

The Turner Collector: Elhanan Bicknell

PETER BICKNELL *Cambridge with* HELEN GUITERMAN *London*

There took place last Saturday an event in London such as, we venture to think, could scarcely in the same time and under the same conditions have happened in any other city in the world. It was not a great national event - a Royal reception, or a popular demonstration. It was not anything attaching to or symbolising institutions or sentiments peculiarly British. It had nothing to do with our glorious constitution, our lords, our commons, our free press, our meteor-flag, our climate, our racehorses, or our bitter beer . . . It was merely a sale of pictures. The collection of paintings thus sold had been gathered together by a private Englishman, a man of comparatively obscure position, a man engaged at one time in mere trade - a man not even pretending to resemble a Genoese or Florentine merchant prince, but simply and absolutely a Londoner of the middle class actively occupied in business. This Englishman . . . had brought together a picture gallery which would have done no discredit to a LORENZO the MAGNIFICENT.' The event so described in the *Star* of 28 April 1863 was the opening day of the sale at Christie, Manson and Woods of 'the Renowned Collection of English Pictures and Sculpture of that distinguished Patron of Art, Elhanan Bicknell, Esq. deceased'.

Elhanan Bicknell (ill. 1) was born on 21 December 1788 in Blackman Street, Borough (now part of Southwark) the son of William (1749-1825) who was then running a successful family



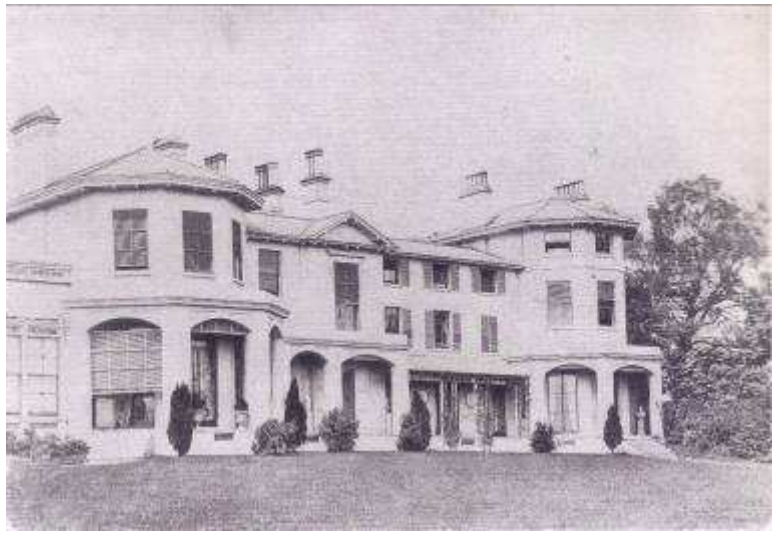
I. Charles Bagniet, *Elhanan Bicknell*, lithograph, 1864

serge business; this had been moved to London from Taunton earlier in the century. William was musical, a mathematician, something of a writer and a great reader. He found the wool trade uncongenial and the year after Elhanan's birth sold the business to buy the freehold of an 'Academy' attended by some 100 scholars, in the old palace of the Bishop of Lincoln at Ponder's End, Enfield. The school prospered, and in December 1804 he moved it and his residence to Surrey Hall, Lower Tooting. Elhanan's curious name' came through the Bicknell connection with the Free Churches, John Wesley having been a friend of the family at Taunton and in London; William's closest friend was the American preacher, the Reverend Elhanan Winchester, author of *Universal Restoration*, a book which gave William great comfort and satisfaction. Through Winchester's influence he became a man of strong Unitarian principles which were passed on to Elhanan and to at least one of Elhanan's sons, Henry Sanford Bicknell. According to Sidney Bicknell, his grandfather William "was a conscientious hard-worker, charming conversationalist, liberal in religion and greatly beloved. Just before his death [in 1825], he said that 'the only mental relaxation he had enjoyed in his long life was playing the spinet, the harpsichord, and the organ' ".³

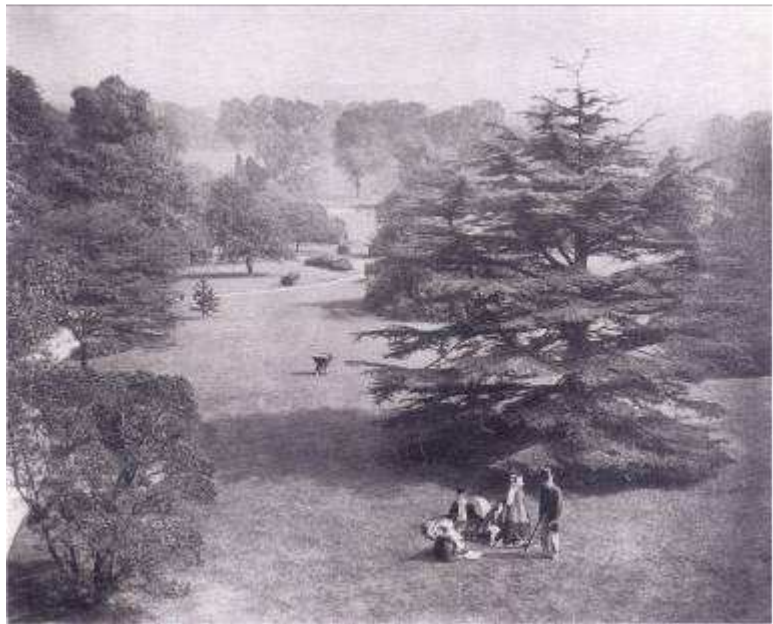
So Elhanan was brought up in a prosperous, liberal, nonconformist, middle-class atmosphere. He was educated by his father and in 1807 was acting as a junior master in the school when his elder brother, William Isaac, took it over. This encouraged Elhanan to abandon teaching and go to a friend at Cause, near Shrewsbury, to learn farming. However, within a year, he was back in London, where his uncle, John Walton Langton, offered him a partnership with his son, John Bicknell Langton, in an established business as oil merchants at Newington Butts, near the Elephant and Castle. John Langton, the father, had invented a process of refining spermaceti 'which, figuratively speaking, turned into gold what had previously been regarded as mere waste and a nuisance'.⁴ Utilising this process, the firm of Langton and Bicknells, skilfully directed by Elhanan, rapidly developed, 'owning', according to Elhanan's son Sidney, 'a fleet of more than thirty ships, monopolising the Pacific sperm-whale fishery'. However, recent research into the whaling industry has shown that the firm probably only owned substantial financial interests in ships. Nevertheless Elhanan described himself on documents as a 'shipowner and merchant'. Although Langton and Bicknells probably held important monopolies for the sale of their products, it is most unlikely that they monopolised the Pacific sperm-whale fishery. It is characteristic of Elhanan that when in about 1835 he saw how adversely the repeal of the navigation laws and the abolition of protection would affect his business, as a dedicated liberal, he magnanimously supported the cause of free trade. However, by the time legislation, the introduction of both petroleum oil and coal gas, and foreign competition had begun effectively to cripple his undertakings, he had made the fortune which enabled him to live in comparative affluence and to put together his remarkable collection of modern English works of art.

Elhanan followed his father as a firm supporter of the Unitarian Church, subscribing generously to chapels at South Place, Finsbury, and at Effra Road, Brixton. He also supported

2. 'The residence of the late E. Bicknell Esq', Herne Hill, Dulwich, photographed by A.S. Bicknell, May 1859', written on the back of the print in A.S.Bicknell's hand.



3. 'Garden View Herne Hill. The cedar was planted by my Father in 1819. Figures Percy Bicknell (left), Rosa, Mrs Wild, A.S. Bicknell (right)'. Rosa was A.S.Bicknell's wife and daughter of Mrs Wild. Photograph by A.S.Bicknell, c.1859. The cedar tree can be seen in Denning's picture (111.4).



the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, but would never accept any office in the church. In the lithographed portrait (ill.) of 1846 by Baugniet⁶ Elhanan is shown, presumably at his own request, with three volumes lettered Priestly, Lardner and Channing, all three writers on Unitarianism.

On to October 1810, shortly after starting in business, Elhanan married his partner's sister, Hannah Wootton Langton,⁷ who bore him the first three of his thirteen children, two of whom died in infancy. Hannah died in 1815, and fifteen months later Elhanan was married again to Mary Jones who survived for only ten years, bearing two children, Mary Anne and Henry Sanford. After an interval of just over a year, he married Lucinda ('Linda') Sarah Browne, the 28-year-old sister of Hablot Knight Browne, Thiz', Dicken's illustrator.' Elhanan and Linda lived happily together at Herne Hill for over twenty years, adding eight children to the family. But in March 1850 she suddenly died. Elhanan could clearly not live happily without a spouse for, once more after an interval of little over a year, he married a 48-year old widow, Louisa Jones. This fourth marriage was not popular with the family. His daughter-in-law Christine recorded in her journal on the day of the wedding, 14 August 1851: 'Mr B committed the folly of marrying a fourth time Mrs Hy Jones the bride, after all

protestations on both side that the report was false!!⁹ Christine's father David Roberts, who later described Louisa as 'the old hen', wrote to his son-in-law, Henry Bicknell from Venice, 'I trust now that all this affair is over that things will settle down smoothly . . . No one knows better than yourself that from his retired & quiet habit he could not live single & that had his choice been one younger, things might have turned out very different from what they are likely to be. He will still be Commander in Chief as usual & things will go on much in the old way, at all events let us try to make it so.'" Louisa outlived Elhanan by 23 years.

It was shortly after Elhanan's second marriage, in about 1819, that he moved to Herne Hill. The original house was a simple late Georgian building set in extensive grounds. During more than forty years of residence he extended and developed the house, adding two symmetrical stuccoed wings, each larger than the existing building, and a splendid conservatory, giving the whole a dignified Regency look (111.2). He exercised his taste for landscape gardening in planning the park-like surroundings (111.3), and established a small farm in the grounds which supplied mutton and other produce for the table. When the

property was auctioned after his death it consisted of seven lots, amounting to about twenty acres in all."

The children who grew up in the stimulating atmosphere of Herne Hill were interesting. According to their cousin, Edgar Browne, they were 'all above the average in personal appearance and intelligence.'" Certainly Denning's picture³ of six of Lucinda's eight makes them look, boys and girls alike, exceedingly pretty (111.4). They were a versatile family. Henry, the second surviving son, took an informed interest in his father's collection. The bulk of his own collection of paintings and drawings were sold at Christie's in April 1881. There were four works by Turner and 214 by his father-in-law David Roberts. Lucinda's eldest son Herman became an adventurous traveller and oriental scholar. He was the first European to make the pilgrimage to Mecca totally undisguised. Herman's youngest brother Clarence was a talented amateur artist, botanist and archaeologist. He founded the Museo Bicknell at Bordighera (now the Institute of Ligurian Studies), and virtually discovered the prehistoric rock engravings of the Montebeigo region in the Maritime Alps.

The enlarged house at Herne Hill made a splendid setting for Elhanan's collection of pictures and sculptures. Edgar Browne has described 'the three large rooms, entirely given up to the display of pictures . . . In the middle was the old drawing-room' which 'was covered over with a sort of Rococo panelling in white and gold' and Gustav Waagen tells us that 'the inside of the shutters [were] lined with mirrors.¹⁴ Moreover, as Browne also states, 'The pictures in this room were all water-colours, and were not hung in the usual manner, but inset, the gilded mouldings serving as frames, and the water-colours acting as decorative panels . . . Turner's "Rivers of France", if I remember rightly, served as decoration of the doors . . . The dining-room and the big drawing-room were devoted to oils; in the latter were a considerable number of Turners. Besides the pictures on the walls, Mr. Bicknell had stowed away others of equal importance. I shall never forget the thrill I experienced when he produced from a portfolio Turner's four Yorkshire drawings which had never been exposed'. The way Elhanan was buying pictures in 1854 with the redecoration of the house in view is nicely illustrated by his purchase of Stanfield's '*Pic du Midi d'Ossau in the Pyrenees, with Brigands*' (111.5). This was commissioned for 700 guineas (it sold in 1863 for 2550 guineas) and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1854. However, before it was delivered to Herne Hill on August 8th/9th, it was adjusted in its proportions and probably given its arched shape to fit over the chimney-piece of one of the new rooms. The house and grounds also made a

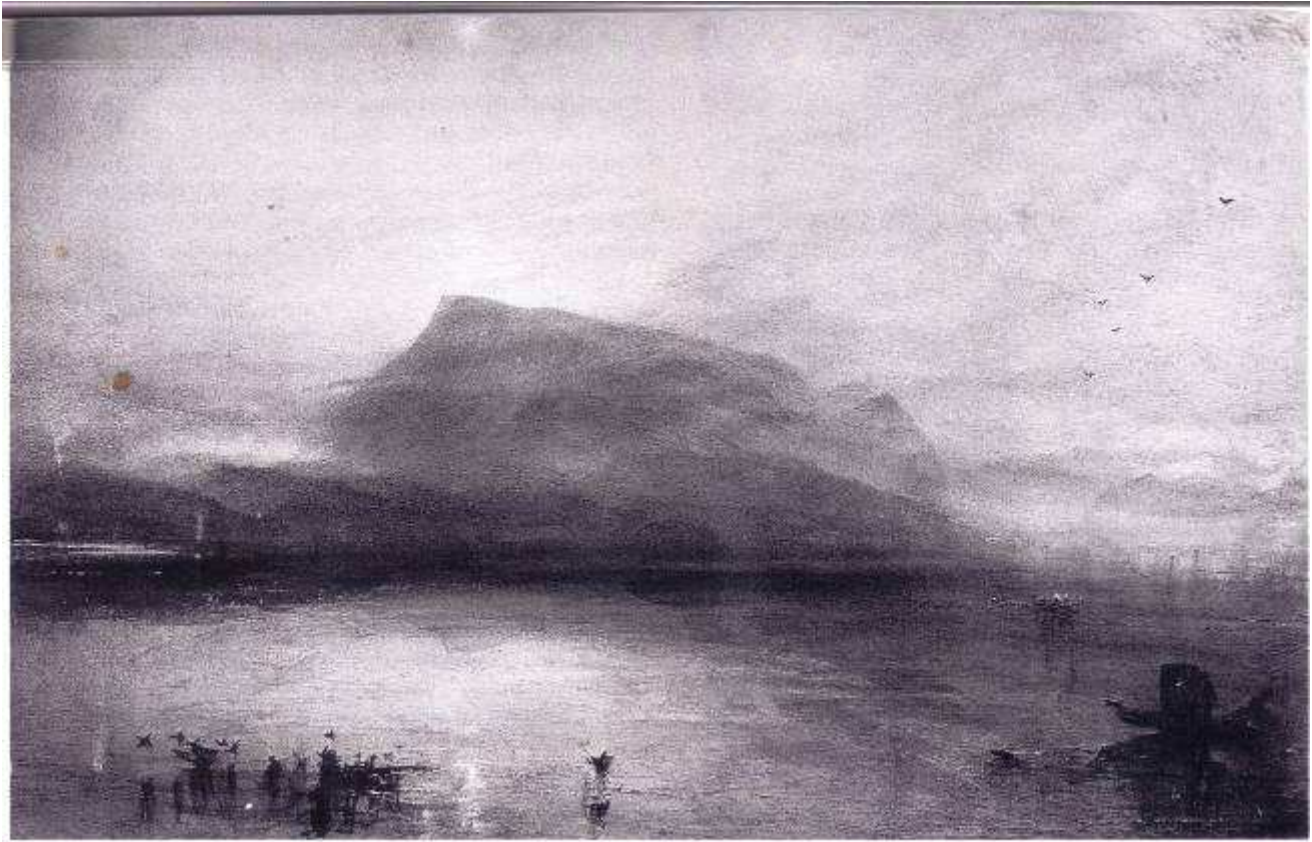


4. Stephen Poyntz Denning, *Children of Elhanan and Lucinda Bicknell at home*, watercolour, 1841, Victoria and Albert Museum.



5. Clarkson Stanfield, *Pic du Midi d'Ossau: in the Pyrenees, with smugglers*, oil on canvas, 213.2.152.3 cm, 1854, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College. This picture, selling for 2,550 guineas in the 1863 sale, fetched a higher price than any of the ten paintings by Turner.

splendid setting for the generous entertaining in which Elhanan delighted. Those he invited were mostly artists or people interested in the arts. He bought his pictures directly from the artists and in public sales, and not from dealers. In the 1863 sale catalogue the works of fourteen artists are described as 'painted for Mr Bicknell', and probably all of these artists were entertained at Herne Hill, most of them frequently. Edgar Browne found Herne Hill delightful 'not only on account of the profusion and excellence of its art treasures, but for the certainty of meeting, especially on Sundays, a number of men occupying distinguished positions in the world of art.' Elhanan's desire in old age for the company of visitors is delightfully illustrated in a letter from David Roberts to Christine saying, 'Yesterday, Sunday, your father, dreading the solitariness of Hernehill . . . sent the groom with a note begging me to pick up the wayfarers or any R.A. in want of fresh air & a dinner I could find . . .'⁵ And these were the people whose pictures he bought; so his collection was made up almost entirely of the works of living artists. Those best represented were Turner, Roberts, Stanfield, Callcott, Landseer, Webster and Frost⁶ in oils; and in watercolours Copley Fielding, Prout, de Wint, Gastineau and Muller.⁷ Turner and Roberts were his first favourites, and he seems to have preferred landscape and seascape to other forms of painting. But what was his taste really like? On returning from a tour of Italy for the express purpose of seeing Old Masters, he announced, according to Browne, that he had seen nothing he would 'give a damn for'. Although Gainsborough was represented, Reynolds and his school were not. He did not possess a single Constable although Maria Bicknell, Constable's wife, was a relative, and C.R. Leslie,⁸ Constable's biographer, was one of the Herne Hill circle, who painted at least one picture for Elhanan. Perhaps



6. *The Blue Rigi: Lake of Lucerne - sunrise* (W.1524), watercolour, 29.7.45 cm, Private Collection.

it was the influence of Ruskin who had no use for Constable that accounted for this omission. Many of the pictures in the collection are today somewhat embarrassing - for instance Webster's companion pieces, *The Smile* (114) and *The Frown* (115) portraying 'the naughtiest of schoolboys' and Frost's *Euphrosyne* (109) a group of the 'daintiest of damsels'⁹ are unbelievably coy. However, when Waagen visited Herne Hill he particularly admired these pictures, finding 'The Joke' [*The Smile*] 'full of delightful humour'. Although the Turner oils and watercolours were the pride of the collection, Elhanan did not buy anything more unconventional than *The Blue Rigi*, (125, ill.6), and probably disliked Turner's 'nonsense colouring'.²¹ He had a shrewd eye for an investment, but was clearly influenced in his choice and in the way he commissioned works of art by a genuine desire to help the artist. He also encouraged them by generously financing prints of their works. In general what he bought was what was acceptable at the time - the sort of picture which was being hung in the Academy.

Although Turner was for many years one of the most frequent visitors at Herne Hill, and Elhanan often went to his studio, their friendship never seems to have been intimate, and they had their quarrels. The earliest record of Elhanan's interest in Turner seems to be an entry in the diary of E.W. Cooke for 16 January 1835: 'Bicknell called and brought an extraordinary dog. He came to see the Turner pictures .'.²² In 1838 Bicknell bought his first works by Turner at Christie's, two watercolours of Himalayan mountains which were designs for White's *Views in India*, published in 1836. Then on 24 April 1841 Cooke 'Dined at Mr Bicknell's, met Messrs Turner RA, Stansfield, Roberts (& Christine) Colline, Phillips, Gastineau &c. It was in this year, 1841, that Elhanan bought his first oil painting by Turner [*Venice: the Giudecca, la Donna della Salute and San*

Georgio, (116), B.J.391) for 250 guineas, followed in 1842 by a companion piece, *Campo Santo, Venice* (112, B.J.397) for the same sum. Both these were catalogued in 1863 by Christie's (probably advised by Henry Bicknell) as 'painted for Mr Bicknell',²⁴ indicating, if correct, that by 1841 Elhanan was commissioning paintings from Turner. In 1843, the year of the publication of the first volume of *Modern Painters*, Ruskin and Turner dined together at Herne Hill, and were there again on 13 March 1844. It was in that month that Elhanan bought the great Palestrina - Composition (122,



7. *Palestrina - composition*, h828, R.A. 1830, B.J.295, oil on canvas, 140.5 x 24.90 cm, Clore Gallery for the Turner collection, London. Accompanied by these lines:

Or from yon mural rock, high crowned Przneste,
Where, misdeeming of his strength, the Carthaginian stood,
And marked with eagle-eye, Rome as his victim.

Mss. *Fallacies of Hope*

The work was largest of the six paintings bought by Elhanan Bicknell from Turner in March 1844.

B.J.295, ill.7), now in the Tate Gallery, which seems to have been in Turner's studio since it was exhibited at the Academy in 1830, and for which Elhanan paid the large sum of £1,050. He is also reputed to have offered £1,600 for *Sun rising through Vapour* (B.J.69).²⁵ At the same time he bought five other paintings from Turner's studio - *Calder Bridge* (Ho, B.J.106) *Ivy Bridge Mill*, (104, B.J.122), *Port Ruysdael* (120, B.J.237), *Wreckers - Coast of Northumberland* (B.J.357, ill.8) and *Ehrenbreitstein* (B.J.361). However, he had difficulty in getting delivery of *Ehrenbreitstein*, as is evident from a letter he wrote to John Pye on 23 June 1845:

My getting the painting *appears* as distant now as it was in March 1844. I thought I had only to send to Queen Anne St. to have it - but the grim master of Castle Giant Grimbo shakes his head and says he & you must first agree all is done to the plate that is necessary, & the picture will be wanted to refer to. Now as I know he goes out a good deal fishing at this season - and then leaves town for some months tour in the Autumn, I hope you will do what is required while he is in town. He is at home today & tomorrow, for he is to dine with me tomorrow - he said he would then get off after the fish, Pray fasten your strongest hook into him before he fairly takes water again or he may get so far and so deep down that even a harpoon will not reach him.²⁶

Also in 1844 Elhanan bought two more paintings from Turner - *Helvoetsluys* (102, B.J.345) and *Antwerp* (97, B.J.350). So eight of

the ten Turner paintings which were the jewels in the crown of the Bicknell Collection were acquired in the same year. He did in fact buy two more in Christie's sale of 13 and 14 June 1851, namely *&and Junction Canal at Southall Mill* (B.J.1cn) and *Saltash with the Water Ferry* (B.J.121), but sold both of them a few years later, so neither was in the 1863 sale.

Just as the oil paintings were bought several at a time, so too the watercolours were bought in sets, but it is difficult to establish exactly when Elhanan bought them or where they are now. Two of his earliest purchases were the well known *The Blue Rigi* (125, w.1524, ill.6) and *Brunnen, Lake Lucerne* (265 w.1527), both acquired in 1842. These were subjects resulting from Turner's visit to Switzerland in 1841, and were commissioned by Elhanan from sketches introduced to him through the agency of Mr Griffiths of Norwood. Two sets of three watercolours, one of vignettes connected with illustrations for *Wanderings by the Seine* (116-118), and another of miniature drawings of Rouen (261), Chateau Gaillard (262) and the Castle of Elz (260) were all catalogued in 1863 as 'painted for Mr Bicknell'. The first set appears to belong to about 1832, and the other to 1844 and 1832, so it is unlikely that they were commissioned. As Elhanan paid the same fee of 120 guineas for each set, they were probably bought at the same time from the studio in 1844 - perhaps with the redecoration of the drawing room at Herne Hill in mind. In all there were eighteen watercolours by Turner in the sale. Elhanan's most important purchase was that of the four 'Yorkshire



8. *Wreckers - coast of Northumberland, with a Steam-Boat assisting a Ship Off Shore*, R.A. 1834, B.J.357 oil on canvas, 91.4x 121.9 cm, Yale Center for British Art. The picture was an especial favourite of Bicknell's and was lent by him to the Royal Scottish Academy in 1849.

Drawings' (268-271), drawn for Sir William Pilkington in 1813-1815,²⁷ and now in the Wallace Collection, bought at the sale of Mr Hogarth of the Haymarket in 1854. It was at the same sale that he bought four early watercolours, including the Whitworth Art Gallery *Winchester Cross* (w.164, ill.9). He was buying the watercolours at the same time as the oils, so his famous Turner collection was put together between 1838 and 1854, about half of it being bought in 1844.

It was just at this time, when Elhanan was seeing Turner regularly and was frequently in his studio, that Turner was working enthusiastically on whaling subjects. His four important pictures of whalers (B.J. nos.414, 415, 423, 426) were painted in 1845 and 1846.²⁸ Although they never ended up in the Bicknell collection, they may have been commissioned by Elhanan, and at any rate were probably painted in the hope that he would buy them. On 31 January 1845 Turner had written to Elhanan urging him to call in Queen Anne Street at his earliest convenience as he had 'a whale or two on the canvas'.²⁹ Two of the four pictures were exhibited at the Royal Academy in the summer of that year, and one of them, *Whalers* (now *The Whale Ship*, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, B.J.415), which certainly passed through Elhanan's hands, was the cause of a well recorded row between painter and patron. In September 1845, after the Academy Exhibition, Ruskin received a letter from his father saying 'Bicknell is quarelling with Turner . . . he found Water Colour in Whalers and rubbed out some with Handky. He went to Turner who looked Daggers and refused to do anything, but at last he has taken it back to alter. Roberts admires the picture but all say it is not finished [Ruskin himself described the two whaling subjects of 1845 as 'wholly unworthy of him'.³⁰] They account for his hurry and disregard for fame by putting Water Colours by his stronger passion, love of money'.³¹ *Whalers* was never returned to Elhanan; and the quarrel may well account for the absence of any of these pictures in his collection. Indeed, it included no whaling subjects of any kind - oils or drawings.

Turner's enthusiasm for whaling subjects, which is closely related to his intense feeling for the drama of the sea, must have been stimulated and encouraged by his association with Elhanan who had such vital interests in the South Seas Whale Fishery. But Turner was also fascinated by Beale's book, *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale*,³² an enlarged edition of which was published in 1839. Elhanan, from his business address, Newington Butts (not Herne Hill) had subscribed for four copies, one of which he may well have given to Turner. When the four pictures were exhibited at the Academy, the catalogue entries of three of them referred to Beale's book, relating them to dramatic accounts of whaling incidents. One of Beale's illustrations is from a print after the marine artist William Huggins (1781-1845), and the others are probably from his sketches. In an earlier essay in *Turner Studies* one of the present writers discussed how a painting of a whaler by Huggins which is still in the possession of the Bicknell family may have influenced Turner when he was painting the Metropolitan Museum *The Whale Ship*. The writer considers it almost certain that Elhanan put Huggins' painting at Turner's disposal when he was working on his own picture.³³

Turner's 'stronger passion, love of money' is illustrated by another quarrel, referred to in the letter from Ruskin's father, already quoted, in which he says, . . . he [Elhanan] gave him 120 Gs for the loan of *Temeraire* [B.J.377] to engrave and Turner besides demands 50 proofs. Bicknell resists and sends 8'.³⁴ As already stated, the financing of engravings in this way was one of the means by which Elhanan helped artists in whom he was interested.

The Ruskins, until 1844 actually living on Herne Hill and then at Denmark Hill, were close neighbours of the Bicknells with whom John was able to study and discuss the Turners. It was



9. *Winchester Cross, Hampshire*, c.1796, watercolour, 22.2 x 17.5 cm, Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester.

asserted by Sidney Bicknell that 'when Turner was wholly unappreciated and his works unsaleable, before Mr. Ruskin, a near neighbour had written a line, he [Elhanan] had bought a splendid assemblage of masterpieces from the artist's store of pictures . . .³⁵; and Edgar Browne said, 'Mr Bicknell had made up his mind about Turner before Ruskin was breeched'.³⁶ These claims, accepted by Katharine Sim in her biography of David Roberts,³⁷ are little more than manifestations of family loyalty, for the first volume of *Modern Painters* was published in 1843, the year before Elhanan had his buying spree in Turner's studio. Indeed, Ruskin had defended Turner as early as 1836 in his unpublished *Reply to Blackwoods*.³⁸

Elhanan's closest friend was David Roberts. Their friendship was cemented in 1841 when Elhanan's son Henry married Roberts's only child Christine. The families became a close knit and affectionate group, constantly visiting and corresponding with each other. It was in the late thirties that Elhanan began devoting a substantial part of his wealth to the serious collection of works of art, and his little Roberts oil painting, *The Chapel of Ferdinand and Isabella at Granada* (82, now Wallace Collection), which Roberts gave him in 1838, possibly as a fiftieth birthday present, could be looked on as the foundation stone of the collection. When Roberts, long separated from his wife, was left alone after Christine's marriage, Elhanan and Linda took him to Tunbridge Wells to console him for his loneliness. He wrote to his daughter saying, 'I need not state how much both Mr & Mrs Bicknell endeavour to render me every attention'.³⁹ On several occasions Elhanan and Roberts went away together on visits to friends or to country houses such as Petworth and Blenheim.

The Bicknell-Roberts correspondence sheds light on life at Herne Hill. It also gives us an idea of the somewhat facetious idiom to which Elhanan may have owed his reputation as a lively conversationalist. On 23 July 1851, 'Mr Swan Warden Bicknell

requests the favour of Mr Roberts' company on the Swan Voyage (without sea sickness) . . .⁴⁰ The invitation was to the 'Swan Upping' of the birds which the Company of Vintners own on the Thames. Following a long family tradition Elhanan was admitted a Freeman of the Company in 1810 and became Master in 1853.⁴¹ In the first year of his mastership, he invited Roberts to dinner at Vintners Hall and suggested that he should bring a fellow R.A. with him. To Roberts' suggestion of Landseer or Eastlake⁴² he replied, 'either of the gallant Knights will do exceedingly well but as our dinner is one of the Livery & not of a grand description perhaps the President should be reserved for something of a superior order . . . Get any one you can.'⁴³ When Elhanan heard later that year that Roberts was to visit Rome he wrote to wish him 'a safe return home out of the Dominions of his Holiness. Take care and not speak your sentiments too boldly while there lest you should get popped into the dark chambers of the Holy-Inquisition . . . I am glad to hear so good an account of the family at Tulse Hill. Roberts was instrumental in arranging for Elhanan to lend some of his collection to the Annual Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy. One of the pictures that went there in 1849 was Turner's *Wreckers* (108), which Elhanan said was a great favourite. Roberts, writing to D.O. Hill⁴⁵ about the loan, said 'I fear there will be some trouble about the Turner now as there is no frame for it is beyond the regular size. I dined yesterday with the little man [Turner] at Mr B's when the latter took the opportunity of asking him to let him have the frame belonging to it as Stanfield has done [Elhanan was also lending a picture by Stanfield] . . . I know from what took place last night betwixt the little great man and Mr B that the latter's grant to the Scottish Academy will by no means be limited to the two pictures in question but as several first rate men are now painting for him you may look forward to future years.'⁴⁶ When Hill had been in London in 1848, the year before the loan, Christine Bicknell recorded in her journal, on 31 April (sic) that she 'walked with him to Herne Hill to see the Turners with which he was very much pleased'.

The journal which Christine kept for about ten years after her wedding is full of notes on her visits to Herne Hill. The following extracts record the names of many of Elhanan's guests, and refer frequently to Turner:

¹⁸⁴⁴

15 February. Dined at Mrs Conduitts with Mr & Mrs B, Elhanan & Mary. [Elhanan's son and his wife], my Father, Stanfield, Mr & Mrs Barry, Turner & Tom Dermer.⁴⁷ Pleasant party altogether. Turner was particularly talkative to me about Devonshire & an unfortunate trip he made to the Channel Islands.

18 February. Went with my Father, Henry & Mr Bicknell to Mr Griffiths at Norwood to see some of Turner's old pictures. They are exquisite, all full of beauties.

20 August. Henry dined at Fitzroy St. [Roberts' home] with Mr B, Brackenbury, F. Grant, G. Jones, Baring, Arden & Moon.⁴⁸ Ed Landseer had been thrown from his horse and could not join them.

22 August. Walked with Hy to H.H. to dinner. My Father, Moon, Stanfield, Brackenbury. Pleasant little party. Nice walk home.

¹⁸⁴⁵

6 February. Mr & Mrs B called for me & took me to Mr Conduitts. Hy came with my Father . . . Turner was in very good humour & returned thanks for the toast 'the single married &

the married happy' with a great many ah-ah-ahs'. [It was the Conduitts' 50th wedding party]

25 February. Went to dinner at H.H. Very pleasant party . . . Turner, Leslie, The Stanfields, C. Landseer, Mulready. John Pye,⁴⁹ Mr Jones who is a very nice person and Mr Ruskin who improved very much on acquaintance. It is a pity his manners are so awkward. Turner was not in spirits.

24 June. Pleasant party [at Herne Hill]. My Father, Turner, Ety, Webster, Denning - grand discussion on duelling. My Father the only one that defended it' . . . Turner going to Venice."

¹⁸⁴⁶

6 April. [at Roberts' studio] Mr B was so pleased with the smallest, a street in Cairo (75), that he bought it . . . [this refers to the preview for the Academy which artists held in their own studios. Christine went on with the Bicknells and Elhanan's partner Langton from Roberts to Stanfield and Landseer]

1847

Christine recorded that at one of her father's parties with Mr Bicknell present she 'was surprised to hear that Turner had proposed [her] health in one of his funny speeches'.

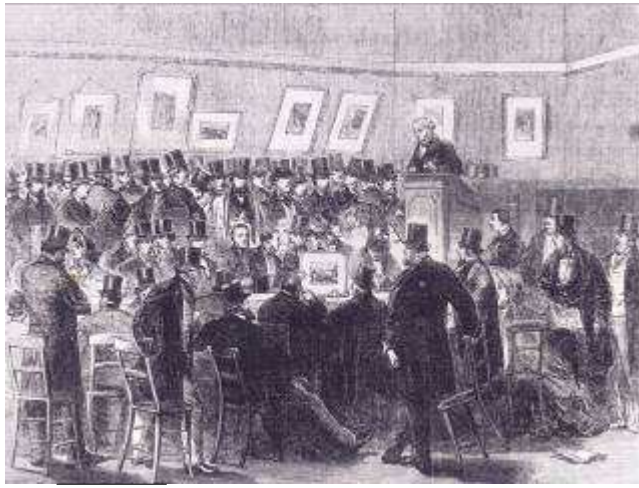
1848

26 May. My Father went to Ramsgate to spend a few days with Mr & Mrs B.

Unfortunately Christine's journal do not cover the last eight years of Elhanan's life, and there is no record of how active he was until in April 1861 Roberts wrote to Henry in Paris to tell him and Christine of his grave concern about Elhanan's health who seemed to have 'lost all heare.'⁵ The next day he wrote to Christine: 'I went down yesterday [to Herne Hill.] . . . The day was beautiful I found him with Percy in the Billiard room. He seems on the whole as usual, but says he could not walk to the bottom of The Garden and back. But as he had been to town in the morning, let us hope he fancies himself less able to walk than he really is. He seems to draw breath with defeculty.'⁵²

Elhanan retired from business that midsummer. He continued to go round his grounds in a wheel chair, but in November Roberts wrote to Christine: 'I passed the evening with poor dear Mr Bicknell . . . but I can see that he is breaking fast . . . the swelling in his legs increasing . . . See him as often as you can.'⁵³ On 27 November 1861 Elhanan died. Roberts wrote to Henry: 'his last breath passed away blessing you and yours . . . This night last week we dined and talked together - don't be surprised he said if when you come down [you] find me gone . . . you have lost the best of Fathers, I the most sincere of friends . . . Three years later David Roberts was interred in Norwood Cemetery beside his friend Elhanan Bicknell.

In his will, dated 22 March 1861, Elhanan left to the widow of his son Elhanan an oil portrait of himself by Drummond⁵⁵ and its pair of Elhanan junior's mother, Hannah. To his wife he left a sculpture of Cupid and the choice of ten oil paintings from a list of thirteen,⁵⁶ which did not include any of the Turners, as well as any ten watercolours. These were unspecified but excluded any Turners, the family group by Denning, and drawings by Copley Fielding, Warren and Harding.⁵⁷ Henry, his executor, was left a portrait of Elhanan by Phillips, now in Vintners Hall. To his 'esteemed friend' David Roberts he left copies of Turner's *England and Wales* and *Liber Studiorum* sets of engravings. Apart from these bequests, the collection was to be sold. Thanks to a clause in the will which left the widow in possession of the



10. Engraver unknown, *Sale of the Bicknell Collection of Drawings at Christie and Mansons*, from *Illustrated Times*, 2 November 1863.

house for a year, it was not until 25 April 1863 that the six-day sale was opened by Christie, Manson and Woods at their Great Rooms in King Street, St. James's Square (ill. o).

Before the collection went to King Street it was on view at Herne Hill, and so universal was the interest excited among artists, amateurs and connoisseurs that great numbers of visitors flocked to Mr. Bicknell's residence. On occasions there was a line of carriages stretching more than a mile from the house.⁵⁸ Prior to the sale, Christie's two great rooms were opened for three days of Private Viewing. The ten Turner paintings, the sale of which was to form the finale of the first day, were massed on one wall, with the renowned *Palestrina* (122) as the centre piece, *Ehrenbreitstein* (118) beneath it, with, at each side, ranged out the four splendid sea pieces, flanked by the two early paintings, *Ivy Bridge* (104) and *Calder Bridge* (1m), with the two views of Venice, *Giudecca* (116) and *Campo Santo* (112) outside them.⁵⁹ The rooms were thronged. Interest seems to have centred on the Turners, and record-breaking prices were anticipated.

The sale opened at precisely one o'clock on the Saturday with the sale of 122 paintings and 23 pieces of sculpture. 'Strangers from all parts . . . artists, dealers, nobles, merchants, *cognoscenti*, and *literati*, filled the great room at Christie's to overflowing: and even half way down the stairs they pressed'.⁶⁰ 'Many persons unable to get near enough to the auctioneer's rostrum to make themselves heard were compelled to give their bids by means of telegraphic signs from the top of the stairs.'⁶¹ As each successive *chef d'oeuvre* of the great artists was produced, a buzz of applause resounded throughout the multitude before even a single bidding was made'.⁶² Bidding started quietly, the first 45 lots, including portraits by Gainsborough, Lawrence and Van Dyck going for an average of less than 40 guineas. Excitement rose with lot 46, Roberts's *Interior of the Church of St. Miguel* (46) which was knocked down to Agnew for 570 guineas. Four figure bids had already come up for pictures by Stanfield, Collins, Landseer and Roberts, when the real excitement began with lot 97, Turner's *Antwerp*. 'A shout of acclamation proclaimed how perfectly the long-humiliated painter, the barber's son of Maiden Lane had taken possession of the public mind'⁶³. It went, also to Agnew, for a record 2,510 guineas. The fate of the rest of the Turners can be seen in the Appendix to this article. The sale of the paintings ended with *Palestrina*, the largest of the Turners, being bought in by Henry Bicknell, who had already acquired *Ivy Bridge* and *Calder Bridge*. The other seven all went to Agnew. Prices for the day had been sensational — the last 25 lots had averaged 1,432

guineas. Two paintings went for even more than Turner's *Antwerp*. One was Clarkson Stansfield's *Pic du Midi d'Ossau: in the Pyrenees, with smugglers* (121, ill.5, now Royal Holloway and Bedford New College) which fetched 2,550 guineas. But the record was for *An English Landscape 'with cattle finished by Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.'* by Sir A.W. Callcott (113) which fetched 2,950 guineas. This picture was to cause some trouble after the sale, as Roberts had apparently said to Landseer 'Of course every one admires the cows instead of the landscape', and Landseer took offence because he thought that Henry Bicknell had played 'a trick' by using his name in association with this picture in order to make more at the sale.⁶⁴

After the excitements of the afternoon, the auction in the evening of 23 pieces of sculpture, more than half of them by E.H. Bailey, was a sad anticlimax. 'Of the fate of the sculptures' *The Art Journal* felt 'quite ashamed to write: the result of the sale shows how little this noble art is really appreciated in England'.⁶⁵

Proceedings continued the following Wednesday, Thursday and Friday with the sale of 421 drawings. Interest was almost as great as it had been for the paintings; again the Turners drew special attention; and again the sale was arranged to work up to a climax at the end of the day. On the first day 130 drawings were auctioned. These included ten watercolours by Turner — four early works (36, 38-40) the two *Himalayan mountains* (114, 5) for White's *Views of India*; the set of three vignettes which had been used for the decoration of the drawing room doors at Herne Hill and *The Blue Rigi* (125). An item of considerable interest was lot 74, a portrait of J.M.W. Turner R.A. in Mr. Bicknell's drawing room by Count d'Orsay from a sketch probably by Landseer.⁶⁶ The climax of the first day came not with Turner but with Roberts's *The Great Square at Tetuan* (130, ill') which, according to the catalogue 'Turner considered the finest drawing in Mr. Bicknell's Collection.' It was bought by Wells for the Marquis of Hertford for 410 guineas — 114 guineas more than *The Blue Rigi*.

On Thursday 141 drawings were auctioned, including eight watercolours by Turner: the set of three (260-2) probably bought by Elhanan in 1844, which sold to Agnew for 630 guineas, *The Lake of Lucerne* (265) to Colnaghi for Mr Smith of Edinburgh for 680 guineas, and then as the finale of the day the four 'Yorkshire Drawings' to Wells for Hertford at a total of 1700 guineas. Indeed this was the grand finale of the whole sale, as on the subsequent three days only comparatively unimportant drawings and prints were sold. Although 680 guineas for *The Lake of Lucerne* was a very high figure for a watercolour, it was



11. David Roberts, *The Great Square at Tetuan: from the yews' town, during the celebration of the marriage ceremonies of the son of Governor Ash-Ash, in April 1833*, watercolour, Wallace Collection, London.

not the highest. *Crowborough Hill* (266) given to Elhanan by Copley Fielding, and now in the Wallace Collection, went to Wells for 760 guineas. The principal buyers were the dealers, in particular Vokins, Wells buying exclusively for the Marquis of Hertford, and above all Agnew. According to *The Art Journal* of 16 June 1863, Agnew made an unaccepted offer of £50,000 for the gallery.⁶⁷ In the event they bought 123 lots which included the most prized picture of all - the Callcott and Landseer *English Landscape and Cattle* (113), as well as all the Turner paintings, except the three bought in by Henry Bicknell. Agnew's continued interest in Turner has been demonstrated by the fact that one or other of these ten paintings have passed through their hands 27 or more times; and they have sold some of the Bicknell watercolours at least three times.

On Friday the sale of the drawings continued with 150 lots, which included no Turners. The total for the day was only *k172.14s.*, an average of just over a pound a lot - drawings attributed to Gainsborough, Van Dyck, Rubens, Raphael, Parmigiano, Rembrandt and Watteau going for a few shillings each. In

the following week on Thursday and Friday, 7, 8 May, the prints were disposed of. These included three Turner items: 27 lots of proofs of various topographical engravings; fourteen framed prints of English views from the *England and Wales* series (all bought in by Sidney and Percy Bicknell); and two portfolios of rare proofs of *Illustrations of Byron's Works* and 'proofs of Turner's Views before the plates were cut', bought by Agnew. Compared with the opening days the close of the great sale was unsensational. It ended with the three brothers, Henry, Sidney and Percy Bicknell, taking sixteen copies of Count D'Orsay's portrait of Turner for a guinea, 'A capital mahogany press with trays to contain folios' for six guineas, and 'A head of Shakespeare coloured upon an engraving' for one pound. It was a day short of two weeks since the sale had begun. The auctioneers had taken £75,000.85. (plus £200 paid by Percy for a portrait of himself as a boy by Etty, withdrawn from the sale). All records had been broken.

Footnotes

Amongst those who have generously helped us with this article we would particularly like to thank Evelyn Jon and John Gage who read a draft and made helpful suggestions, Edward Yardley, A.H. Stanton (the great-great-grandson of both Elhanan Bicknell and David Roberts) and Patricia Jenkyns, Chairwoman of the Herne Hill Historical Society. Numbers shown in brackets after titles in the main text and below are the lot numbers of the 1863 Bicknell sale.

See Appendix, 'Percy Bicknell's annotated sale catalogue'.

Elhanan ('Goodness or Favour of God') was one of David's mighty men. According to the Revised Version, II Samuel 21. 19, 'And there was again war with the Philistines at Gob; and Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim the Beth-lehemite slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.' See also: II Samuel 23. 24, I Chronicles II. 26 and 20. 5

³ A.S. Bicknell, *Five Pedigrees*, London, 1912, p.5.
⁴ 'The Late Elhanan Bicknell: In Memoriam', from the *Christian Reformer* for January 1862.

⁵ A.S. Bicknell, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁶ Charles Baugniet, 1814-1886. Born Brussels, died Sevres. Portrait painter, lithographer and engraver. Came to England in 1841. The set of lithographs by Baugniet which included the portrait of Elhanan also included his elder brother, William, his son Henry Sanford and David Roberts.

⁷ Elhanan Bicknell's wives and children were: Hannah Wootton, nee Langton, m. 16 Oct. 1810, d. 26 Sep. 1815

1. Emily. b. 19 Aug. 1811. d. 24 Oct. 1811.

2. Elhanan. b. 26 Mar. 1813. d. 6 Dec. 1860.

3. Ebenezer. b. 21 Aug. 1815. d. 4 Nov. 1815. Mary née Jones. m. 13 Feb. 1817. d. 9 Apr. 1827.

1. Mary Ann. b. 20 Nov. 1817. d. 31 May 1858.

2. Henry Sanford. b. 24 Nov. 1818. d. 28 May 1880

Lucinda ('Linda') Sarah, nee Browne, m. 5 May 1829. d. 6 Mar. 1850.

1. Herman. b. 2 Apr. 1830. d. 14 Mar. 1875

2. Ada. b. 13 Jul. 1831.

3. Algernon Sidney. b. 9 Oct. 1832. d. 26 Oct. 1911.

4. Edgar. b. 3 Dec. 1834. d. 1866.

5. Percy. b. 29 May 1836. d. to Aug 1911.

6. Matilda. b. 1 Apr. 1838. d. 22 Jan. 1858.

7. Lucinda. b. 28 Aug. 1840. d. 1902.

8. Clarence; b., 27 Oct. 1842. d. 17 Jul. 1918. Louisa (widow of Henry) Jones, née Holland. m 14 Aug. 1851. d. 9 Sep. 1884. No children by Elhanan.

⁸ Hablot Knight Browne, 1815-1882 (drawings 193).

^{*} All quotations from Christine Bicknell in this article are from the journal which she kept from October 1842 to December 1853 and are copyright of the National Library of Scotland.

¹⁰ David Roberts to Christine Bicknell, 18 October 1851, copyright National Library Scotland.

¹¹ The house appears in the 1860 P.O. Directory as 'Carlton House', but in Elhanan's lifetime it was generally referred to as 'Herne Hill'.

¹² Edgar Browne (son of H.K. Browne), *Phiz and Dickens*, London, 1913, chapter IV, 'Mr Bicknell and his Friends'.

¹³ Stephen Poyntz Denning, 1795-1864 (drawings 4², 9¹, 228), curator of Dulwich Picture Gallery, frequent visitor at Herne Hill. Denning's water-colour portrait of 6 of Elhanan's children was not in the 1863 sale and is now in the V. & A.

¹⁴ Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 1845, P.351.

¹⁵ D.R. to C.B. 7 Sept. 1857 Ms. Mrs. John Stanton.

Clarkson Stanfield, R.A., 1793-1867. (85, 101, 107, 121 & drawings 107, 176, 187, 214, 221) Close friend of Roberts and the Bicknells; Sir Augustus Wall Callcott, R.A., 1779-1844. (192 & dwgs. 56, 61, 113); Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., 1802-1873 (89, 105, 113, 117 & dwgs. 9-21) Frequent visitor at Herne Hill; Thomas Webster, R.A., 1800-1844. (57, 80, 103, 114, 115 & dwgs. 22, 23, 24), William Edward Frost, R.A.,

1810-1877. (53, 68, 73, 77)

Anthony Vandyke Copley Fielding, P.O.W.S., 1787-1855 (34, 108, 109 & Dwgs. 35, 108, 109,

112, 123, 126, 128, 254, *57, 266); Samuel Prout, O.W.S., 1783-1852. (82, 84, 101, 104, 124, 129, 242, 245, 247, 249, 251, 256A); Peter De Wint, O.W.S., 1784-1849, (dwgs. 75, 76, 78, 86, 216, 235, 218, 238, 256); William James Muller,

1812-1845. (dwgs. 89, 99, 105, 244)

¹⁸ Charles Robert Leslie, R.A., 1794-1859. (7⁰, 119 & dwgs. 185, 188) Born at Camberwell, studied in America 1799-1811. Professor of Painting R.A., 1847-1852.

¹⁹ *Spectator*, 25 April 1863.

²⁰ Waagen, *op. cit.*, p.349.

²¹ *The Globe*, 23 April 1863.

²² *Ms. Cooke Family Papers*.

²³ William Collins, R.A. 1788-1847 (8⁷, 93 & dwg. 211) Father of Wilkie Collins, friend of Linnell; probably Thomas Phillips R.A. (1817-1867), who painted at least two portraits of Elhanan.

²⁴ Several of the pictures catalogued as 'painted for Mr Bicknell' were not in fact commissioned in this way. See note on *Campo Santo, Venice* (112) in Appendix.

²⁵ David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, Princeton, 1978, p.206.

²⁶ John Gage (ed.) *Collected Correspondence of J.M.W. Turner*, Oxford, 1980, p.240 (V. & A. 86FF, 73, fo 8).

²⁷ The four Yorkshire drawings were catalogued in 1863 as 'Painted for the late Sir Henry Pilkington', but were in fact painted for Sir William Pilkington, 8th Bart., 1775-1850, of Chevet Hall (see David Hill, *Turner in Yorkshire*, 1980, p.38). We are indebted to John Ingamells, Director of the Wallace Collection, for drawing our attention to this error.

²⁸ For a fuller discussion of Turner's whaling pictures see B.J. entries 414, 415, 423, 426; Barry Venning, 'Turner's Whaling Subjects', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.172, Jan. 1985, pp.75-81; Peter Bicknell, 'Turner's *The Whale Ship*: A Missing Link?'; *Turner Studies*, Vol.5, no.2, pp.20-23.

²⁹ John Gage, *op. cit.* p.205.

³⁰ B.J. p.261.

³¹ H. Shapiro (ed.), *Ruskin in Italy*, London, 1972, P.248.

³² Thomas Beale, *A Few Observations on the Natural History of the Sperm Whale, with an account of the rise and progress of the fishery, and of the modes of pursuing, killing, and "cutting in" that animal, with a list of its favourite places of resort*, London, 1835; republished, revised and extended, with the addition of *A Sketch of a South-Sea Whaling Voyage* . . . London, 1839.

³³ See *Turner Studies*, Vol.5, no.2, pp.20.

³⁴ Shapiro, *op. cit.* p.248.

³⁵ A.S. Bicknell, *op. cit.* p.6.

³⁶ Edgar Browne, *op. cit.* p.64.

³⁷ Katherine Sim, *David Roberts R.A. 1796-1864 A Biography*, London, 1984, p.209.

³⁸ Ruskin, *Works*, Library Edition, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, III, pp.635-40.

³⁹ D.R. to C.B. 2 July 1841, *Ms. Mrs John Stanton*.

⁴⁰ E.B. to D.R. 23 July 1851 *Ms.*, National Library of Scotland.

⁴¹ Elhanan was admitted to the Company of Vintners in 1810. Five Bicknells have served as Master: Samuel (Elhanan's great-uncle) 1793; Elhanan 1853; Sidney (Elhanan's 5th son) 1896; Percy (Elhanan's 7th son) 1898; Maldion Byron (Sidney's son) 1930. Elhanan's father William was admitted to the Company in 1771, but was never master. Another descendant of Elhanan served as master twice, his great-great-grandson, A.H. Stanton, 1970 and 1974, having been apprenticed to Liveryman Gilbert Elhanan Bicknell grandson of Elhanan.

⁴² Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, 1793-1865 (I II), President R.A., 1850-1865.

⁴³ E.B. to D.R., 15 July 1853, *Ms. N.L.S.*

⁴⁴ E.B. to D.R., '0 Sept 1853, *Ms. N.L.S.*

⁴⁵ David Octavius Hill, 1802-1870, Secretary of R.S.A. for 39 years, old friend of Roberts,

- painter, illustrator and, in partnership with Robert Adamson, pioneer photographer. D.R. to D.O.H., 6 Jan. 1848, Ms., R.S.A.
- 47 Conduitts, relations of Mary Dermer, by whom she was connected with Sir Isaac Newton; Stanfield, see note 15; Sir Charles Barry, 1795-1860, R.A. F.R.S., Vice Pres. R.I.B.A., architect; Tom Dermer, brother of Elhanan junior's wife Mary.
- 48 Probably Sir John Brackenbury, d. 1847, former consul at Cadiz; Francis Grant, 1803-1878, portrait painter; George Jones, R.A., 1786-1866 (60), Librarian, Keeper and Vice Pres. R.A.; probably Sir Francis Thornhill Baring, 1798-1866, Baron Northbrook (1865), statesman; Joseph Arden of Rickmansworth, friend and patron of Roberts; Francis Graham Moon, 1796-1871, publisher of Robert's *Holy Land* etc., Lord Mayor of London.
- Charles Landseer, R.A., 1799-1879 (5), elder brother of Edwin; William Mulready, R.A., 1786-1863 (drawing 91); John Pye, 1782-1874, the favourite engraver of J.M.W. Turner' (D.N.B.)

5. There is no record of Turner visiting Venice in or after 1845.
- 51 D.R. to H.S.B., 24 April 1861, Ms. Mrs John Stanton.
- 52 D.R. to C.B., 25 April 1861, Ms. Mrs John Stanton.
- 53 D.R. to C.B., 22 Nov. 1861, Ms. Mrs John Stanton.
- 54 D.R. to H.S.B., 27 Nov. 1861, Ms. Arthur Stanton.
- 55 Samuel Drummond, R.A., 1765-1844, painted several portraits of William Bicknell's family, three now in the possession of Claud Bicknell.
- 56 Most of the thirteen paintings are to be found in the 1863 sale catalogue, so it appears that Elhanan's widow did not take up her option.
- 57 Henry Warren, P.N.W.S., 1794-1879, (dwg. Ho); James Duffield Harding, O.W.S., 1797-1863, taught Ruskin, lithographer who worked with Hullmandel, 'after Turner unquestionably the greatest master of foliage in Europe' (Ruskin).
- 58 A.S. Bicknell, *op. cit.*, p.6.

- 59 'The Sale of the Bicknell Collection', *London Review*, 2 May 1863.
- 60 'Is Art Progressing in England?', *Social Science Review*, 13 June 1863.
- 'The Bicknell Collection', *Illustrated Times*, May 1863.
- 62 'The Bicknell Collection', *The Times*, 27 April 1863.
- 63 'Is Art Progressing in England?', *Social Science Review*, 13 June 1863.
- 64 Katherine Sim, *op. cit.* pp.114, 5.
- 65 'Pictures Sales. Bicknell Collection', *The Art Journal*, 1863.
- 66 See R.J.B. Walker, 'The Portraits of J.M.W. Turner; A Check List', *Turner Studies*, vol.3, nod, Summer 1983, no.35, p.29.
- 67 The note in the *Art Journal* is confirmed by a letter from D.R. to C.B., 13 Oct. 1862 (Ms. Mrs John Stanton) saying that Agnews 'would gladly enter into treaty for Bicknell's collection ... and are ready to pay over to the Executors the amount of £50,000 ...'

Appendix

Percy Bicknell's annotated copy of the 1863 sale catalogue

Percy's copy of Christie's catalogue is interleaved and bound in red morocco. In it he recorded what his father had originally paid for many of the items, the sale prices and the buyers, and in some cases particulars of subsequent sales. He also mounted reproductions of several of the works of art, views of Herne Hill, an obituary notice and portraits of Elhanan, and copious cuttings from press reports of the sale.

The catalogue entries of the works by Turner are listed below. A transcript of each printed entry is followed by a transcript of Percy's manuscript notes, in inverted commas; the price paid by Bicknell (red in manuscript) is shown underlined, and the sale price, not underlined, follows the buyers name.

As the provenances of the ten oil paintings are recorded in Butlin and Joll, *The Paintings of J.M. W. Turner*, rev. ed., 1984, they are not recorded in this appendix. Notes are only added where they correct or amend the printed or manuscript notes in the catalogue. The eighteen watercolours are, however, difficult to identify, and several of them remain untraced. Where these notes differ from or add to those in Andrew Wilton, *The Life and Work of J.M.W. Turner*, 1979, they are based on the research of Edward Yardley, who has generously put his notes at our disposal. Micro-film copies of the annotated catalogue are deposited in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 20 Bloomsbury Square, London WCI and the Paul Getty Art Center.

Works by Turner in the x863 Catalogue PAINTINGS
April 25, 1863

Lot 97 ANTWERP: Van Goyen looking for a subject - 36 in. by 48 in. Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1833. *Obtained from the Artist*

13 s.

'Agnew £2635.10. Mr. Thos. Graham of Skelmorley has this 1865'

B.J.350. Bt. from Turner in 1844; bt. by Agnew for John Heugh 1863; bt. back by Agnew in 1864 and sold to John (not Thos.) Graham; ... sold by Knoedler to H.C. Frick

Frick Collection, New York (oi.i.18)

102 HELVOETSUYS: 'The City of Utrecht,' 64, going to sea - 36 in. by 48 in. *Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1832. Obtained from the Artist*

7,283.10'

'Agnew£1680'

B.J.345. Bt. from Turner early in 1844; bt. by Agnew for John Heugh 1863; ... Exhibited Agnew 1967

University Art Museum, Bloomington, Indiana. 1970-1980; now Private Collection. London

104 IVY BRIDGE, DEVON .36 in. by 48 in. *Obtained from the Artist*

10'

11.S.B. [Henry Bicknell] £924 Resold at Christie's 9 April 1881 for £840 to Vokins & afterwards by him for £924 to W. Hollins.'

B.J.122. 1812 Bt. in 1844 with 5 others; William Hollins by 1888. Engraved by W. Say, *Liber Studiorum* (Rawlinson 27)

Private Collection, England

108 "WRECKERS:" coast of Northumberland, steamboat assisting ship off shore - 36 in. by 48 in. *Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1834. Obtained from the Artist*

4288.15'

'J. Pender £1984.10 Resold Christie's in 1897 for £7980-(Pender Collection)' 357. - B.J., 357 Bt. in 1844 with 5 others; bt. Agnew for John (later Sir John) Pender, 1863; lent by Bicknell to R.S.A. 1849 (339)

Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

110 CALDER BRIDGE, CUMBERLAND .36 in. by 48 in. *Never exhibited. Obtained from the Artist*

4288.15'

'11.S.B. £525'
'Sold by H.S.B. to Gambart for £500 & a picture worth £50—Cleaned & sold to Flatow. Offered & bought in for £1029 at Christie's, 24 March, 1866:

B.J.106. 1810 Bt. in 1844 with 5 others
Professor Hamilton Emmons

112 VENICE: THE CAMPO SANTO .24 in. by 36 in. *Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1842. Painted for Mr. Bicknell*

T262.10'

'do. [Agnew] McConnell £2000 Resold by McC's Exrs. @ Christie's 27.3.86 for £2625 to Mr Keiller of Dundee—'

B.J.397. 1863 bt. Agnew for Henry McConnell; Christie's 1886, bt. S. White for Mrs (not Mr) J.M. Keiller of Dundee. See note B.J. p.246 suggesting that this painting and 116 were acquired by B. in the normal way at the R.A. and not painted for him, as catalogued

The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio

116 VENICE: THE GIUDECCA, SANTA MARIA DELLA SALUTE AND SAN GIORGIO MAGGIORE - 24 in. by 36 in. *Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1841. Painted for Mr. Bicknell*

1262.10'

Tender £1732.10 Resold @ Christie's in 1897 (Pender Collection) for £7,350 Exhibited by Sir Donald Currie @ the R.A. in 1901'

B.J.391. Bt. Agnew for Sir John Pender, 1863; Chris-tie's 29.5.97 bt. Agnew for Sir Donald Currie. Exhibited Agnew 1967. See note on 112

Mr William Wood Prince, to the Art Institute of Chicago

118 EHRENBREITSTEIN: on the Rhine, and the tomb of General Marceau (15 lines from *Childe Harold*) -36 in. by 48 in. *Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1835. Obtained from the Artist*

7:401.1.9'

`Agnew to Ralph Brocklebank Esq. Liverpool.
£1890'

B.J.361. Painted for John Pye the engraver: in Turner's studio by 1844, when sold to Bicknell with 5 others. Exhibited Agnew 1967

Private Collection, London

120 PORT RUYSDAEL .36 in. by 48 in. *Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1827. Obtained from the Artist*

`Agnew £1995 Mr. Jno. Kelk has this-1865 Resold @ Christie's to Tooth 11.3.99 for £5,040'

B.J.237. Bt. in 1844 with 5 others. Bt. Agnew for John Heugh, 1863.

Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

122 PALESTRINA: a composition (three lines from *MSS Fallacies of Hope*) - 55 in. by 98 in. *Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1830. Obtained from the Artist*

Tr 050

11.S.B £1995 Resold at Christie's 9 April 1881 for £3150 to Agnew [for James Dyson Perrins]. Appeared at Christie's 1865, sold or knocked down at £2205-Miller [not in P.B.'s hand]'

B.J.295 Bt. in 1844 with 5 others
National Gallery 1958, transferred to Tate Gallery 1961

WATER-COLOUR DRAWINGS (First Day) April 29 1863

Early Works

36 WINCHESTER CROSS

`F. Halsted New Bond Street 13.2.6'

37 A VIEW NEAR ROME [deleted]

38 RUINS IN ITALY

`Agnew £16.16'

39 THE BAY OF NAPLES

`P.B. [Percy Bicknell] £33.12'

4^o THE LAKE OF NEMI NEMI deleted, 'AVERNUS' added]

`A.S.B. [Sidney Bicknell] £31.10'

36 is W.164. Engraved by J. Powell, 1800 (Rawlinson 51). Inscribed 'Made by Turner for Mr Alex ... in 1796'. Probably bought by Beckwell. Hogarth sale, Southgate & Barrett, 7-30. 6. 1854 (5⁰⁶⁴) William Alexander, sale Sotheby 27.2 - 10.3 1817 (950), bt. Booth; John Britton ?; anon sale S. Leigh Sotheby & Wilkinson, 26.3.1852 (144), Bicknell sale 1863, bt. F.Halsted; sold to John Edward Taylor, by whom given to the Whitworth Art Gallery in 1892 (D84.1892). See Craig Hartley, *Turner Watercolours in the Whitworth Art Gallery*, 1984, no.10.

38, 39, and 40 are untraced, but seem to correspond with lot 1910, *View in Italy*, lot 3694, *View of Naples*, and lot 4162, *Lake of Nemi* Hogarth sale 1854. So Bicknell probably bought the four 'Early Works' at this sale.

View of Naples was bought from Agnew by John Edward Taylor & sold by him Christies 20 March 1871 (82), bt. Permnan

114 HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS - engraved

`Coleman £176.10'

115 HIMALAY MOUNTAINS engraved

`Coleman LI68.---'

1:36' [paid by B. for the two]

See Wilton 1291-1297. Two of seven designs made from the sketches of Lieut. George Francis White for *White's Views in India, chiefly amongst the Himalayan Mountains*, 1836

Probably W.1293 and W.1296. Both bought by Bicknell. Henry Fisher, sale Christie 28.2.1838 (373, 380); Bicknell sale 1863 bt. Vokins for Coleman; Agnew 1866, bt. William Harrison; Joseph Harrison sale Christie 2.5.1881 (109, Ho) bt. Agnew; T.W.R. Brocklebank; D.R. Brocklebank sale Christie

25.11.1927 (93, 94). Lot 93 bt. Agnew; A.G.E. Godden; untraced (Godden bequeathed his watercolours to Brighton Art Gallery, but *Himalayan Mountains* does not appear to be in the collection). Lot 94 bt. Agnew; Tom Brown; Agnew 1932; Sir Robert Hatfield Bart; untraced.

116 THE LIGHTHOUSE AT HAVRE moonlight.

Painted for Mr. Bicknell 'Moore £110.5.'

117 THE LAKE OF GENEVA FROM THE JURA: Mont Blanc in the distance. *Painted for Mr. Bicknell* 'Grindlay £148.1. Resold at Forsters for £194.5 [with 118] - 9 May 1866 Rowney'

118 LIGHTHOUSE AT THE HEVE: Mouth of the Seine. *Painted for Mr Bicknell* 'Mr. [Smith] of Edinbro' £108.3. (Resold 1866 [with 117])'

'The three £131.5' [paid by Bicknell to Turner]

Set of three vignette drawings of great beauty (Times 30.4.1868), bought together from Turner's studio. Probably not 'painted for Mr. Bicknell'. See w.moi-1004 for 116 and 118. There is much confusion about vignette drawings. Wilton identifies

118 with his w.1001, c.1832. Yardley however considers 116 to be W.1002, c.1832, and 118 possibly to be w.1001 or 1003. In this case the provenance of 116 appears to be: Bicknell sale 1863 bt. Moore (Times 31.4.1863); F.R. Leyland sale Christie 9.3.1875 (43 as *Light Towers of le Havre*) bt. White, sold by White to Agnew 1879; sold by Agnew to T.S. Kennedy, his sale Christie 18.5.1895 (88) bt. Agnew; Sir Donald Curie, by descent to Mrs Cra-ven.

118 was bought by Colnaghi for Smith

125 THE RHIGI *Painted for Mr. Bicknell*

'Holmes £310.16.'

4:84'

w.524, *The Blue Rigi, Lake of Lucerne-Sunrise*, 1842 Not painted for Mr. Bicknell; bought directly from Turner's studio. Bicknell sale 1863 bt. Holmes for Agnew who sold it to J.E. Taylor for £310.16. on 19.5.1863; Taylor sale Christie 5.7.1912 (46) bt. Agnew, Walter M. Jones, sale Christie, 3 July 1942 (4^o), bt. Agnew sold to uncle of present owner.

Private Collection

WATER COLOUR DRAWINGS (Second Day) April 30, 1863

260 THE CASTLE OF ELZ, NEAR COBLENZ, ON THE MOSELLE. *Painted for Mr. Bicknell* 'Agnew to J. Smith Esq. £168 Resold at Christie's 4 May 1870 for £157.10 to White'

261 ROUEN *Painted for Mr. Bicknell*

'Agnew to J. Smith Esq. £210 Resold at Christie's 4 May 1870. £315. - Agnew

262 CHATTEAU GAILLARD ON THE SEINE. *Painted for Mr. Bicknell* 'Agnew to J. Smith Esq. £178.10. Resold at Christie's 4 May 1870 £199.10. - White'

'the three £131.5.'

Set of three miniature drawings, bought from Turner's studio probably in 5844; and probably not 'painted for Mr. Bicknell'

260 W.1335, ?1844. Provenance see Wilton. Private Collection

261 Untraced

262 Probably W.1006, c.1832. Prov. see Wilton. Panzer Collection, Indianapolis

LS'

265 THE LAKE OF LUCERNE *Painted for Mr. Bicknell*

'Mr. Smith of Edinbro' [Colnaghi for John Smith] £7¹/₄ Resold at Christie's 15 April, 1869 - £1,029 - Earl Dudley'

W.1527 Brunnen, Lake Lucerne. 1842. Provenance see Wilton.

Private Collection

The celebrated Series of YORKSHIRE DRAWINGS, Painted for the late SIR HENRY PILKINGTON, by J.M.W. TURNER, R.A.

268 SCARBOROUGH CASTLE: boys crab fishing.

Signed, and dated 1809

'Marquis of Hertford £546'

269 MOWBRAY LODGE, RIPON, YORKSHIRE: Earl Ripon's seat

'Marquis of Hertford £535.¹⁰

270 "GROUSE SHOOTING," the Moor, with portrait of the Artist, the dogs painted by STUBBS. *Signed y.m.W. Turner, R.A., P.P.*

'Marquis of Hertford £451.10.'

271 "WOODCOCK SHOOTING," scene on the Chiver, with portrait of Sir Henry Pilkington. *Dated 1813*

W.527, 1809; W.536, c.1815; W.535, c.1813; W.⁸/₃₄, 1813. Bought by Bicknell, Hogarth sale, Southgate & Barrett, 7-30.6.1854 (lots 7537, 6269, 6686, 6685) for £600. All bt. Bicknell sale 1863, by Wells for Hertford. All now in Wallace Collection. Painted for Sir William Pilkington, 8th Bart. (1775-1850), not Sir Henry.

ENGRAVINGS AND BOOKS OF PRINTS

May 7, 1863

Lots 35.61 WORKS OF J.M.W. TURNER, R.A.

74 impressions of 27 engravings of various views, mostly artist's proofs and proofs before letters. Bt. by Agnew, Colnaghi, Davidson, Graves and A.S.B. (Sidney Bicknell), at a total of £167.70

Lots 62-75 ARTIST'S PROOFS. Framed and Glazed Views, England and Wales Series 69, Alnwick Castle, bt. by P.B. (Percy Bicknell) for £1.8.0; others bt. by A.S.B. for £1.8.0 each, except 66 Yarmouth by Miller, £1.10.0, and Durham - touched proof, £1.14.0

May 8, 1863

256 ILLUSTRATIONS TO BYRON'S WORKS. *A choice collection of proofs* in various states, some never published, and proofs of Turner's Views before the plates were cut; exceedingly rare - in two portfolios. Bt. Agnew, £12

280 Turner, after D'Orsay. 16. copies.

Bt. H.S.B. and P.B. for L.I.I.o

'Marquis of Hertford £535.10.'

'the four 600'