodville, his other profession was helpful in establishing his "knowledge" and thus ensuring that he received commissions. At the same time the association with the field of illustration undermined battle art as a genre. The rise of "art for art's sake", in which subject matter and content were considered subordinate to painterly and evocative qualities, in part ensured that battle painting became uninteresting for art critics. Where, in the years after Waterloo "factuality" was deemed to be a poor alternative to a loftily conceived and executed battle picture, in the 1880s battle pictures were judged primarily as "truth" and with only grudging attention to the "artistic" merits of the work. It was undoubtedly the impact of newspaper illustration which compounded this tendency to view battle paintings as valuable only as records of military history.

Militarism and High Victorian battle painters.

The notion that a psychological gulf must exist between "the artist" and "the soldier" dates only from the end of the nineteenth century as a widespread mythology. From the 1880s the artist was increasingly constructed as a non-conformist Bohemian whose behaviour was governed only by abstract notions of beauty rather than by adherence to the moral codes of society." The soldier", or more correctly, the officer, was increasingly regarded as a figure integrated with society and working for its best interests. "The soldier" was the antithesis of the artist: conformist, mindful of authority and at worst, chauvinistically philistine. Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera Patience (1880) made play with the opposing characteristics of these two stereotypes. If such an ideological gap had existed in reality, in the period 1874-1914, this might have posed grave difficulties in relating the production of "Bohemian non-conformist" artists to the subject matter of and market for battle paintings. An analysis of the social background, career patterns and known interests of late nineteenth century Academic artists, reveals that a significant number had pronounced military interests. That is, Academic artists identified more strongly with the interests of the middle class from which most of them sprang, than with the Bohemian preoccupations assigned to them by popular mythology.

A number of London - based, Academy - exhibiting artists seem to have identified with militarism to the extent of joining the Volunteer Force. This included

artists like Leighton, Morris and Rossetti, who worked on
98
more "aesthetic" themes. Artists working in the genre of battle painting, not surprisingly, can be shown to have had strong connections with the Army. The high level of accurate detail which was considered to be desirable in High Victorian painting meant that substantial study was necessary to produce a successful picture. Any special taste or access to information must not only have dictated the genre pursued by the artist but have been prized as an artistic advantage over his or her rivals. The strong presence of high-ranking soldiers in the audience of the Royal Academy in earlier decades has been noted above (see also Chapters One and Two). In the 1870s artists felt that they were obliged to produce paintings which would satisfy the supposed desire of this "expert" audience for absolute fidelity to detail. Butler, in 1875, clearly believed this professional group's criteria for judging a picture to be different from that of civilians. Further she seems to have accepted that these criteria were one which she must strive to satisfy.

"I dread to think what blunders I might have committed. No civilian would have detected them but the military would have been down on me. I feel, of course, rather fettered at having to observe rules so strict and imperative concerning the poses of my figures, which I hope will have much action. I have to combine the drill book and the fierce fray!" 99

This note in the artist's diary suggests that she felt that fidelity to the "drill book" would inhibit her ambition to capture the suggestion of the "fierce fray". The already noted relationship with illustration and the compulsion towards pleasing a military audience meant

that battle painting was regarded by admirers of "art for art's sake" as a genre for tasteless militarists.¹⁰⁰

The view that soldiers were necessarily philistine was again a stereotype.¹⁰¹ Many high ranking officers showed themselves to be keen collectors and connoisseurs of art, attended art events in London, mixed with artists and were integrated with strands of the cultural life of the capital.¹⁰² The association between philistine obsession with detail and battle painting is clearly revealed in this article, entitled The Decline of Art, published in 1885.

"An old connoisseur has been known to remark over a picture of Waterloo that Wellington does not sit straight in his saddle, and so the critic, fresh from a ride in the Row, rejoices in his superior sense of eyesight....An old veteran fights his battles over again in the face of charging cavalry and a furious battery, and pays no ill compliment to the painter when exclaiming "By Jove! I hear the clatter of the horses' iron hooves and the very roar of the guns!" and thus a silent art has its victory in rousing the sense of sound!"¹⁰³

A lengthy discussion of the Aesthetic Movement would not be appropriate here, and has been adequately detailed by other writers.¹⁰⁴ It is here enough to note that the art press, The Art Journal, and the Magazine of Art, all paid diminishing notice to battle painting in the late 1880s. In this, battle painting shared the fate of narrative pictures in general. Landscapes and portraits, left until the end of art reviews in the 1860s and 70s, were now admired first. The disillusionment of the "art circles" with narrative art was matched with a disdain for the Royal Academy as the home of old-fashioned art. The Grosvenor Gallery (opened 1877, closed 1890), The New English Art Club (founded 1886) and the New Gallery (founded

1890) all presented a challenge to the supremacy of the R.A. as the most "important" forum for contemporary art.¹⁰⁴ The art world became polarised as never before in the 1880s. The "avant-garde" dismissed the Academy as dull and reactionary, while conservative sections of the art world regarded the R.A. as the steady mainstream divorced from the alarming excesses of the Aesthetic Movement. A reviewer discussing the battle pictures in the Royal Academy of 1882 was relieved to discern that

"...they bear also traces of new life- life strong and earnest and healthy, not resulting in any great achievement but producing little that is VAPID and UNHEALTHY."¹⁰⁵

The language used to discuss battle painting was also used of sporting art, another genre which was considered to be reassuringly traditional and "national". A critic writing of the work of John Charlton (see above), a sporting painter who later worked on military subjects, found his work to be

"... above all things, healthy, manly, appealing to the temperament that is more readily roused by a trumpet-call or the sweet discord of a hound chorus than the thrilling vibration of the lady's lute."¹⁰⁶

Ruskin, in his Academy Notes in 1875, had asserted that battle-painting was a masculine activity and therefore only be successfully practised by a male painter. When confronted by an obvious contradiction to this dictum in the art of Elizabeth Butler, he designated her "An Amazon", that is a woman with the warrior qualities of a man.¹⁰⁷ This indicates an unarticulated equation between the practice of war and the practice of painting representations of war. Sporting art, representations of fox hunting, horse racing, was also considered to be a masculine preserve, since it celebrated "manly"

attributes of courage, energy and aggression.

This almost hysterical insistence on the basically "manly" and "healthy" aspects of British art has been identified in the work of Rudyard Kipling. Preben Kaarsholm has shown that Kipling's Imperialist and militarist poetry and stories demonstrate a terror of the degeneration and "feminisation" of the British nation.¹⁰⁸ Aesthetic art and literature were considered to be manifestations of a dangerous tendency towards effeminacy and homosexuality which would weaken Britain and cause her to put down the "white man's burden". These fears lie below the surface in the writings of a number of contemporaries. Elizabeth Butler regarded her own work as an antidote to the disease of the "Aesthetes" whose "sometimes unwholesome productions" she saw at the Grosvenor Gallery.

"I felt myself getting more and more annoyed while perambulating those rooms, and to such a point of exasperation was I impelled that I fairly fled, and breathing the honest air of Bond Street, took a hansom to my studio. There I pinned a seven-foot sheet of brown paper to an old canvas and with a piece of white chalk, flung the charge of "the Greys" upon it."¹⁰⁹

Production and Patronage of Battle paintings :

case study : the Zulu Wars.

The large number of battle paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy during the period 1874 - 1914 makes it impossible to account here for the genesis of more than a few. In this section, the paintings inspired by the Zulu War 1879-80 are examined; to determine the process by which they were commissioned, the appearance of the pictures described and the critical response to them noted.

The Zulu War was chosen as the focus of this study because it was regarded as the most important of the colonial wars prior to the Sudan Campaign 1883-4. In some aspects it was typical of many military expeditions in the mid and late nineteenth century: it was fought to suppress a native nation for territorial and commercial motives. Donald L.Morris has published a masterly and detailed history of the war, The Washing of the Spears, which makes plain the repressive nature of British action in Zululand and the ignorance of the customs and motivation of the Zulu nation. B. Farwell gives this account of the British reason for going to war.

"Ostensibly, the campaign against the Zulus was undertaken because of alleged encroachment by them on territory and because Cetewayo, their chief, was said to misgovern his tribe. The real reason was that the presence of the large, well-trained Zulu army was a standing menace to the British colonists in Natal, who knew that the Zulus could overwhelm them if they chose."¹¹¹

What marked out the Zulu War from the Ashanti War, the Maori Wars and the other previous colonial expeditions was that the British were humiliatingly defeated. The war

brought a series of political embarrassments. The only son of the late French Emperor, Napoleon III was allowed to accompany the Army of Lord Chelmsford to Zululand. The Prince Imperial was carelessly permitted to go out with a small foraging party and was massacred by a few Zulus. This was a humiliation for the Queen and the Army, who had guaranteed ~ the Prince's ¹¹² safety. The greatest disaster of the war occurred on January 22nd 1879, when Lord Chelmsford, marching in pursuit of the Zulu army, recklessly split up his force into three, easily vanquished, parts. The base camp at Isandhlwana was left underprotected and although well armed, appallingly disorganised. Almost every person in the camp was massacred by a swift-moving Zulu force. On the same day, a huge force of Zulus laid siege to a makeshift hospital and camp at Rorke's Drift. The few soldiers left to guard the sick and wounded put up a powerful ¹¹³ defence although severely outnumbered. The British sent reinforcements to southern Africa and crushed the Zulu army at the Battle of Ulundi in July 1879. The King, Cetewayo, was imprisoned and the emergent military empire of ¹¹⁴ the Zulus was disbanded.

The massacre at Isandhlwana had been a severe blow to British pride, and was largely due to Lord Chelmsford's persistant under-valuation of the speed and discipline of the Zulu "impis", battalions. He was the victim of his own misconception of "the African character", since he believed them as a race to be cowardly, stupid and ill - disciplined. He had thus been all too ready to believe the false information planted by Cetewayo to lure

him into thinking that the Zulus had fragmented and
115 fled.

There were only three oil canvas representations of the Zulu War exhibited at the Royal Academy, and one large watercolour painting. Watercolour painters have been excluded from this thesis, but it is clear that they made an important contribution to the representation of war in the nineteenth century market, although they occupied a different section of the market. Orlando Norie, whose Battle of Ulundi Charge of the 17th Lancers. (1882 n.973) may have been a large watercolour painting, was an
116 important practitioner in military art. Norie came from a Scottish family of artists but spent most of his professional life in England. From 1870 he maintained a studio in Aldershot, a large military camp, to enable him to make continual studies of soldiers in action. Norie's history shows that, despite the vagaries of the market for oil paintings of battles, there was a steady demand for scenes of military life in the less expensive medium of watercolour. Norie also produced several extensive series of the uniforms of the British Army,
117 which were mass-produced as steel engravings. As a watercolourist Norie was felt to be less significant within the Royal Academy and despite his reputation he exhibited there only twice, in 1882, and two years later with Tel-el-Kebir. Neither of these paintings received any attention in the art press. As a general rule there were about two hundred watercolours in the exhibition, compared to approximately 900 oil canvases, but despite this comparatively high proportion, watercolours were only rarely mentioned in reviews. Norie's work was much

admired by the Queen, who aquired thirty-eight of his
118 works for the Royal Collection. Norie also won the enormous accolade of a commission, from the Queen, to paint The Royal Procession leaving Buckingham Palace on its way to Westminster Abbey to commemorate the Jubilee celebrations 119 in 1887. It is likely that Norie had regarded his work's acceptance by the Academy exhibition as a necessary prelude to Establishment recognition.

Only one of the oil paintings represented a British military victory. John Charlton's After the Charge: 17th Lancers at Ulundi, July 4 1879 was in his accustomed mode, showing the grim consequences of war by depicting its effects on the equine participants, see above Chapter Three. The artist's selection of Ulundi as an event to which to tie his picture suggests that he 120 regarded it as important. Ulundi was a symbol of the inevitability of British victory which despite set-backs would always emerge. The work might be read as a merely ritual mourning over the sadness of war, since it indirectly celebrated a British victory, and one, moreover, in which very few British lives had been lost. Nothing is known about the provenance of this ,now lost, picture. Charlton's works appear to have been cabinet - size and therefore may have been produced speculatively.

Charles E. Fripp's The Last Stand of the 24th Regiment 1934 at Isandhlwana (R.A. 1885) is one of the most direct and powerful battle -pieces which survive from the late nineteenth century. The "Last Stand" formula was popular with late Victorian battle- painters and was the basis of

some other memorable works. W.B.Wollen's Last Stand of 1935 the 44th at Gundamuck 1842 when compared with Fripp's picture demonstrates how diversely the formula could be applied.¹²¹ Fripp's painting showed over one hundred figures, in striking scarlet uniforms against a dramatic African veldt. Wollen's showed only ten or so soldiers, clad in winter rags, huddled together in the lonely mountains of Afghanistan. The basic premise of the two pictures was, however, identical; that in extreme circumstances and although facing overwhelming odds, British soldiers stand together and die bravely. The "Last Stand" phrase implied that the effort of the soldiers was inevitably useless and that they would die. The work was therefore more about the way in which British soldiers conducted themselves in war, than how successfully they did so. In most "Last Stand" pictures, including the two mentioned above, the soldiers are gathered into a semblance of the defensive four-square drill formation, a device which demonstrated their discipline in the face of death. It was also a useful means by which the artist could group the figures tightly together and focus closely on their facial expressions. Fripp was undoubtedly influenced by the first British picture to show the formation, Butler's Quatre Bras (R.A.1875).¹²² Fripp's reworking of the theme was striking and effective in exploiting all the possibilities afforded by the subject; the contrasts between the different ages, physical types and races engaged in the struggle.

It is appropriate to note here the way in which late Victorian battle painters manipulated a number of stock characters. One of the most familiar was the

"little drummer boy". The juxtaposition of children and war was considered to be peculiarly poignant in this period, and in chapter six the wide range of context in which children are set against war in genre paintings will be considered. Drummer boys, as embryo soldiers, seem to have implied that British courage was innate, and provided a much needed reassurance of the continuity of the British army, that there was a rising generation which had the requisite military qualities.

Drummer boys in battle paintings are more idealised than in contemporary literature. The boys in Kipling's poem The Drums of the Fore and Aft were described as given to swearing, lying and fighting, but were still impressively heroic. Such subtle gradations of personality would have been impossible to convey in a painting. Fripp's little drummer was angelically beautiful, with blonde hair and a noble expression. The presence of a boy at the massacre was well-documented, as was the unpleasant fate he suffered.

Another "stock-character" prominently featured in Fripp's picture was the "sergeant-major". This character was introduced into battle painting after the Crimean War, and should be read in terms of the contemporary movement to heroicize the ranks. In pre-Crimean paintings officers had predominantly been the heroic figures supported by the generalized mass of the ranks. That it was the sergeant - major who was the favourite figure in post-Crimean paintings was not surprising. Sergeants, as non - commissioned officers, were the cream of the ranks, promoted for such desirable qualities as reliability, obedience, intelligence and above all, respectability.

From the view point of the Army and the civilian middle classes, the Sergeant embodied all the best characteristics of the regenerate working-class.

In Fripp's painting a sergeant is posed prominently in the centre, standing alert and erect, although already suffering from a head wound. His sense of responsibility is indicated by the protective arm he stretches across the drummer boy. It must be assumed that the prominent featuring of the boy was a way of demonstrating the "cowardly" conduct of the Zulus in killing him. That the standardisation of characters was recognised is clear from this review of Caton Woodville's *Tel-el-Kebir*.

"A number of picturesque figures of soldiers appear on the battle-field, including, of course, that handsome young officer with the sad eyes and drooping fair moustache whom Mrs. Butler invented." 126

It is instructive to compare Fripp's work with the remaining Academy picture of the Zulu War, Butler's The Defence of Rorke's Drift (R.A. 1880) The Cq 33 There is a strikingly higher level of violence in Fripp's picture, the corpses of both British and Zulu soldiers are liberally scattered in the foreground, and Zulus are shown in the act of killing the British. The two armies are shown to be suffering equal violence; in the left foreground two warriors, one white, one black, are laying dead, side by side like a mirror-image. In Butler's picture the violence is literally put to one side. The British defenders of Rorke's Drift occupy nine-tenths of the canvas, and the enemy action is indicated only by two gracefully laid out bodies. The Zulus in the extreme left of the canvas are shown doing very little fighting, but as the recipients of British bullets.

Butler's moral scruples about painting hand-to-hand fighting have been discussed above. She had a further reservation about executing the commission from the Queen, because she felt that the defence of Rorke's Drift was receiving undeserved attention, "...as though it were a ¹²⁷ second Waterloo". The British obsession with Rorke's Drift may be attributed to the fact that its memory distracted attention from the greater humiliations of that war. The subject also demanded the representation of the Zulus as the aggressors, pinning the wounded, with only a few able-bodied defenders, into a corner. This provided "evidence" that the annihilation of the Zulu army had been justified. One measure of the British preoccupation with Rorke's Drift was the number of Victoria Crosses awarded for the action - eleven - the highest ever ¹²⁸ given for a single engagement. Rorke's Drift was also the subject of a picture commissioned by the Fine Art ¹²⁹ Society from Alphonse de Neuville.

Nostalgia and Late Victorian Battle Painting

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, but especially in the 1890s, representations of the battles of the Napoleonic period dominated contemporary battles, (within the last twenty years) by two to one. This marked a substantial increase; in the 1860s and 1870s such paintings appeared roughly as often as "contemporary" ¹³⁰ subjects. The substantial number of nineteenth-century battle pictures which turned back to events more than twenty years into the past for their subject matter have not hitherto been discussed in this thesis for reasons outlined above (See Introduction). It is clear from the work

done by, among others, Roy Strong, in his book And when did you last see your father, that it would be both interesting and valuable to examine, for example mid-nineteenth-century attitudes towards the Crimean war as revealed in representations of the Civil War.¹³¹ Clearly, this could form a thesis in itself and it is possible here only to remark on the most numerically important case of "looking back": the obsession of artists in the last two decades of the nineteenth century with the Napoleonic Wars. Although in this thesis a somewhat arbitrary distinction has been drawn between "contemporary" and historical subject matter, it seems that many late nineteenth-century reviewers did not consider there to be a distinction and would discuss for instance a Blenheim picture in the same category as a Sudan war subject.¹³² Many of the battle painters discussed in this thesis worked on both historical and "contemporary" subjects with equal ease.

Richard Caton Woodville began his exhibiting career at the Royal Academy by showing two battles from eighteenth century wars.¹³³ The subject matter of his subsequent eight pictures was "contemporary" but in 1894 he turned back to the Peninsular campaign with Badajos 1812. In subsequent Academy exhibitions he showed a Charge of the Light Brigade, (the Crimean War); a Relief of Lucknow, (the Sepoy Revolt) and a scene from the Peninsular battle of Fuentes Onoro. The only link between these four geographically and historically dispersed subjects is that they all depicted acts of gallantry by significant military figures. With Bádajos 1812 Woodville submitted

a quotation from William Napier's famous History of the War in the Peninsular which was published in the exhibition catalogue.
134

"When Wellington saw the havoc of the night, the firmness of his nature gave way for a moment and the pride of conquest yielded to a passionate burst of grief for the loss of his gallant soldiers."135

At the siege of Badajos, the British only took the town at the sacrifice of 5,000 men. In the following days the "gallant" troops got completely out of control and committed atrocious acts of rape, murder and
136
pillage. The memory of Badajos was thus by no means entirely to the credit of the British Army and might appear to have been an undesirable subject. Woodville chose to direct his audience's attention on the image of the Iron Duke, as the aristocratic hero weeping for his men. This theme of the "price of victory" had been current some years before and would have been familiar to his audience. The Charge of the Light Brigade, Woodville's next picture, Fig 32 was also a celebration of aristocratic military leadership. The Earl of Cardigan, who had been equally admired and detested in his own time, could, twenty years after his death, be represented as an example of disinterested chivalric courage. Warfare, in the post Franco-Prussian war period was seen to be becoming ever more a matter of weapons and railway time-tables rather than dependent on the inspiration and courage of individuals. The Cardwell Reforms, which had been almost contemporaneous with the Prussian war (1870-71), appeared to have signalled the end of aristocratic leadership of the Army. Despite Cardigan's very obvious weaknesses as a general, he undoubtedly had, with hind-

sight, a great glamour as a handsome aristocrat, which some of Woodville's contemporary leaders lacked. A more detailed discussion of this issue is found below, (Chapter Four).

The battles of the Waterloo campaign formed the centre of late nineteenth-century military nostalgia. In the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1897 there were eleven paintings which took their subjects from those few months in the summer of 1815, with only one picture depicting a contemporary war, Stanley Wood's Surrender under Protest: an incident in the Matabele War. The significance of Wellington and more particularly, Napoleon, in this era will be discussed, at length below, in Chapter Four. It is enough here to suggest that the whole of the late Regency or Napoleonic era stood as a symbol of Britain's ability to win wars; to beat down even the greatest military genius in the history of the world, as Napoleon was said ¹³⁸ at this time to be. Naturally, the greater Napoleon was deemed to be, the greater was the triumph of the English nation in defeating him. In Chapter Six, it will be argued that the Regency period was looked back upon as an era of social harmony and uncomplicated social relationships. There was undoubtedly a sense in which the warfare of that age was seen as being more dignified and noble because of the lower level of technology.

In looking back into history for subjects, artists may have been motivated by the desire to evade contentious contemporary military issues. It was observed, above Chapter One, that Armitage's painting Meeanee was criticized not only as a picture but as a battle.

Depicting a battle was taken as a tacit act of glorification of that battle and the reputation of the general who had fought it. The tendency to confuse aesthetic with military issues did not decrease towards the end of the nineteenth century when, as has been shown, battle pictures were often judged primarily on technical grounds. In relation to this question of the controversiality of contemporary subjects, the remark of Elizabeth Butler must be noted. She stated that she rarely undertook very recent subjects, preferring to let her subjects "mature". This may be taken to mean that she liked to wait and see how history viewed a battle before attaching her own name to it.

There was, of course, a sense in which artists and writers used the military experience of the past as an apparatus for articulating ideas about the present. During the Boer War, Butler turned back for her subject matter to the Crimean War - the last time the British had fought a full-scale war against an Army of the same race. Her The Colours: Advance of the Scots Greys at the Alma was exhibited in 1899, accompanied by a passage loaded with nostalgia for "old fashioned" Battles. "It was the last battle of the old order. We went into action in all our finery, with colours flying and bands playing." These lines suggest a longing for set-piece battles, with two armies confronting one another in a series of well-orchestrated troop formations. This kind of encounter had almost become extinct due to the unsuitable terrain upon which most colonial battles had to be fought and because of the long range of modern guns. It was now possible to kill the enemy without

seeing them at all.

It is interesting to note that Butler's art enjoyed a revival of popularity during the First World War. In the early years of the twentieth century she had virtually retired into oblivion, but during the War she was given several "one man" shows, which were both retrospective and carried new work.¹⁴² Her pictures represented the World War as though it were being fought out with only cavalry skirmishes, made by dashing, khaki clad officers. Her failure to even acknowledge the realities of trench warfare and barbed wire, was not remarked upon by art critics who were, perhaps, only too glad to accept her construction of the war.

One of the most memorable images of war, executed in the Victorian period was Robert Gibb's The Thin Red Line 1927 (R.A.1882) The painting, used to advertise Dewars Whisky, sums up many familiar strands of High Victorian battle painting. The image shows a regiment engaged in an important battle; hundreds of men acting in perfect unison but each one depicted as brave, steadfast and cheerful. Most significantly, the regiment is a Highland one, the 93rd making an heroic stand at the battle of Balaclava.¹⁴³ (1854)

Despite the numerical minority of Scottish regiments in the late Victorian army, the Scottish soldier received more pictorial "coverage" than any other type of private. In particular, the Highland Regiments, with their distinctive kilt and plaid uniforms, dominate battle pictures. One obvious reason for this might be that their uniquely picturesque uniforms and bagpipes made them

attractive subjects for artists, or that the heroic history of the Highlanders in the Crimea, Egypt and India provided excellent material for representation. It will be argued here, however, that the prominence of the Highlanders in High Victorian art, must be understood in relation to contemporary Scottish nationalism and the romantic cult of Scotland.

The artist who occupies the central position in this discussion, Robert Gibb, was himself Scottish, but the representation of the Highland soldier was not limited to Scottish artists. Memorable examples were exhibited by Henry Nelson O'Neil, Elizabeth Butler,
¹⁴⁴ Stanley Wood and Richard Caton Woodville. That Scottish painters should opt to depict national regiments is by no means remarkable, what is more astonishing is the total exclusion of the lowland regiments. The predominance of the Highland regiments in art may be compared to the domination of Highland over Lowland culture in the perception of the rest of the British Isles.

Hugh Trevor-Roper has shown that "the creation of an independent Highland tradition, and the imposition of that new tradition with its outward badges, on the whole Scottish nation, was the work of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century."
¹⁴⁵ Far from being a miraculous survival from the Celtic past, the hall-marks of Highland culture, Celtic poetry, the tartan kilt and the clan system were all manufactured or artificially revived by persons who were enamoured of the idea of the
¹⁴⁶ Highlander as the true Scotland. The Highland revival was another manifestation of Romanticism. It had been given a Europe-wide boost by the "discovery" of the poems of

Ossian by the enterprising McPherson, and by the novels
147
of Sir Walter Scott. Although the Jacobite rebellion
in the early and mid-eighteenth century had prompted
the Hanoverian dynasty to obliterate the Scottish
tradition, its last King, George IV, joined
enthusiastically in its revival. In 1822 he went to
Edinburgh on an official visit which was organised by Sir
148
Walter Scott, President of the Celtic Society. The
Royal visit stimulated the manufacture of "traditional"
Scottish dress, and an interest in the "ancient"
culture of a remote part of Britain which seemed to move
ever further into the lowlands.

Queen Victoria also subscribed to the cult of the
Highlands. In 1847 she acquired Balmoral Castle and was
thereafter frequently depicted wearing tartan and mounted
149
upon Highland ponies. Sir Edwin Landseer was the most
famous artist of this aspect of Victorian Celtic fantasy.
Indeed it might be argued that he extended the myth
of the Highland Savage into the realm of animal
imagery. His depictions of wild deer and hunting dogs in
magnificent wild scenery were amongst the most widely
150
circulated pictures of the whole century.

Scottish Romanticism was essentially apolitical.
Indeed it was because the notion of Scottish autonomy was
effectively dead that Queen Victoria could safely
indulge her taste for Scottishness without any jarring
contradictions between political allegiances. During the
1850s, however, a movement grew up which asserted that
Scotland had been wronged and neglected after the Act of
Union in 1707, and pressed Scotland's claim for a fairer

151

share of political power. In 1853, the "National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights" was formed, and in May of that year an "Address to the People of Scotland" was published.¹⁵² Its main points were that taxes paid in Scotland should be spent on Scotland; the removal of certain Government offices, concerned with Scottish affairs to be moved to Edinburgh and for more ¹⁵³ Parliamentary legislation for Scotland. James Grant was the central figure who provided a link between Scottish Romanticism, Scottish nationalism and Scottish militarism in the 1850s. Grant (1822-1887) was related to Sir Walter Scott, and had himself strong Jacobite sympathies. Grant had served as an ensign in the 63rd Foot, 1840-43, before entering an architect's office as a draughtsman to support his main career as a ¹⁵⁴ novelist. The majority of Grant's novels were about military history and many of those dealt with the Highland Regiments. In this he was motivated by a desire to show that the nation owed a debt to the Highlands. Grant was an ardent nationalist and a founder member of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights. He was later to be an ardent supporter of the Volunteer Force ¹⁵⁵ and an adviser to the War Office. Grant's importance was that he put the notion of the Scottish soldier as the perfect warrior into common currency. In his novels the Highland soldier laddie is elevated into a character with perfect military instincts who cleaved to his officer as mystic clan-leader. The Highland Regiments were given a wealth of history and romantic tradition. Grant's approach influenced other popularists, such as Samuel Beeton, editor of the Boys' Own Magazine. In a book

for boys Beeton devoted four chapters to the history of the Highland Regiments, in which he argued that it was the primitive nature of Highlanders which made them perfect soldiers, and that in their simple devotion and simple ¹⁵⁶ aggression they set an example to other fighting men.

By the 1870s it was noted that the depopulation of Scotland, caused by changes in agricultural policy, meant that there were fewer men available to enter the Army in Scotland. In view of the mythology of the "natural" Highland warrior this was believed to be extremely ¹⁵⁷ serious. Scotland and Ireland had always provided a disproportionate percentage of the Army, due to the high ¹⁵⁸ unemployment in these regions.

When Robert Gibb began exhibiting battle paintings in 1878, the Highland regiments filled entirely by clan members were very much a nostalgic memory, and the Golden Age of the Highlanders was set firmly in the past, in the age of the Peninsular, Waterloo campaigns and the ¹⁵⁹ Crimea. Gibb's picture, The Thin Red Line had a quality of great simplicity, with a rhythmic arrangement of heads and bayonets trailing away into the distance. The phrase "the thin red line" may have been taken from the report of William Howard Russell in the Times, in which the ¹⁶⁰ Highlanders were described as "a thin red streak". The phrase had enormous emotional impact, summing up the isolation of the 93rd Highlanders, as they stood awaiting the onslaught of the Russian cavalry. The first wave is suggested only by a solitary horseman, falling after a bayonet shot. As in Butler's paintings the attention of the viewer is transferred away from the conflict towards the moral quality of the defending soldiers.

A lengthy article on Gibb, published some fifteen years later, laid great emphasis on his Scottishness. The author, anxious to account for Gibb's expertise as a battle painter despite the fact that he had no military background, stated that his inspiration came from his "strong sense of patriotic feeling."¹⁶¹ His knowledge of Scotland and its soldiers was felt to be enough to give him the power to choose the right scenes to depict and to imbue them with "spirit", the "force and fervour which instinctively awaken a responsive chord of sympathy in the heart of the spectator".¹⁶² The mythology surrounding the Highland warrior was an important way in which artists were able to key in to the romantic and patriotic feelings of an English audience," awaken a responsive chord".¹⁶³

The past could also be utilized by artists to articulate ideas about the contemporary colonial experience. W.C. Horsley's series of paintings executed in Cairo during a British occupation of that city can be read as part of a discourse which claimed the British "right to rule" in Egypt. The paintings so far discussed in this thesis have been representations of battle. The role of policing and suppressing a colonized country was a more familiar but less picturesque aspect of the Army's role in the Empire. Academic artists rarely turned their attention to such subjects, but in this case Horsley's pictures may have seemed to him "important" enough for execution because of the "God -given nature" of the British presence in Egypt.

The series of events by which the British took

over the administration of Cairo are necessary for an understanding of Horsley's pictures. After General Wolseley's force defeated a "rebel" army which had risen against the British puppet King, Tewfik, they then occupied the capital of his country for his "protection" but primarily to ensure that loans to British ¹⁶⁵ financiers were repaid. Britain's great rival for "influence" in the region was France. France also owned shares in the vital Suez canal and had close links with the Ottoman empire, which nominally owned Egypt. After British troops moved into Cairo in 1880, they objected to the large number of Frenchmen who worked in Governmental posts in the city. Clearly the British were afraid that the ¹⁶⁶ French would try to subvert the native population. The intense rivalry between the two powers in the near East was to lead to the edge of war at the Fashoda crisis in ¹⁶⁷ 1898.

The reasons for the British presence in Egypt were, as described above, mostly fiscal and diplomatic. A lofty mythology was soon constructed around it by such men as Alfred, Lord Milner, under Secretary for Finance in Cairo. He saw the revival of Egypt after a few years of ¹⁶⁸ British rule as almost worthy of a fairy tale".

"Look where you will - at the Army, at finance, at agriculture, at the administration of justice, at the every day life of the people and the relations to their rivals - it is always the same tale of revival, of promise, of a slowly developing faith in the existence of such a thing as equity, of a nascent ... spirit of self-reliance and improvement." ¹⁶⁹

In 1884, two years into the British occupation of Egypt, Walter Horsley exhibited the first two of a series of four pictures dealing with the colonization of Egypt. The Whirligig of Time, Egypt 1800 and 1884 and The French in

Cairo (R.A.1884); and Great Britain in Egypt 1886 (R.A. 1887) and A Friendly Power in Egypt(1888).Great Britain in Egypt 1886 showed a confrontation between native and colonizer. The terms in which the two races were described by a British reviewer made it clear that the Arabs were viewed as both comic and suspicious. They were summed up as "envious", "idle" or "uninterested". The first two paintings in the series articulated the British right to rule in 1882, through a contrast with the rule of the French Army of Napoleon in 1800. The French occupation had been ¹⁷⁰ quite short, before the British Army drove them away. In contrasting the two eras, Horsley wished to show that the French occupation had been oppressive and their behaviour insensitive. Horsley's other exhibit of that year was a comment on the French occupation, which was undoubtedly meant to be adversely compared to the benign rule of the British. The picture, The French in Cairo was exhibited with a long paragraph implying the unjust actions of the French.

"During the French occupation of Cairo by the Army under General Buonaparte, the latter caused the names of his principal generals to be inscribed upon the towers and gates of the walls of the city. The native population was much incensed by this, the more so that the chief of each quarter was obliged to be present at the work." 171

Reviews of the picture show that Horsley's audience were quick to pick up on the criticism of the French. One reviewer added his own narrative suggestion, that the French were looking so bedraggled because of the severe beating they had been given by the British at the ¹⁷² Battle of Aboukir.

In Horsley's A Friendly Power in Egypt the 19²c

native population are depicted looking thrilled or amazed by a military band marching through the bazaar. Clearly the British rule is meant to be construed as a source of pleasure to the Arabs, contrasted to the cruelty of the French rule. Horsley's audience were also anxious to believe that a nation which had committed insensitive acts in the past was unfitted to bear any part in the "revival" of the modern Cairo and that they were entitled to use any means to cut down the French influence on Egypt.

The Imperial Crisis. 1890 -1914.

It is traditional to see the second Boer war 1899-1901 as the point at which British attitudes hardened into the reckless jingoism which led to the First World War. As has been shown here, it is clear from an examination of paintings and the art world, that the kind of racist, nationalist and militarist attitudes which were discerned after 1900 were already present by the late 1870s. The interconnection of notions about the supremacy of the white races, the particular rectitude of the British among European nations and her moral duty to defend her power were all closely interwoven, as has been shown by such eminent authorities as P.D.Curtin and 175 Christine Bolt. It is therefore important to consider dramatic shifts in the way British artists represented "the enemy" in nineteenth - century battle paintings.

In the post- Waterloo paintings by such artists as George Jones and William Allan there was no differentiation made between the conduct of the French and 176 the British. Representations of the French in late nineteenth - century works. depict them as brave,

enduring, and mutually supportive.

It is in the representation of other races that the shift in attitude is clearly discernible. George Jones' Battle of Meeanee (1849) showed a conflict between the Pl 40 British and the Indian army of Sind. In this campaign, Indian soldiers of the East India Company Army had fought alongside European British soldiers. An Indian soldier on horseback is featured prominently among Sir Charles Napier's staff. Although there is a great deal of violence in the picture, it appears to be equally divided among the races. The arrangement of the troops, however, conveys the idea that the British were highly disciplined and that the Ameers were chaotically organised. They are shown, though, as highly effective soldiers, brave and proficient in their use of weapons. Jones was at considerable pains to depict their dress, physiognomy and accoutrements such as camels and war-elephants. The work was purchased by Charles Napier himself, who is known to have approved the artist's handling of technical detail.¹⁷⁷

The topic of the representation of race in nineteenth-century military painting is too wide to be discussed in detail here. It must be noted that in British paintings in the last two decades of the century, artists placed more emphasis on the question of racial "difference" than they had done before.¹⁷⁸ In the 1880s, when Fripp's Battle of Isandhlwana and G.D.Giles's Tamai were executed, there was a rise in "scientific" study in the difference between races. The dominant trend in this anthropological research was to "prove" that the black, white, yellow and brown races had been separately

created and thus entirely separate species. This kind of "evidence" was interpreted as proof that each race had different racial capabilities and that the non-white races were naturally inferior.

In such works as Giles's Battle of Tamai the artist exploited current notions of racial difference to diminish his audience's respect for an important military achievement by a "black" army. The battle of Tamai took place during the campaign across the Sudan, in the Gordon Rescue Expedition. Giles was very probably present at the battle.

The battle was of considerable interest to Giles's military colleagues, since it contributed to a long-standing debate about the efficacy of "drill-book" tactics in colonial warfare. In simplest terms, Tamai was used by traditionalists to "prove" that the drill, taught at Sandhurst to cadets since the eighteenth century, was still effective. Giles made this his argument by depicting the superiority of the British over their Dervish enemy. The Dervish army, about 12,000 strong, had made an entirely effective onslaught against the British force of about 3,500 men. A British square, manned by the Yorks and Lancs Regiment broke under pressure and they were forced to retreat. The battle was only saved because of the initiative of the men of a four-gun battery who locked the guns before abandoning them. The Dervishes were thus unable to turn them on the fleeing British and annihilate them. The British were able to regroup, and with their superior weapons, beat back the Dervishes.

Giles's painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1887, entitled An Incident at the Battle of Tamai, East ~~Qaq~~ ^{Qaq} Soudan 19 March 1884. There was some precedent for representations of black enemies struggling with technology. Frederick Villiers, the war correspondent and battle painter had used the formula in 1883, Fighting Arabi with his own weapons, an incident in the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir. The term "incident" was used to describe a battle painting which focused on a relatively minor moment in a battle, but one which was significant, either in elaborating the characters of the protagonists or in encapsulating the nature of the whole conflict. Giles selected the point just after the Dervishes had broken the British square and captured the guns, but are unable to use them to ensure their final victory. Giles implies that the Dervishes are unable to understand how to use the weapons, but in fact they were locked and unuseable. Giles was reworking a familiar formula for the implication of racial inferiority, showing that the "blacks" were incapable of using sophisticated artillery. By emphasising and caricaturing the features of the Dervishes he was able to make them look ridiculous. The main effect of Giles's strategy was to distract attention from the very major achievement of the Dervishes in breaking a square protected by modern rifles. The second effect was to imply that since the Dervishes were evidently so incompetent the British had never stood in danger of being wiped out and that therefore the loss of the square was not important.

Giles's representation of the two armies, in this and a companion picture, seeks to establish that the

British won because they were better fighters and better men. The second picture is a later version of the Battle of Tamai, showing the battle from behind the British lines. In the Incident, although the British have supposedly been driven back, they are shown standing straight and composed in the distance. The Dervishes, in the foreground are depicted as crouching among the rocks. The states of mind and moral qualities implied by the postures are obvious; standing straight equals bravery and crouching cowardice. By using this device Giles contrived 187 to reverse the reading of the picture.

It is noteworthy that the Dervishes are shown as having experienced considerably more violence than the British, when the two pictures are compared. In the foreground of the Incident picture blood pours from the head of a dying Dervish, and his comrades are sprawled around in attitudes of anguish. In the companion piece, the British wounded are depicted by the polite formula of pictorial violence, with a shoulder or head neatly bandaged or a dead body lying composed behind a bush. The difference serves to show that the Dervishes died with much less dignity than their enemy. Although it is true that the British ultimately lost fewer men at Tamai, to show British soldiers in pain would offend his audience and impress the fact that the Dervishes were a serious foe.

The British are shown as compassionate towards their wounded comrades, but there is no comparable scene of the Dervish army. The Dervishes, referred to by all reviewers as "fuzzy-wuzzys" are depicted as incompetent; for not being able to use locked guns; cowardly, for not

standing erect, as targets; undignified, in not dying neatly, and lacking in compassion. The effect of the two large canvases, when hung as they are together, at the National Army Museum, is to make the Dervish into an inconsequential enemy. Apart from the devices outlined above, they occupy far less pictorial space and are more scattered as an Army. The British present a solid line of khaki. Although the pictures were probably meant to hang as a pair, with a continuous horizon line and matching landscape, the Dervishes are much smaller than the British troops.

Giles's representation stands in strong contrast to
188
Kipling's view presented in his dialect poem Fuzzy-Wuzzy

"We've fought with many men across the seas,
An' some of 'em was brave and some was not
The Paythan an' the Zulu an' Burmese
But the Fuzzy was the finest o' the lot.
and

"So 'ere's to you Fuzzy--Wuzzy, at your 'ome in the Soudan.
Your're a pore benighted 'eathan but a first class fightin'
man;
An' ere's to you, Fuzzy-Wuzzy, with your great 'ayrick of 'air,
You big black boundin' beggar - for you broke a British
square!"¹⁸⁹

Giles's paintings were discussed by critics as though his physical presence at the battle ensured the
190
absolute fidelity of the picture to the facts. The artist aimed at producing a naturalistic effect by abandoning the traditional compositional formulae. No one area was the main group, with all action devolving from it, nor was there any strong geometrical shape imposed upon the composition. The 1887 Incident shows an unconventional distribution of figures, scattered among the rocks. In the foreground, however, Giles established a scale-giving "repoussoir" group. The painting shows Giles's use of photographic "accidents"; cutting off figures to suggest

that they are moving in and out of the canvas, and also catching figures in "instantaneous" unposed poses. Giles has used this technique to great effect, even placing the head and shoulders of a Dervish warrior in the right foreground, cut off by the frame, logically placing him in the viewer's space.

Giles's picture also had a feeling of authenticity through the detail it contained and in the "frank" way it showed violence. The issue of violence was, as has been mentioned, an important concern for battle painters in this period. In the 1890s, the "discretion" in not showing bloodiness, for which Butler had been praised in the 1870s, was attacked by critics as evasion and lack of ¹⁹¹realism. Giles's picture maintained the formulae for the representation of violence for the British soldiers but showed the Dervishes with a "realism" that was praised as truthful by critics. This, combined with the knowledge that Giles had been an "eye-witness" and was a military "expert", ensured that his very biased picture was taken as a "record" of the battle and served to ¹⁹²reinforce stereotypes of racial capacities.

The Boer War and the Edwardian period.

In the preceding section it was argued that many of the racist and nationalist attitudes which become familiar in the art of the Boer War period were already present in battle paintings of the preceding decades. The Boer War was shocking enough for these attitudes to harden, and be articulated as a coherent policy for the first time.

The war, declared on the British by the Boers on 11th

October 1899, proved to be a devastating experience for the
193
British army and the nation as a whole. Years of
military success in the Empire had made the Army
complacent and ill-prepared for a prolonged struggle.

"It proved to be the longest (two and three-quarter years), the costliest (over 200 million), the bloodiest (at least twenty-two thousand British, twenty-five thousand Boer and twelve thousand African lives) and the most humiliating war for Britain between 1815 and 1914."
"194

The Boer war will be considered here as the final break between the "sporting", self confident attitude to war in the early Imperial era and the growing sense of grim struggle. In relation to battle painting there was a new sense that war art was an important factor in building up morale and must therefore only reflect the positive aspects of the British war effort. This perception that battle painting was an instrument of propaganda seems to have been limited to private individuals. In the Great War the State would devote financial resources to the depiction of war. The foundations of this movement are discernible in the reactions of the Press to the first winter of the Boer
195
War.

At the outbreak of the war there was tremendous enthusiasm among a wide variety of social groups in Britain, with many "jingoists" seeing the war as an opportunity for Britain to assert her power over a
196
recalcitrant part of the Empire. Within weeks of the start of the war, the British sustained alarming losses, and it became clear that the war was by no means the "walk-over" it had at first appeared. Thousands of Volunteer force troops were sent to the Front, and there was a sense of national participation in the war; for the

first time war was not purely the business of the
197
professional soldier.

In the art press this sense of crisis and national war effort was reflected in calls for battle painters to produce works which would encourage the nation to fight, paintings which would be "a noble encouragement in patriotic 198 devotion". An article in the Art Annual for Christmas 1900 made it clear that what the artist should produce was a positive, pleasant, stirring view of war, rather than 198 indulging in "realism" or "sensationalism". The reasons for eschewing "realism" were both artistic and political.

"Art has no home amongst the horrors of realism or of carnage. The warrior needs no reminders of these. He hopes they may be buried deep beneath the paths of peace. (teachings on canvas against the strife of battle have always been in vain and a gallery of pictures by Delacroix will not prevent a people rushing into war.)"199

The last sentence seems to be a warning to the artist with anti-war sentiments that to make a visual protest would be not only undesirable but ineffectual. At the same time the writer advocates the production of pictures which would project the positive aspects of war. The artist was evidently required to tread a narrow path between showing "the stolidity, eagerness, coolness and self-sacrifice incarnated in Tommy Atkins", without showing him killed or in the act of 200 killing. The writer goes on to call for more battle-pictures to be executed, stating very positively his desire only for works which would support the national morale. The shock of the Boer War led to calls for an all-out, national war effort from every class in society. For the first time Academic battle paintings were perceived not as neutral reflections of history but as part

of the process of building a pro-military ideology.

201

Statistics taken from the Royal Academy exhibits do register an upsurge in the number of battle-pictures and an even larger upswing in the number of genre depictions of the military. One reason was undoubtedly that artists were ever keen to be topical and produce works in tune with contemporary affairs. Another more pressing reason was that art- market, like the art-book market, slumped during the war.

"The publication of important artistic books has almost stopped in England at this time, (early 1901)... .The reasons for this are not difficult to find, the general one being the unhappy prolongation of the South African War, and the special reason the death of Queen Victoria. These have combined to prevent the public purchasing books on Art, in the same way that they have prevented the sale of pictures and drawings..."²⁰²

Those writers who had for many years advocated the establishment of a British school of battle-painting perceived that a new era had dawned which would give impetus to this ambition. A writer, anxious to see a British school of battle painting, argued that the Boer war finally dispoved the mythology of Britain as an anti-military nation.

"The mighty enthusiasm that quivered from end to end of the British Empire on the outbreak of hostilities, once for all disillusioned us of the idea that we are not a military nation. Another illusion, which if not entirely dispelled, has yet been considerably shaken is that we cannot produce a school of battle painters."²⁰³ 203

The sense that there was a coherent "school" of battle painters was deliberately fostered in publications such as The Year's Art which, in 1901, carried photographs of battle-painters, newspaper Specials and illustrators who were then engaged in producing pictures of the war.²⁰⁴

The most striking difference between pre and post-Boer war pictures is that, after the first catastrophic winter of the war, there were no representations of British defeat or failure. All the paintings exhibited at the R.A. were celebratory and imply only a successful war effort.²⁰⁵ In the 1880s there had been a minor fashion for depicting military failures, at Kabul, Isandhlwana, and Maiwand. Critics seem to have felt that such subjects reflected well upon the Army; "more true courage is often displayed in the retreat than in the onslaught."²⁰⁶ Moreover, the fact that paintings of military failure could be admired and valued was further evidence of British fairness and lack of militarism.

"...art is not concerned either with politics or with strategy, and the artist need not ask himself if a blunder which cost England a whole regiment might have been avoided or whether a murderous and resultless battle need have been fought at all. He has only to inquire whether the subjects are worth painting...."²⁰⁷

The war did much to restore the prestige of battle-painting as a genre. It has been noted that in the 1890s battle painting was increasingly perceived as Philistine and inartistic. In the 1901 volume of the Magazine of Art, representations of the war and the funeral of the Late Queen at the R.A. were reviewed before landscapes and portraits, a reversal of the trend of the preceding fifteen years.²⁰⁸ The reviewer devoted space to battle painting, after an almost apologetic introduction, explaining that, although it might not be "the highest art" being close to journalism, battle painting had the merit of reflecting the "spirit of the times".²⁰⁹

"The other overshadowing topic which has inspired a number of canvases is the Boer War. This is as it

should be, for no art can be convincing and earnest which is not built upon the emotions and the experiences of a nation. The only surprise is that the demonstration is not more general, yet, in truth - and in spite of Mafeking Day it must be said - that we are so reticent a people that relatively few have cared to treat what is uppermost in men's minds . Of all the most satisfying is Mr. Wollen's Imperial Light Horse at Wagon Hill, Jan 6 1900. It is not the highest art, but we are made to feel that the man ^{here} - that it is all true - that those little tragedies enacted by the grim yellow warriors, fighting amid the boulders as they lie prone under partial cover - this is realism controlled by admirable judgement and taste." 211

It is clear from this review, published shortly after the cessation of hostilities, that as soon as the war was over, people assumed the position that the British were reticent about war and nationalism. It also demonstrates that the view that war art was not of the "highest" category remained to conflict with the notion that war art was necessary in some sense to a war effort. In the Great War these questions were to rage more fiercely, and to some extent were answered by the development of new forms of representation which could be both pleasing to devotees of New Art and fulfil the expectations of the "patriotic art" lobby. 212

Despite the large numbers of "eye-witness" artists who were rushed to the Front to "record" the Boer War, the battle pictures which resulted were very traditional in their selection of subject and method of representation. Cavalry charges with lance and sabre had largely given way to long-range artillery exchanges, and traditional tactics given way to guerilla warfare. Farm burning, barbed wire and concentration camps were British weapons in the Boer War, none of which appeared on the walls of the Royal Academy. 213 The problems presented by the new war were discussed discreetly by one writer.

"The enormous area.... now covered by military operations has so completely altered the artist's opportunities. He must perforce endeavour to depict stirring incidents but where the conflicting armies are miles apart, it is very difficult to find subjects which follow the old conventions." 214

The type of painting which was characteristic of the war was the charge or retreat, showing horses and riders in head long gallop. Frequently, as if a concession to contemporaneity, the horses were pulling a piece of heavy artillery. Such works as John Charlton's Routed - Boers 1956 Retreating (1900) allowed the artist to depict a "stirring" incident in a familiar mould but to combine it with a sense of authenticity.

"Mr J. Charlton, one of the ablest horse painters of our time, has designed "Routed - Boers Retreating" (956) with extraordinary spontaneity and singular animation. They gallop furiously, horses, guns, teams of waggons and what not, vehicles in all the confusion of the panic and are urged by the extremes of confusion and pain." 215

The choice of such a blatantly propagandistic subject as defeated Boers retreating is an indication of the new tone of war painting in the Boer War. Emphasis shifted from the moral qualities which were manifested in war to a more aggressive attitude, in which war needed no justification.

The period after the Boer War and before the Great War saw no changes in the appearance of battle paintings. Battle pictures continued to be reviewed as "truth", painted by "experts", but were generally passed over in specialist art journals in favour of the Newlyn School and the portraits of Sargent. The split in the art world which had emerged in the 1870s was by now a positive schism, with the New Art on the opposite side from battle painting and the Royal Academy. It would not have

been possible for an Academy battle piece to hang at the New English Art Club without looking entirely out of place. In the pre-Reform period, work which was exhibited at the Academy could have been, and was, hung at its rival galleries, for example the British Institution. In the period 1901 - 1914, the proportion of battle pictures was higher than it had been at the Academy at any time in the Nineteenth Century. The stage was set for the close integration of Establishment and Art which crystallised during the Great War.

Chapter Four.

Images of Heroism in nineteenth century military painting.

This chapter marks a break between the methodology employed in the preceding chapters, which charted chronologically the changes in the appearance of battle paintings and the practise of their makers, in relation to developments in ideology. The issue of heroism is central to an understanding of both battle and genre painting in this period. This chapter will explore the way in which certain heroes were represented and why; what aspects of heroism were selected by artists and why some military heroes did not enjoy celebration on Academy canvases.

"Hero-worship" - the veneration of an individual for their personal characteristics or achievements, was seen at the time as being an important part of the cultural life of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it was claimed by Carlyle to be "the basis of all possible good, religious or social,¹ for mankind" It was argued that the evils of the age, diagnosed as irreligion, Mammon-worship and lack of enthusiasm, could be banished if people would study the examples set by heroes. Much ink was expended in setting out the histories of admirable men who had transformed their own ages. Samuel Smiles' famous Self-Help was a catalogue of hardworking, imaginative heroes for all walks of life.² "Heroic qualities" were broadly defined since the term was applied to such diverse characters as Michelangelo, Homer, Milton, Shakespeare, Nelson, Napoleon and Luther. Clearly heroic status was dependent on neither purely moral

nor ethical considerations, but rather on the potency of the heroes' impact upon the world. The concept of the Great Man, whose enormous insight could transform the world, was a legacy of Romantic thought. In the mid nineteenth century the man of poetic insight was replaced by the man of action as the hero of the age. The ideal military hero should manifest courage and compassion, but above all patriotism, in his ready sacrifice of his life on the field of battle.

The eighteenth-century aspiration towards cosmopolitanism was effectively extinguished by the prolonged struggle of the Peninsular wars and the upheavals of the Napoleonic era. Dr Johnson's comment that patriotism was "the last refuge of the scoundrel" would have aroused little sympathy by 3 1815. In the immediate post-war period, writers such as William Napier and James Carrick Moore represented their favourite Generals as superior because their heroism was inspired by their devotion to country, rather than to any abstract ideals. Patriotism was the cause in which Englishmen could bury their selfish differences and, by extension, their disparate political aims.

"Our dignity and rectitude are proportioned to our sense of relationship to something great, admirable, pregnant with high possibilities, worthy of sacrifice, a continual inspiration to self-repression and discipline by the presentation of aims larger and more attractive to our generous part than the securing of personal ease or prosperity".⁴

The "something great" was the idea of Britain and the Empire and the hero figure was the military leader who fought in their cause. The soldier-hero was, therefore, an inspiration to all patriotic citizens, not merely other soldiers. The increasing identification of civilians with the military was reflected in the widespread veneration of

such men as Havelock and Gordon. Admiration for military heroes was often expressed through the discourse of chivalry. Modern soldiers were compared to the Christian knights of medieval Europe, who were believed to have done great deeds and to have lived by a noble code for the sake of great ideals. In combining Christian ethics, personal integrity and physical strength, the imaginary chivalric knight was the hero figure of the nineteenth century, as

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Mark Girouard has shown. No contradiction was perceived between Christianity and war, since it was believed that the British hated war and would only fight in a noble cause. The conception of chivalry in this ideal medieval society was based on reactionary models of class relations. The soldiers of the nineteenth-century army who were most often designated "heroes" in contemporary literature and art were not always those who most successful, but those who could be interpreted as displaying "chivalric" qualities. These were the reckless exposure of oneself to danger; the cool reaction to imminent death; the taking on of enormous odds, "the folorn hope"; sacrifice for one's comrade or for the honour of the regiment and, above all, for the honour of one's country. It will be perceived that the display of these qualities was often antithetical to military success since the chance to display them would only occur after the breakdown of correct procedure. As has been shown above, Chapter Three, contemporary warfare was often bemoaned as more efficient but less romantic, leaving less space for the heroism of the individual.

The processes by which certain soldiers came to be selected by artists for heroic treatment are complex. A

hero might emerge (on canvas) as the result of patronage by an interested person or group who wished to further that soldier's reputation. In some cases an artist might have a personal admiration for a hero or, more realistically, might respond to public demand for images. In the nineteenth century the impact of newspapers, journals, cheap book-printing, ballad sheets and prints was vital in the process of manufacturing an heroic image.

The eighteenth-century American painters, Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley established a tradition for the depiction of the contemporary military hero which was adapted and modified by British painters in the following century. West's influential picture The Death of General Wolfe created a genre for heroic death which combined classical compositional formulae with modern dress. As Rosenblum has shown, this was particularly absorbed by David in Revolutionary France. Soldier heroes in the nineteenth century were no longer required to have a godlike image in art but were made to portray important "admirable" qualities for a didactic purpose. The reputations of heroes were established in the Press and literature, which also laid emphasis on their home life and personal qualities. The meaning of the hero picture at the RA was amplified by the viewer's supposed prior knowledge of the subject.

Analysis of the characters of famous historical figures had begun with the historians of the Enlightenment, such as Voltaire and Hume. From their close analysis of motives and ideas developed a literary genre of biographies of heroes, written in a popular style. Minute details and incidents of

the hero's youth and later life were recorded to "throw light" on his personality and subsequent conduct. This fashion for exploring the private lives of military heroes stimulated developments in the genre of hero painting. Artists, assisted by biographers, embarked upon elaborate research to gather details for anecdotal scenes from a hero's life. Emphasis shifted away from achievement in battle to events which illustrated aspects of his character. This new genre was frequently practiced by artists such as E.M.Ward and George Harvey, who used meticulous detail and "accuracy" to give their works the appearance of "truth". In particular, greater emphasis was laid on obtaining a truthful portrait of the hero. The popular belief that character could be "read" in the face had been expounded by the Swiss "scientist" Lavater. The science of physiognomy was augmented by that of phrenology, the science of reading personality in the shape of the skull.

"The traditional figures with their correct postures, attributes and didactic values were gone. Heroes were interesting as individuals, visualized rather than analysed, recognisable rather than significant. New settings, new characteristics were in demand. New homeliness as well- the range of human emotions was to be studied in the mysterious and the horrific but also in the ever day."⁹

An important influence upon British hero painting came from France, where such painters as Vernet, Raffet and Charlet painted scenes from the domestic as well as the public life of Napoleon Bonaparte. The cult of that hero's personality which grew up in France after his exile did not openly flourish in England until after his death in 1821. Napoleon had consciously encouraged French artists and writers to immortalize him in an heroic mode, see Chapter

One. Vivant Denon, his "Minister for the Arts" exercised careful control over the way Napoleon was depicted and was fully alive to the advantages of presenting a favourable image.

"The only monuments you will accept, sire, are those of a kind, which, in consecrating your glory will give the measure of it and will render foreign nations tributaries of your magnificence. Further, an image of them copied by engravings and by descriptions will amaze in the same way as the events which prompted them."¹⁰

Paintings such as Gros' Plague at Jaffa achieved the presentation of all the qualities which Napoleon felt desirable in an Imperial hero. Gros depicted Napoleon visiting a group of his officers and men who were suffering from the plague whilst on a campaign in Egypt. The picture showed not only the Emperor's courage and compassion, but implied his invulnerability to the disease. Napoleon's gesture, as he touches an infected man, consciously recalls paintings of Christ and the saints healing the sick, or pre-Enlightenment monarchs curing by touch. Gros' depiction places Napoleon in the sphere of the Royal if not the ¹¹ Divine. This painting, and such works as David's Napoleon Crossing the Alps were commissioned to shape the visual image of the Napoleonic regime and were on a grand scale and designed for public display. The important topic of Napoleonic imagery has been discussed elsewhere, it is here only desirable to point out that this body of work had a profound influence on the depiction of the Emperor in ¹² England and upon the representation of British heroes.

Almost from the moment he assumed power, Napoleon had a group of sympathisers in England. A circle of people who felt that the war against France was unjust gathered around Lord and Lady Holland at Holland House in London. As

E.Tangye Lean has shown in his book. The Napoleonists all shades of political disaffection, from the mildly radical to Republican, were linked in support of the Napoleonic cause.¹³ Such supporters argued that Napoleon was the peaceful fulfillment of the ideals of the French Revolution and, if unimpeded by a war with Britain, would establish a peaceful regime in France.

There were no British-made images of Napoleon until after his defeat in 1815, but some of his British admirers imported images of him into Britain.¹⁴ After the war, when it was no longer dangerous and unpatriotic to venerate Napoleon, many books examining his personality and career were published. Sir Walter Scott's important five-volume Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, published in 1827, was the first of many serious yet popular biographies. Memoirs by people who had known Napoleon, such as that by his aide Las Casas, were very popular. Memorial de Sainte Hélène was typical of the books which flooded the market and provided such a valuable source for genre painters. It consisted of

"Anecdotes and reminiscences chosen at random from the whole miraculous life (which) are interwoven with speculations... It presents Napoleon, not just as the aloof, mighty Emperor, but as somebody who, for all his incomparable cleverness and luck is nevertheless accessible, one of ourselves."¹⁵

The first paintings of Napoleon to appear after the war were, predictably, concerned with his capture, and specifically when, as a prisoner, he came to the shores of England on board a ship. The young artist Charles Eastlake was fortunate enough to see the ship, the Bellerophon, anchored in Plymouth harbour. Eastlake rowed out and made sketches of the defeated Emperor who was seen on the deck. The painter worked up the sketches into two portraits: one

lifesize with additional figures. This was sent to the RA, in
1816 and attracted a great deal of attention. The degree of
public interest in Napoleon may be gauged by the receipts
from its exhibition in London and the provinces, which
"brought the artist about a thousand pounds as the reward of
his labours".¹⁷

Until 1821, when Napoleon died on St Helena, there were no British oil paintings which did not show him as defeated or as a captive. When he no longer constituted a political threat, it became acceptable to depict his military achievements and works which mused on the nature of the man. To the early Victorian bourgeoisie Napoleon was the perfect "man of action" hero, who had risen from respectable but impoverished origins, through his own exertions, to a position of great power. Men engaged in very different professions, such as the artist B.R.Haydon, assessed their own progress by Napoleon's meteoric rise to "glory".¹⁸ Napoleon was a symbol of the personal dynamism which, theoretically, could alter world events by the exercise of will. Samuel Smiles included Napoleon in his Self-Help, and could not conceal his admiration beneath a veil of disapproval of his methods.

"His life, beyond most others, vividly showed what a powerful and unscrupulous will could accomplish. He threw his whole force of body and mind direct upon his work. Imbecile rulers and the nations they governed went down before him in succession."Impossible" he said, "is a word only to be found in the dictionary of fools".¹⁹

The figure of Napoleon was a consistently powerful one in the British imagination in the century 1815-1914 but had a wide range of meanings and was appropriated as a symbol by a broad range of groups. In the decade following his death there appeared several canvases, at the RA, which celebrated

Napoleon's military accomplishments. The appearance of these battle picture was coincident with the period when Wellington's unpopularity as a politician seemed likely to eclipse his reputation as a soldier. However it would not be safe to argue that artists ^{were} ~~were~~ politically opposed to Wellington chose to depict his great enemy. On the contrary, George Jones, a well-known admirer of Wellington's, was prominent in producing scenes of the defeated Emperor in battle. Such works as Waterloo. Napoleon giving his last orders may have been calculated to remind the RA audience of the "Iron Duke"'s prowess as a general (see below). From the 1830s, however, genre depictions of Napoleon out-numbered representations of the hero as a general.

The largest number of Napoleonic paintings dealt with the hero fallen and captive. The reason for this is not mysterious - it must have been gratifying to reflect that Britain alone, of all the powers of Europe, had succeeded in caging the lion. Benjamin Robert Haydon made as many as twenty five copies of an imaginary portrait of Napoleon ²⁰ ₂₁ Musing at St. Helena. The original life-size picture of Napoleon had been commissioned in 1830 by Sir Robert Peel. Peel's choice is interesting: as a political ally of Wellington it is likely that he wished to head off opposition to their Tory administration by emphasising the Duke's contribution to the Nation's greatness. This was a particularly propitious moment to remind the nation of Wellington's achievements, since he was then facing enormous opposition to the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act. Not all of Haydon's score or more of patrons can have had such politically explicable motives for wishing to own a picture of Napoleon musing in captivity. By 1830, the cult

of Napoleon was firmly established in the enemy country, he was appropriated as a symbol by both conservative and radical groups. Napoleon was seen by radicals as the antithesis of the arch Tory, Wellington, whose victories, ²² they claimed, had been exaggerated by his Party. The former Emperor's rise to power symbolised the aspirations of some sections of the bourgeoisie seeking to broaden the franchise. These alignments are greatly simplified but serve to indicate the broad range of Napoleon's appeal and the currency of his personality in Britain twenty years after his death.

After Wellington's retirement from politics in the late 1840s Napoleon became less important as a symbol in political debate. This political neutrality did not lead to a decline in his appeal for Academic artists. The story of his terrible fall from great power continued to fascinate. In 1863 Marcus Stone produced a powerful image of the Emperor's defeat, On the road from Waterloo to Paris. ¹⁹³⁷ Napoleon, fleeing after the battle of Waterloo, has broken his journey at a peasant cottage. Stone depicted Napoleon gazing into the fire, brooding on his past and future. A group of incredulous peasants stand a little distance apart, watching their hero. Their past devotion to him is manifest in the statuette of him on the chimney shelf and a print of his coronation. One of the peasants is a former soldier who has lost his limbs in the service of the Emperor. In the RA catalogue Stone quoted a few lines from Béranger."On parlera de sa gloire / Sous la chaume bien longtemps/ L'huble toit, dans cinquante ans/ Ne connaîtra plus d'autre ²³ histoire." The theme of Napoleon's defeats continued to

dominate over any other genre representations of the hero in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. It has been argued above, see Chapter Three, that in that so-called "Age of Imperialism" during a time of economic and political decline, Britain clung to the memory of the golden military age of Waterloo as evidence of the national greatness. French genre painters such as Vernet, working on subjects which would vindicate Napoleon, influenced the formation of similar genres in Britain. The types of representation developed to depict the "genius" of Napoleon were later adapted by British painters to domestic military heroes, in particular the Duke of Wellington.

Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of Wellington, (1769-1851) was the dominant military figure in Britain for nearly forty years. It was he who had led the Army at Waterloo, the battle which had finally crushed Napoleon. He had, in the minds of the British, masterminded the Congress of Vienna, which "redrew" the map of Europe after the war. His personal prestige at this period is impossible to overestimate, especially with those who desired to see the re-establishment of the European monarchs toppled by ²⁴ Napoleon. The British Government rewarded him with an estate and money, in addition to the Dukedom granted before ²⁵ Waterloo. Wellington retained command over the Army as Commander in Chief, until he resigned the post to become Prime Minister from 1827-30. His successor, Lord Hill, held the post until 1841, when the Duke resumed control. Hill was deeply influenced by the Duke and made few changes without ²⁶ his sanction.

Wellington's peacetime policy for the Army was to reduce

the estimates whilst refusing to change anything. The unpopularity of the Army made it prudent for him to cut down on expenditure. He was resolute in keeping the Army free from the jurisdiction of the State. By the 1840s the Army was equipped with obsolete weapons, using drill developed in the eighteenth century and disciplined with brutal methods. An attempt to abolish Purchase, in 1840 had been blocked by Wellington supported by the Queen. Any innovation was rejected on the basis that Waterloo had tried and tested the present methods.²⁷²⁸

Agitation within the Army showed that many officers from the middle ranks feared the consequences of this petrification. Towards the end of his career, satirical attacks such as this proliferated.

"None wish evil to his Grace, neither would any willingly visit wrongs upon the Army, but to prevent which latter, it is absolutely essential that the present Chief should retire and repose upon those laurels...."²⁹

When he died in 1852, aged 82, the Royal Family staged a funeral which granted him almost Royal honours. Given the enormous popularity of the Duke and the position he held as a European hero it is at first sight strange that there was no body of academic paintings featuring him to compare with those of his rival Napoleon. The numerous battle paintings of Wellington are discussed above, See chapters One to Three. But there were comparatively few genre paintings of Wellington, the numbers in no way reflecting his prestige or popularity with the aristocracy and bougeoisie who constituted the Academy audience. The cause of this dearth of genre paintings might in part be attributed to the hero's modesty or resistance to being painted. Wellington was

deeply interested in the visual arts, and had amassed an important collection of paintings and china during the wars. He was an annual visitor to the Royal Academy summer exhibition and bought several paintings there. It is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss portraits or statues of heroes, rich and interesting though this area of research undoubtedly would be. In the case of Wellington portraits, a valuable catalogue has already been compiled which gives an idea of the thriving market which must have existed in painted images of the hero.

"...150 or so authentic portraits of Wellington form but a small percentage of the total output of likenesses demanded, though almost hysterically given to heroworship, could not be satisfied by photographs and cheap reproductions from them."33

Wellington, although willing to help portrait painters, firmly discouraged fanciful genre scenes of his life. When Haydon applied to the Duke for a sitting to paint the hero musing over the field of Waterloo, Wellington was discouraging.

"Paint it if you please, but I will have nothing to say to it. To paint the Emperor Napoleon on the rock of St. Helena is quite a different thing from painting me on the field of the Battle of Waterloo. The Emperor Napoleon did not consent to be painted (he had died nine years earlier), but I am supposed to consent...."34

Wellington may have disliked the implication that he had assented to a picture which depicted his triumph in very sentimental terms. Since he lived until 1852, some forty years after the battle, few genre paintings of him were exhibited before that date. The need for authenticity made it difficult for artists to paint without his aid. More important, the relation of the Royal Academy to the State made it unlikely that "undesirable" genre scenes of his private life would be exhibited there. Wellington's public

persona, too, gave little scope for genre painters. His biographers did not descend to anecdotes and his social influence precluded mention of any embarrassing details of his private life.

Wellington's public image was austere and did not lend itself to amusing or touching genre scenes. A number of artists depicted him meditating on the bust of his former enemy or otherwise recalling the victory. A painting, now missing, by George Hayter depicted The Duke of Wellington visiting the effigy and personal relics of Napoleon. An engraving after this picture was published in 1854.³⁵

There were also several depictions of Wellington revisiting the field of Waterloo.³⁶

After Wellington's death in 1852 there was a spate of literary activity about him; odes, obituaries and biographies, many of them extravagantly praising his patriotism and military genius. Interestingly, it was his "patriotism" which was most frequently stressed. Lord Tennyson called him "the last great Englishman".³⁷ At the Royal Academy in the following year there was a rash of genre scenes from the Duke's life. James Glass' His Last Return from Duty (RA, 1853 n 1061) caught the mood of nostalgic affection. Glass depicted the Duke riding out of Horse Guards, where he had gone every day in his capacity as Commander in Chief of the Army. This work reinforced the image of the Duke as a selfless administrator rather than an intransigent autocrat who would not retire, as described by the pamphleteer above. To point up the moral of the picture Glass appended a line from Tennyson's famous "Ode" - "He cared not to be great" the next lines of which ran "But as he saved or served the State./ Not once or twice in our

rough island story/ The path of duty was the way to
38
glory."

The Academy that year also showed a revival of battle pictures of Wellington's campaigns. Abraham Cooper exhibited Wellington's first great victory - the battle of Assaye fought in India in 1803, half a century before. After the resurgence of interest in Wellington scenes there were very few, only five in the next thirty years. This is remarkable considering the large numbers of genre pictures dealing with the domestic lives of other historical characters. It must be concluded that the continuation of the Duke's family line made it unlikely that a Wellesley version of The First Love of Napoleon Buonaparte by C Lucy (RA, 1843) would be produced, even had such details of his life been in general circulation.

The painting which sums up the compromise between the dry biographical information supplied by official biographers and the intimate scenes appropriate for genre scenes is C.W.Cope's The Price of Victory. This work was subtitled in the RA catalogue as "The Duke of Wellington, on the morning after the Battle of Waterloo, receiving from Dr. Hume an account of the casualties" (RA cat. 1869). The catalogue carried a description of the scene, presumably by Dr. Hume himself.

"He was much affected and looking towards him I saw tears chasing one another in furrows over his dusty cheeks. He brushed them suddenly away with his left hand and said to me in a voice tremulous with emotion, "Well, thank God! I don't know what it is to lose a battle, but certainly nothing can be more painful than to gain one with the loss of so many of one's friends."39

This type of painting seems to attempt to "humanize" the Duke, to soften his very austere and irritable image. It is

significant that these scenes were in relation to loss of lives in battle, perhaps to deflect any criticism that he might have sustained for such heavy losses as Waterloo.

A type of painting which became popular in the 1860s was concerned with the boyhood of heroes. Millais' Boyhood of Raleigh (1870) was a popular example; the young boy being fired to great deeds by the stories of an old sailor. The genre habitually used the childhood preoccupations and attitudes of the boy to foreshadow the achievements of the man, or to show what motivated him to take his course. This topic is discussed below in Chapter Six. Only one boyhood of Wellington picture is known to have been exhibited at the Royal Academy - GW Joy's Wellington's First Encounter with Cinq 30 the French (RA, 1899). The picture was painted to pair with an earlier "boyhood of Nelson", thus continuing a long established artistic tradition for linking the two heroes. (See above Chapter One.) Joy's choice of subject, although popular enough to be engraved, might have been thought tactless, since he reminded the viewer that Wellington's only military training came from a French Military Academy in Angers. The popularity of the image undoubtedly came from the sturdy, handsome, attractive figure of the boy and from pleasure in linking the emblems scattered around with the eventual war with Napoleon. Three maps, of England, France and Corsica, symbolise the sources of the protagonists and a pair of crossed swords the conflict between the grown up Wellington and Napoleon.

The genre images of Wellington, exhibited at the RA, were not as many or as various as those of Napoleon. In addition to the lack of biographical information and the system of unofficial censorship imposed by the Academy, it

must be suggested that Wellington was simply not as intriguing a character as Napoleon. Wellington was a member of an aristocratic family and he had his progress in the Army speeded by a purchased commission and by family connections. His was not a rags to riches story. As will be seen in the case of later heroes, ^l _A military success was not the primary criterion for artists' attention, but rather that the hero's character fitted with contemporary notions of what constituted heroic behaviour or that some group or person was willing to pay for the hero to be portrayed in this way.

Sir John Moore

The case of Sir John Moore indicates the ways in which a hero's reputation could be manipulated by interested persons and how painting was used as a visual dimension of propaganda. Moore (1761-1809) is chronologically outside the limits of this thesis, but, as will be shown, his career was very much a live issue throughout the next twenty years. The terms in which Moore was discussed also inaugurated a new era in the construction of the perfect officer. Moore had been in command of the British Army in the Iberian Peninsula in the Napoleonic wars before Wellington was given command. After an arduous and inconclusive campaign Moore had been forced to make a hasty retreat across Spain. A combination of appalling weather and inadequate supplies had taken a heavy toll on the battered British Army, as the French pursued them to the coast. Moore rallied his exhausted force at Corunna and fought an inconclusive battle which was successful in that it gave time for the

rescue ships to arrive and lift off the soldiers. In the course of the battle Moore was mortally wounded and died at 40 Corunna.

The Iberian campaign and its organisation became the subject of a political wrangle. The Tory Government claimed that Moore had mishandled the campaign, had unnecessarily panicked before the French advance and had fled too soon. Thomas Lawrence, who had known and painted Moore, wrote to Farington,

"The general sentiment, however check'd by Respect for the memory of a brave man is against Gen'l (sic) Moore; and this sentiment comes from, and is common to, the whole Army - some few individual friends excepted. It is considered as fortunate for his Reputation that he fell."⁴¹

The "few individual friends", referred to by Lawrence, were Moore's aides; Colborne and George Napier and his brother, Dr. James Carrick Moore. Carrick Moore was outraged by the slur on his brother's reputation and passed his brother's reports on to the Whig Press, claiming that the Tory Government were attempting to put the responsibility for the campaign on to him. In particular the Whigs attacked the conduct of the British attache in Spain, Hookham Frere, whom they claimed had mismanaged information and supplies.⁴²

Carrick Moore published his brother's dispatches in 1809, and this was followed by a spate of eye-witness accounts of Corunna and histories of the Iberian expedition. The Napier family, particularly George and William, who had served under Moore, were ardent in their support of his memory. They, with Moore's family and his circle of aides, made up a closely knit set of defenders of the dead General. Moore's regiment, the Light Division, was held up by them as the best drilled and disciplined in the Army. They also drew

attention to his innovative code for Army officers, which insisted that the officer was responsible for the moral and physical well-being of the men, as well as their conduct on the battlefield. In the next generation, Moore's maxims were treasured by such generals as Wolseley. If the ruling classes were divided about Moore's success as a general, he was a popular hero with the working classes. Dying, like Wolfe and Nelson in the hour of "victory", Moore had a romantic glamour. Ballads were rushed off the presses and sold in the streets, and poems were published in the newspapers. Lawrence, although he disapproved of Moore's qualities as a soldier, perceived that he could make a profit from the portrait he had done of the hero for General Brownrigg. Immediately after Corunna, he wrote to borrow it back, to have it engraved quickly so as to cash in on the revived interest in Moore.⁴³

"You will have application for it (the portrait), doubtless, from other quarters and the Family will be applied to for their copy, but I know the light in which these things are viewed by the mere publishers of prints with whom profit by the moment is the sole motive. To me, unversed in such matters, it may or may not be profitable but at least I will take care that a just and faithful resemblance of this estimable man be given to the world."⁴⁵

Lawrence's sense of urgency is indicative of the large market for topical heroes' portraits. Speed was essential in the execution and publishing of prints since the fashion could wane quickly. In the Academy exhibition there was no immediate pictorial response to the life and death of Moore. The period 1809-1830 was very empty of battle painting, as has been shown above Chapter One. In the early 1830s there appeared a number of battle paintings concerned with Moore's last battle at Corunna, his death and his burial. In 1832 W. Brockedon exhibited Burial of Sir John Moore.

• The

painting was accompanied by a quotation from the Rev. Charles Wolfe's dramatic poem of the same name, published in 1816. Wolfe's simple, but rhythmic ballad had captured the public attention, even though it was only one of many poems and ballads on the theme published in the decade after

46

Moore's death. The painter was able to assume that his viewers were familiar with the Wolfe poem and the details of Moore's death because he chose to quote the most dramatic and the least descriptive lines from the poem.

v4 "Few and soft were the prayers we said
And we spoke not a word of sorrow,
But we sadly gazed on the face of the dead,
And we heavily thought on the morrow."47

In the same year, 1832, another depiction of Moore was sent to the Royal Academy by George Jones. The coincidence of this sudden appearance of two Moore subjects can be attributed to the efforts of the Moore coterie. In 1828 William Napier had published the complete, six volume version of his History of the Peninsular Wars (1828). Napier's treatment of Moore verged on beatification.

"Confiding in the strength of his genius, he disregarded the clamours of presumptuous ignorance and, opposing sound military views to the foolish projects so insolently thrust upon him by the ambassador (Sir Bartle Frere), he conducted his long and arduous retreat with sagacity, intelligence and fortitude; no insult disturbed, no falsehood deceived him, no remonstrance shook his determination; fortune frowned without subduing his constancy; death struck, but the spirit of the man remained unbroken when his shattered body scarcely afforded it a habitation."48

This glowing account of the soldier's personality, written in the most persuasive prose, undeniably inspired many readers with belief in the Moore legend. James Carrick Moore was at the same time engaged in writing his Life of Sir John Moore K.B., which was published in 1834. George Jones, as has been shown above, see Chapter One, was an important

49

member of the Royal Academy in the 1830s. He had been commissioned to paint two paintings for the late King and he was at the top of his profession. Although Jones was a civilian, he had served in the Army during the Waterloo campaign and self-consciously retained many military attitudes.⁵⁰ In the immediate post war period he had formed a close relationship with William Napier and through him, had become drawn into the Napier circle. Jones corresponded with Dr James Carrick Moore and visited his home.⁵¹ The 1832 Academy picture may have been commissioned or bought by Dr Moore, since it was in the possession of a direct descendent when it was destroyed in 1940.⁵² A sketch of the same title and description was shown at the RA in the previous year. It represented the dying Moore "surrounded by his principal officers, Anderson, Colborne, Napier, Percy and Stanhope...."⁵³ The same scene in one of Jones' sketchbooks for 1829 depicts the men gathered around the body in a pose reminiscent of a deposition of Christ.⁵⁴

In 1834 Jones exhibited Burial of Sir John Moore and Battle of Corunna...General Sir John Moore mortally wounded two years later. There is evidence that at least one of these was purchased by Col. Paul Anderson, another of the coterie.⁵⁵ Jones later became a party to William Napier's passionate defence of Sir Charles Napier; and devoted much of his artistic energy to glorifying that hero. (see below) In 1853 he was planning a version of Moore at Corunna which would include Sir Charles, thus firmly associating him with the school of generalship begun by Moore. He undoubtedly wished to publicly link the name of Charles Napier with the mystical one of Moore, since by the 1850s Moore had been

accepted into the pantheon of national heroes. The project was never executed, possibly because of the anachronism of giving a very junior officer equal importance with a general.

One project which was executed was a commission for Jones' friend, Sir John Soane. Jones produced a Chelsea Pensioners scene in the mould of Wilkie's very successful Chelsea Pensioners receiving the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo (see below Chapter Five). Jones' happy veterans were depicted as Pensioners in the smoking room at Chelsea Hospital, ⁵⁷ reminiscing over the Battle of Corunna. This genre of military art is discussed below Chapter Five.

The evidence suggests that the group made up of Moore's former aide's and friends were responsible for constructing that soldier as a military martyr to Government incompetence. Their patronage of George Jones who as an Academician, was certain of gaining hanging space in the RA, did much to place their views before the important Academy visiting public. Their efforts did much to place Moore along side Wolfe and Nelson in the category of martyr heroes. As has been shown, two artists were inspired to produce Moore pictures for the Palace of Westminster Competition in 1847. It will be seen that the case of Sir Charles Napier was in several instances the same as that of Moore, except in this case the hero himself orchestrated a campaign to keep his achievements before the public.

Sir Charles Napier

In the early Victorian era the printed media played an increasingly important role in determining heroic status. The reduction of Stamp Duty in 1836 and its abolition in 1855 increased the circulation of newspapers and encouraged the rise of new forms of media such as the illustrated weekly. The Illustrated London News, founded by Herbert Ingram in 1843, in particular devoted a great deal of space to the coverage of colonial wars. The men who came into prominence through these wars were also studied in biographies and articles in the more serious periodical magazines. All this scrutiny of the conduct of wars could seriously affect the reputation of a military leader if it was strongly argued that his conduct had been ill-judged or immoral.

Vigorous debate was waged over Sir Charles Napier's handling of the Scinde campaign in the early 1840s. Scinde (or Sind) was a remote mountainous region bordering Afghanistan, which had been the scene of humiliating defeats for the British Army. In 1842 there was a rising among the Amirs, the ruling caste of Scinde, emboldened by the poor showing of the British in Afghanistan. The British political resident in Scinde, Sir James Outram, was sympathetic to the Amirs and believed that a show of force would be sufficient to depress their idea of rebellion. The Governor-General of India, Lord Ellenborough, decided to use the situation to demonstrate British military supremacy and force the Amirs into accepting trading agreements more favourable to the British. Napier was sent to Scinde with a small force to assess the truth of the rumours of

rebellion and if they proved true, to make a show of military strength. His subsequent actions were the cause of the controversy. Did Napier perceive that a war with the Amirs was inevitable and merely act promptly to forestall the kind of massacres that had taken place in Afghanistan or did he provoke war knowing that it was his opportunity to gain glory? Sir John Fortescue, the military historian, presents the most unfavourable interpretation of the evidence.

"...Charles Napier was instantly beset by the temptation to turn this unhappy land into a paradise by his own benevolent domination. This of course could only be effected by war and conquest ...although he did not actually provoke the Amirs he omitted, in spite of the entreaties of Outram, to seize all possible opportunities of making a peaceful settlement."⁶⁰

Napier and his troops emerged victorious from their battles at Miani, Hyderabad, Dubba and Truckee. Napier set about restoring British control over Scinde and putting into action his ambitious schemes for the civil organisation of the province. His victories and policies were greeted with enthusiasm in Britain, where the public was anxious to read about military successes after recent disasters in the Indian subcontinent. In India and at Horseguards various individuals questioned the necessity for Napier's heavy handed conquest of Scinde. The voices of dissent, however, did not immediately make themselves heard. Napier was rewarded with a KCB in 1843, granted a colonelcy of the 22nd Regiment and was personally congratulated by the Duke of Wellington. His admirers were fond of quoting Carlyle's remarks about him,

"A lynx-eyed, fiery man, with the spirit of the old knight about him...More of a hero than any modern I have seen for a long time;a singular veracity one finds in him, not in his words alone, but in his actions,

judgements, aims, in all he thinks and does and says, which indeed I have observed is the root of all greatness or real worth in human creatures."62

Despite this kind of recognition Napier felt himself to have been slighted because he did not receive a peerage as had a number of his contemporary Indian heroes. Napier's sense of being passed over was aired publicly by his brother William, who, as has been stated above, was a brilliant and prolific historian.

A number of attacks were made on the handling of the Scinde campaign, notably by Dr.Breise, editor of the Bombay Times, and Sir James Outram. The kind of outrage felt by Napier's admirers can be gauged from this description of events by William Butler in his biography of Napier (1890).

"Everything was cavilled at; motive, action and result were attacked and from the highest Director of the East India Company in Leadenhall Street to the most insignificant editor of an Indian newspaper in the service of the civilian interest in Bombay or Calcutta, came the stinging flight of query, innuendo or direct condemnation. The reason was not hard to find. Napier had dared to tell unpalatable truths about the impoverishment of India through the hoarde of locusts, who, in the name of Government, had settled upon it. The man who could tell the Directors of the East India Company that their military policy tended to the mutiny of the soldiers, and their civil system of a huge source of Indian spoilation, was not likely to find much favour with the richest and most powerful, and it may be added, the most commercial company, the world has ever seen, nor was he likely to be a Persona Grata with the officials who administered the affairs of that gigantic corporation."65

The critics implied that although Napier could have avoided war, he had opted to fight in the hope of winning prize money and glory. The second school of criticism argued that Napier's celebrated victories had been sheer luck and that had the troops not refused to follow an order at Miani, they would have been massacred. As it was, they argued, the war had been won by professional troops, equipped with superior weapons over a disorganised rabble. When William Napier

became involved in vindicating his brother's moral and professional reputation he applied himself with vitriolic force. The Napier's again enlisted the support of Jones in their campaign to redress Charles' wrongs.

66

At the same time as William Napier began to work on his book The Conquest of Scinde, Jones embarked on a series of six battle paintings of the campaign. All the pictures were exhibited at the RA^{AND} were shown with a note to the effect that they had been executed under the supervision of Sir Charles himself. Jones was thus making two statements; that his works were the true account of the war and that he respected Napier's testimony.

The correspondence between the artist and the author reveals the depth of Jones' commitment to the Napier cause.

"I need not tell you that I will do anything in my power, to contribute to the honor and commemoration of your glorious brother - I confess that my feelings are intemperate when I think how he has been used. Rewarded for his benevolence and justice by his subdued enemies; sent by his terrified country as the only man that could save the unbounded territories of the East - courted in danger, neglected in tranquility".⁶⁷

In an earlier letter, one explanation of Jones' passionate partisanship was revealed. He wanted to paint battles to inspire and reshape the morals of the nation, particularly its youth.

"Your battle would be a fine subject for a picture considering its chivalry...but here nothing but portraits, landscapes and some few domestic subjects, tempt the few patrons of art. Historic and patriotic characters and exploits do not decorate our walls or stimulate the rising generation to follow the example of their predecessors and I confess I think this the only use of painting as a profession, for if it be not employed for the advancement of moral, religious and philanthropic good, I know not what use it can be...."⁶⁸

Jones' first Scinde work was sent to the RA, in 1849. It announced itself to be The Battle of Meeanee, an outline

drawn under the inspection of Sir Charles Napier GCB. The motivation for the watercolour sketch was obviously to celebrate the campaign and may also have been a way of seeking a patron. This device was often employed by artists who wanted to attempt an ambitious and expensive historical picture but needed a patron before embarking on it. The work was accompanied by a lengthy description in the catalogue which made explicit Jones' hero-worship of Charles Napier. The finished painting was hung at the RA in 1852, by which time it was owned by William Napier. Charles and William both bought Jones' pictures although it seems clear from the subsequent fate of the pictures that they did not commission them but that Jones produced them speculatively.⁷⁰ The other Scinde pictures did not find purchasers and Jones' association with the Napier brothers must have been financially disastrous for him. Truckee (RA, 1856) had to be given away to the United Service Institution and Hyderabad was probably given to the Royal Academy.⁷¹ His inability to sell the battle pictures upon which he staked his career infuriated Jones. In a letter to William Napier in 1849 he hinted that the public's ignorance about the military genius of Charles Napier might be compared to their indifference to his own work.⁷² The Scinde paintings were very similar in design to Jones' earlier battle pictures of Waterloo and Borodino. In Meeanee the landscape is carefully studied as a result, no doubt, of consultations with Charles Napier. Yet the landscape is subordinated to the action. The troops are laid out in tidy rows across the canvas and Napier and his Staff are shown well to the fore, directing events. Napier is shown as the intellectual General, rather

than the physical leader of his troops. Only one painting from the series may have departed from this rather rigid formula. This was Truckee, now known only from a sketch. The innovations in the sketch for Truckee were doubtless because ⁶¹⁹⁴ the battle itself did not conform to the normal set-piece encounter it was not fought on a flat plain with troop formations, but was the headlong pursuit of bandits through a rocky landscape towards a huge natural fortress of rocks. Napier and his army are shown watching the fleeing robbers disappear behind the rocks. It was the tribesmen's plan to lure the British into following them into the labyrinth, but Napier, realising that the difficult terrain would give the enemy a deadly advantage, sealed the entrance to the fortress and forced them into surrender. Jones' sketch shows Napier upon a grey horse, the figure being reminiscent of ⁷³ David's Napoleon Crossing the Alps. This very familiar image would have been particularly potent for the Napier family who all revered Napoleon as the greatest soldier in ⁷⁴ history. The inference that Charles Napier could be compared to this hero was a compliment of the most acceptable kind. The construction of the painting, with the huge rocks lowering over the tiny figures, echoes Salvator Rosa's bandit scenes.

The Napier or Scinde pictures were painted and exhibited throughout the 1850s. The Battle of Meeanee 1852; The Battle of Hyderabad 1854; The Battle of Truckee 1856; The Battle of Dubba and The Destruction of the Fortress of Emmaum Ghur 1857. Despite his difficulty in selling the pictures, evidently Jones' loyalty and sense of mission prevented him from abandoning the series and moving back to more commercial projects. The series did not receive any notice from the

critics nor did any one appear to note the outpouring of paint on this one campaign. The canvases were, however, due to Jones' membership of the Academy, sure of a hanging position and undoubtedly would have attracted the notice of the visitors who were interested in military affairs. It was this very constituency that the Napier brothers were anxious to reach. It is not enough to dismiss the series as failing in its propaganda function either because it did not sell or because it was ignored by the art critics.

While Jones was still planning the series with Napier, the subject of the Battle of Meeanee had been used by Edward Armitage for his entry in the Westminster Hall competition in 1847. Armitage is said to have been inspired by William Napier's book, The Conquest of Scinde, published the previous year. The author's use of language was dramatic and his descriptions of the battles almost Biblical in their power. This description of Meeanee is a fine example.

"Thick as standing corn and gorgeous as a field of flowers were the Beloochies in their many coloured garments and turbans. They filled the broad deep bed of the Fullailee; they were clustered on both banks and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords gleaming in the sun and their shouts rolled like peals of thunder as with frantic might and gestures they dashed against the front of the 22nd."⁷⁶

The Napier coterie were delighted that the Battle of Meeanee should be brought before the public in such a very prominent manner. Captain Frederick Robertson, an Army friend, wrote to Charles Napier to inform him that Armitage had won one of the first prizes in the competition.

"...I am happy to say, not that I feel particularly interested in the Artist, but I do delight in anything that tends to commemorate your extraordinary victory."⁷⁷

Armitage had consulted William Napier for information on the

landscape, costumes and other aspects of "local

78

colour." The Napier's, however, were not pleased with the picture, claiming that it was full of technical inaccuracies. The problem was not artistic; Charles Napier felt that it did not show him in the most creditable light. In a letter comparing the Armitage picture with Jones' version of the same subject, it is clear why Napier felt Jones' to be the superior.

"Mr Jones, who ought to have been the President of the Royal Academy, had he not been done out of it by a trick...has painted a fine picture of the battle of Meeanee. He first drew one in watercolours which was exhibited in the exhibition last year. This year he drew under my direction....By the small copy of Armitage's picture which I saw at Cheltenham xxxx(word illegible) Jones has placed me personally more correctly, for in Armitage's I am in the rear of the troops, where I was in front the whole time, constantly getting my face hit by the unignited powder from the barrels of the muskets of my own men."79

Napier obviously preferred Jones' painting on the grounds that it was more accurate according to the hero's own version of the events.

The cases of both Napier and Moore indicate that painting was regarded as an important factor in the propaganda war to establish a military reputation. Battle paintings hung at the Royal Academy were designed to present a view of history and to locate the event as important. In these efforts literature, especially military history and biography, were crucial factors, in providing the secondary material for painters.

This thesis has largely concerned itself with paintings that were exhibited in a public forum, since it is of importance to be able to judge the type of audience for whom the images were designed in order to consider the ways in which they worked. This short section will discuss the

way in which one patron used the paintings he owned to construct a kind of visual argument for his audience, his guests, in his own home. Documentary evidence about the private consumption of battle paintings is, of course, extremely scarce, especially since many nineteenth-century picture collections were dispersed after the death of the original collector, or with the anti-war feeling after the Great War which probably initiated the destruction of many
80 battle paintings. A number of intriguing questions arise about the patrons of battle paintings; how did they acquire the works; what were their relations with the artists; how did they hang the pictures, with other military pictures or with other genres, and in which rooms? The lack of evidence prevents these questions being answered in any general sense, but this case study does raise the issues in relation to one, very extraordinary nineteenth-century patron.

The Earl of Cardigan

James Thomas Brudenell, Earl of Cardigan, was a "hero" who collected pictures which referred only to his own exploits. Where the Napiers had commissioned and encouraged pictures to keep their battles before the eyes of the public, Cardigan commissioned his works privately and showed them only to his visitors. Cardigan was far from being the typical military leader even in his own generation, the 1840s and 50s, since he was an unorthodox and extreme character. He was also an example of a class of Army officer soon to be exterminated by the abolition of Purchase. He was an aristocrat who, with his enormous fortune, was able to buy the colonelcy of a regiment at a very youthful age.

Cardigan embellished his family home, Deene Park in Northamptonshire, with his paintings. In post-purchase generations, military leaders tended to come from upper-and middle-class families and were not as a rule the possessors of stately mansions. Although such men as Roberts and Wolseley bought country houses, they rarely had the wealth to keep them intact for future generations.

The battle paintings at Deene are focused upon a single battle, Balaclava, which took place during the Crimean campaign in October 1854. Balaclava, and in particular the Charge of the Light Brigade, were essential to Cardigan's reputation as a military commander and a hero. His enormous wealth had bought him the responsibilities of a command at a very youthful age, with the minimum of six years military service.⁸¹ Cardigan had insisted in ruling his regiment with an iron hand and had instituted a series of authoritarian rules. These and his quick temper had involved him in a number of quarrels with his officers. Sections of the Press were anxious to see Cardigan humiliated,⁸² since he was a representative of the aristocratic class who control of the army was under attack. Any matter therefore which reflected detrimentally on Cardigan constituted an attack on the whole system of Purchase. All of Cardigan's military career must be considered in the context of this growing movement to bring the army in line with the contemporary bourgeois pressure to restructure State institutions (see above ch2).

From the date of Cardigan's purchase of the 11th Hussars, (later the Light Dragoons) in 1836, he argued that his zealous pursuit of absolute discipline would reap benefits in battle. His desire to vindicate himself was thwarted by the

prolonged period of peace in Europe after 1815. At the outbreak of the war with Russia, Cardigan was eager to demonstrate the efficacy of his military philosophy. The episode of the Charge of the Light Brigade does not require much elaboration here, since it has been admirably recounted by Cecil Woodham Smith in her book The Reason Why.⁸³ The bare facts were that through an error, or a misunderstood order, Cardigan led the Light Brigade into the mouths of the Russian cannon - where most of them were killed. This military disaster was somehow transformed into a triumph by the British press. The incident was seen as evidence of all that was best in the British soldier. Cardigan's troops had ridden in perfect order, to their deaths, in an absolutely purposeless charge. William Howard Russell, the celebrated Times correspondent, was particularly influential in interpreting the massacre as a glorious act of chivalry.

"They swept proudly past, glittering in the morning sun in all the pride and splendour of war. We could scarcely believe the evidence of our senses! Surely that handful of men are not going to charge an army in position? alas it was but too true....With a halo of flashing steel above their heads and with a cheer that was a noble fellow's death-cry, they flew into the smoke of the batteries but ere they were lost from view the ground was strewed with their bodies."⁸⁴

In this persuasive piece of prose, Russell was shrewdly provoking an admiring response in his readers; by stressing the numerical insignificance of the brigade (673); by calling them "noble" fellows; and even by the evocative phrase "a halo of flashing steel" which conjures up romantic visions of chivalry. The technical inaccuracies of his glamourising report went unnoticed, and inspired Alfred, Lord Tennyson, the Poet Laureate, to write his famous poem The Charge of the Light Brigade.⁸⁵ The superb, galloping

rhythm of the poem constituted Balaclava as an act of unsurpassed bravery.

On his return to Britain, Cardigan was acclaimed as a national hero. This was in great contrast to his former unpopularity as a martinet, a bully and snob. In part the enthusiasm for the charge of the Light Brigade was a manifestation of the nations' desire to see some positive object in the Crimean campaign. A cavalry charge against tremendous odds, however costly on life, was infinitely more glamorous than months of inconclusive artillery exchanges. Cardigan emerged as a hero at a time when a hero was eagerly awaited. "His ordeal in the Russian valley was the topic of the day. His picture, sometimes the centre-piece of a colourful patriotic display, appeared in shop windows and was sold in the streets. Prints depicted him mounted on Ronald, leaping over a gun and spitting a Russian while his sword was poised in the air."⁸⁶ Within six months of the battle a series of attacks appeared in newspapers and pamphlets, which called into question Cardigan's conduct at Balaclava, and in particular disputed his version of the charge. George Ryan, a journalist, produced a pamphlet which suggested that Cardigan had led the Light Brigade for only a few minutes, after which "it is said that his lordship galloped back as though the very devil pursued him."⁸⁷ Ryan proceeded to condemn Cardigan as a "...full-fledged sham, swaggering under laurels filched from the reputations of those men, who disdaining self-preservation, fight the last man presented to them rather than retire without orders".⁸⁸ This point was telling because it could strictly have been argued that even if Cardigan had led the Brigade as far as the guns he should not have turned back without

orders. Cardigan's life had been punctuated by a series of vicious attacks from the press and other enemies, but this struck him hard.

"His reputation rested solely upon the Crimea. If this made it easier for the public to single him out as the Crimean hero, it also meant that he had to guard this achievement more jealously than his comrades for he had no other to compare it with."⁸⁹

Better substantiated attacks than Ryan's were to follow. During June 1856 there was a correspondence in the Morning Post, in which Lord George Paget described himself having been in command of the 4th Light Dragoons and the 11th Hussars during the battle.

"The implication was that he had commanded, not one regiment, but a whole second line of the Brigade and brought the survivors of the attack safely out of the melee at the Russian guns, after Cardigan himself had withdrawn."⁹⁰

His reputation was further impugned by one of the Staff Officers, Major the Hon. Somerset Calthorpe, who was sarcastic at the Earl's expense.

"I also see that Lord Cardigan has been feted at the Mansion House and made a speech...which has caused considerable merriment amongst the officers of the Light Cavalry here who naturally know better than anyone else the very prominent part which his lordship took at the celebrated charge of Balaclava."⁹¹

Cardigan responded aggressively to the attacks, trying to get Calthorpe court-martialled, or failing, that dismissed from his post as an aide to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

It is in the light of this bitter controversy that Cardigan's acquisition of battle pictures for Deene Park must be considered. The works of art commissioned by him were designed to reinforce his version of the charge of the Light Brigade. The Earl's manipulation of visual material had begun while he was still in the Crimea. William Simpson,

later to become a famous "Special" artist, had been sent to draw the war by Colnaghis.⁹³ His sketches were later lithographed and published as The Seat of the War in the East. Simpson had missed the battle of Balaclava and had resorted to collecting information from eye-witnesses and participants. To ^scertain that the finished sketch was technically correct, he showed it to Lord Cardigan, who found it "all wrong". He also refused to accept his second version of the battle. Simpson's final effort, however, was rewarded with "warmest praise" and approval. "The real truth was that in the last sketch I had taken greater care than in the first two to make his lordship conspicuous in front of the Brigade."⁹⁴ A copy of Simpson's sketch was shown by Cardigan to the Queen and the Royal Family at Windsor, where he was summoned to recount his adventure. Cardigan was using an "artist's impression" of the battle as "evidence" of what happened at Balaclava. The Queen in her journal described the meeting.

"Over dinner Lord Cardigan showed us a very pretty water colour sketch by Mr Simpson, whose sketches done in the Crimea had been sent to us. This was one of the Charge of Balaclava, which Lord Cardigan then described very simply and graphically - very modestly as to his own wonderful heroism, but with evident and very natural satisfaction."⁹⁵

Cardigan's utilization of Simpson's sketch made it easy for him to present his own actions "modestly" while still ensuring that his Royal audience understood how finely he had acted.

Precise details of Cardigan's practice in commissioning paintings are not available, since the records were destroyed by his widow. It is known that Cardigan commissioned one major painting of Balaclava from the artist

De Prades. The little information that exists about him 619 4 suggests that he worked mostly on horse portraits and 96 sporting scenes. De Prades' picture is extremely large and imposing with a dynamic composition. The predominant figures of horse and rider divide the picture into two zones. Cardigan's arm, holding his sword, is gesturing forward towards the enemy although his head and torso are turned diagonally back, as though he were glancing at his Light Brigade. In the two areas either side of Cardigan's head are two groups of soldiers. They are depicted as being quite distant and all face towards Cardigan. Every detail of the painting is organised to express the fact that it was Cardigan himself that led the charge. To emphasize that Cardigan reached the lines, the artist placed a Russian helmet, a gun and a spent cannon ball near the horse's hooves. De Prades' painting of the figure on horseback is in the style of an earlier generation of sporting artists. Although the horse is anatomically correct and carefully studied, its action is the archaic flying gallop with all four legs stretched out diagonally away from the body.

Cardigan's motives for commissioning a comparatively anachronistic painting were certainly not financial. De Prades had already painted him at the other great moment of his military career when he and the 11th Hussars had been 97 deputed to escort Prince Albert to his wedding in 1840. The artist might therefore have been a reliable and familiar alternative to a fashionable London painter. Cardigan's choice of pictures for his personal museum of Balaclava memorabilia was not influenced by a desire to acquire works by the most fashionable masters of the day which, with his wealth and social status, he would well have been able to

command. In 1868 he purchased a small picture by a sporting painter, George Henry Laporte (1799-1873). Laporte had been animal painter to the Duke of Cumberland and specialised in hunting scenes and equestrian portraits. This painting, entitled Lord Cardigan's engagement with two Cossacks behind the Russian guns is extremely crude, especially in modelling of the Cossack figures. One is forced to conclude that Cardigan's motive for purchasing the work was related to the subject rather than the technique, and raises the question whether the new standards of research and accuracy increasingly demanded from Academic battle painters might have forced Cardigan to employ a less sophisticated but more obliging painter.

Cardigan's collection at Deene Park was on show to his friends and dependents for many years and may be said to have been compiled to "prove" the hero's contention - that he had personally led the charge of the Light Brigade. The situation of the pictures in the main public rooms of the house suggests that he was eager to impress this view on visitors rather than merely ^{to} enjoy the works himself. The Cardigan paintings are a further example of the way in which battle paintings were used as "evidence" in military or political argument.

General Gordon

The most famous soldier of the high Victorian period was Charles Gordon. Before his ill-fated expedition to the Sudan, where he met his death in 1885, Gordon had established a remarkable reputation for courage and military success. He had achieved rapid promotion during the Crimean

War, and had participated in the fall of Sebastapol. In 1861 Gordon had the good fortune to be posted to China where he was able to shine in ^P suppressing a rebellion against the Emperor. Gordon's exploits in China, leading the "Ever Victorious Army", had been much publicized and exaggerated ¹⁰⁰ in the British Press. The successful crushing of the Taiping Rebellion was regarded as entirely due to Gordon's intervention, and Gordon said nothing to moderate this view. On Gordon's return to Britain in 1865 he was appointed Commander of the Royal Engineers at Gravesend, where he was ¹⁰¹ responsible for constructing defensive forts. His life there was obsessively concerned with religious observance and the education and care of poor orphaned boys. After six years Gordon was again posted overseas, to Africa. The most significant phase of his career was the final six months of his life in the Sudan. In the 1880s Britain's control over the corrupt and decaying Egyptian empire was jeopardized by a religious rebellion in the neighbouring Sudan. It was feared that the "prophet" leader, the Mahdi, would turn his attention to Egypt. In late 1883 the Khedive of Egypt appointed a retired British officer, Major-General Hicks, to march into the Sudan against the Mahdi. Hick's ill-equipped ¹⁰² expedition was annihilated. The Tory press in Britain was outraged by what they construed as a blow to the national pride and a campaign was mounted to force Gladstone's Government to "avenge the nation". W.T. Stead, the crusading journalist editor of the Pall Mall Gazette, published an interview with Gordon, as an expert on Sudanese affairs, in which Gordon warned that if Britain lost the Sudan to the Mahdi other "prophets" would arise and take Egypt for Islam.

After much pressure Gladstone agreed to send Gordon to report on the political situation in the Sudan. On his way he called at the Egyptian capital, Cairo, where the Khedive appointed him Governor General of the Sudan. This gave Gordon supreme military and political power and all the limitations imposed upon him by Gladstone were forgotten or ignored. He was greeted by the "loyal" Sudanese as a saviour, but in fact he was without troops to back his authority or funds to buy loyalty. Within a few months Gordon and a few other Europeans were isolated in the Sudanese capital Khartoum, besieged by the Mahdist forces.¹⁰³

In Britain this was treated as a full-scale national defeat rather than the result of the gross ill-judgement of a glory-hungry soldier. Gordon's error was interpreted as an heroic stand for Christianity and the Empire. His supporters called for an Army to be despatched to rescue him. Gladstone, infuriated by Gordon's exceeding of his orders, procrastinated and only gave in after a huge Press campaign and under pressure from the Opposition, the Army and the Queen.¹⁰⁴ General Wolseley was sent to relieve Gordon's siege at Khartoum, but Gordon was massacred only days before his arrival on 26th January 1885.¹⁰⁵

Gordon's fate became the centre of heated debate. Gladstone was reviled as his murderer and pamphlets were published claiming that Gordon was a victim of political intrigue.¹⁰⁶ Gordon was appropriated by many religious groups as a modern martyr for Christianity, and immediately after his death books appeared shaping his history into a saintly legend. Gordon's reputation was assisted by his sister, Augusta, who published excerpts from his diaries and

107

letters. These are extraordinary documents, revealing an obsession with death, glory and duty. Gordon has been diagnosed by late twentieth-century biographers as a repressed homosexual with an hysterical obsession with
108 Christianity and a death wish. In the writings of his contemporary admirers Gordon was portrayed as a great man who disdained worldly wealth; an inspiration in a
109 materialistic age. His passion for the company of boys and his lack of interest in women was regarded as further
110 proof of his spirituality.

The language in which Gordon's career was discussed was that of hagiography. Even before his death, Egmont Hake, the war correspondent, described Gordon's work in Biblical terms. "A story as of the Temptation in the Wilderness might be
111 told of the moral campaign he has waged..." One suggestive publication was the Gordon Birthday Book which gave a daily improving quotation from Gordon's own writings. The date of his death was treated almost as a Saint's day. Writers such as Annie Besant tried to stem the flow of idolatry, pointing out that Gordon had sanctioned the slave trade in the Sudan when it had been expedient. Besant described him as "a straightforward, brave soldier of fortune; a sharp man of
112 business with an eye to the main chance." In spite of this and other efforts to demystify Gordon's reputation, the language used to describe him continued to be extravagant. Much of the literary output, of which this poem is an example, stressed the inspiration that might be drawn from his shining example.

"The hero lives! And all his royal train
Of godlike deeds have followed after him,
Enrobed in light, yet with us still remain
Like outspread wings of guardian seraphim.

Like outspread wings of guardian seraphim.
We live to die: the fuller life divine,
Soldier of Christ! Conqueror of Self! is thine."113

A considerable adjustment in bourgeois thought had taken place since the 1840s to allow a soldier, however brave, to be held up as an example to civilian Christians. To a large extent the alteration had been wrought by the efforts of religious sects to evangelise the Army and to prove that morality and the military were not necessarily mutually exclusive. As has been shown above, this desire to prove the nobility of soldiers and officers was the closely tied to bourgeois moves to appropriate power in the Army. A pattern for this process of transformation had been established some thirty years earlier as a part of the Evangelical effort to Christianize the Army. Henry Havelock, see ch2 above, who had died at the relief of Lucknow, had been acclaimed as the beau ideal of Christian soldiers. Books, sermons, lectures and poems were published in his honour, constructing him as a modern day martyr. Evangelical groups claimed that the Army promoted qualities lacking from contemporary civilian life; obedience, discipline and courage. This emphasis on "manly" qualities above the intellectual or spiritual aspects of Christian life was a logical extension of Dr Arnold's "muscular Christianity" of the 1850s. Muscular Christianity was most notably popularised by Thomas Hughes' novel Tom Brown's Schooldays. Tom was a middle-class lad, whose shining qualities were 115 honesty, bravery and patriotism. The intermingling of nationalism and religious fervour is a discernible quality in the evangelical literature in the period 1860-1900. the demands of country and God were seen as being compatible, indeed indistinguishable. This trend inevitably

extended the dialogue between the Army and the evangelical Christians, since the Army was constructed in bourgeois mythology as a patriotic force, perceived as fighting for Christian ideals against heathen ignorance overseas. In the 1870s this resulted in the formation of para-military groups for working-class youths and men, dedicated to fighting for Christian ideals at home. The Salvation Army, founded 1893, the Boys Brigade and the Church Army were all organised on ¹¹⁷ military models. It was now deemed desirable for young men and women to be civilian soldiers of God. In the light of these shifts in ideology it becomes clear that a dead soldier with strong Christian principles would be the desirable hero for this period. Gordon precisely filled this niche in the mid 1880s. He was seen as an Imperial warrior, fighting to preserve territory for British influence. Gordon's personal qualities, his magnetism, good looks and tragic death, made it possible for his admirers to establish him in the mould of earlier Christian martyrs and tragic heroes.

At the Royal Academy in 1885 there were seven paintings based on the crisis in the Sudan. Four were concerned with the Gordon Relief expedition, and two more ¹¹⁸ with recent battles in the region. Only one was related in its title to Gordon. This is a picture of an Arab, mounted on a camel, speeding across the desert. The bones of other men and animals were scattered in the sand, indicating the possible fate confronting the rider. Gordon's Last Messenger was painted by Frederick Goodall. This artist had visited the Middle East in 1858 and was able to improvise a desert scene from pictures made then. A contemporary reviewer made it clear that he despised this obvious opportunism.

"...there is a large and abominable picture by Mr Goodall RA, of "Gordon's Last Messenger". We call it abominable with deliberate purpose for it is nothing but a bit of cheap claptrap, an attempt to gain popularity for an inadequate work by giving it a sensational title".¹¹⁹

Goodall also began work on a painting of Gordon entering Khartoum for the last time but abandoned it, in the belief that public interest in the hero would wane shortly after his death. Goodall's caution indicates the extent to which painting so topical and specific a subject could be a useless speculation. If the artist embarked too soon upon a hero picture, then the chances were that during the months of execution public interest would fade. If the artist waited until he was certain there was a market, then other artists would have produced similar pictures and the hero would have become a "hackneyed" subject.¹²⁰

Stanley Berkeley produced a General Gordon picture for the RA, of 1900, fifteen years after his death. His General Gordon Quelling a riot at Darfur depicted the hero as a nineteenth-century knight riding fearlessly against evil. The evil foreigners in this case were slave hunters, and are cited as such in the text of the Royal Academy catalogue. The choice of slave-traders as protagonists, rather than Mahdists, was crucial since much controversy focused on whether Gordon had secretly encouraged the slave-trade to minimise commercial opposition to his mission in the Sudan. The Anti-Slavery Society in England had been critical of Gordon's conduct in the Sudan and interpreted his cautious approach as collusion with the traders.¹²¹ Berkeley, by choosing an episode from Gordon's career when the man was unarguably against the slave-trade, was effectively refuting criticism that the hero had

supported this evil. Berkeley exhibited the canvas with a quotation, source unknown, which emphasized Gordon's almost mystic strength of character. "He rode almost alone into a camp of rebellious slave-hunters and by sheer force of will 122 quelled rebellion." The quotation contains elements often used to describe the Knight of chivalrous tradition. Gordon, although a General, rides alone, almost unarmed; he is opposing a superior number of infidels; they are cowed by his strength of will. Well-known details of Gordon's life were used to reinforce these ideas, all his biographers noted that he never carried a weapon other than a cane and all who met him remarked upon the compelling quality of Gordon's eyes. Berkeley's painting skillfully recalled all these myths that surrounded the hero. The artist conveyed the complex message by using a traditional symbol of temporal authority; Gordon is mounted on a horse and gazes down from a superior height upon the cringing slave-traders. The contrast between the erect posture of the General and the stooping poses of the slavers implies a difference between their moral states.

George W Joy painted his Death of General Gordon with a 123
sense of mission.

"On no historical or political event have I felt so strongly as on this momentous one. I cannot bring myself to look at it from any point of view but that of a betrayal of all that was highest and best in our national instincts, life and traditions. A betrayal of one of the greatest men we ever possessed; of the anti-slavery cause in the Soudan; as well as the doomed inhabitants of Khartoum...."123

His aim then was to awaken "the conscience of the nation" about Gordon's death. In his autobiography he describes the painting of the picture in terms of a religious duty, "I 124 undertook, with all due reverence, this great subject".

Joy's desire to arouse the public conscience was more than the commemoration of a hero who had been killed nine years earlier. The death of Gordon was a burning issue. Since the failed expedition to rescue Gordon, pressure groups had been urging the reconquest of the Sudan. In 1896 Sir Horatio Kitchener began the process of reasserting British control over the Sudan, culminating in the battle of Atbara in April 1898. The painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1894 with an extract from Gordon's last despatch. "Now, mark this, if the Expeditionary Force, and I ask for no more than 200 men - does not come in 10 days, the town may fall; and I have done my best for the honour of our country. Goodbye."¹²⁵ These poignant words would have been instantly familiar to Joy's public, since they had been endlessly reproduced in memoirs, collections of letters and articles. They were calculated, like the painting, to have the greatest possible impact upon the public conscience.

Joy was meticulous in his research for the painting. Through a series of introductions, he met Colonel Watson RE who had been Gordon's second in command in the Sudan, "probably better acquainted with the General's inner life and character than any man living!"¹²⁶ The artist was eager to paint a perfect portrait of the hero not merely by studying every extant portrait but by learning about his inner life. The painting showed the General wearing a fez and scarlet coat, upon the steps of the Residency in Khartoum, being attacked by scores of Mahdist troops. The artist made it clear from his Autobiography that Gordon might be compared to Christ without blasphemy.

"That small dark figure, standing out against the whitewashed wall, in the dim morning light, with the

white-clad ragged dervishes eager for their prey surging up from below, is truly one of the most pathetic sights in all history. Stern determination, not unmixed with scorn, is in his whole bearing, one cannot help being reminded of that other scene in dark Gethsemane, the most momentous and tragic the world has ever seen."¹²⁷

Late Victorian heroes.

The three great heroes of the Imperialist era, Wolseley, Roberts and Kitchener, enjoyed enormous fame and popularity in Britain. The efforts of journalists and "special" artists made their exploits in the colonies very familiar to their admiring public. Many books were written detailing their achievements and exploring their personalities. In view of the unprecedented amount of coverage the late Victorian heroes received, it is remarkable that so few academic canvases were dedicated to their exploits. General Gordon, who died in 1885, was the exception to the rule as has been shown, being painted for many years after his death. Gordon's "failure" in military terms was perceived as a moral triumph by his countrymen.

Kitchener, Wolseley and Roberts were all highly efficient and successful in their undertakings. It will be argued, that although some of their personal qualities were admired, their characters did not lend themselves to romantic representations. Indeed their coolness, economy, shrewdness and opportunism, which secured them advancement and military success, did not lead them into picturesque situations involving "last stands", "final moments" or "heroic deaths". A biography of Wolseley by Reverend James Ellis in the Men with a Mission series endowed him with prosaic virtues.

"The fact of his bravery is less remarkable than his eagerness for employment. All Englishmen are brave, but

some of them are slothful. It was his industry that made Wolseley so indispensable, and thus compelled his rapid rise..."¹²⁸

The public image of Kitchener was equally worthy but uninspiring. This description by the popular Journalist G W Steevens of the Daily Mail reinforces the idea of the briskly efficient professional soldier.

"The brain and the will are the essence and the whole of the man....His precision is so inhumanly unerring, he is more like a machine than a man. You feel he ought to be patented and shown with pride at the Paris International Exhibition, British Empire: exhibit no.1. It was aptly said of him...that he is the sort of feller (sic) that ought to be made manager of the Army and Navy Stores."¹²⁹

The three great Victorian Generals all stirred up fierce loyalty in the soldiers under their command, and there was passionate rivalry between the circle of commanders around Wolseley, "the Wolseley Ring" and that of Kitchener. It was this partisanship that called into being the only major academic oil paintings dealing with a late Victorian hero. General Roberts' victories during the second Afghan war (1878-80) were the subject of five oil paintings by Vereker M. Hamilton which were exhibited at the Royal Academy. These were The Attack on the Peiwar Kotal RA 1891 ; The 92nd at Kandahar RA 1892 ; After the Attack on Sherpur RA 1893 ; An Ambuscade: An incident of the last Afghan campaign RA 1893 ; and The Guides at Sherpur 1879 RA 1894 ; painted with J B Clark. Hamilton's series was the result of a close working relationship between the hero and the artist. Hamilton's brother, Ian, was Roberts' aide-de-camp and was an ardent admirer of his chief's military achievements. Ian Hamilton formed part of the Roberts' Clique. The existence of rival factions within the late Victorian military establishment is undisputed although

there is little doubt that the divisions in policy were emphasized by the press. Ian Hamilton, in his autobiography, recalled that "Wolseley stood high in the country's esteem, was regarded as a political asset by Gladstone's administration, who ear he had and was known as "Our only General"....Inevitably Roberts attracted an equally devoted band of followers, the "Roberts' Ring" who referred to him as "England's only other General".¹³⁰ Ian Hamilton and the Roberts' Clique were continually vigilant in ensuring that the rival faction did not win all the available opportunities for glory. Wolsley's Ring was self-advertised by the books published by its members, including the gifted William Butler. It was against this background of fierce rivalry that Vereker Hamilton's series on the Second Afghan War was painted.

The Second Afghan War was Roberts' first totally independent command and he excelled himself. With a force of only 5500 British and native troops he attacked a stockade on the Peiwar Kotar of over three times as many Afghans and won. "Roberts, breaking text-book rules...had won his first battle and established his reputation."¹³¹ It was doubtless because of the brilliance of this first victory that Roberts and his circle were fond of recalling it, even ten years later. The artist met Sir Frederick Roberts at Simla in 1889. In his autobiography Things that Happened, Hamilton recounts that he expressed an interest in painting the attack on the Peiwar Kotar. The General was reportedly "enthusiastic and found a forest near Simlar exactly like the Peiwar Kotar, had a rifleman of the 5th Gurkhas sent up ~~faq~~ to act as a model and was particular to ensure that the kit and accoutrements were exactly as worn on the day of the

action." Such practical encouragement is reminiscent of the support given to Elizabeth Butler, by various senior Army officials. The difference was that Roberts was actively promoting a work commemorating his own achievement. The painting depicts the 5th Gurkhas and the 72nd Highlanders fighting their way up the hill towards Peiwar Kotar. The painting is dramatically composed. The canvas is tall and narrow with the vertical line emphasized by the stark lines of bare tree trunks. The figures are moving diagonally from the left foreground. Hamilton reinforced the sense of confusion, by blurring the figures in the mist - the rival armies emerged in the middle distance. Sharp, clean lines made by the rifles with fixed bayonets, intersect and point in opposing directions, again creating an atmosphere of chaos. A strong block of soldiers, blended into a compact group, are crouched like runners for the ascent of the hill.

The painting does not depict General Roberts himself, but must still be considered as an explicit act of homage to the hero, since his was the military genius which planned the assault. Hamilton underlined Roberts' part in the attack in the accompanying entry in the Royal Academy exhibition catalogue.

"At daybreak, on the 2nd of December, 1878, General Roberts, after an arduous night march, assaulted the left flank of the Afghan army which rested on a sharp spur, defended by strong works of felled pine and deodars. The 5th Goorkhas (sic) and the 72nd Highlanders led the assault with a dash and rapidity which drove back the enemy and turned his main position on the Peiwar Kotar."¹³³

In the following year Hamilton exhibited a picture which was also based on Roberts' exploits in the 2nd Afghan War. The 92nd at Kandahar (RA, 1892) was a battle scene, showing the Highlanders charging an enemy position. Again, Hamilton uses

the academy entry as a vehicle for praising Roberts.

"Sir Frederick Roberts' famous march from Kabul to Kandahar terminated in the complete rout of the Afghans before Kandahar on Sept 1 1880. The 92nd Gordon Highlanders were particularly prominent in this battle and captured the main position of the enemy under a heavy artillery and rifle fire."¹³⁴

Hamilton's paintings explicitly showed the violence of battle - dead or wounded bodies are strewn across his canvases. However, they are never British. In the Peiwar Kotar picture there was a substantial loss of life since the assault had been notoriously dangerous. The artist resolved the problem by prominently showing the corpse of an ally, a Gurkha. The death of an ally served to indicate the daring nature of the attack, without offending British feeling by depicting a fallen Highlander. The overt glorification of an enemy's death, found in Hamilton's pictures, was part of a general increase in violence in battle paintings discernible after about 1880. This phenomenon is discussed fully in chapter three. A shift in thought as to what constituted a battle picture must have taken place to allow a work such as Hamilton's After the Attack on Sherpur to be exhibited in 1893.¹³⁵ The convention for artists to depict the aftermath of a battle was well established. The genre took on two distinct forms; either to show the human toll of battle or to show a victorious General. Examples of the former tradition are G. Jones' Disabled soldiers in a cabaret at Waterloo a few ^{days} after the battle (RA, 1820) and more familiarly, Elizabeth Butler's The Roll Call (RA, 1874), which showed a line of men after the battle of Balaclava. In Butler's picture the human toll was implied by the poignant gaps in the ranks and pain was shown only in the facial expressions. The function of such pictures was to underline

the nature of the sacrifice made by British soldiers in the national cause. The other branch of the genre, less popular, was derived from the "Triumph" tradition - showing a leader being acclaimed by soldiers and civilians. This was generally a device for showing portraits of the victor in the appropriate setting.

Hamilton's missing picture seems to have been a radical departure from either of these two genres, being a landscape scattered with corpses. It is an indication of a desire to show Roberts and his men as devastatingly effective in killing the enemy, with no thought for conventions of good taste. It might be argued that such pictures could only have been acceptable in a public exhibition at a time when reassurance about the army was desperately needed. As has been shown above, see Chapter Three, the 1890s were a time when Britain felt increasingly under threat from the military might of Prussia and this obsession was reflected in increasingly crude battle pictures in which the British utterly crushed their enemy. Hamilton's picture seems, from this description, to have been an extreme example of this trend.

"All the villages and enclosures between Sherpur and Cabul were entirely deserted...neither in the city nor in the adjacent villages nor on the surrounding heights was a man to be seen. So hurried had been the Afghan dispersal that the dead lay unburied where they had fallen."¹³⁶

The battles and marches of Roberts' Afghan campaign are depicted by Hamilton as totally successful. The troops are completely effective and carry all before them and only the enemy or foreign allies are lost in the battles.

This case of a series of paintings coming into being through the offices of a family friend is highly

reminiscent of the Napier clan's relationship with George Jones. The vast difference in the representation of the two Generals is indicative of shifts in artistic ideas and warfare itself. In the Scinde pictures, Napier is always prominent in the action on a white horse, in the foreground. That Roberts is absent from the Afghan pictures is due to a change in policy of leadership in the post Crimean period. In the late Victorian army no commander in the field was expected to lead the men forward but was required to co-ordinate the complex components of battle from a safe place. When General Sir Ian Hamilton was recommended to receive the VC it was refused, since it was felt "an undesirable precedent to make the award to a general officer. Generals were not supposed to lead their men personally."¹³⁷ This of course had frequently been the case in earlier battles on a large scale, such as Waterloo, but the small colonial skirmishes had given young leaders a chance to demonstrate their personal courage. Artistic convention in the early part of the nineteenth century had demanded that the principal soldier be shown as the centre of action, even if this had not been technically true. Demands for historical fidelity would not allow of such a departure from the facts in late 19th-century painting. Thus in the 1880's and 90's a combination of changes in leadership style and technical accuracy abolished the hero leading his troops into battle.

The trend towards blatantly propagandist paintings was crystallized during the Boer War, as has been shown above. Hero paintings also showed a tendency to glamourize and flatter the principal character in a way that was quite new. Pictures such as Lord Dundonald's Dash on Ladysmith Cq 75

(RA, 1901) return to the idea of the hero as the man of action. Dundonald is portayed urging his men and their guns forward, at a dramatic gallop, hooves and manes flying. The image is exciting and highly romantic. According to a recent biography of the artist, Kemp-Welsh was not commissioned to do the work, but was "inspired" by accounts of the War. Similarly "jingoistic" is a painting by W. B. Wollan euphemistically entitled The Dawn of Peace showing Lord Roberts accepting the surrender of the Boers. The only heroism in the painting is implicit, the artist was relying on his audience to know of the General's actions and to applaud them. Boer war representations of battles and individual heroes do not allow of any ambiguities in the ways they can be read. The harshness of the war and the dangerous military and political climate might ^{MAKE} the "sporting" attitude to war seem unpatriotic.

The topic of the representation of heroes in nineteenth-century Academic art is extremely broad, and it has been possible here to do little more than to explore the variety of approaches which might be adopted and to suggest the trends in development of the genre over the period. It will have been seen that the "heroic" qualities of the soldier hero were not fixed but underwent a series of changes over the century. Further the appeal of the soldier hero grew increasingly large after the Crimean War, responding to the ruling-classes' ideological shifts in relation to the military as a whole.

Chapter Five.

Genre paintings of soldiers 1815 - 1914.

Introduction

The paintings in this and the subsequent chapter are grouped according to subject matter. The intention is to examine the ways in which themes based on military experience were represented. The relatively large numbers of military genre pictures makes the organisation of material problematic - military genre outnumbers battle paintings by two to one. It has been reluctantly decided that only three or four examples should be selected from the most numerous categories; these pictures ^{are} to stand for the rest and to indicate the issues which arise from the whole corpus of paintings.

Without question the most popular forms for the representation of soldiers in nineteenth century art were recruitment and desertion themes; veteran pictures and depictions of the Volunteer forces. The single largest category - representations of soldiers and civilians, usually their families, is considered separately in Chapter Six. It is intended that the military images should be examined in the context of contemporary ideologies of the army and military-civilian relations. The importance of the social and political dimensions of the themes is such that it has been decided to reduce discussion of such important issues as provenance, influences and the history of the artist to a minimum. This methodology was adopted in the hope that each section could be read as a separate essay on a genre while, at the same time, forming part of a narrative on genre-painting and the military during the nineteenth

century.

Recruitment Paintings

Genre paintings with recruitment subjects were exhibited only rarely at the Royal Academy in the period 1815-1914. The four paintings discussed below represent different aspects of the topic; the entrapment of a foolish innocent; the impact upon his family; the causes of enlistment and the impact of enlistment upon a love affair. The four subjects were by no means equally popular - entrapment pictures recur constantly until the 1880's whereas Butler's painting showing poverty as a motive for enlistment seems to have been an entirely isolated work.

Table 5:1 Recruiting scenes. RA, 1815-1914

1815: 1	1879: 1	1885: 2
1822: 2	1880: 1	1893: 1
1855: 2	1881: 1	1900: 1

Table 5:1 (above) represents the incidence of recruiting pictures at the RA. The list also includes untraced pictures whose titles imply that they were connected with recruitment or newly enlisted soldiers. As was discussed above in the Introduction it is not always possible to gauge the subjects of missing works by their titles, and the statistics given here may only be used as a rough guide. These figures are extremely low and are therefore impossible to read as firm "evidence", but a number of interesting points may be drawn from them. Recruiting subjects would seem most likely to have appeared during periods of intense military activity ie. when large-scale recruitment was being carried out. In 1855, during the Crimean war, there were two

recruiting pictures at the RA. During the years 1879 to 85 there was feverish recruiting and much media attention to military activities in the Zulu War, Second Sudan War and the Gordon rescue expedition. Intriguingly, two pictures on the subject appear in 1822, when recruitment was being slowed down and regiments disbanded after Waterloo. Clearly then it would be hasty to draw too simple a correlation between the exhibition of recruiting pictures and recruiting figures.²

A number of paintings executed early in the nineteenth century attest to the fact that recruiting was often carried out at fairs, festivals and other occasions on which there was extensive drinking. Rippingille's The Recruiting Party strikes a deceptively merry note at first glance, but the painting conveys a sombre reflection on the dangers for ³ civilians of mixing with soldiers. The most obvious source of menace comes from the recruiting party, named in the title. The methods of recruiting sergeants were notoriously corrupt and designed to ensnare young men, ignorant of the realities, into the Army. One of the most common methods practiced by recruiting sergeants was to ply their victims with drink whilst regaling them with the benefits of service, promising them handsome pay, excellent conditions and glowing prospects of promotion. These sergeants were paid according to the number of men they brought in rather than for their quality. Allan Cunningham in his Life of Sir David Wilkie launched a bitter attack on the methods of the recruiters. Cunningham's description of Wilkie's picture The Bounty Money or the Village Recruit (1804/5) stresses the use of alcohol and deception to entrap vulnerable youths.

"Some unsteady lad - crossed with love or crazed with

drink - moved by the drum, taking the enlisting shilling from the recruiting sergeant, who assured all listeners that his regiment "the most blackguard corps in the service and steady men were sure of preferment and mounting the cockade marched off in quest of glory. These are fellows who look forward to the enlistment of a fresh candidate for glory as a circumstance which may not increase the honour of the army but will put some loose silver into circulation."⁴

Implicit in Cunningham's attack is the belief that the intoxicated recruit would deeply regret his action. The Religious Tract Society was able to play upon the widespread fear among working-class people of being trapped into the army to deliver a warning against the evils of drink. The History and Adventures of Ben the Soldier published in 1816 described the terrible fate of an honest country boy who was made drunk and tricked into taking the King's Shilling. This "sober and moral lad...not used to liquor" was deeply shocked by the foul language and debased lifestyle of soldiers. Even during the Napoleonic wars, when it might have been supposed that patriotic feeling would have run high, it was impossible to find enough men to fill the ranks. The authorities were reduced to allowing the conscription of vagabonds and criminals released from prison. Anti-militarism among the labouring classes was undoubtedly increased by such practices. Only desperation or intoxication would induce a respectable labouring man to join an army made up of what Wellington described as "the scum of the earth". The Army as an institution was widely distrusted, in part because it was used to enforce the power of the ruling classes and therefore to join it was a dishonourable act. This passage, from an anonymous late eighteenth-century pamphlet, indicates that going for a soldier was believed to be undignified and unbecoming to a free English man.

"In a country like Great Britain, which at least is pretended to be free, it becomes a matter of no small surprise, that so many thousands of men should deliberately renounce the privileges and blessings attendant on Freemen, and voluntarily sell themselves to the most humiliating and degrading slavery for the miserable pittance of sixpence a day."⁹

In the immediate post-war era the feeling against the Army was strengthened by the lack of provision made for sick or wounded veterans.¹⁰

Rippingille's paintings were, for the most part, rural genre scenes with a strongly didactic element. His series of six paintings The Progress of Drunkenness (c1834) was in the tradition of Hogarth. The Recruiting Party partakes of this ruling-class view of the evils of drink among the working classes and operates in much the same way as the Religious Tract Society's story of Ben the Soldier. The difference between the two forms is that the tract was aimed at reforming working-class people whereas the painting was designed for a predominantly upper-class audience. Rippingille's picture might at first seem to pose problems of interpretation since the enemy in the picture is clearly the army and the army throughout this thesis has been taken to be an instrument for the interest of the ruling classes. In the post-Waterloo period, however, the army did suffer some diminution of favour among sections of the aristocracy and upper middle classes. The Liberal Party, in both the Commons and Lords, urged cutbacks in military expenditure. This policy was inspired, ^{by} a desire to reduce taxation and also to demonstrate that party's "traditional" opposition to a standing army. The existence of a large army in peacetime was regarded as being an affront to the liberty-loving, democratic nature of the country. It is possible to argue¹²

that despite the large extent to which army officers were integrated with the aristocracy and landed gentry, the army as an institution was sometimes treated as though it was an alien organization whose powers should be curbed for the sake of "democracy". Pictures such as Rippingille's form part of this "anti-militaristic" discourse, one which could contain an element of criticism of the army without seriously challenging the institution or moving towards its reform. Recruiting parties were the most obvious infringements of personal liberties, and after the threat of invasion by France was removed opposition groups called for
13
the abolition of such corrupt practices.

The scene of Rippingille's painting is a village green on a festival day. On one side of the picture is an inn outside which a large number of rustics are drinking. The central group is gathered ^{at} a table, a young man laughing drunkenly up at a recruiting soldier. A fresh faced lad, very much the bumpkin, has risen to his feet evidently inspired by alcohol and the soldiers' stories to enlist. A young woman watches anxiously, appalled by his action. The other groups in the picture function as "elaborators" either of the moral or of the horrible fate of the recruit. Two more soldiers court innocent young women, one meeting with disdain, the other with success. These pairs refer to the proverbial sexual immorality of soldiers, and suggest the degradation which will swiftly be the lot of the soldier (see Chapter Six below). They serve to intensify the sense of danger caused by the presence of the recruiters at the village festival.

Another group surrounds a well dressed woman, weeping and clad in mourning. The meaning here is ambiguous, but it maybe that she is the widowed mother of the new recruit,

left alone by his enlistment, or that she mourns some other lost relative. In the extreme right of the painting a decrepit figure stands at the gate of a humble cottage. This is an old soldier back from the wars, wrecked by the harsh physical conditions and the horrors of war which he has
14 experienced. The outcome of the painting is unresolved - the King's Shilling is offered on the outstretched palm of the recruiting sergeant but has not yet been accepted. The tipsy youth has folded his arms across his chest and may yield to the entreaties of his female companion in time.

Although other views of recruitment exhibited at the RA are now lost, one can get some idea of the genre from contemporary works shown at other public exhibitions.^{19.4} Henry Liverseege's The Recruit (1821) the artist also established recruitment as a doom-laden act but stressed the
15 dislocation from home necessitated by army life. Reviews of recruiting paintings suggest that this was one of the most familiar forms for the subject. Liverseege's painting is set in the interior of an inn. Two soldiers are seated at table with a young rustic lad, obviously stupified with drink. The recruiting party are watching their victim with an air of complacent amusement, indicating that they have successfully captured him. The new recruit gazes into space, oblivious of the presence of a beautiful young woman who is addressing him. Her anxious expression indicates that she is urging him not to enlist.

In this picture it is not the recruit who is the principal focus of concern but his female companion.

"Who without some touch of emotion, could gaze on the imploring countenance of the poor female, the sister of the besotted fellow, seduced by a fine cockade and glittering sword, whose friendless condition the artist

has explained in eloquent terms. She is an orphan; the tears for the misfortune of her brother fall on the mourning dress she wears for the loss of her parent. 16

The vulnerable state of the sister, without a male protector, introduced an element of tragedy into a work which would have otherwise been humorous. That she is to be read as a finer being than her brother is indicated by the different ways they are depicted. She is an idealized figure, delicately boned, pale and graceful. He is red-faced, solidly-built and glassy-eyed. Her obvious refinement would have made her more deserving of compassion to Liverseege's audience who would be able to read the signifiers for "a lady". Nevertheless, the artist demonstrated that not only would the girl be destitute but that her brother would bitterly regret his foolish action. Their possible fate is embodied in a scene glimpsed through an open door. In the kitchen an old soldier is slumped over a glass. He is plainly in poor health, with a few belongings tied in a bundle on a stick. He is of a similar build to the new recruit, but bent and worn by suffering. Most terrible, his right foot has been amputated and replaced with a crude wooden stump. He is a grim warning that the recruiting party's tales of glory and prosperity are false. The old woman, the kitchen drudge, may foretell the future of the abandoned sister.

The drama of such painting rested on the knowledge that a moment's rashness committed the recruit to more or less a lifetime's service. From 1815 to 1849 the minimum period of enlistment was twenty-one years at a time when life expectancy in the working classes was not much above forty. Twenty-one years was effectively the whole of a man's working life. A family whose son joined up was unlikely to

see or hear from him again. Contemporary authorities suggest that these images of the "unwary lads" seduced by drink were only rarely based on fact. Despite the poor wages, unhealthy conditions and harsh discipline, men were still compelled to enlist when other methods of subsistence failed. The statistics compiled by Skelley make it clear that recruiting figures improved during harsh winters or times of high
17
unemployment.

The physical conditions of military service were acknowledged to be brutal and dangerous, even compared to the harshness of civilian life. Soldiers were increasingly moved out of billets and into barracks. Conditions there were cramped and unhealthy and diseases such as "consumption" and fevers were rife. Despite the youth of the men, mortality rates were higher for soldiers than in the civilian population. Regiments on foreign tours of duty had
18
even higher rates of mortality.

Rates of pay for soldiers were theoretically generous compared with wages of rural labourers, although they did not match factory pay. Soldiers received the same basic pay from 1815 to 1847: an amount which varied according to regiment. The infantryman received one shilling per day and the cavalry in the more prestigious regiment, one shilling and
19
threepence. Military life with its rigid discipline, harsh punishment, the arduous physical exercise of drill and long periods of boredom all combined to make it the last resort for working-class men. It is clear from the memoirs of soldiers that their families were often horrified when a son enlisted. One soldier who enlisted in the early nineteenth century recorded that his mother had told him she would prefer to see him "in his grave than gone for a

" 20
soldier". Young men were driven to recruit to escape the
21
consequences of a social or civil crime.

The process of enlistment made no effort to gauge the character or aptitude of the applicant nor to weed out the unsuitable man. Apart from a physical examination, a man was merely required to affirm that he was not already a soldier, discharged for health or discipline reasons; that he was not a former prisoner nor married. It was, however,
22
very easy to enlist under a false name.

In the years after Waterloo the desire to have a higher quality of recruits, drawn from the "respectable" sections of the working class, was constantly reiterated by Army
23
commentators. The desire to get more and better recruits underlay many of the reforms in Army pay and conditions in
24
the mid-century. While, as has been shown, the image of the Army improved in middle-class eyes, there was a persistent strain of anti-militarism in the working classes as late as
25
the 1860s and 70s.

It is noteworthy that all the recruits painted in Academy genre paintings are countrymen rather than town-dwellers. In the early years of the nineteenth century it was not anachronistic to portray recruits as agricultural labourers, since at this time England was still predominantly rural. As late as the 1880s, though, the rural recruit remained ubiquitous in art. The last two paintings in this section both depict recruits from the countryside. By the end of the century a combination of rural depopulation, especially in Ireland and Scotland, and increasing organisation of the population had almost abolished the rural recruit. National statistics for the city/country ratio of recruits are not

available until 1907, by which time the rural labourer
represented a mere 11% of new recruits. It is reasonable to
assume that this trend had begun decades earlier and was not
a recent phenomenon.

The preponderance of the country boy in academic images of recruiting may, in part, be attributed to the traditions of genre painting. Artistic conventions, dating back through the eighteenth century to Dutch art, established peasants as the subjects for humorous or nostalgic depiction. But as John Barrell has shown, after the 1770's "the comic was deliberately and almost entirely expelled from the art, as
it was from the poetry of rural life".²⁷ Barrell argues that the literature of the late eighteenth century was "continually anxious to take the problem of rural poverty seriously as a problem: it offers to take a more benevolent
indeed a more guilty attitude towards their sufferings".²⁸ By the mid-late nineteenth century, the concern of the ruling classes had shifted to the problem of urban poverty. In particular the vast aggregates of working people in the individual cities represented a great threat to social order. Artistic representations of the country retained the late eighteenth-century seriousness and increasingly occupied a position as the epitome of Britain. Raymond Williams points out that in the novels of George Eliot and Anthony Trollope there is a "return" to a rural idealised England in which

"...a natural country ease is contrasted with an unnatural urban unrest. The "modern world", both in its suffering and crucially in its protest against suffering, is mediated by reference to a lost condition which is better than both and which can replace both: a condition imagined out of a landscape and a selective observation and memory."²⁹

The working-class rural dweller was believed to have

retained the virtues of an earlier age of social harmony. Army authorities extolled the virtues of the rural recruit over his urban counterpart. Traditionalists saw the agricultural labourer as likely to uphold the pre-Reform theory of the Army as officered by "gentlemen" from the landed gentry, "served" by peasants from their country estates. Officers giving evidence to the commission on Military Punishments (1836) praised the agricultural recruits as "more malleable, more obedient and more contented with their lot".³⁰ Town recruits were believed to be sharper, with more initiative and were therefore less desirable as soldiers.

"Recruits who are enlisted in the manufacturing districts and large towns are frequently idle and dissolute and require all the means in the power of their officers to correct the intemperate and vicious habits in which they have indulged and to enforce subordination."³¹

It is clear that the ruling classes, after the terrifying social upheaval which preceded the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832, were anxious about the revolutionary potential in the towns. Army officers shared the prejudice of their class which idealized the rural labourer. The physical condition of men from country districts was superior to their "slum bred counterparts".³² Rural pursuits such as animal husbandry and outdoor labour were felt to prepare men for soldiering. In 1903 L. S. Amery complained that "though war is pre-eminently the open air profession, very little is done to change the soldier from a townsman into a countryman".³³

Implicit in this enthusiasm for the rural recruit is the sense that the relation of the rural recruit to the army was unproblematic, almost "natural". The problem soldiers are those from cities, those who come from "unnatural"

environments. This implied equation effectively removes any possible anxieties about the army as an institution or the British working man as an ideal soldier - for in the "natural" state of things no problem would exist.

It is in the context of these two interrelated mythologies that W.H. Gore's picture Listed (RA. 1885) must be ^{Fig 48} considered. A handsome young countryman, the perfect recruit, is comforting his sweetheart having just enlisted for the army. The picture was deliberately anachronistic since his enlistment is denoted by the ribbons in his hat. The landscape against which the couple is placed, is painted in a misty post-Impressionist technique. The soft edges and pastel colours, influenced by Bastien-Lepage,³⁴ suggest a reading of the picture as a rural paradise. There is none of the drama of the two much earlier enlistment paintings. It might be usefully argued that since, in the 1880's, enlistment was no longer perceived by the middle classes as a punishment for moral crimes it would have been meaningless to present the man's enlistment as a tragedy. Gore has scaled down the drama into a romantic conflict between patriotic duty and private sentiment. This theme is more frequently found in paintings of a soldier off to the wars (see Chapter Six). This latter genre is most often found in the last half of the century and is different from the enlistment genre in that it encompasses both the officer class and the ranks. Since officers before 1871 did not "enlist" but bought their commissions no middle-class equivalents of the Rippingille genre were made.

The final picture is 'Listed for the Connaught Rangers' ^{Fig 49} RA. 1879. Butler depicted two Irish peasants marching away

from their native glen, accompanied by a recruiting party. In part, Butler's picture can be interpreted as a celebration of the Irish contribution to the British Army. Ireland and Scotland remained relatively unindustrialised throughout the nineteenth century, and during the agricultural depressions of the 1830's and '40's, large numbers of men from these areas enlisted rather than emigrate or face unemployment. After this date the number of Irish recruits declined.

"In 1830 and 1840 over half of the non-commissioned officers and men came from Scotland and Ireland. By 1912 79.6% of the NCO's and men were either English or Welsh."35

The reason for the dramatic drop in recruits in the late forties was the beginning of large-scale emigration to America. The typical emigrant was the young, strong, unattached male, exactly the type who might previously have joined the Army. By the late 1870's then, the country boy who "went for a soldier" was a thing of the past. In the case of the Gore painting the style of execution suggests a vision which was nostalgic and idealising. Butler's was painted with a sense of anger about the social conditions that had forced the large-scale enlistment of Irishmen. The artist first visited Ireland in 1878, while on a honeymoon tour with her Irish Catholic husband. Her published account of her trip through the west of Ireland refers to her sense of outrage at the depopulation of rural districts. She noted the sad contrast between the abandoned peasant cottages and the fertile beauty of the landscape.

"The village was deserted in the awful famine year of '47, some of the inhabitants creeping away in fruitless search for work and food, to die further afield, others simply sinking down on the home sod that could give them nothing but the grave."36

Butler might have added that the other alternative was to join the British Army. Her painting explicitly juxtaposed her written image of the famine, the abandoned cottage, with the new recruits. This pictorial reference to the motives for enlistment seems to have been unique and is problematic for its implicit criticism of the British Government's handling of the Irish famines. No review chose to recognise the painting as a critique of British policy. The artist experienced a similar lack of outrage when she exhibited a scene showing an Irish woman being evicted and her cottage
³⁷ burned. The artist recorded that she waited "with bated breath" for the reviews of the Academy. The few reviews which referred to the painting did so only to praise the
³⁸ "truthfulness" of the landscape.

Butler's brother in law, the radical Catholic author Wilfred Meynell, referred to the picture in his short biography of the artist. It must be assumed that she concurred with his description of her recruits as

"noble types....They leave their native glen with a tender regret concealed under masculine reserve and march with a steadfastness, but yet with a melancholy in keeping with the atmosphere and the scene....Lady Butler's young peasant recruits have been obliged to confess themselves beaten in the fight with poverty...."³⁹

Meynell's description of the picture, though hedged about with apology, confirms that the artist intended the picture as an attack on the British handling of the Irish. By the time Meynell was writing, in 1898, the Irish situation had deteriorated, and it was even less acceptable to describe the Irish people as "noble peasants". Meynell's language is extremely revealing. In this passage he uses terms which serve to draw attention to the violent history of Ireland, rather than to deflect criticism from the painter's choice

of pictorial elements.

"In the midst of the wild glen a disroofed cabin or two stand as a sign; and these poor wrecks are not introduced into the picture by any violence, or for the sake of forcing a dramatic effect. Glens like this have their disroofed cabins as a common incident of their deepened solitudes. Nor has the artist put any great emphasis upon the pathos of such a vestige of defeat; the hopeful young soldier, who casts a glance upon one of the lost homes of his people does not march to his own new life with an enfeebled heart."⁴⁰

This interesting episode suggests that critics were either unwilling or unable to read Academy paintings as attacking the status quo, and that "protest" pictures were not recognised as such, but were always related to the closest traditional genre.

Butler's realisation of the figures of her two recruits was in the heroic style: they are tall, handsome, and of noble bearing. This conception of the poor as heroic in their struggle against circumstance was part of a new trend in British art. The "Social Realist" painters, Fildes, Holl and Herkomer, all depicted the underprivileged as heroic. This treatment of the working classes would have been impossible before 1860/70 when the poor were depicted as diverting or touching, suitable only for inclusion in essentially frivolous genre paintings. This new form for the representation of the poor in art was, importantly, linked to the assimilation of French Realism in British painting.⁴¹

It will be seen that recruiting paintings appeared in a number of forms in the nineteenth century and were modified to adapt to changing mythologies of the Army and society. This mutability of forms will be explored in the other genres below.

Desertion Paintings

The problem of recruitment, as has been shown,

consistently haunted Army administrators in the nineteenth century. It has been shown that many Army reforms were motivated by the need to attract more working-class recruits. To prevent serving men leaving the ranks was obviously an important task. Desertion, the absconding of new recruits or serving men, was another major preoccupation of the military authorities through-out the period. It will be suggested that the attitude of the ruling classes towards deserters did not remain consistent and that those shifts in ideology were, in different ways, discernible in Academic representations of the subject.

The scale of the desertion problem was enormous. The number of enlisted men who actually served in the ranks was rarely higher than 66%. Statistics for the period 1860-82 show that between 20 to 36% of recruits failed on medical grounds or did not match up to the minimum height requirement, although the standards of both tests were very low. A small number of recruits "paid smart money", that is they were bought out by their friends. The only area where "wastage" was preventable was desertion. Brian Bond asserts that in 1843 1510 men were reported to have deserted; in 1862 - 2895 and, during the period 1872-9, there was an average of 5000 deserters a year, of which perhaps half either re-enlisted or were captured.

No single cause can have motivated desertion on such a huge scale. In popular literary accounts romantic or family ties were almost always given as the cause of the crime. The small body of documentary evidence on the subject suggests that it was more likely to ^{have} been motivated by dissatisfaction with the Army. There seems to have been a series of crisis

points at which desertion was most likely to occur. The period immediately after the first encounter with the recruiting party was a common time for the Army to lose men, often because the lad had not seriously wished to enlist or had done so under the influence of alcohol. Once the process of attestation had taken place the new soldier was paid "bounty money". Certain criminals seemed to have perfected the process of absconding with the bounty money and then enlisting elsewhere. Fortescue cites the example of a man 45 who claimed to have enlisted forty-seven times.

The first year in the service seems to have been another critical time when desertion was likely to occur. Of the 30,889 desertions in the period 1872-9, three-fifths were by 46 men in their first year. The incidence of desertion decreased according to the age of the recruit. In 1843 there were 1510 deserters of whom only 147 were over the age of 47 25. These statistics build up a profile of very young men unable to cope with, or disillusioned by, Army life. The power-system within the army made it easy for unprincipled non-commissioned officers and officers to defraud men under their control. A former sergeant in the Rifle Brigade conjures up a vivid picture of these men, too poor to make existence bearable with extra food, beer and tobacco.

"...When he comes in from his harrassing drill, he is often seen to sit cheerless and melancholy in the corner of his room, brooding over his poor and penniless condition. The poor fellow...often takes it into his head to desert." 48

It is likely that older recruits would be better able to defend themselves against unscrupulous pay sergeants who tried to take away their pay in "stoppages".

Bullying was probably another major factor in desertions. Sir Charles Napier, writing in 1837, inveighed against the

application of harsh physical punishments in peacetime, on the grounds that "some commanding officers added petty tyrannical acts of various kinds that were likely enough to drive good men into mutiny and desertion."⁴⁹ The system by which extra duties or punishments were meted out was left to the discretion of sergeants and officers. Members of the ranks could suffer terribly at the hands of vindictive superiors. This type of abuse was hard to control and was not eradicated by the various army reforms. Archibald Forbes, war correspondent and journalist on military affairs, dealt with this problem in one of a series of sketches about army life. A Deserter's Story was allegedly based on a true story, but was written in the first person "for greater directness and realism".⁵⁰ The hero is a Yorkshire youth who has settled happily into the army. Forbes represents him as the ideal soldier - steady, but ambitious, going to the regimental school with a view to promotion. His promising career is blighted when an enemy is promoted from the ranks to corporal and "commenced a regular system of annoyance and oppression".⁵¹ The vindictive corporal causes the hero to be flogged and jailed until, goaded into fury, the Yorkshire hero attacks his oppressor and deserts the army. Forbes takes a very favourable ^{view} of the deserter and portrays him as justified in his actions.

"Now, my object in penning these rough lines is this. Don't when you see a poor devil marched passed you with the darbies on and a file of men with fixed bayonets on either side of him - don't, I say, always shrug your soldiers and say "there goes a Queen's hard bargain". If you were to get at the root of the truth, you might find that at least a proportion had been baited to ruin by the tyranny of non-commissioned officers."⁵²

This move to shift responsibility for desertion onto a fellow soldier is a common feature of literary

representations of deserters, and is reflective of an interest in the psychology and private lives of soldiers. Forbes' short stories are forerunners of Kipling's later stories of soldiers in India.

53

In both light literature and official commentaries soldiers are discussed as though they were eternally fixed in the profession after enlistment. It seems clear, from other sources, that some members of the working classes who joined the ranks, regarded the Army as a temporary means of escape from straightened circumstances. By joining the Army, the man was often moved, free of charge, to another district where work was available or better paid. "Of the 16 men who deserted from the 36th Depot in August 1840, some were thought to be engaged in honest work in the neighbouring countries."⁵⁴ If necessary, the man would rejoin under another name when the winter set in. The pattern of desertions changed with an overseas posting. It was noted that many desertions took place in the furlough prior to sailing.⁵⁵ Fear of disease and prolonged separation from family made overseas service unpopular. It is not known how many men used the Army to get a free passage to a new life overseas.

"...others desert from regiments in North America from that cause (boredom) and the inducements held out by the Americans of land and independence".⁵⁶

The brief details outlined above suggest the complexity of the motivations for desertion. As has been shown, some writers were interested in showing that internal factors in military life could cause desertion and, as in Forbes' short story, the deserter was represented as an innocent victim of oppression in the period prior to about 1875. The process of

making a deserter into an object of compassion effectively displaced him from the position of anti-establishment threat. Disaffected soldiers, with weapon training and military knowledge, were potentially a dangerous element in radical unrest. Forbes' story represents one of a range of strategies for defusing the threat.

Table 5:2 Deserter paintings at the RA,

1817: 1	1868: 1	1882: 1
1847: 1	1872: 1	1889: 1
1861: 1	1881: 1	1908: 1

As with the recruitment paintings, the statistics for desertion pictures are quite low and cannot be treated as evidence of surges of interest in the genre. It is noticeable however, that the occurrence of the paintings is more even. Prior to the Army Reform Act, which will here be taken as the crucial dividing line, the desertion pictures do not coincide with specific military events such as wars. In the post-Reform era, when desertion was increasingly constructed as a crime by ruling class commentators, the genre comparatively declines, and seems to recur at time of high military activity.

57

All the deserter pictures discussed here show the culprit in the context of his domestic life. There are, however, subtle shifts in the emphasis and meaning within this relationship. It will be contended that, in the pre-Reform era, 1815-c 1855, home was shown as the place of refuge for the deserter but not as the reason for his act. It could be argued that before the soldier was transformed into a respectable working-class hero in popular bourgeois mythology, it was not necessary to offer powerful extenuating circumstances for desertion. Or, because the

Army had such low status in some sections of the ruling class, especially Radical and Liberal circles, desertion did not require exculpation. Moreover pictorial conventions established in the eighteenth century made the genre familiar and unproblematic.

George Moreland's famous and influential series of four paintings, The Deserter (1789) showed a country lad being intoxicated and entrapped by unscrupulous recruiting sergeants. The subsequent picture depicted the same lad, as a deserter, hiding under his wife's bed, being recaptured; the third a touching parting between the deserter, his wife and baby; and the final one a happy scene in which the deserter is pardoned by a kind General. Despite the element of comedy in the scenes, the sympathy of the viewer is aroused. This is undoubtedly because of the unscrupulous way the deserter was tricked, against his real wish, into the Army. In the early nineteenth century, deserter pictures drew upon the familiarity of such images as Moreland's Deserter series and could be read in very much the same way.

A critic writing of Redgrave's now lost work The Deserter's Home, 1847, noted that the work succeeded in arousing the viewer's sympathy despite the criminal nature of desertion. The critic located the focus of the picture, and therefore presumably the sympathy, as the family.

"...the consternation into which a family is thrown by the arrival of soldiers in search of their relative...who has taken refuge among them."⁵⁸

This concern for the feelings of the soldier's family is again rooted in the mythology of the simple rural cottage as the fount of moral rectitude, uncorrupted by the vices of the city. The motives of the deserter are not mentioned. It

may be that Redgrave's ruling-class audience would have assumed that a decent country boy would wish to escape from the brutal conditions of the Army, or that soldiers were "black sheep" prone to commit such crimes. There are no other reviews or contemporary writings to clarify this point. In any case, the drama of the picture was off-loaded onto the family's responses, shifting away any need to debate the morals of the deserter.

One of the few "deserter pictures" exhibited at the RA which has been traced was Hugh Collins' In Close Pursuit of a Deserter: the 42nd Highlanders. Redgrave's picture must have been very similar to this work by Collins, since it shows a number of soldiers, in a rural cottage, searching for a deserter. An elderly woman wearing a quaint peasant costume is gesturing denial of the whereabouts of the deserter. She has her back to the viewer so that her interlocutor, a fine Highlander, is facing outwards. Two other soldiers are seen entering other rooms of the cottage. On the left, hidden behind a chair and his mother's skirts, is the deserter, also in Highland uniform. He is peering out to exchange anxious glances with his wife, who is kneeling by a cradle attending to their baby.

The painting is intensely dramatic because of this silent communication between the deserter and his wife. It is possible that the garment in the cradle is the deserter's shirt and this indicates that the soldiers will recapture him. Since there were no reviews of the work, it is difficult to reconstruct the ways in which it might have been read. The most heroic figures in the picture are the Highland soldiers. Their handsome, manly stance suggests that they should be read as partaking of the mythology of

the heroic Highland soldier. It has been shown, above in chapter three, that these regiments had special glamour as romantic warriors in the Scottish revival. The figure of the deserter is crouched in a pose usually indicative of cowardice. His mitigating circumstances are his beautiful wife and child and his old mother who boldly defends him.

Between the 1847 picture by Redgrave, and the 1868 work by Collins, a shift of meaning seems to have taken place. The new construction of the Army as a noble and patriotic institution forced the criminal aspect of the crime into greater relief. The hunting soldiers in Moreland's pictures are neutral figures, in Collins' work they are the embodiment of fine military manhood. The deserter, by leaving the Army, is shown as an unworthy character. Post-Crimean/ Reform era treatments of desertion had to accommodate the new mythology of soldiers as heroes - the deserter would have to be shown as a criminal or delinquent in some way or as being driven to desert for reasons which overrode military law.

The deserter in T.W. Marshall's Absent Without Leave was presented as having made his choice for "natural" reasons. This canvas, which is also now lost, was exhibited accompanied by a long passage, purportedly a "quotation" from a private letter, the author and date of which is not cited.

"Our circle has been much interested in the case of a young soldier who is to be tried for desertion....he received a letter from his sister informing him of the dangerous illness of his mother and earnestly begged for leave to visit her, which his commanding officer sternly refused him. Unable to resist the calls of filial love, he decamped in the night and made his way over many miles to his rural home. He was, of course, soon followed and brought back as a deserter."⁶¹

The accompanying narrative is designed to present the deserter as an object for sympathy. Like the "steady" Yorkshire lad in Forbes' story the desertion takes place because of the inhumane actions of a superior officer. The deserter in Marshall's picture has acted in accordance with the "natural law" of filial love, only when military law is too rigidly enforced. This device for showing the deserter as moved by familial emotion not only obviates the necessity of considering desertion as a crime, but locates the deserter in a safe environment - the rural home. The blame for the desertion is shifted onto the "stern" officer, who acts partially and against the laws of "natural" instinct. In genre paintings of the military the figure of the mother is often used as a foil for the harshness of war. A reference may be made here to Campbell's poem,⁶² of 1809., in which a British "tar" attempted to escape from a Napoleonic gaol to see his old, blind, sick mother. The mention of this "extenuating" circumstance makes the fierce Emperor relent and the sailor is set free. This type of sentiment is implied to be international and universal - the love and reverence of the resolute, warlike soldier for the gentle yielding mother. In its setting up of two "opposite" natures - the stronger of which voluntarily bows to the weaker - this notion is obviously derived from nineteenth-century notions of chivalry. Intermixed with chivalric ideals is the ideology of the perfection of the Family and especially its heart - the Mother. The officer who refuses his permission for the soldier to visit his dying mother is therefore opposing important ruling-class ideologies and is thus himself "guilty". His guilt in no way reflects on the Army. It is not to be inferred that the Army is an inhumane institution,

since only one person within it has misused his power. This Academic painting raises the issue of desertion but handles it in such a way as to avoid any extension of the discussion beyond the realm of the personal. The neat equation between cause and effect disposes of the problem.

Henshall's A Deserter (1881) is unique in removing the ^{Fig 51} deserter from both the rural and the domestic setting. A recaptured man escorted by two guards is depicted in a railway carriage. A young woman, dressed in dark, possibly ^A mourning clothes, is sitting weeping by his side. The reading of the picture is confused by the figures of the guards, who seem neither positively pleasant nor unpleasant - but detached from the drama. The only critic to review the painting when it was first exhibited, found it difficult to place in any familiar context.

"The fourth gallery (at the RA exhibition) is singularly devoid of interest. Mr J. H. Henshall's Deserter representing the culprit being taken back to his regiment, his sweetheart vainly trying to comfort him is carefully drawn and painted but fails in striking the right note, perhaps the best thing in the picture is the care with which one of the guards is lighting his pipe - a little piece of nature cleverly expressed."⁶³

The military crime of desertion - the leaving of Service without permission - was limited to soldiers serving in the ranks. Millais' The Peace Concluded is unique among Academy ^{Fig 52} representations as a picture painted to attack officers who deserted their duties during the Crimean war. William Holman Hunt explained the motivation behind the original form of the painting.

"During the war it had become a scandal that several officers with family influence had managed to get leave to return on "urgent private affairs", Millais had felt with others the gracelessness of this practice when such liberty could not be afforded to the simple soldier and he undertook a picture to illustrate the luxurious nature of these "private affairs".⁶⁴

Millais, in undertaking this subject, was responding to Holman Hunt's lead in painting "Modern-life" pictures, dealing with contemporary social themes. Hunt's The Awakening Conscience, exhibited at the RA, in 1854, had depicted a "fallen woman", ruined by a rich young gentleman from the upper classes. Millais' anti-hero was also from this social group, a group currently being attacked by the middle classes as dissolute and corrupt. Millais and Holman Hunt were both from this respectable bourgeois background and more important both men had concerned themselves with radical political movements such as Chartism. Millais' attack on the officer class was part of a broader assault on the "attitudes, lifestyle and competence of the officer corps...voiced increasingly as the war proved unexpectedly protracted and as the sufferings of the troops became all too apparent".⁶⁶ Millais depicted his officer in a beautiful, very comfortable parlour "being caressed by his wife, and their infant children were themselves the substitutes of the laurels which he ought to be gathering".⁶⁷ In its original form the painting was meant to show that this man had fled from the unpleasantness and discomfort of war on the slender pretext of "urgent private affairs". The irony of the painting lay in the man's air of comfortable relaxation.

The painting did not appear in this form at the Royal Academy. According to Holman Hunt, the conclusion of the war made its anti-officer sentiment inappropriate. "The call for satire on carpet heroes was out of date, the painter adroitly adapted his work to the changing circumstances...."⁶⁸ The cowardly villain was turned into a wounded hero, who had been forced by ill health to return

from the Front.

"A Crimean officer, returned home, is reading the news of peace in the Times. One of his two little girls has brought out her Noah's Ark, and is displaying the animals emblematic of the warring powers - lion, cock, turkey and arctic bear - concluding the array with the dove bearing the olive branch. The other looks with childish intentness at papa, as though she had hardly got well-acquainted with him yet."⁶⁹

There is evidence that some contemporary reviewers found the painting difficult to read in its revised form because "the gentleman on the sofa reminds us of one of Leech's languid swells..."⁷⁰ The critic was evidently puzzled as to why a figure which was closely based on a type lampooned by the Punch cartoonist should be represented in such a positive manner.

"We are told that the picture was originally intended to be entitled "Urgent Private Affairs" and if intended as a satire upon military imbecility, there may have been more point in the original conception than appears in the work as now finished"⁷¹

Millais' reasons for making so vital a change were stated by Hunt to have been that the conclusion of the war made the satire out of date. This remark implies that once peace was declared, all adverse criticism of the Crimean leadership ceased. This was patently not the case since the abolition of Purchase lobby continued to fuel itself on the misconduct of the war for the next fifteen years. However, after peace negotiations had begun in February 1856, powerful parties withdrew their support from the anti-officer campaign, fearing that too radical reforms would result from the agitation. The McNeill and Tullock Commission published its report in January 1856, criticising certain important officers in the Crimea, among whom were Lords Raglan and Cardigan.⁷² Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister, was caught between the censure of the Commons and the powerful defence

of the officers from the House of Lords, the Army and the Queen. The Crown's attitude towards the conduct of senior officers in the Crimea had radically shifted once it was clear that the Allies were free from the danger of defeat. The Queen, who had been "deeply concerned" at the suffering of the troops, now regarded organised attacks on the Army as likely to endanger the traditional nature of that institution and her personal control over it. Since it was chiefly Radical members of parliament who led the attack, the Queen feared the reform of the Army as an undermining of the status quo. Under pressure from the Crown, Lord Palmerston arranged a Commission of Enquiry, which effectively absolved everyone from blame. Such was the political climate in which Millais worked to finish his Academy entry for 1856. It is clear that the time for exhibiting a satirical attack on an Army officer had passed. Millais' adroit adaptation of the picture demonstrates his ability to gauge the sentiment of his upper/middle-class audience, a facility which was to bring him financial and social success.

The paintings discussed in this section show that the image of the "deserter" underwent important changes in meaning in the period 1840-1880. At the same time elements of the genre altered very little. The difference in reading and meaning was based on contemporary ideologies of the Army as an institution.

Representations of the veteran 1815 - 1914

At the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1814, and a year later, after Waterloo, large numbers of soldiers were discharged from the army and were returned to Britain. There was very little State provision for the care of veterans. A soldier who was wounded or disabled by military service was discharged...

"...with, if he were fortunate a permanent pension and consigned in theory to the care of relatives or friends. The size of the award depended on the nature and extent of his afflictions. The inadequacies of Army pensions and the fact that after several years military service many had no friends or relatives upon whom to depend led them to destitution or the workhouse."76

The able bodied ex-soldier rarely had any trade which would help him find employment in civilian life .

"If they were fortunate, they were employed by the Government or by hotels and hospitals as caretakers and porters; certain industries, notably the chemical, also employed soldiers because they laid stress on habits of punctuality and unquestioning obedience. But the majority of former soldiers drifted down into the ranks of casual labour."77

The presence of this rootless group of fighting men, who did not for the most part return to their previous homes, was a source of real anxiety to members of the ruling class.

"When peace was made with France and a large portion of our Army disbanded, everybody expressed their opinion that there would be a vast number of robberies committed and it was well known that old arms for the defence of houses such as blunderbusses etc. sold at a comparatively high price in London as a consequence of the apprehension." 78

Social disturbances in the form of demonstrations and riots had been common during the Napoleonic wars; mostly in protest against high level food prices. Government feared that working -class unrest would become more violent and effective with the help of discharged soldiers. It was noted that a large number of ex-soldiers and sailors were present

at a radical meeting at Coldbath Fields, 2nd December 1816,
79
at which some speakers urged revolution. As well as the veterans, some serving members of the forces were at the meeting. One optimistic Radical leader believed that "The Army was on the edge of mutiny, not only because of the grievances of the soldiers but also because of general
80
sympathy with the people." One section of this meeting marched away to the Tower of London, where they urged the soldiers to mutiny and hand over the arsenal. They did not, the attempt at Revolution failed but the incident demonstrated to the authorities that disaffected soldiers, serving or retired, were potentially very dangerous elements in political unrest. There were already in existence laws designed to prevent the political subversion of soldiers. In 1803 a kind of hysteria had broken out when it was alleged that there was a radical organisation within the army conspiring to seize power. One Colonel Despard and six guardsmen were executed. The Crown stated that "no fewer than 300 soldiers in the third Battalion of the Guards and
81
thirty or forty in the first Battalion were involved." The threat of the veteran lay in the fact that he was a trained soldier whose activities could not be controlled by threat of the death penalty or the lash.

A Select Commission on Mendicancy was set up to inquire into the large numbers of former servicemen begging on the streets of London. In its report, published May 1816, the commission concentrated on the criminal actions of certain Chelsea outpensioners who were beggars despite drawing a
82
pension. No remark was made about the much larger numbers of unpensioned soldiers who had no other resource but to beg. The tone of the report was reproachful of the lack of

gratitude among the Chelsea outpensioners and included, by implication, those who had no cause to feel grateful. The commissioners seem to have been typical of ruling class commentators who dwelt on the minority of pensioners at Chelsea to the exclusion of the less fortunate majority. Artists who painted veterans for Academy pictures in the nineteenth century followed the lead of civil and military authorities in giving the Chelsea Hospital pensioners undue prominence. Of the forty veteran paintings listed in Appendix Two, eighteen specifically refer to Chelsea Pensioners or those at the Irish Sister Institution, Kilmainham. It is estimated that the number of ex-soldiers in Britain never fell below 50,000 in the nineteenth century whereas the number of Chelsea pensioners never exceeded 500,
83 including outpensioners.

The foundation of a Royal Military Hospital at Chelsea had taken place in 1681 by order of King Charles II. It was popularly believed to have been instigated by the King's mistress Nell Gwynne. The tale of how her warm ^ehart had been moved by the plight of destitute soldiers remained popular, despite the efforts of nineteenth-century historians to
84 discredit it. This romantic story about the hospital's foundation is symptomatic of its happy image. It was regarded with complacency, its picturesque customs and costumes were popular subjects for writers and painters. Since the hospital, funded by the Government, provided home, support and security for 500 ex-soldiers it could be seen that the State was mindful of its obligation to its ex-soldiers. A further larger body of about 1500 men were outpensioners who received money but lived outside the

institution. Disquiet concerning the political activities of ex-soldiers did not extend to Chelsea pensioners. They were regarded as completely intergrated into the State, happy recipients of charity. Only men with unblemished Army records, usually non-commissioned officers, were admitted to the Hospital, a fact which, with the average age of 65, ensured that only non-revolutionary ex-soldiers became ⁸⁶ Chelsea inmates. Furthermore the remote location of Chelsea ensured that they were protected from political contagion from the City and Westminster.

In the first three decades after Waterloo, Chelsea Pensioners provided reassuring "evidence" of the State's munificent treatment of old soldiers. They became symbolic of the "deserving poor" who received just treatment from the nation. By 1839 Chelsea Hospital had become a tourist attraction, with the pensioners living exhibits in the military museum. The Chaplain, G.R.Gleig, in his guide to the Hospital, recommended that the tourist should visit on Wednesday or Friday.

"It rarely happens that, out of a body of five hundred invalids, one or two are not committed every week to the dust and Wednesday and Friday being here canonical days for interments you may chance to be present at the ceremony."⁸⁷

The burial ceremony was warmly recommended as an experience both touching and picturesque.

"Of levity during the performance of any portion of divine service, I have never observed among soldiers a tittle. On the contrary their manner is always subdued and respectful - such as becomes men who are not unaware that with them "life is indeed in the midst of death" (sic)....Examine the countenances of these men minutely; and as they stand uncovered, there is ample opportunity of doing so."⁸⁸

Gleig's discussion of the Chelsea Pensioners makes it clear that he believes all soldiers to have this "subdued and

"respectful" demeanour. The Chelsea Pensioner is at once the ideal soldier of ruling-class mythology and is frequently discussed as if he were all soldiers. It is probable that ex-soldiers who did not live in sheltered State run Hospitals receiving a pension and going respectfully to church were regarded as being exceptional and delinquent. Since middle-class authorities would only occasionally encounter such a veteran, a Chelsea Pensioner would appear to be the rule rather than the exception.

David Wilkie's painting of Chelsea Pensioners receiving ^{Q9 52} the London Gazette Extraordinary of Thursday June 22nd 1815, announcing the Battle of Waterloo (RA, 1822) drew upon the public's acceptance of the Chelsea Pensioners as a group of typically loyal, patriotic veterans. Wilkie's picture was one of the most popular ever exhibited at the RA, requiring ⁸⁹ a barrier to protect it from the thronging crowds. No doubt this great interest was stimulated in part by the fact that it had been commissioned by the great Duke of Wellington from the famous Wilkie.

"When it was known that Wilkie was engaged on a picture for the Duke of Wellington of a military nature, great was the stir in the ranks of the army and likewise in society: The current of a heady fight was in the fancy of some, while others believed he would choose the field after the battle was fought and show the mangled relics of war....But no-one guessed that out of the wooden legs, mutilated arms and the pension lists of old Chelsea, he was about to evoke a picture which the heart of the nation would accept as a remembrance of Waterloo, a battle which had filled the eyes of Britain with mingled gladness and tears."⁹⁰

The stages of the evolution of Wilkie's picture are recorded in Cunningham's biography, using the artist's letters and journals. It is clear that the initial commission from the Duke, in 1816, stipulated that the subject was to show British Soldiers Regaling at

Chelsea. The Duke evidently expected one of Wilkie's Dutch-influenced genre pictures of peasants merry-making. Wilkie was deeply admired by his contemporaries as the "English Teniers", an artist whose work was already in the Duke's collection.⁹² When Wilkie went to Chelsea to research material for the picture he recorded his interest in the pensioners there.⁹³ It is possible that his idea of linking them to the news of Waterloo was derived from an earlier work by the well known Bristol artist Edward Bird.⁹⁴ Wilkie's innovation was to reinforce the link between a contemporary victory and old soldiers and to anchor both to the institution at Chelsea. The result elevated a genre subject to history painting by relating the great events of history to the lives of historically insignificant individuals. Kenneth Bendiner has suggested that Wilkie's approach "relates world events to the experience of the average man and suggests a coming to terms with mass society; it gives a hint of the force of nationalism in which "the people" take on a singular importance."⁹⁵ Bendiner has conflated the pictorial representation of lower-class men with the notion that it was them, "the people", whose actions and emotions led to the growth of the mythology of patriotism. It seems that Wilkie's representation of "the people" partakes of the mythology of working-class patriotism and is important in reasserting it in a reassuringly believable way. Wellington's selection of Chelsea veterans was crucial in focusing on a group who were "known" to be patriotic and loyal. Wilkie's picture effectively exploited that "knowledge" and reinforced it.

Wilkie's journals reveal that the Duke wanted the artist

to represent Chelsea veterans as youthful and healthy. When asked to choose between two sketches the Duke

"...preferred the one with the youthful figures; but as Mr Long remonstrated against the old fellows being taken out, the Duke agreed that the man reading should be a pensioner, besides some others in the picture. He wished that the piper might be put in, also the man with the wooden leg; but he objected to the man with the ophthalmia".⁹⁶

Wellington was clearly unwilling for distressing reminders of war to mar his painting. Wilkie published, in the RA catalogue, a guide to the military careers of all the principal figures in the painting, enumerating their former regiments and campaigns.

"These ranged from the pensioner reading the Gazette, who had served at Quebec under Wolfe; to the black bandsman who had fought against the French Republic..."⁹⁷

The Chelsea Pensioners in the painting, then, were invoked as an expert audience who would authenticate Waterloo as a great event. This was particularly important since after Waterloo his political enemies claimed that his political achievements had been exaggerated.⁹⁸

Despite the reference to Chelsea Pensioners in the title of the picture, only seven of the sixty odd figures are obviously elderly or invalid soldiers, the only inmates of the hospital. The scene is outside an inn and most of the figures are young. The most prominent figure in the foreground is a young soldier, tossing his baby in the air in celebration of the good news. Youth and beauty are also represented in the figures of two young women. Wilkie has counteracted any sense of waste or despair in the decrepit by filling the picture with youthful happiness. The central group of the soldiers, including the veterans, is broken up with lively effect, by the variety of pictorial types and

bright costumes.

When the picture was exhibited at the R. A. in 1822 it was highly acclaimed. The large scale of the painting (6 x 7 feet); the reference to Waterloo and the status of the owner all precluded its treatment as a genre painting. The "Committee of Arrangement", the Academicians in charge of hanging the exhibition, placed the picture where it would have maximum significance as an assertion of national triumph, "with Jackson's portrait of the Duke of York on one side and Lawrence's portrait of the Duke of Wellington on the other."⁹⁹ Situated between portraits of the Commander in Chief and the Commander in the field, Wilkie's genre painting became a political statement. It asserted the "natural" joy felt by all respectable working-class people at the great victory of Waterloo.

The image of the Chelsea Pensioner was further enhanced, in the eyes of the ruling classes, during the Chartist demonstrations, 1843-8.

"Chelsea out-pensioners were employed extensively during the early years of the Chartist disturbances. Initially they were used in a civil capacity as special constables for street patrols and for dispersing meetings".¹⁰⁰

Although the out-pensioners were a separate group from the inmates of Chelsea they were identified with them in the public mind. By the Enrolled Pensioners Act of 1843, the Government sought to make more effective use of the outpensioners, by forging them into an auxiliary military force.

"Under the Act, pensioners would be compulsorily enrolled in local uniformed corps, armed with muskets and bayonets and acting under military discipline when called together to assist the civil power. There was provision for assembling for eight days, training and inspection and members of the corps were liable to fines or forfeiture of pension if they lost or damaged their arms or equipment."¹⁰¹

The impact of such a public force probably acted more powerfully upon the public image of the Chelsea Pensioners than as deterrent to the Chartists. The utilization of the pensioners for the defence of the State in the 1840's, further cemented the bond between the institution and the Government's view of "the national interest".

Hubert Herkomer's The Last Muster was exhibited at the RA, 1875 in 1875. It represents the old men in the Chelsea Hospital Chapel listening to a service, one of them has just died and his friend is noticing his passing. Herkomer's oil painting, like Luke Fildes' Casuals appeared originally as a drawing 102 in the weekly paper The Graphic. His visualization of the Chelsea Pensioners was not original. As has been shown, Gleig, some 30 years earlier, had recommended watching the pensioners in the chapel as an amusement for the ruling-class visitor to Chelsea.

"The benches which occupy the body of the place are then crowded with old soldiers whose grave but not austere countenances, lighted up from time to time by a display of deep devotional feeling, seemed to me to present to the eye of the painter subjects too inviting to be overlooked. How decent, how much more than decent, is the deportment of these worn-out warriors!"¹⁰³

Gleig was eager to equate religious observance with moral rectitude. In this Gleig was echoing a belief dear to his ruling-class peers; that the worship of God made the poor humble and content with their lot. Much anxiety was felt in the mid-nineteenth century about the inability of the Church to cope with the large urban populations. Religious worship was seen as a safeguard against Radicalism, as well as 104 immorality and lawlessness. The depiction of Chelsea pensioners at prayer satisfied the desire of the ruling classes to see a section of the urban poor as both God-

fearing and humble. In a letter to American relatives, Herkomer made explicit his pleasure at the sight of ex-soldiers being "reclaimed" by religion.

"It is a grand sight to see these venerable old warriors under the influence of divine service. They have been loose (most of their lives), and now coming near their end a certain fear comes over them and they eagerly listen to the Gospel."¹⁰⁵

Herkomer's painting was planned in 1871 during a crisis in Chelsea's history. Despite the huge increase in numbers of soldiers who were eligible to apply for places at Chelsea (and Kilmainham), the number of applicants had fallen. In 1870 it was feared that the Hospitals would be forced to close due to insufficient numbers. The institutions' unpopularity was caused by their "restrictive military regimes".¹⁰⁶ The required attitude of obedience and deference to authority which had been retained in the army and the hospital, no longer pertained in the civilian world. Ex-soldiers were increasingly reluctant to live by military rules in their old age, and were prepared to suffer for their independence. Ironically, the only class of soldier accepted by Chelsea was that which was least likely to require financial help in later life. Their habits of sobriety, self discipline and "steadiness" enabled them to save money for their old age. The First Report of the Commission on the Royal Hospitals at Chelsea and Kilmainham, published in 1870, drew attention to the danger confronting the survival of the institutions. Chelsea thus took on an added lustre as an endangered species.¹⁰⁷

Herkomer's representation of the Chelsea Pensioners captures the wealth of nostalgic sentiment which surrounded the institution. His view of them was "heroic" - in the life-size scale of the figures and in the nobility of their

faces. As has been discussed above, this treatment of the poor was derived from French Realism and was common to a group of artists painting in England after about 1865-70. This sympathetic portrayal of the poor was by no means as radical as it had been in France, but was part of a liberal and humanitarian philosophy which regarded the poor as worthy of serious and sympathetic study.

The Last Muster in its title and subject may perhaps have been designed as a pendant or "sequel" to the "picture of the year" in the previous Academy summer exhibition. Elizabeth Thompson's Calling the Roll After an Engagement, Crimea, nicknamed The Roll Call had sympathetically depicted the emotions of ordinary soldiers after a bloody battle.¹⁰⁹ The punning title The Last Muster showed a group of elderly ex-soldiers wearing medals from the Crimean war, twenty years before. It provided reassuring proof that Thompson's heroes had received proper treatment from the State and were cared for in their retirement. The painting represents pious and prosperous old age rewarded. Blackburn, in his Academy Notes, viewed this fortunate retirement as "the last act of the drama of war".¹¹⁰

The theme of happy, rewarded old age was also applied to ex-soldiers with no visible connection to Chelsea. This type of painting, however, does not seem to have emerged until after the Crimean war. From this time there were many more representations of soldiers and, by extension, veterans, in domestic situations. The popularity of such representations with artists undoubtedly lay in the opportunity they offered to contrast physical types and age groups - the decayed masculine strength of the veteran with the youth and beauty

of his daughter or granddaughter. Sometimes a male child was included in the painting. Thomas Faed's New Wars to an Old Soldier (RA 1862) ¹¹¹ was typical of this type of domestic scene.

"A veteran of the war in Egypt, stricken with the peculiar evil of that luckless campaign, ophthalmia, sits in a chair, withered and worn, his eyes shrunk deep in the face yet all their companion features playing in earnest attention, while a young woman, his daughter or daughter in law, reads from a newspaper the story of the Indian Mutiny and the deeds of the regiment to which he belonged when he was young, strong and capable of war."¹¹²

An Athenaeum review of H. S. Mark's The Ornithologist 1956 suggests that this picture was meant to be read as a domestic scene of a veteran officer. There do not seem to have been any other examples of this subject matter. Army officers were often famous as scientific explorers, many of them were inquisitive and imaginative and used their overseas tours to make archeological excavations, botanical surveys, zoological collections or anthropological ¹¹³ studies. Marks' picture showed

"...the interior of a private museum of stuffed birds with cases arranged above, and stuffed specimens in ranks on the floor. The owner, an old military officer, is standing on a pair of steps and superintending the arrangement of his stuffed favourites. His servant, another old soldier - the characterization of this figure is happy - attends with a big flamingo and a stork in his charge. The humour of this picture is obvious enough to those who examine it..."¹¹⁴

Marks depicted the former officer as an eccentric intellectual. This enabled him to show a member of the ruling classes in a humorous light, since an eccentric is safely outside the norm. It is interesting that the class harmony always insisted upon by ruling-class commentators is here revealed in the relationship between the officer and his former Army servant. It implies that their relation in the Army was that of master and servant and that it was

"natural" for that to continue in retirement.

Post-Crimean representations of veterans outside the Chelsea Hospital were for the most part very positive, and showed the soldier enjoying domestic prosperity and happiness. It is clear from the evidence presented above that this domestic setting for the veteran was a bourgeois mythology. As far as can be proved, there were no "outside" i.e. non-Chelsea veteran paintings shown at the RA¹ until after the Crimean war. This dearth of non-Chelsea Pensioner pictures should not be taken to indicate that they were not a visible force in society. Rather veterans were believed to present a threat to society and this removed them from the repertoire of desirable subjects for ruling-class art.

As has been shown, in the aftermath of the Crimean war and the Volunteer movement, the common soldier had become a humble hero rather than a social outcast in bourgeois mythology. It was at this point that the veteran "forced to beg" re-entered the Academy Exhibition. A considerable mythology had existed in eighteenth-century literature and painting on the subject of the "poor soldier" i.e. the veteran, the most potent and memorable form being Goldsmith's "broken soldier" from The Deserted Village
115
1770.

Luke Fildes' Applicants for admission to a casual ward RA¹ 1874 was one of the earliest revivals of the veteran as the victim of injustice. This oil painting was a reworked version of a drawing which Fildes had engraved for the illustrated weekly, the Graphic. When the engraving appeared, in the first number of the Graphic in December 116
1869, it was entitled "Homeless and Hungry". In this form

there was no soldier figure. In the later oil painting, the veteran in a worn, red coat supports himself on a crutch, in the queue of destitute people outside the "casual ward". Contemporary critics found the portrayal of the outcasts extremely moving, agreeing that the figures waiting for relief were made up from every type of the needy - from the deserving poor to ^{the} ~~thriftless~~, fraudulent and lazy. The only specific reference to the soldier in this picture in contemporary reviews, places him firmly in the category of the fraudulent, describing him as a "professional beggar".¹¹⁷ This critic did not explain whether the veteran was fraudulent in pretending to be a soldier or by pretending to be in need. The absence of the ex-soldier from the first version is not accounted for by Fildes' biographer, his son L. Fildes. It would seem that, contrary to the remark of the ILN critic, Fildes intended his veteran to be read as a genuine case of hardship. On the wall behind him is a poster "Royal Artillery: Wanted: Smart Young Men". This, when juxtaposed with the ~~folorn~~ figure of the crippled veteran can only be interpreted as an ironic comment on the way the Army neglected "Smart Young Men" when they were old and decrepit.¹¹⁸

The critic's comment is of considerable interest, however, since it echoes several other mid-nineteenth-century sources who argued that no veteran needed to beg or to be out-cast. Henry Mayhew in his London Labour and London Poor described begging veterans in such terms as to imply that few were worthy of help or sympathy.

"Soldier beggars may be divided into three classes; those who really have been soldiers and are reduced to mendicancy, those who have been ejected from the Army for misconduct, and those with whom the military dress and bearings are pure assumptions. The first or soldier

proper has all the evidence of drill and barrack life about him; the eye that always "fronts" the person he addresses; the spare habit; high cheekbones, regulation whisker, stiff chin and deeply marked line from ear to ear. He carries his paper (discharge paper) about him and when he has been wounded or seen service is modest and retiring as to the incidents of an engagement except as regards the deeds of his own company and in conversation speaks more of the personal qualities of his officers and comrades than of their feats of valour. Try him which way you will he will never confess that he has killed a man.¹¹⁹

Mayhew's image of the true veteran is bizarrely circumscribed - he must be modest, deferential, thin and ill-informed! If the beggar does not exhibit those qualities then, Mayhew assured his reader, the man must be either a "bad" soldier, dismissed from the ranks, or a "false" soldier, one who pretends to be a soldier to assist his begging. It will be seen that Mayhew's classification effectively disposed of any guilt that might have been experienced by persons seeing an old soldier begging. He must either be a liar or a bad lot, for Mayhew goes on to explain that a "soldier proper" will work hard but "if my readers would enquire why a man so ready to work should not be able to obtain employment he will receive the answer that universally applies to all questions of hardship among the humbler classes - the vice of the discharge soldier is ¹²⁰ intemperance." Mayhew is clearly unable to admit that any veteran might be forced to beg because of an inability to obtain work, nor will he accept that all "true" soldiers were not virtuous and hardworking. This is undoubtedly a product of the post-Crimean idealisation of the common soldier.

In the years after the Cardwell reforms, 1869-72, it seemed as though the destitute veteran problem would soon cease to exist. Short term enlistment meant that the average age for leaving the Army would be much younger and the ex-soldier

would go into the Reserve and work in a civilian trade at the same time. During this six year period in the reserve, the veteran was paid a small retaining fee in return for which he was required to make himself available for training and of course respond to the call to arms during a national emergency.¹²¹ It was found that ex-soldiers who were in Reserve were at a disadvantage in the job market. If the veteran did succeed in finding work, he would be likely to receive a lower wage than average.¹²² A few employers of "time-expired" rationalised this practice by claiming that they, as tax -payers, had already contributed to their retaining fee. Rev. E.J. Hardy, in 1891, remarked that this was widespread "owing to the dishonesty and want of patriotism of employers of labour".¹²³ When the job-market contracted, former soldiers were among the first to be dismissed. This was because they were generally unskilled, the most vulnerable class of workers, but also because employers resented their absences for the training.¹²⁴ General Sir Garnet Wolseley claimed that this problem was exaggerated by idle men.

"You meet a tramp on his travels. He is badly clothed, perhaps footsore. He pulls out his parchment certificate to show you he belongs to the Army Reserve. He does not really want settled employment and would not keep it if it were promised for him; but to excite your pity he tells you that it is because he is liable to military service that he cannot obtain work."¹²⁵

The blustering tone of the passage, and the fact that Wolseley offers no evidence to support this odd generalization, suggests that he felt a deep anxiety over the matter of indigent veterans. He, like Mayhew, was evidently unwilling to believe that a substantial percentage of the 30,000 veterans who left the Army each year were unable to find work. Wolseley was at this time

Commander in Chief of the Army.

The sole attempt to alleviate the plight of unemployed veterans in the post-Cardwell era was the result of private initiative. The National Association for the Employment of Ex-Soldiers was founded in 1885 by a group of retired Army officers. Clearly the NAES was desperately needed, since by 1914 it was the largest employment agency in the country with 110 branches.

Despite the hopes that the veteran problem would disappear and despite attempts to deny its existence, the old soldier begging was as familiar as sight in 1880 as it had been in 1840. What had changed profoundly was the attitude of sections of the ruling class towards the problem. In academic art, this shift in ideology was manifested in a large increase in veteran paintings. The number of veteran subjects at the RA was higher in the five year period immediately prior to the foundation to the NAES in 1885 than at any other time in the century 1815-1914: ten compared the nearest high of five (1890-96) when the number of RA pictures was in any case proportionally higher. A climate of concerned debate existed which was reflected and inflated by the interest of artists in the subject. Thomas Faed's From Hand to Mouth not only partook of this social ~~concern~~ concern, but provided a noble image of the destitute veteran. Faed was careful to establish his ex-soldier in the category of the deserving poor by sub-titling the painting "He was one of the few who would not beg". This was to avoid the inference that the man accepted charity from choice rather than necessity. Faed's hero has taken to playing a musical instrument for money. The Athenaeum reviewer took a

favourable view of him as "a once stalwart man, now reduced and growing old and compelled to practice music in the
128 streets...."

Faed's picture shows a dramatic scene in a chandler's shop, when a poor ex-soldier finds that he does not have enough money to buy his meagre groceries. The desperate importance of this is emphasized by the sad looks of his two beautiful children. His small son holds the leash of a performing monkey and a musical pipe, while the little girl, weak with hunger or illness, has fallen asleep on a basket. The poverty and need of the veteran's family living "from hand to mouth", is contrasted with the opulent wealth of the other family in the shop. A splendidly dressed lady is seated while making her purchases. The luxury of her life is indicated by her black page boy and her pet dog. Her purchases, on the counter, are all non-essentials, toys, a book and a vase, while the veterans are a minimum to keep him and his children alive. Contemporary reviewers were unable to agree on the possible outcome of the drama which rested on the response of the shopkeeper.

"The Chandler studies the man's face while preparing to take back the goods; his looks, although indicating suspicion are not without the possibilities of compassion".¹²⁹

Another reviewer felt differently "...a fat grocer's counter, where there is obviously no disposition to bate a
130 penny". This interpretation would seem to be supported by internal evidence. Faed has depicted two women behind the grocer's counter. One is carrying a too-heavy basket on her head, the other, a woman of similar age and appearance, perhaps her sister, is gazing sadly out of the window. She is clutching a piece of fabric, perhaps indicating that she

works as a sempstress. This class of female worker was the focus for social concern in the mid-nineteenth century and were frequently represented sympathetically.¹³¹ The sempstress, like the veteran was a symbol of hardship caused by unjust treatment. We are perhaps meant to infer that the grocer's harsh behaviour towards his over-worked daughters will be echoed in his treatment of the needy veteran. Faed's veteran bears considerable physical resemblance to Mayhew's "soldier proper", that is, he is, simply an older version of the idealised Victorian Soldier. The most striking aspect of Faed's veteran is his humble demeanour. There is no suggestion of anger or resentment in his manner, and the sense of social harmony is reinforced by the domestication implied by the presence of the two children. In no sense then is Faed's veteran a threat to the status quo. The painting is an appeal for sympathy, based on a contemporary ideology of the State's duty towards its heroic servants. Without such sympathy the painting would have showed a fraud trying to get away without paying his bill.

The theme of the veteran, like that of the deserter, underwent considerable changes in the nineteenth century. In the early years of the century the veteran was so feared that his appearance in academic art could only be tolerated in the sugared form of a Chelsea Pensioner. The transition in ideologies towards the army and common soldiers, so frequently noted above, were crucial in allowing new forms of veteran pictures to emerge after the Crimean war. The final category of military genre painting in this chapter, is the representation of the Volunteer Force, which, as will be seen, did not produce a body of paintings continuously

over the century, but : made a brief appearance in the 1860s.

The Volunteer Movement

"...until lately, the soldier has never been permanently popular in England, what ever might be the feelings towards him in moments of great national danger...It was the creation of the Volunteer Force which first gave the British soldier any good and permanent social position. That force so well represents all classes that its respect for the army on which it was modelled, and by whose members it was drilled and trained, has caused the soldier to be now regarded every where with general interest." 132

Authoritative military commentators writing in the last decades of the nineteenth century were unanimous that the change which had taken place in civil-military relations after 1860 could be brought about by the Volunteer Movement. Wolseley believed that the entry of civilians into the military sphere generated respect for the Army. However, it might be argued that the middle-classes' enthusiasm for the Volunteer Force was a manifestation of the same feeling that "popularized" the Army. Whatever the actual relation between the Volunteer Force and the improved image of the Regular Army, contemporary military experts attributed the change to the Volunteer Force. It is therefore of some interest to look at representations of volunteers and discuss their treatment in relation to contemporary genre depictions of the Regular Army.

The Volunteer Force was founded in 1859, as a result of powerful agitation about the threat of invasion from France. Invasion scares had frequently recurred during the preceding fifteen years. Developments in technology, especially the application of steam-power to troop-ships, were recognised as threatening the safety of Britain. The English Channel, always regarded as an impenetrable barrier, could now be

crossed swiftly and an army landed in any weather
133

conditions. The colonial commitments of the Army were so extensive that over half the Regulars were abroad at any one time. The results of leaving Britain "undefended" were
134

constantly bewailed in the Press. Various solutions to the home-defence problem were mooted, notably a revival of the Militia. The Militia had a long history in Britain, having evolved from the feudal system of a landowner raising a force from his tenants and servants. A scheme suggested by the Duke of Wellington in 1845 would have provided for a part-time force of 150,000 paid men, with a ballot as an
135

option for raising "volunteers". In essence the Militia was a multi-class organisation although based on a feudal structure whereas the Volunteer Corps that had existed during the Napoleonic Wars had been totally middle-class in
136

membership. The few Volunteer Corps that had survived into the post-Waterloo era continued as social and sporting clubs. In times of civil crisis e.g. the Chartist riots, the Volunteer Corps petitioned Government to allow them to reform to defend the nation from dissidents. The Volunteer Force, founded in 1859, was almost exclusively middle-class in the early years and represented a challenge to upper-class and aristocratic domination, which the Militia had not. The VF must be seen as another indication of the growing confidence and political influence of the professional and commercial middle classes.

In the early months after the Government's endorsement of the plan to raise a Volunteer Force, in late May 1859, there was comparative apathy. Despite public meetings to foster interest, there was scant support. Certain groups, notably the Quakers, voiced opposition to the idea of militarizing

the nation. There was also a strong attack from the Liberal opposition in Parliament who objected to the class-bias built into the structure of the Volunteer Force. Since every recruit was expected to provide his own uniform, a working-class volunteer was a rarity.¹³⁷ The Government was also felt to be using the VF to distract the very middle classes who were agitating for far-reaching social and political reforms, which would give them greater power. Among radical groups it was feared that the VF constituted the Army of the middle-class to suppress working-class agitation.¹³⁸ This element of class conflict is crucial to understanding the VF and the timing of its representation in Academy art. From 1859-1867 there was total middle-class and upper-class domination of the movement. Popular support was fostered by powerful media organs such as the Times the Illustrated London News and The Graphic. Great claims were made about the social significance of the movement, which was seen as a-political. In a letter to the Times, Lord Elcho praised the social cohesion being brought about by the VF.

"...in this country the different classes of society have few opportunities of meeting and (because) volunteering presents this opportunity, and enables them to meet together and unite shoulder to shoulder. All, indeed, who have taken an active part in this movement will bear witness to the social good arising from it..."¹³⁹

Far from fostering social "togetherness", the early VF's resembled middle-class sporting clubs, with a number of corps established specifically for the "artisans". In 1862, a Royal Commission produced interesting data on the social composition of the VF. Although there was much more working-class participation in the north of England and Scotland than in the South East (where most academy artists lived

and worked), the trade breakdowns indicate that they were mostly skilled workers or small tradesmen rather than the lowest class of unskilled labourers. The most threatening social class was not reached at all by the "healing" effects of the V.F.

In 1863, the Government passed an Act providing grants to cover the cost of uniforms for working-class men, as well as cash incentives to attend drill and rifle practice. This tacitly discredited the V.F.'s claims to trans-class membership and showed that more working-class involvement was perceived to be urgently needed. Middle-class commentators, for the most part, found this acceptable. Not only would it help class relations but it would make working men "less idle and dissipated and more respectful to authority" and foster such desirable traits as "discipline, cleanliness, order, punctuality and promptitude and 142 obedience..." Thus the middle-class view of the V.F. evolved into seeing it as a form of social control, as diverting energy away from enjoyment and possible radicalism into healthy patriotic activities under middle-class supervision. One representation of the Volunteer Force exhibited at the RA in 1861 depicts a working-class patriot. It is evident from the only contemporary review of the picture that the critic is unsure how to "read" the picture. The main figure of the picture The Hero of the Day is working class and therefore would usually be read as a comic figure, but the nature of the picture suggests a more elevated meaning. Only about half the very long review can be quoted here.

"Mr Barwell...has produced a most literal rendering of what may be a popular, but which is withal rather a vulgar, vigorous embodiment of a present every-day scene. The Hero of the Day is one of those patriotic volunteers whose military ardour the weather seems to

take every opportunity of attempting to damp...The hero, who is no doubt a costermonger from the quality of animal and style of vehicle on which his family is returning from witnessing his success, evidently carries home his prize as proud of his military superiority as the first Napoleon or Wellington would have been of conquering a kingdom....the wife and children, one of whom carries the prize (for marksmanship) are evidently as proud of their father, as he is of his own exploits. In this respect the story is well told. There can be no objection to the satisfaction, any more than to the general arrangement of the picture..."¹⁴³

The first part of the criticism of this lost picture is spent in establishing it as Pre-Raphaelite in style and its subject as of Ruskin's "true historical style" that is "a ¹⁴⁴ literal rendering...of a present everyday scene". The Art Journal critic is evidently at a loss to know whether the volunteer should be regarded as a contemporary hero, a representative of the age, or as a comical cockney. This kind of ambivalence about working-class participation was widespread, as will be shown.

It is not possible to apply the same criteria to compiling statistics of Volunteer paintings, as has been used on other military genre subjects. This is because many of the pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy were portraits of friends or clients in the uniform of Volunteers. There were four or five such works exhibited in 1860-61, reflecting the enthusiasm for the V.F. in artistic circles. To an artist who was involved with the V.F., much amusement might be derived from painting a friend grappling with unfamiliar weapons and drill. An untraced work by the Scottish artist, John Ballantyne, may well have been of this type. Ballantyne and his brother, the novelist R. M. Ballantyne, joined the movement in its earliest stages. They were made ensigns (lowest rank officers) in the Edinburgh Royal Volunteers in autumn 1859. Both men were

reported to be enthusiastic in their support for the
145
Volunteers. Ballantyne's picture The Volunteer Movement in
the Studio "Shoulder Arms" appeared at the RA, in May
1860 - the first depiction of the social movement which was
engrossing middle-and upper-class attention.

A painting by another Scottish artist, John Faed, was
another manifestation of middle-class enthusiasm. A
Wappenschaw partook of the nationalist mythology which was 19.58
constructed around the movement. Faed subtitled his picture
Scottish Volunteers half-a-century ago, and stressed further
the parallel between the Napoleonic era and his own by
appending this revealing passage.

"Frequent musters of the people for sports and
pastimes, were appointed by authority, at these
Wappenschaws, as they were termed, the shooting matches
were of the greatest importance and each crown vassal
was required to appear with such a muster of men as he
was bound to make by his fief".¹⁴⁶

Faed's chosen quotation, the source of which is unknown,
stresses the continuity of the VE and implies as well its
feudal organisation. At the time when the picture was being
painted, it was noted that land and factory owners were
encouraging their dependent employees to "volunteer". These
corps were officered and financed by the employer himself on
lines very similar to the feudal Wappenschaw system. This
kind of structure seems to have been particularly common in
Scotland. In Kincardineshire an artillery battery consisted
entirely of fishermen who were clothed and commanded by
147
their landlord. The VE was used by wealthy Scots to create
a romantic revival of the clan system drawing on the
mythology of their grand military tradition (see Chapter
Three above).

In England an historical link between the Volunteer Force

and the men who fought at Agincourt was sometimes claimed. The link was based on the fact that the bowmen of Agincourt were thought to have been "yeomen", that is small landowners - the medieval equivalent to the Victorian bourgeoisie. Agincourt was a particularly apposite reference, since it was fear of the French which had triggered the establishment of the V.F. John Martineau in an article "Volunteering Past and Present" drew ¹⁴⁸ an analogy between the longbow and the rifle. Tennyson, the Poet-Laureate, had already stressed the great tradition of home defence in his memorable poem Britons-Guard Your Own.. The poem was written in response to Louis Napoleon's Coup d'état, which was feared to presage another era of Bonapartist aggression.

1. 43 "We were the best of marksmen long ago.
We won old battles with our strength, the bow.
Now practice, yeomen,
Like those bowmen,
Till your balls fly as their true shafts have flown
Yeomen, guard your own."¹⁴⁹

There were ten paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy whose titles specifically referred to the volunteer movement. This total includes a few portraits and a picture by Webster showing children playing volunteers. All the volunteer pictures were exhibited between 1860-71, indeed only the Webster picture was shown after 1867. The numbers of recruits to the V.F. and its activities continued to expand from 1860 until the Boer War in 1899. Why then, given the continuing growth of the V.F. did Academic representations of it suddenly cease? It might be argued that this was due to the decline of large-scale middle-class commitment to the movement. A number of aristocratic and professional men continued to command corps, but after about 1867 the middle-class volunteer disappeared from the ranks. The

Volunteer Service Gazette in 1877 remarked that the middle classes had just "melted-away...the gradual reduction in numbers of the regiments composed of the highest class of men was owing entirely to the spontaneous extinction of the enthusiasm which had led these men to join."¹⁵⁰ One cause of this "spontaneous extinction of enthusiasm" may have been disillusionment. The Times, which had ardently supported the V.F., cooled rapidly after 1867 when the Volunteers demanded a higher grant from the Government. On December 25 1869, The Times complained of the "very slow advance "of the V.F. towards organisation and "definitively determined principles".¹⁵¹ By the end of its first decade it had become obvious that the V.F. would never be permitted to play anything more than a ceremonial role in national life. The Army was rigorously opposed to any extension of the V.F.'s powers. The wonderful predictions about the movement's social and military influence had not come to fruition. Most important, the invasion scare had passed and the drilling seemed pointless to a class obsessed with making good use of their time.

The defection of the middle-class rankers further strained the moral and financial employers who no longer believed in it as the key to improved industrial relations.

"Employers no longer had faith that drill and shooting improved their men, but were instead conscious of the time off that the Volunteer in their employ demanded."¹⁵²

Despite such discouragement the working classes continued to volunteer and enjoy it as a social activity.

So little is known about the circumstances surrounding the genesis of the volunteer paintings that it is only possible to speculate whether the middle-class defection was

the cause of their sudden cessation. On a practical level, the artists were linked to the middle classes both by class and financial dependency. If a proportion of middle-class volunteers grew bored or disillusioned, then some artists would be among them. The hanging committee might reject pictures which seemed to have common-place, over-worked themes. A number of the pictures seem to have been close to the spirit of Punch cartoons, which delighted in the ineptitude of the civilian-soldiers. This kind of humour must have quickly lost its bite as the VF. grew more professional. The most potent reason for the disappearance of the Volunteer picture was that the movement increasingly became appropriated by the working classes under middle-class officers and was, therefore, little different from the Regular Army.

This significance of the Volunteer Movement for representations of the military was not limited to the period 1859-67. The consequences of the change in ideology which it embodied was to be discernible until the end of the century.

DOMESTIC DEPICTIONS OF THE SOLDIER 1815-1914

This chapter will consider representations of soldiers with civilians - the meeting point between the civilian and the military worlds. As has been stated above, the numbers of domestic-military genre paintings are comparatively large, (see Graph A). It is not possible to detail all such paintings, nor would it be profitable to do so, since there is remarkable similarity between many of the pictures and a frequent repetition of motifs. It will be argued though, that, despite this appearance of continuity in the types of genre paintings exhibited at the RA over the century, the genres were crucially modified and the ways in which they were read dramatically changed.

The pictures in this chapter have been arranged according to theme. This is not to say that they fall unproblematically into distinct categories. Indeed there is considerable over-lap between the genres and, of course, each carries resonances of meaning for the others. For example, a painting such as J. Noel Paton's Home carries a ^{fig 67} range of meanings; about the nature of man as warrior; of woman as the home-maker, who merely waits; about the reverence of the strong for the gentle and weak; about the domestic nature of the British soldier; the domestic ¹ respectability of the working classes and many more. The meanings operate at different levels and are interwoven in a series of complex relationships. It is intended here to separate out some of those meanings and to suggest the ways in which they can be considered in relation to ideologies of

the Army held by the contemporary ruling classes.

An examination of the representation of the military and civilians, in Academy painting in the nineteenth century, again reveals a marked difference between works produced either side of the dividing era 1854-c1865. As has been shown above, the ideological construction of the soldier in the ranks was transformed in this period from a potentially dangerous wastrel to a patriotic warrior. Academic images both reflected and were instrumental in shaping new views of the soldier. The relation of the military to the domestic sphere is clearly crucial in this process, since the home, with its surrounding meanings of marriage, bridled and legitimized sexuality, and the organized reproduction of children, was one of the principal hall marks of the morally regenerate in mid-Victorian middle-class ideology.
³

In the pre-Crimean period there were very few representations of soldiers as domestic beings. As has been noted above, there were representations of young men selfishly leaving the home to become soldiers, and decrepit ex-soldiers returning home, but none which showed soldiers as family men. This is in harmony with the evidence about the experience of soldiers in this period. Military structures and indeed policy were dedicated to the preservation of a rootless, unmarried private soldier. As has been shown, in the pre-Crimean Army it was virtually impossible for a soldier to retain any links with his home or community. The length of service, twenty-one years, and the social disgrace attached to enlistment, made it unlikely that close family ties could be maintained. On enlistment a soldier had to swear that he was not married, and the law

which made soldiers not responsible for wives married before enlistment made the Army a refuge for those fleeing
4 domestic ties. Once in the Service, only six men in a hundred were permitted to marry and then only after permission had been granted by the Commanding officer. These few wives were allowed because they could perform useful domestic functions and act as servants to the wives
5 of officers. There was no restriction on the marriages of officers.

Many men formed liaisons without official sanction, and were married "off the strength". Military regulations virtually ordered the soldiers to abandon their women and children. No provision was made by the Army for their welfare and poor Service pay made it impossible for any but
6 the most thrifty soldiers to support these wives. Many of these women were abandoned when the regiment moved on, because they could not afford to follow it, and, to survive had to either form new relationships or support themselves by whatever means they could. The instability of most soldiers' sexual lives was interpreted by the middle-class authorities as the result of their "natural" immorality and their women designated prostitutes.

A commentator in a contemporary journal makes it clear that the Army was keen to shake off these "ties" whatever the cost.

"Perhaps, even now, it would be difficult to persuade Parliament to forbid by law the marriage of soldiers (i.e. make it a criminal offence rather than a military misdemeanour)...but if no man can henceforth be engaged for more than ten years, we see no reason why the existing rules of the service on this point should not be rigidly enforced...let no woman be acknowledged in a corps who has married a soldier contrary to the will of the C.O. let no aid in money or otherwise be offered her to follow her husband and if she do (sic) make her way

to his head-quarters, let nobody connected with the regiment notice her. Such language may sound harsh in the ears who do not know the extent of the evil which a soldier brings upon himself and upon the partner of his folly by marrying without leave, but they that do know this will perfectly understand that there is mercy in our sternness...."⁷

This determination to free soldiers from unsanctioned marriages, then, tacitly supported the formation of "deviant" sexual relationships. The work of Walkowitz on the Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s has shown that there was a continuous acceptance of prostitution in barrack districts as being "inevitable". Jeffrey Weeks has shown that homosexual relations in the army, although officially disapproved of, were only suppressed when they occurred between men of different ranks, which was perceived as threatening to "tear asunder the carefully maintained hierarchy". Clearly then, the Army authorities were concerned to keep the men as economically independent units, living in barracks, whatever the affront to conventional moralities. As will be shown, in the post-Crimean era, civilian groups put pressure on the Government and Army to domesticate soldiers into the respectable institution of marriage, perceiving that "immorality" was an inevitable result of Army policy.

The connection of soldiers with "loose women" was construed very differently in ruling-class ideology in the pre-Crimean period. The contemporary mythologies of prostitution and female sexuality saw an unbridgeable gulf between the "honest woman" and the whore. Since the financial imperative of prostitution for women on low wages was often discounted, commentators chose to believe that women only "fell" into the life after being seduced. The profile of the typical prostitute constructed by

contemporary authorities was a "virtuous" serving maid or farm girl led from the path of virtue by a stranger. Having forsaken virtue the girl would inevitably "fall" into prostitution and be eternally cut off from the respectable society of her family and friends. Once on this "downward path", the girl could not return to virtue but was doomed to degradation and death, usually by suicide. William Tait, an Edinburgh surgeon and the author of Magdalenism (1840), held this view of prostitution and was in no doubt as to whom was to blame.

"Soldiers are more frequently guilty of the crime of seduction than any other class of the community. The short period which they are quartered in any station, the distance that intervenes between the quarters, and the dissolute and idle life which they follow - renders them dangerous enemies to the female portion of the population. It is difficult to say whether the officer or the private is most deserving of censure...."¹⁰

The common soldier and the officer both fell into the category of "immoral seducer" since the former belonged to the unrespectable section of the working class and the latter was a representative of the wicked aristocracy. This theme of sexual morality as class differentiator will be reverted to below. Bourgeois attacks on the right of the aristocracy to rule were centred on the reputedly profligate and licentious habits of this class. "Wild young aristocrats" were blamed for many sexual crimes and the Army officer as an aristocrat and a soldier was a popular target for disapproval.

"Whenever a female in the middle or higher walks of life has been seduced, it has generally been found to be by a military officer and it is a notorious fact that no private soldier who has any respect for the virtue of his daughter, dare allow her to follow the regiment on account of the licentious conduct of his superiors."¹¹

This mythology had a very useful dual function of accounting

for prostitution and providing a scapegoat. The causal link between soldiers and prostitution was seen to be "proved" by the proverbial allure of the redcoat.

In the period 1815-60 there were a few paintings exhibited at the RA, which drew upon and enriched this mythology of the fatally seductive soldier. A short story by the American author Washington Irving provided a source for a large number of pictures related to this theme. The Pride of the Village (1820) was undoubtedly popular because of the way in which it raised a titillating and credible subject in a morally acceptable fashion. Six artists between 1830-39 exhibited works at the RA, based on the story; F. Howard Pride of the Village 1831; W.E. West Pride of the Village 1831; F. Howard Pride of the Village going to Church 1833; J.C. Horsley The Pride of the Village 1839; and J. P. Knight The Broken Heart 1839. In Irving's short story, the narrator witnesses a moving funeral of a village maiden. He is told that she has died from a broken heart, having fallen in love with an officer who would not marry her but proposed that she live with him without marriage. The maiden, who was as innocent as she was beautiful, "was at first at a loss to comprehend his meaning. When at last the nature of the proposal flashed upon her pure mind, the effect was withering."¹⁴ The maiden's innocent mind was profoundly shocked by the immoral proposal and although she loved him, she refused him. His regiment was ordered away from the village.

"She had beheld from her window the march of the departing troops. She had seen her faithless lover borne off, as if in triumph, amidst the sound of drum and trumpet and the pomp of arms. She strained a last aching gaze after him, as the morning sun glittered about his figure and his plume waved in the breeze."¹⁵

After his departure, the deserted maiden withered from grief. The number of artists who painted versions of Irving's story suggests not only its popularity, but that it contained elements particularly attractive to genre painters. Part of its attraction lay in the opportunity it provided to depict an ideal beauty, of physical and spiritual perfection. Moreover it contained the spice of sexual danger. In several of the paintings discussed below, an encounter between a virgin and a soldier is shown to be dangerous. In paintings based on the Irving story the sexual danger is implicit but disposed of in an anodyne way. The end of the story, when the maiden dies for love, was dramatically very effective, drawing upon ancient mythologies of female love as spiritual and constant and male love as sexual and transient. Irving's story and, by extension, the paintings based on it, reinforced a number of current beliefs about soldiers and in particular their sexual behaviour, as heterosexual and promiscuous.

The inconstant and immoral lover is described by Irving as having been evilly influenced by the licentious talk of the Officers' Mess.

"...his passion was mingled with feelings of a coarser nature. He had begun the connection in levity, for he had often heard his brother officers boast of their village conquests and thought some triumph of the kind necessary to his reputation as a man of spirit."¹⁶

This passage serves to extend the lover's immorality and cruelty to Army officers as a group, and introduces a class element into the story, since "village conquests" are implicitly less important than other conquests. The description of the feelings of the maiden both discounts the influence of the proverbial fatal attractiveness of soldiers and reinforces it. At the same time Irving elevates her love

above the norm.

"The gallant figure of her youthful admirer and the splendour of his military attire might at first have charmed her eye; but it was not these that had captivated her heart."¹⁷

J. C. Horsley's Pride of the Village was more widely reviewed ¹⁹⁵⁹ than the other pictures derived from Irving's story but even ¹⁸ so received only cursory attention. The longest review in the newly founded Art Union Journal did not have any difficulty in referring the picture to its literary source. "The dying maiden leans on the shoulder of her sad mother. Her face is exquisitely painted; it tells the mournful story of her life...."¹⁹

Horsley selected a poignant episode from the short story, after the maiden has been abandoned. Despite the efforts of her religious parents to solace her with readings from the Bible, she could only sit and gaze sadly out of the window through which she had last seen her soldier.

The critic of the Athenaeum compared Horsley's painting very favourably with a version of the same passage by J. P. Knight, whose The Broken Heart was in the same Academy exhibition.

"All the ghastliness of death is to be found in Mr Knight's composition, but without that graceful and delicate veil which the American (author) has thrown over it. The forsaken girl is sitting alone, propped in her chair, warmly wrapped, though on a summer's day (in Mr Horsley's picture she is leaning against her mother's shoulder) with quiet despair and death in every trait of her wan countenance."²⁰

It is interesting that although the critic found Knight's version indelicately deathly, he took issue with the degree of "refinement" in Horsley's picture. Horsley's young woman was depicted as very "ladylike", with the thin, pale, elegant features which were signifiers of high social class in nineteenth-century culture. Irving clearly defined the

maiden's class in his story. "Her father had once been an opulent farmer, but was reduced in circumstances. This was an only child, and brought up entirely at home, in the simplicity of rural life." ²¹ The Athenaeum critic was clearly more interested in reading the picture as the consequences of an attempted seduction of an "honest peasant" girl, rather than a reduced bougeoise.

The Pride of the Village was undoubtedly given much of its potency by the well known dangers of soldiers to women. Thomas Webster exhibited a painting on this theme at the Royal Academy in 1837. Returning from the Fair depicted an elderly couple returning to their rural cottage. As they approach, they freeze with horror, seeing a dragoon's helmet outside the door. Through the open window a dashing mustachioed soldier can be seen flirting with a blushing young girl. The expression of fear on the grandfather's face indicates the danger in which the girl stands. The strong reaction from her protectors removes the picture from the level of a rural comedy to a domestic drama. This picture was shown without any explanation, indicating that the virgin-soldier drama was well enough known not to need elaboration. There were no reviews of the picture, suggesting that it was neither a shocking image, nor an unusual one.

In the paintings discussed above, exhibited at the RA pre 1854, women are shown to be in moral danger when they are courted by soldiers. It should be stressed that these flirtation pictures constitute only a fraction of soldier-civilian scenes in this period, most of which show soldiers leaving home to enlist or as deserters. In the period after the Crimean War such scenes of "moral danger" disappeared

from the walls of the RA. As has been shown, from the mid 1850's, the image of the "common soldier" underwent a transformation in ruling-class mythology. The men who had fought in the ranks during the Crimean War were increasingly constructed as "heroic" and "patriotic" by the emergent upper middle class. As will be shown, these heroic patriots were increasingly depicted in academic art as "respectable" husbands and fathers. This emphasis on the sexual morals of the soldier was an attempt to annex him for the "respectable" working class rather than the dangerous and

22

unregenerate poor. After the Crimean war, middle-class interest in regulating all aspects of soldiers' lives was manifested also in a series of official inquiries and Royal

23

Commissions. Florence Nightingale and Sidney Herbert were among the most powerful advocates of sanitary reform for barracks; improved medical provision; educational facilities

24

and better provision for soldiers' wives. The role of women in soldiers' lives was the subject of much debate amongst social reformers. It is impossible to do more here than to summarise a few areas of concern which were examined at this time. A recent book by Trustram has shown that there was pressure to provide "on the strength" wives and children

25

with separate quarters, as being more respectable. There was also pressure on the Army to permit a larger number of men to marry. The post-war ideology was in direct conflict with that of the Army, it sought to make "the regiment a home", rather than an association of bachelors. Mid-Victorian views of the family were such that it was believed that the presence of "decent" women, i.e. married women, would have an ennobling effect on the men and make them better

26
soldiers.

The publicity surrounding the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act campaign drew one aspect of soldiers' sexuality into the consciousness of the middle classes. The Acts had been passed in 1864 and 1866 to combat venereal disease among soldiers, the cause of frequent absenteeism. The Acts sanctioned the detention and examination of women believed to be prostitutes. The details of the Acts and repeal campaign, rightly identified as an important phase in the early stages of the Women's movement, are not relevant here, except in so far as the surrounding publicity showed the extent to which soldiers failed to conform to the stereotype of the respectable working class husband and father. Representations of soldiers and women at the RA, in the post-Crimean era could not therefore allow any ambiguity surrounding the relation of a soldier to a woman, for fear of being thought to allude to prostitution. The strategies which emerged for disposing of this problem were either the placement the protagonists in an obviously domestic setting or by situating them in an earlier, "more innocent" era.

The latter method for sanitising any reference to sexual immorality from representations of soldiers and unmarried women was developed in the 1870's and appeared at the RA until the end of the century. Such flirtation scenes were set in the late-eighteenth century or more frequently, in the Regency period. As Marian Orr has shown, the "rediscovery" of Jane Austen was fundamental to the late nineteenth century view of her period. The predominant characteristics of the Regency were believed to have been "gentility, propriety and morality". In chapter three, it was shown that, in the late nineteenth century, the

Napoleonic/Wellingtonian era was shown to have been considered a "Golden Age" of social order and British military and economic supremacy. Orr has argued that some sections of the late-Victorian ruling class were nostalgic for the moral certainties which they believed had pertained in the Regency period. "Regency genre has one characteristic which is not found equally in every form of period genre -
30
the inevitability of marriage."

Frank Dadd's Gold Lace has a Charm for the Fair (1880) ^{Fig 61} is an example of a scene which, if not situated in this "innocent" period, might have been read as sexually ³¹ ambiguous. It depicts two handsome, very smartly dressed officers parading down a rural street. They are watched and admired by three giggling young ladies. The female costume is that of the Regency period and the whole picture could serve as an illustration for Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice (1813). Dadd's picture was ignored by reviewers, but a writer on a similar artist of Regency genre scenes, John Haynes-Williams, emphasised the "innocence" of the era. It is interesting to note the reiteration of the word "blameless" as the author describes one of Haynes-Williams' works.

"... the appropriate background of some scene of blameless coquetry, of charming love-making ...where... the hero of romance is blameless and young....and where the heroine...may blamelessly and naively accept the joys of a first fascination."³²
^{number}

By far the largest of soldier-civilian paintings were located in a domestic environment. It has been stated that this emphasis on the home life of soldiers drew upon the ideologies of the dominant class which consecrated "the home" as the fount of respectability, harmony and social

order. "The home" was of course, the secure base for another sacred institution "the family". The perfect organisation and harmony between sexes and classes in the ideal home was the microcosm for the perfectly ordered society.

"During the first half of the Nineteenth Century the domestic ideal and its attendant images became a vital organising factor in the development of middle-classness, and in the differentiated class identity. It became indeed an expression of class confidence, both against the immoral aristocracy and against the masses, apparently denied the joys of family life and prone to sexual immorality and vice..."³⁵

In tune with the increasingly pervasive bourgeois ideology, domestic representations of the soldier occupied a larger percentage of images in the post-Crimean era. Further, pictorial types that had existed before the "domestication" of the soldier were reworked in those terms. For example, the genre depicting citizens receiving military news had been current since the early nineteenth century. David Wilkie's Chelsea Pensioners etc (1822) had been a vehicle for intimating working-class patriotism. Although this form of the "war news" genre was still found as late as the 1880s emphasis had shifted to the private reception of military news. The domestic became the filter through which military triumphs were viewed. It must be stressed that this domestic "angle" for the genre was not new in the 1860s but it was at this time that it became the dominant form.

John Faed's In Time of War (1873) made ironic play of the national joy felt at a military success and the private sorrow felt by those bereaved in its achievement. Like the majority of such paintings, Faed's was set in a rural cottage. As has been shown above, the "ideal" soldier was always shown as emerging from the country rather than the city (see above Chapter Five). Faed, as a Scottish artist,

suggested to one reviewer Burns' lines

"When wild war's deadly blast was blown,
And gentle peace returning,
Wi' mony a sweet babe fatherless
And mony a widow mourning" 36

The painting represents three generations of women; the mother, wife and baby of a soldier. There is no sign of a male to provide for the family in place of the soldier whose death has just been announced in a letter. This inevitably raises the issue of how a family might survive without support. The role of the small toddler is crucial in this, and similar pictures, as the unknowing victim. Here the child is shown trying to comfort its mother for a loss it cannot yet comprehend. The broad range of meanings of children in military pictures will be discussed below. Faed's picture is unusual in extending the grief to a parent as well as the soldier's wife and children. It is this which develops the tragedy beyond the realm of the purely emotional to the economic disaster of the whole family. V. Prinsep's News from the War 1871 and R. Collinson's Hopes and Fears 1861 also show women reading letters bearing news of their husbands with a child by their side. The fate of a fatherless child was believed to be so grim as to arouse the pity of the Academy audience.

The pictures discussed above were all images of working-class families. Frederick Goodall's A Letter from Papa 1855 (1963) is a rare example of a domestic image of the officer's family. The appearance of this image must be related to the Crimean War, then at its height. As has been shown above, the war was the site of a conflict between the aristocracy and emergent upper middle class. Goodall's painting of a lady and her three daughters creates an image of the ideal

bourgeois home - perfect except for the absence of the father who, even so, is present through the medium of his letter which they are reading. One strand of the argument for their claim to power, in upper middle-class ideology, was that they were morally superior to the class they wished to usurp. The sexual escapades of Lord Cardigan received censorious attention in the Press (See Chapter Four above). His and other cases were used to imply that a disorderly sexual life made a man unfit to command a regiment. Goodall's representation of the absent officer's home must be read in terms of this assertion of the upper middle-classes' "right to rule" the Army. The mother of the family is a model of female virtues; she is composed, patient, modest and beautiful. Her children are gathered piously about her, to listen to the letter from papa who is at the war. The overriding impressions of their family life are of ordered harmony and discipline. The hero of the picture is the absent officer, but his character is articulated through his absence; he has deprived himself of this domestic heaven to execute his duty towards his country. This self-sacrifice effectively differentiates him from the kind of selfish "aristocratic officers" targeted by Millais (see Chapter Five above).

In the previous section it was argued that representations of Army wives were crucial in articulating ideas, not only about the soldier's family, but himself, his social behaviour and moral qualities. The most common depictions of Army wives were in a genre often nicknamed after the popular marching song "The Girl I Left Behind Me". This genre showed women waving farewell to their men on their way to war. It will be appreciated from the score or

more pictures, detailed in Appendix B, that it is not possible here to consider more than three examples of the genre; one from the late 1850's; the early 1880's and one from around 1900.

Henry Nelson O'Neil's Eastward Ho! is a familiar example ⁴⁹⁶⁴ of the genre which enjoyed enormous popularity when it was ⁴⁰ shown at the RA, in 1858. It was exhibited during the wave of alarm over the revolt of the Sepoy Regiments, known as the "Indian Mutiny". The artist was believed to have been "inspired" to paint the picture by the sight of wives, sweethearts, parents and children crowding around a troop ship to say farewell to their men, bound for the Front. The criticisms of the painting take it for granted that it is a ⁴¹ "truthful delineation...which speaks to the heart." The Athenaeum critic, undoubtedly the most eulogistic of reviewers, was delighted with the way "The classes of life, the ages and the stations of the leave-takers are admirably ⁴² expressed and contrasted." It does not appear that there are more than two social "stations" represented in the painting - the "respectable" working-class soldiers and their families and, possibly, an upper middle-class group in the top left hand corner. O'Neil's painting portrays the family life of the soldiers as coherent, respectable and prosperous. All the figures are dressed in reasonably smart clothes: none are ragged or shoeless. This reviewer picked out one woman as "a soldiers wife, a poor woman, but decent ⁴³ enough...". This woman is shown clasping the hand of a sergeant. The sergeant occupied an especially secure position in ruling-class mythology since, as a non-commissioned officer, he was the most reliable, hard

working, intelligent and above all respectable working-class soldier. The sergeant and his wife, therefore, would have been instantly recognizable as respectable members of their class.

The critic from The Times discussed O'Neil's picture in a long review, with Paton's "Indian Mutiny" picture In Memoriam; Egg's Past and Present and Frith's Derby Day.

"The mingled horror and elevation of Mr Noel Paton's In Memoriam quite yield in attractiveness (popularity at the exhibition) to the familiar interest of Epsom racecourse, the gangway of the transport ship, and the London drawing-room and the dark arch of the Adelphi".⁴⁴

The reviewer remarked on the painful nature of Egg's story of a wife's fall from virtue.

"In Mr O'Neill's (sic) picture the element of pain is more delicately blended. Hope and aspiration are busy among these departing soldiers, and if mothers and wives, and sisters and sweethearts, go down the side sorrowing, it is a sorrow in which there is no despair, and no stain of sin and frailty"⁴⁵

Eastward Ho! drew upon a number of established motifs from other genres, giving it a familiarity which established its "truthfulness". One of the "stock characters" of military genre painting, was, as has been shown above, the Chelsea Pensioner. In O'Neil's picture the veteran is halfway up the steps passing something to a young soldier. O'Neil here is drawing upon and extending the mythology of the patriotic old soldier into the patriotic working-class military family. In part two of this chapter, it will be argued that the need for a continuous input of recruits gave value to the concept of "a military family": family which remained loyal to the Service and provided soldiers from each generation. The Chelsea Pensioner was recognised by the reviewer as a patriot, "...pushing upward, roughly and self-concentrated, against the downward crowd, in order to shake

the medal on his breast at his son, and shout to him to earn
a shiner like it and not to disgrace his old father...."

46

The emotional tone of the painting is optimistic despite the potential sadness of family partings. The painting is dominated by bright green and red colours and the composition is dynamic. O'Neil has banished a sense of tragedy which might have been felt at the embarkation of troops for seven years' service in India. Most reviewers expressed a sense of the commonplaceness of the scene, playing down the grief in noting the reaction of the boatman
47
who has, presumably, seen it all before. Since the painting was primarily aimed at showing the willing patriotism of soldiers going to the rescue of the British in India, a display of too great sorrow might have been felt inappropriate. O'Neil had to maintain a delicate balance between the sense of "aspiration" and the degree of sorrow which would suggest that the soldiers were leaving behind domestic happiness.

A critic, reviewing the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1880, made it plain that the genre was still current and relevant but too frequently re-worked.

"Mr F. Holl's Ordered to the Front (366) (is) an illustration of a terribly hackneyed subject which has been treated with exceptional success by Mr Holl, as indeed it has been by Mr C. Green in The Girl I Left Behind Me (1072). Mr Holl's picture tells its story very well. Every incident and element in the design is hackneyed and even commonplace, and not a feature nor an idea is expressed which we have not seen painted a dozen times before. Still Mr Holl has done his work so well that hardly any portion of his design fails to move us, while the widow and her son will surely touch most spectators. The artist is successful because he has conveyed sincerely, yet simply the unaffected and genuine pathos of those ideas which have long ago become common property, and has imparted to their expression a tenderness, which, although sometimes sentimental is frequently profound." 48

The six soldiers in Holl's Ordered to the Front are from a G965

Highland Regiment, wearing the kilt and busbys. One soldier is holding the hand of a sorrowful looking woman. Her dress is modest but not ragged. There are two small, very pretty, girls whose relationship to the other groups is not clear, but adds liveliness to the picture. Another Highlander is staring down at his wife and baby. The final group is of a soldier with a very old and decrepit looking woman, evidently his mother, her head is bent with grief and he gazes at her compassionately. Her black dress indicates that she is a widow who will be left alone on his departure. A reviewer found Holl's painting to be a "thoroughly dignified and serious work".⁴⁹ But another warned that it was "bordering on the melodramatic".⁵⁰ It is hard to see in what sense. the painting is melodramatic - the figures have very restrained poses and facial expressions. All the Highland soldiers are idealised; very tall; very broad chested with fine mustaches and handsome faces. Their posture is upright and their mien dignified and noble. Their women's faces suggest long-suffering rather than anguished protest. One curious aspect of the painting is the way the nearest Highlander gazes seriously out at the viewer, in the manner of a photograph.

Both O'Neil and Holl painted "sequels" to their pictures for exhibition at the Academy in the following year. One reviewer did not consider O'Neil's decision to be wise, "there is a general impression, often, as we believe here, untrue, that in companion pictures, number two is painted because number one was painted, - to match, to suit the engraver's purpose."⁵¹ Reviewers were unanimous in finding Home Again 1858 (RA 1859) less successful than Eastward Ho! Fig 66

and they reveal that they find the theme of returning soldiers more problematic than departing ones. The critic of the Art Journal referred to a "burly sergeant" evidently wounded in India, "he looks indeed, more like one who is suffering from gout, the result of ease and rich living, than an invalid wounded, as well as sick, who is destined for Chelsea."⁵² The assumption that the State would care for its wounded soldiers is obviously disposing of the social problem. Critics writing on other "Home from the War" paintings sometimes found themselves confronting the issue of the fate of veterans. Most of the criticism directed at Home Again, in this review, is anger about the issue of the treatment of old soldiers.

"Home Again! is not true. The sick and wounded soldier is sent home like a piece of live lumber and duly draughted to the depot or the hospital. His return is generally unknown until after his arrival; and the crowding down of relatives and friends to great him on landing, is too generally a myth....broken health and penury, to be endured in obscurity are all that remain. In a word, the sentiment of "Eastward Ho!" was heroic, elevating; and that in the "Home Again" is depressing."⁵³

This review is remarkable for its attacking a painting on the criteria of truth; the painting is not "true" because it idealises an event and it is undesirable even so because it conjures up ideas "depressing". A reviewer of J. Noel Paton's Home! also related an image of a returning soldier to the treatment of veterans: "...poor fellow, he deserves the best pension the board can give him. Adieu mon caporal. You will have to be honoured in old age and fight your battles over again with your children's children."⁵⁴

In the mid to late 1850's then, reviewers read these "Home from the Wars" paintings in terms of contemporary debates over pensions, military hospitals and the reception of heroes. O'Neil and Paton's pictures represent the two

conventions of "Home" paintings which were to recur constantly to the end of the century. O'Neil's is the public return - with bands and crowds waiting with the families to receive the homecoming troops. Paton's represents the private return of a soldier to his home. In terms of the reviews they received, the "private" scenes were more popular. In the passage quoted above, from the Art Journal of 1856, the painting was related to another familiar domestic military genre - the old soldier recounting his adventures to his grandchildren. The effect of both pictorial types was to locate the soldier in a domestic milieu, with all surrounding concepts of respectability that this implied. As has been shown, no domestic settings of returning soldiers were exhibited in the aftermath of the Waterloo campaign, and it is possible to argue that in 1815 the concepts of family and home were less powerful signifiers of conformity than they were in 1856. At this date, it was not so desirable to construct a respectable private soldier in the national mythology. It should not be assumed that the ideology of the "respectable domesticated soldier" represented the only ruling-class view of the ranks of the Army. There was a lingering fear of the military mob. In the same year that Paton successfully exhibited his Home, Viscount Hardinge made a speech at the Academy Banquet

56

expressing this fear. Hardinge, as General Commander in Chief of the Army responded to the toast, "the Army", by reassuring his listeners, artists, and social and politically prominent leaders that,

"It is also due to my fellow countrymen that I should express my conviction that on their return home these gallant troops will exhibit that respect for authority, that submission to the laws of the country and that

loyalty to their Sovereign which have long distinguished the British soldier."⁵⁶

Paton's picture sprang from the ideology which submerged this very real fear under the reassurance that family and home would maintain returning soldiers in a state of "submission". Representations of such pictures as Paton's provided the anxious audience with "proof" of their mythology. Interestingly, no reviewers levelled a charge of inauthenticity at the private homecoming pictures.

Representations of officers going to war are more frequently interior scenes rather than at dockside or station. It must be assumed that since middle-class women belonged to the domestic sphere it would have been undesirable for them to be seen in a public street. These images of farewell work in a way very similar to the Goodall picture, discussed above, articulating notions of duty and sacrifice by revealing the heaven of home that is forsaken for the hell of war. Such representations also operate by differentiating between the sexes' attitudes to war.

Millais' The Black Brunswicker, although slightly out of ^{fig 68} period since it was located in the Napoleonic era, is a classic example of a drawing-room parting between a lady and an officer. Her gesture suggests that she is trying to prevent him leaving her to go to war but his face is resolute with the determination to do his duty. The audience would have been aware that the Brunswickers were extremely brave on that day, but sustained extensive casualties. Perhaps we are meant to believe that the woman with "female instinct" has a premonition of her lover's fate. More specifically, Millais is drawing upon contemporary ideologies of gender difference which

assigned women to home family and the personal sphere and men to public concerns such as politics and war. Millais' heroine therefore acts in a way which is understandable and natural but in the superior, male, view is limited and selfish.

"The Black Brunswicker...regards the lady with a look of sad determination, and pain that she should not value, as he does the call of duty...."⁵⁷

This division of feeling was maintained in all but one representation of middle-class "off to the war" pictures. It was not until 1899 during the Boer War that a painting appeared which showed the woman as positively encouraging her man to leave for the Front. J.H.F.Bacon's Ordered South (RA 1900) depicted a handsome khaki-clad officer being handed his pith helmet by his beautiful young wife. The "unnatural" response of the wife is called for by the necessity to show that even those who would not welcome war, could perceive that this fight was essential. In the 1914-18 War this supposed gender difference in response to war was used effectively in recruiting drives as is well known. If Woman, known to be antithetical to war, perceived the need to fight then the war was transformed into something more truly national. War was supposedly fought for issues to defend the sacred hearth, home and family.⁵⁸

The female role in the war was often represented, in academic art as supportive of the male warrior, as the inspiration of bravery. Chivalric notions, appropriated by sections of the ruling-class, pervaded this area of ideology and reinforced existing gender roles in relation to war. N.J.Crowley's The Eve of the Battle (RA 1849) showed a lady praying for her husband's safety in battle.

Since the female was believed to be spiritual rather than active her contribution was limited to religious intercession. A missing painting by J.Morgan, The Battle Field (RA, 1855) established woman as inspiration of courage, "He charged the friendly priest to tell her/Her mem'ry had nerved his arm".

Ruling-class ideologies of "womanhood" and the suitable subject matter for Academic art, excluded the representation of those lower-class women, who had traditionally gone to war as camp-followers. Ruling-class culture set apart these women as "immoral" and thus unmentionable. "Popular culture", ie working class forms, such as songs and broad sheets, frequently constructed some of these women as heroines. In Academic art no working-class British women were represented as battle-front heroines. In only a few wars in the nineteenth century were "ladies" involved directly in the conflict: in the Sepoy Revolt and the Waterloo campaign. It will be contended here that what is celebrated in representations of this kind of "heroism" is not the act, but the fact it was performed by a "lady". The interest lay in the contrast between what these heroines did and what it was believed to be "natural" for them to do. The capacities and temperaments of lower class women were felt to be so radically different from that of ladies, that the normal experiences of a camp-follower were deemed to be extraordinary when suffered by a "lady".

The Waterloo campaign was one of the few occasions upon which ladies were closely involved in war in the nineteenth century. During the Hundred Days after Napoleon's escape from Elba, the British Army moved to Brussels, to await a

battle. The campaign was treated as a social event by many members of the English aristocracy, who moved to Belgium for a holiday near the Front. As the Napoleonic forces pushed forward, many of the British fled, but some, notably the wives and families of officers, stayed to await the outcome of the confrontation between Wellington and Napoleon. Samuel Drummond's The Field of Waterloo was "inspired" by an account of feminine bravery. All that is known of this, now lost, picture is the lengthy descriptive passage, with which it was exhibited at the RA. in 1835.

"Repeated accounts of the victory having reached Brussels without any tidings of the General, her husband Mrs- at midnight, set out accompanied by a female friend, to the field of battle. At daylight in the morning she found him amongst the killed and wounded, still bleeding; they tore off their garments, bound up his wounds and carried him off to a cottage. "64

The passage suggests that her bravery, in setting off to look for her husband at midnight, was prodigious. Further than that, the women were prepared to sacrifice their garments to make bandages. Such actions could only be interesting and "newsworthy" at a time when the prevailing view of "ladies" was that they were emotionally weak and physically frail. It must be noted that the only unusual thing in the lady's behaviour was her decision to go to the battlefield to fetch her husband. The nature of her role, that of nurse to the sick or wounded, was within a traditional sphere for female activity. The relief of pain or distress were believed to be particularly suited to the talents of ladies since they called upon "feminine" attributes of patience, gentleness and sympathy. All the paintings of female heroism near the action of battle, conform to two stereotypes of femininity; woman as support of

man or as the victim of male aggression. Only when the woman depicted is not British is she allowed to display any independent initiative or courage.

J. D. Luard's Nearing Home (RA. 1858) also shows an ^{W9.69} officer's wife in nursing her wounded husband. The scene is "on board one of the P&O company's steamers". An officer, presumed by one critic to have been wounded in India, is lying on deck, attended by his wife. A small sailor-boy has announced the sighting of the English coast and the "other ranks" crowd to gaze at the white cliffs. Contemporary critics devoted most attention to the appearance and demeanour of the wife, "an amiable, sedulous, lady-like creature."⁶⁶ The reviewer from the Athenaeum described the principal figures with great attention to detail.

"...the chief passenger is an officer of distinction, - still, languid and listless, with Indian wounds....The officer's wife, with care and watching, bends towards him to see what quickening of the heart-beats the news will cause, or rather perhaps, so anxious to watch each flush of colour or each growing paleness, as to hardly care herself for the news- glad though it be."⁶⁷

The officer's illness has brought about a reversal of the power roles in their relationship, but it is in no way disruptive of contemporary stereotypes of the female role, since she is strong only to ^future him back to health. A reviewer interpreted the officer "quite a Regent St Bayard, -he looks so gravely resolved in hoⁿour til he dies such a quiet chivalrous resolve pervades his features."⁶⁸ It has been shown above that nursing parent, husband or child was recognised as a way in which a lady could fulfil her "womanly nature". In this context it was possible for a woman to act usefully and bravely in relation to war and warriors without stepping beyond the parameters assigned to

the female. The Sepoy Revolt in 1857 was unique in that it was a British campaign in which women and children could not be sent away from the sphere of confrontation. One of the greatest sources of outrage in Britain was that white "ladies" were in the power of black soldiers. A number of appalling atrocities were committed by the Sepoys, the most infamous being the massacre at Cawnpore, where women and children were brutally murdered. In the year after the massacre J. Noel Paton exhibited In Memoriam, a painting ¹⁹ ⁷⁰ showing the final minutes before the women and children ⁶⁹ were killed. The picture was probably the most contentious ever exhibited at the Academy during the century, and is of great interest in providing the focus for a number of contemporary debates about the conventions of art.

"More of the charnel-house! Ay, and in passages which curdle the blood with vain, indignant horror and make one wish that the pen of history could for once be plunged in Lethe....The subject is too revolting for further description. The picture is one which ought not to have been hung, and in justice to the hanging committee, we believe that it was not done so without considerable compunction and hesitation."⁷⁰

Despite the painful nature of the subject, the picture was in many ways a gratifying representation of the moral, spiritual and physical perfection of British ladies. It also, therefore, was a comment on the racial superiority of the British over their Indian enemies. The Times, reviewer was delighted with the work, notwithstanding the "horror" of the subject.

"Nothing in the exhibition shows truer feeling of the end and aim of art than this picture, full in every part of expression, care and refinement."⁷¹

Paton's composition was derived from Renaissance models, and was reminiscent of Christian martyrdom scenes. In its debt to the Grand Manner and in its relation to the "important"

subject of contemporary Imperial wars, the picture was firmly in the tradition of High Art representations of saints. The principal figure of the picture was a lady, turning her eyes towards Heaven in prayer. Paton inscribed on the picture frame, "in quaint old letters with illuminated initials, words of Divine consolation from Scripture", the lines from the 23rd Psalm, "Yea, though I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death etc".⁷² One critic accorded the work reverence.

"We will refer first to Mr Noel Paton's In Memoriam (417) as one of those sacred subjects before which we stand not to criticise, but to solemnly meditate. We feel it almost a profanation to hang this picture in a show-room, it should have a chapel to itself."⁷³

The majority of reviewers however, were too much upset by its recalling of the Cawnpore massacre to admire the way it conveyed "Christian resignation".⁷⁴ Paton was influenced by the disapproval and expunged the "maddened Sepoys, hot after blood" bursting through the door. In their place he painted Highland soldiers rushing in to rescue the women and children from death. It was in this form that the picture was engraved. Chesneau, writing in 1885, was scornful of Paton's compromise to "spare the nerves of his fair and tender-hearted spectators", declaring that it was in this second form a "pleasant but decidedly commonplace conclusion by which the work is both enfeebled and stunted, all the terror therein is a mere delusion and the drama terminates in the happy and paltry manner of a trashy three-volume novel".⁷⁵ In the context of contemporary constructions of femininity the picture presented irreconcilable ideas. If Paton wished to show his ladies suffering martyrdom with Christian resignation and dignity,

then it was dramatically essentially to show the instruments of their death i.e. the Sepoys. Unfortunately, as the storm of criticism showed, the depiction of ladies in the power of black soldiers was deeply offensive and disturbing to his audience. For the wider public Paton decided to sacrifice the martyrdom aspect so as not to disrupt the mythology of white women as inviolable and remote from the male world of war and insurrection.

The final part of this chapter will consider representations of children in military paintings. This topic is, again, very broad and could form the basis of a thesis in itself. It draws together a number of themes which have run through this thesis and thus provides a useful concluding section. There is space here to discuss only five out of scores of paintings. Each painting will be related to an area of contemporary concern regarding war, the army and the State.

Mulready's The Convalescent from Waterloo was exhibited ^{Fig. 31} in 1822, in the same year as Wilkie's Chelsea Pensioners. ⁷⁷ Like Wilkie, Mulready was concerned with the aftermath of war, but in every other sense the paintings were ideologically opposed. Wilkie's picture, discussed at some length above, chapter five, showed the integration of the ex-soldier with society; as a happy, tended man, devoted to the national cause greeting the news of a victory with patriotic enthusiasm. Mulready's picture is a representation of a solitary soldier, with his wife and children, recuperating from a war-wound. The mood of the painting is sombre; the woman is dressed in mourning, perhaps indicating the loss of some other relative in the war. A short distance away, their two small boys are locked in a ferocious

wrestling match. One contemporary critic was at a loss to know how this group bore upon the main interest.

"...the incident of the two children quarrelling, in the foreground, must be considered as totally out of place, since it evidently disturbs and interferes with the kind of interest intended to be called forth by the picture."⁷⁸

Marcia Pointon has argued that the painting has a "pacifist point of view" , and "gives rise to sad reflections on the futility and inevitability of war".⁷⁹ The painting does seem to treat the aftermath of war as tragic and useless as opposed to glorious, but it cannot be regarded as pacifist in the sense that it implies that war should or could be avoided. The function of the two boys is to reveal the fundamentally war-like nature of humanity, which will ensure that war will constantly re occur. The sadness with which their father contemplates their violence suggests that he is reflecting upon the inescapable consequences of this tendency towards aggression.⁸⁰

A more common meaning to be found in representations of soldiers watching children fight or play at war, is that children, as innocents, are ignorant of the horrors they mimic. F. D. Hardy's The Volunteers (RA.1860) showed a group of six children playing at soldiers, watched by a man in uniform. On one level the painting is to be read as one of Hardy's rural idyll pictures, a typical product of the "Cranbrooke Colony".⁸¹ Hardy's speciality was scenes in which children ape the occupations and preoccupations of adult life in an amusing way. Hardy's military scene works this genre on a more serious level. His children are playing a game, the implications of which they are unable to comprehend. The children have all the charm of small people

seriously trying to be like grown-ups. The watching soldier is psychologically divided from the other adults, who look on with amusement. He does not smile because he knows the harsh reality of the adult version of their game. Since he is seated, we are perhaps meant to conclude that he is weak or wounded.

The title of the painting and the time of its exhibition suggests that Hardy intended it to be read as a comment upon the contemporary middle-class enthusiasm for the Volunteer Force. This might be interpreted in two ways; that the children have been inspired in the play by the Volunteers or that the Volunteers are themselves playing at being real soldiers, and will crumble when confronted by the actuality of war. It is certain that criticisms of this kind were levelled at the Volunteer Movement in its early days and the painting may have been read in these terms. One of the few reviews of the picture picked up on the contrast between the beauty of the innocent state of childhood and the ugliness of the "toys" with which they play.⁸²

"A boy, armed with an old birch broom, marches about with the bear-skin on his head; his laughing and rosy face showing under the ugly load is pretty and lively."⁸³

No reference is made to any further readings of the picture. In the two paintings discussed above, the soldier functions as one who has enlightenment and insight into the "reality" of war. In both pictures the soldier looking on strikes a note of chill in the spectator. W.F.Calderon's A Son of the Empire (1899) juxtaposes a child playing at soldiers with a group of soldiers executing their duty, to produce a very different meaning. The boy, very ragged and dirty, plays at drill with a broom for a rifle, as the cavalrymen ride past him. They smile with approval and

pleasure, in which the spectator is invited to share. The boy is imitating them because he admires and wishes to be like them. His action is shown as desirable and "natural" for a "Son of the Empire". Calderon's painting should be read as part of the contemporary debate over the health of the nation's children. Recent reports had shown that an alarming percentage of young men were too undernourished and undersized to come up to the very low ⁸⁴ minuimum standards required by the Army Medical Boards. They drew attention to the poor standards of nutrition and housing experienced by many urban working-class children. This aroused great anxiety, since it might mean that Britain could not raise an Army of suitable quality and size in time of emergency. It might also be that the fighting qualities of the nation were ⁸⁵ being bred out by the cities. In a period when war seemed likely not only in the Empire but in Europe, such fears were a matter of urgency, and immediate efforts were ⁸⁶ made to improve nutrition in schools. Calderon's painting must be read in the context on this debate about the future of the nation's military strength. The street urchin is exactly the class who would be recruited into the Army as an adult, and precisely the type who had been found to be too small, thin and weak to serve. He is however robust and healthy looking, but more than that he is full of the right kind of sentiment - he is patriotic and militaristic. The painting must therefore be read as an assurance that there were still boys of the right kind - sons of the Empire.

Phil Morris' Sons of the Brave, the orphan boys of 1873
soldiers, Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea (RA, 1880)
undoubtedly functioned in a similar way, providing

"evidence" that the future material for the Army was available. The Asylum educated the orphans of soldiers specifically so they would themselves enter the ranks. It has been noted before that the Army emphasised the value of these recruits over all others. A review of Morris's picture linked it to Herkomer's Chelsea Pensioner work The Last Muster / as a representation of military patriotism. The language used by this reviewer was similar to that used of Herkomer's picture. It was described as having,

"...a great deal of realism. Difficulty must always stand in the way of the honest representation of the humbler life in England; type and costume are alike unrefined, the faces being blunt and unfinished, the dress undistinctive of class and therefore vulgar. Mr Morris's picture, nevertheless, has the interest of a true subject."⁸⁷

The painting was hung in a prominent position in Gallery One, a site acknowledging its importance. The critic of the Art Journal acclaimed it as a "brilliant performance",

"We stand in front of the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, and from its spacious door we see issuing the brass band of the orphan boys, all clad in full scarlet uniform and preceded by a drum-major, who staff in hand, has as much military bearing as if he were a six foot grenadier marching at the head of his regiment."⁸⁸

The boy is seen as being amusing but wholly admirable, the embodiment of the military spirit. The boys are watched by the widowed mothers and sisters, and are thus the focus for female admiration. The mood of the painting is celebratory, ⁸⁹ "full of life and movement and joyousness". It is a celebration of the continuity of working-class patriotism; of the innately military spirit of the English and of the masculine ethos. In the 1880s a number of journals were published aimed at fostering such a spirit in middle-class boys. These publications, such as G.A.Henty's The Union Jack (1880-83), overtly linked childhood games and

activities with an adult career in the Army. A similar desire to inculcate religious and moral discipline through reverence for the Army may be detected in the foundation of para-military Christian organisations such as the Boys' Brigade, founded in a working-class district of Glasgow in 1883. Both boys' military- Imperialist literature and the more distinctly working-class Christian youth movements have been discussed at length elsewhere. It is enough here to make the point here that these cultural manifestations not only reflected an interest in the Army and endorsed its importance and utility as an institution, but they encouraged boys to enter the service and to become sons of 90 the Empire when they were adults.

The final painting in this section on children is Frank Holl's Did you ever kill anybody, father? (RA, 1884). This curious work, essentially a portrait of a beautiful little girl holding a sword, does not have any obvious narrative theme. It functions because of the associations it could arouse in Holl's audience. As a child, especially as a beautiful girl who would be a woman, the little girl represented the gender and group believed to be naturally furthest removed from war and least able to comprehend it. The female, ^{the} sex for whose protection wars were fought, but their natures were seen as antithetical to it. Little girls in military genre paintings have a much smaller range of meanings than their male counterparts. In such works as Hardy's The Volunteers, the girls are passive spectators, watching either with admiration or resentment. The polarisation of sex roles, of course, mirrors the construction of adult gender roles in such paintings as the

Black Brunswicker (see above). Holl's picture worked these notions of the physical and intellectual separation of women from the masculine province of war.

"...Mr Holl has contributed a subject picture which is very taking if somewhat melodramatic. It is the nearly life-size figure of the young daughter of a soldier, seated. Her father's sabre, partly drawn, lies across her knee, and she is startled by the thought expressed by the title "Did you ever kill anybody, father?" (no 67) The notion that a beloved and gentle parent should have slain a fellow creature and shed blood with that sword, which she had never before thought of as a deadly weapon, is finely expressed in the bewildered eyes and parted lips of the girl who trusts her father in every thought."91

The painting constructs a glamorous martial past for the father, who is by extension also the male spectator. This is surely a subtle form of flattery which implies that behind every kind and gentle father lies the potential warrior. Only in an age when the soldier was perceived as a moral exemplar for the civilian could a such a work have had meaning. The paintings in this section on children fall into two distinct groups, those which regard war as an inevitable evil, in which children will ultimately be implicated and those which regard children as the military material of the future.

The representation of children in military pictures, then, may be seen to have a variety of forms, and must be read in the context of contemporary notions about childhood and essential human nature, as well as ideologies of the Army and war.

Abbreviations used in Notes.

AJ= Art Journal

ILN = Illustrated London News.

MA= Magazine of Art.

RA= The Royal Academy of Arts.

Unpub.= Unpublished material such as theses.

Times= The Times.

Place of Publication, unless otherwise stated, is LONDON

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28. loc.cit.
29. Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (1973), p. 220
30. Spiers, p. 30
31. Marshall, p. 8
32. Spiers, p. 48
33. L.S Amery, The Problem of the Army, (1903), p. 185
34. London: Royal Academy of Arts, "Post-Impressionism: Cross-Currents in European Culture". 1979, p. 178
35. Spiers, p. 48
36. E.Butler, From Sketchbook and Diary, (1909), p.17
37. Evicted exhibited at the RA was on this Irish question.
38. The Times, 12 May 1879, p. 5
39. Meynell, p. 10
40. E.Butler, 1909, p.17
41. See the account of Herkomer given in J.Saxon-Mills, and of Fildes in L.V.Fildes Luke Fildes, RA A Victorian Painter, (1968)
42. Spiers, p.43
43. loc.cit.

44. Bond, p. 334
45. Fortescue, 1899, p.53
46. Bond, p. 334
47. Cunliffe, p.113
48. Robert Macdonald, A Personal Narrative of Military travel in Turkey and Persia., (Edinburgh; 1859) pp.14-15
49. C.J.Napier, Remarks etc. p. 126
50. Archibald Forbes, Soldiering and Scribbling, (Edinburgh; 1872), p. 128
51. loc cit.
52. ibid. p. 134
53. Rudyard Kipling published his Departmental Ditties in 1886, (Lahore, India:)
54. Cunliffe, p. 114
55. Wyndham, p. 88
56. United Service Magazine No. 375, 1860.1.p. 272
57. The definition of "Reform Era" used here is c.1855-70
58. Athenaeum 22 May 1847, p. 552
59. RA Cat. 1868. n. 428. Smith Institute, Stirling.
60. See above ch 3.
61. RA.cat. 1872 n900.
62. Thomas Campbell, Napoleon and the Sailor 1808
63. The Times 6 June 1881, p. 4
64. W.Holman Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (1905) II p. 105
65. Boase, 1959, p.276
66. Spiers, p. 100
67. Holman Hunt, II p. 105
68. loc.cit.
69. William M Rossetti, Fine Art, Chiefly Contemporary (1867) p. 217
70. The Critic 15 May 1856, p. 252
71. loc.cit.
72. Spiers, p. 118
73. The control of the Monarchy over the Army was further strengthened by the Queen's uncle, the Duke of Cambridge, becoming Commander in Chief.
74. Spiers, pp. 113-4
75. Skelley, p.52
76. loc.cit.
77. G. Stedman Jones, Outcast London, (Oxford:1971), p. 79
78. C.J.Napier, p. 126
79. Thompson, p. 693
80. ibid.p 695
81. ibid. p. 527
82. J.Hichberger, "The Myth of the Patriotic Veteran in British Art, 1815-1880";Patriotism ed. R Samuel. (1986)
83. Anon, Handbook for Visitors to Chelsea Hospital 1885, p.15
85. G.R.Gleig, Chelsea Hospital and its Traditions, (1839), p. 23
86. The health of the pensioners was, in general, very poor after the many years service needed to qualify for entry.
87. Gleig, p. 334
88. ibid.p.337
89. London. Arts Council of Great Britain, Great Victorian Pictures, 1978, p.7
90. Cunningham, II, p. 13
91. Ibid.II, p. 73
92. as well as a number of other genre painters, see Apsley House and the country seat, Strathfield Saye.
93. Cunningham, II, p. 18

94. Wolverhampton City Art Gallery, Edward Bird 1772-1819, 1982, p. 13

95. K. Bendiner, "Wilkie in Turkey", The Art Bulletin Vol LXIII, NO 2, p. 259-277

96. Cunningham, II, p. 18

97. RA.cat. 1822

98. see above ch.1 & Ch 4.

99. Cunningham, II p. 69

100. Spiers, p. 85

101. F.C. Mather, Public Order in the Age of Chartism (Manchester: 1959), p. 151

102. L.V. Fildes, Luke Fildes RA, A Victorian Painter, (1968) p.13

103. Gleig, p.334

104. This inspired the well-known series of Church building projects and missions to the working classes.

105. J. Saxon-Mills, Life and Letters of Sir Hubert Herkomer, (1923), p. 87

106. Skelley, p. 205

107. loc.cit.

108. The value of the institution must have been brought to the attention of the public by the publicity surrounding its threatened closure, see fn.106

109. Ch3. above.

110. H. Blackburn, Academy Notes, (1875) p.45

111. Check list B shows several of these works.

112. Athenaeum No. 1801, 3 May 1862, p. 680

113. McCourt, pp.67-68

114. Athenaeum No. 2375, 3 May 1880

115. Goldsmith's "broken soldier forced to beg". from The Deserted Village was garrulous and pitiful.

116. Fildes, p. 13

117. ILN, 9 May 1874, p.4

118. Vol. IV. 1860-61

119. Mayhew IV p. 417

120. loc.cit.

121. Skelley, p. 204

122. Skelley, pp. 204-8

123. E.J. Hardy, "Time-Expired Men", Good Words 1891, p. 16

124. Jones, p. 79

125. T.H. Ward. p. 213

126. Spiers, p. 27

127. see Graph A

128. Athenaeum No. 2742 15 May 1880, p. 637

129. loc.cit.

130. Times, 6 May 1880, p. 10

131. L. Errington, Social & Religious Themes in English Art 1840-60 unpub. PhD Thesis. Courtauld Institute of Art, 1976

132. Garnet Wolseley, "The Standing Army of Great Britain, The Armies of Today (New York, 1893), p.63

133. Cunningham, p. 5

134. Spiers, p. 165

135. Cunningham, p.5

136. Ibid, p.7

137. Cunningham, p.26

138. Ibid.p.28

139. Times 15 August 1860, p.8

140. Cunningham, p. 25

141. ibid, p. 27

142. ibid, pp. 28-29

143. Art Journal 1861, p.195

144. loc.cit.
145. E Quayle, Ballantyne the Brave, (1967), p 133
146. RA.cat. 1866.
147. Cunningham, p.21
148. Macmillans, Vol 2, 1860, pp. 394-403
149. Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Britons, Guard Your Own 1859
150. Cunningham. p. 42
151. Ibid.p. 88
152. Ibid p. 78

Notes to Chapter Six.

1. See Paton's Home! discussed below.
2. The term "ruling class" is used here and throughout to cover the complex combination of classes, interest groups and financial interests that effectively control the legislature and other decision making bodies.
3. see below also Weeks, p. 22 & *passim*
4. Spiers, p. 45
5. *Ibid*, p. 57
6. *Ibid*, pp. 57-58
7. Quarterly Review Vol LXXIX, March 1847, p. 460
8. Judith Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society, (Cambridge, 1980)
9. Jeffrey Weeks, Coming Out, (1977), p. 13
10. William Tait, Magdalenism, (Edinburgh:), p. 98
11. *loc.cit.*
12. Washington Irving, The Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent., (1820), pp. 310-319
13. please note that unless the pictures actually featured a soldier, they are not listed in Appendix One.
14. Irving, p.312
15. *ibid*, p. 314
16. *ibid*, p. 310
17. *loc.cit.*
18. Three reviews; Times 7 May, 1839, p.6
Art Union, Vol. I, p.67
Athenaeum Vol. 604, May 1839, p.396
19. Art Union p. 67
20. Athenaeum p.396
21. Irving, p. 305
22. Jeffrey Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, (1981), p. 27
23. The best account is in Spiers.
24. On military punishment, purchase, recruiting methods, married quarters and others.
25. Myna Trustram, Marriage and the Victorian Army, (Cambridge: 1984)
26. This is tied in with barrack improvements
27. See Walkowitz.
28. See Walkowitz *passim*.
29. Marian Orr, Regency Themes in late Victorian Painting, Unpub. M. Phil, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art 1982, p. 3
30. *ibid.* p. 48
31. RA.cat. 1880
32. Jane Austen, Pride and Prejudice 1813
33. Frederick Wedmore, "John Haynes-Williams." Art Journal, 1894, p.292
34. Weeks, p. 27
35. Weeks, p. 28
36. Laslett J Pott's News of a Victory (RA 1887) was a re-working of this theme, set in either late eighteenth or Regency costume.
37. Athenaeum, no. 2377, 17 May p.635
38. no reviews.
39. Wyndham, p.122
40. As is shown, a number of reviewers remarked on the "Hackneyed" nature of the subject.
41. Times 22 May 1858, p.9
42. Athenaeum 8 May 1858, p.596

43. loc.cit.

44. Times 22 May 1858, p.9

45. loc.cit.

46. Athenaeum 1593, 8 May 1858, p. 596

47. Times 22 May 1858, p.9

48. Athenaeum 22 May 1880, p. 668

49. Magazine of Art 1880, p.348

50. Times 6 May 1880, p. 10

51. Athenaeum No 1644, 30 April, 1859, p.587

52. Art Journal 1859, p.168

53. Athenaeum 1644, 30 April 1859, p.587

54. Art Journal 1859, p.168

55. Paton's picture was reproduced in the form of an engraving, within six months and he made a copy of the picture for the Queen.

56. Times 5 May 1856, p. 5

57. Athenaeum 1697, 5 May 1860, p. 620

58. Weeks, 1981, p.27

59. RA.cat. 1849

60. RA.cat. 1855

61. eg. Ballad of William Taylor, in which the heroine joins the Army to go in persuit of her soldier-lover.

62. There were "ladies" at the Crimea as guests of senior officers, and a few officer's wives.

63. RA.cat. 1835

64. loc.cit.

65. Wilkie's Woman of Saragossa; and Absolon's Fuentes de Onor Art Journal 1854, p.160

66. ILN 22 May 1858, p. 518

67. Athenaeum 1593, 8 May 1858, p. 597

68. loc cit.

69. RA cat. 1858

70 ILN 15 May 1858, p.498

71. Times 1 May 1859, p.5

72. ILN 15 May 1858, p. 498

73. The Critic 15 May 1858, p. 235

74. Times 1 May 1858, p.5

75. loc.cit.

76. E·Chesneau, The English School of Painting, 1885, trans L N. Etherington p 82

77. RA.cat. 1822

78. New Monthly Magazine 22 June 1180 p 206

79. Burlington Magazine, vol CXIII, April 1880. p.229

80. Kathryn M Heleniak, William Mulready, (New Haven: 1980) p.97.

81. Wolverhampton Art Gallery, The Cranbrooke Colony cat. 1977

82. Cunningham, p. 79

83 The Athenaeum 1699, 19 May 1860, p. 689

84. Skelley, p.27

85. Frederick Maurice, "National Health - a soldier's study", The Contemporary Review LXXXIII, 1903, pp. 41-57

86. Magazine of Art 1880, p. 348

87. Art Journal 1880, p 186.

88. loc cit.

89. loc cit.

90. Louis James, "Tom Brown's Imperialist Sons", Victorian Studies Sept 1973, p.99
Patrick A Dundae "Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire", Victorian Studies, Oct. 1980. pp. 105-112

91. Athenaeum 2952 24 May 1884, p. 667

Appendix A: Checklist of Military Paintings

Exhibited at the Royal Academy 1815-1914.

Note: Portraits of military heroes are NOT included, nor are pictures which merely allude to a soldier. Genre and military scenes which look back to the pre-Waterloo period, are excluded, except for information in the immediate five years after the campaign.

1815

G. 243 The Young Soldier J THORN
B. 254 Marshal Beresford disarming a Polish lancer at the battle of Albuera F J MANSKIRCH
GM. 341 Allied Cavalry fording a river J A ATKINSON
GM. 481 Battle of Orthes. Charge of British Cavalry 1814
D DIGHTON
GM. 656 Detachment of infantry foraging H WILSON

1816

B. 23 Waterloo: final defeat of the French, sketch G JONES
B 212 Battle of Waterloo D DIGHTON
B 272 The Battle of Waterloo: eve of the 18th S DRUMMOND
G 282 Scene in Plymouth Sound. August 1815. Napoleon on the Bellerophon J J CHALON
GM 424 A panorama view taken from the castle of S>Sebastian, Spain G CUMBERLAND Jnr
G 454 The Soldier's Widow J de FLEURY
B 510 Battle of Waterloo, end of the day. British lines attack the Imperial Guard W BROMLEY
B 517 Battle of Waterloo J A ATKINSON

1817

B 422 Waterloo- charge of the 2nd Brigade of Cavalry D DIGHTON
G 455 The Deserter taken W KIDD

1818

B 257 The Lifeguards charging the Cuirassier, Battle of Waterloo W FINDLATER
GM 263 The Field of Waterloo J M W TURNER
B 401 Death of the Son f Prince PLatoff in Russia 1812, charge of cavalry D DIGHTON

1819

B 308 Passage of the River Beresina by the Grand French Army, on its retreat from Moscow. Nov 7. D DIGHTON

1820

G 180 Village of Waterloo, people buying relics. G JONES
B 496 The Charge. British Life Guards and French Cuirassiers and Lancers (of the late Imperial Guard) engaged.
D DIGHTON

1821

G 122 Sketch, representing disabled soldiers in a cabaret at Waterloo, a few days after the Battle. G JONES
G 417 Village of Waterloo, travellers buring relics G JONES

1822

G 9 The Gazette R FARRIER
G 116 The Young Soldier W EMERSON
G 122 The Veteran's Glory W KIDD

G 126 Chelsea Pensioners receiving the London Gazette Extra-ordinary on Thursday, June 22nd 1815, announcing the Battle of Waterloo D WILKIE

G 276 A Recruiting Party E V RIPPINGILLE

B 293 Attack on a French Convoy in Spain D DIGHTON

B 313 Battle of Waterloo G JONES

G 452 The Convalescent from Waterloo W MULREADY

1823

G 60 The Battle Interupted W INGALTON

GM 380 Cavalry on the March Sir J STUART

1824

GM 139 View of Marhatta Country W WESTALL

1825

B 469 Salamanca June 1813 F L MILES

1826

NONE

1827

B 231 Waterloo. Bonaparte giving his last orders G JONES

1828

NONE

1829

G 149 The Soldier's Wife W F WITHERINGTON

B 256 The Battle of Borodino G JONES

1830

NONE

1831

GM 316 British artillery in action, pointing a 24 pounder
W B S TAYLOR

1832

B 7 Death of Sir John Moore G JONES

B 410 Burial of Sir John Moore W BROCKENDEN

1833

NONE

1834

NONE

1835

G 144 Clemency of Napoleon G JONES

1836

G 50 The Soldier's Last Hour H SMITH

B 95 The Battle of Corunna. General Sir John Moore mortally wounded G JONES

G 124 Napoleon with Pius VII at Fontainbleu Jan 15 1813
D WILKIE

1837

B 215 Plenty, Study for the Waterloo Allegory J WARD

G 276 Returning from the Fair T WEBSTER

B 293 Iniskillin Dragoons C SIBLEY

1838
B 127 Wellington at Waterloo A COOPER

1839
NONE

1840
G 463 Apsley House. The Duke of Wellington explaining the Waterloo dispatches A MORTON

1841
NONE

1842
G 72 THE Tired Soldier F GOODALL

1843
B 69 War-transparency, sketch H HOWARD
B 257 Waterloo 18th June 1815, half past seven Sir W ALLAN
G 502 Incident in the Life of Napoleon G HARVEY

1844
G 472 A wounded soldier returned to his family F GOODALL
B 610 British heavy artillery, in action, running up the guns
W B S TAYLOR

1845
G 201 The 19th June- a scene in Belgium A COOPER
G 334 The First Love of Napoleon Bonaparte C LUCY
G 540 The United Service A MORTON

1846
G 83 Time of Peace E LANDSEER
G 84 Time of War E LANDSEER
G 128 Troops Embarking J A OGLE
GM 507 The Mutineer abandoned to his fate W B S TAYLOR

1847
G 9 The Mid-day Retreat W F WITHERINGTON
G 23 Preparing for war R FARRIER
GM 447 An Afghan Chief alarmed by the cries of a night raven
W B S TAYLOR
G 515 The Deserter's Home R REDGRAVE

1848
B 68 The Battle of Aliwal C B SPALDING
G 235 Incident in the Life of Napoleon W ALLAN
G 337 Incident in the Life of the Duke of Wellington W ALLAN
G 402 A Chelsea Pensioner J STANESBY

1849
G 453 Dawn of the Day - a foraging party returning C BARBER

1850
G 189 A Dialogue at Waterloo E LANDSEER
G 328 A Peninsular Man G B O'Neill

1851
G 220 At Chelsea Hospital P POWELL

1852

B 13 The Battle of Meeanee 17 Feb 1843 G JONES
G 538 War's Alarms H TIFFIN

1853

B 23 Wellington's First Great Victory - the Battle of Assaye
A COOPER
B 224 Waterloo 1815 G JONES
B 461 Wellington at Sorauren T J BARKER
G 512 Josephine signing her divorce E M WARD
G 1061 His last return from Duty J W GLASS

1854

B 13 THE Battle of Hyderabad G JONES
G 41 The Soldier's Story F D HARDY
B 135 The Peninsular War W M WYLLIE
GM 273 Collecting the wounded after a skirmish A COOPER
GM 332 Departure of the Guards from St George's Barracks
T SENTIES
GM 582 Scene from the Camp at Chobham Mrs E M WARD

1855

G 140 Searching the list of killed and wounded T H WILSON
B 168 Balaclava 1854: conflict at the guns G JONES
B 187 Repulse of the Cossaks by the 93rd A COOPER
G 206 The Recruit W W NICHOL
B 249 The Battle of the Alma G JONES
GM 250 A scenes from the Scutari Hospital D Y BLAKISTON
B 286 Incident at the Battle of the Alma T J BARKER
G 571 Time of War A NIEMAN
B 1184 The glorious charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava,
Ocyober 15 1854 H SELOUS
G 1348 The Parting Hour E N DOWNDAR
G 1356 A recruiting sergeant describing Inkermann W BROMLEY
G 1360 The Story of Balaclava Miss R SOLOMON

1856

G 104 The Peninsular Decoration W J MONTAIGNE
B 186 Truckee G JONES
G 200 The Peace Concluded J E MILLAIS
G 364 Good News of the War E N DOWNDAR
GM 469 Ball at the Camp, Boulogne G H THOMAS
G 553 L'enfant du regiment J E MILLAIS
G 598 A visit to the old soldier W J GRANT

1857

G 133 Crimea 1855 - a welcome arrival J D LUARD
G 267 Astonishing a native H P PARKER
B 871 Battle of Dubba G JONES

1858

G 20 Bonaparte and the Savants C LUCY
G 228 The Flight A SOLOMON
G 242 The Girl I Left Behind Me J WARD
GM 254 Visit of Queen Victoria to Napoleon's tomb E M WARD
G 367 Eugene Beauharnis refusing to give up his father's
sword W J GRANT
G 384 Eastward Ho! H N O'NEILL
G 444 Nearing Home J D LUARD
GM 599 The Presentation of Medals May 1855 G H THOMAS

1859

G 400 Home Again H N O'NEILL

1860

G 87 Showing a preference J C HORSLEY
GM 506 The Volunteer Movement in the Studio, Shoulder Arms!
J BALLANTYNE

1861

B 141 Contest in the Raptee River between the 7th Hussars
commanded by Sir William Russell, and the Sowars
G JONES

GM 218 Volunteers returning from firing F HARRISON
G 335 The Parting Cheer N N O'NEILL
G 505 Military Aspirations W EGLEY
G 411 The Hero of the Day F BARWELL
G 581 The arrest of a deserter Miss R SOLOMON
GM 598 A Volunteer. (Inns of Court) G GIRADOT

1862

G 64 New Wars to an old Soldier T FAED
B 433 The Battle of Inkermann L W DESANGES
B 621 The Dawn of Victory. Lord Clyde reconnoitring
T J BARKER

1863

G 345 On the road from Waterloo to Paris M STONE
G 580 For our defence J D WINGFIELD
G 688 Peace after War A LANKESTER

1864

G 28 The despatch A COOPER
G 80 After the Battle JA FITZGERALD
G 97 Ordered on Foreign Service R COLLINSON
G 249 The Battle of Waterloo T WEBSTER
G 516 Before the Battle J B BURGESS

1865

B 22 Lucknow G JONES
B 32 Cawnpore G JONES
G 41 Home from the War F WEEKES
B 185 The storming and capture of the North Fort Peiko 21 Aug 1860 Viscount H HARDINGE
G 286 Volunteer R THORBURN
B 347 Balaclava B HALLEWELL

1866

G 243 A Waterloo Veteran Miss M Weslake
G 303 A Prisoner of War J A FITZGERALD
G 373 Volunteers at a firing point H T WELLS
G 409 Tidings of the War G B O'NEILL

1867

GM 345 The Rifle Ranges at Wimbledon H T WELLS
G 356 Home after victory P H CALDERON
G 459 Prisoners of War F WEEKES
G 610 The Soldier's Glove J T LUCAS
B 649 The Battlefield of Ferozastan Lord HARDINGE

1868

B 64 HRH the Duke of Cambridge at the Alma Sir F GRANT
G 247 Before Waterloo H N O'NEILL

G 428 In close persuit of a deserter H COLLINS
G 445 He died for his country W R RCSKELL
GM 535 The halt on the march C LUCY

1869

G 46 The Price of Victory C W COPE
G 62 The Old Soldier G STOREY
B 111 Lucknow -evening G JONES
B 206 Cawnpore, the passage of the Ganges G JONES
B 475 Conquest and destruction of Magdala G JONES

1870

B 118 The Death of Marshall Ney J L GEROME
G 916 Josephine and the King of Rome Mrs E M WARD
G 923 The Basha's black guards J E HODGSON
G 943 The story of the old guard L SMYTHE

1871

G 63 Sad tidings from the seat of war T F MARSHALL
G 138 Volunteers at artillery practise T WEBSTER
G 303 War news: hostilities have commenced G POPE
G 337 Latest Intelligence - Hopes of Peace W GALE
G 385 The Special Correspondent E R WHITE
G 507 Just before the battle A STOCKS
G 1069 Home and Victory F W W TOPHAM
G 1170 The Surrender of the Emperor T WADE

1872

G 105 Prayers for one wounded H WILLIAMS
G 384 During the War Mlle E BROWNE
G 398 News from India Miss A M THORNEYCROFT
GM 578 A review at Chelsea A STOCKS
G 746 The story of the battle J L WILLIAMS
G 900 Absent without leave T F MARSHALL
G 1078 The Allies at Fault G W JOY

1873

G 91 After the Victory J FAED
G 380 The Ornithologist H S MARKS
GM 563 Exercising artillery horses on a frosty morning
J CHARLTON
G 1092 The Queen. God Bless Her! J HAYLLAR

1874

G 123 The Piping Times of peace F BARNAUD
B 142 Calling the Roll after an engagement, Crimea
E THOMPSON
G 196 The Conflict J DANBY
G 248 The Past C W NICHOLS
G 248 The Present C W NICHOLS
B 262 Balaclava - one of the six hundred T J BARKER
GM 329 Troop hcrses returning from watering S WILLIAMS

1875

G 89 War time B RIVIERE
B 613 La charge de la Cuirassiers francais a Waterloo
F PHILLIP OTEAUX
B 853 The 28th Regiment at Quatre Bras E THOMPSON
G 898 The Last Muster.Sunday at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea
H HERKOMER
G 911 Our soldiers past and future A STOCKS

1876

B 28 The Return through the valley of death: Lord George Paget bringing out the remnant of the 11th Hussars
T J BARKER
G 58 A soldier's legacy Mrs E CRAUFORD
GM 632 Military Sports E BUCHMAN
B 825 Battle of Vittoria O NARIL
B 1253 On the morning of the Battle of Waterloo E CROFTS
G 1301 Despatches T DAVIDSON
B 1332 Charge of the Heavy Brigade, Balaclava F PHILLIPOT, EAUX

1877

G 210 The world forgetting J C HORSLEY
G 266 In time of War T FAED
G 408 Last Interview between Napoleon and Queen Luisa pf Prussia, 1807 E M WARD
G 511 Father of the Regiment G B O'NEIL
G 585 Going Home F HOLL
G 1397 Spoils of War W GALE

1878

G 315 News from the Front A C GOW
GM 444 A war despatch at the Hotel de Ville A C GOW
G 490 An old pensioner M E GREENHILL
G 574 "...a sodier's a man: a life's but a span etc F LINEA
B 609 Wellington's march from Quatre Bras to Waterloo
E CROFTS
G 942 The soldier's wife G SMITH

1879

G 20 Listed for the Connaught Rangers E BUTLER
GM 145 Water for the Camp F GOODALL
G 256 No sooner wed than parted H N O'NEILL
G 324 No surrender A C GOW
G 326 Chelsea Pensioners E CONOLLY
G 549 My native land - good night H N O'NEILL
B 582 The Remnants of an Army E BUTLER
B 613 On the evening of the Battle of Waterloo E CROFTS
B 653 Life of Sir Frederick Ponsonby saved...at Waterloo
F PHILLIPOT, EAUX
G 943 Execution of the Duc d'Enghein 1804 E CROWE
G 1380 Going to the Front. India 1878 W C HORSLEY
G 1424 News from the Camp A M ROSSI

1880

G 20 Sons of the Brave P R MORRIS
G 158 Onward Christian Soldiers A G WEBSTER
G 262 Napoleon on the Bellerophon W Q ORCHARDSON
G 363 The Girl I Left Behind me W HOLYOAKE
G 366 Ordered to the Front F HOLL
GM 439 Fuel for the camp A PHILLIPS
G 537 Love and War J S NOBLE
G 574 The Passing Salute W H OVEREND
G 953 And she was left lamenting S C PARKER
G 1066 Listed A STOCKS
G 1072 The Girl I Left Behind Me C GREEN
G 1078 The soldier's story A T TOURNIER

1881

B 66 The explosion of the Cashmere Gate, Dehli 1857 E CROWE
G 234 Sent on foreign service J CHARLTON

G 240 BOund for the Black Sea 1854 J E HODGSON
 GM 279 Guarding the hostages J B BURGESS
 G 280 A Deserter J H HENSHALL
 G 351 On the march J HEYDENDAHL
 G 446 Peace and War J B REID
 B 480 The rescue of Private Andrews by Captain Garnet
 Wolseley etc W B WOLLEN
 B 887 The Defence of Rorke's Drift E BUTLER
 G 1400 On the sick list A STOCKS

1882

B 102 A pause in the attack, Hougomont E CROFTS
 G 137 Preparing from the war R MACBETH
 B 301 The Thin Red Line R GIBB
 B 403 The road home. The Imperial Brigade back from
 Afghanistan F VILLIERS
 B 499 Floreat Etona E BUTLER
 B 567 Maiwand - saving the guns R C WOODVILLE
 G 671 Home Again E A WATERLOW
 B 730 At the farm of Mont St Jean, Waterloo E CROFTS

1883

G 15 In time of war J S MANN
 G 84 In winter quarters: old soldiers at Kilmainham, Dublin
 M FITZGERALD
 B 101 Fighting Arabi with his own weapons, etc Tel-el-Kebir
 F VILLIERS
 G 104 'Twas a famous victory E R TAYLOR
 G 206 What of the War? P WILSON STEER
 B 208 Egypt 1882 J E HODGSON
 G 440 Fighting his battles o'er again W C HORSLEY
 G 560 War A LEA MERRIT
 G 672 After the victory G SMITH
 B 679 Gen. Sir G Willis at Kassassin 1882 J HANSON WALKER
 G 830 The Veteran R S JAMES
 G 847 Companions in arms G POPE
 B 853 The 10th Hussars at Esla, 1808 R BEAVIS
 G 880 No quarter T BLINKS
 G 881 When trumpets call then homes are broken G H SWINSTEAD
 G 1452 Returned from the War- 1st Life Guards W C SYMONDS
 B 1482 British artillery entering the enemy's line at Tel-el-
 Kebir J CHARLTON

1884

G 67 Did you ever kill anybody father? F HOLL
 G 319 Les Savants W WEEKES
 G 568 Sword of the faithful F COODALL
 G 713 Historic links, a Waterloo rembrance W STRUTT
 B 866 The Guards at Tel-el-Kebir R C WOODVILLE
 G 1599 Veterans having done their duty E G HANDAL LUCAS

1885

G 265 The Queen, God Bless Her! J E HODGSON
 G 369 A Veteran C CONOLLY
 GM 432 Gordon's Last Messenger F GOODALL
 GM 492 The Guards leaving Gravesend 1885 W WYLLIE
 G 638 Listed H R ROBERTSON
 G 693 Peace with honour R COLLINSON
 G 946 Halt of a Camel Corps, Soudan 1885 H JOHNSON
 G 996 In Memoriam G ROBERTSON
 B 1065 The Last stand at Isandhlwana G FRIPP
 B 1068 The 65th Regt at Tamai, Soudan 1884 G D GILES

B 1081 After the Battle.Tel-el-Kebir E BUTLER

1886

GM 265 Passge of the Bidassoa 1815 R BEAVIS
B 276 In vain. Herbert Stewart from Metemnah R C WOODVILLE
B 874 Captives to Khaled J R HERBERT
B 960 Charge of the 19th at El Teb 1884 G D GILES
B 967 Hougomont, June 1815. The day after the Battle E CROWE
B 988 The attack on General McNeills Force, Suakin C E FRIPP
G 1016 From his soldier boy H SIMPSON
G 1032 Peace helping War G BROWNE
G 1033 None but the brave deserve the fair J WATSON NICHOL

1887

GM 284 Autumn Manoeuvres G D LESLIE
B 408 Bad news from the front J CHARLTON
B 466 A Desert Grave. Nile Expedition 1885 E BUTLER
B 458 Napoleon leaving Moscow E CROFTS
B 486 An incident in the Battle of Tamai 1884 G D GILES
G 517 News of a Victory L J POTT
G 621 The only son: the return A R CROFT
G 942 Bad news from the Cape A HEATON COOPER
G 973 Thats where Pa is W H Y TITCOMB
B 1047 Great Britain in Egypt 1886 W C HORSLEY

1888

G 68 In Time of Peace R GEMELL HUTCHINSON
GM 167 The feed in the horse artillery troop stable G D GILES
G 309 News from abroad. Where's father? C VAN RAALTE
GM 472 Home again. HMS troopship "Serapis" Portsmouth G M BURN
G 574 The March Past W F CALDERON
G 841 Gordon's friends - women of the upper Nile M M COOKSLEY
B 1090 After the charge 7th lancers at Ulundi 1879 J CHARLTON

1889

G 37 News from Afar A NORDGREN
G 281 Absent without leave C W BARTLETT
G 285 Home P H CALDERON
G 380 On Guard A PRINGLE
G 408 The brains of the Army R C WOODVILLE
B 458 Incident at Balaclava 1854 J CHARLTON
G 548 Military Honours E CROWE
G 725 Signs of War G J JAY
B 803 After Waterloo R HILLINGFORD
GM 1011 The signal mortar E CROWE
G 1243 With the Regiment R GEMMELL-HUTCHISON
G 1256 Bad News C CALTHORP

1890

B 123 After Waterloo. Sauve qui peut A C GOW
G 400 An old soldier from Chelsea B PRESTMAN
G 788 C'est L'Empereur H de T GLAZEBROOK
G 835 Is father ccoming E HUME
G 1016 Waiting for the train J H F BACON
G 1077 Wars alarms E B STANLEY MONTIFIORE
G 1302 Gazed at the arms he could no longer wield E BUNDY

1891

G 103 Old Veterans J S NOBLE
G 332 The morning of Waterloo. Napoleon's Headquarters
E CROFTS

G 388 Writing a message to St Helena E CROWE
G 411 Alls fair in love and war G HALL NEALE
B 548 Napoleon's peril at Brienne la Chateau. E CROFTS
G 691 Attack on the Peiwar Kotal V M HAMILTON
G 1108 Napoleon's farewell to Josephine L J POTT

1892

B 14 The 92nd at Kandahar V M HAMILTON
G 27 Halt on a forced march, Peninsular War E BUTLER
G 173 St Helena 1816 W Q ORCHARDSON
G 314 How that battle was won E LONG
B 361 Royal Horse artillery in action, Afghan Campaign S L WOOD
G 609 The First Sight of Moscow L J POTT
G 693 A comrade's visit W T WARRENER
B 701 ...en route to Waterloo R BEAVIS
G 826 A veteran of Waterloo K ROBERTSON
G 1002 A return from the war S KNOWLES
B 1003 Left to fate W B WOLLEN

1893

B 7 Charge of the Kings Own 3rd Dragoons, Moodkee E CROFTS
B 70 After the attack on Sherpur J B CLARK & V M HAMILTON
B 392 After Waterloo C GOGIN
G 469 The Duchess of Richmond's Ball R HILLINGFORD
B 472 The 79th at Waterloo L BOGLE
B 532 Placing the guns J CHARLTON
G 572 A raw recruit I L GLOAG
G 623 Soldiers and civilians J M WHITE
GM 676 A Spanish Highway A C GOW
GM 848 The Camel Corps E BUTLER
G 937 It might have been: Napoleon - Wellington 1847 F S SINDICI

1894

B 391 A battle incident - horse artillery under fire S L WOOD
B 424 The sunken road at Ohain S BERKELEY
B 435 The Black Watch at Quatre Bras W B WOLLEN
B 441 Badajos R C WOODVILLE
B 475 After the Battle, Sedan J CHARLTON
G 667 The Emperor's Coming A C GOW
G 880 A modern convoy in time of war G C KERR
G 896 The Guides at Sherpur 1879 J B CLARK & V M HAMILTON
B 934 The Death of General Gordon G JOY

1895

B 37 Besieged J CHARLTON
GM 105 The centenary inspection of the Duke of Yorks Own Loyal Suffolk Hussars at Bury St Edmunds J P BEADLE
B 107 Halting the Battery: Horse artillery coming into position S L WOOD
B 499 Napoleon's last grand attack, Waterloo E CROFTS
B 636 The Scots Greys E M HALE
G 682 Le petit chapeau. Hat worn by Napoleon at Waterloo E CROWE
G 346 The Drums of the Fore and Aft E M HALE
B 853 Dawn of Waterloo E BUTLER
B 869 The charge of the Light Brigade R C WOODVILLE
G 875 Ordered to the Front 1815 S E WALLER

1896

B 103 The morning of Waterloo R HILLINGFORD
B 464 A folorn hope V M HAMILTON
B 472 To the memory of brave men - the last stand of Major Allan Wilson at the Shangani 4 Dec 1893 A STEWART
B 486 The Relief of Lucknow by Gen Sir Henry Havelock
R C WOODVILLE
B 613 The capture of a French battery by the 52nd Regt at Waterloo E CROFTS
G 723 The Emperor A C GOW
G 880 The Veteran R HEADLEY
G 974 Bad News J BARROW

1897

B 75 Quatre Bras V M HAMILTON
B 196 The attack on the gatehouse of Hougomont. E CROFTS
B 208 1815 The Captive Eagle J P BEADLE
G 221 On the way to exile, the arrival of the Emperor at Rochfort 1815 A C GOW
G 453 An incident of Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign 1798
W C HORSLEY
B 478 Norman Ramsey at Fuentes Onoro W B WOLLEN
G 572 The last review, Napoleon at St Helena in 1820, watching the children of Gen. Betrand playing at soldiers H H PIFFARD
B 663 Steady the Drums and Fifes E BUTLER
B 829 After Waterloo J W CHAPMAN
B 868 Daugther of the Regiment G A STOREY
B 940 Fuentes Onoro May 5th 1811 R C WOODVILLE
B 985 18th June 1815 L J POTT
B 1009 A surrender under protest: an incident in the Matabele War S L WOOD

1899

B 85 Sebastapol: an attack on the Redan R HILLINGFORD
G 64 Saragossa 10 Feb 1809 H H PIFFARD
G 199 When Duty Calls R HILL
G 202 On the road to Manadlay F GOODALL
B 245 Sniping the Rearguard V E HAMILTON
B 615 The Scots Greys among the French guns at Waterloo
R HILLINGFORD
G 686 War news at St Cross J CLARK
G 889 Gordon's memorial service at his ruined palace at Khartoum, the day after the battle of Omdurman
R C WOODVILLE
B 912 The Colors - advance of the Scots Greys at the Alma
E BUTLER
G 956 The execution of the Duc d'Enghien H PIFFORD
G 960 A Son of the Empire P H CALDERON
B 983 The 21st Lancers at Omdurman W B WOLLEN
B 996 The Mazoe Relief, June 1896, an incident in the Matabele Rebellion A Stewart

1900

G 62 I could not love thee dear so much, loved I not honour more S LUCAS
G 111 But things like this you know must be in every famous victory L S CANZONI
G 161 The soldier's return S M STONE
G 168 In time of war G D LESLIE
G 244 They also serve who only stand and wait S DUTHIE
G 276 Goodbye! The 3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards leaving Waterloo Station Oct 21 1899 G HARCOURT

G 302 Ordered South J H H BACON
G 330 Good news from the war W H Y TITCOMB
G 345 War news in the streets. England 1900 E CLACY
G 346 Anxious news E LUCAS
G 451 Despatches F J TOROME
G 488 An illustrated war paper F HAYNES KING
G 518 The Reservist's Wife R HEDLEY
G 552 After a famous victory T St V Tucker
B 584 A critical moment at Quatre Bras R HILLINGFORD
B 623 The charge of the 21st lancers at Omdurman A STEWART
GM 685 Autumn Manoeuvres with the Northern army J P BEADLE
B 730 Straight for the guns D ADAMS
G 885 Invalided Home G A HOLMES
G 990 How he won the VC G S WRIGHT
B 1009 Flight of the French through the town of Vittoria, Peninsular War R HILLINGFORD
G 1010 Old defenders assembling at the Tower of London F ROE
G 1030 Ordered South S MUSCHAMP
G 1060 General Gordon quelling a riot at Darfur S BERKELEY

1901

B 20 The death of the Khalifa A C GOW
G 112 The Guard of the Camp H C WHAITE
G 129 The advance guard H H CAUTY
G 132 Soldiers E S CARLOS
G 146 St Helena - the last phase J SANT
G 241 Boer War 1900 J BYAM SHAW
B 417 In sight, Lord Dundonald's dash on Ladysmith L KEMP-WELSH
G 453 In the Chelsea Pensioners' garden F H WILLIAMS
B 575 South Africa 1901- the dawn of peace R HILLINGFORD
G 777 Comrades F M REID
B 809 The Dawn of Peace C E BUTLER
B 862 The Imperial Light Horse at Waggon Hill Jan 6 1900 W B WOLLEN
B 882 To the sound of guns - arrival of the 62nd Field Battery at the Modder River J P BEADLE

1902

G 130 Water and fodder for the camp: time of full moon F GOODALL
G 204 The Victoria Cross C E STEWARD
G 217 Your Sovereign - the Empire - this Imperial city are satisfied J H F BACON
G 225 The Victoria Cross W B WOLLEN
B 424 Napoleon's abdication April 15 1814 E CROWE
G 628 Vive L'Empereur J H F BACON
GM 776 The 10th Bengal Lancers tent-pegging E BUTLER
G 795 The List of Casualties S CARTER

1903

GM 35 Peace driving away the horrors of war W L WYLLIE
G 172 My son's regiment C FORMILLI
G 188 War A C McCORMICK
G 305 June 1st 1902: peace proclaimed W L WYLLIE
B 412 Within sound of the guns E BUTLER
B 700 The 1st Battalion. S Lancs Regt storming the Boer trenches at Pieters Hill W B WOLLEN

1904

G 23 The despatch C BEATSON
B 191 Waterloo: the line will advance W B WOLLEN

G 200 Volunteers A J BLACK
B 233 Major W H Mullens and his squadron of Middlesex Imperial Yeomanry G C ROLLER
G 317 The return of the privateers J L WIMBUSH
G 561 Our young defenders. Children collecting for the widows and Orphans fund May 1900 A J FOSTER
G 641 The sword: a twice fought battle G W JOY

1905

B 152 Recue of wounded, Afghanistan E BUTLER
G 153 Chelsea pensioners at home G J JACOMB-HOOD
GM 246 Scots Guards G MERRY
B 295 Balaclava - the charge of the Light Brigade J CHARLTON
G 339 Soldiers W C SYMONS
B 433 Macpherson's Brigade assaulting Pir Pamai, at Kandahar
V M HAMILTON
G 575 Of old, unhappy far-off things and battles long ago
F STEAD
G 769 Chelsea Pensioners at play G P JACOMB-HOOD

1906

B 49 Marshall Ney A C GOW
G 150 Les Braves Gens J P BEADLE
G 165 In time of peace L SKEATS
B 187 La Belle Alliance at Dawn June 18 1815 E CROFTS
B 321 The sun of Austerlitz W B WOLLEN
B 392 Battle Dawn G Gascoyne
B 701 The Gordon Highlanders at Quatre Bras J H van Papendrecht
G 764 Intercepted despatches F M Bennett

1907

G 186 The Dogs of War C H DESMOND
G 339 Camp followers W AUSTEN
G 447 Captain of the Guard, Waterloo J RUSSELL
G 481 The veteran's pipe E CROWE
G 664 Camp-followers Sir J D LINTON
B 771 The advance of Kimberly, the 16th & 9th Lancers on Klips Drift J CHARLTON
GM 776 At the docks, artillery for the front J BEADLE

1908

G 34 Remember Cawnpore A C GOW
G 340 The veterans still before Sebastapol J BOWRIE
G 368 Soldier's Service S ADAMSON
G 443 The Deserter E BOARD
G 461 In time of War W A BREAKSPEARE
G 801 The latest news F M REID
B 909 The Passage of the Bidassoa J P BEADLE
B 927 An alarm at the outposts France 1814 W B WOLLEN

1909

B 202 1806 an affair of outposts J P BEADLE
G 247 Britain's watchdogs 1805 W B WOLLEN
B 360 The eve of Waterloo H H THESIDDER
G 380 The price of victory A C COOKE
G 539 In time of peace R W MACBETH

1910

B 2 A vedette of the Royal Dragoons, Peninsular War
J P BEADLE

G 9 The kiss of farewell J H F BACON

B 299 The rear-guard J P BEADLE

G 410 Bonaparte and the Survivors of the folorn hope at St
Jean D arc R C WOODVILLE

G 697 Napoleon's favourite flower N JOSHUA

1911

B 47 Sic transit Gloria mundi RC WOODVILLE

G 120 The empty saddle South Africa 1900 J P BEADLE

B 189 On the North West Frontier. Viscount Kitchener of
Khartoum Hon J Collier

B 190 Sahagun Dec 1808 J P BEADLE

G 365 The passing of war P O SALISBURY

B 581 A battery of the Royal Horse Artillery galloping to a
fresh proposition H Payne

G 672 How the battle was lost G OGILVIY REID

B 744 Victory of the battle of Freidland, Poland 1807
H St P BUNBURY

G 747 Little Pieter and the Chelsea Pensioners H Van Ruth

1912

G 211 The blindfold game of war A J W BURGESS

G 334 The flag W B WOLLEN

B 363 Balaclava C E STEWART

G 373 Home from the war C VIGOR

G 389 Urgent Despatches 1812 F ROE

B 699 St Sebastain Aug 1813 J P BEADLE

1913

B 243 The 5th Dragoons at Elandslaagte, S Africa J CHARLTON

B 268 The Guides at Fattehbad S WOOD

B 275 Vittoria June 21 1813 J P BEADLE

G 392 Home with glory W L WYLLIE

B 561 Guns to the Front W B WOLLEN

B 699 St Sebastian August 1813 J P BEADLE

1914

B 43 The 28th at Waterloo W B WOLLEN

G 213 The Chelsea Pensioners B CLARKE

G 299 Stories of the Gun G HEATH

G 580 Napoleon's last inspection of his army June 18 1815
J B BEADLE

Biographical Information on British battle painters.

Please note. This list is to be read in conjunction with Christopher Wood The Dictionary of Victorian Painters (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club 1978) bibliographical refs are included only when not available in Wood, and all abbreviations etc are to be found in the same source.

ALLAN, William RA PRSA 1782-1850

Allan studied at the Trustees Academy in Edinburgh at the same time as Wilkie. He later went to the RA schools in London, before going in 1805, to St Petersburg in Russia. His sketches and his first-hand encounters with the French invasion of 1812, formed the basis for many RA exhibits on his return to Britain in 1814. He formed a close friendship with Sir Walter Scott, and produced a number of genre pictures based on Scottish history. In 1843, he exhibited his first major battle painting The Battle of Waterloo from the French side which was bought by the Duke of Wellington. His version of the battle from the other side was unsuccessful in the 1846 Westminster Hall competition. (see above ch 1) He was ARA 1825, and RA 1835.

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William Allan, "William Allan RA PRSA", Connoisseur 186, June 1974, pp. 83-93

W T Whitley, Art in England 1821-37, 1930, p.9

ANSDELL, Richard RA 1815-1885

A Liverpool sporting and animal painter. His RA exhibits show that he produced a number of the very fashionable Highland scenes. In 1856 he went to Spain and subsequently showed Spanish genre subjects. His most famous work was Battle of the Standard which depicted Sergeant Ewart of Scots Greys at Waterloo, with the gallant soldier killing three Frenchmen to save the regimental standard. The work is now in the Great Hall, Chelsea Hospital. He was elected ARA in 1861 and RA in 1870.

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Clement & Hutton, p.18

ARMITAGE, Edward RA 1817-1896

Armitage went to Paris to study painting under Delaroche in 1837. He assisted his master in the decoration of the hemicycle of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. He won a £300 prize in the Westminster Hall Competition for his Landing of Julius Caesar although he was not commissioned to execute it in oil or fresco. He won a further prize two years later for The Spirit of Religion his third triumph in the exhibition is discussed above, ch1 and ch3. He had a successful academic career, being made ARA in 1867 and RA in 1872. He was Professor of Painting at the RA in 1875

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(Retribution) ILN 15 May 1858 p498

Pictures and drawings selected from the works of Edward Armitage RA (London Sampson Low 1898)

Clement & Hutton, I, p. 22

Athenaeum 3 July 1847, p.705. Meeanee

ATKINSON , John Augustus 1775-1861

This artist has no entry in Wood.

Born in London, Atkinson went to the Russian court at St Petersburg at the age of nine, with his uncle. He studied the picture collections there and was himself employed to produce military pictures for the court. For example The Victory of the Cossacks of the Don over the Tartars He also did Russian peasant costume pictures and travelled extensively in Russia. He returned to England in 1801, and published a series of views and folk costumes of Russia.

"In 1807 he published a set of soft-ground etchings to illustrate the "Miseries of Human Life", and in the same year, "A Picturesque Representation, in 100 coloured plates of the Naval, Military and Miscellaneous costumes of Britain." (Redgrave pl5)

He began exhibiting at the RA in 1803. His exhibits show him to have had ambitions to be a History painter. For example, in 1804 he showed Leonidas defending the straits of Thermopylae His first British battle picture was shown the following year, Battle of Lasswaree, gained by General Lake over the Mahratta Forces.Ist November 1803 During the later years of the Peninsular War he showed a number of battle pieces and military subject pictures. At the time of the BI competition he, and Dighton were the most experienced battle painters in the country. Unfortunately nothing is known about Atkinson's market for these pictures. He was a very productive artist, showing an average of three oil paintings per year at the Academy as well as watercolours at the OWCS. His BI picture failed to win him a premium. No reviewers referred to his picture and nothing is known of it, beyond the title, The Battle of Waterloo . A work by him, in collaboration with AW Devis was shown at the RA in 1816 and at the BI in 1817, and later engraved by Burnet. Atkinson did not gain Academic honours, and abruptly ceased to exhibit at the RA in 1833. Redgrave gives his date of death as 1861. His subsequent career is not documented.

BARKER, Thomas Jones 1815-1882

Son of a famous Bath family of artists. His father was a painter of sporting scenes, and T.J. shared this facility. He studied in Paris under Horace Vernet from the age of 19 until 1845. Many of his man works at this period were commissioned by King Louis-Phillipe. He received the Legion d'honneur. His military speciality was for large scale mass-portrait pictures of military events. His The Siege of Lucknow was made up of between 400 and 500 portraits. As is discussed in Chapter 2, above, his work was not critically well received, but had great commercial success. He used Fenton's photographs of the Crimean war as information for his pictures.

He exhibited at the RA from 1845-76, without ever gaining acceptance to the Academy. His chief patrons were print dealers, who commissioned oil paintings from him, to form the basis of engravings. Among his patrons was Alderman Sir G Moon. His The Charger of Captain Nolan returning with his dead master, RA 1855. is in the National Gallery of Ireland. Napoleon at Bassano (Coll Manchester City Art Gallery)

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Art Journal 1851 p 124; 1860 pl83; 1878 p69-72

Pat Hodgsen Early War Photographs (1974), p.12

T Mardy Rees entry "Barker"

Athenaeum 17 Nov 1855 pl342 (Charge of the Light Brigade)

BEAVIS, Richard RWS 1824-1896

Beavis was a painter of historical battle pictures, and was one of the artists who in the 1880s and 1890s turned to Napoleonic subjects. He was a prolific painter, in oils and watercolours. After training at the RA Schools, he became a designer for Messrs Trollope, a firm of decorators. In the late 1860s, Beavis lived at Boulogne, visiting Holland. He was influenced by Millais and the Barbizon painters. His studio sale at Christie's 17 Feb 1897, shows a large number of French prints and books on military history, also armour and costumes.

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A Border Raid 1880; and Passage of the Bidassoa 1886
are at Sunderland Art Gallery.

Country Life 10 June 1971 p. 1436
Art Journal 1877 pp. 65-68
Studio Jan 1905

BERKELEY, Stanley RE fl 1878-1902 d 1909

London animal landscape, sporting and historical battle painter. Exhibited at the RA from 1881 to 1902. Did a number of historical, Civil War, subjects. In 1900 he exhibited General Gordon quelling a riot at Darfur
Charge of the Cuirassiers at Waterloo - or the Sunken Road of Ohain (coll. Union League of Philadelphia)

BUTLER, Elizabeth 1846?-1933

Born in Lausanne, the daughter of T J Thompson and Christiana Weller, close friends of Charles Dickens. Her sister was Alice, later Meynell, the poet. She passed her childhood in Italy and France, when she studied art with foreign masters. She went to South Kensington Schools where she was a contemporary of Kate Greenaway. In 1877, she married General, later Sir William Butler, KCB. They travelled extensively and lived for example in Egypt & Ireland. Her career had a flying start in 1874 with the Roll Call, and she exhibited battle scenes consistently until the early 1920s.

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June Badeni, The Slender Tree 1983

Edward McCourt, Remember Butler! 1967

Wilfred Meynell, The Life & Work of Lady Butler, 1898

CHARLTON, John 1849-1904

Born in Newcastle, the artist first worked for a bookseller who was an admirer of Bewick, and who encouraged Charlton to study that artist's work. Charlton then attended Newcastle School of Art and was the student of William B Scott. He initially worked on animal portraits and sporting scenes, finding patrons among the Newcastle industrialists, and members of the local gentry and aristocracy. From 1870, Charlton began to exhibit rural and animal scenes at the RA. In 1872, he began to illustrate regularly for The Graphic,

and shortly after moved to London. At first his work was almost exclusively hunting scenes depicting such prestigious hunts as the Pytchley. In 1883 he showed the first of his battle pictures, all of which showed horses as the chief protagonists.

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Henry H S Pearse "John Charlton" The Art Journal 1892 p34

Simon Halfe The Dictionary of British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists 1800-1914 1978 p260

Frederick Villiers Peaceful Personalities & Warriors Bold 1907 p27

The Academy No 785 21 May 1887 p368

CLENNELL, Luke 1782-1840

No entry in Wood.

A Northumbrian painter, Clennell entered the studio of Thomas Bewick, as the engraver's apprentice. He came to London to execute a commission on behalf of his former master and later stayed on to engrave Stothard's drawing to illustrate Hume's The History of England. He was a premium winner in the BI competition, (see ch. 1) but died very young, reputedly from the pressure of a commission received from the Earl of Egremont.

Bibliography

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Tyne & Wear Co Museum "Luke Clennell 1781-1840" 1981

COOPER, Abraham, 1787-1868

born in Holborn London, the son of a tobacconist, later an inn keeper. As has been shown above, chapter 1, Cooper was considered by the art establishment to be a "self-taught" artist, in that he did not attend an Academy. In fact he was formally or informally apprenticed to the sporting artist Benjamin Marshall in 1812. He began exhibiting at the RA in 1812, producing animal pictures and portraits, until 1819, when he showed the first of his Civil War Battle paintings. In 1812 he became a member of the Artists Benevolent Fund, and later its Chairman. His entry at the BIBLucher at Ligny was bought by the Duke of Marlborough. He exhibited a huge total of 332 paintings at the RA of which a mere 51 depict soldiers either historical or contemporary. Despite this it was as a battle painter he was known, the "English Vernet".

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Studio Sale: Christie 28 April 1869

CROFTS, Ernest 1847-1911

Leeds artist, studied in London and Dusseldorf. Wood declares him to have been a "disciple of Meissonier". It seems likely that he was influenced by a variety of French artists, including Detaille and De Neuville, as well as Butler and Desanges.

On the evening of the Battle of Waterloo RA 1879 (coll. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool)

The Fighting retreat from Quatre Bras (coll Sheffield City AG)

Moodkee, Charge of the 3rd Kings Own Light Dragons Dec 18

1845 (coll Queens Royal Irish Hussars, co Amtrim)
Capture of a French Battery by the 52nd Light Infantry at Waterloo c 1914 (coll R. Green Jackets, Peninsular Barracks, Winchester. This could be the version of the subject shown at the RA in 1896 .

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Clement and Hutton, p39
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Graphic vol 25 date 3 1911 p414
ILN 13 may 1882 p467 (review At the farm of Mont St Jean
Athenaeum 13 May 1893, p.5 Moodkee

DESANGES. Louis Willam. 1822-?77

Desanges was a London artist was began his career as a portrait painter. He had some art-training in Paris, and travelled extensively in Italy and France.

Most of his early exhibits at the RA were portraits or History paintings. In about 1856 he began the series of Victoria Cross pictures, which were displayed at the Crystal Palace for the next three decades. He began exhibiting battles at the RA in 1862 nThe Battle of Inkermann; and his last entry was in 1877.

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J Hichberger "Democratising Glory? : The Victoria Cross Paintings of Louis William Desanges" Oxford Art Joynral Vol 8:1 pp42-52
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DIGHTON, Denis 1792-1827

The son of the popular caricaturist Robert Dighton, Denis enjoyed the special patronage of the Prince of Wales, later Regent and George IV. Through his patron, he received a commission in the Army, at the age of 17. he soon abandoned the Army for art. He began exhibiting at the RA in 1811, until 1825. From 1814, his works were signed "Military painter to HRH the Prince Regent.

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FELLER, Frank

Feller is so unknown as not even to be mentioned in Wood. He exhibited only 3 works at the RA. 1883 An Outpost; 1887 Bushey Park and 1895 Faithful to the last There are no reproductions of his work at the National Army Museum, nor have I found any reviews of his work.

FRIPP, Charles Edwin 1854-1906

Although Fripp is from a well-known family of painters, his own career is poorly documented. His father G A Fripp (1813-96) was an established landscape artist and member of

the Watercolour Society. Fripp had a thorough Academic training, studying at Nureemburg and the RA Schools. he shared a studio with the artist and architect J W Waterhouse in Primrose Hill Hampstead.

C E Fripp's first work at the RA was The Last Stand of the 24th Regt. Battle of Isandhlwana 22nd Jan. 1879 (1885 Coll National Army Museum, Chelsea) (see below chapter three page) Fripp had been sent to cover the Zulu campaign by The Graphic, for which paper he made a number of very competent sketches in black and white.

Melton Prior Campaigns of a War Correspondent 1896 pl14-5 Anthony Hobson The Art and Life of J W Waterhouse RA 1980 p38 Walker Art Gallery Quarterly. "GA Fripp and Alfred D Fripp" by H Stewart Thompson 1929.

GIBB, Robert RSA 1845-1932

A Scottish painter of not only military but also romantic and historical scenes. His The Thin Red Line brought him popular success. Most of his career was in Scotland, although he did send five works to the RA in London.

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The Thin Red Line The Academy No 460 26 Feb 1881 p467
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GILES, Geoffrey Douglas. 1857-1923

Giles was one of the few battle painters who turned to the genre after serving as a soldier. His few battle pictures, shown at the RA, were well received, as though they were "authentic" and true because he was an eye-witness to the battles and an expert. Nothing is known about Giles' family background or education, but he went to Sandhurst in 1875, before taking up a Short Service Commission. He served in the Second Afghan War 1879 -80 before being seconded to the Egyptian Gendarmerie in 1883. He commanded the Turkish cavalry at the first Battle of El Teb, at which the British force, led by the English "Baker Pasha" was crushingly defeated. Giles was then attached to the 10th Royal Hussars, holding the rank of Captain. He performed gallantly at the Second Battle of El Teb, winning medal and clasp, the Khedive's star and Osmanieh 4th class.

Giles left the Army in 1884 and entered the Paris studio of Carolus Duran, as had another battle painter E M Hale.(see below) Giles had evidently worked as an artist before his training in Paris, since he sent his first exhibit to the RA in 1884. This work was a Study of Palms, Cairo and suggests that he had been in the habit of sketching on his foreign tour of duty. It may be that this was a result of his drawing training at Sandhurst.

He exhibited only three works at the RA, all battle paintings, in the successive years 1885-7. All of them were based on the series of battle now known as the First Sudan campaign 1883-4. It is certain that Giles had first-hand knowledge of the terrain and people he depicted. Little is known about his career, it seems though, that he was unable to sustain a practise solely by battle painting. In 1888-91 his illustrated costume pictures, in Her Majesty's Army was published.

His Charge of the 10th Hussars at El Teb is in the collection of 10th Hussars.

The Battle of Tamai, Soudan Campaign 1884 (NAM)(on loan from the Yorks and Lancs Regt)

The Battle of Tamai of the Mahdist forces. (NAM)

GOW, Andrew Carrick RA RI 1848-1920

Born in London, Gow studied at Heatherly School of Art. He exhibited at the RA from 1867 onwards, but turned to battle and military subjects only after 1878, presumably influenced by the success of Butler's Roll Call. He specialised in Napoleonic and Waterloo pictures in the 1890s, and in 1901, during the Boer War produced The Death of the Khalifa. This picture, based on the end of the Second Sudan War, typical of the crude nationalism and violence which emerged in British art in this period.

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Who's Who 1914

Athenaeum 1920 p. 837

Studio 1920 p34

Blackburn Royal Academy Pictures 1891

Clement & Hutton

Ruskin Academy Notes 1875

Poynter National Gallery III 190

GUEST, Douglas fl 1803-1839

A painter of historical and mythological themes. Guest studied at the RA Schools. He won a gold medal for Bearing the dead body of Patroclus to the camp, Achilles' grief. He ceased to exhibit at the RA from 1817-34 and then sent two works to the RA. He painted a forty foot high altarpiece The Transiguration for St Thomas' Salisbury. He was a writer upon art, publishing An Inquiry into the Causes of History Painting in 1829. His BI entry was an elaborate allegory. It did not win an recognition from either the judges or the critics.

HALE, Edward Matthew. 1852-1924

A genre painter based in Godalming and London. Hale studied in Paris with Cabanel and Carolus Duran 1873-5. On his return he followed a typical route for battle painters of his generation. He became a "Special" artist for the Illustrated London News and was sent to cover wars in Russia and Afghanistan. He produced a number of genre scenes of military life and the sea.

There are two works by him in Leeds City AG

HAMILTON, Vereker M, fl 1886-1914

A Scottish painter from an Army family. Through his brother Major-General Sir Ian Hamilton he met General Roberts, and painted a series of pictures of his campaigns. He also did some Napoleonic pictures. His picture Attack on the Peiwar Kotal was shown at the Salon.

Two of his pictures are in the collection of Aberdeen City AG

V M Hamilton Things that Happened 1925

HILLINGFORD, Robert 1825-1904

Painter of historical genre. Born in London, studied in Dusseldorf, Munich and at home. After marrying an Italian model, he spent many years in Italy, painting scenes of Italian life. In 1864, after 16 years absence he returned to London, where he exhibited 1864-93 at the RA, BI and SS. He concentrated on military themes, especially of the

Napoleonic war.

F Gordon Roe "The Hillingford Saga" The Connoisseur Sept 1975 pp342-9

"British artists, their style and character" ART JOURNAL 1 Sept 1871 pp23-5

The Scots Greys among the French guns at Waterloo(repro and review AJ 1899 p180

KEMP- WELCH, Lucy 1869-1958 RI ROI RBA RCA

As a child was encouraged to be an artist and would draw the skeletons of animals in the collection of a veterinary surgeon. She, with her sister Edith went to study at Bournemouth College of Art, before they went in 1891, to study at Hubert Von Herkomer's school at Bushey. She was a favourite pupil of Herkomer's and took over the school in 1907.

Like many of the artists in this period, Kemp-Welch came to battle painting via her facility for depicting horses. Her RA exhibits between 1895-1904 were dominated by large scale scenes of equine activity, for example her Gipsy Horse Drovers brought her very favourable reviews. In 1901 she "responded" to the Boer war by painting a vigorous representation of Lord Dundonald's dash to Ladysmith, IN Sight! (Royal Albert Museum, Exeter)

MASQUERIER, John James. (1778-1855)

born in Chelsea, the son of French refugees. He was a student at the RA, he received a travelling grant from the Academy. In 1789 he was in France and thus was able to make sketches from personal observation, of the French Rev. he was also acquainted with the notabilities of the time. In 1795 he began his painting career, and in the following year exhibited an altarpiece The Incredulity of St Thomas done for a Chapel in Duke St Westminster. In 1800 he again visited Paris and made a portrait of Napoleon.

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POTT, Laslett John RBA 1837 -1898

Painted of historical genre. Born in Newark, Notts.

His involvement in military painting was via historical genre scenes.

AJ 1869 p68: 1873 p264; 1875 p151; 1877 p257-60; Clement and Hutton

On the march from Moscow Forbes magazine Collection
Charge of 52nd Light Infantry at Waterloo Green Jackets Museum, Winchester.

STEPHANOFF, Francis Philip 1790-1860

A member of a Russian dynasty of artists. His father was a painter of portraits and stage-scenery who settled in London. He entered the RA Schools in 1801, and exhibited from 1807. He worked on Biblical, historical and genre subjects, as well as being a successful battle painter. He was unsuccessful in the BI competition but won a £100 premium in the 1843 Westminster Hall competition for a subject from Milton's Comus.

AJ 1860 1902, p193-4

STEWART, Allan 1865-1951

Painted figurative and military subjects.

Born in Edinburgh, educated at the Edinburgh Institution and the RSA Schools. he was on the staff of the Illustrated London News. he also illustrated books on history and travel. His pictures were purchased by galleries in S Africa; America and the Australian War Museum.

His Charge of the Gordon Highlanders at Dargai a North West Frontier subject was exhibited at the Fine Art Society in 1898. The FAS had the picture engraved.

The Last Stand of Major Wilson at Shangani 1893 is at the Russell-Cotes Museum Bournemouth

Who's Who 1936

Who was Who 1951-60

THOMPSON see above BUTLER

VILLIERS, Frederick 1852-1922

Studied at the British Museum; South Kensington Schools, (1869-70) and the Royal Academy Schools 1871. (WHO was Who 1916-28) He was the recipient of 12 English and foreign war medals, clasps and decorations.

He became a war artist for the Graphic in 1876. He was author of several autobiographies dealing with his experiences as a Special artist, Peaceful Personalities and Warriors Bold (LN & NY) 1907

Five decades of adventure 1921 2 vols

In between many trips abroad he had a studio at 5 Primrose Hill Studios, where Waterhouse also was.

Exhibited at the Royal Institute of oil painters.

Had only two exhibits at the RA

1882 n403 The road home; the return of an Imperial brigade from Afghanistan

1883 n101 Fighting Arabi with his own weapons; an incident of the battle of Tel-el-Kebir

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Peter Johnson Front Line Artists 1979 p101

WOLLEN, William Barnes RI RO RBC 1857-1936

Military, sporting and portrait painter. He trained at the Slade School and had been intended for the Army but turned to art instead. He was a Special artist for the "Sphere" in South Africa in 1900.

Buffs at the Battle of Albhera Buffs Museum Canterbury

The 21st Lancers at Omdurman (RA1899) RMC Sandhurst

WOOD, Stanley fl 1885-1903

painted military subjects 5 works at the RA including Royal Horse Artillery going into action

A Surrender under protest: an incident in the Matabele War (RA 1897)

WOODVILLE, RICHARD CATON 1856-1927

Born in London, but passed his childhood in Russia and Germany. Painter and illustrator mainly of military scenes. Studied in Dusseldorf under Gebhardt, where he did Biblical subjects; and Paris.

Came to London to work in 1876-7, during the Russo-Turkish

War. "when the British public was taking one of its periodic fits of interest in battle-paintings and drawings". (Random Rec P12)

he worked extensively for the Illustrated London News
He went to Egypt in 1882 and was commissiobed by the Fine Art Society to paint the battle of Kassassin.

he painted the wedding of Princess Beatrice, for the Queen, making extensive use of photographs.

author of autobiog Random Recollections p70

His patrons were very varied. he made two versions of In vain, the death of Sir Herbert Stewart on his way back from Metamneh on the Gordon Resce expedition. One was sold to "a prominent furnishing house in the Tottenham Court Road, and the other to the Queen. (p70 Random Recollections) (the latter pic is at RMA Sandhurst)

Charge of the 21st Lancers at Omdurman Sept 2 1898 Walker AG Liverpool

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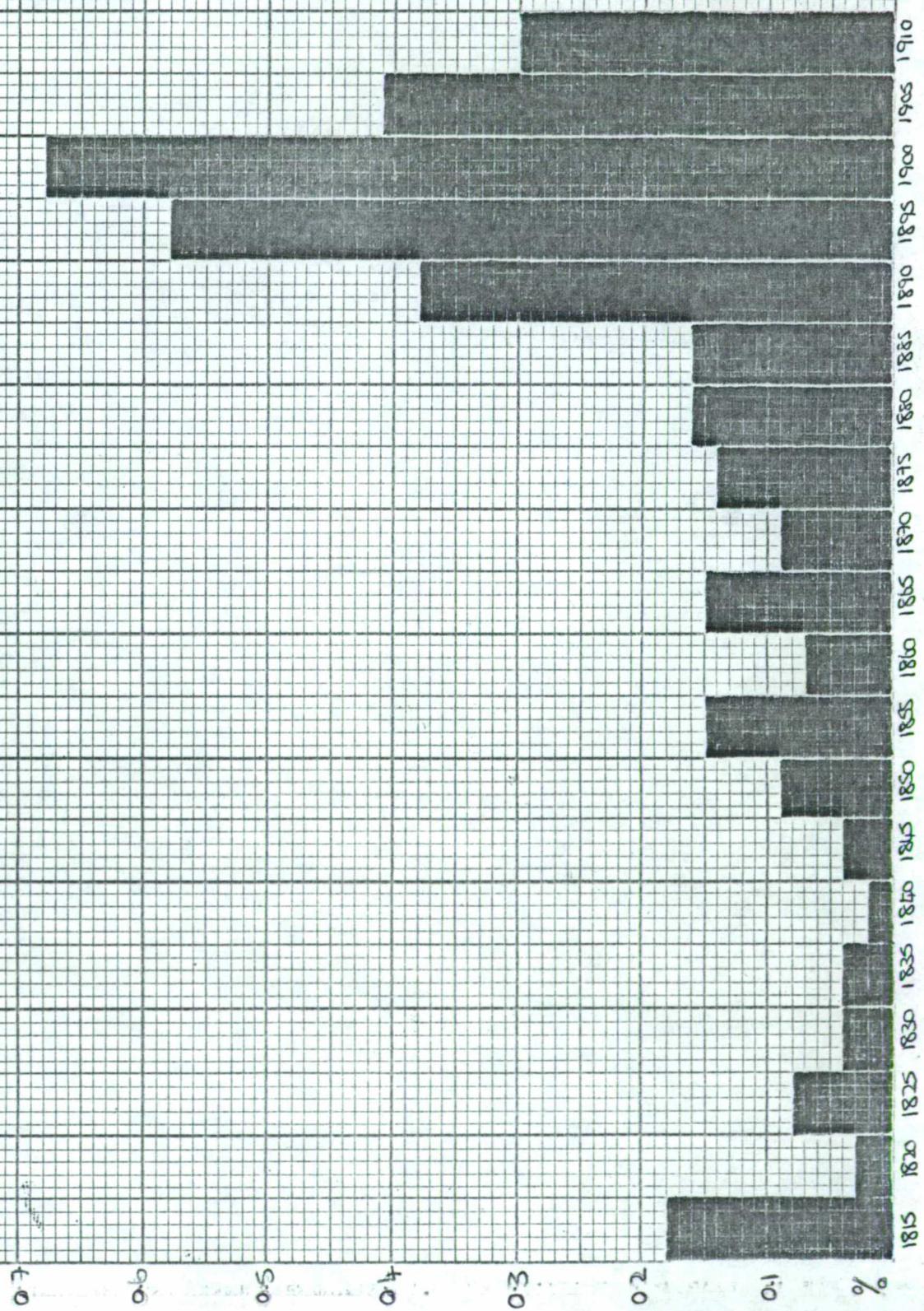
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PERCENTAGE OF
BATTLE + MILITARY
PICTURES OF
TOTAL EXHIBITED
AT R. A. 1815-1914



MILITARY PAINTINGS

EXHIBITED AT R.A.

1815-1914.

KEY
1815 = 1815-18 inc.

— GENRE

— BATTLE

— GENERAL
— MILITARY

1815 1820 1825 1830 1835 1840 1845 1850 1855 1860 1865 1870 1875 1880 1885 1890 1895 1900 1905 1910 1915