

Lives and Afterlives:
The print collection of Elizabeth Seymour Percy,
1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716-1776)

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ABSTRACT

Prints formed a sizeable part of the diverse collections assembled by English collector, Elizabeth Seymour Percy, the 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716-1776). Her print collection was dispersed at auction in 1951 and nine of her print albums — containing engravings predominantly by Flemish sixteenth-century printmaker/publishers, the Sadeler family — are now housed at the University of Melbourne. The duchess's journals, notebooks, and her hand-written collection inventories also survive in the Archives of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, England. These documents record the duchess's acquisition, arrangement, and cataloguing of her print collection, and refer to the albums now in Melbourne. Remarkably, there have been no previous in-depth studies of the duchess's print collecting based on these rich archival records, and few analyses that focus on extant prints and albums from her collection.

This research is about the intersection of two sources of evidence — textual and material — and what these sources reveal about the actions and intentions of the duchess as a print collector: how she identified, acquired, assembled, and catalogued her collection. Early chapters examine archival records to investigate the duchess's engagement with the eighteenth-century print market and her print acquisition activities. Next, her methods and motivations for the assembly and categorisation of her print albums are examined through physical analysis of two print albums in Melbourne, and through tracing the development of her print categorisation schema in notebooks and her print inventories. Drawing on auction catalogues and dealer records, her prints and albums are then studied as objects of cultural commerce in the twentieth century. The final chapter considers the complex meanings evoked when Sadeler prints of hermits and hermitages are transformed into statuary in the grounds of Hulne Park, near Alnwick Castle. The trajectory of the duchess's prints and albums over time — their 'lives' and 'afterlives' — is the framework of this study. This study asks: what does archival evidence reveal about the duchess's acquisition and categorisation of prints in the eighteenth century? How do the material features of the duchess's albums in Melbourne help us understand the acquisition, assembly, and categorisation of her print collection? Why were some of the duchess's prints translated into other creative forms?

DECLARATIONS

I declare that:

- (i) this thesis comprises only my original work towards the Doctor of Philosophy
- (ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all material used
- (iii) this thesis is fewer than the maximum word limit of 100,000 word in length (exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices) as approved by the Higher Research Degrees Committee

Name in full: Louise Ann Box

Date: 10 July 2020

PREFACE

- (i) Work towards the thesis that was carried out prior to enrolment in the degree:
- Two days were spent at the British Museum (Department of Prints and Drawings) to undertake an initial investigation of their holdings of prints with Northumberland provenance and their viability for detailed study
 - Northumberland albums (and related archival materials) were examined at the University of Melbourne in order to prepare a PhD application
- (ii) Edited excerpts of this thesis have been published as below:
- *Academic Book Chapter*: ‘Prints, Profits and Personalities: A Case Study of Cultural Commerce and Colnaghi in the Early 1960s’ in Kerriane Stone (ed.), *Horizon Lines: Marking 50 Years of Print Scholarship*, Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 2019, pp. 26-43 (based on Chapter 5)
 - *Peer-reviewed Article*: ‘Marks and Meanings: Revealing the Hand of the Collector and ‘the Moment of Making’ in two 18th-Century Print Albums’, *Journal18*, Fall, 2018 (based on Chapter 3)
 - *Peer-reviewed Article*: ‘Enlightened ‘museums of images’ or decorative displays? Elizabeth Seymour Percy and the eighteenth-century print room’, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol. 45, No. 3, 2021, forthcoming (some content is drawn from Chapter 3)
- (iii) I wish to acknowledge the following sources of funding:
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To allow me to follow traces of the duchess and her prints, I have been the fortunate recipient of a Paul Mellon Centre Research Support Grant, the Francis Haskell Memorial Trust Scholarship, and a MacGeorge Travelling Scholarship, which enabled me to inspect Northumberland albums in international collections. As the Harold Wright and Sarah and William Holmes Scholar at the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, I had the privilege to work alongside leading print scholars. At every point, I was reminded of the rarity of my objects of study: the survival of *both* bound remnants of a print collection and the rich archival materials that described it.

My sincere thanks to the Duke of Northumberland for granting access to the Northumberland Collection and Archives, and to Christopher Hunwick, Clare Baxter, and Isabel Keating from Northumberland Estates who so kindly shared their extensive knowledge of the duchess and her collections. My special thanks to Antony Griffiths, who patiently answered my many questions during my six-month scholarship at the British Museum. Thank you to Adriano Aymonino, University of Buckingham, who so generously discussed his own research on the 1st Duke and Duchess of Northumberland with me, and shared drafts of his forthcoming monograph (to be published in 2021).

This research is dedicated to my father, Rodney Selwyn Box (1939-), and to the memory of my mother, Eunice Ann Box (nee Voll) (1943-2010). Their interests in history, books, exploration, creativity, and making, are interwoven into every page of this document. I would also like to pay special tribute to historian, print scholar and philanthropist, the late Dr Colin Holden (1951-2016), a wise counsellor and dear friend who nurtured my interest in prints (and in so many other things).

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4. PRINTS AND ALBUMS ENCLAVED AND CATALOGUED

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INTRODUCTION

‘We have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories’.

Arjun Appadurai¹

Studying printed images allows us to follow the development of ideas and their communication over time. Recent print scholarship acknowledges the shift from assessing a print as ‘an apparently passive tool of dissemination and visual delectation’, to recognising it as an ‘agent in a broad range of material and cultural practices’.² This is reflected in the growing interest in the mobility of prints; their translation into different media and formats; and the role of prints at the junction of cross-cultural, cross-geographical, and spatial encounters.³ It is not only the imagery of prints that allows us to follow the development of ideas. Prints’ physical features — markings and signs of use — as well as sales records, inventories, and collecting notes, elucidate the relationships between prints and the people who made, sold, used, and collected them.

This study of just one collector of prints, began with a footnote which appeared in Antony Griffiths’s essay, ‘The archaeology of the print’, in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c.1500-1750*, published in 2003.⁴ In this article, Griffiths — a renowned print scholar and former Keeper at the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings — describes the historical traces that appear on prints: traces that have often lost their meaning and context, and now require specialist interpretation. In this essay, Griffiths does not foreground the iconography of the prints, nor the biographies of print makers and artists, nor the execution of printmaking techniques. Instead, he describes how material traces and textual evidence can reveal the hidden and often overlooked histories of prints. He shows how marks on prints reveal their former collation and arrangement into albums, enabling links to be made with specific collections and collectors, archives and inventories.

¹ Appadurai, 1994, p. 77.

² Wouk, 2017, p. 9.

³ A cross-section of these approaches is explored in Karr Schmidt and Wouk (2017) and discussed in Wouk, 2017, pp. 1-18.

⁴ Griffiths, 2003.

According to Griffiths, the key to investigating the history of prints is the investigation of print albums — prints bound into book-like volumes.⁵ However, relatively few early albums of prints survive intact.⁶ Print albums in art collections have often been ignored (at best) or dis-bound (at worst). Dealers, collectors, and institutions have dis-assembled and re-mounted albums and their prints; collectors' marks, marginalia, and other signs of ownership have been obscured or removed; prints have been rehoused in individual 'sunk' mounts; and important provenance data such as annotated sales catalogues have been discarded. Indeed, much of 'what is most interesting in the very materiality of objects' in institutional collections, 'is often ignored altogether'.⁷ Marjorie B. Cohn, former Curator of Prints at Harvard Art Museums, notes that only rarely do print collections, together with their original collectors' inventories and catalogues, now survive.⁸ This is the fortunate situation of a small group of print albums at the University of Melbourne, and the archival records that describe them.

Nine, almost intact, folio-sized albums of prints that once formed part of the extensive print collection of Elizabeth Seymour Percy (1716-1776) 1st Duchess of Northumberland, are now housed at the University of Melbourne.⁹ (**Fig. 1**) Not only do these albums retain their original arrangement, but two of these albums have fascinating physical characteristics: they contain annotations, and evidence of an unusual print mounting method. The margins of prints have been cut into a 'tabbed' shape, and this was used to adhere the prints to the album leaves.¹⁰ In 2001, Griffiths described the

⁵ He notes the album 'stands at the centre of any investigation of the archaeology of the print' because many prints that are now housed by institutional collections have survived *only* because of the protection previously offered by albums (Griffiths, 2003, p. 12).

⁶ Griffiths, 2003, p. 12.

⁷ Dudley, 2009, p. 6.

⁸ Cohn, 1992, p. 20.

⁹ Catalogued by the University of Melbourne as UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37BB/1 v.1 John pt. 1; 37CC/1 v.1 John pt. 2; 37CC/2 v. 3 Raphael; 37EE/1 v.4 Aegidius pt. 2; 37DD/1 v.4 Raphael; 37DD/2 v. 7 Aegidius and Justo; and 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George; 37FF/2 v.1A Sadeliers/de Vos and 36FF/1 v.2A Sadeliers/de Vos. Their acquisition by the University of Melbourne is described in Lo Conte, 2018a; and Box, 2019. For an introductory biography of the duchess see Blodgett, 2004.

¹⁰ Eighteenth-century collectors usually adhered prints into albums with folded tabs, by using a dab of glue on the corners of the print, or by fully adhering the verso of the print to the album leaf (Griffiths, 2001, p. 139).

feature as a ‘peculiar characteristic’ of ‘English eccentricity’ that he had ‘never seen elsewhere’.¹¹ In 2018, Griffiths had *still* not seen similar examples in the albums of any other collectors.¹² While the majority of the duchess’s print albums have been dispersed and dis-bound, those that remain intact — including those now in Melbourne — offer rich sources of new data about the acquisition, assembly, and arrangement of prints in the eighteenth century.

In addition to these physical remnants of the duchess’s print collection, important textual evidence is also extant. The duchess’s catalogue of her collection, her collecting notes, lists, correspondence, account books, letters, and various *aides-mémoire* that describe the development of her print collection — written in her own handwriting — survive in the private Archives of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.¹³ In addition, candid and detailed impressions of people, places, and activities were recorded by the duchess in her sixty journals that commenced in 1752 and ended with her death in 1776.¹⁴ Some of these predominantly unpublished sources refer directly to the prints and albums now in Melbourne. The quantity and quality of this source material is in stark contrast to the paucity of information available for other English eighteenth-century print collections.¹⁵

The combination of rich textual and material sources allows us to approach the duchess’s collecting of prints on her own terms. Surviving records represent the way the

¹¹ Griffiths, 2001, pp. 139-140.

¹² And neither had the many international print specialists who generously examined photographs of the Northumberland albums I shared with them. I am grateful to the late Dr Colin Holden (1951-2016), who initially discussed this matter with Antony Griffiths in London in July 2016.

¹³ Subsequently ‘Alnwick Castle’. I am especially grateful to Christopher Hunwick, Archivist at Northumberland Estates for his ongoing assistance and for providing access to the archives on behalf of the 12th Duke of Northumberland (Ralph George Algernon Percy (1956-)). The catalogue of the duchess’s collection (the *Musaeum Catalogue*) is Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122-127 and the duchess’s journals and notebooks are archived as Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/1-194.

¹⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/1-60. Excerpts were edited by Greig (Percy, 1926).

¹⁵ For example, although 198 albums (over 40,000 prints) collected by Richard, 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam (1745-1816) are held at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, very few documents, apart from the prints themselves, remain to shed light on his collecting practices (Ling, 2010, p. 16).

duchess created and curated her own record of her collecting. The focus of this study is therefore on allowing the duchess to ‘speak’ about her print collecting ‘in her own words’. There has been no previous in-depth study of these textual and material sources in the context of the duchess’s print collecting.

Introducing the duchess, her collection, and the archival records

Elizabeth Seymour Percy was the daughter of poet and writer Frances Seymour (*nee* Thynne) (1699-1754), Lady Hertford (later Duchess of Somerset); and courtier Algernon Seymour (1684-1750), the Earl of Hertford (later 7th Duke of Somerset).¹⁶ She married Sir Hugh Smithson (1712-1786, 1st Duke of Northumberland from 1766), in 1740, and after the early death of her brother, inherited the barony of Percy and responsibility for properties including Northumberland House (London, demolished 1874), Alnwick Castle (Northumberland), and Syon (Middlesex).¹⁷

The couple were fully engaged with elite cultural, scientific and political society. The duchess was Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte from 1761 until 1770 and the duke had an active political and court career. He served as Lord of the Bedchamber to George II and III; was Lord Chamberlain to Queen Charlotte; MP for Middlesex; Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland, Middlesex and Ireland; Master of the Horse; and was installed as Knight of the Garter.¹⁸ The duke was also a member of the Royal Society, the Society of Dilettanti, and the Society of Antiquaries.¹⁹ He was actively involved in the convergence of scientific discovery, categorisation, and collecting when

¹⁶ Blodgett, 2004. For Lady Hertford see Sambrook, 2018. For the Earl of Hertford see ‘Children and Grandchildren’ in Bucholz, 2008; and Percy, 2019, p. 106. See also Aymonino, 2021.

¹⁷ For Smithson and his ancestry: see Smithson, 1906; Cannon, 2004; and Cruikshank, 1970. The couple were elevated to the earldom of Northumberland in 1750 and the dukedom (third creation) by George III in 1766. To avoid confusion, I will refer to them as the ‘duke’ and ‘duchess’, irrespective of their titles at the time of the reference. For an introduction to Percy family history see Percy, 2019; and Lomas, 1999.

¹⁸ See Cannon, 2004.

¹⁹ Ingamells, 1997, p. 41. He was also an active Freemason (Couto, 2015, p. 225 note 26).

he was appointed as a founding Trustee of the British Museum.²⁰ The couple were both committed patrons and collectors who commissioned the services of leading cultural figures such as designer Robert Adam (1728-1792), landscape-designer Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown (1715-1783), and artist Canaletto (Giovanni Antonio Canal 1697-1768).

The duchess was a noted collector in her own right. She acquired prints, pictures, medals, coins, cameos and intaglios, busts, naturalia, minerals, and curiosities during her frequent and often independent international travels.²¹ She created a personal *musaeum* in several rooms at their London residence, Northumberland House.²² Here her collections were organised using a taxonomy similar to other eighteenth-century collectors’ cabinets and they were recorded in her hand-written multi-volume collection catalogue (her *Musaeum Catalogue*).²³ The volumes are arranged into specific divisions (such as ‘paintings’, ‘medals and coins’) and each volume includes tables into which the duchess entered the subject, features, purchase price, and provenance of objects.

In her lifetime, the duchess’s ‘repository of curiosities’ was praised for affording ‘endless entertainment’ to connoisseurs, but Adriano Aymonino suggests the duchess’s collection was ‘more the product of a dilettante than the research tool of a scholar’.²⁴

²⁰ As delegated in the will of Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) (Aymonino, 2012, p. 105; Sloane, 1753).

²¹ See Aymonino, 2012, pp. 101-119; French, 2009, pp. 1-36, 59-82 and 276-281; Baird, 2003, pp. 147-168; and Percy, 1926.

²² Described in Aymonino, 2012, pp. 101-119.

²³ Aymonino, 2012, pp. 109-115; and French, 2009, pp. 276-281. The *Musaeum Catalogue* is catalogued as Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122-127. It is likely the duke’s interests had an impact on the duchess’s categorisation of her collection (Aymonino, 2012, p. 109). The collections of Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753); Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford (1717-97); Dr Richard Mead (1673-1754); and Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, 2nd Duchess of Portland (1715-1785) — all significant to the development of ‘enlightened’ collecting approaches — are named in the duchess’s list of ‘Collections’ in 1771 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.286). It was rare for an early modern collection inventory to be completed by the owner of the objects (Keating and Markey, 2011, p. 209).

²⁴ Martyn, 1766, Vol. 1, p. 191; Dodsley and Dodsley, 1761, Vol. 5, p. 58; and Aymonino, 2012, p.109.

Nevertheless, he notes that in her collection of prints, medals, and coins, the duchess ‘clearly showed a high level of discernment’.²⁵

The duchess’s print collection was a significant and independent part of her collection and also mirrored her other collecting and cultural interests.²⁶ Her thousands of prints — mounted in hundreds of albums — were listed in her *Catalogue of Prints*, one of the eight volumes of the *Musaeum Catalogue*.²⁷ **(Fig. 2)** Here the duchess organised her prints into sets, series, and albums that were categorised by subject, printmaker and/or designer, provenance, and price.²⁸ Some entries were duplicated across various sections of the *Catalogue of Prints* which prompted Antony Griffiths to describe the *Catalogue* as a ‘curious production, inasmuch as it combines the function of an inventory with that of an index’.²⁹ Several notebooks which include preparatory/experimental formats for the *Catalogue*, record the development of the duchess’s collection classification system.³⁰

The duchess’s journals are also important sources of information about her print purchases. The journals are a hybrid of a diary, private notes, summaries of expenditure, to-do-lists, and *aides-mémoire*. **(Fig. 3)** Patricia Meyer Spacks describes them as the intersection between ‘a reported experience largely controlled by rigid convention, and a mind meditating on that experience’.³¹ Notes and observations map the duchess’s

²⁵ He suggests these inconsistencies in her collecting echo an ‘odd combination of new scientific principles and old-fashioned display’: evidence of the ‘absorption and reuse of the new “enlightened” notions by a private amateur’ (Aymonino, 2012, p. 116).

²⁶ For example, she assembled prints depicting medals, antiquities, natural history, portraits, costume and Flemish landscapes, and also collected these objects.

²⁷ The *Catalogue of Prints* is Volume II (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B). For a description see French, 2009, pp. 276-281.

²⁸ The high-level categories in the *Catalogue of Prints* are: Fables, Emblems and Metamorphoses; Sacred Subjects; Statues, Medals, Antiquities; Architecture, Views and Landscapes; Natural History; Miscellaneous Prints; Works of Devos; Habits; Works of Galle; Works of Stradanus; Portraits; Works of Collaert; Works of Wierx; Works of De Pass; Works of Hollar; Works of Goltzius; Works of Callot; Works of Teniers; Works of Sadeler.

²⁹ Griffiths, 2001, p. 142.

³⁰ Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/5; Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176; Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/III/11; and Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88.

³¹ Spacks, 2003, pp. 180-181.

impressions of artworks, collections and collectors, and also reveal the diversity of her acquisitions. Like the writings of many eighteenth-century Grand Tourists, her journals reflect and construct the duchess's sense of aristocratic taste and status, and the comparative taste of others.³²

At the end of many of the duchess's journals is a running tally of expenses, recorded simply with the date, a brief description, and a price. A typical list may include: 'a print'; 'brass hand candlesticks, marrow bones and cleavers'; fees paid to coachmen and ferrymen; gambling losses; buttons; accommodation at inns; charity to '2 boys'; and treats for her dog, Tizzy.³³ Some account entries describe the title, printmaker/artist and/or details of where prints were purchased; however many of the entries include just a word or two of description (for example, 'Prints publish'd by Sayer': 'A lot of prints'), a date, and a price, which makes them more difficult to identify.³⁴ (**Fig. 4**) Nonetheless, when studied together, these brief entries uncover rich data about the duchess's collecting interests and the provenance of her collection.

The acquisition of collection objects is also noted in the duchess's correspondence. A regular correspondent was her trusted confidante, Louis Dutens (1730-1812) — a French-born writer, diplomat and numismatist who accompanied the duchess's son Algernon on his Grand Tour.³⁵ Dutens described the duchess as possessed of 'great elevation of mind, natural and easy wit, a good and compassionate heart, and above all, a strong attachment to her friends'.³⁶ He noted her particular interest in collecting prints and medals.³⁷ Fourteen unpublished letters from the duchess to Dutens survive in the archives of bankers Coutts & Co., London, and many of these include

³² Cohen, 2001, pp. 129-141.

³³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.103.

³⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.27; Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/49, f.18.

³⁵ Algernon Percy, second Baron Lovaine of Alnwick (1750–1830), and from 1790 first earl of Beverley. For Dutens, see Luard and Baigent, 2004; and Dutens 1779, and 1806a,b.

³⁶ Dutens, 1806b, Vol. 2, pp. 99-100.

³⁷ Dutens, 1806b, Vol. 2, pp. 100-101.

requests for him to locate, acquire or transport collection objects (including prints) on her behalf.³⁸

Another important source is the more than 130 surviving notebooks written by the duchess.³⁹ These contain — amongst other miscellanea — lists of collections and ‘wanted’ objects, poetry, recipes, household remedies, and ciphers.⁴⁰ Some notebooks feature a geographic ‘finding’ system to help her locate prints that were housed in various Northumberland seats (and some of these entries refer to prints and albums now in Melbourne).⁴¹ The duchess’s notes, lists, accounts, letters, and inventories are a rich and important resource of information about her development as a print collector.

None of these archival records have previously been analysed in the specific context of the duchess’s print collecting. When these rich archival sources are brought to bear on the materiality of her surviving prints and albums, together they present extraordinary new narratives about the acquisition, collation, and classification of prints by an aristocratic collector in the eighteenth-century.

The duchess’s prints in Melbourne

Under instructions from Hugh Algernon Percy (1914-1988), 10th Duke of Northumberland, the duchess’s collection of prints was almost completely dispersed at auction by Sotheby and Co. (‘Sotheby’s’) in 1951.⁴² Albums of the duchess’s prints that are now in the collection of the University of Melbourne were acquired at that sale by London dealer P. & D. Colnaghi’s (‘Colnaghi’).⁴³ (**Fig. 5**) Nearly a decade later, the albums were purchased from Colnaghi by the University of Melbourne through the

³⁸ [REDACTED] Coutts & Co. Archives. I am grateful to Professor Wallace Kirsop for making me aware of these archives, and to Tracey Earl, Archivist, for kind permission to access these letters.

³⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60-194.

⁴⁰ Some volumes may be considered in the tradition of ‘commonplace books’ (see Allan, 2010) but others are in the form of lists related to particular topics and interests.

⁴¹ Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/5; Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.68.

⁴² Sotheby and Co., 1951a, pp. 23-43.

⁴³ As lots 315 and 316 (Sotheby 1951b, p. 37).

efforts of Sir Joseph Burke, then Herald Chair of Fine Arts.⁴⁴ Analysis of this transaction demonstrates that the sales process was ‘far from a straightforward or fluid circulation that leaves objects unaltered’.⁴⁵ Sales records, correspondence and stock books record and identify a number of ‘missing’ albums and prints once associated with the albums now in Melbourne.⁴⁶

The Melbourne albums predominantly contain impressions by two generations of the Sadeler family — a significant Flemish sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century family of print makers/publishers.⁴⁷ The albums fall into two distinct categories. The first group of seven albums have provenance to the extensive library of the 1st and 2nd Earls of Oxford, Robert Harley (1661-1724) and his son Edward (1689-1741).⁴⁸ The albums were sold by dealer Thomas Osborne (1704-1767) in the 1740s, and this provenance is noted by the duchess.⁴⁹ These albums (referred to as the ‘Oxford’ albums) play a secondary role in this analysis.

The other two Northumberland albums in Melbourne (the ‘De Vos’ albums), are considered in greater detail in this research. They feature prints by the Sadeler family after Maarten de Vos (1532-1603) and reveal important material evidence for the duchess’s arrangement of her prints.⁵⁰ The albums contain a palimpsest of rich physical

⁴⁴ See Lo Conte, 2018a, pp. 339-350.

⁴⁵ Joyeux-Prunel, 2017, p. 16.

⁴⁶ P. & D. Colnaghi Ltd Collection, Waddesdon Archive at Windmill Hill. Materials from this collection are subsequently indicated as ‘COL’. I am grateful to the staff of Colnaghi and Waddesdon Archive, Windmill Hill for permission to access this archive.

⁴⁷ Each print was identified by Edquist (1990). A general overview of all their contents is given in Ramaix, 1991b. For an introduction to the Sadelers and their business practices, see Ramaix, 1991a; Limouze, 1989 and 1990; Sénéchal, 1987 and 1990; Herrin, 2014; Jacoby, 2011; and Edquist, 1980.

⁴⁸ Catalogued by the University of Melbourne as UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37BB/1 v.1 John pt. 1; 37CC/1 v.1 John pt. 2; 37CC/2 v. 3 Raphael; 37EE/1 v.4 Aegidius pt. 2; 37DD/1 v.4 Raphael; 37DD/2 v. 7 Aegidius and Justo; and 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George. For their provenance, see Griffiths, 2001, p. 142.

⁴⁹ Described in the *Catalogue of Prints* as ‘Bought out of Lord Oxford’s collection’, and in a notebook as ‘Collection of Sadelers bought at Osbornes’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: 122B, f.311 and Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.68).

⁵⁰ Catalogued by the University of Melbourne as 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos and 36FF/1 v.2A Sadelers/de Vos.

features: annotations in the duchess's handwriting; foliation; and evidence of an unusual technique used to trim and adhere prints into the albums.⁵¹ (**Fig. 6**) The potency of these features is enhanced when they are considered within the overall context of the duchess's collection, as they reveal the hand of the collector at the 'moment of making'.

Prints representing hermits, hermitages, and the eremitic life feature prominently in the De Vos albums in Melbourne.⁵² Study of the arrangement of this thematic group reveals the duchess's careful approach to the acquisition, collation, ordering, and cataloguing of her collection. The imagery of the prints also elucidates familial influences on the duchess's print collecting. Most significantly, the hermit-themed prints represent the translation of her prints into new physical forms: as sculpture.

In the grounds of Hulne Park — ancient Percy land that is part of the Northumberland Estates near Alnwick Castle — are four stone hermit or friar figures that were created in the eighteenth century. Three are strategically located in the ruins of historic Hulne Priory, and the fourth is adjacent to a natural cave-like formation ('The Nine Year Old Hole') on the approach to Brizlee Hill within Hulne Park. The figures are larger than life-size, and their location, long robes, and hoods evoke the solitary, scholarly life. (**Fig. 7**) The posture of the figures, the folds of their garments, and the shape and orientation of their accoutrements suggest the figures have been directly copied from prints by the Sadeliers after De Vos, impressions of which are in the Northumberland-provenance albums at the University of Melbourne.⁵³ (**Fig. 8**)

⁵¹ Griffiths (2001) first described the unusual tabbed mounts and attributed the arrangement of the De Vos albums to the duchess. This was further investigated in Box, 2018. Other published research on the Melbourne Northumberland albums includes: Edquist, 1990; Stone, 2016; and Lo Conte, 2018a (which do not describe the physical features of the albums).

⁵² Especially in volume UniM Bail SpC/RB 37FF/2 v.1A Sadeliers/de Vos (f.49-105) which is addressed in detail in Chapter 3) and in UniM Bail SpC/RB 37DD/2 v. 7 Aegidius and Justo (f.7-21). For descriptions see Edquist, 1990.

⁵³ My sincere thanks to Christopher Hunwick of Northumberland Estates for recognising the similarity between images of prints in Melbourne and statuary in Hulne Park. The prints in Melbourne are 'Paphnutius' (Hollstein XXI 389 (Johannes Sadeler I)); 'Anub' (Hollstein XXI 401 (Johannes Sadeler I)); 'Didymo' (Hollstein XXI 390 (Johannes Sadeler I)); and 'Mutius' (Hollstein XXI 386 (Johannes Sadeler I)) from the *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremicolarum* print series of twenty-nine lesser-

The connection between these stone figures and prints from the duchess's collection has not previously been identified or described. Indeed, Edward Wouk suggests that 'few studies have focussed on the material nature of the printed image and its force in driving transformations in other objects'.⁵⁴ When translated into three-dimensional forms, the duchess's prints became part of the complex narrative of hermits in eighteenth-century landscape garden design: their meanings aligned with sociability and solitude, luxury and restraint.⁵⁵ Through this translation we can also infer the significance of hermits and hermitages to the duchess as objects related to familial heritage, commemoration, and memory.

Intentions for this research

The centrepiece of this research is the new insight that can be drawn from a print-orientated analysis of the duchess's journals, *Catalogue of Prints*, and notes, in combination with investigation of the physical characteristics of her print albums. These textual and material sources reveal new narratives about the 'lives' and 'afterlives' of the prints and albums in Melbourne. They transitioned from consumer items; to manipulated, 'made' and displayed items as part of an eighteenth-century collection; to become catalysts for other creative, performative objects. They then briefly re-emerged as cultural consumer goods in the twentieth century; before finding their permanent home at the University of Melbourne. Primary sources reveal the intentions of the collector: the mind and hand of the duchess during the selection and acquisition of her prints; at the moment of 'making' and cataloguing her print albums; and in the re-contextualisation of part of her print collection into stone figures.

John Dixon Hunt suggests that our interrogation of objects should aim to make new stories and histories that tell us 'things that we did not know before or did not know

known hermits and their hermitages, printed in 1585. When identified, Sadeler family prints are referred to using standard 'Hollstein' *catalogues raisonnés* and/or to the reference system developed by Ruth Edquist in her bespoke *Catalogue* of the Northumberland albums in Melbourne. That is: Hollstein XXI (De Hoop Scheffer, 1980); Hollstein XLIV (Schuckman and Hoop Scheffer, 1996); and Edquist, 1990.

⁵⁴ Wouk, 2017, p. 12.

⁵⁵ Harwood, 2000, p. 283.

in that particular way'. He goes on to recommend that this needs to be enabled by a new discourse and 'plurality of approach'.⁵⁶ With this in mind, this investigation considers the duchess's prints and print albums from the perspectives of textual records; materiality and material culture; art history; garden history; the history of collecting; and art market studies.

This research sets out to understand: what does archival evidence reveal about the duchess's acquisition and categorisation of prints in the eighteenth century? How do the material features of the duchess's albums in Melbourne help us understand the acquisition, assembly, and categorisation of her print collection? Why were some of the duchess's prints translated into other creative forms? These research questions, and work towards answering them in this study, are entirely new.

Research framework: tracing the 'lives' of prints and albums

The transition of the duchess's prints and print albums through their 'lives' is the framework of this study. The concepts of the social lives of objects; things as commodities; and objects' roles as agents and as actors in human activities — proposed by Bruno Latour, Alfred Gell, Igor Kopytoff, and Arjun Appadurai — have been linked to analyses of collecting and material culture for at least the last two decades.⁵⁷ Appadurai posits that objects move in and out of a commodity phase as they move across time and space, and the meanings of objects emerge from studying their 'lives' as 'commodities in motion'.⁵⁸ This study draws on these ideas and addresses the duchess's prints and albums both as kinetic commodities (items with economic value), and as collected, assembled and ordered objects which were 'enclaved' (that is, removed from circulation in both private and institutional collections).⁵⁹ The structure of the chapters follows the generally chronological movement of the duchess's prints and albums.

⁵⁶ Hunt, 1993, pp. 293-294.

⁵⁷ Latour 1985 and 2003; Gell, 1998; Kopytoff, 1986; and Appadurai 1986, pp. 3-63.

⁵⁸ Kopytoff defines a commodity as an 'item with use value that also has exchange value' (Kopytoff, 1986, p. 64), and Appadurai notes that a 'commodity is not one kind of thing rather than another, but one phase in the life of some things' (Appadurai, 1986, p. 17).

⁵⁹ Based on Appadurai's definition of 'enclaved' (Appadurai, 1986, pp. 13, 16).

The first two chapters focus on the duchess's prints and albums as commodities within the eighteenth-century art market. Chapter One, *Acquiring a Collection I: Family Influences*, considers the duchess's prints and albums within the contexts of familial role-models, inheritance, and collecting activities undertaken in conjunction with her husband. The chapter draws on Northumberland account books, the duchess's journals, and family correspondence which discusses prints by the Sadeler family. Early influences on her collecting are significant, as they reflect the duchess's approach to her own collecting records and the later directions of her collecting. The print acquisition methods used by her family — auctions, dealers, social networks, and inheritance — set the scene for the duchess's later independent acquisitions. The first chapter also introduces the duchess's commemoration and promotion of her family heritage and traditions: important themes which resonate throughout later chapters.

The duchess's independent, autonomous print collecting is considered in Chapter Two: *Acquiring a Collection II: An Intrepid and Itinerant Print Collector*. Her cultural independence — the separation of her sphere of collecting influence from that of her husband — led Adriano Aymonino to suggest that the duchess's collection is 'one of a very few *independently* assembled by a woman in the Georgian period'.⁶⁰ The focus of this chapter is both the numerous entries in journals and accounts that identify the sources used to acquire her prints, and an initial identification of the categories of prints she set out to collect. Specific auction houses, dealers, printsellers, booksellers, and personal networks are identified by the duchess, and this information builds an overall picture of the variety of sources she accessed, ranging from exclusive French antiquarian dealers through to London printshops 'for the middling sort'. The duchess obtained prints from her social networks, and made journal notes about prints she wanted, indicating she took a very active role in adding specific works to her collection.

Commercial data such as locations of print sources and print prices allow us to assess the duchess's prints and albums in terms of their economic value. As described by Philip Mirowski, value is about prices, but it is also about cultural situations,

⁶⁰ Aymonino, 2012, pp. 116, 101 (emphasis added).

geographical considerations and personal consciousness.⁶¹ All these factors are important when tracing the duchess's purchases of prints and albums within the context of the eighteenth-century print market. What did she buy and where? How much did she pay? The duchess's detailed acquisition records indicate that she had a penchant for systematically completing series and sets, and a clear vision and ambition for her collection. These characteristics are reflected by the categories she later used to arrange and catalogue her prints.

Chapters Three and Four follow the lives of prints and albums as arranged objects in the duchess's private collection. As Igor Kopytoff suggests, 'when the commodity is effectively out of the commodity sphere, its status is inevitably ambiguous and open to the push and pull of events and desires, as it is shuffled about in the flux of social life'.⁶² The literal shuffling and physical manipulation of acquired prints as they were trimmed, ordered, and pasted into albums is the focus of Chapter Three: *Print albums at 'The Moment of Making'*. The physical features of the De Vos albums in Melbourne are analysed, and the albums' methods of assembly elucidate the duchess's intentions at 'the moment of making'.

Annotations, unusual hand-cut mounts, and the presence of many surviving loosely inter-leaved, partially cut prints in the De Vos albums suggest that they have been intriguingly caught-in-process only partly through their assembly. The manipulation of hermit themed prints in the De Vos albums demonstrate that the duchess's albums were not a static form but were constantly in flux. This chapter also connects evidence from the De Vos albums with entries in the duchess's handwritten *Catalogue of Prints*, to demonstrate that her arrangement focussed on the numerical sequencing of print sets and series.

Chapter Four — *Albums and Prints Enclaved and Catalogued* — follows the duchess's prints and albums as they were recorded and stored. Her print classification schema, and her records of print technique, provenance, and the quality of her prints, are

⁶¹ Mirowski, 1990, p. 695.

⁶² Kopytoff, 1986, p. 83.

compared with those of other eighteenth-century collectors. Possible inspirations for the duchess's print cataloguing methodology are also examined. Draft or preparatory versions of her *Catalogue of Prints* survive in a series of notebooks, and these are analysed in conjunction with the *Catalogue* to demonstrate how her print categorisation ideas developed over time.

The duchess's prints and albums again became items of economic exchange when the Northumberland collection of bound albums of prints was auctioned by Sotheby's London in 1951. As a result, the duchess's collection was dispersed globally through the machinations of the international art market. Chapter Five — *Cultural Commerce: Collecting: The Duchess's Prints and Albums as Twentieth-Century Consumer Goods* — describes prints as objects of cultural commerce via their purchase by the University of Melbourne. Primary evidence from sales records, letters, collection inventories, and dealer stock books (especially from the firm P. & D. Colnaghi of London), traces a selection of the prints and albums to their current locations. New provenance information related to the albums and prints now held in Melbourne is also revealed.

Prints representing hermits, hermitages and the eremitic life, are *leitmotifs* for this research. They reveal the duchess's careful approach to the collation, ordering and cataloguing of her collection, and elucidate familial influences on the duchess's print collecting. When imagery from the duchess's hermit prints was transformed into statuary in the eighteenth century, her prints then had a new 'life' as part of the fashionable social spectacle of elite landscape gardens. The translation and re-contextualisation of prints — their 'afterlives' as three-dimensional forms — demonstrate the interplay between prints and other media. This transition is the focus of Chapter Six, *Print Translations: Hermits, Hermitages and Afterlives*. The chapter draws together many of the threads explored in the rest of this study: the duchess's ambitions for her collection; her acknowledgement and commemoration of her heritage; and how recurring themes from her own experiences (and those of her family) are reflected and developed both within and outside her print collection. When re-created in stone, her

prints are suffused with meaning that reflects the duchess's heritage, identity, and legacy.

Significance of Research

This research is unique on three counts. First, there has been no in-depth, scholarly analysis of the development of the duchess's print collection. Although the duchess regularly noted her purchases of prints and print albums in her predominantly unpublished travel journals and correspondence, this data has not been the subject of a detailed study. This research also provides new information about the provenance of the collection at the University of Melbourne, and traces two albums previously 'missing' from the collection.

Second, no detailed research has been undertaken to date to describe, analyse and interpret the materials features of the Northumberland albums in Melbourne, or indeed of any other of the duchess's surviving prints and albums.⁶³ As with many other albums of prints, scholarly attention has remained primarily focused on the social attitudes towards them, and the iconography of the prints they contain, rather than 'their materials and making'.⁶⁴ Furthermore, previous researchers have not discussed the duchess's collecting and display approaches evident in the cutting, pasting, and collating of prints into the albums in Melbourne. This research investigates the materiality of the De Vos albums in Melbourne in depth.

The third important part of this research links the duchess's prints in Melbourne with stone figures located in the grounds of Hulne Park, near Alnwick Castle, Northumberland. This is a new, unexplored connection. The previously un-recognised

⁶³ Apart from the introductory discussion in Griffiths, 2001. This has also not been completed for known Northumberland-provenance prints and albums in other collections, including those in the New York Public Library, the British Museum, *Fondation Custodia* (Paris) or the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Initial analysis of these albums was completed during this doctoral research and is being prepared for future publication.

⁶⁴ Baker, 2014, p. 409.

eighteenth-century translation of the duchess's prints into statuary elucidates relationships between Percy family heritage and garden design.

This study thus focusses both widely and narrowly. It traces the intimate micro-movements of prints transferred from album leaf to album leaf; prints re-contextualised into stone; through to the expansive transnational canvas of prints moving from geographic location to geographic location as objects of cultural commerce. Although this research reveals considerable new information about the duchess's print collection, there is much more still to be studied. Future research directions are discussed in the *Conclusion*.

Exclusions from this research

The sheer volume of unpublished archival material has meant that a number of interesting new perspectives could not be addressed in this study. It has not been within the scope of a doctorate to investigate the iconography of the prints discussed, nor the biographies of the printmakers and artists. A lack of space also prevented the inclusion of detailed findings about Northumberland-provenance albums and prints in other collections (such as those in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Fondation Custodia*, the British Museum, and the New York Public Library). Some of this research (which has already been conducted) will be published in other formats in the future.

The focus of this investigation is the duchess's prints and her own notes about them, rather than her biography or wider collecting interests. On occasions, her collecting approach with prints is compared with her collecting of other objects. The breadth and depth of her all collections — and those of her husband — are also out of scope of this research project.⁶⁵ It has also been out of scope to fully explore the dispersal of the duchess's prints by investigating sales records from all the dealers who purchased them from the 1951 Sotheby's sale.

⁶⁵ But will be addressed in Adriano Aymonino's forthcoming monograph (2021).

Several potential topics of interest were purposely excluded from this investigation when it became clear that there was insufficient data in primary sources. It was anticipated that archival sources would include the duchess's personal reflections about her prints and albums, and details of how she shared her collection with those in her social circle and with wider audiences.⁶⁶ The duchess's journals record her active engagement with her extensive social networks, and her renowned assemblies, balls, and dinners: what Horace Walpole described as her 'endless pursuits' of 'shows and crowds and junketing'.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, no comments have yet been located in the duchess's journals or notebooks which describe when and with whom she shared her prints and albums.⁶⁸ This was unexpected.

It was also anticipated that the duchess's journals and notes would reveal her emotional responses to print collecting. It quickly became clear that despite the volume of material written by the duchess, most lacks an intimate, reflective voice which contextualises and expresses her responses to her print collecting activities. As described by Patricia Meyer Spacks, the duchess's journals exist more 'as a kind of artificial memory' as if she 'wishes to remember not how she feels but how things were'.⁶⁹

It was hoped that this study could include detailed comparisons between the duchess's print collection and those of other eighteenth-century female print collectors.

⁶⁶ It was expected that sharing her prints may have been part of domestic leisure activities. Heller suggests that 'private-residence-based leisure' of upper class Georgian Londoners 'should be understood not as either public or private', but more neutrally as 'domestic' recreation or sociability (2010, p. 625). Literature on the divisions of 'public' and 'private' in the eighteenth century is extensive (especially responses to gender divisions between the public and private sphere discussed in Habermas 1991 (esp. pp. 43-51)). Many of the key issues are summarised in Klein, 1995; Vickery, 1993 and 2008; Kahn, 2010; Maza, 2010; McKeon, 2005; and Kerber, 1988.

⁶⁷ Walpole, 2000, Vol. 2, p. 51. A number of the historically significant events attended by the duchess have been published by Greig (Percy, 1926).

⁶⁸ In addition, no references to prints have been located to-date in diaries or letters of visitors. Adriano Aymonino has also noted he has found 'no mention of comments' in other sources about viewing her print collections. His impression is that 'they were showed to her close friends when in her apartments at Northumberland House' (Aymonino, private email correspondence, 29 April 2020).

⁶⁹ Spacks, 2003, p. 179.

It was decided not to proceed on this basis for two reasons. Primarily, the incredibly rich and relatively unexplored Northumberland archival resources meant that there was more than sufficient material to concentrate just on the duchess, her prints and albums, and her descriptions of them. Second, there are few other equally expansive repositories of print-related inventories, collecting notes, diaries, and correspondence connected with other elite eighteenth-century female print collectors.⁷⁰ As described by Antony Griffiths in 2001, the duchess was ‘one of the few recorded female print collectors of the eighteenth-century, and the only one yet known who compiled an inventory of her collection, and wrote surviving diaries and account books that throw much light on it’.⁷¹ Conversations with Antony Griffiths in 2018 confirm he has not changed his assessment.⁷² References to a number of other print collectors as made, however an in-depth comparison was out of the scope of this doctorate.

The aim of this research is to interrogate the duchess’s own ‘voice’ as a collector, and its expression through the rich textual and material evidence left by her. It was not the intention of this research to locate the duchess within the spectrum of female and/or aristocratic collectors in the eighteenth century.⁷³ It was also not possible within the scope of this doctorate to explore the duchess’s central role in elite eighteenth-century life, or to address in depth the biography of the duchess or her family, except where this connected specifically with the key research questions.

⁷⁰ Other significant eighteenth-century female print collectors include Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough (1660-1744). Marjorie Cohn’s work on this collector and her collection has been invaluable for this study (Cohn, 1992, 1994 and 2004). Similarly, Beth Fowkes Tobin discusses the acquisition, arrangement and collection development of the extensive assemblage of shells gathered by Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, 2nd Duchess of Portland (1715-1785) who was also a print collector (Tobin, 2009b and 2014). Tobin’s observations were also models for this study, however a detailed analysis of the Duchess of Portland’s prints could not be completed within the scope of this doctorate. The printed ephemera collection of Sarah Sophia Banks (1744-1818) also provided interesting points of comparison to the duchess’s print collection. See Leis, 2013a, 2013b and 2014; and Russell, 2015.

⁷¹ Griffiths, 2001, pp. 143-144.

⁷² Personal conversations with Antony Griffiths, British Museum, January 2018.

⁷³ Although this may be a future research project.

Literature review

Elizabeth Seymour Percy, the 1st Duchess of Northumberland

Most of the primary source material related to the duchess and her collections is contained in the private Archives of the Duke of Northumberland maintained by Northumberland Estates at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland. The survival of this comprehensive group of records is unique among other known eighteenth-century female print collectors.⁷⁴ The archives hold nearly two hundred volumes of the duchess's journals, travel notes, and notebooks, as well as her handwritten, nine-volume *Musaeum Catalogue*, collection inventories, personal correspondence, and official documents. General household accounts, correspondence to and from family members and banking records (also held by Northumberland Estates either at Alnwick Castle or in limited-access microfilm at the British Library, London) have also been important to this research. Additional secondary sources are guides to Alnwick Castle and Syon House, and publications on aspects of Percy family history.⁷⁵

To date, only excerpts from the duchess's journals have been published. The key source is James Greig's edited 1926 volume, *Diaries of a Duchess*, which focusses on her relationships with key eighteenth-century figures and events.⁷⁶ Greig's excerpts exclude miscellaneous notes (such as summaries of purchases and domestic to-do lists) which have been critical for my research on the duchess's print purchases. Excerpts from the duchess's lively descriptions of homes and gardens she visited appeared in a series of *Country Life* articles in 1974, but there has been no complete publication of her journals or correspondence.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Griffiths, 2001, pp. 143-144.

⁷⁵ Percy, 2019; Shrimpton 2006 and 2012; Pailthorpe, Martyn, Shrimpton and Baxter, 2003; Syon House Estate, 1950; Baxter, 2000; Lomas, 1999; Brenan, 1902; and Fonblanque, 1887.

⁷⁶ Percy, 1926. Part of one of the duchess's diaries was also published anonymously in the eighteenth-century (Percy, 1775). As the 'diaries' also contain a combination of daily expenditure accounts, lists, and other notes, I have chosen to refer to them as 'journals'.

⁷⁷ Percy and Jackson-Stops, 1974a, b, c.

The duchess's observations — often quoted from Greig's *Diaries of a Duchess* — appear in many discussions of eighteenth-century life, however there are relatively few sources of published scholarly research specifically about either the duchess or her collections.⁷⁸ Adriano Aymonino has completed the most extensive research on the collecting and patronage of the 1st Duke and Duchess of Northumberland.⁷⁹ His unpublished doctoral research will be released as a monograph by Yale University Press in 2021.⁸⁰ Other key sources on the duchess's collections are Rosemary Baird's chapter in *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830*, Anne French's chapters in *Art Treasures in the North: Northern Families on the Grand Tour* and Laura Mayer's research on the duchess's travels and patronage.⁸¹ Anne French provides a summary of the duchess's *Musaeum Catalogue* (which is developed further by Adriano Aymonino) and a brief description of some of the categories of prints and their themes.⁸²

Observations by contemporaries such as Horace Walpole and Thomas Percy provide context for the personality of the duchess and descriptions of her collections.⁸³ Other sources focus on specific aspects of the duchess's interests, or her connection with other historical figures.⁸⁴ Laura Mayer has also published on the duchess's influence on the interiors and gardens of Northumberland properties.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Percy, 1926. A small exhibition catalogue of the duke and duchess's collection was published to accompany an exhibition at the Hatton Gallery, University of Newcastle on Tyne (Holland, 1963). Other chronological histories of the Percy family only touch briefly on the duchess (e.g. Lomas, 1999; Brenan, 1902; and Fonblanque, 1887).

⁷⁹ Aymonino, 2009, 2010, pp. 288-296, 2012, pp. 101-119, and 2015, pp. 38-47.

⁸⁰ I am grateful to Adriano Aymonino for sharing excerpts of this research with me. He advised me that he will 'touch upon [the duchess's] print collection very briefly in [his] forthcoming book, so there is still plenty to be said' (Aymonino, private communication: 22 October 2015).

⁸¹ Baird, 2003, pp. 147-168; French, 2009, pp. 59-82 and pp. 273-281; and Mayer, 2015, pp. 129-141.

⁸² French, 2009, pp. 276-281; Aymonino, 2012.

⁸³ For example: Walpole, 1903; Dodsley and Dodsley, 1761; Davis, 1989.

⁸⁴ For example, the importance of the duchess in the career of cleric and author Thomas Percy (1729-1811) is considered in Davis, 1989. For the duchess's role in elite women's political behavior see Chalus, 2005, pp. 88-91, 174, 210-211; and Russell, 2007, pp. 42, 84, 137. For the duchess within the context of women of fashion and late Georgian period public culture see Russell, 2007.

⁸⁵ Mayer, 2011, pp. 34-50, and 2014, pp. 25-35.

Northumberland prints and albums

There have been no major studies of the duchess's prints or albums. Antony Griffiths first described the duchess's unusual 'tabbed' print mounting technique in 2001 and identified the current locations of a number of Northumberland-provenance albums of Flemish and Netherlandish prints.⁸⁶ He mentioned the duchess's albums and their construction in 'The Archaeology of the Print' in 2003.⁸⁷ These two articles — as well as Griffiths' extensive research on print history — have been important sources and points of embarkation for this present study.⁸⁸ This study considers archival material not accessed by Griffiths and makes new connections between the history of the duchess's prints and the material features of the Northumberland albums in Melbourne.

Auction catalogues, dealer archives, and institutional archives map the twentieth-century journeys of the duchess's prints to the University of Melbourne and other private and public collections. The annotated sales catalogue of the 1951 Sotheby's sale of the Northumberland albums has been a key resource.⁸⁹ Of the 219 lots at the auction, nearly a quarter of the lots were directly purchased by London dealer P. & D. Colnaghi ('Colnaghi'), and the firm was the source of the Northumberland-provenance prints now in several international collections — including the University of Melbourne.⁹⁰ Information about these transactions was accessed through stock books now part of the P. & D. Colnaghi Ltd Collection, Waddesdon Archive at Windmill Hill; collection archives at the University of Melbourne; acquisition documents and curatorial notes in the Museum Archives and Departmental Archives (Drawings and Prints) of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; and accession records at *Fondation Custodia*, Paris.

⁸⁶ Griffiths, 2001.

⁸⁷ Griffiths, 2003, pp. 9-28 (esp. p. 17).

⁸⁸ Antony Griffiths helped shape and extend my ideas about the material features of the albums and their meanings (Private conversations with Antony Griffiths, January-June 2018).

⁸⁹ British Library: General Reference Collection S.C. Sotheby 1951 (10 and 11 April 11, 1951). Despite several requests and enquiries to Sotheby's London, I was not able to view archival documents regarding the 1951 sale of the Northumberland prints held by their firm.

⁹⁰ Sotheby and Co., 1951b.

Of the few published works about the duchess's prints, the majority focus on the Northumberland albums held at the University of Melbourne. Ruth Edquist's unpublished thesis and her *Catalogue* (which identified all the prints contained in the Northumberland albums in Melbourne) centre on analysis of the iconography of prints and the biography of printmakers, rather than on the arrangement of the albums or locating the albums within eighteenth-century print collecting and classification practices.⁹¹ Discussion of provenance is limited to only a paragraph or two in Edquist's work, and briefly discussed by Kerriane Stone in her introduction to the Melbourne Northumberland albums.⁹² Angelo Lo Conte draws on University of Melbourne archives to explore the acquisition of the Northumberland albums, and positions the prints within the *oeuvre* of the Sadeler workshop.⁹³ These analyses do not discuss the earlier provenance of the albums in detail; investigate print dealer records or extensively draw on Northumberland archives; nor do they address the physical characteristics of the prints and albums in Melbourne.⁹⁴

The De Vos albums in Melbourne primarily contain prints made and published by the Sadeler family of printmakers. It has not been the intention of this research to undertake an in-depth analysis of the biography and works of the Sadeler family.⁹⁵ This research does draw upon studies of Netherlandish/Flemish commercial production of prints in sets; the availability and popularity of Sadeler prints in the eighteenth-century art market; and how the Sadelers' representations of hermits and hermitages connected with the development of physical hermitages (both as religious structures and as decorative novelties for eighteenth-century gardens).⁹⁶

⁹¹ Edquist, 1980 and 1990. For commentary on these see Hartley, 1991, p. 330; and Ramaix, 1991b, pp. 302-303. See also Down, 1994, pp. 6-8.

⁹² Stone, 2016, pp. 32-40.

⁹³ Lo Conte, 2018a, pp. 339-350.

⁹⁴ Aspects of these topics (drawn from this doctoral research) have been recently published (Box, 2018, and 2019, pp. 26-43).

⁹⁵ For example, in Limouze, 1990; Sénéchal, 1987 and 1990, pp. 23-35; and Edquist, 1980.

⁹⁶ For example: Griffiths, 2016, pp. 169-173; van Hogendorp Prosperetti, 2014, pp. 432-448; Herrin, 2014, pp. 329-400; Vignau-Wilberg, 2005, pp. 365-401; Göttler, 2018a, pp. 1-28; Göttler 2018b, 140-176, and references for example in Campbell, 2013, pp. 27, 86, 108, 109, 120.

The eighteenth-century print market

Archival records elucidate the variety of sources the duchess used to acquire her prints. Although some parts of her collection were inherited and gifted, she was an active participant in the commercial eighteenth-century print market. Research on Northumberland-provenance albums and the prints they contain, therefore requires consideration of prints and albums as consumer goods as well as objects of personal use and family historical meaning.⁹⁷ As Beth Fowkes Tobin describes, the moment of exchange between a seller and collector is a point of convergence between two symbolic economies: that of economic value and ‘aesthetics, sentimental or scientific appeal’.⁹⁸ This study of the duchess’s print transactions includes consideration of these two economies.

Drawing on a similar underlying assumption to that of Stobart and Rothery in *Consumption and the Country House*, the analyses in this study are less concerned with the ‘intrinsic material aesthetic qualities’ of the duchess’s purchases than ‘what was bought from whom’.⁹⁹ Prints and albums are identified as cultural commodities: that is, ‘objects with economic value’.¹⁰⁰ They are therefore discussed in terms of the commercial flow of goods, people, and social and economic exchange, and are broadly linked to studies of consumer culture and consumption in the eighteenth century (especially by women).¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ As used in the studies of collections by Ionescu, 2013; and Akin, 1996, pp. 102-128.

⁹⁸ Tobin, 2014, p. 21.

⁹⁹ Other aspects such as ‘where were the objects put, and how did they relate to other items’ are also considered (Stobart and Rothery, 2016, p. 1).

¹⁰⁰ Appadurai, 1994, p. 76. Kopytoff defines a commodity as an ‘item with use value that also has exchange value’ (Kopytoff, 1986, p. 64).

¹⁰¹ A detailed analysis of the vast literature related to these topics is out of the scope of this study. For consumer culture and consumption, see for example: Belk, 1995 and 2006, pp. 534-545; Berry, 2002, pp. 375-394; Lynch 2002, pp. 211-236; Nicholson, 1996, pp. 5-21; Kowaleski-Wallace, 1997; Pointon, 1997; and Berg and Clifford, 1998, pp. 189-200. See also Brewer, 1997; Birmingham, 1995a pp. 489-513; 1995b, pp. 1-22, 1995a; and Birmingham and Brewer, 1995. See also: Belk and Wallendorf, 1994, pp. 240-253 (gender and collecting); Peltz, 1999, pp. 115-134 (on extra-illustration and gender); Slobada, 2009, pp. 19-36 and 2010, pp. 455-472 (on porcelain and gender); Lynch, 2002, pp. 211-236 (on women’s sociability and shopping); Tobin 2009a, pp. 1-13 (on consumption and gender); and Russell 2007 (on women,

The most extensive study of the eighteenth-century print market — which includes details of the business models and stock of printsellers, print dealers, auctioneers, and booksellers named by the duchess — is Tim Clayton’s *The English Print 1688-1802* (1997).¹⁰² This work, and Antony Griffiths’ *The Print Before Photography* (2016) — which takes a wholistic view of the history of the end-to-end production, marketing, collecting and arranging of prints — have been important references for this research. Information on specific categories of the duchess’s print collection has been drawn from specialist studies.¹⁰³ Annotated auction catalogues, dealer information and resources were also accessed through the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, and at the British Library.¹⁰⁴

The discussion of the twentieth-century print trade in this study centres on the sale of the Northumberland prints through Sotheby’s in 1951; their acquisition by London print dealer P. & D. Colnaghi; and their subsequent sale to the University of Melbourne in 1962. To understand the Northumberland albums as objects of cultural commerce at this time, this research focusses on the relevant history of Colnaghi as printsellers; the recollections of key figures in these transactions (such as James Byam Shaw and Ursula Hoff); and sale documents including Colnaghi stockbooks, and invoices and records of correspondence in the University of Melbourne archives.¹⁰⁵

sociability and the theatre). For a summary of scholarship related to space, gender, and empire/globalization, see Fordham, 2008.

¹⁰² See also Fisher, 2001, pp. 48-59 (for Sayer); Salmon, 1996 (for Dodsley); and Thompson, 2008 (for Snelling).

¹⁰³ For example, for satirical and caricature prints see: Roman, 2008, pp. 166-171; O’Connell 1999; Nenadic 1997, pp. 203-222; and Nicholson 1996, pp. 5-21. For ‘macaroni’ prints see: McNeil, 2018; Rauser, 2004; and Wahrman, 2004. For portraits: Pointon, 1993; Peltz, 2017, and 2007, pp. 33-49.

¹⁰⁴ For example, Bowles, 1731, 1764 and 1768; Laurie and Whittle, 1795; Sayer, 1761 and 1970; Shropshire, 1769; and Spilsbury, 1785. I am not aware of any auction catalogues or other annotated materials that survive from the duchess’s purchases, except the notes of prices paid in her account books, and one or two surviving purchase receipts from dealers.

¹⁰⁵ Especially: Howard, 2010; Garstang, 1984. For Harold Wright see Maskill, 2009, pp. 86-103; and 2018, pp. 270-279. For Shaw and Hoff see Shaw, 1965; Holden, 2009; White, 2010; White, 1992, pp. 444-445; and Hoff, 1978.

Collecting and cataloguing prints in the eighteenth century

The duchess's acquisition, ordering, and recording of her print collection is positioned within discussion of general and print-specific analyses of collecting. The history of the collecting and display of prints is considered to be in its 'infancy', despite the simultaneous increase in scholarship connected with collecting more generally.¹⁰⁶ While there is a growing literature on print collectors — as subsets of the history of taste and collecting and as a specialist discipline¹⁰⁷ — most research on print collecting (and indeed on collectors generally) in the eighteenth century centres on male collectors, with few exceptions.¹⁰⁸ The duchess's lists of prints and her collection inventories can also be located within enlightenment collection and display practices,¹⁰⁹ and linked to earlier published precedents for collection management of prints.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ According to Warwick, 2003, p. 1; Griffiths, 1994, p. 37; Cohn, 1992, p. 11; and Waals, 1997, p. 433. Scholarship on collecting is vast. Sources include: Akin, 1996; Belk, 1994, 1995 and 2006; Pearce, 1992, 1994 and 1995; Tilley, 2006; Mount, 2006, pp. 167-184; Sloan, 2000, 2003; and Bermingham, 1995b, pp. 1-22.

¹⁰⁷ A selection of the relevant literature includes: Galdy and Heudecker, 2018; Meyer, 2018; Michel, 2018; Fuhring, Marchesano, Mathis and Selbach, 2015; McGear, 2002, pp. 254-260; Smentek, 2014; McDonald, 2005, 2017 and 2019; Hartley, 1992, pp. 260-267; Griffiths, 1989b, pp. 2-10, 1991, pp. 127-139, 1992a, 1994b, pp. 37-58, 1996, 2001, pp. 139-146, 2003, pp. 9-28, 2016; Cohn, 1992, 1994 pp. 155-158, 2004, pp. 54-57; Myrone, 1999, pp. 35-54; Pennington, 1982, pp. 251-260; Waals, 1984 pp. 236-293; Griffiths and Harley, 1992, pp. 357-361, and 1994, pp. 107-116; Ling, 2010; Black, 2007; Baker, Elam and Warwick, 2003; Grave, 2006 pp. 175-186; Mount, 2006, pp. 167-184; Nedanic, 1997, pp. 203-222; Donald, 1996 and Rauser, 2008.

¹⁰⁸ Research on female print collectors include Cohn, 1992; 1994, pp. 155-158; 2004 pp. 54-57; Heard, 2012-2013, pp. 53-60; Leis, 2013 a,b; and Russell 2015. The impression remains that in the eighteenth century, female collectors' main acquisitions were porcelain, shells and botanical specimens even though collections included prints, drawings, and other media (Tobin, 2015, p. vii). Gere and Vaizey (1999) and Bracken, Galdy and Turpin (2012) discuss women as collectors and patrons, but with limited focus on prints.

¹⁰⁹ As posited by Aymonino, 2012, p. 116.

¹¹⁰ For example: Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) in Waals (1984, pp. 236-293); and Ferdinand Columbus (1488-1539) (McDonald, 2000a, pp. 43-46; 2000b, pp. 374-380; 2003, pp. 37-54; and 2005). Other print collection approaches include those of: Basan, 1767; Gersaint, 1744; Gilpin, 1802; Gilpin, Robson and Scott, 1768; Granger, 1769; Heineken, 1771; Le Comte, 1699-1700; Maroles, 1666 and 1677; Piles 1706 and *Sculptura-historico-technica*, 1747.

Of the limited specialist literature on female print collectors, Marjorie Cohn's monograph on the Spencer Print Albums (which Cohn connects with Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough (1660-1744)); and Beth Fowkes Tobin's investigation of the shell collections of Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, 2nd Duchess of Portland (1715-1785) — a contemporary of the duchess's and also a print collector — are models for this research.¹¹¹ Cohn links the materiality of the albums and their inventories with both archival evidence and the social history of aristocratic collecting. Although Tobin's focus is the collection of shells and botanical specimens, she positions her research within material culture principles.¹¹² Her analysis of the 'lives' of the shells influenced ideas about the duchess's prints expressed in this study.

Also of particular interest is the work of Gillian Russell and Arlene Leis on the assemblage of printed ephemera amassed by Sarah Sophia Banks (1744-1818).¹¹³ Their analyses consider the physical characteristics of printed materials; insights into categorisation and display which were revealed by Banks' collection inventory; the documentation of fashionable sociability; and the mobilisation of networks to enhance a collection.¹¹⁴

The materiality of prints and the 'making' of print albums

Evidence from the duchess's collection inventories, her journals and the physical features of albums suggest that she cut, pasted, and arranged some of her print albums herself, using an unusual tabbed mounting method.¹¹⁵ These 'tabbed' albums — with evidence of the mounts that she created — therefore cross the boundary between

¹¹¹ Cohn, 1992, 1994, pp. 155-158, 2004 pp. 54-57; and Tobin, 2015 (see also Tobin, 2009a, pp. 1-13, and 2009b, pp. 247-263). See also Ffolliott, 2012, pp. xix-xxxiv; and Gere and Vaizey, 1999.

¹¹² There is currently no published analysis of the Duchess of Portland's extensive print collection.

¹¹³ For example, trade cards, visitor and admission tickets, pocket-book illustrations, playbills, and newspaper cuttings.

¹¹⁴ Leis, 2013a, 2013b, and 2014; and Russell, 2015, 2018.

¹¹⁵ Griffiths 2001, pp. 129-146; and Box, 2018.

collected and crafted objects.¹¹⁶ The theoretical connections between collecting and making highlight approaches to materiality: the investigation of how objects acquire significance and power, and how objects are indexes of their makers.¹¹⁷

To date, no detailed research has been undertaken to describe, analyse and interpret the materials and methods of construction of the duchess's tabbed albums.¹¹⁸ Her cutting and pasting of prints can be located within the elite eighteenth-century fashion for manipulating prints and paper. Some of these activities include extra-illustration;¹¹⁹ paper 'mosaicks' made famous by Mrs Mary Delany (1700-1788);¹²⁰ the collecting of printed ephemera such as visiting cards and playbills;¹²¹ glass transfer painting;¹²² and the adhering of textiles to fashion prints.¹²³ Also relevant are the aesthetic and commercial motivations for print manipulation undertaken by collector/dealers such as Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774).¹²⁴

Despite the 'material turn' in art history, there have been fewer investigations of prints in the context of material culture theories compared with other art forms.¹²⁵ Antony Griffiths' close investigation of print albums, their physical characteristics and

¹¹⁶ Dormer refers to the 'physical processes involving the physical handling of the medium' as 'craft knowledge' (Dormer, 1994, p. 24). Richard Sennett distances his work on making from the term 'creativity' and prefers to refer to the expressive implications of technique (2008, p. 290).

¹¹⁷ Latour, 1985, pp. 1-32; Gell, 1998; and Tilley, 2006, pp. 60-73.

¹¹⁸ Apart from the brief discussion in Griffiths, 2001, and Box, 2018.

¹¹⁹ Peltz, 1998, pp. 7-31, 1999, pp. 115-134, and 2017.

¹²⁰ Reeder, 2009, pp. 224-235; Hayden 2006; and Vickery 2009a, pp. 94-109.

¹²¹ See Russell, 2018. For the collection of Sarah Sophia Banks (1744-1818) see: Leis, 2013a, 2013b, and 2014; Pincott, 2004; and Russell, 2015.

¹²² Massing, 1989, pp. 383-393.

¹²³ For links to social performance and how these activities produced elite identity see Pullins, 2016, pp. 141-144. See also Dolan, 2011. For an overview of women's genteel pursuits in the long eighteenth century see Riley, 2017.

¹²⁴ Smentek, 2008, pp. 36-60 and 2014.

¹²⁵ As defined by Kingery, 1996, pp. 1-18; and Akin, 1996, pp. 102-128, compared with, for example in the extensive research on objects undertaken by Lehmann 2015, pp. 21-41; Smith, 2012, pp. 4-31; and Balik, Boubouille, Klein and Smith, 2016, pp. 35-55. Fordham and Albright suggest print studies have been 'resistant to...theoretical approaches' (2012, p. 509).

supporting primary source materials (what he terms, ‘archaeology’), has a level of detail and cultural contextualisation that influenced the research approach used in this study.¹²⁶

Prints in translation: hermits, hermitages, gardens and prints

Historical information about the role of hermitages and grottos in the eighteenth century is drawn from the discipline of garden history,¹²⁷ the histories of specific estates and gardens,¹²⁸ as well as discussions of solitude and the eremitic ideal.¹²⁹ Gordon Campbell’s *The Hermit in the Garden* was a helpful introduction to this topic as he specifically links Sadeler prints with the creation of hermitages in eighteenth-century gardens.¹³⁰ The work of Christine Göttler also elucidated historical linkages between Sadeler prints and hermitages.¹³¹ The language of retirement and the connections between the physical and the imagined garden was inspired by Stephen Bending’s *Green Retreats*.¹³² Ideas on the dualities of luxury/asceticism, solitude/sociability and their connections with hermits and hermitages in the landscape garden were drawn from the work of Edward Harwood.¹³³ Published and unpublished studies on Hulne Park, Hulne Priory (and the Carmelite order that first inhabited Hulne), and the re-development of Alnwick Castle by the duke and duchess, provided important historical information

¹²⁶ Especially in Griffiths 2003, pp. 9-28, but also his approach from: 1989b, pp. 2-10; 1991, pp. 127-139; 1992a, pp. 251-260; 1994b, pp. 37-58; 1996; 2002, pp. 290-292; 2003, pp. 9-28; and 2016. See also Griffiths and Harley, 1992, pp. 357-361, and 1994, pp. 107-116.

¹²⁷ Harwood, 2000; White, 2017; Barre, 2017, pp. 119-132; Bending, 2013a; Hunt, 1989; Hunt, 2017, pp. 605-617; Jackson, 2012; Lazzaro, 1990; Rutherford and Lovie, 2012; Wainwright, 1987, pp. 96-99; and Wills, 1973, pp. 1930.

¹²⁸ Cousins, 2007, pp. iii-152; Desmond, 1988; Goodall, 1995, pp. 82-87; Goodall, 2015; Grigson, 1950, p. 764; Grigson 1966, pp. 302-330; Historic England, 2019; Smith, 2013, pp. 353-400; Westerhof, 2015.

¹²⁹ Bending, 2013b; Dowdell, 2014, pp. 117-124; Göttler, 2018a, pp. 1-28; Göttler, 2018b, pp. 140-176; Harwood, 2000, pp. 265-296; and Vignau-Wilberg, 2005, pp. 365-401. Specific examples from the 1600s were provided by Witte, 2004.

¹³⁰ Other references include Dixon, 1988, pp. 160-162; Harris, 1988, pp. 186-189; Sitwell, 1994, pp. 16-37; and Holmes, 2016.

¹³¹ Göttler, 2018a, pp. 1-28; Göttler, 2018b, pp. 140-176. See also: van Hogendorp Prosperetti, 2104, pp. 432-448; Herrin, 2014, pp. 329-400; and Vignau-Wilberg, 2005, pp. 365-401.

¹³² Bending, 2013.

¹³³ Harwood, 1993 and 2000.

about how the hermit and friar figures related to the contexts of these locations.¹³⁴

The exchanges of imagery between prints and other media were important considerations for the discussion of the translation of the duchess's prints into statuary. An overview of recent research on the active, generative role of prints 'in translation' between media is described in the essays in Karr Schmidt and Wouk, *Prints in Translation, 1450-1750*.¹³⁵ Research into the translation of Sadeler prints into paintings (painted by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) and Paul Bril (1554-1626)) provided new insights on the role of hermit-themed imagery and its re-use in different artistic forms.¹³⁶

Methodology

This study centres on both the physical characteristics of the Northumberland albums in Melbourne, and the archival documents that describe the acquisition, collation, and display of the duchess's prints. This is in contrast to a description of — or aesthetic value statements about — the imagery of the prints.¹³⁷ Gerritsen and Riello argue there is no 'single way of engaging with material culture', and this is reflected in the multi-disciplinary nature of frameworks used in this study.¹³⁸ Approaches from the history of collecting; materiality and making; art history; and subsets of bibliographical and art market studies — as they pertain to eighteenth-century print collecting — are key foci. Antony Griffiths' analyses of eighteenth-century print collections and print albums have been the touchstone for this research, as he takes an historical and material

¹³⁴ Rowan, 1998, pp. 265-273; Shrimpton, 2006 and 2012; St John Hope, 1890, pp. 105-129; Waddell, 1785; Patten, c.1936-40; and Worsley, 1988, pp. 74-78. For 'representational space' see Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39; and the ideas proposed in Bachelard, 1994.

¹³⁵ Karr Schmidt and Wouk, 2017. See also Karr Schmidt, 2011. The materials and materiality of stone is discussed in Ingold, 2007; and translations of prints into sculpture in Simons, 2017.

¹³⁶ Especially Jones, 1988a, 1988b, and 1993; Herrin, 2014, pp. 390-339; and Witte, 2004.

¹³⁷ What Yonan would call 'the long tradition of thick visual analysis' in art-historical writing (Yonan, 2011, p. 243).

¹³⁸ Gerritsen and Riello, 2015, p. 5.

stance: he uses evidence from albums, archival material, and historical collection and collecting data as primary sources of information.¹³⁹

The chronological transitions or ‘lives’ of the duchess’s print albums over time — as consumer goods, as collated, displayed, ‘enclaved’ and ‘made’ collection objects, and as inspirations for new creative forms — are the framework of this study. Research methodologies, as they relate to the key focus on the lives of the duchess’s prints, include:

- archival research (physical and digital methodologies)
- descriptive and observational studies of primary and secondary source materials
- the comparative analysis of physical characteristics of collection materials; and
- the investigation of aspects of eighteenth- and twentieth- century collecting, consumer culture, and social and commercial networks

The methodology used for the physical analysis of the Melbourne Northumberland albums has been inspired by Jules Prown’s three stage process for object analysis: description, deduction and speculation.¹⁴⁰ Prown suggests that artefacts are the ‘primary data’ for the study of material culture and should be used ‘actively as evidence rather than passively as illustrations’.¹⁴¹ This study of the materiality of print albums also incorporates ideas from Ann-Sophie Lehmann’s ‘toolkit’ for material culture; and Pamela H. Smith’s research that connects objects, making and use.¹⁴² Descriptive bibliographical approaches and terminology from book history have been used to assess the physical features of the duchess’s albums.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Discussions of the arrangement, collation and storage of eighteenth-century print albums has also been influenced by Michel, 2018, pp. 190-202; Smentek, 2014, esp. 1-15; Hartley, 1992, pp. 260-67; and Ling, 2010.

¹⁴⁰ Prown, 1982, pp. 7-12. (See also Prown, 1982, pp. 1-19, 1993, pp. 1-19, and 1996, pp. 19-30).

¹⁴¹ Prown, 1982, p. 1.

¹⁴² Pearce, 1994, pp. 193-204; Lehmann, 2015, pp. 21-41; and Smith, 2012, pp. 4-31. See also Balik, Bouboulle, Klein and Smith, 2016, pp. 35-55; and Ingold, 2007, pp. 1-16 and 2013.

¹⁴³ This approach is in contrast with descriptions of the prints in the albums, which was completed by Edquist (1990). For bibliographical techniques see Dane, 2012; Pearson,

The key source for this research has been the private Archives of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle. The archival data accessed was predominantly created by the duchess and has been subsequently maintained by her descendants and their employees. It is likely that some of the journals and most probably her *Musaeum Catalogue* were intended for publication. Therefore, the information both recorded by the duchess and managed as her legacy, cannot be seen as a ‘transparent’ window into the duchess’s thoughts. Some degree of filtering and editing has been undertaken over the life of the archives, and as described by Carolyn Steedman, ‘the telling is always something different from *what happened*’.¹⁴⁴ When engaging with this material and textual evidence there has therefore been a consciousness of the information these sources lack, as well as what now survives. Themes related to: the challenges of the study of biography;¹⁴⁵ self-fashioning through the publication of journals, travelogues and country house tourism in the eighteenth-century;¹⁴⁶ the nature of self-expression in the commonplace book and its links to legacy and celebrity;¹⁴⁷ and the ‘curated’ nature of archives also underpin this research.¹⁴⁸

This study builds a story from disparate yet interconnected aspects of the duchess’s print collecting: commercial and art market levers; the classification, cataloguing, and assembly of the albums; and varied links between the duchess’s prints and her ancestral and family heritage. The recurrent theme of hermit prints by the Sadeler family builds a narrative which follows the duchess’s interactions with her prints in different ways, over time.

The emphases of this research and its methodology move from a study of an individual’s collection to what Spary refers to as ‘studies of agency, the negotiation of

2005; Pickwood, 2009, pp. 268-290 and 2014, pp. 45-78; Peltz, 1998, pp. 7-31, 1999, pp. 115-134, 2005, pp. 91-136, 2007, pp. 33-49, and 2017; Pollard, 1965, pp. 71-94; Ricci, 1930; and Tanselle, 1971, pp. 27-67. The albums can also be considered as ‘frames’ (e.g. De La Fuente, 2016; and Simmel, 1994, pp. 11-17).

¹⁴⁴ Steedman, 2002, p. 68.

¹⁴⁵ Steedman, 2009, pp. 15-24 and 2011, pp. 433-442.

¹⁴⁶ Baudino, 2019; Toynbee, 1927, pp. 9-80; Turner, 2001; and Young, 1768.

¹⁴⁷ Allan, 2010; Throsby, 2009.

¹⁴⁸ Steedman, 2002; Derrida, 1985. For the ‘turns’ in archival research see Ketelaar, 2017 and for other key issues see Gilliland, McKemmish and Lau, 2017.

collectorly status, practices of preservation and display'.¹⁴⁹ This study therefore encompasses both the consideration of an individual collector and 'the study of collected networks'.¹⁵⁰ This research on the duchess's print albums contributes new knowledge about the acquisition, arrangement, display and cataloguing of prints in the eighteenth-century by an English aristocratic collector.

¹⁴⁹ Spary, 2005, p. 78.

¹⁵⁰ Spary, 2005, p. 78.

1. ACQUIRING A COLLECTION I: FAMILY INFLUENCES

Objects are ‘complex entities whose nature and life story can only partially be understood and recovered’.

Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello¹

The duchess as a print consumer

Like other forms of rapidly developing commercial activity in the eighteenth century, the sale of prints was big business. The wide market for prints reflected the expansion of cultural production and leisure, and prints formed and reflected taste and fashion. The buoyant English marketplace for new and antiquarian prints attracted the full spectrum of merchants, ranging from sophisticated printer-publishers through to book sellers who purveyed bound collections of prints, to specialist retail print shops and modest market stalls.² Networks of printmakers, print publishers, distributors, auctioneers, dealers, and collectors formed a sizeable international enterprise that drew on contemporary business innovations. Printsellers and auctioneers advertised their wares in newspapers and catalogues; co-operative ventures for print subscriptions were established; international Old Master prints were imported (initially through booksellers) to service sophisticated English collectors; prints at varied qualities and prices were marketed to different customer segments; and sales catalogues helped shape consumer demand for prints.³ As a result of this dynamic market activity, there was a wealth of choice for eighteenth-century English print collectors.⁴ What did an elite

¹ Gerritsen and Riello, 2015, p. 9.

² For an overview of the English eighteenth-century print trade, see Griffiths, 2016, pp. 220-222; Griffiths, 1994b; and Clayton, 1997.

³ For a summary of promotional techniques see Griffiths, 2016, pp. 234-389. See also O’Connell, 1999. For other aspects of the European eighteenth-century art market, see North and Ormond, 1998; Cowan, 1998; Ketelsen 1998; and Ormrod, 1998. It is estimated that over half a million etchings and engravings were imported into Britain from Italy, France and Holland between the 1720s and the 1770s (Brewer, 1997, p. 203).

⁴ Some of these collectors include: George Clarke 1661-1736 (see Clayton, 1992); Sir Joshua Reynolds 1723-1792 (see Esposito, 2011); Consul Joseph Smith 1682-1770 (see Griffiths, 1991); Horace Walpole 1717-1797 (see Griffiths, 2002; and Rosman, 2008); King George III and Queen Charlotte (see Heard, 2019, and 2012-2013); Sarah Sophia Banks 1744-1818 (see Leis, 2013a,b, and 2014; and Russell, 2015); Richard, 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam 1745-1816 (see Ling, 2010, and 2016; Clarke, 1997; and

collector such as Lady Elizabeth Seymour *suo jure* Baroness Percy, later 1st Duchess of Northumberland ('the duchess') select from this cornucopia? How and where did she acquire prints?

The portmanteau of 'consumption' allows us to consider the duchess's acquisition of prints and albums within the context of commerce and its wider social and cultural implications.⁵ This study observes the duchess's collecting in terms of her 'relationships with goods and spaces'; her 'ideas of agency and identity'; and the 'local and global' connections she maintained.⁶ Also addressed is the way in which the duchess's collecting habits 'interact with social practice', that is, how she experienced the process of acquiring her collection in her daily life, and how she reported on that process.⁷ Throughout this study, her prints and albums are positioned as cultural commodities and as 'objects with economic value'.⁸

Significant information about the duchess as a consumer can be gleaned from her surviving accounts, journals and correspondence which trace the 'lives' of her prints and print albums as commercial objects bought and sold within a vibrant print marketplace. This data is used to focus this investigation on the duchess's own descriptions of the prints she purchased and acquired, her records of the various acquisition sources she used, and her interactions with them.

Hartley, 1992); Sir Hans Sloane, 1660-1753 (see Griffiths, 1996, pp. 21-42); The Revd. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode 1730-1799 (see Griffiths, 1996, pp. 43-64); Dr William Hunter 1718-1783 (see Black, 2007; Hancock, Pearce and Campbell, 2015; and McCormack 2018).

⁵ Appadurai suggests that 'consumption is eminently social, relational and active rather than private, atomic or passive' (Appadurai, 1986, p. 31). Klein notes that 'consumption was an important domain for the actuation of politeness' due to the 'qualitative alterations in the processes and meanings of acquisition' (Klein, 2002, p. 882).

⁶ Stobart and Rothery, 2016, p. 8. They also consider 'what was bought from whom', 'where were the objects put, and how did they relate to other items' (Stobart and Rothery, 2016, p. 1).

⁷ This is described by Susan Pearce as 'the poetics of collecting' (Pearce, 1995, p. 31).

⁸ Appadurai, 1994, p 76. A commodity is an 'item with use value that also has exchange value' (Kopytoff, 1986, p. 64).

Some affluent print collectors engaged professionals such as English engraver and antiquary George Vertue (1684-1755), or the renowned French firm of Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) to acquire, arrange, and mount their print collections for them.⁹ The Mariettes supplied at the pinnacle of society: to Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736); King of Portugal, João V of Portugal (1689-1750); the Louis II de Rochechouart, duc de Mortemart (1681-1746); and elite English collectors such as the Hon. John Spencer (1708-1746). Based on archival evidence, the duchess's preference was not to engage firms such as these, but to gather objects individually and personally.

Even though the duchess did, on occasion, purchase complete albums assembled by other collectors, primarily her print collection was added to, piecemeal, from a variety of sources over time. Through rich surviving records, we know the duchess purchased prints that were newly-produced, as well as those that were 'antiquarian' and 'second-hand'.¹⁰ She acquired prints through inheritance and gifts, through sales and auctions, via printsellers and book dealers, and through purchases made on her behalf by informal agents and by friends. She visited artists' exhibitions and also purchased prints from street sellers and beggar women (although we may assume the latter transactions were primarily of a charitable nature).¹¹ This variety reflects the range of print acquisition sources available to well-financed print collectors of the era.¹² The duchess's gradual process of acquisition, based on her own efforts, is what Susan Stewart would categorise as 'a serial manner' of collecting.¹³ This meant the duchess was able to acquire, and later classify, her collection with reference to her own interests, travels, life history, and family heritage: themes that will be explored further in this and later chapters.

⁹ For Vertue see Pointon, 1993, pp. 58-59; and Myrone, 1999. Mariette was part of a dynasty of renowned professional print connoisseurs, publishers, collectors and dealers: Pierre Mariette I (c.1603-1657), Pierre Mariette II (1634-1716), and Jean Mariette (1660-1742). See Smentek, 2014, pp. 17-56; Cohn, 1992, pp. 11-55; and Griffiths and Hartley, 1994.

¹⁰ For analysis of 'antiquarian', 'second hand', and 'new' prints and prices see Griffiths, 2016, pp. 367-369.

¹¹ For example, she records paying two shillings to attend 'Jones's Pic^{re} Exhibⁿ 2 [shillings]' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.39) and the same to view 'Mrs Wrightes Exhibitⁿ 2-0' (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/43, f.105).

¹² Griffiths, 2016, pp. 369-374.

¹³ Stewart, 1984, p. 166.

Chapters One and Two take a broadly chronological view of the duchess's acquisition of prints during two key phases. Chapter One focusses on her early print collecting and examines family influences; the acquisition of albums of Sadeler prints through the eighteenth-century book and print trades; and print purchases made by the duchess and her husband through auctions and dealers. Chapter Two explores the web of printsellers, dealers, and private networks the duchess patronised to acquire prints during her independent travels in the 1760s and 1770s. Her focus on prices and value, her valuations of prints, bartering, and her strategies to avoid taxes and tariffs on her purchases are also discussed.¹⁴ Through her own descriptions, we can learn where the duchess acquired prints and albums, what she acquired — and why it may have held personal significance for her — and thereby understand more about her collecting motivations.

Early family influences

The duchess purchased prints from an early age. An account book written in 1725 — when she was only nine years old — records her first acquisitions: 'Prints 1s 6d' and '2 prints 3s' are noted alongside other purchases of 'green paper', 'a hoop', and 'a pair of shoes'.¹⁵ (Fig. 1) No doubt the young Elizabeth — called 'Betty' by her family — was supported and encouraged to create the account book as a precursor to the complexities of running a household. These early account book entries indicate the importance of familial influences on both the shape of her collection, and how it was recorded. These early lessons were influential: she habitually maintained a record of large and small expenditure throughout her life, and the format of these records is similar to that of her juvenile account books.

The young Elizabeth was exposed to a rich cultural heritage. Her mother, Frances Seymour, Countess of Hertford (nee Thynne 1699-1754, after 1748, Duchess of Somerset), was a noted correspondent, woman of letters, and arts patron, who moved in

¹⁴ Despite the rich descriptions of dinners, receptions, churches, fetes, spectacles, food, fashion and gossip in the duchess's journals and correspondence, there is only space here to focus on her purchases of prints.

¹⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/72, f.2-4.

blue stocking circles.¹⁶ Lady Hertford had close connections with leading contemporary poets and writers such as James Thomson (1700-1748) and William Shenstone (1714-1763), and inspired a number of literary homages which focus on her piety and her garden.¹⁷ The duchess's father, British Army Officer and Whig politician General Algernon Seymour (1684-1750), 7th Duke of Somerset — known as Lord Hertford until he inherited the dukedom in 1748 — was the son of the 'Proud Duke', Charles Seymour (1662-1748), 6th Duke of Somerset, who rebuilt Petworth House in Sussex.¹⁸ Lord Hertford was president of the Society of Antiquaries between 1724 and 1749 and a respected collector of what were to become his daughter's passions: gems, medals, and prints.¹⁹ He also had a passion for opera and theatrical performances, which he shared with his daughter and son George, Viscount Beauchamp 1725-1744.²⁰

Family correspondence regularly referred to prints. Lady Hertford described to her son — then on his Grand Tour — that his father had recently acquired a 'ridiculous' satirical print with Percy family references 'which yr Pappa brought yesterday and has laid by to send ye by the first opportunity'.²¹ A letter to the duchess from cousin Almeria Egremont includes a comment that she was 'most obliged' for 'letting me see these Prints. I admire them so much that I shall be very glad to become a Subscriber'.²² The

¹⁶ Sambrook, 2008, and Aymonino, 2021. Her correspondents included 'Lady Winchelsea, Lady Pomfret, Lady Luxborough (the half-sister of Bolingbroke), Mrs Carter, Mrs Elizabeth Rowe, Miss Talbot, Selina, Countess of Huntington, Isaac Watts, Gilbert Burnet, and others less known to fame' (Hughes, 1925, p. 441).

¹⁷ See: Radcliffe, 1990, pp. 445-465; Hughes, 1925, 1931, and 1944; Campbell, 1970; and Baird, 2003, pp. 148-152.

¹⁸ Bucholz, 2008.

¹⁹ Lord Hertford's collection will be discussed in Aymonino, 2021.

²⁰ McGeary, 2018.

²¹ 'My Lord Percival is publishing an account of his Family in three Folios, by which he pretends to prove himself to be the true Percy of a much ancients Branch than the Earls of Northumberland which has occasion'd a ridiculous Print' (Letter to George, Lord Beauchamp, London, 30 January 1743 (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 28 23/5, f.26 (British Library Microfilm 292)). This is probably describing Charles Wyndham, Lord Percival, 2nd Earl of Egremont (1711-1770).

²² Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 31, f.272 (British Library Microfilm 295) (c.1753?). Alicia Wyndham, Countess of Egremont (c.1726-1794), formerly the Hon. Alicia Maria Carpenter, was the wife of Charles Wyndham, 2nd Earl of Egremont (1710-1763) of Petworth House in Sussex. Alicia (or Almeria), was also a Lady of the

duchess also asked her mother to ensure that Mme Bigot received ‘the Letter I wrote to thank her for my Prints’.²³

In July 1740, when she was twenty-four years of age, Elizabeth married Sir Hugh Smithson, 4th Baronet, and moved to Stanwick, his seat in Yorkshire.²⁴ (**Fig. 2**) He was described as ‘one of the handsomest men in the kingdom’ who ‘possessed great talents, a mind highly cultivated, and more knowledge than is generally found among the nobility’.²⁵ This match was not without controversy, as her grandfather (the 6th Duke of Somerset) disapproved of Smithson’s modest lineage and the terms of his marriage settlement. He was concerned about aspects of the proposed settlement that he felt did ‘not carry any manner of respect or decency’, particularly ‘a clause in strong words to give Sir Hugh Smithson a power to provide for a second wife’ from his income.²⁶

The duke of Somerset reminded his granddaughter that ‘considering your Birth, you are descended by many generations from the most ancient blood’, however ‘Sir Hugh Smithson’s family...adds not for ancient blood to your family’.²⁷ This reminder of her important role in continuing the family line clearly left a strong impression on his granddaughter, as the young bride later sought opportunities to honour and celebrate her

Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte at the same time as the duchess. For the importance of print subscriptions see Griffiths, 2016, pp. 356-361; and Clayton, 2009, pp. 235-236.

²³ Letter to Lady Hertford, Swillington, 7 October 1739 (?) (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 24, f.25).

²⁴ For Smithson and his ancestry: see Smithson, 1906; Cannon, 2004; Aymonino, 2021; and Cruikshank, 1970. They later had two sons, Hugh (1742-1817), styled Lord Warkworth from 1750-1766, Earl Percy from 1766 and 2nd Duke of Northumberland from 1786); and Algernon (1750-1830) 1st Earl of Beverley (styled Lord Algernon Percy between 1766 and 1786 and The Lord Lovaine between 1786 and 1790).

²⁵ Dutens, 1806b, Vol. 2, p. 97.

²⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 27, f.176, 8 July 1740 (British Library Microfilm 292).

²⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 27, f.177, 8 July 1740 (British Library Microfilm 292). Also quoted in Cruikshanks, 1970, n.p. Her grandfather’s comments were prescient, as Smithson had an illegitimate child during their marriage following an affair with Elizabeth Hungerford Macie (1728-1800), a wealthy widow (see Percy, 2019, p. 115). The child was Jacques-Louis Macie (1765-1829) later known as James Smithson, whose legacy founded the Smithsonian Institution (Ewing, 2007; and Burleigh, 2003).

ancestry.²⁸ In conjunction with her husband, she re-instated traditions; restored monuments and estates, and supported the publication of poems and ballads that glorified the House of Percy (as will be discussed in Chapter Six).²⁹

Ironically it was Smithson who later made a major contribution to dynasty-building activities. He carried the duke of Somerset's granddaughter to the next level of the peerage, when he was elevated to the dukedom of Northumberland by George III in 1766. This social and political achievement was accompanied by the couple's extensive artistic and architectural patronage and the refurbishment and restoration of key family seats — Syon House, Northumberland House and Alnwick Castle — between the 1750s and 1770s.³⁰ These costly improvements were made possible by an impressive increase in wealth due to the canny management of the Percy estates by Smithson, his re-organisation of their administration, and the modernisation of farming methods.³¹ These were skills the 6th Duke of Somerset probably overlooked in his appraisal of Smithson (subsequently referred to as 'the duke'). None of these activities were anticipated by the young couple at the time of their marriage.

Early in their marriage, the duchess was happy to follow her husband's lead on aesthetic matters. She wrote to her mother in 1740 that she had laid aside her own project recording 'my Thousand Notable Things', for 'a much more amusing study tho' perhaps not so profitable which is Inigo Jones, Vitruvius & Palladis [*sic*]...I have for my

²⁸ Especially after the re-integration of the Percy family into the peerage (after an absence of eighty years) with the inheritance of the Earldom of Northumberland on her father's death in 1750. See also Aymonino, 2021.

²⁹ A focus was the derring-do of Sir Henry Percy (1364-1403) known as 'Sir Harry Hotspur'. Some of the duchess's restoration activities are discussed in Chapter Six. See also Aymonino, 2010, and 2021.

³⁰ The renovations were the 'quintessential aspect of the couple's policy of restoring the name and estates of the family to their ancient glory' (Aymonino, 2010, p. 288). For these renovations see Aymonino, 2021 (also Aymonino, 2015, 2019; and Aymonino and Guerci, 2016). Coutu describes Smithson's ambitions as 'overly zealous' and that the scale of his architectural aspirations was compensation for his own 'quasi-*parvenu* and his Catholic-Tory heritage' (Coutu, 2015, pp. 55-56).

³¹ His efforts increased the revenue at Alnwick Castle and its estates from £8,607 in 1749 to £50,000 per annum in 1778 (Percy, 2019, p. 108). See also Dutens, 1806b, Vol. 2, p. 98.

instructor Sir Hugh'.³² She was now drawing on her husband's expertise in antiquities, classical art, and architecture.³³ These were tastes that he formed during his Grand Tour of 1733-1734 and were fully expressed in the renovation of Syon by Scottish neoclassical architect, interior designer and furniture designer, Robert Adam (1728-1792).³⁴

Family connections to Sadeler prints

Engravings by the late sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century printmaking/publishing dynasty, the Sadeler family, were only one of the many Flemish and Netherlandish prints collected by the duchess over her lifetime.³⁵ Nonetheless, family correspondence between Lord and Lady Hertford and their children reveals that prints by the Sadelers were mentioned more regularly than prints by other printmakers. These early influences may explain why the duchess later amassed multiple impressions of prints by the Sadelers and described them in detail in her collection inventory (as will be discussed in Chapter Four).³⁶ For example, a letter from Lady Hertford to her son George in 1743 described:

The last time my Lord was in Town he bought two Volumes of Prints as large as Church Bibles, they contain all the Works of the three Sadelers, & they afforded us a very agreeable Entertainment, by looking them over, & they are so highly finished that they will bear Viewing & Reviewing many times. There are some

³² Letter to Lady Hertford, 23 August 1740 (Alnwick Castle, DP: DI/II/21).

³³ A detailed analysis of the duke's collecting interests is out of scope here. For an introduction see Anne French, 2009, pp. 61-65; and Aymonino, 2021. His tastes were also reflected in his patronage of Italian painter Canaletto (Giovanni Antonio Canal 1697-1768) (Links, 1977, pp. 66-69).

³⁴ For the duke's commissions from Robert Adam see: Sands, 2013; Aymonino 2015, 2021; and Harris, 2001, pp. 64-83 (Syon House). For his commissions for Northumberland House see: Sands, 2015; Coutu, 2015; Harris, 2001, pp. 94-102; and Aymonino, 2021. For Alnwick Castle see Harris, 2001, pp. 84-93; and Aymonino, 2021. For monuments commissioned from Robert Adam in memory of the duchess see: Aymonino, 2010, and 2021.

³⁵ Griffiths, 2001. See also Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B.

³⁶ Pearce considers 'the emotional relationship of projection and internationalization which we have with objects seems to belong with our very earliest experience' (Pearce, 1992, p. 47). Bal cautions about ascribing the 'beginning' of a collection retrospectively: 'the beginning, instead, is a meaning, not an act' (Bal, 1997, p. 101).

of the prettiest Landskips I ever saw, & a most beautiful Prospect of Prague in six or eight sheets, & a view of the inside of the great Hall there. There is also a Pedigree of the Austrian Family with all their Heads.³⁷

George commended the purchase and referenced his mother's piety, with the comment that, 'your two volumes of Prints by Sadeler are charming amusements in a morning after Prayers'.³⁸ News of the purchase was also shared with Lady Hertford's regular correspondent, diarist Henrietta Louisa Fermor, Lady Pomfret (1703-1761), who responded, 'I wish my Lord Hertford joy of his purchase...for I think Sadeler a charming engraver: & therefore wish instead of that quantity of Saints, he had took a fancy to Kings, Queens, Heroes, Poets, etc'.³⁹ On another occasion, the duchess wrote to her mother to describe a 'Sadeler' print that she had purchased as a gift. She mentioned that she was 'very sorry to say my Print of Scipio is not by Sadeler but by Bol' but she had 'found another which tho' it is small, damaged and torn, yet [it is the] Work of Giles Sadeler'.⁴⁰ Clearly, the attribution to a member of the Sadeler family was important.

Sadeler prints also have a poignant familial connection. George, Viscount Beauchamp, sought Sadeler prints on behalf of his sister during his Grand Tour. After commenting about his other commissions, George wrote to his mother from Bologna: 'as to my sisters prints done by the Sadelers there are none here, nor any other worth the purchase so [I] shall stay and see what is to be found at Rome'.⁴¹ This letter was one of the very last he sent to his family. Sadly, George never had the opportunity to purchase

³⁷ Letter to Lord Beauchamp, 23 March 1743 (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 28, f.72-73 (British Library Microfilm 293)). She is probably referring to the three most important members of the Sadeler dynasty, Johannes (Jan) Sadeler I (1550-1600), his brother Raphael Sadeler I (1561-c.1628) and their nephew Aegidius Sadeler II (c.1570-1629).

³⁸ Letter to Lady Hertford, 22 April 1743 (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 28, f.92 (British Library Microfilm 293)).

³⁹ Letter to Lady Hertford, 31 March 1743, (Alnwick Castle MS 28, f.83 (British Library Microfilm 293)). Some of their correspondence is published in Seymour and Fermor, 1805.

⁴⁰ The quote finished with the comment, 'we hope his Lordship will accept of', so this may have been a gift for her father. Letter to her Lady Hertford (1746?) (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 24, f.106 (British Library Microfilm 290)).

⁴¹ Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 29, f.53 (British Library Microfilm 293). Unfortunately, no other letters have yet been located which record the request being made to her brother, or if he did have success in locating any Sadeler prints for her.

prints in Rome, as he died in Bologna of smallpox on 11 September 1744, the same month in which he wrote about his quest for Sadeler prints. His untimely death at just nineteen years of age changed the line of inheritance and was the life-changing catalyst for his sister's accession, ultimately as the 1st Duchess of Northumberland in 1766.⁴²

Lord Hertford (then 7th duke of Somerset) died in 1750. His will directed that 'all Books and Medals' (which likely included albums of prints) were to 'go with my Estate', passing to his wife, and at her death, to his daughter.⁴³ The specific mention of these objects probably indicated that he had his daughter's collecting interests in mind, however it is unclear exactly what prints and albums were eventually inherited by the duchess.⁴⁴ She was clearly passionate about similar objects, as she wrote to her mother in 1741 that her 'Rage of Medals hourly increases'.⁴⁵ Indeed, her medals (which included those inherited from her father) could be considered to be the 'point of excellence' in her collection.⁴⁶ After his death — and Lady Hertford's death in 1754 — the duchess continued to build upon her father's collections of prints, coins, gems, and medals.⁴⁷

⁴² As described in Blodgett, 2004: she 'became heir to her father's barony of Percy and estates in Northumberland and Middlesex that had been part of the inheritance of her grandmother, Elizabeth Seymour, duchess of Somerset. On her father's death in 1750 she inherited the barony of Percy while her husband succeeded to the earldom of Northumberland created for the seventh duke of Somerset in 1749...For his many services to the crown he was rewarded with the dukedom of Northumberland in 1766'.

⁴³ Will of Algernon Baron Percy made on 5 June 1745 (Alnwick Castle, Sy: H.IV.2.b)

⁴⁴ It is likely that her father's specific collecting passions were 'transmitted spiritually and physically to his daughter' when she inherited his antiquities, gems, medals, prints and books (Aymonino, 2012, p. 105).

⁴⁵ Letter to Lady Hertford, Stanwick, 8 September 1741 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 24, f.64 (British Library Microfilm Reel 11)).

⁴⁶ When the duchess's medals and coins were auctioned by Sotheby's in 1981, the sale was advertised as 'the most important auction of Continental medals ever held in England' (Aymonino, 2012, p. 112).

⁴⁷ Aymonino, 2012, p. 112. These collections are listed in Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122, 122B, and 124.

Purchases from sales and auctions

During the eighteenth century, specialist art sales and book auctions (which included albums of prints) became more common.⁴⁸ The acquisition of complete, or nearly complete, already-assembled collections of recognised artists and printmakers — especially those associated with renowned collectors — was part of an accepted acquisition pathway. The Hon. John Spencer (1708-1746) acquired parts of his collection of print albums ‘ready-made’, as did Richard, 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam (1745-1816).⁴⁹ It is quite possible that some or most of the duchess’s print purchases in the 1740s until the 1760s — when she began to travel extensively internationally — were made through the burgeoning trade of English dealers and auctioneers.⁵⁰ The details of works purchased by the duchess are often brief, although she sometimes made a specific note in her journals of the ‘named’ auctions and sales that she viewed.⁵¹ This indicates her interest both in the provenance of her purchases and their associations with significant collectors, dealers and auctioneers.

Melbourne’s Northumberland prints at auction

The auction format is particularly relevant to understanding the provenance of the duchess’s albums of prints which are now held by the Baillieu Library Print Collection at the University of Melbourne. Seven of the nine albums now in Melbourne are connected with the sale of ‘the greatest library collected in England in the first half of the eighteenth century’: that of bibliophiles Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford (1661-

⁴⁸ For the early history of English auctions see Wall, 1997.

⁴⁹ Cohn, 1994, p. 157. Hartley, 1992; and Clarke, 1997.

⁵⁰ Her purchases could have been made either via an auction process, or through individual ad hoc sales from dealers’ premises. It is likely the main trade of antiquarian prints may have been via undocumented private sales between printsellers and their clients (Griffiths, 2016, p. 349). The auctioneer Christie’s is noted in the duchess’s 1773 *List of Amusements*’ (Baird, 2003, p. 29).

⁵¹ For example, she noted purchasing ‘2 Pictures of Henry 7 family’ at ‘West’s sale’ for £4 4s. (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/49, f.32). This was possibly the collection of James West (1703-1772), President of the Royal Society and a ‘collector and antiquary of some note’ (Bliss, 1976, p. 302). In comments such as ‘I bought some Pictures amongst others my best Teniers’, the duchess does not always acknowledge the source of her purchases (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/34, f.73).

1724) and his son Edward, the second earl (1689-1741).⁵² **(Fig. 3)** The connection between the duchess's prints and Earls of Oxford was first described by Antony Griffiths, who notes that the albums now in Melbourne were the first that could 'definitely be associated' with the earls' extensive print collection, said to have contained 41,000 impressions.⁵³ Following the death of the second earl, their collections of books and albums of prints came onto the market. Part of the print collection was auctioned by Christopher Cock (d.1748) in 1741-1742.⁵⁴ The printed books (including a number of print albums) were controversially sold by the earl's widow *en bloc* — for only £13,000 — to the dealer/bookseller/publisher Thomas Osborne (1704-1767), and they were then offered for sale by his firm from 1743.⁵⁵ **(Fig. 4)** Lord Oxford's surviving widow was Henrietta Cavendish Harley (née Holles), Countess of Oxford and Mortimer (1694–1755) and his daughter was Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, Duchess of Portland (1715–1785), who features in later chapters. Thomas Osborne's sale practices were noted by Will Storrock, tutor to George, Viscount Beauchamp on his ill-fated Grand Tour. In a letter to Lady Hertford, Will noted, 'the sale of my Lord Oxford's Library will go on but heavily in these turbulent times, besides, Osborne was always reckoned twenty per cent dearer than most other Booksellers in London'.⁵⁶

⁵² Griffiths, 2001, pp. 142-143. The albums are catalogued by the University of Melbourne as UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37BB/1 v.1 John pt. 1; 37CC/1 v.1 John pt. 2; 37CC/2 v. 3 Raphael; 37EE/1 v.4 Aegidius pt. 2; 37DD/1 v.4 Raphael; 37DD/2 v. 7 Aegidius and Justo; and 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George.

⁵³ Griffiths, 2001, pp. 142-143.

⁵⁴ Cock, 1741/1742. For Cock, see McKitterick, 2018, pp. 169-172. The sale of 'named' collections was usually undertaken via auction (Pearson, 1994, p. 133). Other specialist art dealers and auctioneers who emerged in London in the 1720s and 1730s included Andrew Hay, Arthur Pond, Samuel Paris and Robert Bragge (Ormrod, 1998, p. 182).

⁵⁵ McKitterick, 2018. Griffiths, 2001, p. 145, note 4. See also Lees-Milne, 2001, pp. 182-185; and Harley, 1743-1745. In 1753, the manuscripts from the library were offered by sale by the countess and her daughter to the English nation for £10,000 and became part of the founding collection of the British Museum. They are now in the British Library: Harley MSS 1-7661 (See Nares, Stebbing, Planta, and Douce, 1808-1812; and Wright, 1972).

⁵⁶ Letter from Will Storrock to Lady Hertford, Geneva, 30 March 1744, (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 29, f.50 (British Library Microfilm 293)).

Albums of prints — especially those handsomely bound and from significant collections — were regularly handled by dealers such as Osborne as they appealed to both wealthy bibliophiles and print collectors.⁵⁷ Prints bound in the distinctive ‘Harleian’ bindings favoured by the earls of Oxford would have been of particular interest to Osborne’s clients, who would have been willing to pay the premium identified by Storrock.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, Horace Walpole commented that the earls of Oxford had had their prints ‘bound richly in Russia leather gilt; but by blending good and bad prints together to get off the bad, those volumes sold for little more than the bindings had cost’.⁵⁹ It is no wonder that some of the albums were offered and re-offered in a variety of sales in the 1740s, which was possibly the fate of the albums now in Melbourne.

The duchess clearly identified that a number of her prints and albums had provenance to the collection of the earls of Oxford. In her *Catalogue of Prints* — the handwritten inventory of her print collection that she collated towards the end of her life — she wrote that eight Sadeler albums (seven of which are those now in Melbourne) were ‘Bought out of Lord Oxford’s collection’.⁶⁰ (Fig. 5) In another notebook, she described them as ‘Collection of Sadelers bought at Osbornes’.⁶¹ Although her notations are straightforward, it is not yet clear when or how she purchased the works. No archival records of the purchase have yet been located, and tracing sales results through catalogues of this period is often difficult as surviving catalogues often contain misleading information. For example, the same printed catalogue may have been used for multiple sales over multiple dates (and years); lot numbers of each sale were regularly re-arranged depending on demand; and bidder collusion to inflate prices was

⁵⁷ See Griffiths, 2016, p. 343.

⁵⁸ Nixon, 1975; Clayton, 1997, p. 117 and p. 296 note 54. For the catalogues of prints sold by Thomas Osborne now in the British Library, see Munby and Coral, 1977. ‘Harleian’ style is ‘an English style of book decoration with a centre motif composed of small tool forms usually arranged in a lozenge-shaped design, and having a border decorated by means of an engraved roll. This style was named after Lord Harley, whose bindings were decorated in this manner’ (Diehl, 1980, p. 222). See ‘Harleian’ (British Library, 2020).

⁵⁹ Walpole, 1936, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Listed under ‘Works of Sadeler’ in the *Catalogue of Prints* (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.311). See also Griffiths, 2001, pp. 142-143.

⁶¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.68.

legal, resulting in the recording of artificial prices in annotated catalogues.⁶² There is, however, an immediate match between the duchess's albums of Sadeler prints now in Melbourne and Lot 573 from the 1743 Osborne sale catalogue: *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, the 'Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Library of the Late Earl of Oxford'. The listing reads:

'573 Nine hundred and five very Curious Prints, being the complete Works of Aegidius, Ralph, John, and Justus Sadeler: *they are bound in 8 vols. In Calves Leather, gilt on the Leaves. To enumerate the Masters, whose Works the Sadelers have engraved after, would [sic] not only be unnecessary, but tedious to the curious Reader; it being well known that there is hardly a capital Picture, either of the Italian or Flemish Schools, which they have omitted. And, as their Characters are so well established among the Virtuous, they have Need of no Encomium*'.⁶³

The words chosen in this lot description reflect the positive contemporary opinion of Sadeler prints.⁶⁴ Here the works were said to appeal to 'virtuous' individuals, such as pious Lady Hertford, who considered her Sadeler prints suitable for consultation after church.⁶⁵

Large, bound collections of the Sadelers' *oeuvre* appeared regularly in eighteenth-century estate and print sales, which confirms both their availability and their desirability as part of the accepted canon for collectors. *Oeuvre* albums such as these became the key building blocks on which many print collections were formed, partly

⁶² Griffiths, 2016, pp. 346-349. See also McKitterick, 2018. Some collectors also used pseudonyms to hide their identity (Pearson, 1994, p.16). For an overview of the challenges of using sales catalogues for provenance research see Pearson, 1994, pp. 132-139.

⁶³ Listed for sale by Osborne on Tuesday 14 February 1744 in Harley, 1743-1745, Vol. 3 (1744), p. 45. There is also a close match between the contents of the albums now in Melbourne with the listing of volumes recorded at 'Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Library of the Late Earl of Oxford' (Harley, 1743-45, 'Books of Prints', Vol. 2. pp. 11-12). Griffiths notes that the sale of Harley's print collection is the origin of the albums now in Melbourne (Griffiths, 2001, p. 145, note 4).

⁶⁴ For sales catalogue conventions, see Pearson, 1994, pp. 136-138.

⁶⁵ 'Your two volumes of Prints by Sadeler are charming amusements in a morning after Prayers' (Letter George, Viscount Beauchamp to Lady Hertford, 22 April 1743 (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 28, f.92 (British Library Microfilm 293))).

because of the availability of their work to collectors.⁶⁶ Given the popularity and availability of albums of Sadeler prints, it is no surprise that another almost identical lot appeared in a later sale of the earl of Oxford's collection. This group was auctioned by Christopher Cock in 1745-1746.⁶⁷

Although the duchess clearly recorded the 'Oxford' or 'Osborne' provenance of the Sadeler albums in her *Catalogue of Prints*, the identity of the purchaser, the date of purchase and the price paid is still uncertain. It is unclear whether the duchess purchased them herself; arranged for an agent to purchase them on her behalf; whether they were acquired by another dealer at auction (and then on-sold to her); or whether they were purchased by her father (or husband) on her behalf, or as a gift.⁶⁸ A surviving annotated catalogue from Osborne's 1745-1746 sale of the Sadeler albums records the purchase price as £34 13s, but no purchaser is noted.⁶⁹ Was this the price that was paid for the Sadeler print albums now in Melbourne?⁷⁰ As previously described, Lord Hertford had purchased two large volumes of prints by the Sadeler family in 1743.⁷¹ Was it possible

⁶⁶ As the Sadeler family worked as a team, and published many of their plates themselves, many, almost uniform groups of their work were available for collectors (Griffiths, 2016, p. 179). For their Venice workshop see Markou, 2019. For collecting based on *oeuvre* see Griffiths, 2016, pp. 177-180.

⁶⁷ '1680 Aegidius, Ralph, John, and Justus Sadelers Works compleat, containing above nine hundred curious Prints, bound in eight Volumes in Calves Leather, gilt on the Leaves. To enumerate the Masters whose Works the Sadelers have engraved after, would be unnecessary, it being well known that there is hardly a capital Picture, either of the Italian or Flemish Schools which they have omitted' (Cock, 1745-1746, pp. 67-68). This could be a completely different (but similar) group of albums, however it is also possible that the lot was unsold from the 1743 auction, or, for expediency, that the same lot information was duplicated, which was common at the time.

⁶⁸ Gifts from her father, husband, mother and grandfather are noted regularly by the duchess in her *Catalogue of Cameo's Intaglias, Bas Reliefs, Bronzes, Busts, Statues* (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 124). They are reproduced in Scarisbrick, Wagner, and Boardman, 2017, pp. xxviii-xxix.

⁶⁹ Based on an annotated catalogue from the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Cock, 1745, n.p.).

⁷⁰ It is possible that the duchess did not record the purchase price in her *Catalogue* as she did not know or remember it. Alternatively, she may have been reluctant to include such a comparatively large sum in her records, as if £34 13s was paid, no other prints or albums (noted with prices in her *Catalogue*), were as costly as the Sadeler albums with provenance to the earls of Oxford.

⁷¹ The letter advising of the purchase of the Sadeler print by Lord Hertford is dated March 23, 1743 (Letter to George, Viscount Beauchamp, 23 March 1743 (Alnwick

that Lord Hertford also purchased the albums now in Melbourne specifically for his daughter? Or did he purchase them for himself at Osborne's sale, and she acquired them via inheritance? No conclusive evidence has yet been located to clarify these questions.

Oxford and Osborne connections

Of the hundreds of listings of series, sets, and albums of prints in the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints*, only a few include details of their provenance. Provenance, as Genevieve Warwick describes, helps to establish the value of prints, enhances the collector's prestige, and testifies to the collector's access to renowned acquisitions.⁷² She goes on to say that acquisition from 'the most socially reputable sources' remains 'an ideal', as it brings with it the 'good opinion' of others within a social circle of collectors.⁷³ Of those few records of the duchess's prints that include provenance, intriguingly, most of the listings have a connection with Lord Oxford or with Osborne. This in itself confirms the significance of these specific prints and their provenance.⁷⁴ For example, two volumes of prints after 'Stradanus' (Netherlandish artist Jan van der Straet (1523–1605)) were recorded by the duchess as 'bought at Lord Oxford's sale' and

Castle DNP: MS 28, f.72-73 (British Library Microfilm 293)). This is prior to the delayed May 1743 sale of Lord Oxford's books and prints via Osborne (McKitterick, 2018, pp. 173-174). The letter clearly mentions 'two volumes', and unlike other notations in the duchess's collections that attribute provenance to family members, there is no similar attribution to her father. This evidence suggests the 'two volumes' of Sadeler prints purchased by Lord Hertford are *not* the Oxford albums now in Melbourne.

⁷² Warwick, 2003, p. 5.

⁷³ Warwick, 2003, p. 5.

⁷⁴ The other provenance references are to the firms of Snelling, Darre, and Simpson, mentioned elsewhere in this chapter.

from ‘Osborne’s Collection’.⁷⁵ (Fig. 6) This group are now held by the British Museum.⁷⁶

The duchess’s journals also describe social interactions with the family of the earls of Oxford. For example, she notes dining with ‘L[ord] Oxford’ and others at Chesterton ‘till it was dark’.⁷⁷ She also records visits to the second earl’s daughter, collector and patron, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, Duchess of Portland, at Bulstrode, Buckinghamshire, whose print collection will be discussed in later chapters.⁷⁸ These social connections may explain the duchess’s interest in objects connected with the earls of Oxford, and her specific (and repeated) records of Oxford provenance in descriptions of her own print collection. As Genevieve Warwick explains, it was common for collections to change hands ‘between people known to each other, even when sold at auction’.⁷⁹

The duchess at sales and auctions

Irrespective of whether or not she personally purchased albums of prints at ‘Lord Oxford’s sale’, there is other clear evidence that the duchess regularly purchased

⁷⁵ ‘2 vols Miscellaneous bought at Ld Oxfords Sale’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: 122B, f.193). They were also listed under ‘Works of Stradanus’ as 166 prints ‘Osbornes Collection in 2 Vol’ (Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/11, n.p.). Lot 455 ‘The Works of Joannes Stradanus, consisting of a large Collection of Prints of Hunting, Fishing, Fowling, Batles [*sic*], twelve Caesars, last Judgment, and his Horses, engraved by Galle and Collart, 2 vol. *in red Morocco, gilt on the Leaves*’ (Harley, 1743-1745, Vol. III (1744), p. 34). They were lot 319 in the Sotheby’s 1951 sale of Northumberland prints as identified by Griffiths (2001, p. 140). The catalogue entry reads: ‘319 J. Stradanus: Hunting, Equestrian, Industrial and other Subjects, *a large collection*, 2 vol., *red morocco gilt, folio, 24in. by 17in. 2 vol.*’ (Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 37). Colnaghi (using the bidder name ‘B. Barnett’) purchased lot 319 from the auction for £45 (Sotheby, 1951b, n.p.).

⁷⁶ The prints (now catalogued as Jan van der Straet) are disbound as Museum Numbers 1957, 0413.15-258.

⁷⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/6, f.29-30.

⁷⁸ One visit is published in Percy, 1926, pp. 15-17. For her collections see: Tobin, 2009a and 2014; Slobada, 2010; Stott, 2006; Pelling, 2018; and Walpole, 1936. The Duchess of Portland’s collection is noted in a list of significant collections made in 1771 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.286) and some of the objects (but not prints) are also described (see Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88).

⁷⁹ Warwick, 2003, p. 4.

artworks at auction. Attendance at auctions was part of the repertoire of accepted social behaviour for fashionable and elite women, and women's presence at art auctions was regularly courted by auctioneers.⁸⁰ In a 1754 letter to her mother she wrote, 'I was this morning at a Sale of Pictures when I purchas'd for my Lord a Storm & a Moonlight by Tempesta...I also purchase'd for myself an Andromeda & Perseus by Gioseppa Arpino'. The duchess may have had second thoughts about the latter purchase, as she also mentioned that 'the Lady is so very naked that I must confess I am very much asham'd of her'.⁸¹ Later in the same month, she wrote that she 'bought another Picture'... which cost her 'a great deal of money' at 'Prestages'.⁸² John Prestage (fl. 1745-1760) was one of the five specialist art auctioneers of the era.⁸³

Archival records reveal the interconnected web of elite collectors, collections, and purchasers, of which the duchess and her husband were a part. For example, the couple purchased 'books, maps and prints' at an auction of the collection of the late antiquary John Warburton (1682-1759).⁸⁴ The sale of Warburton's collection occupied six days and comprised 764 lots of 'Prints, Copper Plates, Coins and other Curiosities' and 'a valuable collection in Manuscript and Print'.⁸⁵ The sale contents would certainly have been of special interest as Warburton had also published volumes on Middlesex and Northumberland: both locations with specific family significance to the duchess.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Russell, 2007, pp. 58, 245 note 60. Commissioning an agent or engaging a friend to attend in one's place was also common at auctions (Cowan, 1998, pp. 160-161).

⁸¹ Letter to Lady Hertford, London February (?) 1754, (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 24, f.293 (British Library Microfilm 290)).

⁸² Letter to Lady Hertford, London, 15 February 1754 (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 24, f.296 (British Library Microfilm 290)).

⁸³ Clayton, 1997, p. 126.

⁸⁴ 1759 Syon household account book noted: 'Paid for Books, Maps & Prints bought at Mr Wharburton's [*sic*] Auction for Lady Northumberland £1 3s. Paid for Books and Manuscripts bought there for my lord £3 1s 6d' (Alnwick Castle, Sy: U.I.41 November 21-22, 1759). The other notation, from the same source reads: 'Books maps and prints bought at Mr Wharburton's [*sic*] for Lady Northumberland'.

⁸⁵ Bliss, 1976, pp. 302-303. Like the collections of Robert Harley Earl of Oxford, Warburton's collection reflected the tastes of men of learning, title, and wealth (Ricci, 1930, p. 35).

⁸⁶ Warburton was the author of *London and Middlesex Illustrated* (1749) and *Vallum Romanum: or the History of the Roman Wall... in Cumberland and Northumberland* (1753).

Unfortunately, the duchess rarely recorded her emotional responses to art auctions and is silent on the sociable nature of these events.⁸⁷ Nonetheless, the duchess must have been a familiar figure at dealers' rooms as a satirical print by Isaac Taylor (after Samuel Wale) depicts her at an art auction.⁸⁸ **(Fig. 7)** No specific records have yet been located that describe the duchess's impressions of participating in auctions of prints, but she occasionally records her experiences at other art sales, revealing that she had opinions on the quality of auctioneers. On one occasion, she was disgusted that an unnamed auctioneer mistakenly referred to an artwork depicting 'Madonna & Christ' as the 'Royal Family'.⁸⁹

Prints from booksellers and book auctioneers

The duchess's journals name several booksellers as sources of her prints, reflecting their important role in the eighteenth-century print trade. This market crossover meant collections of books and collections of print albums shared a similar sales trajectory, as we have observed in the sales of books and albums of prints handled by Thomas Osborne.⁹⁰ In a 1762 journal, the duchess recorded 'I went to Mr Bakers the Booksellers to see some prints'.⁹¹ This is almost certainly auctioneer Samuel Baker (d.1778) of Chaucer's Head in Russell Street, Covent Garden, London. With George Leigh (at what was to become Sotheby's), Baker 'sold foreign libraries and imported stock'.⁹² **(Fig. 8)** Baker's reputation was enhanced by offering some of the most notable

⁸⁷ This is not unusual, as 'relatively little is known about the ways in which elite consumers related to their numerous suppliers, even in the most basic terms' (Stobart and Rothery, 2016, p. 197). This lack of information is unfortunate as Beth Fowkes Tobin notes that 'moments of exchange' between a collector and a dealer 'reveal social codes and the cultural expectations that inform commercial transactions' (Tobin, 2014, p. 20).

⁸⁸ Isaac Taylor (after Samuel Wale), *Cupid turn'd auctioneer, or Cornely's sale at Carlisle House, 1772*, Etching (book illustration) (British Museum Number: 1868,0808.10025). The print's connection with the commercialisation of female fashionability is described in Russell, 2007, pp. 57-60.

⁸⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/4, f.13-14.

⁹⁰ The link between the book trade and printsellers is elucidated in Pendred's *Dictionary of the Book Trade*, which includes listings for engravers and copper plate printers, and 'print, map and music sellers' (Brewer, 1997, p. 452).

⁹¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/10, f.44.

⁹² Raven, 2007, pp. 143, 276.

and important eighteenth-century libraries, such as the 10,000 books and manuscripts (as well as prints, medals, coins, antiquities, and gems) that had been owned by renowned collector and physician, Dr Richard Mead (1673-1754).⁹³ Contemporary reports note Dr Mead's collection in Great Ormond Street, London could 'be equalled by nothing in the kingdom in the hands of a private man' and was open to 'the inspection and use of others'.⁹⁴ As both Mead's collection and objects from it are recorded in her notebooks, it is likely the duchess visited his collection.⁹⁵

The duchess also possibly purchased prints from Dr Mead's collection at the auction that followed his death. The majority of Mead's prints and drawings were auctioned in January 1755 by Abraham Langford.⁹⁶ A receipt for 'Prints Bought at Mr Langfords' survives loose in one of the duchess's notebooks, potentially connecting her with the Mead sale.⁹⁷ (**Fig. 9**) The patchy survival of auction catalogues means it has so far been impossible to match the invoice with a particular Langfords sale, but the acquisition of prints from this collection fits with the duchess's other purchases at this time: objects from notable collections purchased through established dealers and auction houses.

Bookseller/publisher/printer R. & J. Dodsley ('Dodsley's'), based at Tully's Head in Pall Mall, was also named in the duchess's journals and accounts. The firm was founded by author and playwright Robert Dodsley (1704-1764) and is recorded in the

⁹³ Langford, North, Baker and Reid, 1755. See also: Guerrini, 2008.

⁹⁴ Maty, 1755, pp. 52-53.

⁹⁵ The 'List of Collections' is located at Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.286. The objects are noted in Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122/88. For other collections noted, see Aymonino, 2012, p. 108, note 16.

⁹⁶ Langford and Mead, 1755. Langford had taken over auctioneer Christopher Cock's business after his death.

⁹⁷ The receipt is dated 'Nov 8th', but unfortunately, no year is noted. The invoice records the purchase of Lot 48 'History of Sampson 4s 6d', Lot 50 '150 French Views 5s' and Lot 64 'Ovid's Metamorphosis 7s 6d' (Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/11, n.p.). Another print-collecting contemporary, William Hunter (1718-1783) — anatomist, and Physician Extraordinary to Queen Charlotte — probably purchased his two albums of 'Portraits de Nanteuil' from Dr Mead's sale (Black, 2007, p. 82). They are now in the Hunterian Museum: Object Number Glasgow GLAHA: 57313.

duchess's list of 'Booksellers, Bookbinders and Stationers'.⁹⁸ Dodsley 'remained at one remove from the print trade' by taking subscriptions and distributing quality prints produced by other publishers, as well as engaging some of the leading illustrators, designers, and engravers working for the trade (including Hogarth) to illustrate their publications.⁹⁹ Miscellaneous Northumberland household documents include lists of volumes purchased or requested from Dodsley, and regular payments for 'Dodsley's Bill' are evidence of an ongoing relationship with the firm.¹⁰⁰ Given the active involvement of Dodsley in the eighteenth-century print trade, it is likely the duchess purchased prints from this source, however no specific examples of print purchases from this firm have been located in her accounts.

The firm had another connection with the duke and duchess, as Dodsley's published a description of the duchess's collection at Northumberland House in their volume, *London and its environs described* (1761). The duchess's enfilade of rooms that housed her *musaeum* (her 'closet') was noted as 'a repository of curiosities' which — among other 'valuable' objects — contained 'a fine collection of pictures, as to afford a most pleasing and almost endless entertainment to a connoisseur'.¹⁰¹ Also mentioned were two libraries which consisted of a 'great variety of books on the most useful and curious subjects, collected with judgement'.¹⁰² Unfortunately her print collection was not specifically mentioned.

Payments to other booksellers and suppliers of related services are also recorded in the duchess's accounts. Some of these firms may have supplied her with prints, and

⁹⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.104. The firm was later run by Dodsley's brother James (1724–1797). For a history of the firm see Solomon, 1996.

⁹⁹ Clayton, 1997, p. 117. See also Raven, 2007, p. 251; and Tierney, 1988, pp. 48-49.

¹⁰⁰ 'Dodsleys Bill' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/20, f.5); '2 Books of Dodsleys' (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/43 f.40). Bills from Dodsley are noted in household account books from the early 1740s (Alnwick Castle, Sy: U.I.23.k). For example, a bill dated 13 April 1741 from Robert Dodsley Booksellers notes 'Pope's 2d Vol. in Prose...£1 1s' (Alnwick Castle, Sy: U.I.23.k.28). The firm also published literary works by Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, Laurence Sterne, Frances Sheridan, and Oliver Goldsmith, all of whom are mentioned in the duchess's journals.

¹⁰¹ Dodsley and Dodsley, Vol. 5, 1761, p. 58.

¹⁰² Dodsley and Dodsley, Vol. 5, 1761, p. 58.

others may have bound her print albums. These account notes include: ‘Bill Williams Bookseller’; ‘Binding Books Mrs Dunoyer £2 11s 4d’; and ‘Hookham for binding £3 17s’.¹⁰³ The duchess also noted the purchase of a ‘bound’ collection of ninety-nine impressions from Sadeler’s ‘Saints of Bavaria’ that were ‘bought of Simpson’ for ‘£5 15s 6d’.¹⁰⁴ This as-yet-unidentified firm could be the ‘Mess. Simpson’ associated with the publication of a half-length print of Dr John Potter (later Lord Archbishop of Canterbury) sold by ‘G. Vertue’ and at printsellers which included ‘Mr. Sayer’ and ‘Mess. Simpson’.¹⁰⁵ A volume in the duchess’s library is titled ‘Simpsons Medals’ which could indicate the firm traded in medals as well as prints, another common marketing combination in the eighteenth-century print market.¹⁰⁶

Whether they provided her with books, with albums of prints (or both), a visit to booksellers was an event enjoyed by the duchess and her family members. When travelling in Cologne, she met with her son Algernon (then on his Grand Tour under the supervision of Louis Dutens (1730-1812)). She recorded enjoyable evening visits to ‘several Bookseller’s shops’ with them.¹⁰⁷ Dutens was a French-born writer, diplomat and numismatist — and a confidante of the duchess — whose role in print acquisition on her behalf will be discussed in the next chapter.

Other family-related print purchases

Details of English printsellers patronised by both the duchess and her husband are occasionally revealed in correspondence. A letter sent from Alnwick Castle requests:

The Duke and Dutchess [*sic*] desires you will be so good as to send to Mrs Spillsbury [*sic*] a Print Shop in Russell Court Drury Lane and buy for them the Dissected Maps of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; such I believe you

¹⁰³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/20, f.5; Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/43, f.40; and Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/49, f.20.

¹⁰⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: 122B, f.151 and f.311 (the entry is duplicated under ‘Sacred Subjects’ and ‘Works of Sadeler’).

¹⁰⁵ As listed in the *Daily Advertiser*, 18 April 1750 (‘Simpson’, Exeter Working Papers, 2020).

¹⁰⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 127, f.302.

¹⁰⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/33, f.21.

have seen, the Different Countries are cut out and painted up bits of Wood so that when mix'd together are be put in their proper situations.¹⁰⁸

Although now familiar to us, jigsaws (then known as ‘dissected maps’) were some of the disparate and innovative printed objects available from printsellers in the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁹ It is possible the duchess had seen this new educational resource at court. Lady Charlotte Finch (1725-1813) — governess to King George III and Queen Charlotte’s children — had maps cut to her specification for use in the nursery, and her surviving puzzle cabinet in the Royal Collections still contains two puzzles ‘cut from maps prepared by John Spilsbury’.¹¹⁰ **(Fig. 10)**

Cartographer and engraver John Spilsbury (1739-1769) had another connection with Northumberland family collections. Spilsbury engraved the plates for a volume of gems from the collection of the duchess’s son Algernon.¹¹¹ The volume was published (by subscription) in 1785 by print entrepreneur John Boydell (1719-1804), who will be discussed in the following chapter. This collection of intaglios, cameos, and rings was begun by the duchess, but taken up with particular gusto by her son, especially during his Grand Tour with Louis Dutens.¹¹²

The duke and duchess also commissioned prints. The archival records related to one of these prints reflect the private and then public, commercial trajectory of portrait mezzotints in the eighteenth century. The couple’s eldest son, Hugh, Lord Warkworth (1742-1817, later 2nd Duke of Northumberland) was immortalised in a mezzotint

¹⁰⁸ Letter from John Augustus Corner, Alnwick Castle 6 July 1773 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 44, f.230 (British Library Microfilm 302)). It is possible this request is related to the appearance of an entry for ‘dissected maps’ in a list of items ‘Wanted for Syon’ at around the same time period (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.236).

¹⁰⁹ They formed part of the new range of toys and games for children (Porter, 2000, pp. 268, 351-53).

¹¹⁰ Grant, 2017, p. 403. For the exhibition of Charlotte Finch’s dissected maps see Marschner, Bindman and Ford, 2017 (object 23.22).

¹¹¹ Spilsbury, 1785.

¹¹² The collection is now known as the Beverley Gems. See Scarisbrick, Wagner and Boardman, 2016. For Algernon’s Grand Tour see French, 2009, pp. 75-80.

portrait commissioned from engraver Valentine Green (1739-1813).¹¹³ (**Fig. 11**) The Northumberland account book notes: ‘Paid Mr Valentine Green for 6 Proofs and 30 Prints of Earl Percy’s Portrait at Westm[inster] Guild Hall £20 5s’.¹¹⁴ The commission included six ‘private production’ mezzotints — ‘proofs’ or copies ‘before letters’ — which were most likely for distribution to friends and family.¹¹⁵ Engraved lettering (which described the engraver, the place of publication and the date) was then added by another specialist to a wider edition of prints, ready for commercial distribution by Green through his premises in Salisbury Street, The Strand. The prints ‘with letters’ published by Green in 1777 (of which 30 were ordered by the duke and duchess) were therefore a promotional opportunity for the engraver, the sitter, and his parents.

Other print sources

The sale of prints via priced catalogues was particularly evident in London between 1768 and 1782, and it is likely that this was another print acquisition avenue employed by the duchess and her family. Catalogues were used as a form of marketing by printsellers such as Thomas Snelling (1712-1773), Walter Shropshire (fl. 1767-1785), John Thane (1748-1818), and the unidentified dealer who traded as ‘Magazine des Estampes’.¹¹⁶

Snelling’s firm — who appears in the duchess’s records — epitomised the diversity of the eighteenth-century print trade. Snelling was operating in Fleet Street by

¹¹³ The print was engraved from a portrait by Andres van Rymdyk presented by the duke to the Magistrates of Westminster (to celebrate ‘His Lordship’s Public Services’), which in turn was based on another painting by Pompeo Batoni (1705-1787) completed in 1763 (see: *Hugh Earl Percy* in the collection of the Yale Centre for British Art, Accession Number B1977.14.10163). An account dated 10 July 1776 notes: ‘Paid Mr. Rymdyk for painting Earl Percy’s portrait for Westminster Guild Hall £12 12s’ (Alnwick Castle, Sy: U.I.44). Rymdyk’s painting is still part of the Middlesex Guildhall Art Collection. Another mezzotint (based on the Batoni painting) was engraved by John Finlayson in 1765 (National Portrait Gallery, Object Number NPG D37843).

¹¹⁴ 3 February 1777 (Alnwick Castle, Sy: U.I.44).

¹¹⁵ An impression before letters (dated December 1776) is held in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum, Object Number M.86.357.1.

¹¹⁶ Griffiths, 2016, p. 349.

1763, and was a noted numismatist, a dealer in coins and medals, and a book and printseller.¹¹⁷ One of the rare provenance listings in the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints* describes prints purchased from Snelling. Under the *Catalogue* listing for 'Works of De Pass' [sic] is entered 'Pasted in one vol. B[ought] of Snelling various 509, £10 10s'.¹¹⁸ As Antony Griffiths notes, the terminology suggests that a volume containing 509 prints was purchased from Snelling and was later broken-up and re-arranged by the duchess into a new album.¹¹⁹ The multiple specialisations of their business — all in areas of interest to the duchess — would have made the firm an appealing destination for her.¹²⁰

The duchess also made use of other services offered by specialist art dealers and auctioneers. An un-dated list in her handwriting records over forty-five sets of prints (over 650 individual prints) that were sent to William Darres (active 1749-1768), a fine-art auctioneer and print specialist in Coventry Street, London.¹²¹ (**Fig. 12**) It is possible this was a list of gatherings of prints, ready to be bound by Darres' firm into an album, as one of the duchess's records of Sadeler prints notes: '621' prints 'bound by Darres'.¹²² Another group of Sadeler prints — now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York — are noted in the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints* as 'Darres's Sett', possibly indicating their purchase from (or binding by) Darres.¹²³ Alternatively, perhaps the duchess sent duplicate prints to be sold by his firm, in line with the occasional sale of 'duplicates from a nobleman's collection' that were advertised by Darres in the *Public Advertiser*.¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ Snelling the elder was respected by significant collectors such as Dr William Hunter (1718–1783). Thomas' son (also named Thomas) was a printseller at the same address (Thompson, 2008, n.p.).

¹¹⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.260. '509' refers to the number of prints. These include prints related to another enterprising printmaking and publishing dynasty founded by Crispijn van de Passe the Elder (c.1564-1637) and continued by his son Crispijn van de Passe II (1597-1670).

¹¹⁹ Griffiths 2001, p. 142.

¹²⁰ The duchess also owned a book titled 'Snellings Coins' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 127, f.304).

¹²¹ Clayton, 1997, p. 126. 'Sent to Mr Darres' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.75-76).

¹²² Alnwick Castle, DP: DI/II/11, 'Prints by Sadeler', n.p.

¹²³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.309 They are now disbound and located at: Object Numbers: 53.601.10-13, 16-17, 339, 351 with one album missing (Griffiths, 2001, p. 140).

¹²⁴ Clayton, 1997, p. 126.

A print collector: past, present, and future

This chapter has mapped familial print collecting and the early ‘lives’ of the duchess’s prints. Through archival evidence, it has traced her prints as inherited objects, as objects acquired through family connections, and as objects purchased from varied commercial sources earlier in her life. From a young age, the duchess’s collections of prints, medals, and coins were in part shaped by the tastes of her family. The acquisition and enjoyment of artworks (including prints) was shared readily and regularly with her family circle. As we have seen, prints by the Sadeler family were mentioned specifically in family correspondence, and the duchess also made acquisition notes about the Sadeler print albums that were acquired via Thomas Osborne from Lord Oxford. This suggests she recognised particular family and/or social connections with these albums.

Household accounts, letters, and journals indicate that at least some of the duke and duchess’s print acquisitions were made together. A number of the duchess’s own expenses for prints and other artworks — such as those purchased from Warburton’s sale — were also noted in household account books or in those of her husband.¹²⁵ Concurrently, the duchess noted her own collection acquisitions in her notebooks and journals and she already had a habit of recording brief descriptions of prices, provenance, and the establishments she patronised. As we will see, these details continued to be a focus of the collecting notes she made during her life.

Although she was initially influenced by the collecting habits of her family, over the decades the duchess developed her own interests and preferences. By the late 1760s and 1770s she was pursuing what Anne French describes as a ‘different pattern of tourism and art collecting from that of her husband’.¹²⁶ This is typified by her fascination with the art and culture of the Low Countries and her travels in that region, a predilection which diverged from his classical and antiquarian tastes. The extent of the duchess’s ‘unusual’ cultural independence and the ‘separation of the spheres of influence with her

¹²⁵ For example, purchases from Warburton’s sale (Alnwick Castle, Sy: U.I.41, 21-22 July and 21-22 November 1759).

¹²⁶ French, 2009, p. 66.

husband' led Adriano Aymonino to suggest that her collection is 'one of a very few *independently* assembled by a woman in the Georgian period'.¹²⁷ As we will see, the duchess purchased prints related to her own interests, and on her own terms. Her activities as an independent consumer — and her extensive print purchases — are the focus of the next chapter.

¹²⁷ Aymonino, 2012, p. 116, 101. Emphasis added. Some researchers have noted it is difficult to separate married women's purchases, as their purchases were often 'actively concealed' behind the names of their husbands in commercial accounts (Vickery, 2009b, p. 5). The duchess's own expenditure lists in her journals overcome this issue.

2. ACQUIRING A COLLECTION II: AN INTREPID AND ITINERANT PRINT COLLECTOR

‘Biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure’.

Igor Kopytoff¹

In 1770, the duchess resigned from her duties as Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte, after nearly a decade of service to the royal household. The duchess noted that ‘a longing to Enjoy my liberty entire’ was a key motivation for her departure from court.² Coupled with these responsibilities, her journals had recorded a punishing schedule of assemblies, balls, dinners, attending the theatre, visits and receiving visitors, card parties, and official engagements.³ Comparative freedom, combined with an inherent curiosity about the world around her, translated into the perfect opportunity for the duchess to pursue two of her primary interests: travelling and collecting.

Prints were the perfect purchases for an inquisitive and acquisitive travelling collector with increased travel and leisure time. They were relatively inexpensive, were easy to store and transport, and due to their ‘multiple’ nature, were widely available in the market.⁴ As noted by John Evelyn (1620-1706) in his influential treatise, *Sculptura*, prints allowed the collector to indulge in ‘relaxations’ when ‘he is tyred [*sic*] with the

¹ Kopytoff, 1986, p. 67.

² She also noted that she had ‘no longer the degree of favour I had before enjoyed’ (Percy, 1926, p. 97) This was possibly due to ‘her custom of going about with a larger retinue of domestics than Her Majesty herself, for which the Queen is said to have indirectly remanded her’ (Percy, 1926, p. viii). Horace Walpole is also credited with this suggestion (Blodgett, 2004, p. 2).

³ These are what Gillian Russell defines as ‘domiciliary sociability’: the range of activities through which elite women claimed a role for themselves in public and political culture (Russell, 2007, p. 11; and Chalus, 2000). See also ‘fashionable sociability’ and the ‘intricate tessellation’ of social activities in Clark, 2000, pp. 39, 192, 451. For the duchess’s role in elite women’s political behavior see Russell, 2007, pp. 42, 84, 137; and Chalus, 2005, pp. 88-91, 174, 210-211. For descriptions of some of the duchess’s assemblies and balls, see Baird, 2003, pp. 160-162. Forty-five plays and thirty-eight ‘Theatres and other Spectacles’ are listed in one of her notebooks (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.11, f.127).

⁴ Parshall, 1998, pp. 29-30.

more weighty affairs and concernments'.⁵ No wonder they were collected in such great quantities by the duchess. Liberty, curiosity, and commercial forces were therefore linked contextual conditions for the development of the duchess's print collection.⁶

Increasingly regular acquisitions of artworks — especially prints — appear prominently in the duchess's accounts and notebooks from the late 1760s and early 1770s. The duchess's own words trace her purchases and her collecting interests, and through these records her buying behaviour, the varied sources of her acquisitions in England and abroad, and the directions and intentions of her print collecting can be analysed. She acquired books of prints, images of events and costume ('habits'), satirical and caricature prints, landscapes and views, allegorical prints, and portraits, all typical categories for print collecting at the time.⁷ She also describes working within a budget, bemoans the prices of objects, and revels in a bargain — all while experiencing the delights (and challenges) of eighteenth-century travel. Together this information maps the market for prints, and the duchess's activities as an elite print collector within it. As will be discussed in this chapter, the duchess's print purchases related to her own interests, and were made on her own terms.

An intrepid travelling print collector

During the late 1760s, the duchess commenced what became very regular independent journeys abroad, which escalated in scope and frequency after her resignation from royal duties.⁸ Unlike many other Grand Tourists, her travels weren't

⁵ Evelyn, 1755, pp.143-144 (first published in 1662).

⁶ These were also important elements in the development of William Hunter's collection (See McCormack, 2018, pp. 5-6 for an introduction to 'curiosity' in the eighteenth century). Literature on commerce in the eighteenth century is vast. Foundational works include: Brewer, McKendrick and Plumb, 1982; Brewer and Porter, 1993; and Bermingham and Brewer, 1995.

⁷ For an introduction to the types of print collecting in the eighteenth century see Griffiths, 2016, pp. 426-445; Griffiths, 1994b; and Nedanic, 1997.

⁸ Her retinue included a variety of individuals — such as drawing master Jean Vilet, who also acted as her *valet de chambre* (French, 2009, p. 69) — but she most often travelled without her husband.

solely focussed on Italy and France.⁹ She favoured the Low Countries: the Austrian Netherlands and the United Provinces that were then the third most popular destinations for British tourists.¹⁰ These locations held a particular interest for the duchess due to their connections with her illustrious ancestor, Joscelin de Louvain (1121-1180) from the Duchy of Brabant. She probably felt a special affiliation with Josceline, as after his marriage into the Percy family in c.1150, he agreed that his children take the family name, thereby securing the continuation of the House of Percy.¹¹ This was similar to the duchess's situation. Following the early death of the heir — her brother George, Viscount Beauchamp — her husband Hugh Smithson changed his name to Percy in 1750 upon the death of Lord Hertford (then the 7th Duke of Somerset).¹²

As well as ancestral connections, the Low Countries also had other benefits. The duchess was able to add new works to her collection from the Flemish and Netherlandish artists that appealed to her tastes. She was especially taken with genre paintings, landscapes and marine scenes, portrait, and images of churches and friars.¹³ She was also warmly welcomed by elite society in the region. In all, the duchess made four extended visits to these areas and Germany between 1766 and 1771.¹⁴ After 1772 her

⁹ She briefly visited Italy once in 1773 (with her husband) which included a visit to Milan (French, 2009, p. 65). See also Ingamells, 1997, p. 41.

¹⁰ French, 2009, p. 66.

¹¹ Josceline's marriage to Agnes (d.1203) daughter of William, 3rd Baron Percy (d.1174-1175), (who had left no legitimate male heir) secured the continuation of the House of Percy. He also brought Petworth in Sussex into the Percy family's estates. For Percy and Brabant connections see Collins, 1768, Vol. 5, pp. 310-318. For this era of Percy history see Percy, 2019, pp. 16-29. Josceline's lineage is honoured through the blue Lion of Lovaine ('a lyon Azourd Rampygne') which is the heraldic device used by the Percy family to this day (Percy, 2019, p. 28).

¹² House of Lords, 1749. This inheritance of the earldom of Northumberland in 1750 meant the re-establishment of Percys into the ranks of the peerage after an absence of almost a century (Aymonino, 2010, p. 288, and 2021).

¹³ Her taste in paintings is confirmed by entries in her *Catalogue of Paintings* (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 122A). Also see French, 2009, p. 69, and p. 81 notes 24, 26 and 28). Vertue associated Dutch decorative landscapes, marine paintings, genre scenes and still-lives with the taste of the 'lower ranks of virtuosi' (Ormrod, 1998, p. 181, see also Dunthorne, 1982). For the rise of Netherlandish genre/peasant prints, see Knaap, 1996.

¹⁴ These were noted in a list of 'My Tours' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.76-77). Italy is not recorded, as this list seems to only include her 'independent' journeys. She continued to travel abroad until 1774.

itineraries also included south and south-west France and Switzerland, where her purchases reflected local printmakers and imagery.

Through the duchess's descriptions, we can follow in the footsteps of an active eighteenth-century print consumer. To assist, she helpfully provided the dimensions of her sometimes massively gouty feet: 'when I went to bed I had my foot measured, the ankle was 13 1/2 in[ches], the instep 11 Inches & at the root of toes it was 10 inches and a half'.¹⁵ Gout had afflicted the duchess since her twenties, and although her condition was regularly mentioned in her journals, it never seemed to prevent this intrepid traveller from continuing her adventures and immersing herself in the highs and lows of cultural tourism.¹⁶ She certainly had a talent for composing unique descriptions of her adventures, as is obvious from this journal entry:

I sat down to my Dinner at which I was attended by a large tame rabbit with a large Collar of Silver Bells, which belonged to my Landlady & which I fed with parsley & peach parings. (The Peaches here are excellent). In the Evening I went to Mr Yvers's a printseller. [Prints in] his Collection are very scarce but immoderately dear.¹⁷

Despite her afflictions, the duchess's travel journals reveal that her print purchases were often made between other social events, or in conjunction with other types of purchases.¹⁸ When travelling, she regularly noted words similar to: 'I paid some of my visits, bought some prints', or 'I purchased some prints & a fan & dined'.¹⁹ Print

¹⁵ Alnwick Castle, MS 121/33, f.46.

¹⁶ When the duchess was twenty-seven years old, her mother had lamented, 'poor Betty has been laid up with the Gout in the foot and ankle...it gives me a great deal of unrest to see her begin so young with a Disease for which there is of little knowledge of a Cure' (Letter Lady Hertford to Lord Beauchamp, 10 June 1743 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 28, f.153 (British Library Microfilm 293)). Many references to gout appear in the duchess's anonymously published (and probably unauthorised) *Short Tour* (Percy, 1775, pp. 32, 34, 35-36, 69), which contributed to disparaging comments about the volume as 'the embodiment of the conduct books greatest fears for the consequences of female travel' (Turner, 2001, p. 142).

¹⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17 f.45.

¹⁸ For the rhythm of shopping and other activities, see Berry, 2002, p. 380.

¹⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.27, 88. 'Dressed bought more Prints' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/20, f.22). This is in contrast to notes which record specific

purchasing was recorded carefully, even if her day was exhaustingly full of other activities. The quotation below demonstrates the context of her purchases (and that her busy calendar of social events scarcely abated when she was travelling abroad):

[Hague] Thursday Ap¹ 30. Had been bad with the stone all night. Dressed head. Vis[it] by Count Bentinck. Went to Schevelinge at my return home had a Visit from the Ambassador, took a Running Footman, went to the Review of the Swiss Guards with Mlle Hennenoort, went to P[rince] Weilbourgs Tent, fine Corps of men, P[rince] of Orange came t[owards] us & made the Regiment march close by that I might have a better View of them. P[rince] Louis of Brunswick there, his size immense twice as big as late D[uke] of Cambridge, taller, hideously ugly, stutters worse than Jo. *Made Visits, bought Prints*, S^r Joseph came & fetched me to M Noohoyohe [M^{me} Noortwyck's]...assembly. Her apartments [are] very handsome. I played at Brelan [card game] with Lord Stavordale, Mons^r Borcel, Count Bentinck...²⁰

After a tiring night, a visit from the Ambassador and attendance at a military review, the duchess still had time to buy prints before an evening assembly and a card party.

Despite her busy social schedule, the duchess's journals suggest that the purchase of prints was often a solitary pursuit rather than a social activity.²¹ Apart from a few references to book purchases with Louis Dutens and her son, the implication from her journals is that prints were purchased alone.²² In a typical journal entry she wrote, 'I had a Visit in the morning from Lord Chetwynd & after he was gone I bought many prints & 3 fine Missals'.²³ In comparison, she named shopping companions for other types of purchases: 'I went with Lady Mary to a Painters 2 Toy Shops' and to 'Calmers'

expeditions and destinations for the purpose of acquiring other objects, for example, she described: 'Went into y^e City [London] after Medals' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/10, f.56).

²⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/20, f.22. Italics and punctuation added. For the political implications of visiting and attending such events, see Chalus, 2000.

²¹ With only her retinue in attendance. Solitary shopping was not uncommon even for upper-class English women (Berry, 2002, p. 380).

²² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/33, f.21.

²³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/35, f.14.

(a mercers) ‘where I Bought a Chintz’.²⁴ In Paris she ‘went with L[ady] Berkeley to the shops all morning’ and later accompanied her ‘to the Boulevards’ where ‘I believe she had 100 spinning wheels brought [to the] coach to chuse [*sic*] of’.²⁵ These socially-orientated shopping activities match those of other eighteenth-century diarists.²⁶ There are, however, no similar records which describe social print purchases.

It is clear from her correspondence that irrespective of her other commitments and companions, the purchase of prints was a high priority for the duchess when travelling. In 1766 she wrote to her husband from Rotterdam: ‘would you believe it I have not purchased a single Print’.²⁷ A few weeks later this was remedied, when she wrote from The Hague that she had sent a case by sea ‘w^{ch} contains only some of my Books as I had read out, My little Holbein and a few very indifferent Prints’.²⁸ Although she downplayed the quality and quantity of her purchases when writing to her husband, accounts in her journals reveal that she purchased prints at least every second day. The journal excerpt below demonstrates the frequency of her print purchases and their prices in comparison with other objects. This list, recorded in 1773, shows purchases on a range of dates in the same month:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Purchases</i>
21	Prints 18s 6d
22	Prints £11 1s
22	Rec’d Duke £500 [<i>Note: a regular allowance from her husband</i>]
28	Prints 4s 6d
28	2 pictures £3 13s 6d ²⁹

Prints were acquired regularly, but their overall value is low when compared to some of her other spending. None of her expenditure on prints (or on paintings) was

²⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/19, f.4. ‘Calmer’ is noted in a list of ‘Mercers’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.151).

²⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/31, rear leaf.

²⁶ William Cole’s *Journal* of 1765 describes accompanying Horace Walpole to Parisian mercers, and Mme d’Oberkirch’s 1782 *Mémoires* describe her leisurely afternoons of shopping with friends and attending the theatre (Kane, 1996, p. 300). See also Berry, 2002.

²⁷ Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/37 (letter 27, 13 October 1766).

²⁸ Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/37 (3 November 1766).

²⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.14.

close to the £88 4s paid for a ‘suit of birthday cloths [*sic*]’ on the 20th of the same month.³⁰ Overall, the prices the duchess paid for her prints were modest and aligned with the ‘average’ price ranges of the day, as described at **Appendix 1**.

Unfortunately, many of the duchess’s account entries lack sufficient detail to identify the specific prints she obtained. This problem is compounded as she often purchased prints in groups, and account entries include listings such as: ‘Prints £2 12s 6d’;³¹ ‘Prints at Amiens £1 11s 9d’;³² ‘11 prints £1 18s’;³³ and ‘More Prints 14s 6d’.³⁴ Many of her recorded purchases are epitomised in the note, ‘Feb 27. A lot of prints 6s’.³⁵ Understandably the duchess also needed to pay John Bell 10s 6d for ‘sorting prints’.³⁶

The duchess’s patronage of printsellers and print publishers

The duchess was aware of an array of suppliers with stock to meet her every need, and she listed their names in her notebooks and journals. For example, her 1766 journal includes pages of names of Paris-based firms in categories such as ‘milliners, jewellers, mantua makers, clock makers, snuff box makers, ébénistes, gilders and varnishers, embroiderers, and booksellers’.³⁷ Although it is out of the scope of this study to examine all of the duchess’s purchases in these categories, it is apparent that the names of the firms she visited are often more prominently recorded than the purchases she made there.³⁸ For example, she wrote she ‘bought things at ‘Du Lac’s[*sic*]’, a luxury-goods establishment which was a popular destination for the English travelling

³⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.14. A full analysis of the accounts in the duchess’s travel journals (out of scope here) would provide a detailed insight into her comparative expenditure on varied classes of items and services for example, jewellery, clothing, and hairdressing.

³¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.9.

³² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.9.

³³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.32.

³⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.36.

³⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/49, f.18.

³⁶ Bell was a member of her household (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.12).

³⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.38-39 (quoted in French 2009, p. 20).

³⁸ The act of recording firms’ names may have been a helpful future reminder for the duchess and allowed this information to be easily shared with other travellers.

elite and which appeared in her list of ‘Jewellers, Toyshops, Watchmakers’.³⁹ Although it is unclear what she purchased there, Du Lacs was also included in a list of thirty-one destinations for ‘Paris Rides Drives &c’ noted in one of her notebooks.⁴⁰

Stobart and Rothery describe that in the eighteenth century, there was ‘a clear understanding of the character and status of suppliers whom aristocrats and royalty were supposed to patronise in order to maintain their social standing’.⁴¹ They also note that purchasing goods at these exclusive sites was a social practice that contributed to the ‘construction of consumer identities’, especially for women.⁴² Given the duchess’s interests in ‘named’ providers, much interesting information can be extrapolated from her journals and notebooks about the character and status of the printsellers and dealers she patronised.

Printsellers, publishers, and print dealers overseas

As we would expect of a well-informed traveller, the duchess was familiar with reputable printsellers abroad. Her journals, accounts, and travel correspondence record names and locations of these sources, but unfortunately rarely specify *both* the seller and what prints she purchased from them. Nonetheless, the range of print selling establishments named by the duchess demonstrate the geographical reach and variety of her purchasing, and the number of foreign firms that were known to travelling collectors.

The duchess’s lists of offshore print purveyors are particularly detailed. An address *aide-mémoire* for ‘Engravers Picture dealers Printsellers’ includes firms such as ‘Mechel’ in Basle, ‘Martinet’ in Paris, and ‘Pehsters’ in Antwerp.⁴³ (**Fig. 1**) She also

³⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/28, f.31; Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.146. Other contemporary impressions of Madame Dulac’s ‘extravagant and expensive shop’ are described in Sargentson, 1996, p. 135.

⁴⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.19. The artists ‘Greuze’ and ‘Fesch’ are also mentioned in the list.

⁴¹ Stobart and Rothery, 2016, p. 196.

⁴² Stobart and Rothery, 2016, p. 18. See also Tobin, 2009a; Lynch, 2002; and Berry, 2002, pp. 383-384. For the advertising of luxury goods in England, see Berg and Clifford, 1998.

⁴³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.134.

created a specific list titled ‘Print Shops at Paris’ which was recorded in her 1766 journal. **(Fig. 2)** This list includes specialist printsellers, but also identifies the premises of engravers who were also significant printers and publishers, such as Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772) and Jean Georges Wille (1715-1772).⁴⁴ Huquier published over eighty prints after François Boucher (1703-1770) — an artist favoured by the duchess — so Huquier’s appearance on her ‘Print Shops’ list is not surprising.⁴⁵ The variety of establishments on this list indicates the duchess purchased prints from contemporary engravers and publishers as well as works with earlier publication dates.

Elite European print dealers who had specialist expertise in the antiquarian trade were also patronised by the duchess.⁴⁶ Two of the dealers she listed in Paris — François Joullain (1697-1778) (and his son François-Charles (d.1790)), and Pierre-François Basan (1723-1797) — were acknowledged as some of the few antiquarian print dealers who had ‘taste and expertise in the field, and well-arranged stocks’, with the result that both firms were popular with English print collectors.⁴⁷ Horace Walpole, for instance, mentioned Joullain in his correspondence, and visited the firm’s premises a number of times between 1766 and 1775.⁴⁸ The duchess recorded two visits to Joullain in her journals, but it was the *destination* rather than the details of the purchases that she recorded. She wrote: ‘Morning Joullains’ in 1771, and in 1766, ‘Prints Joullain £1 11s

⁴⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.42. ‘Leviez Prints Rue St Andre aux Arts vis a vis l’Hotel de Chateau Vieux’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.39). For an introduction to the Paris print trade see Fuhring, 2015; and Rudy, 2013.

⁴⁵ See Scott, 2006, pp. 100-107. Some of the duchess’s noted addresses were out of date, as Huquier is listed at ‘le grand Chastelet [*sic*]’, although he only operated from Aux Armes d’Angleterre, vis à vis du Grand Châtelet, Paris from c.1729-1737 (Griffiths, 2005, pp. 167-168).

⁴⁶ Print dealers offered a more exclusive service than the printsellers who often also traded in antiquarian stock. The duchess’s print collecting did not focus on printmakers popular with collectors of antiquarian prints, such as works by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533), Marcantonio Raimondi (c.1480-1534), Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) and ‘old masters, or Dutch etchers of the seventeenth century’ (Griffiths, 2001, p. 144). Perhaps this is because some of these printmakers were already commanding high prices in the eighteenth century.

⁴⁷ Griffiths also cautions that some of the most influential operators had ‘little public visibility’ (Griffiths, 2016, p. 343 and p. 532 footnote 54).

⁴⁸ As noted in Walpole, 1937-1983, Vol. 6, p. 346.

10½d'.⁴⁹ Her *Catalogue of Prints* offers some clues about her purchases. Here she recorded acquiring 24 prints of 'Female Hermits' after De Vos from 'Joullain' and another entry mentions 'Crys of Paris...by Caylus', a 1737 series published by François Joullain.⁵⁰ The depictions of peddlers and tradesmen in these latter images perhaps reminded her of the commercial rabble she described in her journals: Parisian puppet shows, dancing dogs, and women selling eggs and oranges adjacent to 'Sides of the Walks' that were 'almost cover'd with Prints'.⁵¹

Print dealer Basan appears in the duchess's list of 'Print Shops in Paris', and the firm provided the duchess with impressions of prints that illustrated artworks in famous collections: one of the most prevalent themes of her collection.⁵² Plates after a collection — published engravings and etchings that illustrated aristocratic collections of paintings, drawings, and antiquities — formed an important part of the top end of print production in the 1700s. They gained popularity with collectors following the pioneering *Recueil Crozat* masterminded by collector Pierre Crozat (1665-1740) and published in 1729 and 1742.⁵³ The duchess owned Crozat's *Recueil*, and her *Catalogue* also records volumes of the 'Royal Gallery at Dresden'; 'Count Bruhl's Collection' (50 prints); and 'Rintz's Cabinet'.⁵⁴ Reproductive prints allowed collectors to build visual memory, to

⁴⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/28, f.29; Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.8. The firm is also mentioned in her list of 'Print Shops at Paris' as 'Joullain Quai de la Megisserie a la Ville de Rome' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.42).

⁵⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.149. The second group is 'After Bouchardon' (Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières, comte de Caylus (1692–1765) after Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762)) and noted as 'Antiquities and Crys of Paris bound together', '37' prints (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.3). It is likely the series *The Cries of Paris: First Set (Études Prises dans le Bas Peuple où les Cris de Paris: Première Suite)* now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Accession Number: 53.600.588) is from the duchess's collection.

⁵¹ A description from 1770 noted in Percy, 1926, p.106.

⁵² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.42.

⁵³ For Crozat's enterprise, see Haskell, 1987, pp.18-45. A *recueil* could be either 'a collection' or a 'group of plates that was sold together, but which was sufficiently distinct in their production that it could not count as a series' (Griffiths, 2016, p. 176). For their popularity in the eighteenth century see Griffiths, 2016, pp. 315-317.

⁵⁴ 'Cabinet de Crozat 2 Vol' containing '169' prints (Alnwick Castle, DNP: 122B, f.13 and Alnwick Castle, DNP: 122B, f.1, f.3, f.5). Bruhl's print collection was bought 'wholesale' by Catherine the Great of Russia and is now in the Hermitage (Griffiths, 2016, p. 440). Richard, 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam's print collection also contained

access a variety of subjects and aesthetic approaches, and to gain insights into masterworks located all over the world.⁵⁵ The duchess would have valued reproductive prints for all these reasons, and they also allowed her to compare her own collection with those of others, helped form her own taste, and gave her insight into artworks which may come onto the market in the future.

The duchess records purchasing several important volumes of reproductive prints from Basan. Two volumes of ‘Choiseuls collection’ from Basan were probably ‘*Recueil d’estampes gravées d’après les tableaux du cabinet de Monseigneur le Duc de Choiseul*’ (which the duchess also noted as ‘Cabinet du Duc de Choiseul’).⁵⁶ This collated group of plates reproduced paintings from the collection of the Duke of Choiseul, published by Basan in Paris in 1771.⁵⁷ Basan also sold the duchess one of the most expensive groups of prints noted in her *Catalogue of Prints*: ‘Miscellaneous Prints 4 Vols’ containing 600 prints for £21.⁵⁸ Other acquisitions include ten ‘Landskips’ by François Boucher (1703-1770) (noted as ‘after Bocher [*sic*] by Basan’), which she purchased for ‘5s’.⁵⁹

Intriguingly, the firm of celebrated French print connoisseur, collector, and dealer Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) is not specifically named in the duchess’s lists, even though his stock and services were popular with other elite contemporary print collectors. The duchess’s *Catalogue of Prints* does include one purchase from the firm:

published prints of various ‘cabinets’, including twenty-five albums of the ‘Cabinet du Roi’ (Clarke, 1997, p. 33).

⁵⁵ As described by Piles, 1706, pp. 61-62; Meyer, 2018, pp. 271, 275. Wouk notes that aristocratic print collectors such as the Spencers ‘might also travel to Europe to see and possibly collect the sorts of paintings and drawings’ reproduced in their print collection (Wouk, 2019, p. 108).

⁵⁶ Alnwick Castle DNP: 121/43, f.111.

⁵⁷ For example, see British Museum Number 1858,0417.1109. The Duc de Choiseul had dubbed Basan ‘le maréchal de Saxe de la curiosité’ for his role in distributing imported English prints to European audiences, an example of the active cross-channel print trade (Clayton, 1997, p. 177).

⁵⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.2. For a letter written by Basan to English collector/dealer Author Pond (1705-1758) see Griffiths, 1992b. For Pond, see Lippincott, 1983.

⁵⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.101.

‘Times of the Day, Seasons and Months’, ‘20 prints’, ‘by Mariette’, but it is unclear if this was acquired from the firm, or through another source.⁶⁰

Printsellers in London

When travelling abroad, the duchess wrote vivid descriptions of people and places she encountered, but when she was in England her journal entries are often succinct. This also applies to many of her descriptions of print purchasing activities. A not-very-fulsome entry from London, which is typical of many, notes, ‘Went to a Print Shop. Had a long visit’.⁶¹ Fortunately, other notebooks reveal the names of firms she frequented, and this information can be combined with account entries to trace some of the duchess’s domestic purchases. Helpfully, a number of London printsellers were designated as destinations in the duchess’s nearly one hundred ‘London Rides Drives and Walks’. **(Fig. 3)** Along with expected locations such as ‘Hampstead Heath’, ‘Wimbledon’, the ‘Physic Garden’, and ‘Musaeum’ [*sic*] (the British Museum), the destinations include ‘Boydell’, ‘Darlings’, ‘Darly’, ‘Dunoyers’, ‘Sayer’ and ‘Smith Prints’: all established printsellers.⁶² These firms are also noted in the duchess’s correspondence, accounts, and her *Catalogue of Prints* and through brief introductions to the market profile and stockholding of each firm, we are able to more clearly identify the range of domestic suppliers the duchess patronised to acquire her prints.

John Boydell (1719-1804) was a failed engraver turned successful printseller and publisher based in Cheapside, London, who focused on importing and wholesaling prints on behalf of other artists.⁶³ **(Fig. 4)** In 1763 Boydell advertised subscriptions for *Sculptura Britannica: A Collection of Prints, Engraved from the most Capital Paintings in England* (with a second volume launched in 1766). This is most likely what was

⁶⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.2. For this theme and Mariette, see Mulherron, 2008. For Mariette, see Smentek, 2008 and 2014.

⁶¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/14, f.30.

⁶² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.18.

⁶³ Named as ‘Boydell [*sic*] London’ in a list of printsellers (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.134). His activities dominated ‘the promotion of English art to Europe’ (Clayton, 1997, p. 177). See also Raven, 2007, pp. 253-256.

described in the duchess's purchase of 'Mr Boydell's [*sic*] 2nd volume 10s 10d'.⁶⁴ The project was a 'breathtaking' commercial gamble by Boydell, promoted through European printsellers such as Joullain and Basan in Paris.⁶⁵ Fortunately the project attracted a stellar selection of subscribers, notably the Prince of Orange, who was regularly mentioned in the duchess's journals.⁶⁶ The duchess was probably attracted to Boydell's volumes as they reproduced many of the paintings she had already seen in the homes of 'the good and the great' across England.⁶⁷ Firms such as Boydell produced prospectuses and also published priced catalogues, so it is unclear whether the duchess always visited Boydell's premises to make her purchases, or whether she just placed orders from their catalogues.⁶⁸

Major Fleet Street printseller/publisher Robert Sayer (1725-1794) also had a brisk trade in the reproduction of collections of paintings, just one category in a cornucopia of print categories offered by the firm.⁶⁹ Surviving catalogues reveal the full spectrum of eighteenth-century print selling: fine prints, ornaments, prints for print rooms, watch papers, portraits, views, sporting prints, and reproductive prints of paintings.⁷⁰ **(Fig. 5)** The firm's first premises were located along the lively thoroughfare

⁶⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.101. In what appears to be a 'wanted' list, she had also noted 'Boydell 2 volumes' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.111). Two volumes described as 'Boydell's Collection of Prints' were lot 181 in the 1951 Sotheby's sale of 'The Print Library from Syon' (Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 24).

⁶⁵ Griffiths, 1984, p. 12. The connection between Basan and Boydell is described in Griffiths, 1992a and Clayton, 1997, p. 177. Basan was the author of *Dictionnaire des Graveurs anciens et modernes* (1767) and could be considered as the successor of Pierre-Jean Mariette. A later print project (the Shakespeare Gallery of paintings and prints from plays) almost ruined Boydell and he was 'caricatured as tainted by commercialism and populist bad taste' (Raven, 2007, pp. 255 and 254-256). See also Pointon, 1993, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁶ The pair were obviously on close terms as the duchess discovered the Prince owned a full-length portrait print of her: 'How I [was] surprized to find hanging in his Closet my own Print at full length, this was an [honour] I should never have dreamt of' (Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/37 (3 November 1766, The Hague)).

⁶⁷ Boydell's other stock at the time — a mixture of mezzotints and topographical and historical engravings — also aligned with the duchess's collecting interests.

⁶⁸ For printsellers' catalogues see Griffiths, 1984.

⁶⁹ The firm traded as Sayer, Sayer and Bennett (1774-1786) and Sayer and Co. (1791-1794) and also had a significant wholesale and retail business in maps (Clayton, 1997, pp. 163-167).

⁷⁰ For an indicative range of their stock see: Sayer, 1761; and Sayer and Bennett, 1970.

between the City and Westminster: close to Hoare's Bank (where the duke was a client); the Mitre Tavern (a favourite of lexicographer Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), James Boswell (1740-1795), and their circle); and opposite Mrs Salmon's waxworks, where artist William Hogarth (1697-1764) 'frequently loitered'.⁷¹ Sayer had important contacts in fashionable society, as well as in royal and political circles, and is mentioned several times in the duchess's purchase records.⁷² For instance, she noted buying a 'Coll[ection] of Prints publish'd by Sayer 10s 6d' in 1773.⁷³ Given the variety of prints sold by Sayer, it is difficult to ascertain exactly what this purchase may have included.⁷⁴

Linked to the firm of Sayer is John Smith (fl. 1750-1789), who is listed by the duchess as 'Smith Cheapside' in her list of 'Engravers Picture dealers Printsellers'.⁷⁵ Smith's core area of business was maps and 'imported, English and old prints'.⁷⁶ A c.1760 trade card for Smith's business includes several examples of Smith's inventory: a reproduction of a print after Dutch painter Carle (Charles Andre) Vanloo (1705-1765) and another image titled 'Petite Vue d'Hollande'.⁷⁷ **(Fig. 6)** These Netherlandish connections would have ensured the firm and its output were of interest to the duchess. Robert Sayer and John Smith also found royal favour, as prints published by their firms in 1769 decorated the walls of Queen Charlotte's garden cottage at Kew.⁷⁸

⁷¹ Fisher, 2001, p. 48.

⁷² Sayer's firm had taken over the stock of well-established engraver and map maker Thomas Jeffreys ('Geographer to King George III') in 1766 and had published maps of some of Captain James Cook's charts (Fisher, 2001, p. 51). 'Sayer' appears in her list of 'Engravers, Picture dealers Printsellers' and as a destination for her 'London Rides Drives and Walks' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.134 and f.18).

⁷³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.27. Exhibiting the quirkiness of her account-keeping, the day before this entry, she noted spending 1 shilling on a cucumber (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.27).

⁷⁴ Aymonino posits this entry may relate to reproductions of a group of miniatures commissioned by the duchess from Swiss caricaturist Jean-Louis Fesch (1739-1778), which were published by Sayer (Aymonino, 2021).

⁷⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.134. Smith's son was apprenticed to Sayer and his premises became a second outlet for Sayer's publications, especially for satirical prints.

⁷⁶ Clayton, 1997, p. 108.

⁷⁷ Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number 51.577.

⁷⁸ Heard, 2012-2013, pp. 54-55. Prints on the subject of 'Modern Love' published by Boydell in 1762 were also featured.

The duchess's journals also record purchases of other groups of English prints that reproduced collections of paintings. For example, she noted the purchase of 'Bradford Prints £1 2s'.⁷⁹ Thomas Bradford (active 1763, d.1773) was a collector and dealer with premises in Fleet Street, London, who commissioned engravings of contemporary paintings. At the time, this practice was new in England, but familiar in France.⁸⁰ After his death, most of Bradford's plates were purchased by Boydell and Robert Sayer.⁸¹

Targeted acquisitions by printmaker, designer, and subject

Although the name of the printseller is often mentioned, unfortunately, only a small percentage of the duchess's account entries record complete details of the prints she purchased: that is, the title or subject of the print, the artist/designer, and the printmaker or publisher. Some listings are brief, for example, prints 'after Vernet', and others are much more comprehensive, such as: 'Epistles from Octavia to Anthony, Hero to Leander, Abelard to Heloise graved by Longueil after Eisen'.⁸² Often the less-descriptive notes can be analysed together with other journal entries, correspondence, and entries in the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints* to build more detailed information about her print purchases.

The following sections collate information about the duchess's acquisition of prints by specific printmakers and designers, and then draws together prints that fit within obvious collecting themes: portraits; caricatures, satires, and macaronis; architecture, views, and landscapes; fables, emblems, and metamorphoses. Some of

⁷⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/49, f.16.

⁸⁰ Clayton, 1997, pp. 194-195.

⁸¹ Clayton, 1997, p. 198.

⁸² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.14. These may be impressions from La Fontaine's *Contes et Nouvelles* (1762) of which 21 of the eighty illustrations designed by Eisen were engraved by De Longueil. Lot 205 in the 1951 Sotheby's sale records a folio volume described as 'Works after F. and C. Eisen, including proof illustrations to La Fontaine' (Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 26). 'Vernet' is also noted in 'The Nymphs bathing by Vernet the same which is graved by Balechou' [after Claude Joseph Vernet (1714-1789) by Jean-Joseph Balechou (1715-1765)] (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/28, f.29).

these themes are also category headings in the duchess's of *Catalogue of Prints*, which include, for example, 'Habits' (images of costume), 'Architecture, Views, & Landscapes', 'Natural History', 'Sacred Subjects', 'Fables, Emblems and Metamorphoses', and 'Portraits'.⁸³ (Fig. 7) These categories will be addressed in detail in Chapter Four.

Prints by specific artists and printmakers

Fortunately, some of the duchess's favoured printmakers and artists/designers are clearly recorded by her. One of her notebooks includes a list of over fifty 'Flemish Masters and French Masters'.⁸⁴ (Fig. 8) It is unclear whether this was an *aide-mémoire* for significant artists, or a list of artists whose works she wished to acquire. Either way, a number of the named 'Masters' in the list — including 'De Vos, Blomaert' [*sic*], Bol, Galle, Hollar, Boucher, Le Bas, Callot, Wierx, Wille, Oudry and Vernet' — regularly appear in her journal and accounts, as either paintings or prints.⁸⁵ Nearly all the 'Flemish Masters' she listed — Galle, Stradanus, Collaert, Wierx, de Pass, Hollar, Goltzius, Callot, Teniers, and Sadeler — were added to her collection and appear in entries in her *Catalogue of Prints*.⁸⁶ For example, there is a reference to '4 Vol of Galle' mentioned in a notebook to-do list.⁸⁷ Three pages of entries related to the 'Works of Galle' are listed in the *Catalogue of Prints*, and she tallied 1495 prints of Galle in her collection.⁸⁸

Czech printmaker/publisher Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677) is specifically mentioned in the duchess's accounts and also appears as a special category in her *Catalogue of Prints*.⁸⁹ (Fig. 9) Hollar is an interesting connection point between the duchess and the earls of Oxford (the origin of seven albums in Melbourne) as his prints

⁸³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.361.

⁸⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.18.

⁸⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.18.

⁸⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.36.

⁸⁷ Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/43, f.23.

⁸⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.183-186.

⁸⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: 122B, f.267. Hollar's works were also collected by of Dr Mead, Sir John Evelyn and James West, as well as by Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford (Pennington, 1982, p. lvii).

were also collected by one of the wealthiest women in England, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, Duchess of Portland, the daughter of Edward Harley, the second earl of Oxford.⁹⁰ Horace Walpole estimated that the duchess of Portland expended ‘not less than threescore thousand pounds’ on undertaking improvements at her residence Bulstrode (Buckinghamshire), ‘indulging her taste for Virtu’ and natural history, and collecting every Hollar print which she ‘brought at any price’.⁹¹

In contrast, the duchess of Northumberland’s accumulation of Hollar prints was more circumspect, and she set clear price expectations. In her list of ‘prints sell for’, she noted Hollar’s works as ‘1 to 3s 6d’.⁹² (Fig. 10) A loose sheet in one of her notebooks titled, ‘I want the following prints by Hollar’, clearly outlines what she sought. It lists more than twenty-five prints, including iconic images from Hollar’s *oeuvre*: ‘A woman at full length crown’d in an ermine mantle... after Holbein’; ‘London in a large View’; ‘5 small heads of women in foreign habits in one piece’; and ‘The Earl of Arundels Monument’.⁹³ (Fig. 11) It is likely the duchess obtained many of these prints, as by the 1951 Sotheby’s auction of Northumberland prints, ‘a very extensive collection’ of 3 folio albums of Hollar’s works were available for sale.⁹⁴

As previously mentioned, works after François Boucher (1703-1770) regularly appear in the duchess’s notes. Some notebook entries such as ‘Bouchers prints’ are brief, but correspondence with Louis Dutens reveals her detailed requests for him to obtain

⁹⁰ She was styled Lady Margaret Harley before 1734, Duchess of Portland (1734 to her husband’s death in 1761), and then Dowager Duchess of Portland from 1761-1785. She is now better known for her collection of porcelain and natural history specimens. See: Tobin, 2009a and 2014; Slobada, 2010; Stott, 2006; Pelling, 2018 and 2019; Eger, 2009; and Walpole, 1936.

⁹¹ Walpole, 1936, pp. 5-10. The duchess recorded a visit to Bulstrode in 1760, (Percy, 1926, pp. 15-17). A detailed volume of objects in other collections lists many of the ‘curiosities’ specifically, and attributes them to the Duchess of Portland’s collection (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88, f.17).

⁹² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/190, f.18. A volume of ‘Hollar’s Works’ is also noted in her book collection (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS127, f.303).

⁹³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/175, f.71b-72.

⁹⁴ Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 30 (lot 249). None of these subjects appear in the *Catalogue of Prints* entries for Hollar, though. This is evidence that the *Catalogue of Prints* was still a ‘work in progress’ at her death, as it was not a complete record of the prints she had amassed. This will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Boucher prints on her behalf. [redacted] [redacted] *le Top Livre de Silets et pastorales par Boucher peintre du Roi*.⁹⁵ Some Boucher prints are specifically described in the context of their arrangement and collation, for example, ‘my Bouchers to be pasted’ and ‘open and place my Bouchers’.⁹⁶ The duchess was also very aware of the prices, sizes and quality of Boucher prints in the print market, as she noted that ‘5 lesser Bouchers’ sold for ‘1 ½[s] a piece’.⁹⁷

There is a noticeable absence of ‘named’ individual prints in the duchess’s accounts that can be linked to the Sadeler prints now at the University of Melbourne. This indicates that the majority of her prints by the Sadelers (or after De Vos) were probably purchased as part of other collectors’ albums, inherited, or gifted *en masse*. These were then either maintained in this format by the duchess (as were the intact Oxford-provenance albums now in Melbourne), or they were re-arranged into her own albums, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Portraits

According to Bryan Clarke, ‘the majority of prints in the eighteenth century were portrait prints’.⁹⁸ The duchess was certainly an eager collector of portraits. Her passion was mentioned in a list of prominent ‘Collections of English Heads’ written by Horace Walpole, who noted that the ‘Duchess of Northumberland had bought a vast many’ portrait prints.⁹⁹ For the duchess — as for other collectors — portrait prints articulated a carefully choreographed narrative of self and identity, as they demonstrated

⁹⁵ Anwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.10. [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] Coutts & Co. Archives).

⁹⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.23.

⁹⁷ Anwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.15.

⁹⁸ Clarke, 1997, p. 2.

⁹⁹ Peltz, 2017, pp. 51, 309. Walpole also included his own ‘13 very thick and large folios’ in the list of sixteen collectors, which started with ‘The King’s’. The list is written on a free sheet within Walpole’s copy of James Granger’s *Biographical History of England from Egbert the Great to the Revolution* (1769) in the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (Object Number 49 541) (Peltz, 2017, p. 53). The only other woman recorded in the list was the Duchess of Portland.

associations with family, political, and social networks.¹⁰⁰ As described by Marcia Pointon, the dynamics of collecting ‘heads’ was as much about the pleasure of surveying one’s collection as a ‘desire to fill in all the gaps’ and produce a complete map of people and their histories, open to ‘taxonomic investigation’.¹⁰¹

The duchess’s multiple albums of print portraits depicted royalty and the aristocracy of various countries, statesmen, ecclesiastical figures, artists, actors, poets, and individuals in her social circle. Over 1440 portrait prints in sets and groups are noted in her *Catalogue of Prints*, not including another eight folio-sized volumes of portrait prints related specifically to the ‘Reign of K. George 3rd’.¹⁰² Her collection included Sir Geoffrey Kneller’s famous ‘Members of the Kitcat Club by Faber’ (45 prints); ‘Heads of Kings of England by Vertue after Holbein &c’ (42 prints); and less specific historical groups such as 92 ‘Various Portraits’ by ‘Sadlers’ [*sic*].¹⁰³ **(Fig. 12)** She was eager to add to her collection, as a page-long notebook list titled ‘Prints which I want’, includes ‘Twelve portraits of K[ing]s of Denmark engraved by De Locks & preiseler [*sic*] at 3 Livr[es] each’, and ‘Port[rait] of Queen of Naples, Princess of Orange’ etc.¹⁰⁴ **(Fig. 13)**

Some of the duchess’s accounts record the names of sitters and the prices she paid for portrait prints. Three examples are likenesses of ‘Mlle Saumaise £1 1s’; ‘print of ye Duchess of Cosse 5s 3d’, and a print of ‘L[ord] and L[ady] Pembke [*sic*] and L[ord] Herbert 6s’.¹⁰⁵ The popularity of portraits in the eighteenth-century print market resulted in price increases. Horace Walpole complained that although in 1750 the maximum price for portraits was 1s to 2s, by 1770 the lowest price was 5s and most were 10s 6d to a

¹⁰⁰ For portraits and portraiture in the eighteenth century see Pointon, 1993 (Section 1, Part I); Perry, Retford and Vibert, 2013, pp. 1-37; Bordes, 2009; Lippincott, 1995; West, 2010; and Nedanic, 1997, pp. 212- 215. For portraiture and public display see McPherson, 2017, pp. 55-68. For extra-illustrating books with portraits see Peltz, 2017.

¹⁰¹ Pointon, 1993, p. 58.

¹⁰² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.213. These were sold as lot 350 in the 1951 Sotheby’s sale (Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 40).

¹⁰³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.213.

¹⁰⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.78.

¹⁰⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/49, f.14; Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.71; Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.105.

guinea.¹⁰⁶ The duchess's records indicate her purchases of individual portrait prints fell within similar price ranges.

Other objects in the duchess's collection reflected her interest in public figures, genealogy, and social history. Her *Catalogue of Books* notes her collection of volumes related to the history and heraldry of noble families, which are all listed under the 'History & Lives' category.¹⁰⁷ She also commissioned miniatures of eighteenth-century identities from Swiss caricaturist Jean-Louis Fesch (1739-1778). The subjects — most personally known to her — ranged from King George III, to Francis Greville, Earl of Warwick (1719-1773), to actor/entrepreneur David Garrick (1717-1779). [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] asked Louis Duteils to 'prevail on' various acquaintances (such as 'Lady Kery' and 'Miss Leeders') to visit Mr Fesch, and she encouraged him to visit Fesch himself so [REDACTED] his portrait could be taken.¹⁰⁸

Some of the sitters in the Fesch miniatures are also represented by portrait prints (such as Voltaire, whom she visited at his residence, Ferney).¹⁰⁹ Her prints therefore reflect the same themes and subjects as other parts of her collection. Through her portrait prints, especially those of her illustrious peers, the duchess was not only 'filling the gaps', but was also asserting her own position and identity within contemporary history.

Caricatures, satires, and macaronis

Political caricatures and satires featured prominently in the print market and were also collected by the duchess. The rise of political factions, coupled with a concurrent increase in the number of print publishers and print shops between 1727 and

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, dated 6 May 1770, quoted in Griffiths, 2016, p. 369.

¹⁰⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 127, f.315.

¹⁰⁸ [REDACTED] Coutts & Co. Archives). All the sitters are listed by name in her *Catalogue of Pictures* (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122A, f.21).

¹⁰⁹ '2 prints Voltaire. 5s 3d' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.71). Voltaire 'received her with great politeness' and made her 'a present of a Melon & a Pine Apple [*sic*]' (French, 2009, pp. 69, and p. 81, note 35).

1763, created the ideal conditions for a flood of caricature prints with political themes.¹¹⁰ During the 1760s and 1770s, the small circulation of about 500 quality impressions of each ‘overtly political’ print limited their sale to the ‘political elite and the propertied middle classes’.¹¹¹ The duchess’s journals and accounts demonstrate that she acquired her satirical and caricature prints from firms whose target market crossed both these categories.¹¹²

The principal area of expansion for printseller Carington Bowles (1724-1793) — featured in the duchess’s list of printsellers — was ‘drolls’, or humorous mezzotints.¹¹³ The firm was one of the largest print selling establishments in London, had been run by two generations of the Bowles family, and became known as printsellers for the ‘middle bracket of the market’.¹¹⁴ Much of the stock of firms such as Bowles was sold offshore, a phenomena which was also described by the duchess.¹¹⁵ She wrote, ‘all the indecent Political prints are sent abroad by ye foreign Ministers and exhibited in Kings Booksellers windows’.¹¹⁶ The duchess’s inclusion of this firm in her list of printsellers reflects both the range of vendors she patronised, and the collision of high and low culture that was prevalent in the eighteenth-century print market.¹¹⁷

While there are no specific accounts that record exactly what was purchased from Bowles and at what price, a number of social satires and caricatures published by

¹¹⁰ Atherton, 1974, p. 2. For an overview of satire, its public and targets in the context of Hogarth, see Bindman, 1997, pp. 29-32, 84-167; and Fordham, 2010, pp. 56-102. For caricature during the reign of George III see Donald, 1996. For depictions of the French in satirical prints see Bindman, 2003. For the relationship between caricature and cultural politics (especially in the context of the theatre) see McPherson, 2017, pp. 127-136. For Hogarth, copyright, and caricature see Fordham, 2016.

¹¹¹ Pointon, 1993, p. 95. See also Dickinson, 1986, pp. 13-16.

¹¹² Diarist and print collector Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) also purchased finer, higher quality prints as well as cheaper, quickly produced prints that responded to contemporary events (Monteyne, 2007, pp. 1-3, 22).

¹¹³ Described as ‘Bowles in St Pauls’ Churchyard’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.134). Bowles also worked in partnership with Sayer, and satirical prints were one of that firm’s key products (Fisher, 2001, pp. 48-49).

¹¹⁴ Clayton, 2009, p. 243; Griffiths, 1984, p. 7.

¹¹⁵ Donald, 1996, p. 20.

¹¹⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/10, f.23.

¹¹⁷ The same wealthy and elite customers purchased mezzotints after Reynold’s portraits and satirical works (Pointon, 1993, p. 96). See also Donald, 1996, pp. 2-9.

Sayer and Bowles survive in an album of the duchess's mezzotints now housed in the British Museum.¹¹⁸ Prints in the album include references to contemporary political issues (especially relations with France and the American colonies), comments on fashion, and light moral tales.¹¹⁹ One print titled *Spectators at a Print Shop in St Paul's Church Yard*, features extravagantly dressed viewers of mezzotints: the crowd is peering at the prints for sale in Carington Bowles' own premises.¹²⁰ **(Fig. 14)** Another print featured in the British Museum album is an impression of *High Life Below Stairs* (published by Bowles in 1772) which appealed to clients across the social spectrum.¹²¹ **(Fig. 15)** The publication date — only four years before the duchess's death — indicates that she was actively buying recently published works of this type.

The duchess also purchased from specialist sellers of caricatures, who developed individual albums of prints for sale to elite customers.¹²² The growing interest in satires and caricatures for the fashionable classes was led by the firm of Matthew Darly (c.1720-1780) and his wife Mary (fl.1760-1781), who operated from addresses in The Strand and Leicester Fields. They published caricatures lampooning (amongst others) Augusta, the dowager Princess of Wales (1719-1722) and John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute (1713-1792). In her accounts, the duchess recorded a purchase of 'Darly Caricaturas', which could either be Mary Darly's *A Book of Caricaturas on sixty copper plates...* (1762) — a teaching manual for drawing caricatures — or, more likely, one (or all) of the six sets of twenty-four caricature prints which were issued by the firm.¹²³ Walpole had a number

¹¹⁸ The album is described under British Museum Number: 2010,7081.344. The album was previously part of the collection of The Hon. Christopher Boyd (1941-2012) (Griffiths, 2012).

¹¹⁹ Caricatures relied heavily on recognizable individuals or 'types' catering to a public interest in fashion and personalities (McPherson, 2017, p. 129). Both were areas of interest to the duchess.

¹²⁰ British Museum Number 2010,7081.379. For a discussion on the depiction of print-shop windows, self-image, and urban spectacle see Monteyne, 2013, pp. 159-191.

¹²¹ British Museum Number 2010, 7081.344. A village parson recorded buying a version of *High Life Below Stairs* in 1768 from the Bath-based newsman who visited his village in Somerset (Donald, 1996, p. 20).

¹²² Clayton, 2009, p. 230.

¹²³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.62. What appears to be the number '99' is written after this entry. It could be the first Darly title: *Caricatures by Several Ladies, Gentleman, Artists &c. Pubd by M. Darly, Strand*, or the second and third, titled: *Caricatures, Macaronies and Characters*. See McNeil, 2018, p. 188; Monteyne, 2013,

of impressions of these Darly prints, some of which are now held by the British Museum.¹²⁴ (Fig. 16)

Darly also had another interesting connection to the duke and duchess. He engraved ninety-eight of the signed plates in the volume *The Gentleman's and Cabinetmaker's Director* (1754), created by renowned furniture designer Thomas Chippendale (1718-1779). The first edition was dedicated by the author to the duke (then the Earl of Northumberland) and was published by two other now-familiar figures: Thomas Osborne (bookseller in Gray's Inn), and Robert Sayer (printseller in Fleet Street).¹²⁵ The dedication did not result in a large commission. Only one Chippendale invoice has been located in the Northumberland archives: a 1763 payment to 'Mr. Chippendale for Writing table: £24'.¹²⁶

As well as politically-charged caricatures, the duchess also records purchases of a specialist subset of caricatures which depicted the foppish, over-dressed young men of fashion known as 'Macaronis' (or 'Maccaroni').¹²⁷ Entries for '4 Vols Macaronis', 'Macaroni magazines', and 'Book of Macaronis', are noted in the duchess's journals as

pp. 87-115 (esp. pp. 96-102 and for images of Darly's print shop see pp. 165-169); Clayton, 2011; and Donald, 1996, p. 3. Satirical mezzotints from competitor publisher/print maker William Humphrey (1745-1810) also survive in the duchess's album in the British Museum. See for example *The Pantheon in Oxford Street* (1772) (British Museum Number 2010,7018.376).

¹²⁴ For example: 'The Female Connoisseur [*sic*]' from *Caricatures, Macaronies & Characters by sundry ladies, gentlemen artists &c*, (published by M. Darly, No. 39, Strand, 1772) (British Museum Number 1852,0214.362). Horace Walpole was an avid collector of satires and caricatures, and a portfolio of 119 satirical prints that were collected, arranged, and annotated by Walpole is now housed in the New York Public Library (Call number: MEZYRKZ+ (Walpole). See Roman, 2008.

¹²⁵ Chippendale leased premises in Northumberland Court from 1754 (Clayton, 2011). For Chippendale's *Director* see Heckscher, 2018.

¹²⁶ See 'Chippendale, Thomas snr (1718-1779)' in Beard and Gilbert, 1986.

¹²⁷ They were named for the pasta brought back by Grand Tourists from their adventures in Italy, and the moniker was a jibe describing the men (and sometimes women) whose 'Continental' appearance exceeded the tasteful boundaries of fashion and behaviour (McNeil, 2018, pp. 13-18; Rauser, 2004; and Wahrman, 2004, pp. 60-64). For Horace Walpole's descriptions of macaronis see McNeil, 2018, pp. 49-53.

prints either ‘wanted’ or purchased.¹²⁸ The appeal of macaroni imagery can be linked to the duchess’s interests in costume and the theatre.¹²⁹ David Garrick— a favourite of the duchess — was also the dedicatee of one of Darly’s suites of prints: *Macaronies, Characters, Caricatures*.¹³⁰

Macaroni prints in England can also be connected with the tradition of Italian Grand Tour caricatures, and as the duchess’s sons, brother and husband (and indeed herself) had all been Grand Tourists, this would have added to their appeal.¹³¹ A number of the duchess’s macaroni prints — some of which were probably removed from the macaroni magazines she purchased — are mounted in the surviving Northumberland album in the British Museum, mentioned earlier.¹³² **(Fig. 17)** There is also evidence the duchess may have sold duplicates of these prints, as her accounts record nine shillings ‘rec’d for first Vol Macaroni’.¹³³

¹²⁸ ‘Macaroni prints 8s 6d’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/49, f.30); ‘4 Vols Macaronis’ (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/43, f.111); ‘Macaroni Magazines 1s’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.42); ‘Macaroni magazine 6d’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/49, f.2); ‘Book of Macaronis’ (Alnwick Castle DNP: 121/43, f.14); ‘12 of macaronis 6s’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.15).

¹²⁹ The many references to the duchess’s attendance at theatre performances is out of scope of this study. For the connections between elite women, theatrical performances, sociability, and eighteenth-century political activities see Russell, 2007 (for the duchess’s role see pp. 1, 4, 10-12, 15-16, 25, 40, 42-43, 137-138, 141).

¹³⁰ Garrick had several major roles as a ‘fop’ or macaroni during his career including as Lord Macaroni in *The Male-Coquette* (1757) (McNeil, 2018, pp. 188, 209). Oliver Goldsmith’s play, *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) — which the duchess attended and felt was ‘not very ill perform’d’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/58, f.22) — included a relevant comment by character Marlow. He said that due to his stupidity he ‘shall be stuck up in caricatura in all the printshops...The Dullissimo Maccaroni...’ (McNeil, 2018, p. 186). Garrick also appeared in other portrait prints and miniatures in the duchess’s collection (including miniatures by Fesch (Alnwick Castle: DNP: MS 122A, f.21)). For Garrick, self-fashioning, and celebrity see McPherson, 2017, pp. 17-54.

¹³¹ The *Catalogue of Prints* records a ‘book of prints’ with 25 impressions listed as ‘Raccoltadi [*sic*] Caricature’ by ‘Oesterreich’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.13). These were after Italian caricaturist Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674-1755) who depicted Grand Tourists in Rome.

¹³² Prints in the British Museum album include ‘Modern Refinement or the Two Maccaroni’s’ (Museum Number 2010, 7081.365) and ‘The Tuilleries Macaronies’ (Museum Number 2010,7081.364).

¹³³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.12.

Architecture, views, and landscapes

In common with other travellers of the period, marine scenes, views and ‘landskips’ were popular collecting categories for the duchess, purchased to commemorate favourite places she had visited or planned to visit.¹³⁴ Her collection of printed landscapes and views was closely aligned with the themes of her picture collection (her *Catalogue of Pictures* includes a specific category for ‘Shipping and Landskips’).¹³⁵ Her picture collection included views of the Hague and Paris, ‘Sea Pieces’, and popular Grand Tour destinations in Italy.¹³⁶

A number of print purchases of architectural themes, views and landscapes can be identified in the duchess’s journals and notebooks. One example is ‘*Vestigi della Antichite de Roma &c*’ by two members of the Sadeler family: Marcus and Aegidius.¹³⁷ Some other prints require a little more detective work. An account listing notes the purchase of ‘Views le Loup £1 11s 6d’. This appears to be for prints of ‘views’ and a print of ‘le Loup’.¹³⁸ The generic reference to ‘views’ make these prints difficult to recognise, but ‘le Loup’ is possibly ‘*Le Loup plaidant contre le renard par-devant le singe*’ (c.1750-1766) by Gabriel Huquier after Jean Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755).¹³⁹ A

¹³⁴ Lists of ‘Views which I have’ included views of England, Germany, France and Switzerland (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.456-457).

¹³⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122A, f.1-5. Artists such as Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668), Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685), David Teniers (1610-1690), Nicolaes Berchem (1620-1683) and Jan Brueghel (1568-1625) Lucas Van Uden (1595-1672) are also listed by the duchess. These were artists popular in eighteenth-century Antwerp and Brussels auctions (Lyna, 2012, p. 63). Many of these works have now been re-attributed (French, 2009, p. 68).

¹³⁶ French, 2009, p. 277 (for her purchases of Dutch and Flemish cabinet pictures see pp. 66-68).

¹³⁷ This series is noted as ‘after G Sadler [*sic*]’ by ‘M Sadler [*sic*]’, and ‘£1 8s’ was paid for 51 prints (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.99). Lot 306 in the 1951 Sotheby’s sale noted two volumes of this work, one bound in calf, and the other in vellum (Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 36).

¹³⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.42.

¹³⁹ Etched plate 12 from the series *Livre d’animaux* (another impression: British Museum Number: 1997,0928.244).

journal note of ‘Views of Charenton’ is possibly an impression of *Premiere vue de Charenton* (1747), by Jacques Phillip Le Bas after Boucher.¹⁴⁰

Engravings of towns, castles, ruins and religious structures produced between 1726 and 1753 by the Yorkshire brothers Samuel Buck (1696-1779) and Nathaniel Buck (1695-1775) were popular with antiquarians, the nobility and gentry.¹⁴¹ The duchess’s interest in their work is no surprise, as properties with Percy family connections such as Alnwick Castle and Warkworth Castle (and its hermitage) featured in their publications.¹⁴² **(Fig. 18)** In the duchess’s *Catalogue of Prints*, seventeen sets of views by ‘N and S Buck’(with 24 prints each) — all arranged by county — are listed in the ‘Architecture, Views and Landskips’ section, for which she paid £2 2s for each set.¹⁴³

The duchess also collected images of garden vistas. She was an active participant in the social circuit of ‘country house visiting’ and her journals abound with references to gardens she visited and appraised.¹⁴⁴ Her records include her selection of eighteen ‘Views of Stowe’ by George Bickham (published by Bowles) ‘after Chatelain’ (1753) for which she paid £1 1s’; a dozen views of ‘Whitton Westwycombe [sic] Carleton Gardens &c’ by ‘Woolet’ (William Woollett (1735-1785)); and 298 ‘Views of

¹⁴⁰ Or its pendant *Seconde vue de Charenton* advertised in the gazette *Mercure de France* in June 1747. ‘Vu bis 8d vues of Charenton 1s each agreeable’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.15). For the possible attribution to the pair of prints by Le Bas after Boucher see British Museum Number 1873,0712.282.

¹⁴¹ See Rylance-Watson, 2018, n.p. For the history of similar ventures, see Clayton, 1998.

¹⁴² For example, her list of ‘Views which I have’ included twelve of Alnwick Castle (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f. 456). When at Newark in 1739 she described the castle as ‘the most perfect of all the ruins I ever saw’ but said she had ‘no patience with Buck for having omitted it in his collection’ (Letter to Lady Hertford, Swillington, 8 July 1739 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 24, f.22 (British Library Microfilm 290)).

¹⁴³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.97. From 1774, impressions from Bucks’ original plates were also sold by Robert Sayer. It is likely the duchess purchased her impressions prior to their publication by Sayer. The duchess’s copies were subsequently sold in the Sotheby’s 1951 sale as eighteen volumes in ‘small oblong folio size’ that were ‘bound in sets...lettered with the names of the counties in the upper covers’ (Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 25).

¹⁴⁴ Percy and Jackson-Stops, 1974c. Country house visiting was ‘both the invited and uninvited act of touring a country house and/or its estate’ (Arnold, 2003, p. 22).

Versailles & other Palaces of France’ by French landscape specialist Gabrielle Perelle (1604-1677).¹⁴⁵ The imagery of these prints link with both styles of pleasure gardens that were popular ‘realms for entertainment, polite sociability and leisure’ in the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁶ First, the privately-owned parkland and gardens of the elite; and second, the commercial, stylised spaces for spectacle and fashionable sociability, such as Ranelagh Gardens in London.¹⁴⁷ The duchess described ten visits to Ranelagh in May 1760, and each journal entry lists her companions and her observations of the gathered crowds.¹⁴⁸ Her visits to privately-owned gardens and parks will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Fables, emblems, and metamorphoses

The duchess’s interest in gardens links to another category of her collection: prints she described as ‘Fables, Emblems and Metamorphoses’.¹⁴⁹ John Dixon Hunt notes that Lord Cobham’s (1675-1749) garden at Stowe offered a carefully prepared scene of statues, temples and follies which were ‘often accompanied by inscriptions or mottoes, the full meaning of which depend upon the exact encounter of word and image that we find in the emblem book’.¹⁵⁰ The emblem book, common from the 1500s, was a handbook that drew together sources such as inscriptions, mottoes and images from classical literature. The duchess’s collection included ‘Andrea Alciati’s Emblems by Hollar’ (with 223 prints); and she also noted (in her sometimes idiosyncratic spelling): ‘Emblems of Horace’, ‘Emblemata Selectiona’, ‘Withers’s Emblems’, Montenays Emblems’, ‘Emblemat Schoonovii’, ‘Emblems by Meuss’, ‘Wolfius’ Devices’ and ‘De

¹⁴⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.101. A volume of the former is in the British Library: Maps 7.TAB.40.

¹⁴⁶ Bending, 2020.

¹⁴⁷ For pleasure gardens such as Ranelagh and Vauxhall and their attractions, see for example, Greig, 2012; Wroth, 1896; Coke and Borg, 2011; Conlin, 2012; and Solkin, 1993.

¹⁴⁸ For example, ‘went at night to Ranelagh with Ly Fetherston, Mrs & Miss Legge drank tea with them’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/4, f.2). ‘Went in the evening to Ranelagh with Mrs. Fettiplace. Tea Party ourselves, my Lord, Mrs Clavering, Mrs Palmer, Mr C. Boone, Sr W. Meredith, Mr Manners, Ld. Warkworth, Capt Hervey & Ld. Charlemount’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/4, f.5).

¹⁴⁹ Her *Catalogue of Prints* lists thirty-eight albums or sets and just under 5,300 prints in this category (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.25-27).

¹⁵⁰ Hunt, 1971, p. 296.

Bry's 'Emblemata Secularia'.¹⁵¹ Also included in her lists are several works by the Sadeler family, including 'Symbola Divia and Humana after Strada by Gil Sadeler'.¹⁵² Volumes such as Alciati's *Emblemata* (1531) and Caesar Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593) were intended as guides for poets, scholars, and artists and also assisted with the identification of a particular phrase or image. The quantity of works with this specialisation highlights the duchess's interest in understanding and interpreting literary and classical references and mottos, for example, those she encountered in her travels and during her visits to gardens.¹⁵³

Other categories

Other prints popular with eighteenth-century collectors can also be identified in the duchess's journal notes. She recorded the purchase of 'Metamporp's'¹⁵⁴ This likely refers to one of the several versions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that are entered in her *Catalogue of Prints*.¹⁵⁵ It was not uncommon for collectors to have a number of impressions of this work.¹⁵⁶ The many iterations of 'Dance of Death' were also popular, and at least one version was also acquired by the duchess.¹⁵⁷

Gameboards and cards also appeared in the duchess's print collection, especially when they linked to her other collecting themes. For example, her purchase of 'de

¹⁵¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.25-27.

¹⁵² Noted as 883 prints for '£1 11s 6d' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f. 27).

¹⁵³ For example, she wrote that at the head of a tomb in Avignon was an inscription but she 'could not read it nor could I find anyone one who could explain it to me' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/57, f.15).

¹⁵⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.57.

¹⁵⁵ For example '1 Receiul [*sic*] of Ovid's Metamorphosis after Eisen for £1 11s 6d' (f. 6) and a book of prints containing 128 prints of 'Ovids Metamorphoses by De Pass' (f.25); or 'Metamorphoses' after Goltzius purchased for '15s' (f.26); or 'Ovids Metamorphoses by Tempesta' containing 150 prints (f.27) (all from Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B) Two entries for 'Ovids Metamorphosis' are also listed under 'Works of De Pass' in a notebook (Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/11, n.p.).

¹⁵⁶ Print collector King Stanisław August of Poland (1732-1798) owned several copies of Basan's lavish edition of *Metamorphoses* and dis-bound one set to decorate the private apartments of the White Pavilion in Warsaw's Łazienki Park (See Biłozór-Salwa, 2013). For Ovid and collecting see Dunlop, 2016.

¹⁵⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.71.

Melpomene’ probably refers to a French etching of a game board: ‘*Nouveau jeu des théâtres de Melpomene, Momus et Thalie*’.¹⁵⁸ This features sixty-three pictorial compartments, each showing an actor or actress in role, his or her name, the name of the character, the play and the theatre in which it was performed.¹⁵⁹ This object mirrors the duchess’s interests in theatre (whether performed in a domestic setting or a theatrical venue) and depictions of costume. Her collection of ‘Habits’ included other printed collectables such as thirty-six coloured ‘German Dresses on Cards’.¹⁶⁰

Orchestrating print acquisitions: tactics, taxes, and logistics

Acquiring prints through personal networks

Although she actively purchased prints herself, the duchess also engaged others to purchase on her behalf. The acquisition of art through agents — whether they were family, friends, acquaintances, or paid professionals — was common in the eighteenth century. The duke’s activities could have been a model for the duchess, and he regularly engaged agents to source statuary, antiquities, and artworks for Northumberland House and Syon House in the 1750s and 1760s. James Adam (Robert Adam’s brother) often acted as the duke’s art agent; and Hugh, Lord Warkworth (the duchess’s son) and his tutor the Reverend Jonathan Lippyeatt (c.1723-1812) sought objects for the duke while they were in Naples on the Grand Tour.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.57.

¹⁵⁹ By Nicholas Cochin and published by Antoine de Fer. For an impression see British Museum Number 1893,0331.89. Theatrical portraits ‘functioned as *aide-memoires* as well as commercial commodities that publicized and disseminated the actor’s image’ (McPherson, 2017, p. 18).

¹⁶⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.173. Her accounts also note the acquisition of ‘Huns Prints 16s 6d’ which may have also been destined for this section of her collection (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS/121, f.14).

¹⁶¹ French, 2009, pp. 62, 71-75. For the engagement of Horace Mann to source copies of famous Roman frescos from the Farnese Gallery and the Vatican after Raphael, Guido Reni and Annibale Caracci for the gallery at Northumberland House, see Wood, 1999, esp. pp. 406-413; and Coutu, 2015.

Louis Dutens was the catalyst for a number of the duchess's print acquisitions. His correspondence reveals the web of connections he mobilised for the transport and delivery of objects for the duchess's collection. In a letter from Rome he reported 'I have given to Mr Dawson (who will be in April in London) the Medails [sic] which I have bought for your Grace, & he will deliver them himself'.¹⁶² The duchess put Dutens under veiled pressure, as this letter reveals:

I am much obliged to you Dear Sir for all the purchases you have been so obliging as to make for me and hope at my return from Alnwick to have the pleasure of finding them all safely arriv'd.¹⁶³

The duchess's requests to Dutens were detailed and specific. An appeal for him to procure 'prints after the Designs of Boucher' in 1772 mentioned that 'I have the first Suite all which are mark'd with the Letter A, and the 3rd which are mark'd C, those I wish to have are the 2nd Suite which will be mark'd B & any others that may have been publish'd since C'.¹⁶⁴ Dutens was obviously successful with the commission, as one of the duchess's 'to do' lists later the same year includes a reminder 'to open and place my Bouchers wh^{ch} come f^m M^r Dutens'.¹⁶⁵ Another request of Dutens in 1774 concerned a

Suite of prints of *Les Déeses Libaines*, published by Maitre at L'Escurial. The duchess noted that 'each number contains 6 prints & the price is 24 Sols each Set'.¹⁶⁶

She went on to name the nearly twenty prints she already owned from the series, adding that 'any that have been publish'd since, I shall be very glad to have'.¹⁶⁷ This is evidence

¹⁶² Letter to the Duchess of Northumberland, 15 February 1769 (Alnwick Castle: DNP: MS 43, f.156 (British Library Microfilm 302)). Anne French posits that it was Dutens's involvement that explained the overall quality of the duchess's collection of medals, as he published *Explication de Quelques Médailles* (1773) (French, 2009, p. 278).

¹⁶³ Letter to Louis Dutens, 19 June 1769 (311, Dutens Papers, Coutts & Co.

Archives). Veiled pressure was also experienced by Horace Mann, who was commissioned by the duke to source copies of Roman frescos for Northumberland House. Mann wrote to Walpole in 1752 that his commissions for the duke cost him 'an infinite deal of trouble' (quoted in Wood, 1999, pp. 406-407).

¹⁶⁴ Letter to Louis Dutens, 13 October 1772 (3286, Dutens Papers, Coutts & Co. Archives).

¹⁶⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.23.

¹⁶⁶ Letter to Louis Dutens, 30 December 1774 (Bath) (3290, Dutens Papers, Coutts & Co. Archives).

¹⁶⁷ Letter to Louis Dutens, 30 December 1774 (Bath) (3290, Dutens Papers, Coutts & Co. Archives). The series is noted in what appears to be a 'wanted' list in a 1772-1773

that she had a clear direction for ‘completion’ and ‘seriality’ in her print collecting — characteristics which, as Baudrillard argues in *The Cultures of Collecting* and *The System of Objects*, is what turns an ‘accumulation’ of objects into ‘a collection’.¹⁶⁸

The duchess’s print acquisition strategy also involved the cultivation of her own well-tended and far-reaching array of personal connections. A ‘to-do’ list in her notebooks includes a reminder to ‘send prints to M de Bussy’, another mentions that ‘Prints came for Mr Widdrington’.¹⁶⁹ A list of the duchess’s commissions for others — which includes no less than the Prince of Orange and Princess Weilbourg — included a reminder ‘to get for.... Sr Joseph Yorke the first like print of the Q[ueen]’.¹⁷⁰ On her travels the duchess’s retinue also purchased prints on her behalf, as evidenced by a list titled ‘Commissions [John] Vilet’ which includes prints, ivories, and busts.¹⁷¹

The duchess also acquired prints (and other collection objects) through gifts and requests. In 1741 she wrote to her mother, ‘I shall write to Lord Brooke to beg him to write to Baron [Hohbergh] for me by whose assistance I flatter myself to obtain an abundance of Prussian, Saxon, and Austrian Medals’.¹⁷² Correspondence from other prodigious print collectors (such as Horace Walpole) indicates that soliciting gifts of prints from his networks was a regular strategy for print accumulation.¹⁷³ Similarly, the duchess recorded that when visited by Lord Strafford, she ‘beg’d a print of L[ady] Strafford’ from him to add her to collection.¹⁷⁴ After she admired a painting of the

notebook as ‘Opera Comiques’ [*sic*] so it is likely she had not yet obtained what she sought when she approached Dutens (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.111).

¹⁶⁸ Baudrillard, 1996 and 1997 (as described in Tobin, 2014, p. 59).

¹⁶⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.23; Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/4, f.33.

¹⁷⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.12.

¹⁷¹ The list is barely legible but does include several lines that mention prints (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.25).

¹⁷² Letter to Lady Hertford, Stanwick, 8 September 1741 (Alnwick Castle DP: MS 24 23/5, f.64 (BL Microfilm 11)).

¹⁷³ This was a favoured way for Walpole to obtain copies of prints by amateur print makers (Griffiths, 2016, p. 332). These exchanges would have moved within ‘a social system structure hierarchically akin to, but not entirely coextensive with the patron-client relationship’ (Tobin, 2014, p. 116).

¹⁷⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: 121/10, f.37. ‘L[ady] Pembroke’, ‘Lady Strafford’ and 26 other individuals were noted in a list of ‘Engravings’ in a notebook dated c.1770-1771 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.66).

Countess of Dorset at Appleby Castle, she wrote, ‘If I can find anybody that has any Interest with Lord Thanet I will get them to persuade him to have it engraved & then I may get a Print of it’.¹⁷⁵ The duchess therefore participated in hierarchical and horizontal exchanges or ‘gift debts’ in a variety of ways.¹⁷⁶ She received gifts from people who would expect something in return (either similar objects or favours); she benefitted from gifts that honoured her status (for example from dignitaries during her international travels); and she also requested favours from her networks.¹⁷⁷

Bargains, bartering, and trading

The frequency and detail of the duchess’s records of prices demonstrate her awareness of market prices, and her concern for careful budgeting (at least when describing her purchases to her husband). Her journals and correspondence reveal that she was very conscious of her expenditure, often due to the unexpected costs of her day-to-day travel.¹⁷⁸ She wrote to the duke from Antwerp that she had ‘found every place ...dearer than its Antecedent’ and that she was ‘trying to spend all one’s money without making any purchases’.¹⁷⁹ Despite her complaints, her accounts record that she certainly *did* make numerous purchases. These were more often for prints than for any other art objects: perhaps as the purchase of prints was a far less costly undertaking than some of her other collecting interests.

¹⁷⁵ Letter to Bishop Percy, Newmarket, 4 October 1765, British Library, Add MS 32334.

¹⁷⁶ Monteyne notes the difference between ‘things given freely’ (gifts) and commodities: a gift creates a ‘gift-debt, tied to an expected return’ that ‘creates a relationship over time between individuals’, establishing ‘mutual dependence instead of the advantage of one person over another that is the basis of the commodity economy’ (Monteyne, 2013, p. 51). Similar ideas are expressed in Pointon, 1997, pp. 35-36.

¹⁷⁷ Sometimes she also traded prints. For example in exchange for prints after Boucher she offered to ‘repay’ Dutens ‘viz some small Cahiers engraved by Huquier’ (Letter to Louis Dutens, 13 October 1772 (3286, Dutens Papers, Coutts & Co. Archives)).

¹⁷⁸ Her husband’s financial contributions feature in personal accounts but she clearly did not perceive she had an unlimited budget. For example, her accounts include a regular payment: ‘Rec’d Duke £500’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.14).

¹⁷⁹ Letter to Duke of Northumberland, 23 October 1766, Amsterdam (Alnwick Castle: DP: D1/II/37, letter 43).

Whether through necessity or design, the duchess delighted in a bargain. Indeed, similar to other collectors of the period, she took pleasure in her own frugality and good buying.¹⁸⁰ During a visit to Sheffield, she noted — with obvious pride — the purchase of ‘real silver knives’ and ‘other cheap bargains’ from a ‘remarkably cheap’ shop.¹⁸¹ Her tenacity at securing the best price is apparent from a visit to painter and dealer ‘Mr Beschey’ (Antwerp-based Balthasar Beschey (1708-1776) and his brothers). After ‘doing the rounds’ of the brothers’ studios, she expressed interest in a painting of a Franciscan hermit in his cell. When a price was mentioned by the artist, she called up her ‘Chariot’, which prompted him to offer her the painting at a three guinea discount.¹⁸² Even when in possible danger, the duchess was certainly someone to be reckoned with when finances were at stake. In Antwerp, she wrote,

They carried me to a Wrong Inn, and When I came to the right one my two drivers knowing I was up Stairs in a Room Alone quite away from any of my people came and Bullied me for more money, but they took the wrong sow by the Ear, for I sent them packing without giving them a farthing.¹⁸³

Even with her consciousness of budgets and bargains, the duchess was not immune to the temptations of collecting. For instance, on her fourth visit to the Low Countries in 1771 she recorded that she was ‘fool enough to buy 4 pictures’ from Mr. Dehnsters in Antwerp, although she also ‘saw another wch I longed for but could not afford’.¹⁸⁴ She also wrote to her husband during the same trip about the upcoming auction of the ‘Cabinet of Old Bisshopp of Rotterdam’ (Jan Bisshopp (1680-1771)) which she had ‘rave[d] of ever since I first went abroad’.¹⁸⁵ After admiring the objects

¹⁸⁰ For example, the inventories and comments left by Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough (1660-1774) indicate that ‘pleasure in her own frugality’ was ‘a major component’ of her ‘emotional responses to objects’ (Lewis, 2009, p. 347). Thrift is discussed in several case studies in Stobart and Rothery (2016, pp. 137, 141, 262).

¹⁸¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/16, f.9.

¹⁸² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/35, f.11. The picture, *Franciscan Hermit*, attributed to Karl Bechey — as well as three other hermit pictures all attributed to him — are still in the collections of the Duke of Northumberland. See French, 2009, pp. 67-68, 273-274.

¹⁸³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.76.

¹⁸⁴ Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/35, f.6.

¹⁸⁵ The ‘all sorts of medals, coins, drawings, pictures, prints, curiosities, China, Japan, filigree & shells’, collected by Bisshopp (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.23) and

over the years, she wrote, ‘I fear nothing will come within my price but I will devote a hundred pounds to it if I should be forced to pawn my Smock... to pay the Money’.¹⁸⁶ She also admitted to occasional buyer’s remorse. Writing from The Hague she was ‘ashamed’ to tell her husband she ‘gave a great deal of Money for a little portrait by Holbein all I can say in my defense [*sic*] is that it is undoubted Original and highly finished’.¹⁸⁷

Perhaps the duchess’s expenditure had been reined in by her husband, as some letters portray more exuberant spending. In 1769, letters to Louis Dutens suggest her funds were more expansive. [redacted] When the duchess commissioned him to buy ‘various sculptures and bronze statues’ she told him that her ‘purse is at yr Command so pray make use of it freely’.¹⁸⁸ She had also asked him to [redacted] pick up any [medals] in Silver which may come your way & beg they may be set down in my Lords Acct to who I will very honestly repay the money’.¹⁸⁹ It is possible that the duke was uncomfortable with additional expenses such as these that appeared in his account.

Igor Kopytoff defines a commodity as an ‘item with use value that also has exchange value’, and the duchess was certainly aware of the benefit of on-selling prints to supplement her disposable income.¹⁹⁰ Entries in her journals, notebooks, and correspondence indicate the duchess sold or traded prints from her collection and was aware of the prices she expected to receive. For example, for prints after French artists Boucher and Vernet, she noted: ‘Offers for 10 Bouchers 3s 5, Vernets 8, I ask for Bouchers for 5 worst 8d or 7 1/2 best’.¹⁹¹ It is quite likely the duchess’s re-sale of duplicates and excess prints was a solution that allowed her to continue to finance new

letter to the duke from Breda, 30 April 1771 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 44, f.122 (British Library Microfilm 302)).

¹⁸⁶ Letter to the duke from Breda 30 April 1771 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 44, f.122 (British Library Microfilm 302)).

¹⁸⁷ Letter to the duke from The Hague (Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/37, Letter 51).

¹⁸⁸ [redacted] Letter to Louis Dutens, 28 January 1769, London G312, Dutens Papers (Coutts & Co. Archives).

¹⁸⁹ [redacted] Letter to Louis Dutens, 6 January 1769, London G314, Dutens Papers (Coutts & Co. Archives).

¹⁹⁰ Kopytoff, 1986, p. 64.

¹⁹¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.8.

acquisitions independently.¹⁹² She could therefore take responsibility for her own income *and* purchases, all outside the spotlight of household (or her husband's) accounts.

Taxes, transport, and tariffs

Once the 'thrill of the chase' was over and new art-objects had been secured, they then needed to be transported home. The duchess developed ingenious solutions for transferring goods across borders, avoiding import duties and tariffs, and minimising transport charges.¹⁹³ Her notebooks include such tips as: 'Vienna Jewels are sizable. Not contraband. If put in Servants pockets, safe. But pay a considerable Duty if found in Trunks etc'.¹⁹⁴ She recorded a specific strategy for avoiding taxes on prints. Duties needed to be paid on 'French Prints, Flemish & Dutch D[itto]', but she also recorded that they could be 'brought over in Books' as '20 or 30 [books] may be brought over free f[rom] Duty'.¹⁹⁵ Given her awareness of the duties involved, it is possible this may have unconsciously swayed her towards the acquisition of prints that were already bound, or encouraged her to have series of prints bound 'as books' at the time of purchase.

The long-suffering Louis Dutens and his family were also called upon to assist with the transfer of some of the duchess's purchases. She bought some pictures at the Hague, and [REDACTED]

¹⁹² She noted: an 'Old Print Man owes me 16s 6d' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.8)

¹⁹³ Payment for imported goods was calculated on formulae such as the size of a painting's canvas (Boulton and McLoughlin, 2012, p. 265).

¹⁹⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/28, f.13 (punctuation added for clarity).

¹⁹⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.25. From about 1720, prints imported into England were taxed individually. Each print was notionally valued at 6d, on which a duty was charged (Clayton, 1997, p. 33.) From 1737, there was a 20 percent import tax on wrought copper (including engraved plates) to discourage the importation of printing plates that had been etched or engraved abroad (Fordham, 2016, p. 36). From 1753, books had a lower import duty, and if the books were not French, the duty was halved. Bound books were taxed at '17s 6d per hundredweight, and unbound books less' (Griffiths, 2016, p. 108). For copyright restrictions now known as 'Hogarth's Act' see Fordham, 2016; Clayton, 1997, pp. 86-89; and Deazley, 2004, pp. 88-94.

...taking the Liberty of directing the Case in wch they are sent to Mr Frederick
Dutens. I depend upon his good nature & yours you see not a little to direct these
pictures.¹⁹⁶ Other more dubious transportation methods were also used. In a letter to her
husband from Amsterdam in 1766, she wrote that as ‘Sr Alexander [Gibson/Gilman?]’
owed her money she would ‘try to prevail upon him as lieu of it to smuggle over in the
Yacht 2 [pounds] of Tea for you & the few Prints & the Holbein I have bought as it is a
bad Debt I think this will be the wisest Bargain I can make’.¹⁹⁷ The duchess certainly
knew how to ‘play the game’ as a cost-conscious eighteenth-century consumer.

Patterns of print purchasing: the duchess as an independent consumer

In sum, the duchess’s notes and accounts indicate she was an active and commercially savvy participant in the print market. She developed lists of prints she sought, then identified and engaged with multiple levels of the market, from luxury antiquarian dealers to ‘middle’ market suppliers, to providers of dubious transport services. She identified prints at what she considered were appropriate prices and was aware of formal and informal agents that could fulfil her collecting aspirations within her budget. She developed creative ways to minimise taxes and duties; imposed upon others to transport her purchases; and she was comfortable to negotiate (and acknowledge) a bargain. She knew how to navigate the complex world of dealers, taxes, and relationships, and relished this knowledge.¹⁹⁸

There are discernible patterns in the duchess’s purchasing. Her independent print acquisitions — while of considerable quantity — appeared to be distinct from merely accumulating. Her orientation was towards what Jean Baudrillard would call the ‘cultural’: she privileged those objects which had an ‘external dimension of social and

¹⁹⁶ [Redacted] Coutts & Co. Archives).

¹⁹⁷ Letter to the duke, Amsterdam, 28-31 October 1766 (Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/37, letter 45).

¹⁹⁸ Tobin suggests specific skills were required in collecting at this time, because methods for acquiring objects were ‘multiple, complex and contradictory’ and required social skills that could navigate complex situations such as bidding at auction or giving and receiving gifts within circles of patronage (Tobin, 2014, p. 127).

human intercourse’ and which fitted within her identified collecting categories.¹⁹⁹ This meant she gathered, for example, portraits of individuals she knew; prints that depicted places she had visited; prints connected with her own interests, such as of costume and the theatre, and images of works in other collections.²⁰⁰ The duchess’s collecting helped her to understand and synthesise the world around her, and her experiences in it. Her collection of portraits located her within a narrative of auspicious personalities, past and present.

The duchess clearly engaged in commercial relationships with printsellers and dealers to add to her to print collection, yet her journals suggest her print purchasing was undertaken ‘alone’.²⁰¹ Perhaps this allowed her to develop and hone her print knowledge at ‘liberty’, to barter and bargain freely, and to follow her own interests into collecting areas that may not have appealed to companions more focussed on fashion and luxury baubles. As Peter Parshall describes, ‘contrary to fashions for clothing and domestic luxuries, prints had the advantage of being discrete commodities retained for private indulgence’.²⁰²

The duchess’s collection represented prints readily available in the market: her taste was made and deployed through her interactions with others: her relationships with her networks; themes and trends she observed through other collectors; and through her engagement with the print, art, and book trades. Her selections therefore reflected a typical array gathered by well-travelled, well-connected collectors. Nonetheless, it

¹⁹⁹ Baudrillard, 1996, p. 22.

²⁰⁰ Her collecting approaches therefore reflect ‘individual idiosyncrasies as well as individual experiences’ (Weatherill, 1996, p. 4). The printed ephemera collected by Sarah Sophia Banks could also be ‘broadly conceptualised around three main themes: events, sites, and people’ (Russell, 2015, p. 546). Susan Pearce describes this approach as ‘souvenir’ collecting, that is, objects are selected because they are an extension of the self and tell life stories through narratives (Pearce, 1992, p. 81). John Windsor notes the object in the ‘souvenir’ context is ‘prized for its power to carry the past into the future’ (Windsor, 1997, p. 50).

²⁰¹ Stobart and Rothery suggest that eighteenth-century taste was made and deployed in negotiation with others through both sociability with peers and polite commercial transactions (Stobart and Rothery, 2016, p. 228).

²⁰² Parshall, 1998, p. 32.

would appear the satisfaction of independent acquisition — even of comparatively low-value items such as prints — exceeded their market value for the duchess.

For the next two hundred years after their acquisition, the duchess's prints and albums were what Arjun Appadurai would refer to as 'enclaved' or diverted from a commodity phase through their removal from circulation.²⁰³ They were arranged in albums and classified into categories in the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints*, and housed throughout the various Northumberland seats. The next two chapters investigate the duchess's assembly and cataloguing of prints and albums as they were transformed into 'a collection'. The duchess's prints were considered from the perspective of what Igor Kopytoff calls the counterforces to commoditisation: culture, the individual, and the 'drive to discriminate, classify, compare and sacralise'.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Appadurai, 1986, p. 13.

²⁰⁴ Kopytoff, 1986, p. 87.

3. PRINT ALBUMS AT ‘THE MOMENT OF MAKING’

‘Sometimes words and things come together; things are written about in diaries, inventories, letters, or songs, but the ‘truth’ of the object is not more to be found in the words than in the thing itself’.

Leora Auslander¹

According to Antony Griffiths, a print ‘collection’ is defined when an assemblage of prints ‘becomes more than the sum of its parts’, that is, the collector has first formed a conception of the whole collection and what should be acquired; and second, that the individual prints gain meaning when placed next to others.² As described in Chapters One and Two, the duchess’s journals and notebooks indicate that she had a clear direction for her collecting, and she amassed a significant quantity of individual prints, sets of prints, and already-assembled albums through inheritance, gifts, favours, and her engagement with the print market. In the last two chapters, her prints were discussed as ‘commodities in motion’: objects of cultural commerce and social and economic exchange.³ Chapter Three considers the second part of Griffiths’ definition, that is, how the duchess collated her prints into albums and the process of their assembly.

To analyse the duchess’s arrangement of her prints, this chapter focusses on two print albums from her collection now housed in the Baillieu Library at the University of Melbourne.⁴ These albums (subsequently the ‘De Vos’ albums) feature prints by the Sadeler family after Maarten de Vos (1532-1603) and they are significant for several reasons. First, these albums are specifically recorded by the duchess in her *Catalogue of Prints* as ‘Volume[s] [ar]ranged by myself, de Vos’.⁵ Second, unlike so many eighteenth-century print albums which have been disbound in the intervening centuries,

¹ Auslander et al., 2009, p. 1356.

² Griffiths, 2016, p. 428.

³ Appadurai, 1986, p. 16.

⁴ Catalogued as UniM Bail SpC/RB 37FF/2 v.1A Sadeler/de Vos; and UniM Bail SpC/RB 36FF/1 v.2A Sadeler/de Vos.

⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.311. Griffiths first connected that the *Catalogue of Prints* entry matched the De Vos albums in Melbourne (Griffiths, 2001, p. 142).

these albums have survived relatively intact.⁶ Importantly, the configuration and presentation of these albums has remained unchanged between their arrangement by the duchess and their purchase by the University in 1962.⁷ Third, the albums are rich with material features which speak of their assembly, such as an unusual ‘tabbed’ print mounting technique, foliation, modest paper stock and bindings, and hidden annotations in the duchess’s handwriting (which have not been described in previous research).⁸ These material traces of the duchess’s actions are what Ann-Sophie Lehmann would describe as ‘the tiny and the overlooked’.⁹

The physical characteristics of these albums — and the prints they contain — are markers of identity and agency.¹⁰ Bindings, foliation, and print mounts reflect aesthetic and practical choices. Annotations, adhesions, and damage are signs of active use.¹¹ Analysed in conjunction with archival sources, the material features of the De Vos albums help us understand the duchess’s motivations for the arrangement of her collection.¹² The De Vos albums and prints are therefore what Jules Prown would

⁶ As a result of dis-binding by dealers, collectors, and collecting institutions, intact albums of prints are now rare survivors. It was the usual practice of the print trade to ‘cut up and dismember old albums, and to redistribute their contents to new collectors, who (until recent centuries) would have pasted them back into new albums’ (Griffiths, 2003, p. 12).

⁷ The albums were purchased from the London print dealer P. & D. Colnaghi in 1962, who had acquired them from the Sotheby’s 1951 sale (Sotheby and Co., 1951a, pp. 23-43). Nearly a decade later, Colnaghi sold the albums to the University (see Lo Conte, 2018a, pp. 339-350; Box, 2019). Their sale to the University will be described in Chapter Five.

⁸ Antony Griffiths first described the unusual tabbed mounts and attributed the arrangement of the De Vos albums to the duchess, although he did not describe the annotations (Griffiths, 2001). An introductory investigation of the tabbed prints (based on research undertaken for this doctoral study) was published for the first time in Box, 2018.

⁹ Lehmann, 2016, p. 16.

¹⁰ The materiality of prints and their transformational roles in the histories of other cultural objects has been a recent focus of art historical study and print scholarship. For example, see Wouk, 2017, pp. 1-18 (esp. pp. 9-10); Wouk and Karr Schmidt, 2017; Herrin, 2014; Karr Schmidt, 2011; Peltz, 2017; and Dackerman, 2011.

¹¹ Signatures and inscriptions (for example on visiting cards or the tickets collected by Sarah Sophia Banks) could also be considered as ‘traces of sociability’ (Russell, 2015, p. 541).

¹² Pearce suggests the ‘reality’ of a collection lies not in individual items, but in the relationship they bear to others which are like and unlike them (Pearce, 1995, p. 301).

describe as ‘primary data’ and they will be used ‘actively as evidence’ to understand the duchess as a collector.¹³ These albums reveal the hand of the collector at ‘the moment of making’.

In addition, prints of hermits and hermitages by the Sadeler family (after De Vos) feature prominently in these albums. These prints help us to understand the duchess’s sequential collation of her albums and also provide insight into a significant thematic subset of the duchess’s print collection. Hermits and hermitages are important to the discussions in Chapter Six, so a study of this thematic group — in the context of their placement in the De Vos albums — is addressed in this chapter.

The materiality of the Melbourne Northumberland albums: an introduction

Nine folio-sized albums — originally from the duchess’s collection but now in Melbourne — fall into two categories. The first are seven albums from the collections of the first and second Earls of Oxford: the ‘Oxford’ albums discussed in Chapter One.¹⁴ The physical characteristics of these albums will only be briefly addressed here. The second group, the ‘De Vos’ albums, featuring prints by the Sadeler family after de Vos, are the focus of this chapter.

A luxury production: the ‘Oxford’ albums

Two of the seven Oxford albums in Melbourne maintain the ‘Harleian’ style of binding that is synonymous with the collections of Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford.¹⁵ **(Fig. 1)** They are ornately bound in full morocco with gilt-edged leaves and gold-tooled

¹³ Prown, 1982, p. 1.

¹⁴ Catalogued as UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37BB/1 v.1 John pt. 1; 37CC/1 v.1 John pt. 2; 37CC/2 v. 3 Raphael; 37EE/1 v.4 Aegidius pt. 2; 37DD/1 v.4 Raphael; 37DD/2 v. 7 Aegidius and Justo; and 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George.

¹⁵ UniM Bail SpC/RB 37EE/1 v.4 Aegidius Pt. 2 and 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George. The other four Oxford albums were rebound by the University of Melbourne in the 1990s, but the configuration of the leaves is unchanged. Some of the spines have been retained with the collection but the endpapers of the rebound volumes are now lost (Stone, 2016, p. 34).

covers and spines, and the prints they contain are mounted in an ‘encapsulated’ style designed to protect and enhance each print.¹⁶ **(Fig. 2)** This luxury print mounting method involved the careful enclosure of each print between two layers of heavy paper stock, and was an expensive and time-consuming process that was usually completed by specialists.¹⁷ Prints in the Oxford albums are primarily trimmed of their text, or it is concealed behind the mounts. This indicates the collector who directed their binding was more concerned about the prints’ imagery, rather than engagement with the textual descriptions on each print, or information about the designer or printmaker that may be included in the lettering.¹⁸

The Oxford albums epitomise the quality, attention to detail, and opulent finishes that are evident in other intact albums of prints associated with aristocratic eighteenth-century collections. Their presentation is similar to the nine albums of old master prints from the collections of the earls Spencer, now in the Harvard Art Museum.¹⁹ **(Fig. 3)** Each of the Spencer Albums has a costly binding of morocco with gilt-tooled spine, gilt page edges, and marbled endpapers that were typical of the most prestigious Parisienne bookbinders of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.²⁰ Every element of the binding and mounting ‘working mechanism’ was carefully executed so as to minimise damage and distortion to the prints and the album leaves over time.²¹

As identified by Marjorie Cohn, the assembly of the Spencer Albums was connected with the firm of Mariette, a favourite of elite eighteenth-century collectors

¹⁶ It was out of scope of this research to undertake a complete analysis and attribution of the binding and mounting of these albums.

¹⁷ Griffiths, 2003, p. 15.

¹⁸ Edquist made this observation in her 1980 thesis however she misjudged who collated the tabbed albums. She thought the Oxford albums were the work of the duchess (based on their luxury binding) and that the De Vos albums were the work of a collector who had a more ‘sophisticated’ knowledge of prints (Edquist, 1980, pp. 2-3).

¹⁹ The albums were sold in 1983 by the eighth earl, Edward John Spencer (1924-1992) from Althorp, Northamptonshire, seat of the Spencer family.

²⁰ Cohn, 1992, p. 13.

²¹ This was enabled by using papers of specific thicknesses of paper stock from French manufacturers (Cohn, 1992, pp. 18-19).

who engaged the firm to collate and display (and often acquire) their print collections.²² Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) also created elaborate, decorative print mounts for his clients' albums of prints and drawings. These skilfully executed mounts were often embellished with gold borders and elaborate cartouches and were designed to enhance the visual sophistication of each print.²³

The duchess certainly had the financial means and connections to commission professionals such as Mariette to present her print collection. As we have seen, she was familiar with a cross-section of print dealers, booksellers, and binding specialists across Europe, however there is no evidence that she engaged Mariette (or other similar firms) to collate, mount, or arrange her prints for her.²⁴ As described in the previous chapters, the duchess made her own print selections from an eclectic range of sources. As will be examined in this chapter, her arrangement of prints in her albums was similarly individualistic.

Amateur Handiwork: the 'De Vos' albums

The two De Vos albums are the opposite of the luxurious, professional productions just described. Each album is half-bound in leather, with unadorned blue boards, now much damaged. **(Fig. 4)** The albums contain a modest, un-watermarked laid paper stock that is typical of 'lesser' eighteenth-century albums.²⁵ The prints in the albums are also in poorer physical condition and of lower quality than those in the seven Oxford-provenance albums, and are predominantly arranged with one or two prints on

²² Cohn, 1992, pp. 12-25. See also Smentek, 2014, p. 42; Griffiths, 2003, pp. 13-15 and Griffiths, 1994.

²³ Smentek, 2014, pp. 139-142.

²⁴ As noted in her lists of printsellers, bookbinders, engravers and stationers (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.130, 134, 139). She does record engaging binders: 'Binding Books Mrs Dunoyer £2 11s 4d' (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/43, f.40); 'Hookham for binding. £3 17s' (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/49, f.20); and 'bound by Darres' (Alnwick Castle, DP: DI/II/11, n.p.).

²⁵ Blue paper was the cheapest available in the eighteenth-century and commonly used in 'lesser albums' (Griffiths, 2003, p. 19). I am grateful to Brian McMullin for his comments about this paper stock. Lord Fitzwilliam's collection also included a number of half-bound albums with boards covered in marbled or wove papers, in contrast to his full calf, luxurious bindings tooled in gold (Clarke, 1997, p. 34).

the recto of each album leaf. Despite their unprepossessing appearance, the physical features of the De Vos albums contain rich information about the arrangement, acquisition, and storage of the duchess's prints.

Prints in the De Vos albums are mounted using roughly-cut, irregularly sized and shaped 'tabs' which are the antithesis of eighteenth-century luxury print mounting techniques.²⁶ Nearly all the prints are pasted onto the album leaves using four rectangular-shaped tabs of unfolded paper, cut out — in many cases — from the margins of each print.²⁷ The rest of the print margin has been removed. (**Fig. 5**) Only the tab was then used to adhere the print to the album leaf, leaving the body of the print un-adhered. Antony Griffiths describes the 'peculiar' tabs as the duchess's 'amateur handiwork', and a 'homely do-it-yourself method' of print mounting that he has not seen used by other print collectors.²⁸

The physical features of some prints in the De Vos albums suggest they have been intriguingly 'caught-in-process' only part-way through their assembly. A number of loose prints with the tabbed edges have survived unmounted between the leaves of the De Vos albums. Discoloration on the album leaves adjacent to these prints indicates that these loose prints have possibly been in the same positions since the eighteenth century.²⁹ These prints demonstrate the creation of the unusual tabs 'in process'.

Most striking of these astonishing survivals are several impressions from the *Speculum Pudicitiae (Mirror of Chastity)* series by Johannes Sadeler.³⁰ Two sides of the

²⁶ Griffiths first identified this unusual feature (2001, p. 140).

²⁷ Eighteenth-century English print collectors usually mounted their prints using folded hinges; or adhered the prints by gluing each corner of the print; or had the entire verso of each print glued to the album leaf (Griffiths, 1994, pp. 37-58; and Griffiths, 2003, pp. 10-17).

²⁸ Griffiths, 2001. This was confirmed in private conversations with Antony Griffiths, between January and June 2018.

²⁹ The discolouration of the adjacent album's leaves is similar to the discolouration of leaves related to adhered prints.

³⁰ Hollstein XLIV, 946-963. Edquist IIA.91a-101a (References in this format are the catalogue numbers in Edquist's *Sadeler Catalogue* (1990) which refer to the twenty-first-century pencil foliation in each album).

print *Mater Dolorosa* retain full margins, and the other two margins have been cut into the distinctive rectangular tab shape.³¹ **(Fig. 6)** The margins of *St Prisca* have also been partially cut, and the format of the print's left edge demonstrates that it has been removed from an earlier binding.³² **(Fig. 7)** Only one final margin of *St Catharina* requires cutting into the tab form: the other margins have already been trimmed into the tabbed shape.³³ **(Fig. 8)**

A tabbed print taxonomy

Three variations of the tabbed print mounting technique can be observed in the De Vos albums. These have been categorised into specific forms in order to explain the duchess's processes for print acquisition, collation, and album assembly discussed later in this chapter. The first variation can be described as *integrated tabs*. Here the margin of the print has been cut away to leave four rectangular-shaped tabs. **(Fig. 9)** This variation appears to have been used when the duchess had acquired a print with complete margins. The intact margins were then trimmed into a tabbed shape, as we can see from the loose prints just discussed.

The second form of tabs are *supported tabs*. In this form, the print has been adhered to another support (perhaps the leaf from another dis-bound collector's album), and the edges of this support were then cut into the tabbed shapes. **(Fig. 10)** Finally, are *separate tabs*, where small, rectangular pieces of paper (often from a completely different paper stock) have been adhered to the verso of the print to create tabs. **(Fig. 11)**

Some prints in the De Vos albums contain a combination of tabbed forms. For example, some prints exhibit both integrated and separate tabs, an approach which was used if one margin of the print was already trimmed close to the plate-mark. As there was no margin to 'cut', new separate tabs were created from another paper stock. Even

³¹ Edquist IIA.91a; Hollstein XLIV 961.

³² Edquist IIA.100; Hollstein XLIV 962.

³³ Edquist IIA.95a; Hollstein XLIV 953.

if a combination of integrated, supported, and separate tabs were used, when adhered to the album leaves they have a uniform appearance. Irrespective of their construction method, each of these variations of tabbed mounts perform the same function: the tabs are the primary site of adhesion between the print and the album leaf.

Physical evidence from the De Vos albums suggests the duchess regularly used and re-used the tabbed mounts to remove and reposition her prints. In some instances, prints were sliced out, and the remnants of tabs are still adhered to many De Vos album leaves. In other examples, earlier tabs can be seen adjacent to, or behind prints. Layers of tabs and repairs are also visible on the versos of several unmounted prints. **(Fig. 12 and Fig. 13)**

A tabbed mounting system offered several advantages. First, the prints could be removed and re-arranged merely by slicing off the tabs. Second, because the prints were only adhered in their margins (via the tabs), they did not suffer from cockling.³⁴ Given that the duchess acquired many prints and albums from other collections, it is possible that she noted issues with the print adhesion methods, and may have also experienced frustration with her own re-arrangement of prints. After observing cockling as well as damaged and repaired corners of prints from other collections, it is likely she sought (or developed) a solution that would overcome these common issues.³⁵ It is therefore likely that the tabbed print mounts were intended for a practical rather aesthetic purpose: they enabled prints to be easily moved and re-arranged by the duchess.³⁶

³⁴ Cockling, a rippled distortion of the print, is a problem when the whole surface of the print is adhered (Clarke, 1997, p. 37).

³⁵ Her solution is surprisingly similar to the ‘concealed tab method’ now utilised by paper conservators, which uses thin Japanese paper as ‘tabs’ (Clarke, 1997, pp. 39-40).

³⁶ The Mariettes sometimes ‘adhered prints with small points of glue on the upper and lower left corners only’ in albums they assembled, a method that also allowed for easy removal and rearrangement’ (Smentek, 2014, p. 39). This technique is in evidence in an album of prints by sixteenth-century painter and etcher Parmigianino and his school, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Accession Number: 27.78.2). Jean Rousseau also mounted prints with strips of paper or on tabs to increase the flexibility of arrangement (Meyer, 2015, p. 39).

Although of crude construction and appearance when compared with the Oxford and Spencer Albums, the De Vos albums and their roughly executed tabbed print mounts seemed to have had special significance for the duchess. She made an unusually specific note about the De Vos albums in her *Catalogue of Prints*. They are recorded under ‘Works of Sadeler’ as ‘Volume[s] [ar]ranged by myself, de Vos’.³⁷ (Fig. 14) This self-referential entry suggests she took pride in arranging these albums. No other similar reference is made anywhere else in her *Catalogue of Prints*. As Christopher Tilley suggests, ‘a person’s relationship to an object is obviously very different when they have made it themselves, or provided the raw materials, or in other ways participated in its production’.³⁸ Do other albums in her collection exhibit the same tabbed mounts? What was the duchess’s possible motivation for the use of the ‘tabbed’ mounts to assemble her print collection?

Tabbed or ‘pasted’ albums in other collections

Nearly all the duchess’s prints and albums were sold by Sotheby’s as ‘The Print Library from Syon House’ in 1951, with the result that prints and albums from her collection are now scattered globally.³⁹ Fortunately her notebooks provide information about the prevalence of the ‘tabbed’ mounts in albums in her collection. A notebook from the early 1770s helpfully includes a list titled ‘Prints pasted’.⁴⁰ (Fig. 15) It lists the two albums of ‘Sadeler after de Vos’ (the two albums now in Melbourne) as well as another fifty-eight ‘volumes’ or series of prints.⁴¹ A number of the duchess’s other albums — already known to have the ‘tabbed’ mounts — are also included in this list. These include the twenty-four Netherlandish albums with the tabbed print feature that were identified by Antony Griffiths in 2001 (including two albums of prints after

³⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.311. Griffiths first connected that the *Catalogue of Prints* entry matched the De Vos albums in Melbourne (Griffiths, 2001, p. 142).

³⁸ Tilley, 2006, p. 68.

³⁹ Sotheby and Co., 1951a, pp. 23-43. The scant descriptions of lots — typical of auction catalogues of the era — make it difficult to ascertain the original configuration of many of her print albums. This sale will be discussed in Chapter Five.

⁴⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.38-39. Although undated, other entries related to events in 1770 and 1771 suggest this is the likely date of this notebook.

⁴¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.38-39.

Stradanus (now at the British Museum); three albums of Goltzius (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); and the ‘Sadeler’s after De Vos’ now in Melbourne).⁴² We can therefore extrapolate that if the duchess refers to ‘pasted’ prints, this nomenclature almost certainly indicates prints that also featured the tabbed print mounting technique.

There are many other albums and sets of prints listed by the duchess as ‘print pasted’ that have the distinctive ‘tabbed’ mounts.⁴³ They are described here for the first time. These include 80 ‘prints after Wosterman’; ‘Bassans Collⁿ’ in four albums; ‘Ogilby’s Fables Hollars Cuts’; and a long list of prints related to various monarchs (including twelve albums of prints related to the reigns of George I, II, and III).⁴⁴ French prints are also featured, for example, ‘Pillements pasted in French Masters’).⁴⁵ Albums with ‘prints pasted’ include many areas of the duchess’s collecting discussed in earlier chapters.⁴⁶ Most of these groups of prints can be located in the duchess’s *Catalogue of Prints*, although none of the entries in the *Catalogue* (except for the De Vos albums) specifically mention that they are ‘pasted’.

The ‘prints pasted’ list also reveals another connection with the collection of Lord Oxford. The list includes 166 ‘Stradanus’ prints in two volumes ‘b[ought] at L[ord] Oxfords’.⁴⁷ These prints are now disbound, and in the collection of the British

⁴² Griffiths, 2001, pp. 140-141. Respectively: British Museum Numbers: 1957, 0413.15-258; Metropolitan Museum of Art Accession Numbers: 53.601.336-338; and University of Melbourne: UniM Bail SpC/RB 37FF/2 v.1A Sadeler’s/de Vos and 36FF/1 v.2A Sadeler’s/de Vos.

⁴³ These additional albums were not noted in Griffiths’ article on tabbed Flemish and Netherlandish prints (2001).

⁴⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.38-39. These notes probably refer to prints after Lucas Vosterman (1595-1675); prints purchased from Parisienne dealer Basan; and prints from John Ogilby’s volume, *The Fables of Aesop Paraphras’d in Verse, Adorned with Sculpture and Illustrated with Annotations* (1665), which contained fifty-seven images by Hollar (Pennington, 1982, p. 52).

⁴⁵ Referring to Jean Baptiste Pillement (1728-1808) (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.38-39).

⁴⁶ It was out of the scope of this study to trace and examine all the examples listed here, however that is a potential project for the future.

⁴⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.38.

Museum.⁴⁸ No other items in the ‘prints pasted’ list have their provenance described, again reinforcing the significance the duchess placed on the Oxford collection.

‘Ranged by myself’?

It is unclear whether the duchess arranged *and* cut *and* pasted the prints in her albums or whether she directed others to undertake some or all of these tasks for her. Some collectors such as Horace Walpole, wrote of ‘pasting [etchings]... by *my own hands*’.⁴⁹ In contrast, Lord Fitzwilliam *enlisted the help of the son of his valet, William Key, to help with his prints*, as did early collector Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol (1529-1595/6), who allotted the compilation of print albums to ‘librarians, artists and other specialists’ within the court.⁵⁰

As there is a relatively large number of ‘pasted’ albums in the duchess’s collection, it is not unexpected that several entries in her notebooks describe that assistance was given with sorting, arranging, cutting, and adhering of prints. A notebook contains what appears to be a to-do list for member of the duchess’s household, [Jean] ‘Vilet’, which includes an entry that reads, ‘my Bouchers to be pasted’.⁵¹ John Bell was paid 3s for ‘pasting Vernets’.⁵² Another notebook entry acknowledges the involvement of Louis Dutens in obtaining prints. This *aide-mémoire* notes ‘to open and place my Bouchers which come from Louis Dutens’.⁵³ A similar note records a 10s 6d payment to John Bell ‘for sorting prints’.⁵⁴ In whatever way she engaged the services of others,

⁴⁸ British Museum Number 1957, 0413.15-258.

⁴⁹ Peltz, 2017, p. 139 quoting a letter from Walpole to William Mason dated 7 May 1775.

⁵⁰ ‘Mounting’, Ling, 2016; and Parshall, 1994, p. 22.

⁵¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.23. Jean Vilet was a drawing master and the duchess’s *valet de chambre* when travelling (French, 2009, p. 69).

⁵² The rest of the entry reads ‘a Drawing and a Gift’ so it is unclear if the Vernets were drawings or gifts, or if these are three separate items (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.36).

⁵³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.23. The same list includes a reminder about ‘drawers for holding Feschs’, the miniature portraits that had been commissioned from Jean-Louis Fesch.

⁵⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.12.

the duchess was sufficiently satisfied to specifically and unusually record her own involvement, by writing that she had '[ar]ranged' her De Vos albums.⁵⁵

A motivation for tabbed prints?

Although we now consider albums as static or 'complete', in the eighteenth century they were constantly in flux. Collectors, printsellers, and dealers incorporated prints and album leaves from other collections into albums; prints were frequently lifted and replaced in a different order; and some collectors only assembled sheets of prints into finely bound albums at the end of their collecting career, when no further additions were expected.⁵⁶ For instance, the prints collected by Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) were only pasted into albums at the end of his life, as were many of the prints collected by Lord Fitzwilliam.⁵⁷

Lord Fitzwilliam also re-arranged albums he purchased. For example, some of the 232 prints in his 'Nanteuil' album now in the Fitzwilliam Museum were originally part of two albums he purchased from the collection of the Louis II de Rochechouart, duc de Mortemart (1681-1746). [REDACTED] [REDACTED].⁵⁸ Sarah Sophia Banks (1744-1818) also extracted engravings and frontispieces from books to recontextualise within her collections.⁵⁹ This is what Arjun Appadurai would describe as 'intimate trajectories': short, specific movements within and between albums that can be overlooked when studying print albums over long periods of time.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.311.

⁵⁶ Griffiths, 2016, pp. 411-412 and 424.

⁵⁷ Waals, 1984, p. 239; Clarke 1997, p. 33; and Ling, 2010, p. 15.

⁵⁸ 'Label 15', Ling, 2016 (Fitzwilliam Museum Object Number 23.K.7-220). [REDACTED] [REDACTED] ('Label 15' and 'Label 17', Ling, 2016 describing 'Callot' album, Fitzwilliam Museum 24.1.7-449).

⁵⁹ Leis, 2014, p. 132.

⁶⁰ Appadurai, 1986, p. 36.

We have textual and physical evidence that the duchess removed prints from albums she purchased, and then re-arranged them according to her own preferences.⁶¹ An entry in the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints* reads, 'Pasted in one vol. B[ought] of Snelling'.⁶² Griffiths identified that this entry refers to three albums by Crispijn van de Passe (c.1565-1637) now located in the New York Public Library.⁶³ Each album has 'tabbed' prints, and bound into the last leaves of the third album in New York is the frontispiece of an earlier volume of prints. The terminology used by the duchess in her *Catalogue*, and the survival of the frontispiece, suggest that prints purchased from coin, medal and print dealer Snelling, were later broken-up and re-mounted by her in a new arrangement.⁶⁴

Markings on the duchess's prints help us to follow her acquisition and re-distribution of prints. A distinctive collector's mark — a symbol reminiscent of a Greek 'mu' (μ or u) — is handwritten in ink in the lower right hand margin of a number of prints in the De Vos albums in Melbourne.⁶⁵ An 'h' or 'n' is noted on other prints.⁶⁶ Some of these annotations have been truncated when the tabs were cut into the print margins, indicating that the annotations were made before the margins of the prints were shaped into tabs.⁶⁷ Similar symbols also appear on other 'tabbed' Northumberland-provenance prints in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the New York Public Library.⁶⁸ This distribution indicates the duchess had probably acquired a number of prints from a collector who used these distinctive markings.⁶⁹

⁶¹ Lord Fitzwilliam also did this with his Salvatore Rosa albums (Hartley, 1992).

⁶² Listed under 'Works of De Pass' [*sic*]. '509' refers to the number of prints (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.260).

⁶³ Griffiths, 2001, p. 142. The albums are catalogued as: SASB - Print Collection Rm 308 (MEM+++ P287w (Passe, C. van de. Works of de Pass)).

⁶⁴ As proposed by Griffiths, 2001, p. 142.

⁶⁵ For example: UniM Bail SpC/RB 36FF/1 v.2A, f.73-79. These notations are written in a script similar to but not definitely attributable to the duchess's hand.

⁶⁶ For example: UniM Bail SpC/RB 36FF/1 v.2A Sadelers/de Vos, f.78.

⁶⁷ See for example: UniM Bail SpC/RB 36FF/1 v.2A, f.45.

⁶⁸ For example, Metropolitan Museum Object Number 53.601.338(56) was removed from an album of Goltzius prints assembled by the duchess and has the familiar 'n' written in ink in the lower right margin. Works of / De Pass / Vol I. at the New York Public Library has a 'u' on prints at f.40 (MEM+++P287w (Passe, C. van)).

⁶⁹ It is possible some of these prints were from her father's collection, as the prints the duchess inherited from him have not been specifically identified.

These prints were then incorporated into several albums ‘cut and pasted’ by the duchess. The earlier collector’s notations remain visible, creating a palimpsest of ownership that connects prints now located in multiple collecting institutions.

Cutting, pasting, and sociability

The duchess’s unique ‘tabs’ appear to be an oddity, but the cutting and pasting of paper — including prints — was a popular creative pursuit for the upper echelons of European society in the eighteenth century. Decoupage, paper collage, glass-transfer painting, and embellishing fashion prints with textiles were all variations of print-focussed pastimes.⁷⁰ David Pullins describes that skills in decoupage, for example, were an elite ‘arena for social performance’ and a ‘crucial social marker’.⁷¹ A French pamphlet described decoupage as ‘a new exercise that constitutes one of the main occupations...of men and women’ and that ‘in the most gallant circles, in the most diverting assemblies, one no longer presents dice, cards, music, but prints & scissors for cutting out’.⁷²

Another fashionable activity was ‘grangerising’ or ‘extra-illustration’, that is, assembling books or albums ‘within the framework of a pre-existing text’, by illustrating them with prints.⁷³ This trend was named after The Reverend James Granger (1723-1776) and drove a new enthusiasm for portrait prints.⁷⁴ Although the duchess was an active collector of portrait prints, there is no indication that she extra-illustrated books.

⁷⁰ See for example: Pullins, 2017, pp.136-157; Vickery, 2009a, and 2009b, pp. 231-256; Massing, 1989, pp. 383-393; Peltz, 2017; and Riley, 2017. Connections have been made between aristocratic making, collecting, and production. For example, Tobin suggests ‘collecting compensates for a lost relation to artisanal labour, that lived experience of work where the artisan’s skilled hands, emblematic of the embodied knowledge of his craft, encounter materiality’ (Tobin, 2014, pp. 60-61). See also Stewart, 1994, p. 133.

⁷¹ Pullins, 2017, pp. 138-141.

⁷² Pullins, 2017, pp. 139, quoting the anonymously published *Les Découpures à la Mode* (Paris: Chez Museir, 1727). See also Italian examples of decoupage (known as *contrafatta* or *lacca povera*) in Kisluk-Grosheide, 1996.

⁷³ Peltz, 2017, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Granger, 1769. For extra-illustration of printed texts with prints see Peltz, 1998, 1999, 2005, and 2017.

She did, however, extract frontispieces and engravings from books and re-contextualise them in her collections, a practice which Arlene Leis associates with ‘extra-illustration practices’.⁷⁵ There is also no evidence that the duchess specifically collected ephemeral printed objects — such as trade cards, visiting cards, or admission tickets — which collectors such as Sarah Sophia Banks trimmed and pasted onto album leaves.⁷⁶ The duchess’s journals, correspondence, and notebooks contain no indications that she was interested in any of the fashionable variations of cutting and pasting prints, or of undertaking these pursuits with others.

Her journals are also silent on when, with whom — or if — the duchess invited others to view her prints and albums, and there are also no known records of her sociably arranging, cutting, or pasting prints.⁷⁷ In contrast, other print collectors such as Samuel Pepys recorded men retiring to his study after dinner ‘to view his albums and converse thereon’.⁷⁸ Sarah Sophia Banks used the practice of collecting and the display of her collections ‘as a way of participating in dynamic intellectual and social circles’ and as an instrument for polite sociability’.⁷⁹ Visitors to her residence at 32 Soho Square, London could ‘flip through the albums’ of political portraits, satirical prints, depictions of public ceremonies and the thousands of ‘articles of print culture’ that she had collected.⁸⁰ All the Northumberland seats were the locations of frequent entertaining and visits, but the role of the duchess’s prints in any social engagement is unknown.⁸¹

⁷⁵ When discussing this practice as undertaken by Sarah Sophia Banks (Leis, 2014, p. 132, note 19).

⁷⁶ See Leis, 2014, p. 132-134. For perspectives on ‘the ephemeral’ (including in the context of Sarah Sophia Banks) see Russell, 2018, pp. 177-183. Banks’ collection of ephemera was ‘a history of sociability as it was happening’ (Russell, 2018, p. 181).

⁷⁷ Aymonino notes he has found ‘no mention of comments’ in other sources about viewing her print collections but suggests the duchess’s prints were possibly shown ‘to her close friends when in her apartments at Northumberland House’ (Aymonino, private email correspondence, 29 April 2020).

⁷⁸ Warwick, 2003, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁹ Leis, 2014, pp. 127-128.

⁸⁰ Leis, 2014, p. 130. She resided with her brother, botanist, and President of the Royal Society, Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820).

⁸¹ There is also no mention in her own journals of visitors’ engagement with any of the collections she amassed in her *Musaeum* rooms at Northumberland House, or any other location where her collections were stored (For the *Musaeum*, see Aymonino, 2012 and 2021).

Nonetheless, she was always eager to view, assess and often criticise the collections of others, as will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Paper cutting inspirations?

One popular activity involving the manipulation of prints and paper did have a connection with the duchess. In the middle-to-late eighteenth century, a new elite fashion in interior decoration — known as the ‘print room’ — gained popularity in England and Ireland.⁸² **(Fig. 16)** In this short-lived trend, prints of varied quality were artfully pasted directly onto the walls of domestic interior spaces.⁸³ The prints were then embellished with commercially-produced decorative paper frames, paper borders, and paper ornaments to create a visually appealing arrangement. The adhesion of prints and decorative borders to walls quickly became a commercial exercise, although some society women such as Mrs Mary Delany (1700-1788) and Lady Louisa Conolly (1743-1821) collected and cut prints for their own print rooms.⁸⁴ Like other print cutting activities, this could also be a sociable enterprise. In 1750, Mrs Delany noted a social visit where ‘it rained furiously, so we fell to work making frames for prints’.⁸⁵

The duchess was certainly aware of print rooms, and described a number of examples of them in her journals.⁸⁶ However, in many of these descriptions, she noted only the background wall colour and the spatial arrangement of prints in the rooms and

⁸² Griffiths, 2016, pp. 415-417; Heard, 2012-2013, pp. 53-60; Calloway, 1991, pp. 102-105; Johnstone, 2004; O’Regan, 2018 and 2020; Archer, 1989; and Chadwick, 2020. I wish to thank Antony Griffiths, Kate Retford, Esther Chadwick, and Anna O’Regan for discussing their research on print rooms with me.

⁸³ Typical print room locations included dressing rooms, dining rooms, billiard rooms and staircases.

⁸⁴ For the creation of the print room at Castletown by Lady Conolly see Johnstone, 2011; Tillyard, 1994, pp. 203-205; O’Regan, 2020. For the commerciality of print rooms, see for example: Clayton, 1997, pp. 103-128; Fitzgerald, 2008, pp. 14-17; Tipping, 1924.

⁸⁵ Delany, 1862, Vol. 2, p. 563.

⁸⁶ For example, during a visit to Lord Essex at Cashibury in 1752, she noted: ‘a large Eating Room fitted up with Prints on a straw [coloured] ground’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/1, f.88). In 1773 at Swarland she described ‘a good Eating Room [coloured] yellow & hung with prints’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/51, f.297).

seemed dismissive of the prints.⁸⁷ Intriguingly, the duchess's notebooks also describe renovation works in a 'Print Room' at Syon House during her lifetime, but her lack of other comments means her practical involvement in its creation is still mysterious.⁸⁸ Scanty records about her own print room mean it is difficult to draw any conclusions about how her 'cutting and pasting' of prints for a print room could be associated with her cutting and pasting of prints for albums. There is also no evidence to suggest the creation of her print room was a social activity.

Trimming prints *was* closely aligned with the activities of many print collectors in the eighteenth century. The arrangement and care of print collections was both a hobby and a genteel, creative pursuit, and trimming prints was part of this interest.⁸⁹ Mariette records that the artist/collector Benedetto Luti (1666-1724) spent 'a good part of his time... employed on cutting, pasting and tidying his drawings and prints', and that he was always found 'with a pair of scissors in his hand, ready to cut the edges off some print'.⁹⁰ This form of print cutting usually entailed only trimming the margins to the platemark (to save space in albums) rather than cutting the margins into tabs, as we have observed in the De Vos albums.

To date, no evidence of the duchess's motivation or inspiration to use tabs in her print collection is apparent from her notebooks or correspondence, although that does not preclude us from drawing conclusions about these activities.⁹¹ Lucy Peltz observed that the motivation for extra-illustration ('grangerisation') of texts with prints was also

⁸⁷ For the duchess and print rooms see Box, 2021. For the importance of colour in eighteenth-century interiors, see Vickery, 2009b, pp. 173-176.

⁸⁸ The earliest reference appears to be a page titled 'Print Room' in the duchess's notebook labelled *Syon Work 1767* (Alnwick Castle, Sy: U.I.59). Queen Charlotte's print room in her garden cottage was described as being similarly decorated as 'a room in Sion [*sic*] House, that being a fashion of the day' (Heard, 2012-2013, p. 57).

⁸⁹ Griffiths, 2016, pp. 424-425. For the trimming, separating and enhancement of drawings by Pierre-Jean Mariette, see Smentek, 2008. Waters describes the cutting and pasting of architectural drawings into sketchbooks from the sixteenth century (Waters, 2012, pp. 508-513).

⁹⁰ Griffiths, 2016, p. 425.

⁹¹ Connections between cutting and pasting of other collections (such as botanical specimens) has also been explored as part of this research but no similar 'tabbed' techniques have been identified to date.

‘seldom recorded directly’, leaving similar questions about this other significant eighteenth-century print cutting activity.⁹² As noted by Leonie Auslander:

people who make things have repertoires of forms (and the meanings conveyed by those forms) in their heads, hands, and eyes. They do not necessarily have words for them...that doesn’t mean that such...practices are without meaning or that their meanings are inaccessible to historians.⁹³

Whatever her inspiration, the duchess’s tabbed prints continue to be a unique and ‘peculiar characteristic’ that has not been observed in other collections.⁹⁴ Although the ingenious tabbed form does not immediately link with any of the cutting activities described, it may be seen as a response to the contemporary interest in the manipulation of prints and paper. The quantity of notes about prints in the duchess’s journals reveals that she thought carefully about her collection, so it is possible that the tabs were her own invention inspired by other similar — but not identical — cutting and pasting activities.

Analysing Annotations

Other material features of the De Vos albums reveal new information about the duchess’s processes of print assembly, arrangement and storage. Previously undescribed annotations elucidate her focus on the gradual and sequential arrangement of her prints.⁹⁵ To consider just one example, De Vos album v.1A opens with the series *Creation of the World* by Johannes Sadeler I (published 1580-1590) and includes a title page and seven prints.⁹⁶ Fortuitously, some tabs on the prints are no longer adhered, allowing the album leaf below to be revealed. Hidden beneath the print titled ‘Creation of Light’ is an ink

⁹² Peltz, 2017, p. 4.

⁹³ Auslander et al., 2009, p. 1357.

⁹⁴ Griffiths, 2001, p. 139. Enquiries to print specialists in several countries have not revealed any examples of this technique used by other collectors.

⁹⁵ The annotations were first described in Box, 2018, but had not previously been mentioned in any other published research on the Melbourne Northumberland albums such as in: Edquist, 1990; Stone, 2016, pp. 32-40; Lo Conte, 2018a; and Griffiths, 2001.

⁹⁶ Edquist IA.2-6a; Hollstein XLIV 11-18.

annotation that reads ‘First Days Creation’.⁹⁷ (Fig. 17) The distinctive flourish of the ‘C’ confirms the annotation is written in the duchess’s handwriting. It appears she reserved spaces for specific prints and wrote the names of missing prints in the appropriate places on the album leaves. When acquired, the prints were adhered into the reserved spaces, thereby concealing the earlier annotations. The annotations therefore indicate planned acquisitions, and the future direction of her collecting.

Other annotations reveal even more information. On the leaf behind the print of ‘Cain Tilling the Ground, Abel as Shepherd’, part of the series of *Boni et Mali Scientia* (*The Story of the First Men*, Johannes Sadeler after Maarten De Vos, 1583), the duchess wrote in ink: ‘Cain ploughing Abel finding Thief / Genes is [sic] 4 No. 5’.⁹⁸ (Fig. 18) The spacing of the word ‘Genesis’ to read ‘Genes’ and ‘is’, confirms the duchess was familiar with the second state, or version of this series, as the lettering on the print in the second state of the series includes the numeral ‘5’ in the lower centre, and the word ‘Genes’ (rather than ‘Genesis’).⁹⁹ This specific information was written by the duchess on the album leaf, ready for an appropriate impression to be acquired and placed to fill the space. This could have been either a print from her own collection, or one still to be acquired.

We can observe this process of gradual acquisition ‘in action’ even when an album leaf contains only handwritten annotations, but no prints. For example, the words ‘Seeing’, ‘Hearing’, ‘Feeling’, ‘Smelling’, and ‘Tasting’ written on album leaves, are most likely notes to allocate spaces for the future acquisition of *The Five Senses* series

⁹⁷ Edquist IA.3a; Hollstein XLIV, 12. Similarly, on the leaf under the title page for the series, described in Hollstein as On Title: *Imago Bonitatis Illius*, is written in the duchess’s hand: ‘Image Bonitatis Illius’ (Hollstein XXI 85.9 (J. S. I); Edquist IA.2; Hollstein XLIV 11).

⁹⁸ Edquist IA.9a; Hollstein XLIV, 29 II (Series: Hollstein XLIV, 25-36 II).

⁹⁹ ‘Any impression which shows additional working on the plate constitutes a different state’ (Griffiths, 2010, p. 153). A finer impression of this print (with all lettering covered) is also in one of the Oxford-provenance albums in Melbourne: Edquist IA.52a.

by Raphael Sadeler I, after De Vos.¹⁰⁰ These annotations form a similar function to the ‘prints wanted’ lists the duchess developed.

Binding, Foliation and Paper Stock

Tabbed mounts and annotations are unusual characteristics of the De Vos albums, but other physical features are generally similar to print albums assembled in the eighteenth century. The portrait of Maarten De Vos by Aegidius Sadeler II placed at the beginning of De Vos album v.1A is indicative of a common feature of collector’s albums.¹⁰¹ (Fig. 19) Commencing an album with a portrait of the artist or the printmaker featured therein, and recording the number of prints it contained were common practices for eighteenth-century collectors.¹⁰² In a guide to print collecting published in 1728, Dezallier d’Argenville (1680-1765) noted that ‘as a matter of course...portraits of artists should preface a volume of their works’, and at the request of Prince Eugene of Savoy, Pierre-Jean Mariette included portraits in the opening leaves of the *oeuvre* albums assembled for him.¹⁰³ Lord Fitzwilliam also included an image of the artist in the opening leaves of his single-artist albums, where he would also sign his name and record the year in which prints from his collection were sent to a specialist to be bound into albums.¹⁰⁴ The duchess did not record this same level of detail, though she did leave other clues about how the De Vos albums were constructed.

The paper stock and foliation of the De Vos albums elucidate the process of assembling individual sheets into albums. In album v.1A, for example, two different paper stocks are present, both of modest laid paper without a watermark. Approximately

¹⁰⁰ For the placement of Hollstein XLIV 1506-1510 in v.1A. Not described in Edquist, 1990.

¹⁰¹ Edquist IA.1; Hollstein XXI 75 cat. 340.

¹⁰² Griffiths, 2016, p. 424. Numerals written on the rear attached endpapers of her albums (in what appears to be the duchess’s hand) appear to be a count of the prints they contain.

¹⁰³ The request from Prince Eugene was likely ‘inspired by the woodcut portraits in biographies such as Giorgio Vasari’s *Vite* (1568) or by Florent Le Comte’s opening of several of his *oeuvre* lists with a mention of the artist’s printed portrait’ (Smentek, 2014, p. 46 and p. 85, note 196).

¹⁰⁴ Ling, 2010, p. 20.

ten percent of the leaves are a heavier, slightly blue-toned paper, bound as gatherings. In the first twenty pages of v.1A, each leaf contains at least one print. There are then seven blank pages of the slightly different paper stock. The subtle difference in the stock of these blank sheets (and their difference to the other leaves in the album) suggest these may have been added to an existing group of leaves.¹⁰⁵ The uniform discolouration of the leaves suggest gatherings of both paper stocks were bound together, with the blank sheets providing space for future additions to the albums.

Most of the leaves in the album are foliated by the duchess (in ink) on the recto at the top right-hand corner.¹⁰⁶ The foliation is sequential — irrespective of the type of paper stock — and in some cases the foliation is truncated by the edges of the leaves, probably during the binding process. **(Fig. 20)** The right-hand margins are narrower than the left, indicating the prints may have already been adhered when the leaves were cut for binding. These clues suggest the prints may have been first assembled onto gatherings, which were then foliated. The gatherings would then have been bound into albums — a method also used by Lord Fitzwilliam for the assembly of several of his albums.¹⁰⁷

‘Complete’, ‘finished’, and ‘pasted’

The modest binding and paper stock of the De Vos albums suggest that they may have been in an initial ‘working’ or ‘in progress’ stage. We must wonder if the duchess intended to have these albums rebound more handsomely at a later time. While there is no specific evidence to suggest the duchess’s intentions, Samuel Pepys’s collection provides insight into the re-binding of print albums. Like Lord Fitzwilliam, it was only towards the end of his life that Pepys pasted his prints — which had previously been

¹⁰⁵ Lord Fitzwilliam’s album of prints by Salvatore Rosa (Fitzwilliam 31.1.8) was also constructed of three different types of paper. (‘Label 33’, Ling, 2016).

¹⁰⁶ The numerals 9, 10, and 16 have the distinctive features of the duchess’s hand.

¹⁰⁷ Particularly those assembled after 1808 (Ling, 2010, p. 15). See also Hartley, 1992, p. 262; and Clarke, 1997, p. 34. Leis proposes that Sarah Sophia Banks also intended to bind the individual sheets onto which she pasted visiting cards and admission tickets (Leis, 2014, p. 132).

stored loose — into an elaborate arrangement into albums.¹⁰⁸ Pepys had two categories of binding: books in his library were bound in full leather and adorned in gold with his crest; and albums of prints that had once been housed in his library were also bound in leather. In contrast, other albums containing what he called, ‘prints general’, were bound more economically with marbled boards and a leather spine.¹⁰⁹ His modest bindings are similar to those of duchess’s De Vos albums. Pepys’ will stipulated that for the ‘Settlement’ of his library, his collections ‘be *finisht* [*sic*], bound, placed and properly entred [*sic*] in my Catalogue’.¹¹⁰ This indicates that there was an intention for his humbly bound ‘prints general’ albums to be bound in a similar fashion as books in his library. Future research may uncover if it was the duchess’s intention to have the modest De Vos albums more elaborately re-bound at a later time, to match the higher-quality bindings of other albums in her collection.

The notions of ‘complete’ and ‘finished’ have interesting relevance for the duchess’s albums. After the death of Hugh Percy, 3rd Duke of Northumberland in 1847, a probate inventory of collection objects, artworks, furniture and decorative objects was undertaken, and this included hundreds of print albums which we can associate with the duchess’s collection.¹¹¹ The quality of descriptions in documents such as these is often patchy, however there are some fascinating entries attached to prints that are noted in an earlier draft of the inventory.¹¹² The ‘Oxford’ albums can clearly be identified in this draft document, and each is listed as ‘full’ (‘John Sadeler Part 1’); or ‘not full’ (‘Raphael

¹⁰⁸ Waals, 1984, p. 239. Other collectors also assembled prints into portfolios, ready for binding (Meyer, 2015, p. 39).

¹⁰⁹ This indicates a clear separation between Pepys’s albums of prints and books (Waals, 1984, p. 240).

¹¹⁰ Tanner, 1926, Vol. II, p. 319. Emphasis added.

¹¹¹ 1847 Syon House inventory (‘Inventory of the effects at Syon House’ (Alnwick Castle, Sy: H. VIII, 1.b, f.150-295) which describes the albums now in Melbourne and their shelf locations at that time: ‘Print Room A, Shelf 3’ (the Oxford albums) and ‘Print Room A Shelf 4’ (the De Vos albums) (f.275). For probate inventories, see Pearson, 1994, pp. 173-176.

¹¹² This is described on the cover by a later hand as ‘draft books prints drawings etc part of the Catalogue of the Contents of a Library A to M’ (Alnwick Castle, Sy: W.II.26). This document contains additional descriptions of objects which were not transferred into the final copy of the inventory. It is also possible this is an inventory created prior to 1847, as there are a number of differences between both documents.

Sadeler Part 1') or 'nearly full' (all the other albums).¹¹³ This is representative of the bound, mounted and 'finished' nature of the Oxford albums, which reflects their current condition in the collection of the University of Melbourne.¹¹⁴

The listing of the works of De Vos is most interesting. Here three albums of De Vos s are described as: 'De Vos Works of Vol. 1 nearly full *some pasted*'; 'Vol 2 nearly Full' and 'Vol 4 filled *but not pasted*'.¹¹⁵ No other entry for any of the other albums in this inventory mentions the word 'pasted'. This was therefore an unusual enough feature for it to be recorded in an inventory taken after the deaths of both the duke and the duchess. Entries such as this support that the duchess's sudden death in 1776 may be the reason why the De Vos albums remained in their 'working' format and with binding of modest leather spine and marbled boards: that is, why their assembly was halted in process.

Physical remnants of a location schema

Irrespective of the state of their bindings, there is evidence the De Vos albums were stored with other albums during the duchess's lifetime. Pressmarks or shelf marks — '12 F° 1' and '12 F° 2' — are written in pencil in what appears to be the duchess's hand on the front endpapers of the De Vos albums in Melbourne. (**Fig. 21**) Enclosed in one of the albums is a loose impression of a print of St. Jerome, which also bears '12 F°' pencilled on the upper verso, in the same handwriting as the endpaper of the album.¹¹⁶ This suggests this was a numeration schema used by the duchess. This numerical connection between the album and the print suggests that both of these annotations were

¹¹³ 'A Shelf 3' (Alnwick Castle, Sy: W.II.26).

¹¹⁴ 'D Shelf 5' and 'A Shelf 1' (Alnwick Castle, Sy: W.II.26). Other similar descriptions in the same document include, for example, 'Basan 2 Volumes both complete' and 'Galle's Works River Gods complete'.

¹¹⁵ 'B Shelf 3' (Alnwick Castle, Sy: W.II.26).

¹¹⁶ The print is recorded at: Edquist IIA.115; Hollstein XXI 30.102 (Aeg. Sad.). One of the duchess's notebooks includes an *aide-mémoire* outlining which prints were stored in which locations. The list describes that the De Vos albums (now in Melbourne) were stored at Syon during the duchess's lifetime (Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/5). This notebook is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

made during in the duchess's lifetime, and that the print was allocated to this particular location and album.¹¹⁷

Sadeler hermits after De Vos

The De Vos albums contain a considerable number of images of hermits and hermitages, and the features and arrangement of these series of prints provide new insights into the duchess's print collecting. First, they demonstrate that she was fastidious about the sequential arrangement of prints in the albums she arranged herself. Second, eremitic-themed prints feature regularly in the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints*, indicating that they were considered a key part of her collection. Third, hermit imagery from four Sadeler prints was translated into statuary within Hulne Park, adjacent to Alnwick Castle (which is the focus of Chapter Six). Analysis of this thematic group of prints, the materiality of the De Vos albums, and associated archival evidence, therefore helps us connect the organisation, arrangement, and 'making' of the duchess's albums, the 'afterlives' of her prints in new forms, and the duchess's collecting motivations.

In 1585, the elder members of the Sadeler family, Johannes ('Jan') I (c.1550-1600) and Raphael I (c.1560/1561-c.1628/1632) bore the financial risk — as both engravers and publishers — of their first series of hermit-themed prints originally drawn by Maarten de Vos.¹¹⁸ The series included a title page and twenty-nine numbered plates and was titled *Solitudeo sive Vitae Patrum Eremicolarum*.¹¹⁹ The prints were a convenient size for binding or adhering into albums; evoked new religious themes; and focussed on a landscape setting.¹²⁰ In sum, the series exemplified the commercial innovation of the Netherlandish print trade in the middle to late sixteenth century,

¹¹⁷ Lord Fitzwilliam sometimes wrote numbers on the versos of his prints in
[redacted] ('Mounting', Ling, 2016).

¹¹⁸ Vignau-Wilberg, 2005, p. 365. For the Sadelers see Ramaix, 1991a; Limouze, 1989 and 1990; Sénéchal, 1987 and 1990; Herrin, 2014; Jacoby, 2011; and Markow, 2019.

¹¹⁹ Each image was approximately 17 x 20cm. There had been no previously published series of prints based on the subject of less-known hermits. Hollstein XXI 377-406 (J.S.I); Vignau-Wilberg, 2005, p. 365.

¹²⁰ University of Melbourne houses a modestly bound volume which contains three of the Sadeler print series, a typical configuration (UniM Bail SpC/Prints 769.92 SADELER).

especially their development of collectible prints in sets (described at **Appendix Two**).¹²¹ The series captured the imagination of contemporary audiences and was followed by three other groups: *Sylvae Sacrae Monumenta...Anachoretarum* (1593-1594);¹²² *Trophaeum vitae solitariae* (1598);¹²³ and *Oraculum anachoreticum* (1595-1600).¹²⁴ One De Vos album (v.1A) in Melbourne includes the four series of Sadeler male hermits, which are the focus of this discussion.

Sadeler's 'virtual museum of religious men' was praised by contemporaries as a 'pan-European success'.¹²⁵ Other artists and printmakers piggy-backed on this market interest and produced similarly themed sets. For example, a series of male hermits (*Sacra eremus ascetarum*) and a series of female hermits (*Sacra eremus ascetriarum*) — both comprising twenty-five images — were engraved by Boetius Adams Bolswert (c.1580-1633) after Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) and published in 1612.¹²⁶ These are most probably the fifty-one 'Sacra Eremus Ascetrianium' which were also acquired by the duchess and appear in her *Catalogue of Prints*.¹²⁷

De Vos and hermits in the duchess's journals

Hermit imagery captured the duchess's attention during her travels, so it is no surprise that a large number of hermit-themed prints after De Vos appear in her

¹²¹ See Griffiths, 2016, p. 172. For De Vos and trade in Antwerp see Porras 2014.

¹²² Title and 29 numbered plates Hollstein XXI 407-422 (J.S.I) and Hollstein XXI 118-132 (R.S.I). See Göttler, 2018a.

¹²³ Title and 25 numbered plates. Hollstein XXI 423-436 (J.S.I) and 133-144 (R.S.I).

¹²⁴ Title and 25 numbered plates. Hollstein XXI 437-415 (J.S.I) and 145-157 (R.S.I).

¹²⁵ Van Hogendorp Prosperetti, 2014, p. 430 (quoting Benedictine monk and historian Giacomo Cavacci (1567-1612)).

¹²⁶ Vignau-Wilberg, 2005, p. 376. The British Museum holds a volume containing four series of hermits bound together: an original Sadeler title-page of *Oraculum Anachoreticum*, followed by copies of *Tromphaeum vitae Soitariae* by Carel van Boeckel (published by Leclerc); copies by Van Boeckel, Isaac Briot and Pierre Ferens after *Sylvae Sacrae*; copies after *Solitudo Sive vitae Patrum Ermicolarum* by Nicholaas de Bruyn; and female hermits by de Bruyn after Collaert (British Museum Number: 157.b.22).

¹²⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.51. They are also referred to in another notebook (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.26).

collection.¹²⁸ She certainly had many opportunities to view Flemish and Netherlandish images of hermits in her peregrinations, as the *Getty Provenance Database* includes over three hundred records of seventeenth-century paintings of hermits in collections in the Netherlands, France, Spain and Italy.¹²⁹ On a visit to a church in Cannes, the duchess was struck by a large picture of ‘a cave by a tempestuous sea’ which included ‘an old man with a venerable white beard [who] appears to be a prophet or a hermit’.¹³⁰ In a Carmelite Church she noted the ‘incomparable’ pulpit that represented ‘a rock with a hermit, two palm trees and an angel, the workmanship is exquisite’.¹³¹ When she visited Antwerp Cathedral in 1766 she noted that ‘nothing can equal the quality and finesse of the Painting’, and made particular reference to several works by Maarten De Vos.¹³² She also described ‘a hermit with a lantern lighting the saint across the river’ which appeared on the altar piece of the Company of Fusiliers.¹³³ That evening she noted that she ‘bought several prints’.¹³⁴ Unfortunately, the prints are not specified, but her selection was possibly inspired by what she had seen that day.

Hermits and hermitages also captured the attention of eighteenth-century print collectors, including royalty and the aristocracy. Queen Charlotte owned an edition of

¹²⁸ ‘De Vos’ is mentioned in her list of fifty ‘Flemish Masters and French Masters’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.18).

¹²⁹ Many of these are by artists admired by the duchess including Abraham Bloemaert, Paul Bril, Gerard Dou, Guido Reni, David Teniers the Younger, Maarten de Vos and Salvator Rosa (Göttler, 2018b, pp. 169-170).

¹³⁰ ‘Designed and executed by Plumier’ [Charles Plumier 1646-1704?]) Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/54, f.43.

¹³¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/24, f.41. Works in the duchess’s own collection also directly reference ruins and hermitages. Her *Catalogue of Pictures* notes: ‘A view of ruins and figures by Brill’; ‘Landscape with ruins by Dekker’; and ‘A hermit in his cell by Beschley after G. Douw’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122A, f.2, 3, 12). The latter is probably the hermit picture she recorded haggling over.

¹³² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.60. She noted, ‘the Miracle of the loaves and fishes...is also admirably painted by Martin De Vos...in the Furriers Chapel...is a very fine picture painted by Martin de Vos. The very next chapel is that of the Painters and Sculptors and is dedicated to St Luke, who is there represented by Martin De Vos occupied in painting the Virgin Mary’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.61, 64-66). She also noted a ‘Cooks Shop’ completed ‘in a most masterly manner’ by De Vos in the collection of the Duke of Orford at Houghton (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88, f.51).

¹³³ She ascribed this to Rubens (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.64).

¹³⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.66.

Bolswert's twenty-four portraits of 'desert fathers' in their cells, depicted with accoutrements such as crucifixes and rosary beads.¹³⁵ Lord Fitzwilliam's collection features the complete Sadeler hermit series, mounted in one of a number of his albums of Sadeler prints.¹³⁶ The Oxford-provenance albums in Melbourne also contain a number of prints from Sadeler's hermit series after De Vos.¹³⁷

Interrogating hermit prints in the De Vos albums

The De Vos album v.1A in Melbourne includes the four series of male hermits drawn by Maarten de Vos and engraved by Johannes and Raphael Sadeler.¹³⁸ The prints in Melbourne are mounted in their original series groupings, following the numerical sequence of each set. The following sections discuss each of the hermit print series in order of their appearance in this album. Using evidence from their tabbed mounts and annotations, some deductions can be made about the duchess's ordering and assembly of this album over time.

(a) Sylvae Sacrae

The first series of hermits in album v.1A is *Sylvae Sacrae* ('the sacred wood').¹³⁹ A neat ink annotation in the duchess's hand appears on the sixty-fifth leaf, which reads: 'In sacras Sylvas'.¹⁴⁰ (**Fig. 22**) This clearly identified and reserved a space for a missing

¹³⁵ *Sylva Anachoretica Aegypti et Palaestinae* after Abraham Bloemart (1610). The prints were hand copied in ink in the 1790s by Charlotte, Princess Royal (1766-1828) and at the same time, Princess Elizabeth designed a small, thatched roof hermitage (complete with a model of a hermit) for the royal retreat at Frogmore (Roberts and Lloyd, 2004, p. 77). The hermitage in eighteenth-century garden design is considered in Chapter Six.

¹³⁶ *Oeuvre de Sadeler*. 3 (Fitzwilliam Museum: PDP 23.I.3).

¹³⁷ Described in Edquist, 1990, pp. 431-432.

¹³⁸ They are presented in the following order in v.1A. 1. *Sylvae Sacrae*; 2. *Solitudeo sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticorum*; 3. *Oraculum anachoreticum*; 4. *Trophaeum vitae solitariae*.

¹³⁹ The second series produced in 1594 and commissioned in Munich by Duke Wilhelm V. Completed by Raphael Sadeler I and Jan Sadeler I after de Vos but referenced in Hollstein as Raphael: Hollstein XXI 118-132 (Raphael Sadeler I). For this series see Göttler, 2018a, pp. 158-175.

¹⁴⁰ UniM Bail SpC/RB 37FF/2 v.1A, f.49. Edquist, 1990, p. 41.

print, providing further evidence that the duchess determined the order of the prints, irrespective of whether she ‘pasted’ them.¹⁴¹ The missing print is the preface to the *Sylvae Sacrae* series, which is titled, ‘IN SACRAS SYLVAS IOANNIS ET RAPHAELIS SADELERORUM / PARAGRAMMA’.¹⁴² As the duchess used the words ‘In sacras Sylvas’ to record the missing print, she was clearly familiar with both the print and its lettering.¹⁴³ She then recorded the title in her album to ensure it was placed in the appropriate sequence with other prints in the series. The remaining prints in the series are mounted in the album using separate tabs, which suggests that they were acquired by the duchess with their margins already trimmed.¹⁴⁴ The twenty-sixth print in the series, ‘Bruno’, is the exception, as it combines integrated and separate tabs, suggesting its’ margins were only partly trimmed when acquired by the duchess.¹⁴⁵

A number of album leaves show evidence of repaired or removed tabs, which provide additional information about how the album was created. The impression of hermit ‘Chariton’, for example, bears a particularly haphazard arrangement of several layers of tabs, perhaps the result of replacing or re-locating the print.¹⁴⁶ We could assume that some of the prints were originally mounted using integrated tabs, but then removed/re-ordered, which damaged the tabs, and new separate tabs needed to be created instead. This movement and re-positioning of prints is even more apparent as we examine other print series in this album.

¹⁴¹ Edquist’s *Catalogue* does not specifically mention the presence of the annotation, but she does reference the empty space around it: ‘from a series of 30 plates; here only 28...One of the missing plates was a frontispiece – ‘Paragramma’ – with 36 lines of text – Holl. 408’ (Edquist, 1990, p. 41).

¹⁴² For an impression of the missing print see British Museum Number 1958,0712.246. For a translation of all the lettering see Göttler, 2018a, pp. 173-175.

¹⁴³ An impression of this print is not contained within the seven Oxford-provenance albums now in Melbourne, but it is possible the print was part of one of the other duplicate copies of Sadeler prints in her collection.

¹⁴⁴ The lack of margins would also suggest that these images were not drawn from an extant book of prints (usually sold with wide margins) as seen in the book of prints combining *Oraculum Anchoreticum* and *Solitudo, sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticorum* at the University of Melbourne (UniM Bail SpC/Prints 769.92 SADELER).

¹⁴⁵ Hollstein XXI 130 (R.S.I); Edquist IA.61b.

¹⁴⁶ Hollstein XXI 118 (R.S.I); Edquist IA.50a.

(b) *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticorum*

The next series, *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticorum* — twenty-nine prints and a title-page by Johannes Sadeler I — is of particular interest as some of the prints conceal handwritten annotations which reveal information about the albums' assembly 'in progress'.¹⁴⁷ Two annotations ('Helenium' and 'Iohannes') in the duchess's hand are concealed by the prints 'Helenus' and 'Iohannes' ['Saint John'].¹⁴⁸ (Fig. 23) This suggests the extant prints were added later, thereby covering the annotations. A further annotation, 'Ciomus' is recorded in the duchess's handwriting under the print of the same name.¹⁴⁹ The print now obscuring this annotation has integrated tabs. This indicates the duchess must have obtained a print with margins after this annotation was made, and then cut the margins into integrated tabs to mount it onto the album leaf.

Twenty-one of the prints in this series have duplicates.¹⁵⁰ These appear to be all of the same state, with strong inking and similar paper tone, so it is likely they were from the same 'set'. The duplicate prints are either loose in the album, or trimmed several millimetres outside the plate-mark and adhered to the verso of the leaf, resulting in both impressions of the print appearing in the same page opening.¹⁵¹ Discolouration of the album leaves under the duplicates (particularly visible when they are loose) is similar to discolouration under mounted prints, which suggests the duplicates have been in position for a similar duration to the mounted prints.

¹⁴⁷ Hollstein XXI 377-406 (J.S.I); Hollstein XLIV 964-993. Duplicates of this series also appear in one of the Oxford provenance albums in Melbourne (UniM Bail SpC/RB 37BB2 v.8 Mark and George). See Edquist, 1990, pp. 431-432.

¹⁴⁸ Edquist IA.69a; Hollstein XXI 387 (J.S.I) (Hollstein XLIV 974); and Edquist IA.69; Hollstein XXI 388 (J.S.I) (Hollstein XLIV 975).

¹⁴⁹ Edquist IA.76b; Hollstein XXI 402 (J.S.I).

¹⁵⁰ The primary mounting system in the album is to have one or two prints per leaf, mounted with integrated or separate tabs on the recto of the leaf only. [redacted]

[redacted] ('Arranging', Ling, 2016). Collecting duplicates was not uncommon. The catalogue for the sale of the collection of the Duchess of Portland notes, 'the Works of Hollar, comprised in 13 folio volumes...with a variety of proofs and variations, in fine preservation' (Tobin 2014, p. 4).

¹⁵¹ See for example Edquist IA.70a and 70b. It is possible the duplicates were adhered or enclosed at a later time, as the mounting format and lack of tabs is not consistent with the primary layout of the rest of the album.

This series is also significant as it contains images that mirror statuary now located in Hulne Park near Alnwick Castle. ‘Paphnutius’ is immortalised as a statue at a large, natural cave, ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ (on the ascent to Brizlee Hill), and ‘Anub’, ‘Didymo’ and ‘Mutius’ stand in stone at Hulne Priory.¹⁵² These four prints and the significance of their transformation into stone will be considered in Chapter Six.

(c) *Oraculum Anachoreticum*

The next series in the De Vos album is the twenty-five plates (plus title page and dedication) of the *Oraculum Anachoreticum* by Johannes Sadeler I.¹⁵³ The layers of tabs on some adjacent album leaves suggest prints have been placed and then removed, which provides interesting data about the relocation and re-arrangement of the collection. For example, ‘Marinus’, with the engraved lettering ‘2’, from the *Oraculum Anachoreticum* series, has evidence of re-tabling/removal.¹⁵⁴ If we look back at prints bearing the numeral ‘2’ in the earlier series’ in this album, we discover ‘Marcus’/‘Marco’ — by Raphael Sadeler I (from the *Sylvae Sacrae* series) — also has evidence of the removal and re-adherence of tabs.¹⁵⁵ As both prints have the same numeral, engraver and a similar title, it would not be a stretch to imagine that the duchess discovered she had incorrectly located the prints and then re-positioned them. The tabbed print mounting method used by the duchess would have made this transition from location to location much easier: merely slice off the tab and create a new separate tab in the correct location.

There is also evidence of another numerical mix-up within the series, which was not corrected. ‘Marinus and Romoaldus’ is placed as print ‘20’ in the *Oraculum Anachoreticum* series.¹⁵⁶ This image is actually from the *Trophaeum Vitae Solitariae* series, the next hermit appearing sequentially in this album.¹⁵⁷ The correct print for the

¹⁵² The prints are Hollstein XXI 389 (J.S.I); Hollstein XXI 401 (J.S.I); Hollstein XXI 390 (J.S.I) and Hollstein XXI 386 (J.S.I).

¹⁵³ Commencing at Edquist IA.79.

¹⁵⁴ Edquist IA.80; Hollstein XXI 145 (R.S.I).

¹⁵⁵ Edquist IA.50; Hollstein XXI 119 (R.S.I).

¹⁵⁶ Edquist IA.89; Hollstein XXI 434 (J.S.I).

¹⁵⁷ Hollstein XXI 423-436 (J.S.I).

Oraculum Anachoreticum series should be ‘Wendelinus’, also engraved with the numeral ‘20’.¹⁵⁸ ‘Wendelinus’ is placed on f.103 of this album, forming — erroneously — part of the *Trophaeum Vitae Solitariae* series. Certainly, this is a forgivable mistake to make in the 1700s without the benefit of illustrated *catalogues raisonné* and online resources.

(d) *Trophaeum Vitae Solitariae*

The next series is *Trophaeum Vitae Solitariae*: a title page and twenty-five prints.¹⁵⁹ This group also reveals important information about the duchess’s collecting and collection assembly practices. Extant prints from this series are predominantly mounted in the separate tab style. The prints do not appear to have been previously mounted or adhered. We can deduce that they were probably obtained from another collector who had cut each print to the plate-mark and stored them unmounted. After their acquisition by the duchess, she created separate tabs to adhere them to the album leaves in numerical order.

A number of the duchess’s handwritten annotations in ink are also adjacent to mounted prints in this series, which reflects a gradual process of print acquisition.¹⁶⁰ As quite a number of prints conceal handwritten annotations, it is likely the duchess owned only a few prints from this series when she began to compile the prints onto gatherings or album leaves.¹⁶¹ The missing prints were then acquired and adhered over the inked placeholders. For example, prints of ‘Theodorus’ (numbered ‘14’) and ‘Ioannis’ (numbered ‘15’) conceal handwritten ink annotations of the names of the missing

¹⁵⁸ Hollstein XXI 448 (J.S.I).

¹⁵⁹ Hollstein XXI 423-436 (J.S.I).

¹⁶⁰ On an empty section of f.93 — below the frontispiece/title — the word ‘Iosaphat’ is noted in the duchess’s handwriting. This refers to the missing print of the same name, the second print in the series (Hollstein XXI 424 (J.S.I)). Number twelve in the series, is noted on the empty album leaf by the duchess’s annotation ‘Arnulphus’ (f.99; Hollstein XXI 138 (R.S.I)).

¹⁶¹ One print also appears to be a copy, rather than an impression from Sadeler’s series (Edquist, 1990, p. 84).

prints.¹⁶² (Fig. 24)

Discolouration, folds, and other damage on various prints in this series demonstrate they were obtained from different sources.¹⁶³ Prints with separate tabs are now mounted over all the annotations, indicating all the ‘missing’ prints were originally without margins; and discolouration and signs of use (common to several prints) allows us to trace prints that were possibly obtained from the same source.¹⁶⁴ Through this evidence we can deduce that the duchess had at least two different sources of prints for this series.¹⁶⁵ Despite the duchess’s efforts to keep the correct prints within the correct series, there are several that appear to be out of order in this series.¹⁶⁶ Perhaps, in this

¹⁶² On f.100 (Hollstein XXI 431 (J.S.I) and Hollstein XXI 139 (R.S.I) respectively). Further examples of this appear on f.101 (‘Geroldus’, numbered ‘16’, Hollstein 432 XXI (J.S.I) and ‘Patroclus’, numbered ‘17’, Hollstein XXI 140 (R.S.I)) and on f.102 (‘Elphegus’, numbered ‘18’, Hollstein XXI 433 (J.S.I)).

¹⁶³ On f.97, annotations for ‘Paternus’ and ‘Guduvaldus’ are now concealed by prints (Hollstein XXI 136 (R.S.I) and Hollstein XXI 428 (J.S.I) respectively). The former impression is discoloured and has a pronounced fold line. There is also a concealed annotation on f.99 under the print ‘Suatacopius’, which, based on the inking and discolouration of the print, visually appears to be from a different series to the ‘Paternus’ (Number 13 in the series: Hollstein XXI 430 (J.S.I)). Other analyses of discolouration, annotations and tabs are discussed in Box, 2018.

¹⁶⁴ For example, the impressions of ‘Ioannis’, ‘Paternus’ and a least one other print could all be from the same set. ‘Theodorus’ appears to be from the same group, but could potentially be a copy, as could ‘Guduvaldus’. ‘Ioannis’ has the same discolouration and pronounced fold line as ‘Paternus’.

¹⁶⁵ Edquist also notes this in her entry for ‘Theodorus’: ‘the style of italic writing of the inscription is very similar to No. 9 [‘Guduvaldus’], and this plate also is without signatures; possibly both are from a different series or copies of the T.V.S. [*Trophaeum Vitae Solitariae*] prints’ (Edquist, 1990, p. 85).

¹⁶⁶ Several prints adhered within the *Trophaeum Vitae Solitariae* series are actually from the *Oraculum Anachoreticum* series. These are ‘Wendelinus’ (as mentioned above), ‘Salomon’, ‘Petrus’, and ‘Gualfardus’ (Number 20, Hollstein XXI 448 (J.S.I); Number 21, Hollstein XXI 155 (R.S.I); Number 22, Hollstein XXI 156 (R.S.I); and Number 25, Hollstein XXI 450 (J.S.I)). None of these have concealed annotations under the prints, and neither do the incorrect prints that are from the *Trophaeum Vitae Solitariae* series (which are placed out of sequence in the *Oraculum Anachoreticum* series). Prints from the *Trophaeum Vitae Solitariae* series that appears in sequence as part of *Oraculum Anachoreticum* series in the album are ‘Marinus and Romoldus’ number 20 (Hollstein XXI 434 (J.S.I.)); ‘Venerius’ number 21 (Hollstein XXI 142 (R.S.I.)); ‘Antonius’ number 22 (Hollstein XXI 425 (J.S.I.)); and ‘Paulus’ number 25 (Hollstein XXI 144 (R.S.I.)). Edquist noted the transpositions on all but the latter (1990, pp. 78-80).

case, the duchess did not have a correctly sequenced version of the prints as a point of reference.

Hermits and the evolution of a print collection

Some errors in her arrangement are apparent, but the material evidence addressed above demonstrates the duchess's fastidious, sequential ordering of prints within specific sets and series — a focus not always shared by other print collectors. In the albums collated by Lord Fitzwilliam for example, some of the Sadeler hermit series and their corresponding numbers appear to be randomly mixed.¹⁶⁷ Some collectors and binders/mounters — including the original collectors of the Oxford-provenance albums in Melbourne — removed the lettering from the prints or concealed it behind encapsulated mounts. If the duchess was working from visual clues from other collections, it is not surprising her prints were occasionally transposed.¹⁶⁸

The duchess's interest in sequences and in completing sets is also obvious in some of her correspondence. When she asked Louis Dutens to procure prints engraved after the designs of Boucher (as previously described), she provided careful instructions:

I have the first Suite all which are mark'd with the Letter A, and the 3rd which are mark'd C. those I wish to have are the 2nd Suite which will be mark'd B & any others that may have been publish'd since C.¹⁶⁹

She also compiled for him a detailed list of the subjects of medals, which she wrote *she should be very happy to have as she considered them essential to my Series of British [sic] History*.¹⁷⁰ This correspondence is additional evidence of her predilection for sequencing, the completion of sets, and for attention to the lettering of specific prints.

¹⁶⁷ In Fitzwilliam Museum 'Oeuvre de Sadeler. 3' (Object Number: PDP 23. I. 3).

¹⁶⁸ Even with the assistance of contemporary *catalogues raisonne* and Ruth Edquist's *Catalogue* it took several hours of close examination to determine that several of the prints (which have very similar imagery) were incorrectly sequenced in the De Vos albums.

¹⁶⁹ *Letter to Louis Dutens, 13 October 1772* (3286, Dutens Papers, Coutts & Co. Archives).

¹⁷⁰ The descriptions include, for example, *A view of London Britannia weeping on the Shore on which is seen a Horse trampling on a Lyon [sic] & Unicorn* (*Letter to Louis Dutens, 6 January 1769*, 3314, Dutens Papers, Coutts & Co. Archives)).

Analysis of the tabs and annotations in the De Vos albums suggest that the duchess was following a specific collecting schema. This may be described as what Susan Pearce calls a ‘systematic’ collecting approach.¹⁷¹ As Beth Fowkes Tobin explains, the hallmarks of a systemic collection are objects ‘arranged along some scheme that exists outside the individual collector’s mind’ using a conceptual system typified by ‘seriality and re-contextualisation’.¹⁷² Pearce notes that an ‘ostensibly intellectual rationale’ is evident in this type of collecting, reflecting the collector’s intention to ‘collect complete sets’ which ‘demonstrate understanding achieved’.¹⁷³ A sense of order, or of seriality, could certainly be ascribed to the duchess’s ordering and arranging of her collection, and to her descriptions of what she required from Dutens. The annotations under hermit prints clearly indicate the duchess was familiar with the themes, specific lettering, and numerical sequence of the prints she desired, and that she had observed these features either in her own or other collections. She then used this knowledge to accurately position prints in numerical order, and to mark spaces for specific future purchases.

This arrangement process was not as complex as it might first appear. Many prints — particularly those of Flemish and Netherlandish origin, which were favoured by the duchess — were commercially available in series or sets, with each print numbered in sequence within the plate-mark to encourage collectors’ acquisition of the full set.¹⁷⁴ The duchess’s approach could therefore be described as systematic collecting in its most basic form.¹⁷⁵ Her preference for fastidiously following the numbers of each

¹⁷¹ That is, the ability to distinguish the fine detail which separates one example (in this case, an impression) from another, and to identify and value those differences (Pearce, 1992, p. 84).

¹⁷² The Duchess of Portland took this approach in her collection of natural history specimens (Tobin, 2014, pp. 59-60).

¹⁷³ Pearce, 1995, p 32. As described by Baudrillard, after the ‘serial accumulation of identical objects’, the next stage of ‘collecting proper’ is the ‘ability to discriminate between objects’ (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 22).

¹⁷⁴ Griffiths, 2016, pp. 169-175. See also Appendix Two.

¹⁷⁵ Compared, with, for example, for the Duchess of Portland, whose careful delineation of her shell collection was undertaken using Linnaean taxonomic principles. Tobin considers the Duchess of Portland’s collecting to be ‘systematic’, and distinctive from ‘those of the virtuosi with their fetishistic accumulation of objects’ (Tobin, 2014, pp. 59-60).

series was also not necessarily evidence of a sophisticated, overarching collecting approach. For the duchess, it may have been just a simple and effective method of highlighting missing prints that also drew on commercial norms and played to her own predilections for list-making, sequencing and a sense of order.¹⁷⁶ What Adriano Aymonino refers to as the ‘eclectic’ merging of ‘sophisticated’ collecting taxonomies, and the ‘amateur character’ of some her approaches to collection organisation will be discussed in the following chapter.¹⁷⁷

The hand of the collector at the moment of making

Information from just one small section of one of the duchess’s albums helps us understand the development of her collection: glimpses of the mind and hand of the collector as she acquired, ‘made’ and organised her print collection. By describing the material properties of the De Vos albums, we have narrated what Tim Ingold would refer to as ‘a condensed story’ of what happens to objects (in this case, prints) as ‘they flow, mix and mutate’ following interactions between people and materials.¹⁷⁸ We have gleaned new insights into how these albums were collated and assembled during the duchess’s lifetime. Furthermore, through studying the activities of movement, such as cutting and pasting, we have — as Jules Prown suggests — ‘figuratively speaking’ put ourselves inside the body of the duchess and followed the touch of her hands as she ‘made or used these objects’.¹⁷⁹

There are, however, no descriptions of the duchess’s ‘enjoyment’ of the physical manipulation of her prints described in her journals or correspondence. Nor are there references to other kinds of sociable print cutting and pasting (such as decoupage and extra-illustration) that were fashionable pastimes in the eighteenth century. We can therefore only speculate about how the labour of arrangement, transposition, and

¹⁷⁶ Antony Griffiths cautions that whatever the ‘remorseless logic of acquisition, it is often the requirements of pattern-making on the page that triumphs in any sequence of arrangement’ (Griffiths, 2016, p. 443). See also Parshall, 1994, pp. 16-24.

¹⁷⁷ Aymonino, 2012, p. 109.

¹⁷⁸ Ingold, 2007, p. 14.

¹⁷⁹ Prown, 1993, p. 17; and Prown, 1982, p. 5.

relocation of prints within her albums may have given the duchess a sense of satisfaction.¹⁸⁰ Nonetheless, she closely managed her collection: she was able to create juxtapositions and sequences at will, and to her own taste. In doing so, she took complete aesthetic control of her print albums and recorded her satisfaction of arranging some of her albums herself.

The next chapter explores another aspect of the duchess's sequencing of her collection: the development of the taxonomic arrangement of her print inventory — her *Catalogue of Prints* — and the ideas that shaped her approach.

¹⁸⁰ For connections between aristocratic making and labour see Tobin, 2014, pp. 61-61; Stewart, 1984, p. 133.

4. PRINTS AND ALBUMS ENCLAVED AND CATALOGUED

‘In the Variety of Conditions... the Curiosity of Prints, the Order and Choice that is to observ’d, depend on every Man’s Goût and Views’.

Roger de Piles, 1706¹

After study of the ‘hand’ of the collector through the material features of the duchess’s De Vos albums, we now turn to another rare survivor, her handwritten *Catalogue of Prints*.² This carefully developed volume allows us to delve into the ‘mind’ of the duchess as a collector, and reveals how she catalogued and organised the substantial quantity of prints and albums she accumulated over her lifetime. It is an important indicator of the overarching arrangement and form of her collection.

Evidence from her journals and the high-level categories in her *Catalogue* indicate the duchess used a variety of approaches to structure her print collection. According to Antony Griffiths, collectors wishing to arrange a large print collection usually choose from three basic options. These are to arrange the collection by the designer or artist (by ‘master’); by the printmaker; or by the prints’ subjects.³ Within and linked to these categories are a number of specialist types of print collecting and arrangement practices. These include those that focus only on specific designers or printmakers; favour portraits; concentrate on local or patriotic themes (such as topographical prints, costume, festivals and maps); document contemporary history; or are based on already assembled albums from other collectors.⁴ Some collectors, he continues, simply wanted to fill the gaps in a series.⁵

¹ Piles, 1706, p. 62.

² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B. ‘Only rarely’ do print collections *and* their original manuscript indices and inventories, survive (Cohn, 1992, p. 11). Lists of collections (such as books) were rarely printed before 1800, they predominantly survive in manuscript (Pearson, 1994, p. 173).

³ Griffiths, 2016, p. 443. These categories often blurred, especially as many designers of prints were also printmakers.

⁴ For an introduction to the types of print collecting in the eighteenth century see Griffiths, 2016, pp. 426-445; and Griffiths, 1994b.

⁵ Griffiths, 2016, p. 442.

This chapter positions the duchess's print categorisation within these varied conventions and investigates the likely commercial and theoretical influences on the arrangement of her *Catalogue*. It considers the registration of prints and albums both in the *Catalogue* and in the duchess's draft, 'preparatory' notebooks for that volume; and how other collectors, collections, and published sources may have influenced her approaches to print classification and cataloguing.⁶ Brief connections will also be made between prints and other objects collected by the duchess.⁷ No detailed analysis has been previously undertaken either on the development of the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints*, or of her print classification taxonomy.⁸

Collecting inspirations and observations

The duchess continued to travel internationally until 1774, only two years before her death, and her print collecting also continued unabated.⁹ Her extensive list-making and record keeping (as described in Chapter Two) suggest she had a conscious direction for her acquisition of prints during her travels.¹⁰ As previously noted, she listed dealers and print sellers, 'masters', prints purchased, market prices, and 'prints wanted' and these records linked with categories and themes of prints she desired (such as 'portraits', 'landscapes and views', 'works of Hollar'). In possibly the late 1760s to early 1770s, she started to consolidate all this information from notebooks, accounts, and journals into a more substantial collection inventory.¹¹ The culmination of her efforts was the handwritten *Catalogue of Prints*, part of her multi-volume *Musaeum Catalogue* which

⁶ '*Catalogue*' refers specifically to the *Catalogue of Prints* unless otherwise noted.

⁷ The 'significance of any print collection must also vary considerably according to the place it may have held within a context of a wider pattern of the owner's collecting of other things besides prints' (Griffiths, 2016, p. 443).

⁸ Griffiths makes only brief comments about her focus on portraits, topography, fashion prints (especially of macaronis) and notes that she had 'no discernible concern for quality of impression' (Griffiths, 2001, p. 144). Aymonino briefly addresses her *Catalogue of Prints* and its categories (2021).

⁹ Evidence of her purchases of contemporary satires and caricatures (including those now in the British Museum that are helpfully dated up until 1772 and 1773), confirm her active acquisitions of prints. See British Museum Number: 2010,7081.344.

¹⁰ Akin suggests the form and shape of a collection is dependent both on social and cultural norms and self-imposed criteria (Akin, 1996, pp. 14, 116).

¹¹ Or between 1770-1772 (French, 2009, p. 68).

is now housed in the archives of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle.¹² **(Appendix 3)**. The *Musaeum Catalogue* responds to the scientific taxonomies advanced by the British Enlightenment, but also reflects the duchess's own eclectic approach to collecting. In these volumes, observes Adriano Aymonino, the 'culture of an aristocratic amateur collector' is seasoned with a fascination for rarity and 'the marvellous' and categories are 'merged together in an eclectic way which reveals the amateur character' of their arrangement.¹³

Her *Catalogue of Prints* — which could similarly be described as 'eclectic' — also combines a number of a number of emergent and traditional approaches to print categorisation that coincided in the eighteenth century. Rather than favouring one dominant print cataloguing approach, the *Catalogue* is concurrently organised by print publisher, artist/designer, printmaker, and subject. Before addressing the duchess's print categorisation, we will consider how the arrangement of other collections may have influenced her approach to collection categorisation.

Observations of other art collections

Visits to collectors and collections were an important part of the duchess's travel agenda at home and abroad and her observations were regularly noted in her journals. A list of 'Things to be seen at Brussels', for example, included notes about the court and important features of churches, but also listed 'P[rince] Charles's Cabt of Curiosities'.¹⁴ Important contemporary collections are noted in a 1771 list which includes those of Sir

¹² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122-127. The volumes are 1-9, with no volume seven, which is missing. Aymonino suggests the missing volume included 'natural curiosities' (Aymonino, 2012, p.115). For the *Musaeum Catalogue* see French, 2009, esp. pp. 276-281; Aymonino, 2012. I wish to thank Adriano Aymonino for so kindly sharing sections from his unpublished monograph (2021) related to the *Catalogue*.

¹³ Aymonino, 2012, pp. 101-102, 109. Some categories are reminiscent of *Wunderkammer* and English interpretations of the seventeenth-century 'cabinet of curiosity' traditions (Aymonino, 2012, pp. 101-102). For enlightened collecting see Sloan, 2003. For English cabinets of curiosity see MacGregor, 2007 and 2018. For the development of cabinets in Europe, see Impey and MacGregor, 1985. For 'polite science' see Klein, 2002, pp. 890-892.

¹⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.13.

Hans Sloane, ‘Bischopps’ in Rotterdam, ‘Bramcamps’ in Amsterdam, ‘Baron V[on] Schorels’, Dr Mead, ‘Mr Walpole’, the Prince of Orange and ‘Museum’ [the British Museum].¹⁵ Objects from these collections are listed in another notebook she kept for this purpose, and it contains brief records of Northumberland collections and those held by, for example, King George III, Horace Walpole, the Duchess of Portland, The Duke of Bedford, and Dr Richard Mead.¹⁶ In addition, volumes noted as ‘Cabinet de Monsr de Jullienne’, ‘Sir Robert Walpole Collection’, and books related to James II and Charles I’s pictures are noted in her *Catalogue of Books*.¹⁷ The duchess’s records of other collections allowed her to compare the quantity, quality, and arrangement of objects she saw with her own current (or aspirational) collections.

The duchess’s journals reveal some of the criteria she used to evaluate other collections, and which, by extension, she probably used to assess her own. The range, quality, quantity, and ‘taste’ of objects were all important to her. For example, several notes link ‘completeness’ with the quality of the objects and their arrangement. In Mannheim she described a ‘Cabinet of natural Curiosities which is very incomplete but prettily arranged’.¹⁸ An array of medals was observed to be ‘far from complete’, but she admired the ‘several curious ones amongst & which I have not’ (perhaps as a note-to-self to add these to her ‘wanted’ lists).¹⁹ On some occasions, self-congratulation was in order: ‘I really think my own Collection of Ivories at least equal to any which I saw there’.²⁰ The tone of some comparisons between her collections and those of others, suggest she treated these social exchanges as competitive sport.

The duchess’s visits to collections also allowed her to preview items that may be later offered for sale, so many of her records have commercial undertones. For example, her notes about the ‘medals, coins, drawings, pictures, prints, curiosities, China, Japan,

¹⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.286.

¹⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88. See Aymonino, 2012, p. 108, note 16.

¹⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 127, f.324, 303.

¹⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/42, f.16. The coins and medals she saw in the collection of General Oughtons of Caroline Park in Scotland were also ‘not numerous, nor remarkably well preserved’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/37, f.9).

¹⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.31.

²⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.18.

filigree & shells' assembled by Jan Bisschop (1680-1771) in Rotterdam, include details of the prices paid, size, and provenance of objects she saw, as well as comments about the attire and personal habits of the collector.²¹ Her familiarity with Bisschop's collection was helpful when it was later offered for sale.²² Other visits enabled the duchess to make immediate purchases. She wrote to the duke from Basel that she 'went to Mon^{sr} Merchels an Amateur & who had a great Collection of Prints some of which as a great favour he sold me at a very high Price'.²³ Her use of the word 'amateur' perhaps was to designate him as a fellow collector rather than purely a dealer.²⁴ In any case, her observations mirror the topics of value, 'bargains' and the art market that are common themes in her journals and accounts.

Methods of cataloguing and ordering collections — and the practical involvement of the collector in these activities — were also worthy of comment. On a visit to Powercourt House, the duchess described an 'Octagon Library' with 'a good Collection of Books *regularly catalogued*'.²⁵ She recorded on another occasion that 'all these fine Things Books pictures &c which I have mentioned have been collected by the present Elector who takes great delight in all of them *and order[s] everything relative to them himself*'.²⁶ This would have reinforced her own active involvement with the arrangement and recording of her collection.

Several of the duchess's comments reveal her concern about the reputations of her ancestors. She was insulted when shown pictures at the Glasgow College Picture

²¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.23-24. Her descriptions of Gerrit Braamcamp's (1699-1771) pictures included their provenance and prices (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.45-46).

²² Noted in a letter to her husband from Breda in April 1771 (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 44, f.122 (British Library Microfilm 302)).

²³ Letter to the duke from Basel, 14 May 1773 (Alnwick Castle, DP: DI/II/39, Letter 14). The purchase is recorded as '[prints] Monsr Meckel £4 4s' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.70), which was one of the highest purchase prices for prints recorded in her accounts.

²⁴ There are two eighteenth-century definitions for 'amateur': first, akin to the word 'patron' in English; and second, one who occasionally practiced the arts (Guichard, 2013, p 137). See also Mount, 2006; and Brewer, 1997, pp. 254-255.

²⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/11, f.19. Emphasis added.

²⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.18. Emphasis added.

Gallery that depicted the historical ballad of Chevy Chase, which had connections with her Percy heritage.²⁷ She described the ‘Designs’ as ‘low’, the drawing ‘bad’ and the colouring ‘detestable’, and wrote that the paintings ‘by no means answered my idea of...my brave rough old ancestors’.²⁸

One destination of her visits — the collections of Sir Hans Sloane at the British Museum — was an important model for the organisation of the duchess’s collections. The duchess included ‘Musaeum’ [*sic*] (i.e. the British Museum) in her list of London rides and in her list of collections, and she also recorded a copy of the ‘Contents of the British Museum’ in her book collection.²⁹ As described by Adriano Aymonino, the high-level categories of the duchess’s *Musaeum Catalogue* loosely follow a system of classification similar to that adopted by Sir Hans Sloane (which was formalised by the British Museum).³⁰ As the duke was a Trustee of the British Museum (as designated by Sir Hans Sloane’s will), it is highly likely he was influential in the duchess’s choices about taxonomic classification.³¹ Although Sloane also had an extensive collection of prints, it is currently unclear how (and if) the categories Sloane used to categorise his print collection influenced the duchess.³²

²⁷ The development and publication of the ballad is explained in Perry, 2010. She went on to describe the Gallery contents as ‘such Trash and so dirtily kept’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/58, f.25).

²⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/58, f.25.

²⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.18; Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.286; Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 127, f.317. Sir Hans Sloane’s classifications of his collections were published as British Museum catalogues in 1761 and 1762, which is likely what she described.

³⁰ This is especially obvious in the duchess’s categorisation of her ethnographic collections (Aymonino, 2012, p. 113).

³¹ Aymonino, 2012, p. 109. The duke was also involved with scientific and cultural organisations including the Royal Society, the Society of Dilettanti, and the Society of Antiquities (Cust and Colvin, 1914, pp. 8, 244).

³² For Sloane’s print collection at the British Museum, see Griffiths, 1996, pp. 22-29, 257-265. The dispersal of his art collection means that its exact composition, arrangement, and classification continue to be explored. Early analyses considered his interest in art ‘casual and incidental’ and that he did not collect of paintings, drawings, or sculpture like other great collectors of his day (Popham, 1953, p. 10). Sloan suggests some of these views are the result of the dispersal and re-categorisation of Sloane’s collection by the British Museum and British Library, and there is still much work to do to re-create his collections (Sloan, 2015, pp. 382-385).

Observing prints in collections

The duchess's journals contain surprisingly few detailed descriptions of print collections. In her *aide-mémoire* of no less than 163 notable features to observe in collections, houses, and gardens, there is entry specifically about prints: 'collections of Prints, Curiosities [*sic*], Gems, Shells, Medals &c'.³³ (Fig. 1) It is interesting that in this list, prints are aligned with other objects, rather than appearing as a stand-alone entry. It is also significant that this entry is adjacent to another entry which refers to libraries. This duchess clearly associated these types of collections with storage in a library, the common location for prints in the period.³⁴

Only brief notes record her observations of the print collections specifically mentioned in her journals. For example, after a visit to the Greffier Henrick Fagel (1706-1790) in The Hague, she wrote that while he had 'a complete collection of Rembrandts', most of his other prints 'except views', were 'mere trash', and that overall he appeared to have 'but little taste'.³⁵ When visiting Baron Van Schorel's collection in Holland in 1766, she noted 'upwards of 2,500 prints' after Rubens, but made no further comment about them.³⁶ Her occasional observations of prints indicate her interests in generic quantity and quality, rather than any nuanced responses to individual impressions or systems of print display, arrangement or classification.

During a visit to Beaufront in Northumberland in 1773, the method of print display was recorded, but this is a rarity. Here, the duchess described a drawing room which featured prints adhered (unframed) on the walls, the fashionable form of eighteenth-century interior decoration known as the 'print room' (briefly discussed in

³³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/184, f.40-44.

³⁴ 'Is the Library numerous or chosen' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/184, f.44). For libraries as locations for non-book collections see West, 2013. See also Griffiths, 2016, pp. 423-425. 'Idea of Fine Library of Prints' suggests the library as a print storage location (Le Comte, 1699-1700, Vol. 1, p. 2). Giulio Mancini (1558-1630) recommended that prints be mounted and kept from general circulation in studies or libraries (Bury, 2003, p. 79).

³⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.30-31.

³⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/17, f.68.

Chapter Three).³⁷ She recorded that the prints were ‘chiefly Pizanesis’ [*sic*], that is, works by Italian print publishing entrepreneur, Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778).³⁸ Piranesi’s *vedute* were favoured souvenirs of Grand Tourists, and although his prints did not feature in the duchess’s collection, his work was closely associated with the duke’s tastes.³⁹

The duchess is strangely silent on details of the print collections in some of the most significant print collections in England. When visiting Strawberry Hill, the residence of print enthusiast Horace Walpole in 1762, she carefully described the portrait pictures, identifying the sitters’ titles and the names of their wives.⁴⁰ Of the prints she merely wrote, ‘there is a bedch[amber] furnish’d with prints’, but their subjects were not mentioned.⁴¹ Even though Walpole was the ‘hub of a growing number of like-minded’ print collectors, the duchess made no specific comments in her journals about his extensive collection of portraits and satirical prints.⁴²

It is highly likely that in her role as Lady of the Bedchamber between 1761 and 1770, the duchess was familiar with the print collections of Queen Charlotte and King George III, as both were thoughtful collectors with extensive print collections.⁴³ Kate

³⁷ For a general overview of print rooms see Fitzgerald, 2008; Archer, 1989; Heard, 2012-2013; and Calloway, 1991. For the duchess’s impressions of them, see Box, 2021.

³⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/48, f.12.

³⁹ For connections between Piranesi’s designs and decorative panels at Syon House see Sands, 2013. ‘Piranesian’ influences are also described in Aymonino, 2010, p. 292.

⁴⁰ ‘Over the Chimney is the late Lord Orford and his 1st wife...Mr and L[ad]y Mary Churchill, Gen[era]l Conway and Lady Alesbury, Sr Charles Henbury William, Mr Grey ye poet and Mr Bentley’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/10, f.11).

⁴¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/10, f.11.

⁴² Peltz, 2017, p. 56. For Walpole’s print collection see Peltz, 2017, pp. 51-56; Roman, 2008; Griffiths, 2002; and Pennington, 1982, p. lvii. Of the more than one hundred visits to country seats described by Walpole, he also only made one note about prints: a ‘good collection of books & prints’ at Rousham (Toynbee, 1927, p. 26).

⁴³ For the couple’s collecting see Roberts and Lloyd, 2004. The queen’s collection included coins, prints, ivories, and medals, and natural history specimens and she ‘took a highly informed and technically expert view’ (Gere and Vaizey, 1999, p. 57). For the queen’s library see Jay, 2017, pp. 306-310, 316-321; for the king’s, see Lacey, 2005. For the sale of the queen’s ‘Prints, Drawings & Books of Prints’ after her death, see

Heard notes that the king's prints were arranged in two ways. Satires and caricatures (which numbered nearly 600) were usually stored loose in portfolios, in strict chronological order.⁴⁴ Other prints by particular artists were kept separately 'by artist' in portfolios or bound in albums.⁴⁵ Despite the size and importance of the collections, no specific mention of the king or queen's prints or their quality or arrangement has been located in the duchess's journals.

The duchess is also silent on the Duchess of Portland's print collection at Bulstrode Park (Buckinghamshire) even though both had similar print collecting interests. Both collected the works of the Sadeler family and Goltzius; printmakers from the Low Countries (Ostade, Weirix, Blomart etc); landscapes and views (including those by the brothers Buck); and had extensive collections of portraits.⁴⁶ As noted in Chapter Two, Bulstrode housed an extensive, renowned collection of Hollar prints, but the duchess did not make specific reference to them or indeed to any of the Bulstrode prints in her journals.⁴⁷ As the Duchess of Portland intended to publish a scientific catalogue of her shells (and probably other parts of her collection), her ideas may have provided a

Roberts and Lloyd, 2004, pp. 385-386. For the queen's patronage see Campbell Orr, 2001.

⁴⁴ Perhaps to be treated as a source of information like his collection of topographical prints and military maps (Heard, 2018, p. 158).

⁴⁵ Albums of prints by Hogarth from both the king and queen's collection have also been recorded (Heard, 2012-2013, p. 54).

⁴⁶ The Duchess of Portland left no collection inventory, so we must rely on the posthumous sale catalogue. This notes: 'Sixty-three curious old portraits, various Masters' and 'Nineteen various, by Goltzius and Sadeler' (Portland, 1786, p. 121, Lots 2696 and 2697). Her collection also included the most celebrated works of Rembrandt (e.g. 'The Hundred-Guilder Print') and Albrecht Dürer ('St Jerome'; 'Portrait of Erasmus', 'Knight on Horseback') which were not collected by the duchess (Portland, 1786, p. 122).

⁴⁷ Some objects in the collection (but not prints) were described (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88). Five Hollar volumes were inherited from her father, Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford and grew to 'thirteen folio volumes...collected by her Grace in the most liberal manner, at an immense expense, with a variety of proofs and variations...well known to be the most compleat and capital assemblage in the world' (Portland, 1786, p. 130, Lot 2918). The volumes sold for £385 (Skinner, 1786, p. 32). The *Catalogue of Prints* lists 534 impressions and includes none of the rarities of his *oeuvre* (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.267). An extensive group of Hollar works in three volumes was offered through the Sotheby's 1951 sale, and includes many other impressions not listed in the *Catalogue of Prints* (Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p.30).

contemporary — although un-realised — model for the Duchess of Northumberland.⁴⁸ It is possible that observations made at Bulstrode — whether committed to paper or not — contributed to the duchess's arrangement and categorisation of her print collection.

In sum, the duchess's journals reveal no clear links between her print collection and the cataloguing methods she observed in use by others. Indeed, she recorded very few details of other print collections or how they were arranged or catalogued. We therefore need to rely on the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints* — and its precursors — as the primary sources of information about her print cataloguing taxonomy.

The structure of the *Catalogue of Prints*

The *Catalogue of Prints* has a similar structure to the seven other volumes which make up the surviving *Musaeum Catalogue*. (**Fig. 2**) Observation of the physical features of the volume indicate that collection lists had first been written by the duchess on gatherings of quality paper stock which were foliated in the top right or left corner in the duchess's handwriting.⁴⁹ The gatherings were then assembled and bound into individual volumes and finished with marbled endpapers and gilt edging on the leaves.⁵⁰ The *Catalogue of Prints* contains fifteen gatherings of twelve leaves (twenty-four pages) each, and handwritten entries recording her collection appear on the initial pages of each gathering. The latter pages of each gathering are blank — a feature apparent in other surviving print collections inventories — indicating that the volume was planned with the capacity to receive additional entries.⁵¹ Many of the entries in the *Catalogue* are in the duchess's uniform handwriting in a similar ink. This indicates they were written at

⁴⁸ She planned to publish a catalogue of the shells, 'complete with the most current Linnaean names and descriptions' (Tobin, 2014, p. 7).

⁴⁹ A small number of pages in some gatherings are pre-ruled with headings.

⁵⁰ The date of their binding is uncertain.

⁵¹ For example, albums from the collection of King of Portugal, João V (1689-1750) included blank leaves after the table of contents, indicating additions were anticipated (Cohn, 1992, p. 15 note 13; Mandroux-França, 1986; and Griffiths, 1994b, p. 38). The inventory of Ferdinand Columbus (1488-1539) also had high-level headings indicating expected purchases (McDonald, 2004, p. 80).

about the same time, over several sittings. Nonetheless, the slightly different style of script on some of the pages suggest entries that have been added later, or in haste.

The index

To consider the overall structure of the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints*, it is helpful to start in the last leaves of the volume. **(Fig. 3)** A page titled 'Index' — which appears at f.361 — describes the high-level contents of the *Catalogue*. **(Table 1)** The index separates prints into categories which contain a mixture of subjects, artists/designers/'masters', and printmakers/publishers.⁵²

⁵² Some eighteenth-century collectors (and their compilers) created an index or table of contents which was included at the beginning or end of each album. This was not the duchess's approach but was apparent in the collection of Samuel Pepys (Waals, 1984, p. 247). The Spencer Albums now at Harvard Art Museum (collated by the Mariettes) also include elegant tables of contents (Cohn, 1992, p. 15). An index was also used by Pierre-Jean Mariette in his organisation of Prince Eugene of Savoy's prints (1663-1736) (Kobi, 2018, pp. 2-8; and Smentek, 2014, pp. 40-56). None of the Northumberland-provenance albums (and the remnants thereof) at the University of Melbourne, New York Public Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, British Museum, and Fondation Custodia, have evidence of an index in individual albums, however the number of prints contained in an album was sometimes indicated with an inked numeral in the front or back endpapers.

Table 1: Index reproduced from the *Catalogue of Prints*⁵³

Index		
Books of Prints	p 1:6	Miscellaneous
Ditto	p 25:27	Fables, Emblems and Metamorphoses
Continued	p 51:55	Sacred Subjects
Continued	p 87...	Statues, Medals, Antiquities
	p 97:103	Architecture, Views and Landskips
	p 125:127	Natural History
	p 137	Miscellaneous Prints
	p 149:151	Works of Devos
	p 173...	Habits
	p 183	Works of Galle
	p 193	Works of Stradanus
	p 213...	Portraits
	p 227:229	Works of Collaert
	p 209...	Works of Wierx
	p 259:260	Works of de Pass
	p 267...	Works of Hollar
	p 274...	Works of Goltzius
	p 283...	Works of Callot
	p 304...	Works of Teniers
	p 309:311	Works of Sadeler

Several initial observations can be made when analysing the *Catalogue* index in conjunction with the duchess's records of her print acquisitions. First, there is an immediate correlation between the types of prints she recorded in her accounts and journals and those in the index categories. Second, important categories noted in her purchase records seem to be missing from the index. For example, although her accounts and journals (and even her list of 'Prints Pasted') indicate that the duchess clearly had an affinity for prints by or after French artists (such as Boucher), these are not specifically represented in the index.⁵⁴ Third, bound volumes and sets — 'Books of Prints' — were given their own section in the *Catalogue* indicating her acquisition of

⁵³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.361. Punctuation is noted as per the original.

⁵⁴ 'Prints pasted' mentions 'French Masters' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60 f.38-39).

bound volumes and her arrangement of her prints into albums. Fourth, the high-level categories connect with other three-dimensional objects in her collection such as medals and painted landscapes and portraits which appear in other volumes of her *Musaeum Catalogue*. (**Appendix 3**) Each of these points will be addressed in this chapter.

Detailed and generic print entries

Through investigation of the individual subsections and entries in the *Catalogue of Prints*, we can build a greater understanding of the duchess's collecting taxonomy. Headings from the index appear on individual *Catalogue* pages, and each page is then further divided into tables which indicate the subjects of the prints, the artist/designer, the engraver, a count of the prints, and their price.⁵⁵ (**Fig. 4**) There are slight variations in the tables, based on whether works of a print publisher/engraver or an artist/designer are listed.⁵⁶

Entries under each category describe sets, series, albums, and volumes rather than individual prints. This means that specific print series or sets can often be identified from the detailed entries. For example, 408 views by Nathaniel and Samuel Buck are clearly listed (in sets of 24) in the 'Architecture, Views and Landskips' section of the *Catalogue*.⁵⁷ There is also no doubt about the two volumes noted as 'Catesby's Nat[ural] History of Carolina' in the 'Natural History' section.⁵⁸ Popular, rather than formal titles

⁵⁵ Price, subject, 'painter or designer' and 'graveur or printer' were also categories used by Pepys in the indexes at the beginning of his albums (Waals, 1984, p. 247). For classification by topic, see Parshall, 1994, pp. 15-24.

⁵⁶ The table on the pages for 'Works of Sadeler', includes columns for 'Subject', 'After', 'By', 'N^o', and 'Price' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.309). When all the listings were created by one artist, such as De Vos, the 'after' column is removed. For example, the table for prints after De Vos only includes 'Subject', 'By', 'N^o', and 'Price' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.149).

⁵⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.97. The duchess paid £2 2s for each set.

⁵⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.125. This is Mark Catesby's *National History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*, dedicated to Queen Charlotte and supported by collectors connected with the duchess, including Sir Hans Sloane, The Earl of Oxford, and Dr Richard Mead.

are also given for works which could be easily identified (such as ‘Count Bruhl’s Collection’ and ‘Cabinet de Crozat 2 Vol’).⁵⁹

On the other hand, some *Catalogue* listings are generic. The category ‘Books of Prints’ records entries such as ‘Small French Prints’ and 101 impressions of ‘All kinds of Trades in Dutch’ (both with no specific attribution) as well as entries with partial detail such as ‘Three setts [*sic*] of Figures and Views’ by ‘LeClerc’.⁶⁰ In some cases, the *Catalogue* entries allow us to trace specific collecting interests and themes that are not included in the index. For example, a number of entries noted under ‘Books of Prints’ reflect the duchess’s interests in historical ‘highpoints’ and events: coronations, fireworks and commemorations.⁶¹ This mirrors her detailed descriptions of royal weddings, ceremonies, and celebrations that are vividly described in her journals.⁶²

A number of the *Catalogue* entries are incomplete, suggesting that the documentary value of the images was more important to the duchess than a clear attribution to a specific printmaker or designer.⁶³ *Solitudo sive Vitae Foeminarum* (a series of 25 prints of female hermits including a title page) is noted under ‘Books of Prints’, and priced at 1s 6d, however there is no attribution to an artist/designer or printmaker.⁶⁴ This group was probably purchased together — perhaps as a stab bound

⁵⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.13.

⁶⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.1. It is likely the former is an album of varied works that the duchess either acquired from another collection or arranged herself.

⁶¹ For example, ‘Sandford’s Coronation of King James 2nd’ and ‘Archduke Ferdinand’s Entry into Antwerp’ (‘after Rubens’, ‘by Pontius’) (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.1,5).

⁶² Many of these have been published such as the duchess’s description of the wedding of George III (Percy, 1926, pp. 27-33). Her *Catalogue of Medals and Coins* also includes a column to record the subject (‘of whom’) and ‘on what occasion’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122C).

⁶³ This was also the assumption made through study of the 1875 print inventory of Martin von Wagner (1777-1858) (Leuschner, 2018, p. xxxvii).

⁶⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.55. Possibly *Solitudo sive Vitae Foeminarum Anachoritarum* after Adriaen Collaert and De Vos by Nicolaas de Bruyn, c.1606. For an example see British Museum Number: 1852,0214.540.1-25.

set — maintained in this format, and then recorded as such by the duchess. Her silence on the artist or printmaker perhaps implies her impressions were copies.⁶⁵

Through a process of triangulating *Catalogue* entries, *catalogues raisonnés*, and auction lot information, it is sometimes possible to identify her less-detailed entries. For example, the 48 ‘Small habits of Women’ under the category ‘Works of Hollar’, probably refers to *Theatrum Mulierum*, a series of small prints depicting women in the costumes of various European countries (published by Henry Overton).⁶⁶ A version of this volume was advertised by printsellers Robert Sayer and John Bennett, which may be the duchess’s source.⁶⁷

Duplications

As described by Antony Griffiths, the duchess’s *Catalogue of Prints* is a ‘curious production, inasmuch as it combines the function of an inventory with that of an index’.⁶⁸ In practical terms, this means an entry made by the duchess under one of the page headings is often duplicated across several categories, for example under subject, designer/artist and ‘Books of Prints’.⁶⁹ This becomes clearer when we follow entries from one theme, such as prints related to hermits and hermitages. There are a significant group of hermit prints in the category, ‘Sacred Subjects’, where we can clearly see the duchess’s delineation of prints in sets. This group includes:

⁶⁵ If this was the case, the names of the printmaker or artist may not have been included in the lettering on the print; or the duchess did not want to attribute known copies to specific artists/designers or printmakers.

⁶⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.267. For the versions of *Theatrum mulierum* see Globe, 1985, pp.147-149.

⁶⁷ Sayer and Bennett, 1775, p. 77.

⁶⁸ Griffiths, 2001, p. 142.

⁶⁹ Prints were always listed in series, sets, or albums/volumes rather than as individual impressions. These duplications make it more difficult to fully quantify the size of the duchess’s print collection.

- 24 'Female Hermits' after De Vos by Collaert
- 51 'Sacra Eremus Ascetrianium' [*sic*]⁷⁰
- 250 prints of 'Genesis Sets Hermits and Hermitesses' after De Vos by 'Sadlers' [*sic*] (purchased for £2 4s)
- 25 'Solitudo sive Vitae Foeminarum' (purchased for 1s 3d)⁷¹
- 136 'Hermits and Hermitesses bound together' after De Vos by 'Sadlers and Collaert' (purchased for 18s 6d).⁷²

Sections of the *Catalogue* organised by printmaker and designer also feature prints with eremitic subjects.⁷³

When these listings are reviewed together, duplications in the *Catalogue of Prints* become obvious. For example, given their identical sale price, count of prints, and description, it is likely references to 136 prints of 'Hermits & Hermitesses', recorded under 'Sacred Subjects', 'Works of Devos', 'Works of Collaert', and 'Works of Sadeler' are the same set.⁷⁴ How this categorisation of the same works (by subject, printmaker, and artist/designer) fits into eighteenth-century print categorisation protocols will be discussed later in this chapter.

Prices paid

The duchess fastidiously recorded prices of her print acquisitions in her accounts. Surprisingly, only a small percentage of the entries in the *Catalogue* are priced, even

⁷⁰ Another notebook list describes this group as '51 Sacra Erenem Ascetrianum by Bloemart' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.26). This is likely the two series of twenty-five images (one series each of male and female hermits) engraved by Bolswert after Abraham Bloemart, published in 1612.

⁷¹ This series is probably by Nicholaas le Bruyn after De Vos and Collaert (see British Museum Number: 1852,0214.540.1-25).

⁷² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.51-55.

⁷³ Under 'Works of Collaert' (Adriaen Collaert c.1560-1618), twenty-four 'Female Hermits' and 136 'Hermits and Hermitesses' after Sadeler (purchased for 18s 6d) are noted, along with another entry for 'Hermitesses bound with Hermits' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.227-229).

⁷⁴ Derivative and inferior copies of the Sadeler prints (often with the images reversed) appeared quickly after their publication, so it is possible the lists may refer to other impressions.

though this is one of the key column headings in the tables on each page.⁷⁵ For example, of the twenty-six groups of prints (a count of over 750 prints) entered in her *Catalogue* under ‘Works of Devos’, only two entries are priced. (Fig. 5) The rest of the ‘price’ column is blank.⁷⁶ Why were so few prices recorded in the *Catalogue*? The ink that recorded one of the entries under ‘Works of Devos’ gives a clue. The different ink tones suggest the price (and count of prints) in the entry was added later than the title.⁷⁷ Perhaps the duchess was not able to identify prices for all the prints when she sat to record them in her *Catalogue*, years after their acquisition. It is also likely that many smaller print purchases were amalgamated into albums and sets, which were then noted as one entry. It may also have been the duchess’s intention to record more print prices in the volume, but her death in 1776 intervened.

Provenance

Although the duchess recorded provenance and dealer names in her journals, she only rarely made references to sources in her *Catalogue of Prints*. Of the few provenance records that appear in the *Catalogue*, some refer to suppliers, such as acquisitions from dealers such as Snelling and Darres (noted in Chapter One). The most frequent provenance references relate to purchases from Osborne and Lord Oxford — described in Chapter One — the source of seven of the print albums now in Melbourne. It is intriguing that none of the prints that were left to the duchess by her father are recorded specifically in her *Catalogue of Prints*.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *Catalogue* prices are always noted in pounds, shillings and pence although she often recorded lists of ‘wanted’ prints using local currencies. Sarah Sophia Banks’s inventory also records the titles, publisher, date of acquisition and price of her collection of prints by Sayer, French caricatures etc (Leis, 2013, p. 17).

⁷⁶ One of these priced groups is the ‘136’ prints of ‘Hermits & Hermitesses’ (discussed earlier) by ‘Sadlers [*sic*] & Collaert’ for ‘18s 6d’ (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 122B, f.151).

⁷⁷ ‘21’ prints of ‘Famous Women in Old Testament by Collaert’ for ‘3s 3d’ (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 122B, f.149).

⁷⁸ However, as discussed in Chapter Three this may be because his albums were dis-bound by her, and the prints re-distributed among multiple albums.

In contrast, provenance information is recorded more frequently in other volumes of the *Musaeum Catalogue*. For example, information such as ‘A Seapiece bought at Mr Levizo’s Sale A[pril] 28th 1762’; ‘bought at Dr Bragges’; ‘Bought at Rongents’; ‘bought of Brookes’; ‘L[ord] Coleraines’; ‘my Mothers’ is included in the *Catalogue of Paintings*.⁷⁹ The volume devoted to ‘Antiquities, Historical Curiositys etc’ includes notes such as: from ‘my Lord’; ‘my Mothers’; or ‘Duke of Somerset’s Coll[ection]’.⁸⁰ Cameos and intaglios are also described as gifts, often from family members or acquaintances.⁸¹ We can also make an interesting comparison between records of gifted prints and other gifted collection objects. The duchess’s journals record her receipt of gifted prints, but this information is not noted in her *Catalogue of Prints*. We may assume her gifts were predominantly of individual prints, rather than sets or albums (the usual method that prints were recorded in the *Catalogue*).

Since the duchess recorded provenance information in other parts of her collection (but less so for her prints) we may infer that a smaller percentage of her print collection was acquired from what she considered to be renowned collections or sources, but this is possibly an incorrect assumption. As a result of her regular ‘re-arrangement’ of parts of her print collection, many albums included prints from a variety of sources, including her own purchases, gifts, inheritance, and works sourced for her by others. It would therefore have been impractical for her to record the individual provenance of each print within each album or set listed in her *Catalogue*.

⁷⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122A, f.1,3,6,8. Paintings are catalogued by ‘subject’, ‘painted by’, ‘height’, ‘width’ and ‘cost’.

⁸⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 125.

⁸¹ Of the 37 cameos, one is ‘given’ by her father; four are from her husband (‘gift of my Lord’) and one was ‘given’ by her mother. Other noted givers include: ‘Mrs F. Wyndham’, the Elector of Cologne, Sir Thomas Robinson and ‘Lord Grevile’ (Scarsbrick, Wagner and Boardman, 2017, pp. xxviii-xxix). Of the intaglios, nearly twenty percent are gifted by her husband or family members, including some by her brother George and one ‘Given by my Granfathers’ [*sic*] (Scarsbrick, Wagner and Boardman, 2017, p. xxix).

Quality, rarity, and technique

Some entries in the *Catalogue of Prints* demonstrate the duchess's affinity with the materiality of albums: their 'making', arrangement, and their bindings.⁸² Most listings with these references are under the portmanteau *Catalogue* category, 'Books of Prints'.⁸³ This category draws together prints from a variety of subjects and themes in a classification that reflects their storage method and physical form.⁸⁴ Entries include prints bound in albums (either 'arranged' by herself or others); bound series and sets (especially with Flemish and Netherlandish origins) and illustrated books. Several listings also include specific information about how the album was bound, such as 'Hist[ory] of Genesis 3 Books bound in One', and its duplicate: 'History of Genesis 3 Sets H. Binding'.⁸⁵ Descriptions of binding probably helped the duchess distinguish one group from another. For example, 'Heads of Caesars & their Wives bound' is differentiated from another on the next line which reads: 'Ditto half binding'.⁸⁶ As we have seen, she occasionally noted whether she had 'pasted' or 'arranged' prints.⁸⁷ Ironically, some of the least descriptive entries in the *Catalogue* are those used to describe albums she arranged (or dissembled and then re-arranged).⁸⁸

⁸² A volume of 'Miscellaneous Parchment' by Callot for example, describes the surface of the support, rather than just the image. It contains 199 prints and she paid £1 0s 6d (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.13). Entries such as this are unusual.

⁸³ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.1-7. In large print collections the topics 'of most interest' were often represented 'by print series which were often bound together' (Waals, 1984, p. 249).

⁸⁴ This differentiation was also important to Samuel Pepys (Waals, 1984, p. 240).

⁸⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.309 and f.149. The meaning of 'H. Binding' is unclear.

⁸⁶ After 'Titian' by 'Giles', containing 26 prints (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.309).

⁸⁷ 'Pasted in one vol. Bo^t. of Snelling' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.260) and the De Vos albums in Melbourne, which are described as, 'Volume ranged by myself De Vos' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.311).

⁸⁸ Such as 'Bible Darres's Sett Vol 1' (143 prints), 'New Testament Ditto Vol 2' (138 prints) and eight other listings (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.309). These are now dis-bound albums held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and all contain prints with the 'tabbed' mount feature. They were identified as '53.601.10-13, 16-17, 339, 351, missing one album' (Griffiths, 2001, p. 140).

Missing from all entries in the *Catalogue of Prints* are the standard descriptors often used by collectors to describe their prints' attributes. There are no entries which comment on the quality of the impression (e.g. 'fine', 'very fine'); that clarify technique (e.g. 'etching', 'mezzotint'); that note the rarity of the state or set; that mention the 'style' or level of accomplishment of the printmaker or designer, let alone whether the impressions are copies or have been re-worked or repaired.⁸⁹ Neither are there comments that describe characteristics that were especially prized by eighteenth-century collectors, for example, whether the impression was one of the first taken from a plate (such as *première épreuve*: a mezzotint 'proof').

In contrast, the duchess's *Catalogue of Paintings* has a clear focus on medium and technique. Individual entries note, for example, 'painted on glass', 'watercolour', 'enamel', and whether a painting was 'on copper'.⁹⁰ The duchess also made judgements about quality when recording artworks observed in other collections. Here, her descriptors include for example: 'exquisitely fine' cameo; 'incomparably fine' busto; and that a painting by Maarten De Vos was completed in 'a most masterly manner'.⁹¹ No similar descriptions are recorded in her *Catalogue of Prints*.⁹² Even though the duchess's approach to her prints, medals and coins, as described by Adriano Aymonino, 'clearly showed a high level of discernment', we could deduce that the lack of print-specific references in her *Catalogue* meant that her collecting was probably not informed by a deep knowledge of the subtleties of print production and technique.⁹³

⁸⁹ The print inventory of Ferdinand Columbus includes notations on condition and quality (McDonald, 2005, p. 26). Richard Bull's (1721-1805) print albums had notes in the margins such as 'very scarce', 'very rare', along with the prices he paid for prints (Pointon, 1993, p.7).

[REDACTED] (Ling, 2016, Label 3 ('Rembrandt' album, Fitzwilliam Museum Object Number 23.K5-147)). For a discussion on print connoisseurship and rarity see Griffiths, 2016, pp. 430-436.

⁹⁰ See for example Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122A, f.18.

⁹¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88, f.1,59,51.

⁹² A print that has been painted, appears in the 'oil paintings' section of her *Catalogue of Pictures*, with the specific notation that it was 'a print in oil', 'painted by Harris' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122A, f.6).

⁹³ Aymonino, 2012, p. 116.

Antony Griffiths defines print ‘connoisseurs’ of the eighteenth century as those that ‘sought quality in their prints, both in artistic excellence and in excellence of impression and condition’.⁹⁴ He also comments that the duchess had ‘no discernible concern for quality of impression’.⁹⁵ In comparison, an ‘amateur’ — its eighteenth-century utilisation — was ‘an enthusiast who took great pleasure in works of art’ but need not be ‘a connoisseur’.⁹⁶ It would appear that using Griffith’s definition, the duchess’s approach was more akin to that of an informed ‘amateur’ print collector rather than that of a print ‘connoisseur’.⁹⁷

The taxonomy of the duchess’s print collection: observations and inspirations

A variety of typical eighteenth-century collecting and cataloguing approaches are apparent both in the duchess’s purchase records we have examined in early chapters, and in the taxonomy of her *Catalogue of Prints*. She took pains to quantify her collection; she amassed a large collection of portraits; and she collected prints regionally

⁹⁴ Griffiths, 2016, p. 430. Mariette, in contrast, was renowned for his focus on these attributes (See Smentek, 2014). Mount disputes the existence of a clear definition of ‘connoisseurship’ in the eighteenth century (Mount, 2006). For an introduction to the connoisseur in an eighteenth-century context see Mount, 2006; and for a history see Gibson-Wood, 1988 (for the *Two Discourses* (1719) by Jonathan Richardson (1665-1745) see pp. 96-137). For a discussion on eighteenth-century satirical prints depicting collectors, connoisseurs, and antiquaries, see Monteyne, 2013, pp. 55-85.

⁹⁵ Griffiths, 2001, p. 443. Tobin notes that ‘twentieth- and twenty-first-century commentators’ use the word ‘connoisseur’ to describe the Duchess of Portland, and by that they meant ‘someone with a bit of knowledge, a measure of good taste and an abundance of money’ (Tobin, 2014, p. 99).

⁹⁶ It was only in the late eighteenth-century that the term ‘amateur’ acquired its ‘modern connotation of a lack of professional competence’ (Griffiths, 2016, pp. 429-430).

⁹⁷ Alternatively, the absence of technical detail in her *Catalogue* could have been a result of the sheer number of prints which she sought to compile in her inventory. This may have prevented her from providing detailed information on each impression or series. Aymonino suggests inconsistencies in her overall collecting are evidence of the ‘absorption and re-use of the new “enlightened” notions by a private amateur’ (Aymonino, 2012, p. 116). Anne French’s summation is the duchess’s collecting reflected ‘compulsive, magpie-like’ collecting as opposed to an ‘analytical or filtered’ approach (French, 2009, p. 276). Laura Mayer notes that ‘though she was not such an erudite connoisseur as her husband, she was far from an artistic cultural or political philistine’, rather she was ‘a responsive antiquary in the spirit of the century’ (Mayer, 2015, p. 140).

identified with her ancestry from the Low Countries. Her prints commemorated contemporary events and personalities; and she purchased pre-assembled collections from other collectors (such as from Osborne's sale of Lord Oxford's collection). Her categories represent her own discoveries and observations made during her travels: landscapes, modes of dress, historical events, and varied visual representations of religious themes.⁹⁸ They also reflect — to a lesser extent — her interest in natural specimens, flora, fauna and antiquities.

The combination of prints and other objects noted in the duchess's *Musaeum Catalogue* also present a typical array for eighteenth-century print collectors. The Reverend Clayton Mourdant Cracherode (1730-1799) for example — whose prints were one of the founding collections of the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings — also collected portrait prints, medals, coins, cameos and intaglios, shells and minerals (amongst other objects).⁹⁹ These are all objects represented in the specific categories of her *Musaeum Catalogue*.

Other collections

Some categories of the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints* mirror aspects of other late-seventeenth and early eighteenth-century print collections. For example, her subject categories are remarkably similar to those of diarist Samuel Pepys (1633-1703). His first concern was the subjects depicted, and the categories of his 'prints general' classification included: 'Scripture Story, Devotion Pieces, Militarys [*sic*], Ages & Seasons, Landskips and Buildings, Sea Matters, Solemnities and Pastimes, Anticks & Drolls, Habits, Selection of Hollar's Hand only'.¹⁰⁰ There are also similarities between the duchess's collection and one of the best documented print collections in early eighteenth-century France, that of Louis II de Rochechouart, duc de Mortemart (1681-1746). His collection included specific *portfeuilles* dedicated to Berchem, Ostade and Bloemaert; Goltzius;

⁹⁸ Some traditional systems of categorisation placed religious history as the opening images in albums (Kirch, 2018, p. 82). The duchess did not place 'sacred subjects' first in the *Catalogue*.

⁹⁹ Griffiths, 1996, pp. 43-64.

¹⁰⁰ Waals, 1984, p. 253, 251.

the Sadeler family; and Teniers.¹⁰¹ His other prints were arranged by subject and included portraits; French and Flemish landscapes; ‘Various galleries, some plants’; ‘sets of statues, busts’, buildings, fountains; and ‘buildings and curiosities of Rome’.¹⁰² His French prints also included familiar names from the duchess’s collecting interests: Boucher, Le Brun, Callot, Sebastien Le Clerc, and Perelle.¹⁰³

There are also similarities between the arrangement of the duchess’s print collection and that of Prince Eugene of Savoy (which was arranged for him by Pierre-Jean Mariette). The collection included *oeuvres* by printmakers/publishers such as Adriaen Collaert (c.1560-1618), Johannes Collaert (c.1561-c.1620) and the Galle, Sadeler, and de Passe families.¹⁰⁴ These categories feature prominently in the duchess’s print index, and although we know she purchased ready-made *oeuvres*, she often broke up the albums if they weren’t to her liking.¹⁰⁵ Lord Fitzwilliam also had sizeable albums dedicated to these printmakers/publishers.¹⁰⁶

The arrangement of prints by designer or ‘master’ was a relatively recent taxonomic scheme when it was adopted by the Mariettes, but it came to dominate collection organisation by the early eighteenth century.¹⁰⁷ Antony Griffiths notes that among print collectors and the print trade, ‘the designer was almost always more

¹⁰¹ Griffiths and Hartley, 1994, pp. 107-108.

¹⁰² Griffiths and Hartley, 1994, p. 108. Griffiths and Hartley also attribute the supply, assembly and mounting of the duc’s collection to the firm of Mariette (p. 116).

¹⁰³ It was developed with advice from Count Giacomo Durazzo (1717-1794) (Griffiths and Hartley, 1994, p. 108).

¹⁰⁴ Smentek, 2014, p. 45.

¹⁰⁵ Such as a ‘Vol’ of ‘509’ De Passe prints ‘bo’ of Snelling’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.260) which were broken up and then re-arranged using tabbed mounts (Griffiths, 2001, p. 142).

¹⁰⁶ Although they were losing favour in the eighteenth century as they produced engravings after the designs of others, rather than of their own invention (Ling, 2016, Label 32, discussing the ‘Collaert’ album, Fitzwilliam Museum Object Number 22.1.8-140).

¹⁰⁷ ‘A mainstream’ of print collecting by masters was common in Italy and northern Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century (Griffiths, 1994b, p. 52). For earlier French classifications see Meyer, 2015; and for Italian, see Bury, 2003. See also Smentek, 2014, p. 47-48; and Haskell, 1984, p. 14.

important in album formation than the printmaker'.¹⁰⁸ We see this trend in the specific category for Maarten De Vos — 'works of Devos' which appears in the duchess's *Catalogue*.¹⁰⁹

The print collection of Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen (1738-1822) was ordered based on merit, chronology, and schools, such as schools north of the Alps subdivided into German and Swiss, Dutch and Flemish.¹¹⁰ Although representative prints from these categories appear in the duchess's collection, an overall chronology by artist is not implied in the organisation of her *Catalogue*. His collection also demonstrates another key approach to print collecting in the eighteenth century: prints were compiled as a reference tool to document the history of painting.¹¹¹ The duchess's *Catalogue* (as well as her journals) suggest that this was not a key focus for her.

Clearly — from discussion of only the few collections addressed here — there was a great variety of print organisation options in the eighteenth-century which may have influenced the duchess. Her index seems to recognise both emergent and traditional categorisation approaches. The next sections address whether the duchess's high-level index was influenced by particular theoretical or commercial approaches to print categorisation.

Theoretical inspirations?

A number of authors and works were influential in the categorisation of prints by eighteenth-century collectors.¹¹² These include Roger de Piles's *Abregé de la vie des peintres* (translated in 1704 as *The Art of Painting*); Florent Le Comte's *Cabinet des*

¹⁰⁸ This was also a prime form of classification in print publishers' catalogues (Griffiths, 2016, p. 443).

¹⁰⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: 122B, f.148-151.

¹¹⁰ The Mariettes also applied an ordering system based on nationality and chronology to the collection of Prince Eugene of Savoy (Michel, 2018, pp. 195-198; and Smentek, 2014).

¹¹¹ Michel, 2018. This is what Griffiths defines as 'the art historical' collection (Griffiths, 2016, p. 440).

¹¹² For an overview of the different influences on print collecting in Rome, Paris and London, see Griffiths, 1994b.

singularitez d'architecture, peinture, sculpture, et graveure (1699); Michel de Marolles's *Catalogue de livres d'estampes* (1666 and 1672); John Evelyn's *Sculptura* (published in 1662 and reprinted in 1755); Dezallier d'Argenville's letter in *Mercure de France* (1727); the anonymous author of *Sculptura-Historico-Technica* (1747); William Gilpin's *Essay on Prints* (1768); and Karl Heinrich von Heinecken's 1771 *Idee generale d'une collection complete d'estampes* of 1771 (modelled on the *Kupferstichkabinett*, Dresden).

All these authors took slightly different approaches to the arrangement of print collections.¹¹³ Marolles listed the contents of his own print albums which were primarily arranged by subject. D'Argenville (whose competence as a collector was questioned by Mariette) also recommended arrangement by subject. The author of *Sculptura-Historico-Technica* proposed arranging a collection by historical subjects, subjects of morality, the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving, and mixed subjects. Heinecken suggested works should be arranged by designer/artist. Le Comte listed suggested prints as a collector's guide, and also categorised collectors by those who focused on quality ('curieux'); 'less serious' collectors who favoured quantity and lower prices; and those seeking merely 'decoration'.¹¹⁴ Could these and other writers have influenced the duchess's classification of her print collection?

Some of the duchess's classifications accord with these theoretical sources, although there is no evidence that she drew on them. For example, Marolles's catalogues focus on organisation by subject and artist/designer, and the subjects he outlined resonate with those seen in the duchess's prints: ceremonies, devices and emblems, architecture, medals, portraits, costumes, maps, ruins, and views.¹¹⁵ An abundance of engravings (after paintings) of historical subjects and official events is also reflected in

¹¹³ The summaries in this paragraph are based on Griffiths, 2016, pp. 444-445.

¹¹⁴ Griffiths, 2016, p. 444.

¹¹⁵ Marolles's prints 'constituted a historical record and didactic tool' that reflected the tradition of sorting of prints into categories of knowledge for reference purposes (Karpinski, 1989, p. 105).

the duchess's print selections.¹¹⁶ Marolles and Le Comte's 'conventional' criteria were used by Jean-Pierre Mariette in his arrangement of Prince Eugene of Savoy's print collection in the early 1700s, which as previously noted included the printer-publisher *oeuvres* so common in the duchess's collection.¹¹⁷

There are clues that the duchess was familiar with scholarly and theoretical sources related to objects other than prints. The list of books she owned includes volumes she described as 'Table of English Coins', Jobert's 'La Science des Medails', and 'Natter on Engraving' (*A Treatise on the Ancient Method Engraving on Precious Stones, Compared with the Modern*, 1754).¹¹⁸ Entries in her *Catalogue of Prints* under the category 'Statues, medals, antiquities' also include prints from the volume 'La France Metallique' by Jacques de Bie (1581-1640), who published a number of checklists of medals and coins consulted by collectors.¹¹⁹ Also noted are 204 prints from 'Evelyns Numismata', a key text for medal collecting published by John Evelyn in 1697, which includes information on how to 'methodize' medals 'for the cabinet and library'.¹²⁰ There is, however, no record of Evelyn's *Sculptura* in her book collection, a volume which specifically addressed 'engraving on copper' and 'mezzotino' and was an influential text for eighteenth-century amateur print collectors.¹²¹ We can therefore only surmise that given her ownership of other reference works by Evelyn that *Sculptura* may have also been a possible source of information.

One important print theorist does appear in the duchess's *Catalogue of Books*:

¹¹⁶ Examples are 'reproductions by Sebastian Le Clerc after Charles Le Brun' and 'originals by Callot' (Karpinski, 1989, p. 105). Le Clerc, Callot, and Le Brun were all represented in the duchess's collection.

¹¹⁷ Smentek, 2014, p. 45.

¹¹⁸ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 127, f. 311, 313; Louis Jobert (1637-1719) originally published 1692; Jobert, 1739; and Natter, 1754.

¹¹⁹ Bie, 1634-1635. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.87. For the arrangement of the duchess's medals see Aymonino, 2021.

¹²⁰ Evelyn, 1697, pp. 221, 241-244. He suggested ordering by 'antiquity' and 'chronology', beginning with 'heads and effigies' and provided a suggested order of categories, including heads, geographical regions, deities, virtues and symbols, militaria, architecture, religion and miscellanea (Evelyn, 1697, pp. 248-250).

¹²¹ Parshall, 1994, pp. 27-29.

noted by her as ‘De Piles Painting’.¹²² This is probably *The art of painting, and the lives of the painter: containing, a compleat treatise of painting, designing, and the use of prints* — a translation of de Piles 1699 work, *Abregé de la vie des peintres*.¹²³ Whether a reference point for the duchess or not, the French diplomat, art theorist, and critic Roger de Piles (1635-1709) includes rules for forming ‘Right Judgement on the Works of the Painters’, the reproduction of ideas by artists, the importance of the antique, and ‘the Usefulness and Use of Prints’.¹²⁴ Significantly, de Piles notes a number of options for the arrangement of different categories of prints. These are: portraits by hierarchy (starting with kings); maps and elevations of ‘cities, castles, palaces’; prints related to ‘all that bears on history’ (‘festivals, funeral processions’, ‘ceremonies, modes and customs’); by painter and their ‘disciples’ (organised by country); or by ‘gravers, without respect to the Painters’ (i.e. by printmaker); and finally by subject; or other categories such as ‘by fashion’ (especially those who collect for completion).¹²⁵ De Piles noted that all these variations could be observed in one collector and summarises that it is ‘reasonable that everyone shou’d have Liberty to do in this what seems to him to be useful and agreeable’.¹²⁶ We certainly see several of these characteristics in the duchess’s print cataloguing, including an eclecticism and organisational ‘liberty’ of her own devising.¹²⁷

Given the diversity of cataloguing approaches and sources possibly used by the duchess, it is difficult to quantify the impact of de Piles, or indeed any theoretical sources

¹²² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 127, f.313.

¹²³ It is also possible this title refers to *Cours de peinture* (1708) by de Piles, which emphasised the visualisation of nature present in painting; assessed artists based on painterly (rather than literary) qualities of composition, drawing, colour and expression; and compared painting and sculpture (See Puttfarken, 1985, p. 45; Holt, 1994; Graddy, 2013; Alfour and Williamson, 1997; and Rubin, 1975 esp. pp. 160-161).

¹²⁴ His work was important to other print collectors. For example, two albums of portraits of painters compiled for the Spencer family in the eighteenth century include biographies which have been transcribed ‘almost word for word’ from this source (Wouk, 2019, p. 97).

¹²⁵ Piles, 1706, pp. 62-64. See also Griffiths, 1994b, pp. 47-48.

¹²⁶ Piles, 1706, pp. 63-64.

¹²⁷ Sarah Sophia Banks’s print collections and their inventory also exhibited eclectic taxonomies of her own devising based on ‘social hierarchy, aesthetic features and geographical origins’ (Leis, 2014, p. 134).

on the arrangement of her prints. Apart from the *Catalogue* lists, and the records of relevant books, her journals and notebooks appear to be silent on these matters. There is certainly a clear match between her print categories and those proposed by de Piles, however her major influences possibly came indirectly: through observation of other collections that had been developed with particular theoretical underpinnings. Perhaps, like other collectors, she had honed her knowledge through sociable conversations with collectors she visited.¹²⁸ If this was the case, there is also unfortunately no record of these conversations in the duchess's journals or notebooks.

Commercial influences

Some theoretical antecedents can be drawn from the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints*, but it is more likely that the categorisation of her collection was influenced by commercial forces. Likely sources were the newly produced catalogues and descriptive biographical dictionaries published by the print trade which gained importance in the 1700s. Innovative auction catalogues created in 1744 by dealer and scholar Edme-François Gersaint (c.1696-1750) for example, included introductory essays, biographies of artists, and an *oeuvre* catalogue of Callot's works (which listed works not only for sale, but also known prints from other collections).¹²⁹ Parisian print publisher Basan (discussed earlier) created a two-volume pocket guide on selected engravers, with biographical information which was 'intended to be more useful' than auction catalogues.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Mariette and d'Argenville noted they had honed their skills and knowledge through conversation with others in the cabinets of Pierre Crozat and Roger de Piles (Warwick, 2003, pp. 3-4).

¹²⁹ Gersaint, 1744. Griffiths, 2016, p. 450. Gersaint does not appear in either the duchess's list of 'Print Shops at Paris' (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/15, f. 42) or her list of 'Engravers, Picture dealers, Printsellers' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.134). For Gersaint see Glorieux, 2002. For other French auction catalogues, see Raux, 2012. For the duchess's Callot prints see Lot 347, Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 25.

¹³⁰ Basan, 1767; Griffiths, 2016, p. 453. For the history of *oeuvre* catalogues and *catalogues raisonnés* see Griffiths, 2016, pp. 450-452. For Mariette and the creation of his print *oeuvre* see Smentek, 2014, pp. 40-56.

Sales catalogues were produced by firms such as Robert Sayer, and the Bowles family, from whom — as already noted — the duchess purchased a number of prints.¹³¹ Their catalogues were arranged in sub-categories similar to those in the duchess's collection: views and landscapes, 'scripture pieces', and portraits in categories such as 'Royalty'.¹³² Walter Shropshire's 1769 sale of prints 'belonging to a gentleman', also opened with a section noted as 'books of prints'.¹³³ These guides and catalogues 'defined what existed, revealed gaps in collections, and stimulated the zeal of collectors' so that they could 'boast their series was complete'.¹³⁴ As the duchess was a regular attendee at auctions and dealers' rooms, their catalogues may also have provided inspiration to the overall arrangement of her prints.¹³⁵

Sales and auction catalogues were also used as a form of inventory in the eighteenth century. The Reverend Cracherode used standard print catalogues of his day (such as those by Gersaint and Le Comte) as his print inventory, by marking the prints he owned in the margins of the volumes.¹³⁶

As noted by Eleanor Ling, Lord Fitzwilliam also arranged his album of Rembrandt prints according to a catalogue published in Paris 1728.¹³⁷

Another important print ordering and classification trend was the 'grangerisation' or extra-illustration of volumes with prints (mentioned in Chapter Three). The Reverend James Granger's method (and that of Horace Walpole) was to arrange portrait prints chronologically by the royal reign in which the sitter lived, and then subdivide them into hierarchical classes based on achievements, role, social status,

¹³¹ Such as 'Coll[ection] of Prints publish'd by Sayer 10s 6d' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.27).

¹³² Bowles, 1731, 1764, 1768.

¹³³ Shropshire, 1769, p. 3.

¹³⁴ Griffiths, 2016, p. 451.

¹³⁵ For the market's impact on Pepys' collection, see Waals, 1984, p. 255. For the narrative development of the eighteenth-century auction catalogue see Wall, 1997, pp. 11-20.

¹³⁶ Griffiths, 1996, pp. 46-47.

¹³⁷ Ling, 2016, Label 1 (referring to 'Rembrandt' album, Fitzwilliam Object Number 23.K.5-I).

or celebrity.¹³⁸ The duchess owned a number of albums of prints arranged by reigns of kings and queens, and evidence from the 1951 Sotheby's sale of her albums suggests that they probably loosely followed Granger's hierarchy. For example, an album of prints from the reign of Queen Anne is described as containing impressions of royalty, as well as 'Statesmen, Physicians, Authors, Musicians, Ladies etc' which matches the presentation of classes of prints in the order suggested by Granger.¹³⁹

We do have clear evidence of the impact of commercial publications on the duchess's ideas. In 1769 she wrote to Thomas Percy (1729-1811) and described her ideas for the ideal shape and form of a catalogue, based on an unknown commercial publication that had been recently published in Amsterdam.¹⁴⁰ She said the publication had 'awaken'd a wish in my mind' that an English publisher would publish a book (perhaps by subscription) 'upon a plan of mine'.¹⁴¹ She went on to describe what her plan entailed:

A description of all pictures which should come within his (and those which could assist him) knowledge, the painters name, their dimentions [*sic*], price, possessors and where they are... [such as] A Grocers Shop with two figures, one of which is a peasant selling a rope of onions...one foot, three inches high, by one foot broad this picture was bought by 700 £ by Mr Bischopp and is in his collection at Rotterdam. This specimen is not a fictitious but a real one to which might be added (where it was known) the date, its degree of Excellence, whether engraved or not etc. ¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Ironically, Walpole considered that Granger had based his system on his own and that of James West (1703-1772) (both print enthusiasts mentioned in the duchess's journals and all are acknowledged in Walpole's list of 'Collections of English Heads') (Peltz, 2017, pp. 58,53). For Granger's twelve classes, see Peltz, 2017, pp. 56-59.

¹³⁹ Sotheby and Co., 1951a, Lot 347, p. 39. Sarah Sophia Bank's volumes of 'nobility' are also organised by rank noting 'English earls' to 'English persons' (Leis, 2014, p. 134).

¹⁴⁰ The catalogue she referred to is unknown. Percy was employed by the duke and duchess as a chaplain, librarian and historian, and as a tutor for their son (see Davis, 1989, pp. 18).

¹⁴¹ British Library, Add MS 32334, f.21 (21 November 1769). I am grateful to Adriano Aymonino for making me aware of this reference.

¹⁴² British Library Add MS 32334, f.21 (21 November 1769).

The level of detail proposed by the duchess was not fully taken up by in her *Catalogue of Prints*, but her intention was partially expressed in her *Catalogue of Pictures*.¹⁴³

Of particular interest in the quote are the duchess's comment about the painting's excellence and whether a print had been taken from it. As previously noted, descriptions of quality were apparent in her *Catalogue of Painting*, but not in her *Catalogue of Prints*. The practice of recording whether a painting was 'engraved' can be seen in other eighteenth-century collector's inventories. For instance, Johann Friedrich Städel (1728-1816) made references to some of his 9,346 prints in his paintings inventory, where he recorded the artist's name, a title or description, the painting's size, and if he also owned a print of the same subject.¹⁴⁴ There is no evidence that the duchess made similar records. This is surprising because, as noted earlier, the duchess was particularly interested in prints that depicted collections.

Conscious of commercial forces (and her own list-making abilities) the duchess also wrote in her letter to Thomas Percy that, 'I should think a book of this kind would sell well and I could myself venture to promise to assist the author with 4 or 500 articles'.¹⁴⁵ Publication of such a catalogue was not a surprising or unique plan, given the number of other contemporary models. The British Museum's catalogues were published by Dodsley in the 1760s; Horace Walpole was working on his collection catalogue (which was eventually published in 1774); and the duchess was familiar with the collection-catalogues-*cum*-auction-catalogues for the sales of significant collections

¹⁴³ Which lists the subject of each painting, the painter, the height, width, and cost, as well as fulsome provenance information (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122). It also reflects the format of her lists of other significant collections (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88).

¹⁴⁴ Meyer, 2018, p. 271. For example, adjacent to his record of his painting of David Teniers the Elders' *Temptation of St. Anthony*, he recorded, 'NB. I have the engraving by Le Bas' (Meyer, 2018, pp. 271-272). The catalogue is in the Städel Archive Frankfurt at: inv. Nr. Gall. I.; and the print at inv. Nr. 68 (the painting was sold by the museum in 1834).

Lord Fitzwilliam also purchased prints of paintings he owned, such as William Verelstyn (1731-1821) *Portrait of a Man in Costume*. The print is part of a 'Gravures' (Fitzwilliam Museum Object Number 33.A.8-73) (Ling, 2016, Label 30).

¹⁴⁵ British Library, Add MS 32334, f.21 (21 November 1769).

such as those of Dr Mead, Lord Oxford, Mr Warburton etc.¹⁴⁶ Through the publication of her collection notes (and possibly the catalogue of her own collection) the duchess would have sought to make her own mark within the ranks of her auspicious collecting contemporaries.¹⁴⁷ Prices, profits, and promotion were never far from her mind.

When all is considered, variety and personal preference played a large part in the arrangement of print collections in the eighteenth century, even when a collector may have had an overarching theoretical guideline or a taxonomy in mind. In 1744 Edme-François Gersaint conceded ‘there is nothing fixed in the way in which prints can be arranged; one is at liberty to use whatever seems most useful and most agreeable, according to the type of collection that is being undertaken’— perhaps an approach absorbed unconsciously by the duchess.¹⁴⁸ We could therefore conclude that the duchess’s own collecting interests — developed by places, people and events with which she had connections, commercial forces and ambitions, and subjects that interested her — were as significant in the categorisation of her print collection as any specific theoretical or commercial approaches.

A ‘paper museum’

The duchess’s *Musaeum Catalogue* organised her collection into a simple and accessible framework. It therefore had a similar utility to the catalogues created by Pierre-Jean Mariette for Prince Eugene of Savoy: it was a shortcut to the collection, and a ‘structural framework with which one could organise the collection’s visual data’.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ See Powlett, 1761 and 1762; Walpole, 1774 and Jackson-Stops, 1985a, p. 415. *London and its environs*, which featured descriptions of the duchess’s collections at Northumberland House was published by Dodsley and Dodsley (Vol. 5, 1761, p. 58). Others (such as prints after drawings from renowned collections) followed quickly after the duchess’s death (e.g. Earlom, 1777; Rogers, 1778).

¹⁴⁷ For an overview of English private collection catalogues see Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, 2015, pp. 323-329.

¹⁴⁸ Quoted in Griffiths, 2016, p. 444. Similar comments are noted by Piles, 1706, p. 63-64.

¹⁴⁹ Kobi, 2018, p. 10. Mariette’s catalogues had educative advantages for their elite clientele and established his reputation among European connoisseurs. This was epitomised in his sales catalogue for Pierre Crozat (Kobi, 2018, pp. 13-14; Kobi, 2017, pp. 129-232; and Smentek, 2014).

The duchess's prints also illustrated — in two dimensions — other aspects of her collecting. Her prints related to her medals, antiquities, natural history, portraits, costume, and Flemish and French landscape paintings. For instance, she commissioned portrait miniatures of eighteenth-century personalities by Jean-Louis Fesch and also acquired prints of the same subjects.¹⁵⁰ Hermit prints by the Sadeler family (and copies by other artists and engravers) mirrored both the imagery of hermit paintings in her collection and paintings she admired during her travels. Her extensive collection of medals were described in their own specialist volume of her *Musaeum Catalogue*, but she also included images of medals as one of the high-level categories of her *Catalogue of Prints*.¹⁵¹

Her prints therefore recorded objects she owned, objects she desired, and objects in the collections of others. While her prints functioned as a significant and independent part of her collection, they could also be considered as a 'museum of images' that mirrored her other collected objects. Her prints were paper representations of other aspects of her collections and of her own experiences and ambitions.¹⁵² They displayed the breadth of the social, cultural, and intellectual interests of their owner.

Precursors to the *Catalogue of Prints*

After analysis of the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints*, and evidence of her print acquisitions from journals and notebooks, it appears that *Catalogue* is a work-in-progress. Several of the duchess's major collecting categories such as French prints are missing from the *Catalogue*, so it is almost certain that not all the entries in the *Catalogue* were completed before the duchess's untimely death.¹⁵³ The fortunate

¹⁵⁰ For the Fesch miniatures, see Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122A, f.21.

¹⁵¹ Prints of medals are noted in Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.89. The *Catalogue of Medals and Coins* is Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122C.

¹⁵² For connections between collections of prints and drawings and other objects see Griffiths, 1989b; McDonald, 2017; Aymonino, 2013; and Box, 2019 and 2021. For the relationship between prints and collection objects at Petworth, see Chadwick, 2020. Prints as models for objects, and objects as models for prints are discussed in Kirch, 2018. For seventeenth-century relationships between prints and paintings see Bury, 2003.

¹⁵³ As suggested by Aymonino, 2012, p. 109.

survival of so many of the duchess's notebooks allows us to access what may be preparations for the classification system later employed in the *Catalogue*, and to view categories and entries that may not have been recorded there. Some of these notebooks also contain organisational schema that reflect the location of prints and albums in the various Northumberland seats: Northumberland House (London), Syon House (Middlesex), Alnwick Castle (Northumberland) and Stanwick Hall (Yorkshire).¹⁵⁴ As well as providing useful information about her developing approaches to print classification, the notebooks indicate which prints the duchess considered the most important at a particular time. The 'precursor' notebooks therefore allow us to watch the development of the duchess's categorisation approaches 'in process'.

Three notebooks are of particular interest in the context of print classification, and at least two appear to have been created at an earlier date than the *Catalogue of Prints*.¹⁵⁵ The first notebook for consideration ('Notebook One') is simply stab bound with a marbled paper cover.¹⁵⁶ On only two small notebook pages, it lists prints and their locations in 'London', 'Syon' and 'Stanwick', and has sixty-six different 'shorthand' entries. (**Fig. 6**) Here prints are listed predominantly by printmaker, print publisher, or designer, and this appears to be a rudimentary location schema. If we focus on Sadeler prints as examples, they fall into the following categories and locations:

London [Northumberland House]: '2 Sadlers' [sic]

Syon: '1 Sadlers' [sic], 'Collaert', 'De Vos'

Stanwick: 'Osbornes Sadlers' [sic]¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ A geographical location schema was probably developed out of necessity, as the duchess sometimes found herself separated from items which were located in other seats. Sarah Sophia Banks also noted the locations of her collections housed across two residences (Leis, 2013, p. 14).

¹⁵⁵ Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/5; Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176; and Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/III/11. Another notebook contains lists of 'Cameo's', 'Intaglio's', 'Miscellaneous Curiosities', 'Bas Reliefs', 'Pictures', 'Busto's', and 'Statues' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88). The format suggests this is possibly another precursor for the overall arrangement of her *Musaeum Catalogue*.

¹⁵⁶ Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/5. It is approximately 16cm high x 9cm wide.

¹⁵⁷ Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/5 (n.p.)

These notebook entries reveal the locations of albums now in Melbourne: the Sadeler albums (after De Vos) were stored at Syon, and the Oxford albums (sold by Osborne) were stored at Stanwick during the duchess's lifetime.¹⁵⁸

Other notebook entries are succinct, and there is no indication that they follow one particular type of categorisation over another. Some of the entries list the designer ('Old Masters', 'Rubens', 'Watteau'); the subject ('Running Horses'); the provenance of prints ('Boydell'); the printmaker/publisher ('Galle', 'Sadlers' [*sic*]); or a brief description that identifies the work ('Kitcat Club', 'Bucks Views', 'Tempests [*sic*] Crys London').¹⁵⁹ All these entries appear to be shorthand descriptions of sets, series, or albums of prints.¹⁶⁰

The format used in the second undated notebook ('Notebook Two') — also stab bound with a marbled paper cover — indicates that the duchess was beginning to experiment with print classification using more sophisticated categories.¹⁶¹ The headings used in this notebook (in order of their appearance) are:

Subjects of Devotion; Natural History; Medals; Works of Various Masters; Prints of Sadeler; Dresses; Works of Galle; Works of Wierx; Works of Hollar; Collections; Miscellaneous; Works of Collaert; Emblems and Fables; Portraits; French Prints; Poms and Ceremonials &c; Works of Stradanus; By Callot; Works of De Pass.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ After the duchess's death in 1766, some of the albums were moved. A receipt from July 1785 describes: 'delivered at Syon House 76 Books of Prints &c. of different sizes, taken from Northumberland House' (Alnwick Castle, DNM: D/2/6). The next location of the collection can next be traced through the 1847 Syon House inventory ('Inventory of the effects at Syon House', Alnwick Castle, Sy: H. VIII 1.b, f.150-295).

¹⁵⁹ All listed under 'Syon' (Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/5 (n.p.)).

¹⁶⁰ 'Alnwick' does not appear as a location on this list, so it is possible the notebook entries were created prior to the late 1760s. After a twenty five-year restoration, the duchess recorded that the drawing room there was finished and first used on July 27, 1770 (Worsley, 1988, p. 76).

¹⁶¹ Alnwick Castle: DP: D1/II/11. The notebook is approximately 16cm high x 10cm wide, and soft-bound with marbled paper binding, similar to the endpapers of the De Vos albums in Melbourne and to the binding used for the majority of the duchess's journals and notebooks.

¹⁶² Alnwick Castle: DP: D1/II/11. The book is unpaginated and contains no index.

Although there are entries under each heading in this notebook, they are far less numerous or detailed than those in the *Catalogue of Prints*, as we see for example in the category ‘Prints of Sadeler’. **(Fig. 7)** The entries in Notebook Two correlate with prints listed in Notebook One, discussed previously. This suggests that Notebook One (which contains a brief catalogue and location index) and Notebook Two (which contains a more detailed listing of prints in categories) may have been created at the same time.

At first glance, the lists and entries in Notebook Two are somewhat similar to those that appear in the *Catalogue of Prints*. Their differences are important though, as they demonstrate the development of the duchess’s collection categorisation over time. ‘Architecture, Views and Landskips’ and ‘Statues, Medals and Antiquities’ are additional categories in the *Catalogue* but are not represented in the notebook. Categories seen in Notebook Two but missing from the final *Catalogue* (such as ‘French Prints’, ‘Pomps and Ceremonials &c’) also indicate the incomplete state of the current *Catalogue of Prints*. **(Fig. 8)**. As we have seen, the duchess noted the purchase of a number of French prints (for example by Pillement and after Boucher) but these are not fully described in the final *Catalogue*.¹⁶³

The specific heading for ‘Collections’ in Notebook Two is interesting. This is the location of entries such as ‘Count Bruhl’s Collection’ and ‘Cabinet de Rintz’ which appear in the *Catalogue* under the category ‘Books of Prints’. Similarly, ‘Sandford’s Coronation of King James 2nd’ under ‘Pomps and Ceremonials &c’ in Notebook Two is listed under ‘Books of Prints’ in the *Catalogue*. The notebook category ‘Works of Various Masters’ grew into specific listings such as ‘Work of Teniers’, ‘Works of DeVos’, and ‘Works of Goltzius’ in the *Catalogue*.

The designation of ‘Goltzius’ flags the duchess’s growing appreciation of, and focus on, the identity of the printmaker. As previously mentioned, arranging prints by

¹⁶³ Some French prints are noted on a loose sheet placed in her *Catalogue*, suggesting they may have been ready to transfer into the *Catalogue* (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.310-311)

printmaker gained currency during the mid to late eighteenth century, whereas earlier it was more common to arrange prints by artist/designer or school.¹⁶⁴ The designation by printmaker demonstrates the increasing value of prints to the duchess as works of art in their own right, and possibly her awareness of changing collecting and categorisation norms. The new, more decisive categories also reflect more targeting collecting later in her life.

Additions, deletions and combinations of categories therefore occurred between the collation of Notebook Two and the *Catalogue of Prints*. This suggests that the duchess continued to refine her high-level print collecting classifications as her collection grew in depth and variety. Perhaps some categories became less important to her; or she realised she had insufficient prints to warrant a separate category; or the physical characteristics of the collection (such as ‘bound’) became more appropriate.

The third notebook for consideration as a ‘precursor’ (‘Notebook Three’) is in poor condition. Its’ plain leather boards are loose and worn, and many leaves have been torn out.¹⁶⁵ (Fig. 9) There appear to be no category headings, and each page contains just two columns for entries: one for the number of prints, and one for an indicative title, which could be as generic as ‘179 Prints after De Vos’.¹⁶⁶ Significantly, this notebook’s entries are very similar in quantity and wording to the entries that appear in the *Catalogue of Prints*.

Physical evidence suggests that Notebook Three was used as a final ‘working’ document in preparation for the *Catalogue*. Many entries are heavily crossed out in ink, and some whole leaves — which contain evidence of the duchess’s handwriting — have been removed, leaving only stubs. By cross-referencing Notebook Three and the *Catalogue* we can identify otherwise unrecorded prints in the duchess’s collection. For example, the notebook lists a group of ‘174 Sadeler’s Hermits etc’, which are not

¹⁶⁴ [redacted] and FitzWilliam also arranged his [redacted] (Ling, 2016).

¹⁶⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176. It is approximately 16cm high x 10cm wide, and untitled.

¹⁶⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.2.

‘crossed out’ and which, mysteriously, have not been transcribed into the *Catalogue of Prints*.¹⁶⁷ (Fig. 10) This entry could have been overlooked during the process of transferring entries from the notebook into the *Catalogue of Prints*.¹⁶⁸ This example is also evidence that the task of completing the *Catalogue* was left unfinished at the duchess’s death.

Although there are no specific headings for categories of prints in Notebook Three, it does list groups of prints by their location in Northumberland seats: ‘Stanwick’, ‘London’, and ‘Alnwick’.¹⁶⁹ (Fig. 11) Entries under these locations are ‘crossed out’, indicating that this notebook may have been used as a methodical identification of prints for their subsequent transference — location by location — into the *Catalogue*. A table at the back of the notebook specifically mentions prints by printmaker (‘Sadeler’), or provenance (‘Osbornes’) but the main identifier in this brief list is by subject. (Fig. 12) The subjects listed in this geographic *aide-mémoire*, are closer to the subject headings used in the *Catalogue of Prints*:

Sadlers 1 [<i>sic</i>]	Syon
[ditto]	London
Osbornes	Stanwick ¹⁷⁰
Sadlers 4 [<i>sic</i>]	Alnwick
All Landskips and Views	Syon
All Dresses	London
Birds Flowers &c	Stanwick ¹⁷¹

Given that only a small subset of the duchess’s print collection is recorded, it is pertinent that the list above mentions albums and types of prints now held in the University of Melbourne. The Oxford-provenance albums — purchased through Osborne and located

¹⁶⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.68.

¹⁶⁸ This suggests the duchess possibly crossed out entries then tore out completed pages when they were entered into the *Catalogue*.

¹⁶⁹ The inclusion of Alnwick in the list of locations suggests it was potentially created from the middle 1760s or early 1770s, following completion of some of the interior restorations of the castle by the duke and duchess. It is possible the leaves related to Syon were removed.

¹⁷⁰ These are the Oxford provenance albums now in Melbourne.

¹⁷¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.98.

at Stanwick — are specifically noted.¹⁷² The duchess's focus is clearly on the storage of prints in albums, reflecting her attention to the physical characteristics of the prints as bound groups or sets: the form in which they were recorded in the *Catalogue*.

Notebook Three's compact size and battered condition suggest it may have accompanied the duchess while on her travels both between her seats and further afield. Perhaps it offered a way of checking existing collection items against potential purchases, thus preventing unnecessary duplications.¹⁷³ This theory is supported by other entries later in the notebook. Pages titled, 'Prints sell for' and 'Sent to Mr Darres' (the latter for binding or sale) suggest this was a portable reference volume.¹⁷⁴

In addition to the notebooks mentioned above, there is another intriguing thin notebook ('Notebook Four') which is devoted entirely to prints after De Vos.¹⁷⁵ (**Fig. 13**) It has a commercially produced label and cover (similar to what is now described as an 'exercise book'), and it contains nearly sixty detailed entries recording sets and individual prints. Although the notebook is not specifically ascribed to the duchess in the Northumberland Archives, all the entries are carefully transcribed in the duchess's handwriting of the 1740s and 1750s. It is highly likely that this notebook is connected with the duchess's print collection, as the majority of the prints listed are in the same order as the prints now mounted in the two De Vos albums in Melbourne. Perhaps this notebook is evidence of an earlier attempt to catalogue her collection.

In the absence of further evidence, it is not yet clear what purpose Notebook Four served. It could be a list of De Vos prints already acquired; a list of prints to be obtained; or a list of prints needing to be (or that have been) mounted in albums. It may

¹⁷² When the Oxford albums were acquired in the 1740s, the duchess and her husband were based at his seat of Stanwick, so it is likely the albums continued to be stored there.

¹⁷³ Ferdinand Columbus referred to an inventory to avoid purchasing duplicates when travelling. It was based on the size of prints and their subject matter; the number of saints and mortals in an image; and descriptions of specific visual features depicted in the prints (McDonald, 2000, p. 46, and 2005, pp. 54-61).

¹⁷⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.18, 75.

¹⁷⁵ Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/19 (n.p).

also have been a list of duplicate prints to be sent for sale or binding (such as the prints noted as sent to the firm of William Darres), or be based on a suggested order of prints from a catalogue or another collection.¹⁷⁶ It may also have been a more detailed preparatory document for the *Catalogue of Prints*, in which the duchess experimented with entries that included a complete list of every print in every album. This would certainly have been an arduous documentary task, but not one that was unusual for other print collectors. In any case, Notebook Four demonstrates a fastidious recording of this part of the duchess's collection. No other similarly detailed lists of prints in the duchess's hand (for any other printmaker or artist), have been located to-date.

'To keep in their memories'

The high-level categories in the *Catalogue of Prints* reflect the key themes of the duchess's collecting. As we have seen in earlier chapters, these themes connect with her own experiences of places and individuals; her interest in fashion and important events, and subjects related to her familial traditions, history, and memory.¹⁷⁷ Her *Catalogue* entries focus on quantity, price, and often generic (rather than detailed) identification of series, sets, and albums of prints in her collection. The *Catalogue* demonstrates the connections between the lives of her prints as commodities — as artworks acquired through her commercial activities — and as objects that were carefully ordered and arranged as part of a collection. Nonetheless, her *Catalogue* can only begin to reveal the complex processes involved in gathering the items which are listed within: the networks of dealers and collectors; the social interchange of prints; the methods of storage and binding; the cataloguing methodology; and the values placed on the collected objects.¹⁷⁸

The duchess's print cataloguing conformed to accepted methodological norms — such as the range of subjects she selected and her focus on *oeuvres* — but also

¹⁷⁶ 'Sent to Mr Darres' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.75-76).

¹⁷⁷ Connections between the structure of memory, commonplace books and cabinets of curiosities is summarised by Kobi, 2018, pp. 10-12. For commonplace books, see Allan, 2010.

¹⁷⁸ Some of these ideas are based on Tobin's observation of the Duchess of Portland's sale catalogue (Tobin, 2014, p. 10).

included her own eclectic combination of varied cataloguing styles. Her approach recognised a growing focus on (and appreciation of) the printmakers' art. Her lists of 'prints wanted', and the development of her print classification schema (as seen in the nuanced versions of her notebooks), indicate she refined these criteria over time.¹⁷⁹ Her interest in publishing her observations of collections suggest a level of confidence in her own approaches. As Anne French describes, the duchess 'considered herself, perhaps with justification, to be something of a connoisseur'.¹⁸⁰

The overall shape of her collection classification could be described as conforming to various accepted norms of arrangement as well as reflecting her own personal and idiosyncratic interest in creating a sense of order.¹⁸¹ Susan Pearce suggests that even though collections may be presented in an 'intellectual, dignified and objective light', the personality, interests and aspirations of the collector are 'the mainspring'.¹⁸² By collecting and grouping significant images together in inventory categories, the duchess was adding her own history to that of a long chain of family history and connections, rather than following a narrow intellectual model of print categorisation. There is no irrefutable evidence that the duchess relied on the writings of Roger de Piles in the development and categorisation of her collection, but his summary of the 'good Effects that may arise from the use of Prints' is an effective description of how prints may have served her:

¹⁷⁹ Collectors with these traits 'conscientiously attempt to make every addition to the collection fit their circumscribed collecting criteria' (Akin, 1996, p. 116). Sarah Sophia Banks' ephemera collection also reflected her 'personal interests, her status as a collector, and attests to her overwhelming desire to catalogue, organise, and display' (Leis, 2013, p. 15).

¹⁸⁰ French, 2009, p. 66.

¹⁸¹ Based on Akin, 1996, p. 116.

¹⁸² Pearce, 1992, p. 81. Pearce's mode of 'fetishistic' collecting may also apply to the duchess. Tobin notes this mode aligns with collections that have been amassed and ordered in a way that relates to 'events in an individual's life', rather than with 'intellectual rationale' and that examples of this mode include Sir Hans Sloane's natural specimens (Tobin, 2014, p. 58).

For Travellers, the particular Views of Palaces, of Cities, and considerable Places, to prepare them for the Things they are to see, or to preserve the Ideas of those they have seen...For the Curious in History and Antiquity, every thing that has been engrav'd belonging to Sacred or Profane History, the Fable, the *Antique Basso Relievo*, the *Trajan* and *Antonine* Pillars, the Books of Medals and Stones Engrav'd, and several Prints that may help them in the Knowledge of those Things they would know or to keep those they know already in their Memories.¹⁸³

The duchess's prints allowed her to remember, to prepare for, and to compare.

¹⁸³ Piles, 1706, pp. 58-59.

5. CULTURAL COMMERCE: THE DUCHESS'S PRINTS AND ALBUMS AS TWENTIETH-CENTURY CONSUMER GOODS

‘A series of marks on a print is its diary: the fate and journey of many a masterpiece can be thereby traced until it finds at last its permanent home in the Museum’.

George Somes Layard¹

Since the middle of the 1700s, the duchess's prints and albums had been collected and catalogued objects in a private collection. They had therefore been diverted from a commodity phase through their removal from circulation. But after nearly two hundred years in the collections of the Dukes of Northumberland, they again became consumer goods in the twentieth century, when they were sold by public auction in 1951.² The re-appearance of the prints and albums on the London art market was the catalyst that eventually brought nine of the duchess's albums to the University of Melbourne.

Auction data, invoices, and dealer correspondence from the 1950s and 1960s allows us to trace the lives of the duchess's prints and albums as twentieth-century cultural commodities. Drawing on sales records, correspondence and stock books — including those accessed at the P. & D. Colnaghi Ltd Collection, Waddesdon Archive at Windmill Hill — we can follow the movement of objects and information through a network of institutional collectors, dealers, and social contacts.³ The ‘human and social contexts’ of the duchess's prints — as ‘things in motion’ with a perceived value — now unfolds against the backdrop of the twentieth-century art market.⁴ The commercial trajectory of the duchess's prints and albums is what Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel would describe as ‘far from a straightforward or fluid circulation that leaves objects unaltered’.⁵

¹ Layard, 1922, p. 19.

² Sotheby and Co., 1951a, pp. 23-43.

³ Materials from this collection are subsequently indicated as ‘COL’. I am grateful to the staff of Colnaghi and Waddesdon Archive, Windmill Hill for permission to access this archive.

⁴ Appadurai, 1986, p. 18.

⁵ Joyeux-Prunel, 2017, p. 16.

During their transition from dealer to dealer to institution, the physical form of the duchess's albums underwent change. Before their arrival in Melbourne, prints and even entire albums of prints that were once part of the sets of Oxford and De Vos albums, were removed and resold. This chapter traces the fate of two albums 'missing' from Melbourne (one from the Oxford set, and one related to the De Vos albums). It also reveals the previously unrecorded locations of other prints from these albums which are now housed in The National Gallery of Victoria (NGV) and in other institutional and private collections worldwide.

The sale of the duchess's print collection

In 1951 the duchess's prints were auctioned *en masse* on behalf of the 10th Duke of Northumberland, Hugh Algernon Percy (1914-1988).⁶ Sotheby's London handled the sale of 219 lots on 11 April 1951, which was marketed as 'The Print Library from Syon House: A Collection of Engravings Mounted in Volumes'.⁷ (**Fig. 1**) Buyer records from the auction show that the majority of lots were purchased by well-established dealers and booksellers such Mayfair-based rare and antiquarian book specialists, Maggs Bros and London art dealer P. & D. Colnaghi and Co. (subsequently 'Colnaghi').⁸

Colnaghi already had a long history in the print trade. Giovanni Battista Torre (d.1780) — acknowledged as the 'founding father' of the firm — sold prints, books and scientific equipment through his premises, *Cabinet de Physique Expérimentale*, which opened in Paris in 1760. The firm had a diversified business model, as they also created pyrotechnical spectacles, notably for King George III in 1772, and actor/entrepreneur David Garrick in 1774.⁹ By 1767, Torre's sons had established retail premises in London where their specialisation was prints. It is unclear whether the duchess patronised this earlier iteration of Colnaghi, as unfortunately it does not appear in the duchess's 'List of Printsellers' or as a destination in her 'List of London Rides'.

⁶ The sale also included a limited number of prints that — based on their publication dates — came into the Northumberland collection after the duchess's death.

⁷ Sotheby and Co., 1951a, pp. 23-43.

⁸ Sotheby and Co., 1951b, n.p.

⁹ Clayton, 2010, pp. 8 and 62 note 1.

In 1951, Colnaghi directly purchased forty-three of the 219 lots at the Sotheby's auction of the duchess's print albums.¹⁰ Two of the lots at this sale (lots 315 and 316) were the source of the nine albums of the duchess's prints that Colnaghi later sold to the University of Melbourne. **(Fig. 2)** Lot 315 was described in the Sotheby's catalogue as 'The Works of Sadeler Family, after M. De Vos, some by De Passe and others, 3 vol., folio, boards, 22 1/2 in. by 14 in.'¹¹ Two of these albums are the De Vos albums now in Melbourne, which were discussed in Chapter Three. Lot 316 was described as 'J. Sadeler; A very extensive collection of his works, mounted in eight volumes, folio, calf gilt, 24 in. by 17 in.'¹² These are the Oxford albums now in Melbourne. The lots were purchased using the bidder name 'B. Barnett' for £80 and £100 respectively, some of the highest sums paid at the auction.¹³

The duchess's albums in Melbourne still bear the material evidence of their journey from dealer to dealer. One of the Oxford albums (still in its original 'Harleian' binding) has a small, gold sticker on the front top right cover which records the Sotheby's lot number ('316/8').¹⁴ **(Fig. 3)** This album, and another Oxford album still in its original binding — labelled on the spine as 'Raphael Part Second' — also have Colnaghi stock numbers noted on the versos of the first free endpapers: 'C.28216'.¹⁵

¹⁰ Sotheby and Co., 1951b, n.p. [redacted] other lots, such as lot 350 recorded as sold to bidder [redacted] [redacted] appeared in the Colnaghi stock book (COL [redacted] p. 263)

For a history of Colnaghi see Colnaghi, 1960; Garstang, 1984; Howard, 2010; and Warner-Johnson and Howard, 2016.

¹¹ Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 37.

¹² Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 37.

¹³ Sotheby and Co., 1951b, n.p.

¹⁴ UniM Bail SpC/RB 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George. None of the albums have evidence of dealer/bookseller price notations which sometimes appeared in the eighteenth-century (Pearson, 1994, p. 44).

¹⁵ UniM Bail SpC/RB 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George and UniM Bail SpC/RB 37EE/1 v.4 Aegidius pt. 2. It is unclear why volume IV, which is still in its original Harleian binding (with a spine notation of: SADELER'S/ WORKS/ VOL./ IV/ RAPHAEL/ PART/ SECOND), was catalogued by the University of Melbourne as UniM Bail SpC/RB 37EE/1 v.4 Aegidius pt. 2). The reason for this re-attribution is unclear, particularly as the majority of prints contained in this album are by Raphael Sadeler I and II (as noted in Edquist 1990, pp. 322-262). Four prints from the *Passion of Christ* series in the album have been identified as the work of Johannes Sadeler I (Hollstein XXI 236 (J.S.I); Hollstein XXI 241 (J.S.I); Hollstein XXI 237 (J.S.I); and Hollstein

(Fig. 4) The two De Vos albums also show the Colnaghi number as ‘C.28215’, again confirming their connection with each other and with their sale to Colnaghi.¹⁶ One of the De Vos albums also includes a number of pencilled notations on the first opening. The numbers ‘163 2 vols’, have been erased and replaced with ‘315’, the appropriate lot number from the Sotheby’s 1951 sale.¹⁷ (Fig. 5). These notations support the separation of the tabbed De Vos albums and the Oxford albums into two distinct sets during the sales process. Other annotations in the endpapers of the albums are most likely related to nineteenth-century Northumberland inventories or to the collation of the collection in preparation for the 1951 Sotheby’s sale.¹⁸

Acquisition of the duchess’s albums by the University of Melbourne

After their purchase from the Sotheby’s sale, nearly a decade elapsed before Colnaghi Director James Byam Shaw (1903-1992) offered nine of the duchess’s albums to Joseph Burke (1913-1992), Herald Chair of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne.¹⁹ Byam Shaw was known for his gentlemanly, low-key salesmanship which

XXI 240 J.S.I) (Edquist, 1990, p. 359). As these are tipped in by the margins, rather than in encapsulated mounts (as is the case with the majority of the album), it is likely these may have been later additions.

¹⁶ UniM Bail SpC/RB 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos; and UniM Bail SpC/RB 37FF/1 v.2A Sadelers/de Vos.

¹⁷ UniM Bail SpC/RB 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos.

¹⁸ In addition to those already described in Chapter Three, pencilled press or shelf marks (not in the duchess’s handwriting) also appear in endpapers of two of the Oxford albums in Melbourne. These read ‘12 E 4’ (UniM Bail SpC/37 EE/1 v.4) and ‘12 E 8’ (UniM Bail SpC/37BB/2 v.8). Annotations in the same hand also appear on the front endpapers in Northumberland-provenance albums now located at Fondation Custodia (Lugt Inventory Number 6437), RKD in The Hague (Previously Lugt Inventory Number 6440), the British Museum (Museum Number: 2010,7081.344), the Museum of London (Accession Number 51.27), and the New York Public Library (MEM+++ P287w (Passe, C. van de. Works of de Pass)). The Northumberland-provenance albums at the Metropolitan Museum of Art have now been dis-bound, but through the kindness of curatorial staff, I accessed catalogue index cards which indicated similar markings had been extant when the albums had been purchased.

¹⁹ For Byam Shaw see White, 1992 and 2010; and Howard, 2016. For Burke see Anderson, 2005; and Palmer, 2016 and 2008. For Burke’s development of the University’s print collection, see Lo Conte, 2020 and 2018a, pp. 340-341.

became his formula for success in the art trade.²⁰ He preferred that most of the selling should be ‘done by the Directors’, and considered that a good artwork ‘needs only to be presented’ rather than ‘actively sold’.²¹ It is no surprise that Burke later recalled that the collection of Northumberland-provenance Sadeler albums was ‘brought to [his] attention by Byam Shaw personally’ during a trip to London.²²

The purchase of the albums by the University was endorsed by Burke after consultation with esteemed German print scholar, Dr Ursula Hoff (1909-2005), then Curator of Prints and Drawings at the NGV.²³ Hoff had also been a regular visitor to Byam Shaw’s ‘Victorian mahogany-lined office’, and recalled that even as a young researcher, Byam Shaw and fellow Colnaghi Director Harold Wright (1885-1961) allowed her to ‘browse through their solander boxes, day after day, never putting any commercial pressure on me’.²⁴ To provide funds for the purchase of the albums, Burke then approached an esteemed group of high-profile donors from the arts, business, and politics known as The Society of Collectors which had been founded by Burke: a dining and philanthropic group inspired by the Society of Dilettante.²⁵

Colnaghi stock book records the successful sale of the albums for £600 in April 1962 to the National Gallery of Victoria (University of Melbourne) a non-existent organisation which conflates the names of two of their customers (the National Gallery of Victoria and the University of Melbourne).²⁶ This error may have unconsciously reflected the role that Ursula Hoff played in securing the purchase. As we have seen, the duchess’s interactions with dealers, printsellers, and collectors had been important in the

²⁰ During the 1950s and 1960s the firm acquired an ‘austere image of great scholarship and respectability’, often likened to that of an ‘English club’ (Garstang, 1984, p. 24). See also Howard, 2016, pp. 41-48.

²¹ Shaw, 1965, p. 192.

²² Joseph Burke to Aubrey Gibson, 29 March 1962, University of Melbourne Archives, Records of the Department of Fine Arts (subsequently ‘UMA’), 1986.0037 10/119. For Gibson, see Strahan, 1996.

²³ ‘As soon as I have consulted [Hoff], I shall be writing to you’ (Joseph Burke to A.H. Driver of Colnaghi, 7 March 1962, UMA, 1986.0037, 10/119). For Hoff, see Holden, 2009; and Palmer, 2008.

²⁴ Hoff, 1978, pp. 4-5.

²⁵ For the Society, see Anderson, 2005, p. 91; Lo Conte, 2020, p. 4.

²⁶ COL

development of her print collection. Two hundred years later, the convivial commercial relationships between Byam Shaw, Wright, Burke, and Hoff were beneficial for the expansion of the print collection of the University of Melbourne.

On the surface, the sale to the University appears to be a straightforward transaction (even if there was confusion about the buyer's name). Albums were purchased by a dealer from another dealer, and then on-sold to an institutional collection through the generosity of donors. However, the back-story is more complex. The trajectory of the duchess's albums from Syon House to the University of Melbourne reveals the machinations of cultural commerce in England, Australia, and the United States in the 1960s.

The machinations of cultural commerce

Irrespective of whether they were 'presented' or 'sold' to Joseph Burke, it is likely that the De Vos and Oxford albums from the duchess's collection were previously offered to (and rejected by) a number of English collecting institutions. Byam Shaw wrote that acquisitions 'would be shown first, more often than not' to the British Museum, so we must assume that this institution had the 'first option'.²⁷ Byam Shaw also had convivial commercial relationships with (amongst others) directors and curators at the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.²⁸ Colnaghi *did* on-sell a number of ex-Northumberland prints (from the Sotheby's 1951 sale) to these three institutions, so it is likely the University's albums had been previously offered to some, if not all of them.

The National Maritime Museum, for example, purchased portrait prints related to the reigns of King Charles I, King George II and King George III that were previously in the duchess's collection.²⁹ In 1957, the British Museum purchased a group of prints from

²⁷ Shaw, 1965, p. 188.

²⁸ Shaw, 1965, p. 188; and White, 1992, p. 444. For Byam Shaw and Sir Karl T. Parker (1895-1992) at the Ashmolean, see Howard, 2016, pp. 42-46.

²⁹ From Sotheby's lot 343 (COL [redacted]); lot 349 (COL [redacted] in 1951); and lot 350 (as purchaser 'F.R. Meatyard cr Sotheby' but appearing in the Colnaghi stock book at COL [redacted]).

Colnaghi after Jan van der Straet ('Stradanus') that had been part of the Sotheby's sale.³⁰ These are some of the prints noted by the duchess as 'pasted', and were discussed in Chapter Three.³¹

Burke was slightly sceptical about some aspects of the Sadeler print transaction with Colnaghi, but very happy with the quoted price of £600. He was certain that the albums were offered to the University 'on very favourable terms' in view of Colnaghi's 'long association' with other Australian collecting institution, such as the relationship developed between Colnaghi Director Harold Wright and the NGV through the high-profile (and high value) Felton Bequest.³² Burke assumed that these connections were 'a possible reason for the modest price' Colnaghi asked for the albums.³³ But Burke was not unaware of the commercial forces at play. He also described himself as 'unduly suspicious' that through the favourable pricing 'Colnaghi's may want to make a good initial impression on a new client'.³⁴

As part of his pre-purchase due diligence, Burke probably compared the offer from Colnaghi with other recent purchases which had been made by the NGV on the recommendation of Hoff. One likely comparison was the 197 'portrait engravings, etchings and woodcuts' — selected by Hoff in consultation with Harold Wright — which were purchased by the NGV under the terms of the Everard Studley Miller Bequest in 1959.³⁵ The bequest funded 'the purchase of portraits of individuals of merit in History painted engraved or sculptured [*sic*] before A.D. 1800'.³⁶ Individual prints purchased as part of this group ranged in price from £1 to £250 (the latter for an etching of Paulus Pontius by Van Dyck), but many prints were priced between £1 and £5 each.³⁷

³⁰ Lots 319 and 320 (COL [REDACTED]).

³¹ These were identified by Griffiths 2001, p. 140.

³² Joseph Burke to Aubrey Gibson, 29 March 1962, UMA, 1986.0037, 10/119. For the Felton Bequest see Poynter, 2003

³³ Joseph Burke to Aubrey Gibson, 29 March 1962, UMA, 1986.0037, 10/119.

³⁴ Joseph Burke to Aubrey Gibson, 29 March 1962, UMA, 1986.0037, 10/119.

³⁵ They were purchased for £3886 12s 6d (National Gallery of Victoria, 1960, n.p.).

³⁶ Bunbury, 2006, p. 83. For the bequest, see Paffen 2014; and Bunbury, 2006.

³⁷ Everard Studley Miller File, Department of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery of Victoria (subsequently 'Studley Miller File') P. & D. Colnaghi invoice, 13 November 1959, n.p.

On a price per print basis, the Northumberland albums offered to the University were considerably less than this. As there were more than 1200 prints in the albums offered by Colnaghi, Burke thought the price per print ‘very cheap’.³⁸ Even so, Colnaghi made a fine profit on the sale. The firm had purchased eleven of the duchess’s albums (lots 315 and 316) from Sotheby’s for £180 in total.³⁹ They sold just nine of the albums to the University for £600, albeit after the albums had languished in their stock room for over a decade.⁴⁰ Had Burke compared the Colnaghi offer with the prices of print albums sold by the firm to other international institutions, the price of the duchess’s albums might have appeared less attractive.

Colnaghi stock books contain interesting data about the firm’s different pricing structures for varied international clients. The marked-up prices paid by some institutions in the 1960s were sometimes much lower than what was offered to the University of Melbourne or the NGV. This is apparent when reviewing other lots related to the 1951 Sotheby’s sale of the Northumberland albums. For example, a large group of prints were sold by Colnaghi to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York in December 1952. One of these groups — described in the 1951 Sotheby’s catalogue as, ‘The Works of the Sadeler Family... a very large collection...in 10 volumes’ — is a good comparison with the prints offered to the University.⁴¹ The duchess had noted these albums in her *Catalogue of Prints* as ‘Bible Darres’s sett’ — indicating they were purchased from or bound by Darres — and they are another of the groups of albums described by her as ‘pasted’.⁴²

Colnaghi purchased these ten albums for £110 (as the bidder ‘B. Barnett’) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] sold nine of them to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (through the efforts of the [REDACTED])

³⁸ Joseph Burke to Aubrey Gibson, 29 March 1962, UMA, 1986.0037, 10/119.

³⁹ Purchased using the bidder name ‘B. Barnett’ (Sotheby and Co., 1961b, n.p.).

⁴⁰ This practice of ‘laying in stocks for the future’ rather than selling to make a quick (but potentially smaller) profit was soon to be regarded by the firm as ‘un-business-like and old-fashioned’ (Howard, 2010, p. 49).

⁴¹ Sotheby and Co., 1951a, Lot 314, p. 36. Griffiths located these volumes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection as object numbers 53.601.10-13, 16-17, 339 and 351, and he noted ‘missing one album’ (Griffiths, 2001, p. 140).

⁴² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.309. They are now dis-bound.

██████████⁴³ The lower negotiated price for this group was probably due to Hyatt Mayor's long commercial relationship with Byam Shaw. The latter was renowned for selling works with minimal profit to collecting institutions he favoured, particularly if he considered the object would be an important addition to their collection, or the transaction was being conducted with someone he liked or admired.⁴⁴ As a new client, and distant from the Bond Street premises of Colnaghi, the University of Melbourne could not yet take advantage of similar preferential financial arrangements.

The matter of 'duplicates'

When the duchess's albums arrived in Melbourne from Colnaghi, the sequential numbering of the spines on the Oxford-provenance albums made the absence of one album particularly obvious.⁴⁵ This album had not been part of the offer to the University, but its absence was noted. In her 1990 *Catalogue* that described the albums, Ruth Edquist noted that on their arrival in Melbourne 'unfortunately, one volume (no. VI, 'Aegidius Part First') had already been separated from the set and efforts to trace it have not met with success'.⁴⁶ Edquist had already suggested that 'as Aegidius II [c.1570-1603] became the most renowned member of the [Sadeler] family' the missing album was 'probably sold separately by Sotheby's or Colnaghi's'.⁴⁷ It transpires that this was indeed the case. But this was not the only 'missing' portion of the two sets of albums purchased by the University. There were actually a number of prints and *two* volumes which originally formed part of the sets now in Melbourne, that were sold by Colnaghi to other purchasers.

Arthur Driver, then leading Colnaghi's Print Department, handled the practicalities of the sale of the duchess's albums to the University. In a letter to Burke

⁴³ COL ██████████

⁴⁴ White, 1992, p. 444 and 2010, p. 44. At this time, shares were held by Colnaghi's own directors so there were none of the usual pressures from external shareholders for higher profit margins (White, 2010, p. 43).

⁴⁵ The spines were embossed with the numbers I, II, III, IV, V, VII and VIII.

⁴⁶ Edquist, 1990, 'Preface', n.p.

⁴⁷ Edquist, 1980, p. 4; and Limouze, 1989, pp. 1-24 (esp. p. 1).

before the sale, he emphasised what he considered to be the key selling features of the albums. He advised that the collection of prints by the Sadelers in the De Vos and Oxford albums was ‘more complete than that in the British Museum’ (which is indeed still the case today) and that the albums also contained ‘a number of duplicates’.⁴⁸ Driver also wrote that, ‘it seemed better to leave the books in their original condition and *nothing has been removed*’.⁴⁹ In hindsight, this statement is somewhat ambiguous. It is unclear if Driver was referring to the maintenance of duplicate prints *mounted* into the albums; or the maintenance of all the *loose* duplicates; or if in fact *all* the albums offered to the University were to be offered in completely ‘original’ form (that is, in the form they had been purchased from Sotheby’s).

The presence of duplicate prints in the albums was an important factor for Dr John Orde Poynton (1906-2001) a significant donor of prints and books to the University.⁵⁰ He offered a £100 donation to Burke’s fundraising appeal for the Northumberland albums, and his offer was specifically recorded as his ‘present of the duplicates’.⁵¹ As previously described in Chapter Three, a number of duplicate prints still survive in the De Vos albums now housed in Melbourne, including some unmounted prints with unfinished tabbed margins, still loosely arranged between the album leaves. **(Fig. 6)** Nonetheless, investigation of Colnaghi stock books reveals some groups of prints were removed from the De Vos albums before their sale to the University.⁵² Prints (and indeed another whole album) were sold separately, and some of these sales were listed in the Colnaghi stockbooks after the sale of the albums to the University.

As mentioned earlier, three albums of prints after De Vos were purchased by Colnaghi as lot 315 at the 1951 Sotheby’s sale, but only two De Vos albums from this lot number were offered to the University. These two albums are embossed on the spine with the numerals I and II. The three albums of prints after De Vos available at the

⁴⁸ A.H. Driver to Joseph Burke, 4 January 1962, UMA, 1986.0037, 10/119.

⁴⁹ A.H. Driver to Joseph Burke, 4 January 1962, UMA, 1986.0037, 10/119. Emphasis added.

⁵⁰ For Poynton, see Anderson, 2011.

⁵¹ John Orde Poynton to Joseph Burke, 7 April 1962, UMA, 1986.0037, 10/119.

⁵² It is quite possible that the third album in the set supplied the other buyers with prints.

Sotheby's sale, match an inventory listing from the Duke of Northumberland's collection. Three albums of prints after De Vos were described *in situ* at Syon House in an undated inventory as: 'De Vos Works of Vol. 1 nearly full *some pasted*'; 'Vol 2 nearly Full' and 'Vol 4 filled *but not pasted*'.⁵³ We can therefore assume that it was 'Vol. 4' which was not sold to the University, and that its contents were 'not pasted' (that is, they were not mounted). This would have made the individual sale of the prints it contained particularly convenient for Colnaghi.

Colnaghi stock books record the distribution of prints after De Vos that formed part of lot 315 in the Sotheby's sale. [redacted] of religious subjects after Marten De Vos, mainly published by G. De Jode, were sold in 1963 to the 'Boijmans Museum' in Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen [redacted]).⁵⁴ The specific prints that were sold to the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen can be reconstructed through Colnaghi's detailed sales list, [redacted] which notes, for example [redacted] 'The Story of Abraham' (six prints), 'Story of Gideon' (four prints), 'Story of Esther' (four prints) etc.⁵⁵ To be fair to Colnaghi's Arthur Driver, none of these prints appear to be 'duplicates' of those already in the albums in Melbourne – they are from completely different series. It is therefore unclear if they formed part of the albums labelled I, II, or IV, however they would have made the University's collection of prints after De Vos more complete.

⁵³ 'B Shelf 3' (Alnwick Castle, Sy: W.II.26).

⁵⁴ COL [redacted] Waste Book 42, 16 August 1963, p. 42.

⁵⁵ COL [redacted] 16 August 1963, p. 42. The museum's database lists several prints that are possibly those from the Sotheby's sale, for example *Esther Accusing Haman* (Object: L 1963/57 d (PK)) published by Gerard de Jode, (previously attributed to Maarten de Vos), which was acquired in 1963. Jan de Klerk from the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen kindly confirmed the versos of these prints 'bear no collectors marks or significant annotations' (personal correspondence, 13 November 2018).

The missing albums?

The third ‘missing’ album of De Vos prints from the Sotheby’s sale — volume IV — has now been traced. Colnaghi archives record the sale of one album of **Various Engravings after M. de Vos and others** (previously also from lot 315 of the Sotheby’s sale) to ‘H. Marcus’ for £85 in December 1967.⁵⁶ This client was clearly interested in De Vos and Sadeler, as they also **purchased an album of prints after De Vos (lot 320 of the 1951 Sotheby’s sale) for £60, and another album ‘by Sadeler after M. de Vos and others’ for £80 (from lot 314).**⁵⁷ **The purchaser was Hans Marcus, a Dusseldorf-based antiquarian book and print dealer who was given a discount of ten percent for these three albums and two other individual prints (which were purchased for £1 and £8).**⁵⁸ Here the trail ‘goes cold’, as the firm of **Buch- und- Kunstantiquariat Hans Marcus — to whom the prints were sold — has now closed.** Unfortunately no further information is currently available about their business records or the possible current location of the album purchased by them from Colnaghi.⁵⁹ The purchases made **by Hans Marcus were listed in Colnaghi stockbooks** well after other albums (previously in the same lots) had been sold by Colnaghi to other purchasers such as the University.

When the duchess’s albums were offered by Colnaghi to Joseph Burke, he wrote to Aubrey Gibson (then trustee and deputy chairman of the NGV) that he thought the engravings after De Vos, ‘quite superb’.⁶⁰ He probably would have been disappointed to know that so many of the prints after De Vos — and indeed a whole other album — had already been removed from the De Vos collection he had purchased.

⁵⁶ COL 2/35, 13 December 1967, p. 561.

⁵⁷ COL 3/3/18, p. 294. Of the ten albums in lot 314, **nine were sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1952, as previously mentioned, and the tenth was sold to H. Marcus** (COL 2/35, 13 December 1967, p. 561). **Marcus** possibly had a specific interest in prints after De Vos, as the items he purchased were removed from other sets acquired by Colnaghi, and not sold to him until 1967.

⁵⁸ Special thanks to Hannah Dale, Assistant Archivist, Windmill Hill, Waddesdon Manor, for identifying the purchaser from Colnaghi records.

⁵⁹ Ange Marcus kindly responded to my enquiries about the business records of Buch- und- Kunstantiquariat Hans Marcus, formerly of Ritterstrasse 10 - 40213 Dusseldorf (personal correspondence, 18 November 2018).

⁶⁰ Joseph Burke to Aubrey Gibson, 29 March 1962, UMA, 1986.0037, 10/119. Gibson was then deputy director of the NGV (Strahan, 1996).

The Colnaghi archives also solve the long-standing mystery of the missing album which contained prints by Aegidius Sadeler II. The album was volume VI in the duchess's set of albums with provenance to the Earls of Oxford. In the duchess's *Catalogue of Prints*, this album was described as '[Volume] 6 Egidius' [*sic*] containing '81' prints.⁶¹ A later, undated inventory of the library at Syon House described the contents as 'Sadeler's Works [Vol] 6 Egidius Sadeler Part 1 Portraits and Landscapes nearly full'.⁶² The catalogue for the 1743 sale of the Oxford collection by Thomas Osborne helpfully provides more detail about its original contents. Volume VI is described as containing: 'Sadeler's own Head. A very fine Print of Ferdinand the Second of Bohemia on Horseback, drawn from the Life by Sadler [*sic*]; several Emperors of Rome and Germany. A fine Head grav'd by Sadeler after Albrecht Durer; some exceeding fine Landscips after Brugel, R. Savory, P. Brill, Stephanus and others; six larger Size; with many other Prints of several Subjects'.⁶³

As anticipated by Ruth Edquist, the 'missing' Aegidius Sadeler album was broken up soon after its purchase by Colnaghi. Prints were then sold individually or in groups to a variety of purchasers, and records of individual sales from this album commence in 1953. For example, twelve Landscapes with signs of the Zodiac by August Sadeler (excellent later Temporal) were purchased for £10 by the Johannesburg Art Gallery in 1959, and a print of the 'Great Hall, Prague Castle' by Aegidius Sadeler was sold to R. A. Zinzer in 1957 for £19.19s.6d.⁶⁴ Zinzer may be the New York-based, German-born dealer Richard ('Hans') Zinzer who was an intermediary in the sale of prints from the Princes of Liechtenstein collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the late 1940s and early 1950s, which was also handled by Colnaghi.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.311.

⁶² 'A Shelf 3' (Alnwick Castle, Sy: W.II.26).

⁶³ *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, the 'Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Library of the Late Earl of Oxford' (Harley, 1743-45, 'Books of Prints', Vol. 2. pp. 11-12).

⁶⁴ COL [redacted]; and COL [redacted].

⁶⁵ Spira and Parshall, 2016, p. 170, note 44.

I.⁷⁰ This album was described in the Sotheby's catalogue as: 'George I: Portraits of the King and royal family, statesmen, commanders, physicians, ladies, etc. *folio, boards, 25in x 21in*' reflecting the hierarchy of 'portrait heads' discussed in Chapter Four.⁷¹

Connections between the NGV prints purchased through the Studley Miller bequest and the print collection of the duchess have only been ascertained through sales records in the Colnaghi archives. Provenance to the dukes (or duchess) of Northumberland is not mentioned on the NGV's copy of the Colnaghi invoice for the sale, nor is it recorded on other NGV acquisition files. It is therefore likely this information was not known to the NGV when they acquired the prints.⁷²

The duchess's prints and albums — as twentieth-century cultural commodities — continued to move in and out of commercial networks, and from one geographic location to another. As can be discovered through Colnaghi stock books, prints that Colnaghi or its agents purchased from the 1951 Sotheby's auction of Northumberland print albums, were still being sold by the firm into the 1970s. The remnants of some of these lots then travelled 'full circle' and were sold back into the trade (to Sotheby's or Christies) so it is likely that further research in the Colnaghi archives at Windmill Hill will reveal more of the duchess's prints and albums in other Australian and international collections.⁷³

Dual trajectories

During their journey from Syon House to Melbourne, the duchess's sets of *De Vos* and Oxford-provenance albums underwent change. As we have seen, a number of the prints and albums did not make this transition. Some of the prints so thoughtfully

⁷⁰ Lot 348 (Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 39). [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The print is object number 588/5 in the NGV collection and was purchased for £5 from Colnaghi (P. & D. Colnaghi invoice, 13 November 1959, Studley Miller File, NGV, p.11).

⁷¹ Lot 348 (Sotheby and Co., 1951a, p. 39).

⁷² This connection was first noted in Box, 2019, p. 38.

⁷³ Some of this research has already be undertaken and the findings are being prepared for publication.

identified, listed, bartered-for, and acquired by the duchess — and then carefully arranged, mounted, and catalogued — were resold to dealers, collectors, and institutions around the globe. Nonetheless, as noted by Beth Fowkes Tobin, ‘collections that outlive their creators are rare, and those that have succeeded in surviving intact owe their longevity to museums and the efforts of those who arranged for the transfer from collector to museum’.⁷⁴ It is indeed fortunate that so many of the duchess’s albums continue to survive, relatively intact, at the University of Melbourne.

In addition to their transition to the University, some of the duchess’s prints have another simultaneous ‘life’. Four hermit prints by the Sadeler family after De Vos were re-imagined in a new form in the eighteenth century: as larger-than-life-sized stone figures in Hulne Park, adjacent to Alnwick Castle in Northumberland. Chapter Six follows this alternative trajectory: the translation, re-contextualisation and ‘afterlives’ of the prints as three-dimensional forms. This discussion continues to follow what Arjun Appadurai would describe as, ‘the things themselves’, in order to understand the meanings which are ‘inscribed in their forms, their uses and their trajectories’.⁷⁵

Chapter Six also draws together many of the threads explored in the rest of this study. It traces how the duchess’s ambitions for her collection; her acknowledgement and commemoration of her heritage; and recurring motifs and themes from her travels and family life are reflected and developed both within and outside her print collection.⁷⁶ When re-created in stone, prints from her collection are suffused with meaning that reflects the duchess’s heritage and legacy, and are an overt, more public display of her collecting interests outside the boundaries of her print albums.

⁷⁴ Tobin, 2014, p. 266.

⁷⁵ Appadurai, 1986, p. 5.

⁷⁶ The duchess’s actions endowed her collection objects with what Beth Fowkes Tobin would describe as ‘attributes that are derived from a sense of self, family, nation, ideology, ritual or the sacred’ (Tobin, 2014, p. 61).

6. PRINT TRANSLATIONS: HERMITS, HERMITAGES AND ‘AFTERLIVES’

‘A hermit’s hut. What a subject for an engraving!’

Gaston Bachelard¹

In July 1765, poet, scholar, antiquarian, and cleric, Dr Thomas Percy (1729-1811) rode through Hulne Park, the Northumberland’s private estate adjacent to Alnwick Castle.² Percy had dedicated his recently-published group of historical ballads, the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* to the duchess (then Countess of Northumberland), and he was now enjoying one of the many scenic carriage drives or rides offered to the duke and duchess’s guests at Alnwick Castle.³ As he rode, he admired the vistas of the river Aln and the distant Cheviot Hills on the Anglo-Scottish border. At the rise to Brizlee Hill he described, ‘proceeding on a path to the right leads to a rude cave amid the cliffs of the rocks, which is to be adorned with the statue of a Hermit, not ill adapted to the retired situation of this fine romantic solitude’.⁴

As part of the revitalisation of Hulne Park planned and undertaken by the duke and duchess, a stone figure was indeed to be seen in a cave-side position by later visitors on the path to Brizlee Hill. A hermit or friar figure, larger than life-size, with a long robe, hood, and staff — and evocative of the solitary, scholarly life — was placed near the cave that was known as ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’.⁵ (**Fig. 1**) Together, these statues evoked a crude ‘hermitage’ and its attendant hermit in a location that was already connected with local legends about monks, missing treasure, and servant girls detained

¹ Bachelard, 2004, p. 31.

² Percy was the newly appointed tutor to Algernon, the duchess’s second son and was later chaplain to King George III, Dean of Carlisle, and Bishop of Dromore and a senior member of Samuel Johnson’s ‘Literary Club’. He wrote *The Hermit of Warkworth* in 1771. He has been accused of ‘social toadyism’ as he ‘reinvented himself’ and built his own profile through his association with the Northumberlands (Groom, 1999, p. 103). See also Davis, 1989; and Gausson, 1908.

³ For the *Reliques* and their critical reception see Groom, 1999.

⁴ Letter written August 5, 1765 to Rev. Mr. L--- [Edward Lye] (Nichols and Nichols, Vol. 8, pp. 153-154).

⁵ The cave was also historically known as the ‘Nine Yard Hole’, the ‘Nine-Year-Auld-Hole’, and the ‘Nine-Year-Hole’.

there for nine years.⁶ The hermit statue — which still stands near the cave today — is more than uncannily similar to the figure in the print of ‘Paphnutius’ from the *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremicolarum* series by Johannes Sadeler I after Maarten de Vos.⁷ **(Fig. 2)** Three impressions of this print are in the Northumberland albums now at the University of Melbourne, and there is an almost exact visual connection between the prints and the statue.⁸

Three other stone figures are located five kilometres west of Alnwick Castle, at the ruined Hulne Priory in Hulne Park, and these figures also have links to the duchess’s prints. The statues bear unmistakable likenesses to figures in other Sadeler prints: ‘Anub’, ‘Didymo’, and ‘Mutius’ also from the *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremicolarum* series and which are represented in the De Vos albums in Melbourne.⁹ **(Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8)** The posture of the figures, the lines of drapery on their garments, and the shape and orientation of their accoutrements suggest the figures were directly copied from the Sadeler engravings. Connections between the eremitic stone figures in Hulne Park and prints from the duchess’s collection, have not previously been described. Indeed, these figures have been rarely mentioned in discussions of Hulne Park or Hulne Priory.¹⁰

The stone figures — placed in Hulne Park during and just after the duchess’s lifetime — open new perspectives on the duchess’s print collecting. They not only illustrate how her prints were translated into new forms, but also indicate how the duchess’s collecting interests were made available to a wider audience. No longer only concealed within her albums, hermit figures — with imagery drawn from prints — were placed prominently ‘on show’ as part of the fashionable social ‘performance’ of

⁶ As discussed in Patten c.1936-40 (Alnwick Castle, Acc: 517/2, p. 145).

⁷ The print is Hollstein XXI 389 (J.S.I) from the series of twenty-nine lesser-known hermits and their hermitages, printed in 1585.

⁸ Edquist IA.70A.a and 70B.a (De Vos albums). Another impression of the same print is at Edquist VIII.12.b.I (Oxford-provenance album). I am most grateful to Christopher Hunwick of Northumberland Estates for bringing the Hulne Park statuary to my attention.

⁹ Hollstein XXI 401 (J.S.I); Hollstein XXI 390 (J.S.I) and Hollstein XXI 386 (J.S.I).

¹⁰ One exception is Shrimpton, 2006, pp. 38, 41.

eighteenth-century garden visiting.¹¹ Her prints became a locus for social theatre and self-presentation, and as we shall see, concurrently referenced historic Percy connections and familial associations. They also expressed the dualities of luxury and asceticism, solitude and society that were inherent in the eighteenth-century conception of hermits and hermitages.¹²

By delving into the cultural, social, and historical context of hermits, hermitages, and hermit prints in the eighteenth century, this chapter contextualises the duchess's eremitical-themed prints as they moved from one physical location or function to another.¹³ The significance of Sadeler's images to garden design, themes of solitude and sociability in gardens, and connections between hermits and display are also explored, in order to understand the duchess's motivations for the translation of a specific group of her hermit prints into statuary.

This chapter also draws together themes discussed throughout this study: familial connections to Sadeler prints; inspirations from international travel; the duchess's commemoration of family heritage; and the cross-fertilisation of imagery across her collections (her 'paper museum'). In their translation to statuary, the duchess's prints have been suffused with meaning derived from connections with her sense of self, family, and memory, and with themes of luxury, sociability, and retirement evident in fashionable garden design.

¹¹ Early viewers were invited guests of the duke and duchess. Today, members of the public are still guests of the 12th Duke of Northumberland on the privately held grounds of Hulne Park. Intrepid visitors willing to walk several kilometres through the park can also view the statues. A round trip to Brizlee Tower from the Hulne Park Entrance is approximately 4 miles (6.5km); and a round trip to the ruins of Hulne Abbey (Hulne Priory) from Hulne Park Entrance is approximately 4.7 miles (7.5 km) (Northumberland Estates, 2020).

¹² As discussed in Harwood, 2000 (esp. p. 283). For satirical responses to garden statuary and luxury in the eighteenth-century see Baker, 1995.

¹³ These types of transitions are changes 'in the meaning (or the appreciation of a new meaning) of the material for the collector' (Akin, 1996, p. 120).

Hermits and hermitages at home and abroad

As noted in Chapter Three, the duchess made special note of eremitic-themed artworks that she observed in other collections, and she also recorded structures she identified as ‘hermitages’ in locations she visited. In her *aide-mémoire* of things to observe when visiting a country, ‘hermitages’ is listed; and when visiting a garden her reminders included: ‘is there any cave, grotto, cavern or hermitage?’ and ‘are there temples, pavilions, columns, obelisks, ruins?’¹⁴ At this time anything from a ‘ruined gothic castle to a cave’, ‘from a primitive hut to a rustic Pantheon’, were all within the possible realms of what a structure could look like and still be referred to as a ‘hermitage’.¹⁵ The duchess did not need to go far to observe these features. The ruins of Hulne Priory near Alnwick Castle, and the cave-like characteristics of Warkworth Hermitage — both located on Percy/Northumberland land and rich with eremitic histories — have important historical connections for the duchess.

Hulne Priory in Hulne Park was one of the earliest English settlements of the Carmelite order of mendicant friars, an order dedicated to poverty and prayer whose ‘life was close to that of hermits’.¹⁶ The re-location of the Carmelite friars to Northumberland was supported by the de Vescy and Percy families as early as the 1200s, and the location of their re-settlement was allegedly chosen because Brizlee Hill (later called ‘Mt Carmel’ by the duchess) resembled Mt Carmel in Palestine, the foundation settlement of the order.¹⁷ The first Percy lords (starting with Henry Percy (1272-1314), extended

¹⁴ The ‘country’ list made in 1775 included: ‘agriculture’, ‘air’, ‘churches’, ‘common people’, ‘people of fashion’, ‘citys and towns’, ‘antiquities’, ‘views’ ‘seats’, ‘inns’ and ‘palaces’ etc. (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.203). The ‘house and garden’ list is at Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/184, f.40, 44.

¹⁵ Harwood, 2000, p. 276.

¹⁶ Poskitt, 1992, p. 152. The order was founded at Hulne in 1212 and dissolved in 1539 (Egan, 1992a, pp. 38-40; and Egan, 1992b). For an early history of the Carmelites in Britain see Jotischky, 2002, pp. 15-43. For a bibliography of Hulne, see Copsey, 1992, pp. 234-235.

¹⁷ Egan notes the ‘founders’ as William de Vescy (d.1253) and ‘The Barons de Vescy and Percy of Alnwick, and Percys as Earls of Northumberland’ (1992a, p. 39). Also see Egan, 1992b, pp. 90-91, 100-101. For the location see Davison, 1822, p. 276. An alternative story considers the spring near Hulne was the point of resemblance (Egan, 1992b, p. 103).

the charters which allowed the continued use of Hulne Priory by the Carmelites, and this tradition was upheld by subsequent earls.¹⁸

Gradually, Hulne Priory came to be concurrently associated with secular activities. In 1488, the fourth Earl Percy (c. 1449-1489) built a tower on the site as point of defensive refuge for the friars. The tower was ostensibly in memory of his wife, Maud but also had a social function: it provided a lodge for hunting in Hulne Park, and a vantage point from which the earl and his guests could enjoy the spectacle of the chase.¹⁹ The duke and duchess continued this tradition when the ‘Lord’s Tower’ was remodelled sometime after the 1750s for ‘the use of polite company’.²⁰ The surviving structures now at Hulne Priory are a palimpsest of holy and secular spaces. **(Fig. 9)** The site now includes the ruins of the thirteenth-century priory; the fifteenth-century tower built by the 4th Earl of Northumberland and restored by the duke and duchess in the eighteenth century; and a summer or garden house commissioned by the duke between 1777 and 1780 and also enjoyed as garden retreat.²¹

The hermitage at Warkworth Castle in Northumberland, located only twelve kilometres from Alnwick Castle, also has important connections to the duchess’s Percy heritage.²² **(Figs. 10 and 11)** The hermitage was established by Henry Percy (1341-1408 made 1st Earl of Northumberland at the coronation of Richard II), and priests were engaged there until the hermitage was abandoned in the mid-sixteenth century.²³ Situated in a grove of trees near the Coquet River, the hermitage includes a chapel with

¹⁸ Shrimpton, 2006, pp. 11-15.

¹⁹ Shrimpton, 2006, p. 19.

²⁰ Rowan, 1998, p. 267.

²¹ See Rowan, 1998, pp. 265-273; Mayer, 2011, pp. 39-41; Hope, 1890, pp. 105-129; and Historic England, 2020a. The site is often now referred to as Hulne Abbey, although that is a distinct historic site within walking distance of the priory.

²² In 1328, Edward III granted Warkworth Castle to Henry Percy, 2nd Lord Percy (1314-1352) and it became the preferred residence of the family, above Alnwick Castle (which was purchased by the Percys in 1309). For the castle and hermitage see Goodall, 2015.

²³ Documents from 1487 refer to the engagement of Thomas Barker as ‘chaplain of the chantry’, suggesting the hermitage was not intended as a secluded dwelling for a religious recluse, but as a private chapel where a priest performed services for a stipend from the earl (Goodall, 2015, p. 29).

niches and three vaulted bays, as well as another two adjoining chambers carved into the rockface.²⁴ (Figs. 12, 13, 14). It was described by the duchess as a ‘little chapel with some figures and one or two little rooms cut out of the rock’.²⁵

The atmospheric and evocative Warkworth Hermitage and the then-ruined Warkworth Castle became popular destinations for day trips for the duke and duchess and their guests, and places that inspired curiosity, storytelling, and romance.²⁶ The duchess was anxious to share her own enjoyment of these locations with her guests, and her delight at making a positive impression is clear from this letter to her husband:

Major Gordon tells me that in his way up from Scotland, he dedicated four and twenty hours to Alnwick and saw everything about the Castle...Hulne Wood, the Abbey...I assure you he talks in as high raptures of Hulne Wood as I could do myself, which you may believe flatter’d me not a little. The next day he went to see Warkworth Castle and the Hermitage with which he was quite transported.²⁷

One esteemed visitor in 1771 was Prince Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland (the brother of King George III).²⁸ The duke’s visit to Alnwick Castle was celebrated with grand dinners, balls, and card assemblies, processions, bonfires, a twenty-one gun salute and a dinner of 177 dishes (‘exclusive of the dessert’).²⁹ As the duchess proudly noted:

In short the magnificence and Hospitality display’d on this occasion at Alnwick Castle by its present illustrious possessors gave a striking picture of the state Splendour of our ancient Barons & revived the remembrance of their great progenitors the former Earls of Northumberland.³⁰

²⁴ It is now under the management of English Heritage, and accessible only by boat. See Goodall, 2015, pp. 30-31.

²⁵ Alnwick Castle DNP MS 121/146, f.33.

²⁶ The duchess’s journals record many outings there. For example, ‘Capt. Harcourt left us before & Mr. Delaval after breakfast; the rest of us went to see Warkworth Castle, the Hermitage’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/4, f.26).

²⁷ Letter to the duke, 10 August 1762 (Alnwick Castle, DP: DI/II/27, n.p.).

²⁸ Davis, 1989, p. 184.

²⁹ Davis, 1989, p. 184.

³⁰ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/31a, f.354.

As part of the festivities, the royal guest was treated to the customary tour of Hulne Park and Warkworth by the duke and duchess, accompanied by Thomas Percy.³¹ Percy records that the Duke of Cumberland read ‘The Ballad of the Hermit’ to him at the hermitage.³² Percy then presented the visitor with a copy of his recently-published *The Hermit of Warkworth, A Northumberland Ballad in Three Fits or Cantos*, which he had dedicated to the duchess.³³ The poem was published with notes on the Northumberland and Percy ancestors featured in the tale, and histories of the hermitage and castle.³⁴ These additions gave a flavour of authenticity to the narrative, and the poem contributed to the popular rediscovery of Warkworth Hermitage in the 1770s.

The duchess’s journals include a number of observations of hermitages she visited during her travels, and these are often compared to the hermitage at Warkworth. Outside Basel, for example, she visited the Fontaine de Suze, of which she wrote, ‘I expected much from this hermitage...but there is nothing pretty about it...it is much inferior to Warkworth’.³⁵ In Avignon, she wrote of a church visit, ‘This Chapel has a little look of the Hermitage at Warkworth but it is not above five feet high, so that one cannot stand upright in it’.³⁶

Other cave-like or hermitage structures were also of interest when at home and abroad. At Dunkeld in Perthshire, Scotland, she painted a pen picture of the hermitage with its imposing outlook: a ‘neat building on a rock impending over a most tremendous

³¹ Percy was a family chaplain, cataloguer of books, writer of visitor guides to the Alnwick estate, and a historian of the Northumberland dynasty.

³² The ballad was ‘probably Goldsmith’s “Edwin and Angelina”’ (Davis, 1989, p. 184) which was privately printed in 1764 with the introduction: ‘for the amusement of the Countess of Northumberland’ (Goldsmith, 1894, p. 63).

³³ The poem is set at the Warkworth Hermitage and recounts a tragic love story told by Bertram the hermit to two young lovers, Henry (the son of the duchess’s ancestor Harry Hotspur) and Henry IV’s half-sister Eleanor (Davis, 1989, pp. 180, 184-185). The poem was criticised by Percy’s contemporary Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) (Davis, 1989, p. 182).

³⁴ The 1806 edition, for example, also includes an excerpt about Warkworth from ‘Captain Grose’s ‘Antiquities of England and Wales’, 1775’ (Percy, 1806, pp. 57-60).

³⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f. 80-81.

³⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/57, f.15.

abyss in to [which] the river precipitates itself with great sound and fury'.³⁷ When she followed the course of the Rhone in 1774, she commented that Thain was 'famous for its Hermitage'.³⁸ After a climb with horses near Bearne, she described a 'little fountain, at its side [a] hermitage cut out in rock'.³⁹ At Mont Salève near Geneva the duchess described her arrival at a small castle, notable because 'a hermit is said to have formerly lived there'.⁴⁰ Her list of 'Paris Rides' also includes a reference to the 'Hermitage by Tuilleries [*sic*] [Gardens]'.⁴¹

Only some of the duchess's many descriptions of hermitages are noted here, but when assessed overall, we see common threads. She appeared to be particularly taken with hermitages cut directly from the rocks or in 'sublime' settings that either provided a frisson of emotional response or were in some way similar to the hermitage at Warkworth, which Thomas Percy had described as 'scoop'd within the solid rock', 'deep-hewn within a craggy cliff', and 'over-hung with wood'.⁴² The duchess's interest in hermitages foreshadowed the fashioning of her own cave-like version of a hermitage (and its hermit) at Hulne Park.

Hermitages and eighteenth-century English garden design

Not all the hermitages described by the duchess had the same ancient origins as Hulne Priory or the hermitage at Warkworth. Some, like the structure at Dunkeld, were newly-created hermitages, grottos, and 'cells' which provided fashionable English garden ornamentation on the estates of English aristocrats and wealthy gentry in the eighteenth century.⁴³ Hermits and hermitages — that may be considered to 'embody an

³⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/47, f.31-32. The hermitage was built in 1757 as the focal point of the pleasure gardens.

³⁸ Quoted in Percy, 1926, p. 208.

³⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/13, f.21.

⁴⁰ She also describes the 'stupendous precipices' which 'made the way majestically frightful' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/140, f.43). For more examples of the duchess's 'thrill for the Sublime' see Mayer, 2015, pp 137-138.

⁴¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.19.

⁴² Percy, 1806, pp. 16-17.

⁴³ What made a structure a 'hermitage' at this time was not a specific physical form, but the implied presence of hermit and the sense that an eremitic life was pursued there

ideal of material denial’ — became associated with elite cultural ideas and fashions, connected with current intellectual concerns, and representative of the enjoyment of whimsical elements in garden design.⁴⁴

By the 1740s newly-constructed hermitages were *de rigueur* in English gardens, and were at the heart of what Edward Harwood describes as ‘one of most prominent examples of conspicuous consumption in the eighteenth century’: the practice of painstaking landscaping of parks and gardens.⁴⁵ Landscaped gardens and parks provided an emotional and physical escape from the busy world of court and society, but were also places to inspire the envy and admiration of visitors as sites of social performance and display. Hermits and hermitages in the eighteenth century implied a dichotomy of ‘country and city/court; nature and art; solitude and society; purity and corruption...moderation (restraint) and luxury (indulgence)’.⁴⁶ A hermitage or hermit located in a garden could therefore imply some or all of these complex meanings, or just be a convenient marker that aligned the owner with fashionable garden trends.

There were several early eighteenth-century incarnations of garden hermitages that inspired many others. Poet Alexander Pope’s (1688-1744) famous grotto at Twickenham in Surrey (constructed in the 1720s) was ‘understood to be his hermitage’, and his literary descriptions of it quickly inspired a generation of landscape gardeners to follow his lead.⁴⁷ The garden structures at Stowe included a hermitage (c. 1731); ‘Dido’s

(Harwood, 2000, p. 276). Campbell lists the estate/location, county and present state of repair of eighteenth-century hermitages (Campbell, 2013, pp. 211-214). See also, for example, Barre, 2017, pp. 119-132; Smith, 2013, pp. 353-400; and Barre, 2008, pp. 310-327.

⁴⁴ Harwood, 2000, pp. 267, 271; Campbell, 2013; and Hunt, 1989.

⁴⁵ Harwood, 2000, p. 271. They were often inspired by other domestic examples, ideas transmitted in paintings and prints, and visits to the great gardens and palaces of Europe. For Italian garden ruins, see Morgan, 2016, pp. 261-271; for hermitages in Roman palaces see Witte, 2004 and 2007. The secular hermitage in the eighteenth century also has important historical antecedents, including religious hermits living in garden settings (Campbell, 2013, pp. 2-10).

⁴⁶ Harwood, 2000, p. 283. For definitions of ‘retirement and ‘solitude’ in eighteenth-century gardens, see Bending, 2013, pp. 49-51.

⁴⁷ Harwood, 2000, pp. 273-274; Harwood, 1993, pp. 41-42; and Hunt, 1989, pp. 58-104. An analysis of Pope’s writing on gardens is out of scope of this study.

Cave' (probably 1720s); the 'Witch House' (before 1726); the 'Temple of Contemplation' (c.1738-1739); and 'St. Augustine's Cave' (before 1742).⁴⁸ At Richmond Gardens, Surrey, William Kent (1685-1748) built two structures for Queen Caroline in the middle of the 1730s: 'Merlin's Cave', and the feature known as the 'Hermitage' (or 'Grotto').⁴⁹ This hermitage is immortalised in watercolour in an album of views now in the Northumberland collection at Alnwick Castle.⁵⁰ (Fig. 15)

In gardens such as Stowe and Richmond, the careful placement of architectural or decorative objects was intended to provide visitors with 'imaginative stimulation' in order to inspire 'trains of associative thought and feeling'.⁵¹ A garden walk could therefore be an intellectual and inspirational journey that drew upon the visitor's knowledge of art, literature, philosophy, history, classical thought, contemporary politics, which in turn positioned landscaped gardens 'among the fine arts'.⁵² This experience is what is described as the 'associative' style of garden design.⁵³ A cave, hermitage, ruin, grotto, urn, statue, obelisk, pagoda (or all of the above) were integral to this style of garden design, and Edward Harwood posits that the 'potential associative

⁴⁸ Cousins, 2007, pp. 41.

⁴⁹ The former was the model for a hermitage at Stowe, also designed by William Kent. The Queen's 'mixture of the worldly and the ascetic' in her hermitage — specifically her placement of a bust of Dr Samuel Clarke — was later satirised by Alexander Pope in his *Epistle to Burlington* (Harwood, 2000, p. 293 note 28). For Merlin's Cave see Colton, 1976. The duchess's mother, Lady Hertford, and her close friend and correspondent, Lady Pomfret, were both Ladies of the Bedchamber to Queen Caroline.

⁵⁰ 'Hermitage late Richmond Gardens, Surrey, called Queen Caroline's Hermitage', noted as by J. Thirlwall, 1774, in *A Series of Sketches Views in Great Britain, the Continent, and America 1772-1778* (Alnwick Castle: 03398/62). Also see French, 2009, pp. 69-70.

⁵¹ Harwood, 2000, p. 271.

⁵² Harwood, 2000, p. 271. Viscount Cobham infused his garden buildings at Stowe with political satire, and Rousham's garden included pagan iconography, reflecting the tastes of its owner General James Dormer (1679–1741).

⁵³ This 'association' allowed minds to 'move from one thought to another, splicing ideas, sensory information, and remembered experiences together' (Harwood, 1993, p. 38). Gardens designed 'as a (more or less complex) series of exercises in associationism, owed their basic assumptions about how minds react to scenery as much to a taste for seventeenth century pictures as to the epistemological theories of John Locke [*Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690] and his fellows' (Hunt, 1989, p. 43).

richness' of hermitages made them possibly the most common type of associative garden structure.⁵⁴

The experience of visiting garden hermitages was sometimes enhanced by the inclusion of life-like mechanical hermits. The estate of Sir Samuel Hellier (1736-1784) at Wodehouse in Staffordshire, had a hermitage inhabited by what was described in 1765 as a hermit 'formed...by springs...[with] motions that surprise his visitants'.⁵⁵ Belton in Lincolnshire had a static hermit statue positioned with its hermitage; and a statue also featured in the hermitage at Fonthill, Wiltshire.⁵⁶ Like other aspects of the eighteenth-century hermitage 'revival', the creation of tableaux of figures, including automata, in grottos or hermitage-like structures had an earlier history. In *Elysium Britannicum*. John Evelyn (1620-1706) advocated 'setting up statues of hermits in grottoes', and a wooden 'talking hermit' automaton was located at one of the Duke of Burgundy's estates at Hesdin from the early fourteenth century.⁵⁷

Eighteenth-century garden structures were compared and appraised by the duchess, and she clearly appreciated the inventiveness of designs she observed.⁵⁸ At Wentworth Castle she noted 'clever Eye traps' which included a pyramid, a menagerie, a Corinthian column, and a gothic ruin (a mock fort).⁵⁹ At Prior Park near Bath she saw 'a remarkable Allusion [*sic*]...for there is a figure of Moses spiking ye rock and the water gushing out from it forms a cascade'.⁶⁰ At Stoke Gifford near Bristol she described a root house (a type of hermitage constructed from, or decorated with, gnarled tree roots) as 'the prettiest of its kind I ever saw'.⁶¹ She also responded with surprise and awe to

⁵⁴ Harwood, 2000, p. 278.

⁵⁵ Richardson, 2008, p. 453; and Barre, 2008, pp. 310-327.

⁵⁶ Grigson, 1950, p. 764.

⁵⁷ Harwood, 2000, pp. 273, 28. Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria (1548-1626) had chapels featuring mechanically and hydraulically driven saints (Göttler, 2018b, p. 149). For other Renaissance garden automata and their origins, see: Lazzaro, 1990, pp. 16-18.

⁵⁸ For a summary of her garden observations see Percy and Jackson-Stops, 1974c.

⁵⁹ Percy and Jackson-Stops, 1974c, p. 309.

⁶⁰ Percy and Gervase-Stops, 1974c, p. 309.

⁶¹ Percy and Jackson-Stops, 1974c, p. 309. For English root houses see Campbell, 2013, pp.107-115.

the dramatic waterfall and hermitage at Dunkeld.⁶² These observations suggest she was responding to what Tim Richardson describes as a ‘gothick’ or picturesque fantasy directed by a skilled garden designer.⁶³ From her delight and surprise, we can infer the duchess had an affinity with the ‘associative’ style, and wilder, less formal elements of garden design.⁶⁴

Prints were important catalysts for the dissemination of imagery of parks, gardens and their decorative features. John Dixon Hunt suggests the poetry of Pope — and by extension the observations made by visitors in his garden — drew upon the topography evident in images by printmakers such as Wenceslaus Hollar, whose work was of interest to the duchess.⁶⁵ Publications such as Thomas Wright’s *Arbours and Grottos* (1756) were largely devoted to hermitages, and Charles Over’s *Ornamental Architecture in the Gothic, Chinese and Modern Taste* (1758) included ‘Sadeler-esque’ engravings of hermits and their cells.⁶⁶ Of particular relevance to our discussion is the way in which representations of hermitages — specifically those by the Sadeler family from the sixteenth century — influenced the design of a number of eighteenth-century hermitages.

Sadeler hermit prints and garden design

The Sadeler family’s hermit prints richly evoke eremitic life and express both

⁶² Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/47, f.31-32.

⁶³ Richardson, 2008, p. 212; and Mayer, 2015, pp. 135, 140 (who considers it was ‘women, as marginalised patrons’, who ‘tended to embrace the subversive appeal of more individualistic aesthetics such as the Gothic and the Sublime’, p. 140). James Paine built a gothic bridge for the duke in 1760 (now demolished) and Robert Adam was commissioned to build another (unexecuted) garden bridge at Syon, designed as a ruin (Sands, 2013b).

⁶⁴ Percy and Gervase-Stops note her interests in the ‘wild parts’ of gardens (1974c, p. 310).

⁶⁵ And landscape painter Johannes Vostermans (c.1643-1699/1671) (Hunt, 1989, p. 226).

⁶⁶ Guidebooks to Stowe and Hagley Park included engravings of their significant garden structures. Views of Hagley Park and its structures were drawn by Thomas Smith of Derby (d. 1767) and engraved by renowned print-maker François Vivares (1709-1790) (Cousins, 2007, p. 125).

ancient and eighteenth-century interests in hermits and hermitages. Each series incorporates images of ‘desert fathers’ with innovative representations of their dwellings within an idealised landscape.⁶⁷ The titles of the four series of male hermits focus on the solitude of the wilderness; sacred woods or groves (which become the hermits’ modest home); the ‘trophies of the solitary life’; and the *oraculum* of the Anchorites, where ‘prayers are heard and peace of mind is attained’.⁶⁸ The landscapes in the prints depict an eremitic idyll which was ‘purposefully designed to invite the viewer to become a votary of the solitary life’.⁶⁹ However, as Christine Göttler observes, many of the prints depict more than one hermit. The imagery may therefore be read as ‘either the experience of solitude or of alternative forms of sociability’.⁷⁰

Soon after their publication in the 1500s, links had been quickly made between the Sadeler hermit imagery and structures and spaces used for retirement and contemplation by the elite.⁷¹ For example, the dedicatee of the Sadeler’s *Sylvae Sacrae* series, Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria (1548-1626) retired from office in 1597 and began the construction of a small palace with nearby chapels and hermitages with resident hermits. When Philipp Hainhofer of Augsburg (1578-1647) visited in the early 1600s, he commented that ‘everything in this grotto is done in the way seen in depictions of monks and hermits in paintings and *engravings*’.⁷²

⁶⁷ Although landscapes are rare in De Vos’ *oeuvre*, it is possible the Sadelers ‘elaborated them’ while working on the engravings (Vignau-Wilberg, 2005, p. 367).

⁶⁸ Respectively, *Solitudo sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticorum*, *Sylvae Sacrae*, *Trophaeum vitae solitariae* and *Oraculum anachoreticum* (Van Hogendorp Prosperetti, 2014, pp. 430-431, 440).

⁶⁹ Van Hogendorp Prosperetti, 2014, p. 424.

⁷⁰ Göttler, 2018b, pp. 159, 162.

⁷¹ The quantity of hermit images circulating in Europe suggests an increasing number of individuals who associated themselves with the persona of the hermit. This may have equated with a need for solitude ‘to pursue specialised (and perhaps secret) knowledge’ (Göttler, 2018a, p. 11). After the publication of William Camden’s *Britannica* (1586), representations of druids as ‘bearded and robed ancient British seer[s]’ began to appear and were also influenced by Sadeler prints (Campbell, 2013, p. 27).

⁷² Vignau-Wilberg, 2005, p. 373 (emphasis added). The ducal residence in Munich was later known as the Herzog-Max-Burg. See also Göttler, 2018b, p. 156; and Herrin, 2014, pp. 387-388.

When hermitages and grottos gained popularity in eighteenth-century garden design, specific links were again made to Sadeler prints. Between 1747 and 1764 Sir George Lyttelton (1709-1773, later 1st Baron Lyttelton), and close friend of Alexander Pope, undertook improvements of the gardens at Hagley Park.⁷³ These improvements included an extensive group of garden structures which featured a hermitage and ‘Hermitage Wood’, a grotto, and a ruined quasi-medieval tower.⁷⁴ Horace Walpole, who was often critical of much that he saw, declared of Hagley Park that, ‘I wore out my eyes with gazing, my feet with climbing, and my tongue and vocabulary with commending’.⁷⁵ On seeing the hermitage — which was located ‘on the brow of a shady mountain, stealing peeps into the glorious worth below’ — Walpole declared it to be ‘*exactly like those in Sadeler’s prints*’.⁷⁶ The situation of the Hagley Park hermitage sounds very similar to that of ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ in Hulne Park, with its dark, adjacent wood and nearby path which opens to the wide views of the park and farmlands below.

Eighteenth-century hermitages were also directly copied from Sadeler’s hermit prints. Nathaniel Curzon, soon to be 5th Baronet and 1st Baron Scarsdale, ‘studied his copy of Sadeler’s prints very closely’ when he conceived his hermitage at Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire.⁷⁷ Recent research has uncovered there was an album of ‘Sadeler’s prints...in the Library at Kedleston in 1765’, and a *c.*1760 annotation on an anonymous drawing in Kedleston’s archives ‘instructs the viewer to “see Sadeler’s hermits”’.⁷⁸ The linkage to Sadeler prints was clearly intended. The duchess made a detailed record of her visit to Kedleston in 1766 but unfortunately does not describe the garden or mention that she was shown Sadeler prints.⁷⁹ It is therefore difficult to know if Lord Scarsdale’s

⁷³ It was designed to communicate family connections, friendships, politics, literary associations, classics, antiquity, and ‘natural genius’ (Cousins, 2007, p. vii).

⁷⁴ Campbell, 2013, p. 119.

⁷⁵ Campbell, 2013, p. 119.

⁷⁶ Campbell, 2013, p. 120 (emphasis added). A visitor in 1755 noted, ‘we came to a Cell or Hermitage, hewn out of a rugged rock, and covered with roots of trees; at the entrance is an ill-shaped stone table in a mossy bed’ (Patching, 1757, pp. 60-61).

⁷⁷ Westerhof, 2015, n.p.

⁷⁸ It is suggested this was Curzon’s annotation (Westerhof, 2015, n.p.).

⁷⁹ She did, however observe ‘prints colour’d in Oil’ in Lord Scarsdale’s dressing room and that the Music Room was ‘furnished as a print room on Blue Paper’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/16 f.25). She also noticed that the library contained ‘well

prints, or his ideas to connect prints and hermitages, inspired her. We do know the duchess did have an earlier inspiration: her mother, Lady Hertford, who combined ‘gardening, piety, and solitude into an updated version of monastic retirement’.⁸⁰

Hermits in the family

Lady Hertford had her own garden hermitage at her country seat, Percy Lodge, near Colnbrook, Buckinghamshire, and she identified herself in correspondence and poetry as the ‘hermit’ at its centre.⁸¹ As a result, her hermitage became linked to her persona, and this was amplified through literary homages from poets James Thomson (1700-1748), William Shenstone (1714-1763), Stephen Duck (1705-1756), and The Rev. Moses Browne (1707-1787).⁸² Musings from friends (and poets she patronised) often focussed on her solitude, rural retirement, and piety, and were centred on her garden and grotto, sometimes recasting her as the hermit within them.⁸³

Lady Hertford shared her enjoyment of her hermitage with her son, George, Lord Beauchamp. She wrote to him in June 1743: ‘I am glad our Hermitage pleases you in

chosen, entertaining and instructive rather than curious Books’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/16 f.27).

⁸⁰ Radcliffe, 1990, p. 449.

⁸¹ In 1739, Lord and Lady Hertford acquired Riskins or Richkings (subsequently renamed Percy Lodge) from Lord Bathurst and undertook improvements which included a canal, a ruined Gothic bridge, and a hermitage. The property is now known as Richings Park. For Bathurst’s garden see Martin, 1984, pp. 66-78. For Percy Lodge and Lady Hertford see also Aymonino, 2021. She wrote ‘Soliloquy written at the Hermitage at St Leonard’s Hill’ 1732 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 115, f.78-79, quoted in Hughes, 1928, p. 467). Her correspondents included ‘Lady Winchilsea; Lady Pomfret; Henrietta Knight, Lady Luxborough (the half-sister of Bolingbroke), Mrs Carter, Mrs Elizabeth Rowe, Miss Talbot, Selina, Countess of Huntington, Isaac Watts, Gilbert Burnet, and others less known to fame’ (Hughes, 1925, p. 441).

⁸² For example, Shenstone’s ‘Rural Elegance: An Ode to the Date Duchess of Somerset’, 1750 (see Harwood, 2000, p. 283) and others described in Campbell, 1970; Hughes, 1928, 1931, 1944; and Radcliffe, 1990.

⁸³ This focus was not always appreciated (Radcliffe, 1990, p. 448). Henrietta Knight complained to Shenstone that Lady Hertford ‘is too much retired to hear what passes and is too wrapt up in religion and moral reflection’ (2 February 1753, quoted in Bending, 2013, p. 236.) For the correspondence and gardens of Henrietta Knight, Lady Hertford and Elizabeth Rowe (and a resulting scandal involving Knight) see Bending, 2013, pp. 204-212.

idea and hope it will do so in reality when you come to see it'.⁸⁴ She wrote she 'never saw a more delightful day... while I sat at the Door of the Hermitage', and that she took solace in reading, and walking in her garden, where she was 'the most contented Hermit in Britain'.⁸⁵ She also wrote to her son about the 'extravagant' purchase of a ten-guinea painting with imagery similar to the Sadeler hermit prints. She boasted it 'will be a great ornament to my closet at Percy Lodge...in one corner in the foreground there is a hermitage, under some shady trees, with the hermit and monk who is come to see him, sitting on a large stone near it'.⁸⁶ When the painting was installed, she wrote that everything was so quiet and silent that she thought herself 'an inhabitant of one of the hotels of my Revered Hermits'.⁸⁷ Later, a 'melancholy, rainy day' obliged her to retreat from her garden hermitage and 'retire with my hermits in my closet and like them to amuse myself with a few books'.⁸⁸ The physical retreat allowed for three forms of solitude: of place, time and the mind.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Letter from Lady Hertford to Lord Beauchamp, 3 June 1743 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 28, f.147 (British Library Microfilm 293)). The letter with her description of the proposed hermitage has not yet been located, but the hermitage was already part of the new garden buildings by September of that year, when a visitor Mr Lowther, 'walked with us to see the Bangola [Indian bungalow], the Hexagon and the Hermitage' (Letter from Lady Hertford to Lord Beauchamp, 23 September 1743 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 28, f.60 (British Library Microfilm 293))).

⁸⁵ Letter from Lady Hertford to Lord Beauchamp, 20 April 1744 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 29, f.73 (British Library Microfilm 293)); Letter from Lady Hertford to Lord Beauchamp, 17 June 1743 (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 28, f.163 (British Library Microfilm 293)). In 1771, Henry Hoare also declared a similar intention for his hermitage (or 'Druid's Cell') at Stourhead in Wiltshire: 'I believe I shall put it in myself to be The Hermit' (Harwood, 2000, p. 282).

⁸⁶ Letter from Lady Hertford to Lord Beauchamp, 4 March 1744 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 29, f.40 (British Library Microfilm 293)). She ascribed the painting to Teniers, Van Uden and Peter Grynns. This painting was later described in the duchess's *Catalogue of Pictures* as '2 Hermits at a Cottage Door with Jesuits by Ouden, Teniers, Geysen' which had come to her by inheritance from her mother (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 122A, f.10). Another 'small picture of two hermitts [*sic*] on copper' was also specifically left by her mother to 'Mrs Catherine Talbot' (from the will of 'The Most Nobel Frances last Dutchess [*sic*] Dowager of Somerset...Signed 13 December 1753. Proved 12 July 1754' (Pointon, 1997, p. 385).

⁸⁷ Letter from Lady Hertford to Lord Beauchamp, 17 March 1744 (Alnwick Castle: DNP: MS 29, f.47 (British Library Microfilm 293)).

⁸⁸ Letter from Lady Hertford to Lord Beauchamp, 15 April 1744 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 29, f.68 (British Library Microfilm 293)).

⁸⁹ For examples see Göttler, 2018a, pp. 8-9,18. Archbishop of Milan Federico Borromeo (1564-1631) also described the journeys he could make through nature

Sadly, George, Lord Beauchamp died without ever seeing the hermitage at Percy Lodge but his memory was evoked there in a poem by Moses Brown, which was commissioned by Lord and Lady Hertford (then the duke and duchess of Somerset) in 1749.⁹⁰ The resultant work is an ode to beauty, fortune, love, and loss. It describes a melancholy walk through the garden (including to the hermitage), where death lurks within.⁹¹ It was a poignant reminder of and memorial to their son and heir:

Pleas'd, a Hermit would I dwell —
Loth I leave this charming Cell...

He's gone! The Grave's too early Prey,
That Angel, Fate has snatch'd away...
Alas — he's gone! — his Country's Hope,
His ancient House's, last, dear Prop...
Thy Name has rais'd the Eccho's Cries,
'Ah BEAUCHAMP — is it thee?' (*she sighs*).⁹²

After her son's death Lady Hertford withdrew from society, and her garden and its hermitage became locations of contemplation and solace. She later wrote, 'they [London society] will scarce visit my Hermitage and I shall not leave it to visit them'.⁹³ While it is unclear whether this refers to the hermitage itself, or more generally to Percy Lodge, the estate was a place of refuge and seclusion until her death in 1754.⁹⁴ Clearly,

using inspiration from paintings (Herrin, 2014, pp. 389-390.) For discussion about the relationship between landscape prints and 'travelling without moving' see Levesque 1994, esp. pp. 17-23.

⁹⁰ *Percy-Lodge, a Seat of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset, a Poem* (Browne, 1755) was not published until after their death, when it was dedicated to the duchess (then Countess of Northumberland).

⁹¹ The language of solitude and retirement is 'almost inevitably shadowed by a sense of absence, loss, the unattainable' (Bending, 2013, p. 59).

⁹² Browne, 1755. Radcliffe situated this poem alongside others written about Percy Lodge, and suggests it depicts images rather than things (Radcliffe, 1990, pp. 454-456).

⁹³ Undated letter (1752-1754) from Lady Hertford (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 31, f.269 (British Library Microfilm 295)). This statement is also attributed to a letter to Lady Luxborough written on 31 December 1751 (Campbell, 2013, p.144).

⁹⁴ Percy Lodge was destroyed by fire in 1786, and no trace of the hermitage remains (Campbell, 2013, p. 144).

hermitages, hermits, and gardens could be seen as interconnected settings of memory for the duchess — poignant reminders of her parents and her brother.

Another poem, ‘Rural Elegance’, by William Shenstone also draws out other ideas about hermits and hermitages in the eighteenth century and is relevant to our understanding of the duchess’s translation of prints into statuary. Written in 1750 as an ode to Lady Hertford, the poem pictures ‘a lone hermit’, and describes how she ‘avoids the great’; ‘seeks the rural calm retreat’, and praises ‘each mossy cell’ in contrast to the ‘gay throngs and gilded spires’.⁹⁵ Edward Harwood suggests the poem counterpoints ‘luxury and retirement’, and Lady Hertford, like other elite eighteenth-century ‘hermits’ had the advantages of material wealth and sufficient command of social relationships that allowed her to be unencumbered by them and seek solitude.⁹⁶

Perhaps stone hermits in the grounds of Hulne Park evoked a sense of solitude and escape from worldly care for the duchess, as was enjoyed by her mother. As we have seen, the desire for ‘liberty’ and an escape from the pressures of court and its expectations was also expressed by her. Perhaps hermits and hermitages evoked the memory of her brother. There are, however, differences in the way hermitages were appreciated by mother and daughter. Lady Hertford kept visitors to her hermitage at arms-length, and for her they were places of solitude, and became associated with her piety. In contrast, as shall be explored later in this chapter, her daughter revelled in the sociable performance of garden visiting (and hosting) that was epitomised by the placement of a hermit figure in Hulne Park.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Harwood, 2000 p. 283.

⁹⁶ Harwood notes how the poem contrasts the active and contemplative *topos*: solitude and society; country and city or the court; piety and materialism (2000, p. 283). The hermitage could also be seen as acknowledgement of the ‘philosophical desire’ of the elite to extract themselves ‘from the prison of desire and consumption’ (Harwood, 2000, p. 285).

⁹⁷ The duchess certainly participated in religious activities appropriate to her station but was not renowned specifically for her ‘piety’.

A hermit at ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’

Fashion, family, and historic references all combined when the duke and duchess took responsibility for the Percy’s Northumberland estates at Alnwick and embarked on the redevelopment of Hulne Park in the 1750s.⁹⁸ The ‘not-yet-duchess’ but proud Percy heiress took her role as caretaker of her ancestor’s estate very seriously, and Northumberland papers also record the duke’s interest in the history of Hulne Park and its structures. As noted in Chapter One, the duke and duchess had purchased prints and books from the collection of the antiquary John Warburton. A surviving memorandum from the sale (in response to an enquiry from the duke) notes: ‘If Mr Warburton was possessed of any [materials] particularly of Hulne Abby [*sic*]...they were not exposed to Sale, when his Librery [*sic*] was sold’.⁹⁹

As well as its connection to the Carmelite order, Percy land in Northumberland was also the site of ancient hunting grounds, battles, and clan confrontations. The derring-do of the Percy line — immortalised through ballads and metrical histories, such as the ‘The Ballad of Chevy Chase’ — ensured the lands became important symbols of family connections for the duchess.¹⁰⁰ A group of poems titled *The Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) was dedicated by Thomas Percy to the duchess, and this excerpt neatly encapsulates the connection between past and present:

By such bards, Madam...were the heroic deeds of the Earls of Northumberland sung at festivals in the hall of Alnwick: and those songs, which the bounty of your ancestors rewarded, now return to your Ladyship by a kind of hereditary right.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ This included repurchasing the site of Hulne Priory in 1755, which had been lost to earlier earls and was then managed by the Salkeld family (Shrimpton, 2006, p. 40).

⁹⁹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 32 (British Library Microfilm 295).

¹⁰⁰ ‘The Ballad of Chevy Chase’, describes a confrontation which occurs when Earl Percy is hunting in the Scottish territory of Earl Douglas. The development and publication of the ballad is explained in Perry, 2010.

¹⁰¹ Percy, 1765, Vol. I, p. vii. The preface also mentions fellow-poet Shenstone, whose connection with Lady Hertford was discussed earlier (Percy, 1765, Vol. I, p. ix).

In an interesting circularity, Thomas Percy based his interpretation of the ancient ballad of ‘Chevy Chase’ (included in this volume) on manuscripts from the collection of the Earls of Oxford: the previous owners of seven albums of prints now in the University of Melbourne’s collection.¹⁰²

To start redevelopment work, the couple engaged talented garden designer and plantsman, Thomas Call, who had worked for the duke at his Yorkshire seat, Stanwick. He presented them with his first ideas for the redevelopment of the environs of Alnwick Castle in 1751, and the elevated Brizlee Hill (‘Mt Carmel’) overlooking Hulne Park was the centrepiece of his planned re-development.¹⁰³ **(Fig. 16)** Brizlee Hill offered the perfect vantage point from which to consider the traditional lands of the Percys in their contexts as both pleasure grounds for hunting and coach rides, and as profitable agricultural property.¹⁰⁴ Thomas Call’s 1752 plan and diagram for Brizlee Hill drew attention to a ‘natural alcove’ — a cave in a rocky outcrop — adjacent to woods and a walk he had planned on the south side of the hill.¹⁰⁵ This cave known as ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ (and highlighted by Call) was the location of the first of our hermit figures.¹⁰⁶ **(Figs. 17, 18)** The figure and its evocative location can be linked with the previously mentioned ‘associative’ garden design, which was of interest to the duchess.

The couple also engaged fashionable landscape and garden designer Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown (1715-1783).¹⁰⁷ Brown was often commissioned by aristocratic

¹⁰² Perry, 2010, p. 6; and Percy, 1765, Vol. I, p. 4.

¹⁰³ Thomas Call’s ‘Map and Description of Briesley Hill’ (Alnwick Castle, DP: MS 94/3 1a, Plan 32-3). His plans included plantings of oak trees to create woodlands, and the development of walks and rides around Brizlee Hill, which offered the dual advantages of being ‘very conspicuous from [Alnwick] castle’ and having a ‘fine prospect from the hill west and all round north to the east’ (Shrimpton, 2006, p. 38).

¹⁰⁴ Shrimpton, 2006, pp. 36-48.

¹⁰⁵ Shrimpton, 2006, p. 38.

¹⁰⁶ The torso of a what has been identified as a female figure which once also stood at the cave also still survives on the site. The head and body of the female figure had already disappeared by 1935, and only fragments now remain. A 1935 photo and description appear in Patten, *c.* 1936-40, p. 147). A description (with no supporting references) suggests ‘an Egyptian mummy was placed inside the cave’ (Raeburn, Voronikhina, and Nurnberg, 1995, p. 164).

¹⁰⁷ Call’s ideas were developed well before the arrival of Brown and his men at Alnwick in the late 1760s. Payments to both Call’s team and Brown’s team (led by

clients focussed on returning their estates to tracts of working agricultural lands and hunting grounds — motivations linked to the ambitions of the duke and duchess at Hulne Park.¹⁰⁸ Ironically, ‘Capability’ Brown’s style was ‘to blot out complexity with smothering pastoralism’ which precluded the inclusion of garden buildings — such as hermitages — and their ‘associative meaning as part of a programme of allegory’.¹⁰⁹ At Hulne Park, the crude rock ‘hermitage’ with its hermit figure — combined with the simultaneous work of ‘Capability’ Brown — can be seen as a stylistic juxtaposition: a transition between two key landscape gardening styles and perhaps the opposing views of the duke and duchess about the stylistic and functional roles of parks and gardens.¹¹⁰

Once a decision was made to include a statue, the duchess did not have to look far for her inspiration. Not only had garden statuary had already caught her attention during her travels, but there was already a strong historical precedent for the adornment of Northumberland properties with figurative statuary. Stone warrior figures approximately 140cm tall had embellished the Octagon Towers and the Middle Gateway of Alnwick Castle since the fourteenth century.¹¹¹

Part of the duke and duchess’s extensive renovation of the castle in the 1750s was the re-creation of new stone battlement figures to match those which adorned the highest points of the castle.¹¹² (**Figs. 19, 20, 21**) A 1783 publication claimed that

Cornelius Griffin) are recorded in the 1770 accounts (Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/I/107, f.5).

¹⁰⁸ Shrimpton, 2006, pp. 41-43. Most landscapes designed by Brown were best experienced on a horse or in a carriage and were a landscape of ‘natural spectacle with a few privileged points of view’ (Harwood, 1993, p. 43). Brown softened the landscape near Alnwick through planting of shelter belts and clumps of foliage (Willis, 1981, p.177).

¹⁰⁹ Richardson, 2008, p. 469.

¹¹⁰ Hunt suggests that ‘Brown must have found associations hard to exclude at Alnwick’ (Hunt, 1989, p. 222). This could have been due to the interests of the duchess. However, as noted by Edward Harwood, if Brown’s landscape parks were ‘conscious, symbolic reinstitutions’ of the deer parks of medieval aristocracy, ‘may it not follow that the installation of hermits was a similar commandeering of established aristocratic practices?’ (Harwood, 2000, p. 281).

¹¹¹ Percy, 2019, p. 46.

¹¹² The interior of Alnwick Castle was completely restored by the duke and duchess in an eighteenth-century ‘Gothick’ idiom (ostensibly at the direction of the duchess and

Alnwick Castle, ‘like many others in the north, was anciently ornamented with figures of warriors, distributed round the battlements’ and ‘the present noble proprietors have allowed them to be continued... and have retained the ancient ones, though defaced’.¹¹³ According to Clare Baxter, Collections and Archives Manager at Alnwick Castle, the duchess was:

much taken with the romantic notion of her ‘braw, rough ancestors’, the heroic deeds of Hotspur (son of the First Earl), and the tales and ballads of conflict in the border region. It is believed that it was she who was keen to add to the stone figures already adorning Alnwick.¹¹⁴

The continuation of the tradition of statuary was a specific (and prominently public) link with her lineage and its dynastic associations.¹¹⁵ As described by Laura Mayer, some of the duchess’s aesthetic preferences were linked to ‘emblems of continuity, legitimacy and national identity’ and contributed to her resurrection of ‘her bloodstained dynasty’.¹¹⁶ This pride in her ancestry was not always applauded. Horace Walpole wrote, ‘the blood of all the Percies and Seymours swelled in her veins and in her fancy’, and ‘her conversation was larded indiscriminately with stories of her ancestors and her footman’.¹¹⁷

reflective of her taste). See Aymonino, 2021. The renovation was completed under the guidance of a succession of architects: Daniel Garrett, James Paine and Robert Adam. For Adam’s involvement, see; Harris, 2001, pp. 85-93. For the reception to this renovation by contemporary and later audiences, see Mayer, 2014, pp. 25-38; Mayer, 2015, pp. 132-134; and Harris, 2001, pp. 92-93.

¹¹³ Grose, Vol. 4, 1783, p. 47. This quote was also used in an unpublished manuscript, by Waddell, one of the 1st Duke’s own gardeners in 1785 (Alnwick Castle, Acc.163, f.7v)

¹¹⁴ Quoted in Architectural Heritage, 2017, n.p. When Algernon became the 4th Duke in 1847, he completely remodelled Alnwick, and large numbers of the stone figures were removed. These are occasionally available for sale through the architectural salvage trade.

¹¹⁵ Judith Lewis notes that this was a common approach of many eighteenth-century aristocrats (Lewis, 2009, p. 348 drawing on Wilson and Mackley, 2000, pp. 272, 348-349, 355). See also Mayer, 2015, pp. 132-134.

¹¹⁶ Mayer, 2011, pp. 37-38 (describing the duchess’s preference for the Medieval Gothic style in the interior decoration and embellishment of Alnwick Castle).

¹¹⁷ Walpole, 2000, Vol. 2, p. 51. For criticism of ‘ostentatious’ heraldry at Alnwick Castle see Harris, 2001, pp. 92-93. Comments such as these have negatively impacted

Statuary was also a part of the duke's classical and antiquarian collecting interests. He received such regular deliveries of statues from abroad, that a specific section was established for them in his account books.¹¹⁸ Some of his purchases were featured in the entrance hall at Syon, which juxtaposed an arrangement of sculpture that was modelled on a Roman atrium, with a likeness of the duke by Joseph Wilton (1722-1803).¹¹⁹

Irrespective of other possible inspirations, the pictorial source for the hermit statue which now stands in front of the at 'The Nine Year Old Hole' is very clear. The figure undoubtedly depicts 'Paphnutius' by Johannes Sadeler I after De Vos: number 12 in the print series *Solitudo sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticolarum*.¹²⁰ The shape and fall of the drapery's folds; the form of the accoutrements; and the posture of the stone figure are depicted exactly as in the print. Even though part of the statue's arm, hood and staff are now missing, and the detailed carving on the figure is obscured by moss, it appears that the sculptor/mason referred to the Sadeler image as a guide for his statue design.¹²¹ The identity of the sculptor is not clear from archival records however it was probably Matthew Mills, a local stonemason, who was employed on projects around the town of

the duchess's reputation and appreciation of her tastes and patronage (See Mayer, 2011).

¹¹⁸ An example from the 1759-66 Account Book includes: '1764 January 14 Paid 4 Chairmen for [carrying] antique marble tables each on 2 horses at once from the wharf to Northumberland House 10s 6d' [crossed out and the words 'separate account of statues' written] (Alnwick Castle, Sy: U.I. 41).

¹¹⁹ His collection included bronze casts of the *Laocoön* and the *Dying Gladiator*, and a marble copy of the *Apollo Belvedere*. See Aymonino, 2021. For the tradition of sculpture in country houses see Jackson-Stops, 1985, pp. 16, 288-321. For the duke's acquisitions of statuary and columns for the Grand Hall and Ante Room at Syon see Harris, 2001, pp. 65-91; French, 2009, pp. 62-65; Coutu, 2015; and Aymonino, 2015, pp. 38-44, 46-47.

¹²⁰ Hollstein XXI 389 (J.S.I). 'Paphnutius' appears in three separate impressions in the duchess's albums in Melbourne: two in the De Vos albums, and one in the Oxford-provenance albums, at: Edquist IA.70A.a and 70B.a. Another impression of the same print is at Edquist VIII.12.b. Although Sadeler's hermits were extensively copied (and published in reverse) the 'Paphnutius' statue is depicted in the same orientation as the Sadeler prints.

¹²¹ None of the three print impressions in Melbourne bear evidence of being heavily handled, so it is likely another impression of the same work was the template for the sculptor/mason.

Alnwick and the castle.¹²² This attribution is discussed in **Appendix 4**.

'The Nine Year Old Hole' hermit as spectacle

The duchess was always eager to present her properties (and by extension her proud ancestry) in their best light.¹²³ 'The Nine Year Old Hole' is in an elevated position, near atmospheric woods on a scenic drive up Brizlee Hill. An impressive stone figure would have enhanced what was already an appealing topographical feature and provided a natural pause for visitors during their uphill carriage drive to enjoy the vistas from Brizlee's summit.¹²⁴ Here, the figure would have engaged visitors with the mixed and complex historical and contemporary meanings of hermits; identified the duchess within the fashionable sphere of elite landscape garden owners; and rewarded knowledgeable print aficionados with the recognition of De Vos and Sadeler's works.¹²⁵ The cave became less a space of solitude and more a theatrical location to be enjoyed as visitors rode or drove by.¹²⁶

Like visits to Warkworth Hermitage, the drive or ride up Brizlee Hill — past the curated tableaux of cave-like hermitage and its attendant hermit — was enthusiastically suggested by the duchess to her guests. The duchess had also been so pleased with Thomas Percy's *A Letter Describing the Ride to Hulne Abbey* that she had it printed privately for distribution to guests.¹²⁷ 'Hermits Cell Carmel' (the duchess's name for

¹²² John Patten's unpublished manuscript suggests the figures at Hulne Priory 'are probably the work of Matthew Mills of Alnwick' (Patten, c.1936-1940 (Alnwick Castle: Acc. 517/2, p. 67)). Mills' life dates are unknown.

¹²³ At St Germaine she noted in her journal she 'had a fine chattering Boy as my Cicerone to point out every Object...in so intelligent a manner that I longed to carry Him to Alnwick to show the Castle' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/31, f. 5).

¹²⁴ Baker describes sculpture as 'a more overtly public and political class of visual imagery than painting' in the eighteenth century (Baker, 2000, p. 6). Eyres though considers by mid-century, 'progressive opinion regarded [garden] sculpture as *passe*' (Eyres, 2013, p. 118).

¹²⁵ For the dualities of meaning of hermits and hermitages in the eighteenth-century, see Harwood, 2000.

¹²⁶ This idea is drawn from Göttler's interpretation of the gardens and hermitages at Duke Wilhelm v of Bavaria's Schleisseheim (2018b, pp. 152, 154).

¹²⁷ Davis, 1989, p. 143.

Brizlee Hill) — along with ‘Hulne Abbey’, ‘Hulne Wood’, ‘Malcolm’s Cross’, and ‘Warkworth’ — was also one of the no-less-than one hundred drives and rides near Alnwick listed carefully by the duchess as inspiration for herself and her guests.¹²⁸

If the duchess had aimed to capture public attention with a hermit’s cave on Brizlee Hill, her hope was quickly achieved. A watercolour of the cave, previously in King George III’s topographical collection, clearly shows the hermit statue *in situ*.¹²⁹ By 1773, ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ was sufficiently famous to appear on Josiah Wedgwood’s *Green Frog Dinner Service*, commissioned by Russia’s Catherine the Great (1729-1796).¹³⁰ The 944 piece service was painted with 1,222 views of English parklands, gothic ruins, castles and abbeys which were predominantly copied from topographical prints. It was a veritable ‘Buck’s views’ in porcelain.¹³¹ Given Catherine the Great had also commissioned a ‘hermitage’ — the *Petit Ermitage* (c.1764-1765) at her winter palace — the appearance of a number of hermitages on the Frog Service was apt.¹³² ‘The Hermitage near Warkworth’ — a drawing by Grose (engraved by ‘S. Sparrow, December 1773’) — was the source of the image that featured on an oval covered dish in the service.¹³³ Hulne Park’s ‘Nine Year Old Hole’ featured on an oval compote, and the image depicts the hermit statue with staff in hand, the towering woods around the cave, a rather enlarged nearby path, and two walkers (one with a walking stick) pointing in admiration.¹³⁴ The image was not inspired by a print, but by an

¹²⁸ Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 121/63, f.15.

¹²⁹ ‘Hermit’s Rock in Huln [*sic*], Alnwick, 1775’ by J. Bulman. British Library: Cartographic Items Maps K. Top.33.18c.

¹³⁰ The service was commissioned for Kekerekeksinsky Palace and each item is painted with a green frog. See Raeburn, Voronikhina and Nurnberg, 1995.

¹³¹ Thomas Bentley (a partner in Wedgwood’s Chelsea studio) drew on prints of Samuel and Nathaniel Buck as well as *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, (published in the 1770s by Francis Grose (1731-1791)). For an overview see Raeburn, Voronikhina, and Nurnberg, 1995, pp. 9-11; and Hyde, 1996, p. 208.

¹³² The ‘hermitage’ was developed and expanded in following decades to become what is now referred to as ‘The Hermitage Museum’. The Stowe hermitage is also featured on the service (view 102) (Raeburn, Voronikhina, and Nurnberg, 1995, p. 130).

¹³³ Raeburn, Voronikhina and Nurnberg, 1995, p. 322. One of Buck’s views of ‘The South-East View of Alnwick Castle in Northumberland’, 1728 (Buck IV.15)’ was the source of an elevation of Alnwick Castle which appeared on a round dish (view 630) (Raeburn, Voronikhina, and Nurnberg, 1995, p. 319)

¹³⁴ Here the location is referred to as ‘Nine Year Auld Hole’.

‘untraced drawing’ attributed to William Beilby (1740-1819), a Birmingham then Newcastle-based painter and jewellery designer patronised by the duke.¹³⁵

One of the duchess’s hermit-related ambitions remained unfulfilled. The Northumberland archives include details of another intriguing note that mirrors the duchess’s interest in theatricals. Among a list of improvements to Alnwick and its grounds is the entry, ‘Jarvis to be hermit did not do’.¹³⁶ This probably refers to the hoped-for engagement of the unidentified ‘Jarvis’ to play the role of an ‘ornamental’ hermit, which had become a curious eighteenth-century garden trend. Living ‘hermits’ were employed either to act a part when visitors arrived, or to undertake a genuinely ascetic lifestyle supported by a wealthy landowner.¹³⁷ The once sacred concept of the hermitage had become a site for role-playing and spectacle.¹³⁸

Through translation into stone, the duchess’s printed imagery became a locus for social theatre. The landscape — and fashionable objects within it — provided what Stephen Bending describes as the opportunity for ‘self-fashioning engagement with cultural norms and narratives’.¹³⁹ The hermitage and its hermit was therefore part of the duchess’s repertoire of fashionable sociability, in some aspects not different from the illuminations, elaborate meals and entertainment provided at her balls, assemblies and routs.¹⁴⁰ The evocation of the cave/hermitage and its associated statue collapsed the distance between the duchess’s own experiences and the ideas that embodied the object:

¹³⁵ Raeburn, Voronikhina, and Nurnberg, 1995, pp. 164, 321 (view 648). The duke also lent a drawing by Samuel Wale (c.1721-1786) for the depiction of Northumberland House (view 585), another drawing by Beilby (and an unnamed artist) for the depictions of Alnwick Castle (views 632 and 631) (Raeburn, Voronikhina, and Nurnberg, 1995, pp. 313, 319). The source was probably the album *A Series of Sketches Views in Great Britain, the Continent, and America 1772-1778* (Alnwick Castle, Collection Object Number 03398).

¹³⁶ The list included new dams and plantings (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/48, f.2).

¹³⁷ See Dixon, 1988, pp. 160-162 and Sitwell, 1994, pp. 16-37. For evidence of ‘ornamental’ hermits see Campbell, 2013, pp. 62-63 and for ‘living’ hermits see Campbell, 2013, pp. 56-95.

¹³⁸ For ‘aristocratic role-playing’ in seventeenth-century hermitages, see Witte, 2007.

¹³⁹ Bending, 2013, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ For example, the magnificent temporary pavilions, ‘transparent paintings’ and ‘15,000 lamps’ erected at Syon for such occasions were described by diarist Lady Mary Coke (1727-1811) and the *Oxford Magazine* of 1768 (Russell, 2007, p. 40).

thereby making the object and experience more available for consumption and enjoyment by others.¹⁴¹

The stone figures at Hulne Priory

The duchess had a clear agenda for other improvements around Hulne Park, which were recorded in her notebook for 1773. These focus on links to Percy family history; improving key scenic locations; and adding architectural features (especially ruins) to embellish local landmarks. Her ‘to-do’ list included: ‘Ruin on Ratcheugh’; ‘A Gothic building to be erected over the Holy Well’; and ‘Water to be consider’d’ and ‘Yew Trees to be Planted’ at Hulne Priory.¹⁴² In 1774, she records the restoration and renovation of Malcolm’s Cross, a monument to the 3rd King of Scotland (from whom the duchess was descended):

The Cross erected one Mile North of Alnwick in Memory of the Death of Malcolm, ye 3rd King of Scotland, being broke[n] and almost entirely defaced by Time, on August ye 25th 1774 — being the birthday of my Dear Son Lord Percy — I laid the first stone of a new one which I erected to his memory.¹⁴³

She clearly saw the renovations of these ancient monuments as links between past, present and future, and sites of memory and commemoration of her family heritage.

Hulne Priory became associated with both quiet contemplation and as a site for entertainment. The fourteenth-century Lord’s Tower was restored, and the duchess created a garden retreat in the old cloister of the priory.¹⁴⁴ A note tipped into the Alnwick Castle copy of Thomas Percy’s *Description of Hulne Abbey* (published in 1765), describes how the tower afforded ‘a pleasing retreat for such as would wish to retire for a few days from the hurry or splendour of public life to these scenes of solitary

¹⁴¹ Stewart, 1984, pp. 28-29. This idea is drawn from Harwood, 1993, p. 40.

¹⁴² August 14, 1773 ‘Dukes Orders at Alnwick 1773’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/48, f.1-3).

¹⁴³ Alnwick Castle, DNP MS 121/59, f.100. The east side of the monument reads, ‘K. Malcolm’s Cross decayed by time was restored by his descendant Eliz. Dutchess [*sic*] of Northumberland MDCCLXXIV’ (Davison, 1822, p. 293).

¹⁴⁴ She visited so frequently that she had a privy installed (Mayer, 2011, p. 40).

contemplation'.¹⁴⁵ Alistair Rowan suggests it was probably the duchess's taste and interest in old buildings that inspired the improvement of the tower, and the installation of 'Gothick' windows and an oriel belvedere which enabled its use as a garden retreat and viewing tower for 'the use of polite company'.¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the duchess didn't achieve all the 'to-dos' in her 1773 list before her untimely death on her 60th birthday: December 5, 1776.¹⁴⁷

To commemorate his wife the duke built memorials to her memory at each of her favourite places around the park, some of which were mentioned in the duchess's list of planned improvements. A ruined observatory was built at Ratcheugh Crag, and a picnic or garden house (completed sometime between 1777 and 1780) was also built at Hulne Priory, overlooking the garden which the duchess had so enjoyed.¹⁴⁸

Most impressive of all was the Robert-Adam designed memorial erected at the top of Brizlee Hill, which commands spectacular views over Hulne Park. (**Figs. 22, 23**). An inscription on the memorial acknowledges the duke's role in re-creating the landscape, but that his actions were enabled by the duchess's legacy. Laura Mayer notes that the design of these memorial buildings was primarily gothick — in keeping with the tastes of the duchess — rather than in the classical aesthetic of the duke.¹⁴⁹ She notes that even though he was 'a sober classicist', he had 'indulged his wife's passion for pageantry, intrigue, and display'.¹⁵⁰ The duke was ultimately responsible for the construction of these buildings, but their location was based on duchess's use of the specific locations within the park, and her own stylistic preferences.¹⁵¹ Posthumously, she continued to leave her mark.

¹⁴⁵ Rowan, 1998, p 267.

¹⁴⁶ Rowan, 1998, p. 267; and Mayer, 2011, p. 40.

¹⁴⁷ Her passing was described by Louis Dutens and translated in Percy, 1926, pp. ix-x.

¹⁴⁸ Rowan, 1998, p. 269; and Shrimpton, 2006, p. 48. Shrimpton attributes these structures to Robert Adam. In contrast, Alistair Rowan suggests they were completed by John Bell of Durham, who had worked on the St Michael's Pant in Market Street, Alnwick (Rowan, 1998, pp. 265-273). For the duke's commission of a monument to the duchess in Westminster Abbey, see Aymonino, 2010.

¹⁴⁹ Mayer, 2011, p. 39. For the duchess and 'Gothick', see Mayer, 2014.

¹⁵⁰ Mayer, 2015, p. 130.

¹⁵¹ Mayer, 2011, p. 45.

It was probably during the duke's development of Hulne Priory site between 1777 and 1780 that the three friar or hermit figures were installed in two prominent locations around these buildings, perhaps also as a commemorative action. It is likely the aesthetics and locations of these figures at Hulne Priory was influenced by the duchess. An unpublished guide illustrates all the figures as they were in the middle 1930s: the 'monk at prayer' standing at the south wall of the Chapter House; and the two 'stone figures at the East Gateway'.¹⁵² The volume notes the stone figures at the priory 'would probably [have been] placed at the Priory about 1777 when other alterations were carried out' by the 1st Duke of Northumberland.¹⁵³

Although all the figures at Hulne Priory now have various levels of damage, all are unmistakably based on Sadeler prints. **(Fig. 24)** The designs are clearly drawn from the *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremicolarum* series by Johannes Sadeler I after De Vos. The figures' stance, robes, hoods, folds of fabric, and objects fastened to their belts are exactly the same shape and orientation as the hermits depicted in the Sadeler prints. 'Mutius' (number nine in the series) is the figure to the left of the gate at Hulne Priory.¹⁵⁴ To the right of the entrance to Hulne Priory is 'Didymo' number thirteen in the series.¹⁵⁵ The figure close to the ruined Charter House walls is 'Anub'.¹⁵⁶

Inspiration from Sadeler prints

It was not a new idea to borrow imagery from Sadeler prints for the construction of hermitages, but the selection of particular images for 'The Nine Year Old Hole' and Hulne Priory appears to be thoughtful and considered. In a poem about statuary in the

¹⁵² Patten, c.1936-1940, pp. 59, 66-67.

¹⁵³ Other additions included the addition of an ornamented gateway in 1777, which was not shown on a plan in Grose's *Antiquities* of 1776 (Patten, c.1936-1940, pp. 66-67).

¹⁵⁴ Hollstein XXI 386 (J.S.I). Edquist IA.68A.b and 68B.b; and VIII.11A.

¹⁵⁵ Hollstein XXI 390 (J.S.I) described by Edquist as 'Didymus'. Edquist IA.70A.b and 70B.b.

¹⁵⁶ Hollstein XXI 401 (J.S.I). The original drawing by Maarten De Vos of 'Anub', survives in the Nationalgalerie, Prague (Vignau-Wilberg, 2006, p. 369). They are located at the University of Melbourne at: Edquist IA.76A.A and 76V.a. Another impression of the same print is at Edquist VIII.18b.

Queen's Hermitage at Richmond, Pope quipped 'a Man not only shows his Taste but his Virtue, in the Choice of such Ornaments'.¹⁵⁷ The duchess's statues indicate her tastes and artistic interests (Flemish and Netherlandish imagery and prints) and her desire to commemorate the Carmelite and Percy histories of Hulne Park. Their inclusion is also a nod to the fashionability of Sadeler imagery in eighteenth-century landscaped gardens. But irrespective of the generic and specific eremitic connection, the duchess had a large collection of prints from which to choose to interpret in stone, including hundreds of images of hermits.¹⁵⁸ Why were these four images by Johannes Sadeler I after De Vos, chosen for immortalisation as statuary?¹⁵⁹

There are three key features which differentiate 'Paphnutius', 'Anub', 'Didymo' and 'Mutius' from most — if not all of the other images in the four Sadeler hermit series.¹⁶⁰ First, all the four selected figures are depicted in an active, upright pose, which gives them a noble bearing. Second, all the figures are depicted clothed in hooded robes, which may be considered more typical of the garb of the Carmelite friars of Hulne Priory.¹⁶¹ Other familiar symbols of the eremitic life such as a staff and books also feature in the images. Third, none are engaged in what may be considered to be less 'suitable' poses (for example, some other Sadeler hermits are shown fleeing or wielding a scythe).

Additionally, some aspect of the background scene of each of these figures is suggestive of a wider vista or landscape. For instance, the Sadeler's image of 'Anub' is located next to a small stone church, visually similar in style to the buildings at Hulne Priory. 'Paphnutius' is emerging from a wooded grove, a location similar to the closely wooded path adjacent to 'The Nine Year Old Hole'. 'Didymo' (depicted in print with a book that is now missing from his stone statue) is also located by Sadeler/de Vos near a

¹⁵⁷ Hunt, 1989, p. 87.

¹⁵⁸ The duchess also had an extensive collection of prints related to female hermits (what she referred to as 'hermitesses') but she chose to depict a male figure.

¹⁵⁹ The derivation of hermitages and Sadeler prints has been well documented (see for example: Campbell, 2013, pp. 27-28, 86, 108-109, 120).

¹⁶⁰ For the development of this series see: Van Hogendorp Prosperetti, 2014, pp. 432-448.

¹⁶¹ The previously variegated white and black coloured garb of the Carmelites changed to pure white wool in 1287, and they were then referred to as 'Whitefriars' (Jotischky, 2002, pp. 47-48).

humble stone structure reminiscent of an historic monastic group of structures at the Priory.¹⁶² The title of the series, ‘Solitudo’ is also relevant. As described by Christine Göttler, the word ‘solitudo’ could refer to the state of being alone, but also to an actual location, a wild, uninhabited or unfrequented area.¹⁶³ Perhaps this was also a suitable description of the real or imagined expanses of Hulne Park.

We can only speculate about the selection of images however the duchess may have already had the three stone figures at Hulne in mind before her death. Possibly the duke completed and installed them in her memory. Alternatively, it would also be reasonable that the duke (or someone else), knowing the duchess’s interest in the Sadeler prints, selected three further figures from the same series as the hermit at ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ to adorn the renovations that were being undertaken at Hulne Priory.

Prints translated: motivations and inspirations

Apart from the ideas already explored in this chapter, there are a number of other possible motivations for the duchess’s translation of her prints into statuary. In Chapter Four we noted that the duchess’s prints were a ‘museum of images’ that reflected other objects in her collection and her own interests and experiences. At Hulne Park the prints were translated to *become* those objects. The translation, importation and re-interpretation of artistic and cultural themes was a process familiar to the duchess, and there is early evidence that she used imagery from prints and book illustrations as inspiration for other artistic endeavours. In 1750, when the duke and duchess commenced extensive renovation works at Syon House, the duchess wrote to her Mother to ask:

I must now present to you a humble petition for you in the name of my Lord and myself, the case is this: Mr Clermont is painting some hangings for Syon in which some birds in Edward’s Book are to be introduced. Now mine are at

¹⁶² This figure is considerably more degraded than the others, which may suggest a different type of stone was used, or that the figure was moved from another more exposed position to its current location.

¹⁶³ Göttler, 2018b, p. 159.

Stanwick but if you would be so good as to lend us yours for that purpose we shall be sincerely grateful for it.¹⁶⁴

The outcome of this enquiry was a series of garden-themed murals commissioned from fashionable painter, Andien de Clermont (fl. from 1716/7-1783).¹⁶⁵

The work of designer Robert Adam at Syon House and Alnwick also translated antiquarian imagery onto furnishings, furniture and other objects.¹⁶⁶ For example, several trophy panels that had been engraved by Piranesi in his *Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto* (1753) appeared as wall features in the ante room of Syon, completed by Robert Adam.¹⁶⁷ To adorn the gallery at Northumberland House, copies of Roman frescos were commissioned by the duke from artists including Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779) and Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787).¹⁶⁸ It would therefore be no stretch for the duchess to consider another translation: imagery from her prints into statuary, especially as there was already a known link between Sadeler prints and garden structures.

There is a long tradition of using engravings as models for other objects, which is out of scope here. As we have already seen, prints were used as imagery for Catherine the Great's 'Green Frog Service'. Political prints were used as models for eighteenth-century ceramics aimed at wealthy urban collectors, and manufactories such as Meissen

¹⁶⁴ Letter from the duchess to her mother, 20 September 1750 (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 24, f.172 (British Library Microfilm 11)). For a description of the murals see Croft-Murray 1970, p. 192; and Sotheby's, 1997, p. 19.

¹⁶⁵ They were 'probably used by the duchess to decorate the interior of the marquee used for parties held at Syon in the 1750s/1760s' (Sotheby's, 1997, p. 19). Clermont's other projects include a gallery for Frederic Prince of Wales at Kew; two temples for the Duke of Marlborough's island near Windsor; and Horace Walpole's gothic library at Strawberry Hill (Twickenham), as well as 'a ceiling for Lord Northumberland, at Sion [*sic*]' (Sotheby's, 1997, p. 19).

¹⁶⁶ She also visited his other commissions at Osterley Park, Kedleston, Harewood, and Bowood.

¹⁶⁷ The trophy panels on the walls of the ante room at Syon are based on the 1st century BC carvings of trophies of arms: 'the Trophies of Marius'. There is a question about whether Adam specifically drew on Piranesi's drawings (as Adam independently owned drawings of the trophies attributed to his draughtsman Antonio Zucchi (1726-1795) (See Wilton-Ely, 2006, pp. 213-237; Harris, 2001, p. 71; Sands, 2013c; and Aymonino, 2021.)

¹⁶⁸ Wood, 1999.

had in-house print collections which were copied by modelers and porcelain painters.¹⁶⁹ In the early modern period, motifs from prints graced shields, cabinets, ivory carvings, fabrics, paintings, and weaponry, and these designs then came full circle to be generative ideas for new printed designs.¹⁷⁰ Edward Wouk suggests prints have been viewed and studied almost exclusively as modes of visual communication or as means to disseminate knowledge, ‘rather than as a locus for material creativity’ that emerges from these geographical, stylistic and material translations of form and media’.¹⁷¹

Sadeler prints translated and re-translated

Hermits depicted by the Sadeliers in the *Solitudo* series (after de Vos) also have a very important extra-pictorial references which may explain their selection as the models for stone figures in Hulne Park. *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticorum*, the ‘Solitude’ or the Lives of the Hermit Fathers’ series was the first of the four hermit print series engraved by the Johannes and Raphael Sadeler. This series was re-interpreted in paint in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) and Paul Bril (1554-1626).¹⁷² The duchess had an interest in works by Bril and members of the Brueghel family, as references to their work appear in her journals and notes about collections she visited.¹⁷³ It is possible that Brueghel and Bril’s paintings —

¹⁶⁹ See Cassidy-Geiger, 1996 and 2007; Hyde, 2006. In 1742, engravings of animals by Johann Elias Ridinger (1698-1767) were delivered to Meissen and used as part of the design of what is now known as the Northumberland Service (Cassidy-Geiger, 1996, pp. 111, 115 note 45). See also ‘Pots with attitude: British Satires on Ceramics 1760-1830’, an exhibition at the British Museum (12 January - 11 March 2018) curated by Patricia Ferguson. Sixteenth-century maiolica decoration was based on Marcantonio Raimondi’s engravings (Cassidy-Geiger, 1996, p. 99). See also Gabberelli and Bober, 2017.

¹⁷⁰ See Wouk, 2017 and the essays in Karr Schmidt and Wouk, 2017. For a summary of prints used for domestic creative pursuits in the eighteenth-century, see Clayton, 1997, pp. 129-153.

¹⁷¹ Wouk, 2017, p. 5.

¹⁷² For the translation of Galle prints into paintings by Pieter Brueghel the Younger and Abel Grimmer, see Onuf, 2017.

¹⁷³ The duchess noted five works by ‘Breughel’ and one by ‘Bril’ in her *Catalogue of Pictures* (Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 122A) but some of these have now been attributed to followers or imitators (for example ‘A Kermesse’ by ‘Breughel’ is now attributed to David Vinckeboons (French, 2009, p. 68)). The duchess’s journals mention at least nine works of members of the Brueghel family: for example, in Dusseldorf’s ‘Gallery

some of which share the same imagery of hermits as the statutes in Hulne Park — were viewed by the duchess during a visit to Milan.

Paintings by Brueghel and Brill that draw on Sadeler prints of hermits were commissioned by Federico Borromeo (1564-1631), arts patron and Archbishop of Milan. His commissions were inspired by his own impressions of Sadeler's hermit series after De Vos.¹⁷⁴ As early as 1596, Borromeo obtained paintings on copper by Jan Brueghel (the Elder), based on the images in the *Solitudo* series: *Paesaggio con rovine e un eremita* (signed 1596), and *Eremita in preghiera davanti ad un'immagine* (signed 1597).¹⁷⁵ The latter depicts the hermit 'Pahnutius' (plate twelve in the *Solitudo* series). **(Fig. 25)** This is the same figure in the same posture as the stone figure now located at 'The Nine Year Old Hole' in Hulne Park.¹⁷⁶

of Pictures' she notes 'a delightful picture of the Holy Virgin and the Infant Jesus environed with Flowers (by Brughel)[sic]' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS, 121/24, f.13-14), and 'a Village feast Old Breugel [sic]' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS, 121/24, f.14). For Brill, her notes include: 'Ships and a Port by P Brill' [sic] at Madame Hesmkirke's collection (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/25, f.56). At the Duchess of Portland's Bulstrode, she noted 'A Sea Port by Paul Brill' and a 'P Brill [sic] Sea View' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88, f.45, f.46). In the Duke of Pembroke's collection, she noted, 'P. Brill [sic] A Landscape and a rock Island in the midst of the Sea' (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/88, f.66)

¹⁷⁴ See Herrin, 2014, p. 390; and Jones, 1988b, pp. 32-34. Borromeo's impressions of this series are now in Milan at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. S.R.706/1 and bound together with other related hermit series. (Ionnis and Raphael Sadeler: *Solitudo, sive vitae Patrum eremicolarum*, [n.d.]). In 1618, Borromeo's extensive art collection was donated to the city of Milan, known as the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana. See Jones, 1993; and Falchetti, 1986.

¹⁷⁵ The connection between these prints and the paintings was first made in Bedoni, 1983, pp. 100-101 (as noted in Jones, 1988b, p. 34). They are currently inventoried as Milan Pinacoteca Ambrosiana/Mondadori Portofolio, Inv. 75/A and 74/D. See also Jones, 1998a, pp. 262-263.

¹⁷⁶ *Paesaggio con rovine e un eremita* was based on engraving number two of the same series ('Antonius') a figure who is not connected with the known Hulne Park statues. The landscape background in Brueghel's *Eremita in preghiera davanti ad un'immagine* was derived from the 'Simeon' engraving in the 1594 edition of the Sadeler's *Sylvae Sacrae* (the edition that Borromeo owned) (Jones, 1988a p. 264). Another Brueghel painting, described by Jones as 'Landscape with a hermit praying' was based on engraving five in the *Sylvae sacrae* series by the Sadelers after De Vos (Jones, 1988b, p. 34).

Borromeo also commissioned Paul Bril to create pendant paintings based on two of the Sadeler engravings for *Solitudo* after De Vos: *Paesaggio con Mutius* and *Paesaggio con Anub*.¹⁷⁷ (Figs. 26, 27) Both these paintings feature hermits that have now been immortalised in stone in the ruins of Hulne Priory. Bril's *Paesaggio con Anub* is based on engraving twenty-four in the *Solitudo* series, and *Paesaggio con Mutius* is based on image number nine in the series.¹⁷⁸ The connection between the prints and painting is confirmed as the name of the hermit and the number of the Sadeler engraving is painted onto rocks below the figures in the paintings.¹⁷⁹

Borromeo's own search for solitude was part of his motivation for commissioning the paintings. In his *Vita* he described his love of solitude and meditation, and that he had a cell constructed in the woods for regular retreats.¹⁸⁰ When his Episcopal obligations hindered his retreats to the cell, he sought to replicate this experience through viewing paintings in his rooms: as they allowed him to make 'long journeys standing still'.¹⁸¹ This mirrors the way Lady Hertford engaged with her own hermit paintings — they allowed her to replicate the seclusion she so craved in her garden.

Borromeo's Brueghel and Bril paintings in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana were on display to the public during the eighteenth century. Could they have been a source of inspiration for the duchess? They were described by an English visitor in 1791, Martyn Thomas, who noted 'S. Matius [*sic*] in a landscape; said to be by Paul Bril; the figure by De Vos', and 'Landscape with a hermit; the figure by De Vos' by Brueghel.¹⁸² We therefore must wonder if the duchess had also seen them there, on her only known visit

¹⁷⁷ Both oils on canvas are now housed in Milan at the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana (Inv. 996 and 995 respectively). Jones suggests Borromeo obtained them directly from Bril in Rome (Jones, 1988b, p. 34 note 8).

¹⁷⁸ Herrin, 2014, p. 390. The paintings are 177cm high x 265cm wide.

¹⁷⁹ *Paesaggio con Mutius* includes the description 'MVTIVS 9' and *Paesaggio con Anub* reads 'ANVB'. Jones suggests the numeral after 'ANVB' has 'presumably worn off' (Jones, 1988b, p. 33, note 7).

¹⁸⁰ For translations of the Francesco Rivola's *Vita di Federico Borromeo* (1656) see Witte, 2004, pp. 64-65.

¹⁸¹ Quoted in Jones, 1993, p. 64 note 84.

¹⁸² Martyn, 1791, pp. 75-76.

to Italy: when she visited Milan with her husband in 1773.¹⁸³ It is difficult to confirm whether the duchess visited the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana. Although she developed detailed lists and categorised inventories of ‘places of interest’ by city and county, there is only one single note listed under the heading ‘Milan’. Tantalisingly, it reads, ‘Church of St Ambrose’.¹⁸⁴ Possibly she meant the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, given the proximity of the two locations.¹⁸⁵

The paintings by Brueghel and Bril may have provided the duchess with another motivation to include the same imagery in the landscape at Hulne Park.¹⁸⁶ Perhaps these were paintings she desired to own, but were unobtainable as they were located in an institutional collection.¹⁸⁷ Alternatively, on a rare international trip together, the duke may have noticed his wife’s particular interest in the images and together they planned their transformation in stone at Hulne Park.

Edward Harwood suggests the eighteenth-century garden was ‘not simply the passive product of compounded memories, but a dynamic appropriation, and an ongoing interpretation, of past events for an organic present self’.¹⁸⁸ He goes on to say that it is inappropriate to assign simple or unilateral meanings to the idea of the hermit in the

¹⁸³ French, 2009, p. 65. Ingamells, 1997, p. 41. The duchess does not record a trip to Italy in a list of ‘My Tours’ (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.76-77) as this seemed to include only those on which she travelled independently. The duchess’s surviving journals omit much of 1773. Perhaps as she was travelling with her husband, her usual routine of writing and records was interrupted. Alternatively, these journals could be missing.

¹⁸⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.413. (written *c.* 1775).

¹⁸⁵ Martyn’s travel notes about ‘S. Ambrogio’ from 1791 run to only three lines, yet his description of the Ambrosian Library includes four detailed pages about the painting, sculpture, ‘casts of the best antique statues’, and the ‘cabinet of natural history, antiquities, medals, &c’ (Martyn, 1791, pp. 71, 75-76).

¹⁸⁶ They may also have been mentioned to her by the duke, or by other travellers in her circle, or noted in a travel guide. Louis Dutens mentioned the Ambrosiana in his *Grand Tour Guide* that was based on his travels with the duchess’s son Algernon (Dutens, 1779, p. 81). For his *Grand Tours with Algernon*, see French, 2009, pp. 75-80.

¹⁸⁷ The gallery of Northumberland House (which contained copies or frescos and statuary commissioned especially for the space by the duke) was described by Jeremy Wood as ‘exemplary’ as it was ‘filled with works that could not be bought, or indeed even removed from their original setting’ (Wood, 1999, p. 394).

¹⁸⁸ Harwood, 1993, p. 36 (paraphrasing the ideas of John Locke).

eighteenth century, as viewers ‘understood, even relished’ the idea that the meaning and interpretation of hermits was ‘richly complicated’ by their context and would vary ‘from situation to situation’.¹⁸⁹ The duchess’s motivations are equally complex, so we may never exactly identify her primary motivation for translating her Sadeler prints into statuary.

Although rich, the material and textural sources discussed here can only provide an incomplete history of the duchess’s thoughts and intentions. This is because, as Carolyn Steedman notes, archival and material evidence is not ‘made up of *everything*’: it consists of ‘selected and consciously chosen documentation from the past’ combined with ‘the mad fragmentations’ that ‘just ended up there’.¹⁹⁰ As unintended readers of these historical traces, we can only extrapolate meanings that transform surviving lists, memoranda, correspondence, and musings into what Blouin and Rosenberg call, ‘coherent narratives of some imagined past’.¹⁹¹ As Stephanie Porras explains:

As an image moves through time and space, its power is amplified by accretion; yet each social network traversed by the image may have its own aims in forwarding, copying and sharing that image. When an image truly goes viral, it can take on additional valences or directions — losing and/or transforming its original or secondary context — as it is forwarded and redeployed anew.¹⁹²

Although retaining the distinct identities of each of the four Sadeler images, the figures at Hulne Priory and ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ have been degraded by weather and time, and their link with the prints that inspired them, had been forgotten. Nonetheless, through the translation of her prints into new forms, the duchess shared the

¹⁸⁹ Harwood, 2000, p. 266.

¹⁹⁰ Steedman, 2002, p. 68. Gerritson and Riello comment that objects are ‘complex entities whose nature and life story can only partially be understood and recovered’ (Gerritson and Riello, 2015, p. 9).

¹⁹¹ Blouin and Rosenberg, 2011, p 141.

¹⁹² Porras, 2016, p. 71.

essence of her collection — and of herself as a collector — with others.¹⁹³ The stone figures depict her interests, collections and travels; express her dynastic and family connections with Percy lands and the Carmelites; and demonstrate her involvement with the fashionable pursuits of her day. **(Fig. 28)** They impress the duchess's own present into posterity and combine her history with the future. Alternatively, the hermit figures may have merely been a 'visual shorthand' which evoked fashionable gardening themes for her visitors.

This chapter has followed the development of a specific section of the duchess's print collection — images of hermits and hermitages — outside the confines of her albums. It has investigated the 'afterlives' of her prints, that is, how her prints were re-interpreted as objects in the medium of stone. Through the prints' 'life' as part of her collection (as possessions), they were subsequently altered through their re-use as the blueprints for statuary. This migration or translation constituted a reframing of meaning, place and connection. As Edward Wouk describes: 'each printed impression gains meaning through its making as well as through its subsequent uses in ways that are as seemingly infinite as the multiplicity of the medium itself'.¹⁹⁴ The duchess's Sadeler prints became the creative products of different minds and new hands — the sculptor/mason, the landscape designer, and the eighteenth-century country house visitor — concurrent with their placement in her print albums.

The selection of Sadeler prints for statuary in Hulne Park reveals — at last — how the duchess engaged others with her print collecting. As discussed in previous chapters, there are scant records about the duchess's social engagement through prints: whether during their purchase, in their cutting, pasting and arranging, or when housed within her *Musaeum* at Northumberland House and other family seats. When transformed into statuary in Hulne Park, her prints became part of a social performance and open to new contexts and meanings. Her prints could also then be interpreted within the complex narratives of eighteenth-century landscape gardens (and the larger cultural

¹⁹³ Susan Pearce suggests objects have meaning when individuals ascribe moral and economic value to them as a result of their historical, personal, and communal experience (Pearce, 1995, pp. 14-16).

¹⁹⁴ Wouk, 2017, p. 15.

forces of which they were a part): sociability and solitude, piety and performance, luxury, humility in wealth, retirement, and fame.¹⁹⁵ The medium of statuary in a landscape therefore offered the duchess — like other elite women — ‘a particularly dense, suggestive, at times contradictory, but undoubtedly nuanced’ means of writing about herself.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Bending, 2013, p. 7.

¹⁹⁶ Drawn from Bending’s discussion of other elite women landscape gardeners (Bending, 2013, pp. 3-4).

CONCLUSION: THE LIVES AND AFTERLIVES OF THE DUCHESS'S PRINT COLLECTION

'Here, indeed, lies the whole miracle of collecting. For it is invariably *oneself* that one collects'.

Jean Baudrillard¹

The print collection of Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland, is vast, relatively unstudied, and now dispersed. Also unstudied was how these prints and albums came to her through inheritance, gifts, direct purchase, and through agents and networks; how the duchess assembled and catalogued her collection; and how her prints connected with her other interests. Although an incomplete, handwritten inventory of the duchess's collection survives, it was only through the examination of surviving objects — and archival records of their acquisition — that we could begin to trace the complex processes involved in the development of the duchess's collection: sourcing dealers, liaising with networks; buying and transport; methods of classification and storage; and practices of arrangement and display.

This study asked: what does archival evidence reveal about the duchess's acquisition and categorisation of prints in the eighteenth century? How do the material features of the duchess's albums in Melbourne help us understand the acquisition, assembly, and categorisation of her print collection? Why were some of the duchess's prints translated into other creative forms? Through rich textual and material evidence — extrapolated from unpublished journals, accounts, and correspondence, and from the physical features of a selection of surviving prints and albums — this thesis has told the story of the formation (and dispersal) of the duchess's print collection: how she acquired prints; what she did with them; and what happened to some of them after her death.

To answer these questions, this research has also followed the trajectory of just a small section of the duchess's collection — prints depicting hermits — through their life cycle. These prints were examined as acquired objects; then as collated, arranged, and catalogued components of a private collection; then as commodities in the twentieth-

¹ Baudrillard, 1997, p. 12.

century art market; as collected works at the University of Melbourne; and then addressed from the perspective of their concurrent ‘lives’ in a new material form, as statuary in Hulne Park. The translation and re-contextualisation of this microcosm of the duchess’s prints — and their ‘afterlife’ in three dimensions — demonstrates the interplay between prints, garden design, and other creative media. Through consideration of just this small part of her collection, we have been able to extrapolate aspects of the motivations and aspirations behind the duchess’s print collecting.

Tracing lives and afterlives

This research has followed the generally chronological movement of prints and albums on vastly different scales and dimensions. These kinetic translations ranged from the micro-movements of prints transferred from album leaf to album leaf; imagery transitioned from the confines of an album in a library to re-contextualisation in stone on a wooded hillside; and the trans-national canvas of prints moving from geographic location to geographic location as objects of cultural commerce. This research has also shone new light on the sale and purchase of the albums and prints now housed in the University of Melbourne. This process has required interpretations which are what Gerritson and Riello would describe as ‘not just historical or interdisciplinary, but also aesthetic, visual and haptic’.²

Commerce and Collecting

The duchess’s independent collecting interests, and how she recorded and sourced her collection, have connections to and inspirations from familial collecting. As noted in Chapter One, *Acquiring a Collection I: Family Influences*, the duchess’s prints and albums were cultural objects with both economic and sentimental value. Prints and albums — including those related to the Sadeler family — were noted in family correspondence and were also an important part of her father’s collecting. Account records and acquisition notes kept by the duchess during her youth (and the first years of her marriage) record the early development of collecting themes; describe sources she

² Gerritson and Riello, 2015, p. 9.

accessed to acquire objects (auction, dealers, gift and exchange networks, and inheritance); and indicate her methods for recording and classifying themes within her collection. Most of the patterns of print acquisition that developed at this time continued in the duchess's later independent collecting.

The duchess's interactions with the eighteenth-century print market as an independent consumer — with a separate sphere of influence from her husband — were discussed in *Acquiring a Collection II: An Intrepid and Itinerant Print Collector*. The duchess clearly understood the commerce of collecting. Her purchases of prints and albums were active and hands-on: she recorded lists of specific sources and 'prints wanted'; noted her visits to dealers' premises and their outcomes; was involved in the auction process; and referred to comparative values of prints she sought. She patronised print purveyors across the market spectrum, from elite Parisian dealers to caricature shops 'for the middling sort'. The duchess did not have unlimited personal funds for her purchasing. Instead, she budgeted carefully, understood market prices, and usually purchased within the accepted average ranges of prices for prints.

The duchess developed her collection through purchases of specific works within key collecting themes such as portraits, habits, historical events, and views. Through these acquisitions she revealed her penchant for systematically completing series and sets. She sought specific works at identified prices, that linked with themes of her collecting. This ambitious and clear vision for her collection was translated into the categories she later used to catalogue her prints. Her taste was often made and deployed through her interactions with others: her relationships with her networks; themes and trends she observed through other collectors; and through her engagement with the print, art, and book trades. The duchess's choices demonstrate her own interests, but they also reflected the general print collecting themes that appealed to other well-travelled, well-connected eighteenth-century print collectors.

Prints and albums at the 'moment of making'

Chapters Three and Four followed the lives of prints and albums as 'enclaved' and arranged objects in the duchess's private collection. The physical manipulation of the duchess's prints as they were ordered, arranged, cut, and pasted, was the focus of Chapter Three: *Print Albums at 'The Moment of Making'*. Annotations, unusual hand-cut print mounts, and the presence of many surviving loosely inter-leaved, partially cut prints in the De Vos albums in Melbourne, suggest that they have been caught-in-process only part-way through their assembly. The duchess disassembled and rearranged intact albums; planned future purchases and made spaces for them on album leaves; and transferred prints into fastidious numerical sequences and series. By closely analysing the De Vos albums' bindings, paper stock, foliation, annotations, and mounts it has been possible to extrapolate the duchess's intentions for her print collection. She clearly had a vision for the growth, development, and arrangement of her collection.

The development of a cataloguing schema

Chapter Four — *Prints and Albums Enclaved and Catalogued* — followed the duchess's prints and albums as they were recorded, catalogued, and stored. Her print classification schema — recorded in several notebooks of *Catalogue* iterations and precursors — was compared with those of other eighteenth-century collectors, and possible inspirations for the duchess's print cataloguing methodology were also examined. The duchess's print classification was orderly and well planned but did not strictly follow a theoretical approach. Instead her categories appear to be eclectic and personal: she drew on varied formal and informal cataloguing philosophies that she observed in private collections and commercial settings. Her approach to print categorisation changed and developed over time — as evidenced the preparatory notebooks for her *Catalogue of Prints*. Her classifications reflected other categories of her collecting, therefore her prints can be viewed as an archive of her own life experiences and interests. The noted lack of *Catalogue* entries which record print technique, states, and the quality and rarity of her prints, indicate her collecting and categorisation did not represent what we would

now consider to be the approach of a print connoisseur, but was akin to that of an informed amateur.³

Geographic translations

The duchess's prints and albums again became objects of cultural commerce when they were dispersed globally through the machinations of the international art market in the twentieth century. Chapter Five — *Cultural Commerce: The Duchess's Prints and Albums as Twentieth-Century Consumer Goods* — described interactions between the University of Melbourne and the London print trade in the 1950s and 1960s. Primary evidence from sales records and dealer stock books (especially from the firm P. & D. Colnaghi of London), letters, and collection inventories, trace the macro and micro movements of prints and albums during this journey. Market forces, pricing and deal-making were examined in the context of the duchess's De Vos and Oxford albums. New provenance information related to the Melbourne albums and prints was revealed.

Hermits and prints in the garden

Although the aim of this study was not the duchess's biography, her print collection mirrored aspects of her character, interests, and eccentricities. This is particularly apparent in the translation of four of the duchess's prints into statuary in Hulne Park, discussed in Chapter Six, *Print Translations: Hermits, Hermitages and 'Afterlives'*. The chapter demonstrated an idiosyncratic 'afterlife' of prints by the Sadeler family after Maarten De Vos, and drew together many of the threads explored in other chapters: the duchess's ambitions for her collection; her commemoration of her heritage; and the ways in which recurring motifs and themes from her interests (and those of her family) were reflected and developed within and outside her print collection.

³ That is, a focus on quality, artistic excellence and excellence of condition and condition of prints (Griffiths 2016, p. 43). Or, a focus on style, authenticity, and artistic authorship determined within a 'disciplined way of seeing and knowing' where 'perception, reason, and judgement were applied to the classification and interpretation of works', such as those used by Pierre-Jean Mariette (Smentek, 2014, p. 3).

The location of the statues within Hulne Park also brought into focus the complex meanings associated with garden hermits and hermitages in the eighteenth century. The hermit tableaux at ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ was part of carefully curated spectacle for the duchess’s guests, which connected her to contemporary conventions of elite landscape garden design. The agency of hermit statuary in Hulne Park created a symbolic language that expressed the duchess’s history, but also demonstrated her understanding of the fashions of the present, and her legacy. The statues look backward: to Percy relatives and the Carmelites, to Brabant ancestors and art of the Low Countries expressed through the prints of the Sadeler family, and to her mother’s park with its own hermitage and its poignant connections with her brother. The statues also look forward: their medium and location have meant they have continued to exist *in situ* in their eighteenth-century locations, unlike the duchess’s collection of prints, which has now been dispersed. The statues identify the duchess’s print collecting interests in a new form.

Next steps

The limitations of a doctorate have meant that this analysis could only be an introduction to the duchess’s print collection, so there are significant opportunities to expand this research. As well as the Northumberland-provenance prints and albums discussed here, additional examples from the collections of the New York Public Library, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the British Museum, and *Fondation Custodia* (Paris) were examined, but could not be discussed in detail. The research already completed interrogates the provenance and the material features of these prints and albums and connects them with related textual references which appear in the duchess’s journals, correspondence and *Catalogue of Prints*. Although many of the duchess’s albums are now dis-bound, they can be reconstructed using archival data. Work has already commenced on reconstructing the duchess’s holdings of Hollar prints based on a combination of (often generic) entries in her *Catalogue of Prints*, auction data, dealer stock books, and twentieth-century *catalogues raisonne*. All this initial research is being developed and expanded for future publication.

The significant number of hermit prints in the University of Melbourne's collection — and their connections with the Hulne Park statuary — directed the focus of this study towards this theme. However, there are many other subjects in the duchess's prints and journals which are worthy of further research. Immediate possibilities for future work include: a detailed study of portraits in the duchess's collections (as prints, paintings, miniatures and medals/coins); how her interest in fashion was reflected in her collections; connections between descriptions of landscapes and views and how these ideas were represented in her print collection; and analysis of the many goods and services noted in her accounts (from luxury jewellery, to hairstyles, to eighteenth-century inns, and fashion).

More extensive research could also be undertaken to compare the duchess's print collection with those of the Duchess of Portland and Queen Charlotte. A comparison could also be undertaken between the print collections of the duchess and Sarah Sophia Banks (which focusses on print collecting categories that are common to both collectors).⁴ The print collections of the duchess's mother and father, her children, and her husband all require further attention.

References to literature, poetry and poets (especially personal connections between the duchess's mother and poets she patronised) appear regularly in Northumberland archival documents. In this doctorate, the connections between eighteenth-century poetry, historical ballads, and the literary interests of the duchess and her mother could only be briefly discussed. Further research could be undertaken to analyse the connections between literature, prints, sculpture, garden design, and the duchess's collecting. It would also be fruitful to consider how other eighteenth-century print collectors may have been inspired by literature and garden design and/or how literary references or fashions in garden design may have influenced their collecting.

⁴ Banks' print categories such as 'Sayers Prints', 'Political Caricatures', 'Views', 'Portraits', 'Costume prints by Hollar' (Leis, 2013, pp. 264-265).

Last words

Susan Pearce writes that collections are a ‘psychic ordering’ of individuality, relationships, and time and space. She posits that collections:

live in the minds and hearts of their collectors, for whom they act as material autobiographies, chronicling the cycle of a life, from the first moment an object strikes a particular personal chord, to specialised accumulation, to constructing the dimensions of life, to a final measure of immortality.⁵

The lives of the duchess’s prints have in many ways mirrored her own life. Prints struck a chord with her as a young woman, and she continued to acquire them in conjunction with — and independently from — her family and husband. The themes, images, and sources of her prints reflect her network of human relationships and her activities. Her prints moved across geographies and through the different spaces she experienced: other countries, dealers’ premises, and within the leaves of albums. Later, her prints were translated into new spatial contexts: transformed into statuary in Hulne Park. Prints and albums from the duchess’s print collection have now been scattered internationally, but evidence of the collection’s assembly, categorisation, translation, and dispersal survive through archival and material traces. Future projects will continue to uncover these fascinating palimpsests of the duchess and her collection.

⁵ Pearce, 1995, p. 279.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.

Indicative print prices in the eighteenth century

Understanding the average prices for prints in the eighteenth century helps us to position the duchess's purchases in the market. Prints available at this time usually fell into several pricing categories. Antony Griffiths notes that in England in the 1740s, a new 'middling' level print of a topical subject might retail for between 6d to 1s; fine prints were priced between 1s and 5s (satires were often at the top of this range); an 'exceptionally fine' print may be 10s 6d; and a large, quality engraving may command one guinea (21s), but could be as high as two or three guineas.¹ By 1780, these prices had quadrupled. Of the prints listed in the 'priced catalogues' by dealers Snelling, Shropshire and Thane, most were offered for between 2s and 5s each — with 10s 6d for an exceptional print — but a premium of 5 guineas was paid for Marcantonio's *Massacre of the Innocents* sold via Thane in 1773.² A contemporary printseller's catalogue listed 'capital prints in metzotinto [*sic*]' for 5s.³

Analysis of a group of prints purchased by the duchess in 1773 helps us to understand the prices she paid. In a notebook with lists of accounts, she tallied four maritime views after French artist Claude Joseph Vernet (1714-1789): one at 10p, and the others for 2s 6d, 7s, and 5s.⁴ Using Griffiths' indicative prices as a guide, we can see

¹ Griffiths, 2016, p. 365. The prices of fine individual prints in the middle of the eighteenth century were 'about 5s - 10s' (and 'middling prints' of battles, topical subjects and comical and satirical prints at 'roughly 6d to 2s'), prices which rose sharply with inflation in the 1780s (Clayton, 2009, p. 235). 'Standard prices' for unframed prints in the second half of the eighteenth century were '1s to 2s for single mezzotint portraits of 14 inches by 10 inches or up to £2 2s for a series' (such as those advertised by Robert Sayer in 1766 (Nedanic, 1997, p. 206).

² Griffiths, 2016, p. 369.

³ The 1753 catalogue of London printseller John Bowles (Griffiths, 1984, p. 8).

⁴ 'Vernets Environs Toulon 10s'; 'Mer Calm 2s'; 'Pechours des Monts Pyrennees 2s 6d'; 'Storm 7s' and 'Coup de Vent 5s' tallied to '17s 4s'. (Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/43, f.15). A number of prints after Vernet by Jean Joseph Balechou (1715-1774) have similar titles to those recorded by the duchess.

that her purchases often fit into his ‘average’ price per print. One of the duchess’s undated notebooks records a list titled, ‘Prints sell for’. This included entries such as ‘Bouchers from 6s to 7s’.⁵ The duchess was clearly interested in, and familiar with market prices for prints that interested her.

The top end of the antiquarian print market operated at quite a different level. A collection of 500 of Rembrandt etchings owned by Joseph Smith (c.1672-1770), British Consul in Venice from 1744-1760, was sold in 1773 for £288 15s.⁶ Other books of prints from the same sale — for example, ‘fifty-seven large prints, old masters’ and ‘one hundred and forty ditto, old masters, bound together’ — sold for £3 and £3 6s respectively.⁷ The latter prices for ‘books of prints’ are akin to the duchess’s expenditure. Her print collection does not include some of the expected names we may expect from a wealthy collector: such as Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn (1606-1669), Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and Heinrich Aldegrever (1501/2-1555/61). Given her interest in a bargain, their exclusion may have been on the basis of their high price.

The highest prices noted in the duchess’s *Catalogue of Prints* are for a book of prints of the ‘Royal Gallery at Dresden Vol 1’ with 54 prints for £9 9s (f.1); 600 ‘Miscellaneous Prints’ in four volumes by Basan for £21 (f.2); ‘Catesby’s Nat[ural] History of Carolina’, 2 volumes of 221 prints for £17 17s (f.125); a volume ‘b[ought] of Snelling’ for £10 10s (f.260); and ‘*Recueil des divers Morceaux*’ by Le Bas’ recorded under ‘Works of Teniers’ (154 prints) for £19 13s (f.304).⁸ Many of the prices recorded— for the often hundreds of prints under one listing — average between £1 and £5, although we must bear in mind that barely 15% of any page of her *Catalogue* includes print prices.

The duchess’s registration of prices in her notebooks and journals, comments on what prints sell for, and the tone of her comments about the process of acquisition,

⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/76, f.18. She is referring here to prints after François Boucher (1703-1770).

⁶ They were sold to London dealer Boydell (Griffiths, 1991, p. 134).

⁷ Griffiths, 1991, p. 134.

⁸ All references from: Alnwick Castle, DNP: 122B.

suggest she revelled in her awareness of market prices. In sum, her purchases seem modest when compared with the prices of the rarest antiquarian print albums, but her acquisitions were certainly within the accepted range for other types of prints.

Appendix 2.

Prints in sets

Print series or sets were the building blocks of many eighteenth-century print collections, and the duchess's print collection is no exception. Her accounts often refer to 'books of prints' and prints 'in sets', and these are critical to our understanding of both the arrangement of her albums and the cataloguing of her collection in her *Catalogue of Prints*. Antony Griffiths defines 'sets' as 'sequences of prints that belonged to a single publisher and were sold together as a unit without a letterpress text'.¹

Sets were an innovation in print production that was perfected in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Flemish and Netherlandish print publishers numbered each print sequentially within the platemark to encourage collectors to acquire the full set.² Each set was often accompanied by a title page or frontispiece. Topographical series, sets of allegories, images of historical, biblical, and contemporary events became staples of print publishing in sets or series at this time.³ The efficiencies of producing and selling prints in this format (versus an individual print) ensured that sets were a widespread commercial formula used throughout Europe. Series or sets of individual prints were often available for sale bound simply into a soft-covered, simply stab-bound 'book'. The duchess's record of a '2 Print Books 14s 6d' was probably a group of prints in this configuration.⁴

Once purchased, sets could be integrated into print collections in a number of ways, some of which can be seen in the duchess's collection. First, the sets could be maintained in their modest stab-binding, and this is common to many eighteenth-century print collections. For example, the British Museum holds a c.1606 bound copy of *Solitudo sive Vitae Foeminarum Anachoritarum*.⁵ Second, the series could be easily

¹ Griffiths, 2016, pp. 169-175.

² Parshall, 1998, p. 24.

³ Parshall, 1998, p. 24.

⁴ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/49, f.16.

⁵ Museum Number: 1852,0214.540.1-25.

bound with a more elaborate binding of the collectors' choosing, and multiple series were often combined in this format.⁶ An album collected by the duchess exemplifies this approach. It contains two print series — twenty-five prints by Jacques Callot (c.1592-1635) and twenty-five prints by Stefano della Bella (1610-1664).⁷ These prints maintain the original margins and have been quarter-bound, probably during the duchess's lifetime. The album bears her signature, 'Elizabeth Northumberland', on the first loose endpaper.⁸

A third collecting approach for sets is when the prints were separated into individual prints, the margins trimmed, and the prints arranged and pasted onto loose sheets or mounted in albums by collectors. This is the format evident in the duchess's De Vos albums now in Melbourne.

⁶ The British Museum for example, holds a volume containing four series' of hermits bound together: an original Sadeler title-page of *Oraculum Anachoreticum*, followed by copies of *Tromphaeum vitae Soitariae* by Carel van Boeckel (published by Leclerc); copies by Van Boeckel, Isaac Briot and Pierre Ferens after *Sylvae Sacrae*; copies after *Solitudo Sive vitae Patrum Ermicolarum* by Nicholaas de Bruyn; and female hermits by de Bruyn after Collaert (Museum Number: 157.b.22).

⁷ The album is catalogued as Alnwick Castle, DNP: T1245.

⁸ This volume is particularly significant as Clare Baxter, Collections and Archives Manager at Northumberland Estates advised it is (to their knowledge) the only album or book of prints collected by the duchess that is still held in the collections of the Duke of Northumberland (private conversation with Clare Baxter, September 2017).

Appendix 3.

Volumes of the Musaeum Catalogue and their high-level categories

Volume 1: *'List of Pictures'* (MS 122A)

Oil Colour Pictures: Shipping and Landscips; Miscellaneous; Portraits; Works of Gosset; Enamels, Miniatures and Water Colours; Fesch; Crayons.

Volume 2: *'Catalogue of Prints'* (MS 122B)

Fables, Emblems and Metamorphoses; Sacred Subjects; Statues, Medals, Antiquities; Architecture, Views and Landscips; Natural History; Miscellaneous Prints; Works of Devos; Habits; Works of Galle; Works of Stradanus; Portraits; Works of Collaert; Works of Wierx; Works of De Pass; Works of Hollar; Works of Goltzius; Works of Callot; Works of Teniers; Works of Sadeler.

Volume 3: *'Medals and Coins'* (MS 122)

English Gold Medals; Foreign Gold Medals; English Silver Medals; Foreign Silver Medals; English Gold Coins; English Silver Coins.

Volume 4: *'Arms, Habits, Utensils, Ornaments and Curiosities of Different Nations'* (MS 123)

Volume 5: *'Cameo's, Intaglias, Bas Reliefs, Bronzes, Busts, Statues'* (MS 124)

Volume 6: *'Antiquities, Historical Curiositys, Miscellaneous Ditto, Manuscripts, Japan, Porcelain, glass &c'* (MS 125)

Volume 7: [Missing]

Volume 8: *'Petrefactions, Fossils, Ores, Sparres, Christals, Earths, Woods, Marbles, Gems &c'* (MS 126)

Volume 9: *'Books'* (MS 127)

Poetry and Plays; Letters; Miscellanies; History and Lives; Divinity; Novels and Romances.¹

¹ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122-127.

Appendix 4.

The creator of the Hulne Park statuary?

Despite the wealth of information in the Northumberland archives, there is currently no irrefutable evidence in estate accounts or payment records which confirms who was engaged to complete the statues at the ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ and Hulne Priory, or exactly when they were commissioned.¹ Searches of the duchess’s notebooks and journals also have also not provided conclusive information. The investigation of these sources was made more complex as a number of different account and payment records were maintained on the estate: some were connected with the family’s banks; others were updated by various staff and bailiffs; and other informal account records were maintained by the duchess in her own notebooks. Account divisions used for some art works (such as the separate account that recorded the duke’s purchases of statuary for Syon) also complicate the search. Nonetheless, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the sculptor, based on other evidence.

When considering stonemasons to create statues for Hulne Park, the duke and duchess already had a potential sculptor to hand. Part of their extensive renovation of Alnwick Castle in the 1750s was the restoration, re-creation and addition of stone ‘battlement’ figures to match the worn warrior figures that already adorned the castle. According to Clare Baxter, Collections and Archives Manager at Alnwick Castle: ‘the mason James Johnson of Stamfordham apparently took 20 years to carve them’.² This information was most likely drawn from descriptions of Alnwick from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, where Johnson is regularly credited with work on the battlement figures.³ This assertion is also confirmed in a recent publication by Northumberland Estates.⁴

¹ The ‘Nine Year Old Hole’ statue is noted as a “Listed Building Grade II” by Heritage England, but no sculptor is noted (English Heritage, 2020b)

² Architectural Heritage, 2017, n.p.

³ For example: Davison, 1822, n.p.; Sykes, 1829, p. 6.

⁴ Percy, 2019, p. 46.

Colin Shrimpton, previously Archivist at Alnwick Castle, suggests the ‘stone figures of friars in contemplation and prayer’ at Hulne Priory, were the work ‘most probably of James Johnson who carved the figures on the battlements of the castle’.⁵ Johnson’s biographical details are sketchy, however he is a potential candidate as sculptor of ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ hermit.⁶ Nonetheless, a thorough search of the account books and surviving archival records at Alnwick has to-date failed to uncover specific documentation that conclusively connects Johnson with either the battlement figures or the hermit statue at ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’.⁷

Close inspection of ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ hermit figure and a battlement figure (which is now displayed at ground level at Alnwick Castle), reveal similar styles of workmanship and execution. **(Figs. 18, 21)** The effects of time and the elements on both statues make positive conclusions difficult. When viewed from below and at ground level, the battlement figures do appear somewhat squat and almost ‘dwarf-like’ when compared to the elegant, elongated, fluid lines of the drapery of both ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ figure and statues at Hulne Priory. This calls into question the attribution of the Hulne Park figures to Johnson.

Another sculptor/mason was also at work at Alnwick Castle at the same time: Michael Mills, whose biographical details are also unclear. Mills *does* appear in the Alnwick archives. Mills, a local man, worked with James Johnson on St. Michael’s Pant, a water fountain in Market Street near Market Square in the village of Alnwick, dating from approximately 1755.⁸ Mills had tendered for stonework on the ‘Lion Bridge’ over the Aln (adjacent to Alnwick Castle) which was awarded to Robert Adam and competed

⁵ Shrimpton, 2006, p. 41.

⁶ On 9 May 1761, a local newspaper, *Newcastle Courant* noted that a ‘James Johnson, mason of Stannerton otherwise Stamfordham was in Morpeth prison as a debtor’ (Architectural Heritage, 2017, n.p.) however further details are unclear.

⁷ It was noted that some documents for key timeframes are missing from the archives. I am grateful to Archivist, Christopher Hunwick for his assistance with this search.

⁸ The Public Monuments and Sculpture Association record that ‘Matthew Mills was paid £60 for the waterworks, “Mr Bell, the architect” £4 16s for the construction of the fountain, and James Johnson £5 7s 6d for the figure carving’ (a stiffly executed figure of St Michael killing the dragon) (Quoted at ‘St Michael’s Pant’. Accessed 17 October 2017 at: <https://sites.google.com/site/pantsofalnwick/pants/st-michael-s-pant>).

in 1773.⁹ Mills was the mason later engaged by the duke to fulfil Robert Adam’s design for Brizlee Tower, the monument completed in 1781 in memory of the duchess.¹⁰ (Figs. 22, 23) Raeburn, Voronikhina, and Nurnberg, suggest that Robert Adam ‘may have assisted in the conversion of the “Nine Year Auld Hole” into a grotto’.¹¹ Given these varied confirmed and potential collaborations, it is possible that Mills was engaged on other projects at Alnwick Castle and Hulne Park, including work on the stone figures at both the ‘Nine Year Old Hole’ and Hulne Abbey. This may have then developed into his larger projects such as the work on Brizlee Tower.

Some sources attribute both the ‘Nine Year Old Hole’ and Hulne Abbey figures to Mills. John Patten’s unpublished, c.1936-1940 manuscript, *History of Parks* — which is held in the Archives of the Duke of Northumberland — mentions that the stone figures at Hulne Priory ‘are probably the work of Matthew Mills of Alnwick’.¹² Raeburn, Voronikhina and Nurnberg note:

In 1765, the figure of a friar was installed at its entrance, while another figure of an Egyptian mummy was placed inside. They were carved by Matthew Mills, one of the principal masons employed on the restoration of the castle, who also embellished the site of Hulne Priory with similar figures (information from Mr Colin Shrimpton).¹³

Despite extensive searches of archival sources, no documents confirming this have been discovered. While there is no specific archival evidence, visually, the attribution to Mills makes sense, as the figures at Hulne Priory and the ‘Nine Year Old Hole’ are not aesthetically similar to the ‘battlement’ figures attributed to James Johnson. Based on their style of execution, we could therefore deduce that *all* the stone figures after Sadeler

⁹ The estimate for the work by Matthew Mills is located in the file ‘Papers Related to Lion Bridge’ (Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/I/20) . Robert Adam also completed the public monument to the duchess commissioned by the duke that now stands in the St. Nicholas chapel in Westminster Abbey, and a private cenotaph at Alnwick Castle. (See Aymonino, 2010, pp. 288-296.). Thomas Percy composed the epitaphs for both monuments which are held at Alnwick Castle DNP: MS 93/A/19 f.208 and f.209.

¹⁰ See Crook, 1973, p. 281; and Shrimpton, 2006, p. 49.

¹¹ Raeburn, Voronikhina and Nurnberg, 1995, p. 164.

¹² Patten, c.1936-1940 (Alnwick Castle, DP: Acc: 517/2 p. 67).

¹³ Raeburn, Voronikhina and Nurnberg, 1995, p. 321.

prints in Hulne Park — both at ‘The Nine Year Old Hole’ and at Hulne Priory — are probably the work of Matthew Mills.

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FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Fig. 1. Richard Houston (after Joshua Reynolds), *Elizabeth Countess of Northumberland, Baroness Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitzpain, Bryan, and Latimer*, c.1759, mezzotint, 49.8 x 34.6 cm. 2015.0038. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Image courtesy Baillieu Library Print Collection).



Fig. 2. *Catalogue of Prints.* Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.1. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

1

A Catalogue of Prints.

<i>Books of Prints</i>	<i>After</i>	<i>By</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Price</i>
				<i>£. s. d.</i>
<i>Drawings after Drawings on the Royal Palace</i>		<i>Bartholomaeus</i>	26	
<i>Sketches of Blauw's school of France</i>		<i>J. Peller</i>	32	19
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>De Key</i>	62	2 6
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>W. Blomart</i>	31	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>			152	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>			26	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>Brother</i>	24	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>Caro</i>	39	6
<i>History of the Pope</i>			39	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>			101	
<i>All kinds of Prints in Dutch</i>			21	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>Langsta</i>	21	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>			30	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>			28	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>de Vere</i>	35	4 6
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>de Vere</i>	47	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>de Vere</i>	30	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>Hallian</i>	352	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>Hollax</i>	48	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>Kocher</i>	23	2 6
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>		<i>Kocher</i>	37	
<i>Prints on Paper & Copper</i>			54	9 9
			1445	

Fig. 3. Example of the duchess's journals. *Journal 1763*. Alnwick Castle, DNP, MS: 121/11, f. 1. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).



Fig. 4. Example of one of the duchess's account lists, noting 'Sayer Prints' (last line). *Accounts 1773*. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/49, f.2. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

Jan ^y Disbursements		2	
1	Gave Mr Walpole ^{Book} Sent for	2	6
	Little Jones his Annuity	2	2
	a little Pastboard Cat		2
	Bringing home my new Chair	5	
2	Descript ⁿ of Millinium Hall	3	
	Yeoman Guard at Mas	1	1
3	Stather Apothecarys Widow	5	
5	Welch Charity School	2	2
	2 No ^s of Mr Walpole's new pubk		4
	3 Mo ^s Days Int ^r for 1 Bond		15
	Comm ^o of Do		9
6	De Boy's Descriptio Indiar ^{um}	2	2
	Jourat ^o out of his Lease Vol 2	5	5
		2	2
7	Macaroni Magazine		6
	Cucumber	1	1
	Cribbage Board	5	5
	a pair of Card Racks	8	8
	2 Backgammon boards my ^r for	1	4
	To myself		12
8	paid Mr Archbold working Dr ^o	1	1
	8 Q ^{ts} of Silannel for petticoats		16
	Tape Thread & Needles		9
	Sayer Prints	1	9
	Total	16	67

Fig. 5. Northumberland-provenance albums, Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).



Fig. 6. Examples of tabbed prints. Johannes Sadler I (after Maarten de Vos), Title page from *The Story of the Family of Seth*, 1586, engraving, 20.3 x 27.5 cm; and Adam with Seth and Family, engraving, 20.3cm x 27.5cm. UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos, f.13. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Image courtesy Baillieu Library Print Collection).



Fig. 7. Stone figure, Hulne Priory, Hulne Park Hulne Park, Northumberland Estates, Northumberland (Photograph: author).



Fig. 8. Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), 'Anub', 1580-1590, engraving, 17.5 x 21.5 cm. UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos f.76. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Image courtesy Baillieu Library Print Collection).

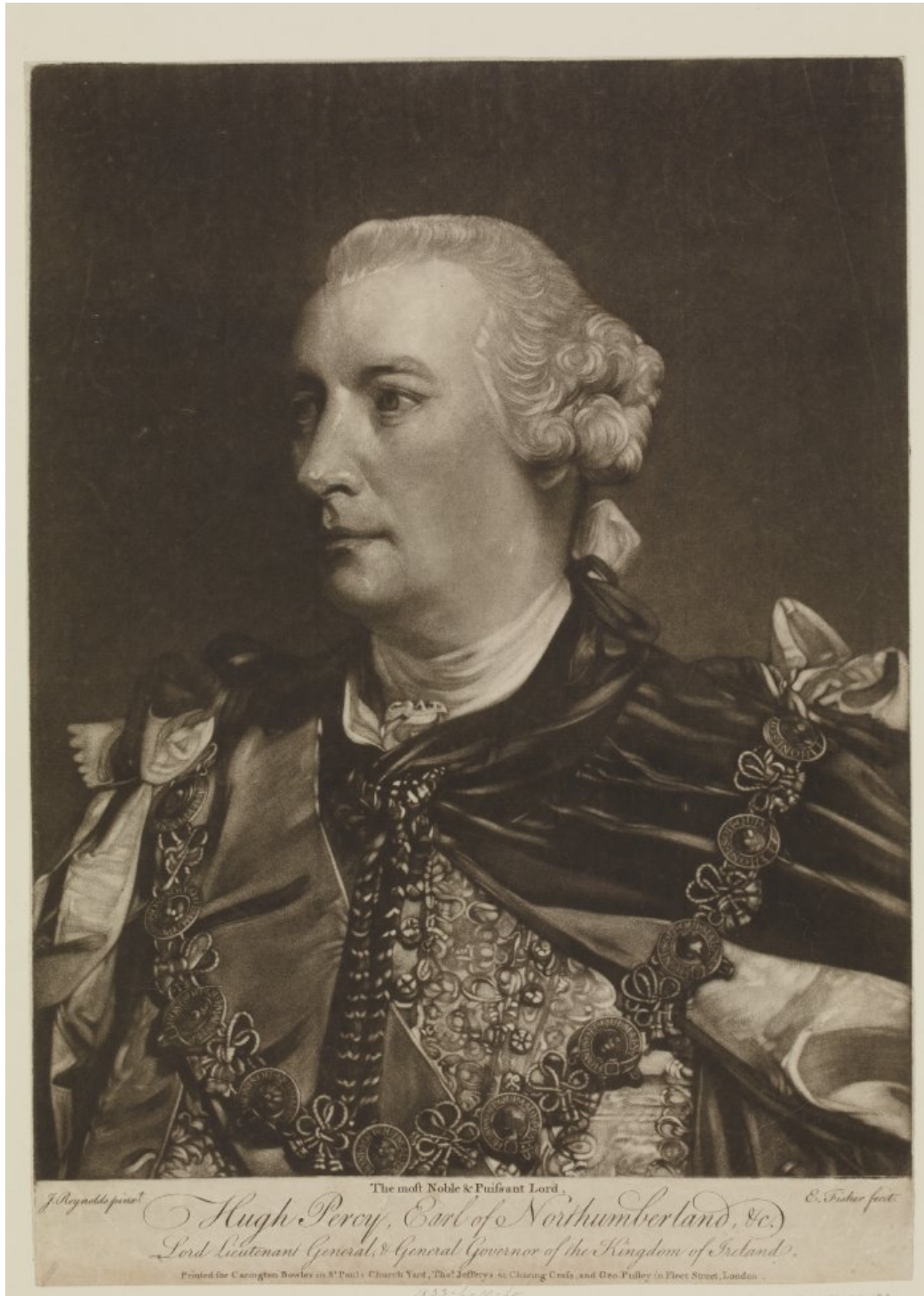


1. ACQUIRING A COLLECTION I: FAMILY INFLUENCES

Fig. 1. The duchess's juvenile accounts, *c.*1775. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/72. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates).

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Fig. 2. Edward Fisher after Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Hugh Percy, Earl of Northumberland*, c.1762-1785, mezzotint, 35.7cm x 25.3cm. Museum number: 1833,0610. British Museum (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum).



J. Reynolds pinxit. The most Noble & Puiſant Lord, *Hugh Percy, Earl of Northumberland, &c.* *E. Fisher fecit.*
Lord Lieutenant General & General Governor of the Kingdom of Ireland.
Printed for Carrington Bowles in St. Paul's Church Yard, Thoſ. Jeffreys at Charing-Croſs, and Geo. Poulſey in Fleet Street, London.
1763-4-10-40

Fig. 3. Binding of albums with provenance to the First and Second Earls of Oxford (detail). UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).

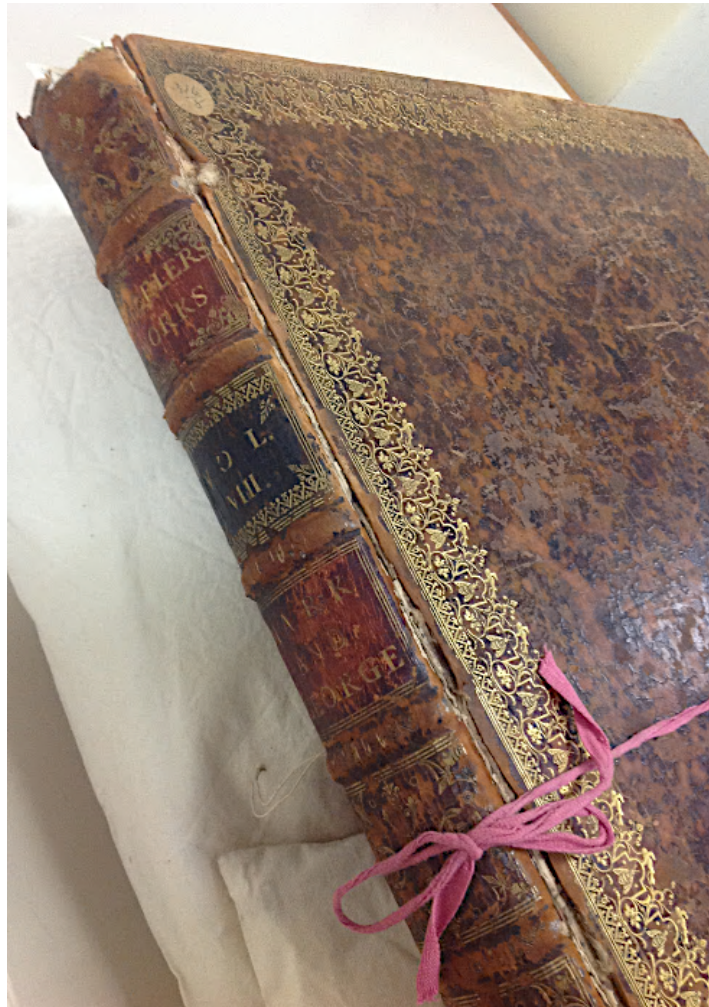


Fig. 4. James Cranke the Elder (1709-1780), *Thomas Osborne*, 1747, oil on canvas, 197.5 x 142.2 cm. Accession Number: B1981.25.172. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (Image: Yale Center for British Art).



Fig. 6. Listing of 'Works of Stradanus'. Alnwick Castle: DP/D1/II/11. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

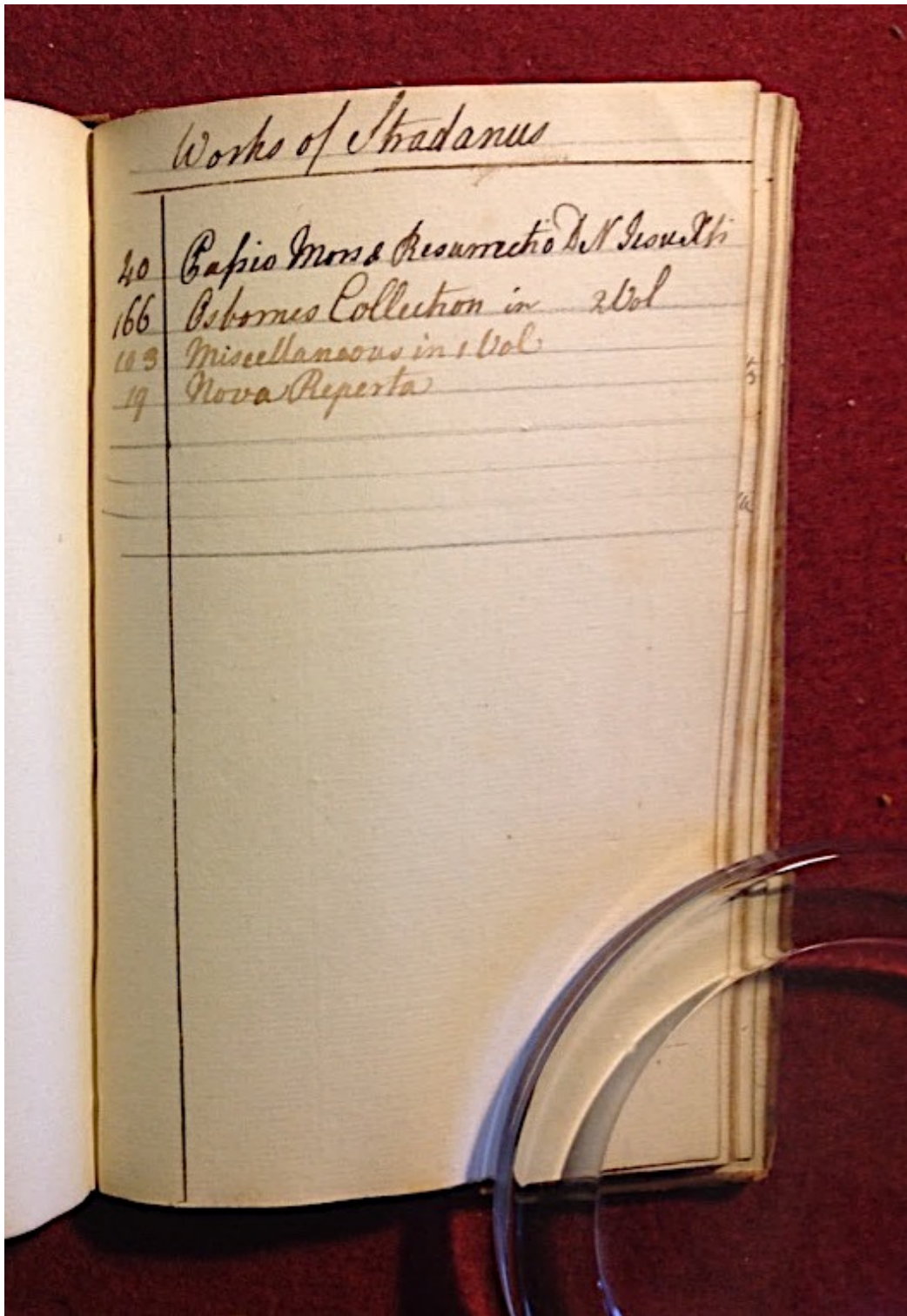


Fig. 7. Isaac Taylor (after Samuel Wale), *Cupid turn'd auctioneer, or Cornely's sale at Carlisle House, 1772*, Etching (book illustration), 17.8 x 10.3 cm. Museum Number: 1868,0808.10025. British Museum (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 8. Thomas Rowlandson (1757-1827), *A Book Auction*, (Baker's Old Auction Rooms), c.1810-1815, watercolour and graphite with pen and ink, 15.2 x 24.9 cm. Accession Number: B1975.4.913. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. (Image: © Yale Center for British Art).



Fig. 9. Loose invoice from Langfords. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS DP/D1/II/11. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

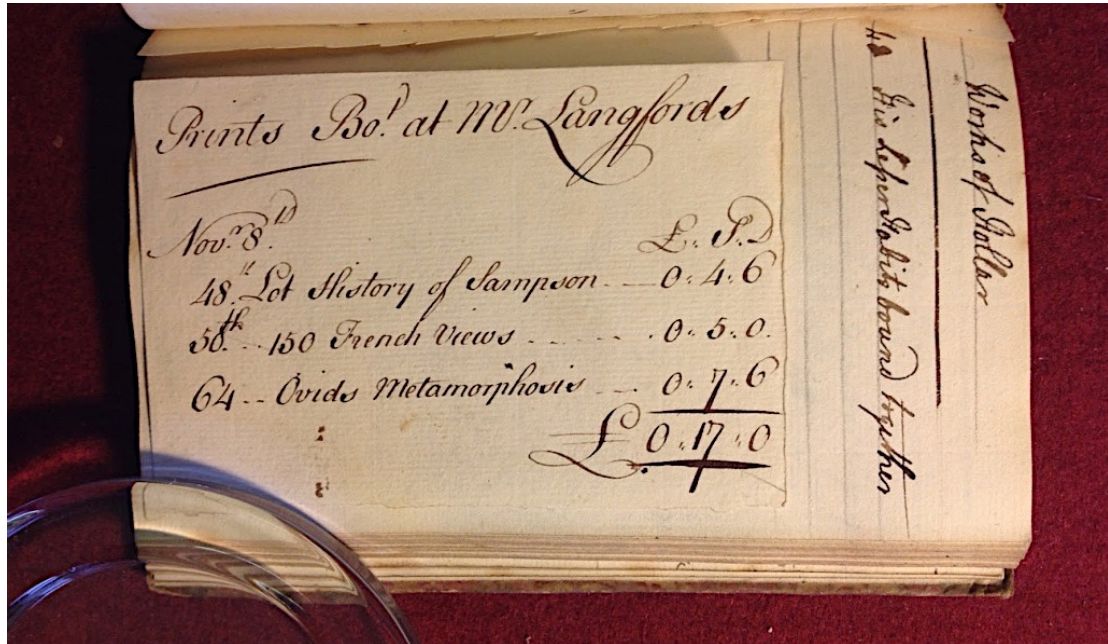
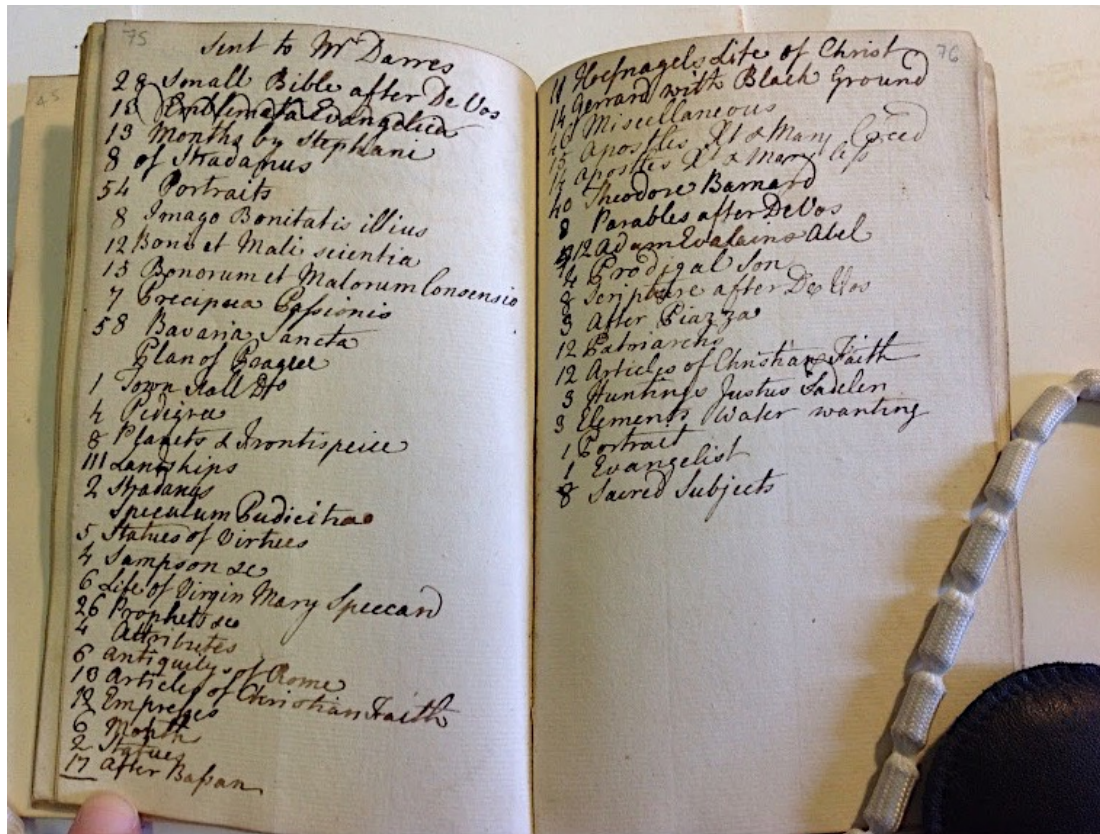


Fig. 11. Valentine Green (1739-1813) after Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787), *Portrait of Hugh, Earl Percy*, 1776, mezzotint, 50.8 x 35.56 cm (plate), anonymous gift. Museum Number: M.86.357.1. Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Image: © Los Angeles County Museum of Art (www.lacma.org)).



Fig. 12. 'Sent to Mr Darres', Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.75-76. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).



2. ACQUIRING A COLLECTION II: AN INTREPID AND ITINERANT TRAVELLING PRINT COLLECTOR

Fig. 1. ‘Engravers, Picture dealers, Printsellers’ Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f.134. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates; Photograph: author).

134 108	Engravers	Picture dealers	Printsellers
1	Bahewelle	London	
2	Basche	Bonpells	opposite Binbinstan Lane
3	Bowles	London	St Pauls Churchyard
4	Boydell	London	
5	Brownne		
6	Campioni	Bath	
7	Charlton	London	Bond Street
8	Darling	London	
9	Jefferdys	London	Newport Street
10	Jayr	Do	Strang
11	Barly	Do	St Pauls Churchyard
12	Regnier	Newport Street	Strang
13	Major	London	London
14	De Roy	Bonpells	St Martins Lane
15	Mechel	Bath	
16	Rylands	London	
17	Lavoyard	Paris	Quay near St Andrews Square
18	Philips	Edinburgh	Rue de Lit
19	Pehsters	Antwerp	Ville Rome Quay
20	Loullain	Paris	
21	Daudet & Lombert	Lyons	
22	Martinet	Paris	
23	Jas. Jurisk	Bonpells	
24	Smith	Cheapside	vis a vis St Eglis Church

Fig. 2. 'Print shops at Paris', *c.* 1766, Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/115, f.42. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates).

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Fig. 3. ‘London Rides Drives and Walks’, Alwick Castle: DNP, MS 121/63 f.18. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates).

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Fig. 4. Valentine Green after Josiah Boydell, *John Boydell*, engraver, 1772, mezzotint, 45.5 x 32.7 cm. Museum Number: 1902,1011.2268. British Museum (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum).

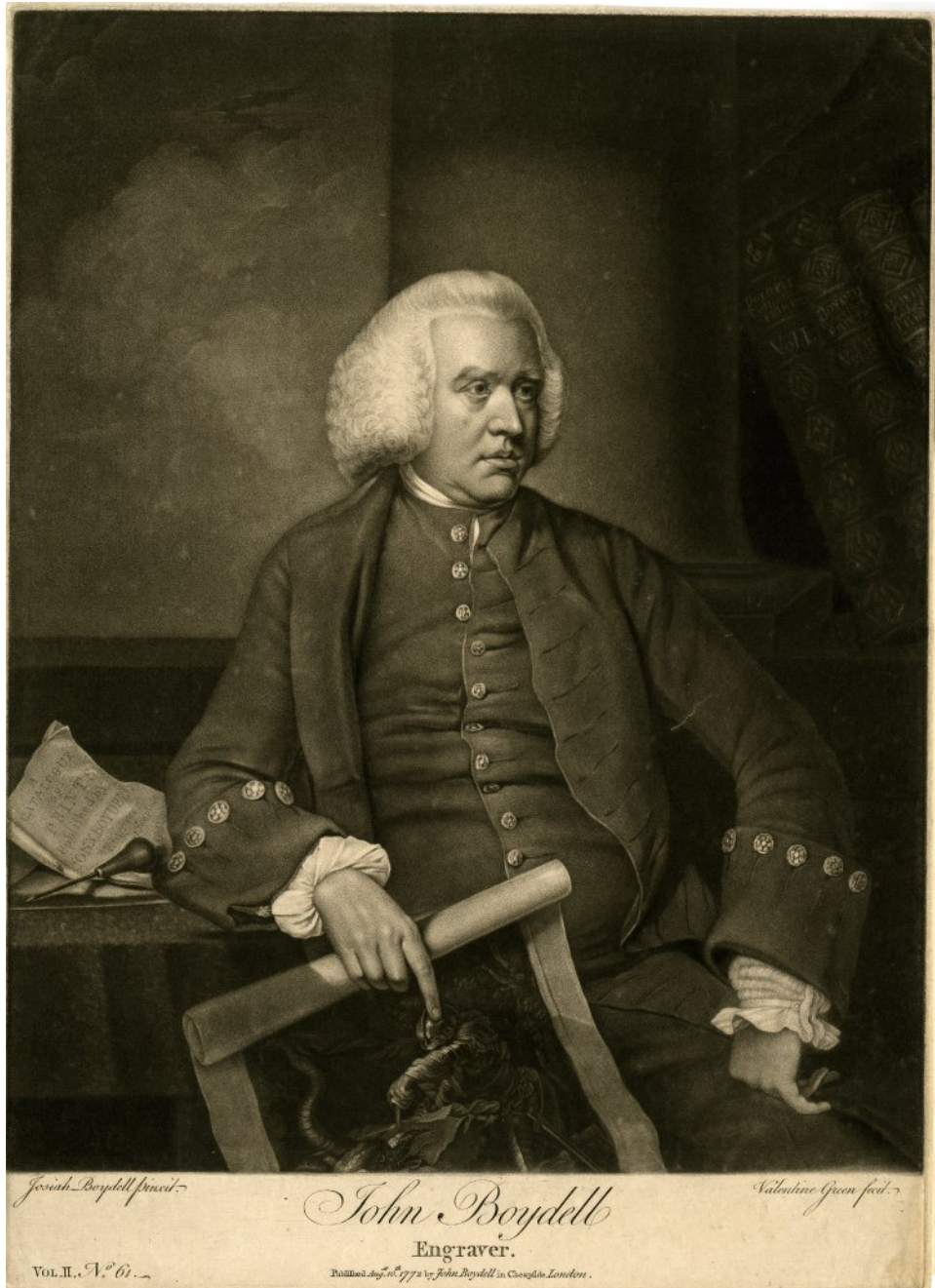


Fig. 5. Robert Sayer, *Robert Sayer's New and Enlarged Catalogue for the Year M.D.CCLXVI. Of New, Useful, and Correct Maps, Scarce and Valuable Prints in Sets, and Single, Books of Architecture, Drawing and Copy-Books...* London: Robert Sayer, 1761. Museum Number: Cc.5.28. British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum, Photograph: Author).



Fig. 7. Index to *Catalogue of Prints*, Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.361. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estate, Photograph: author).

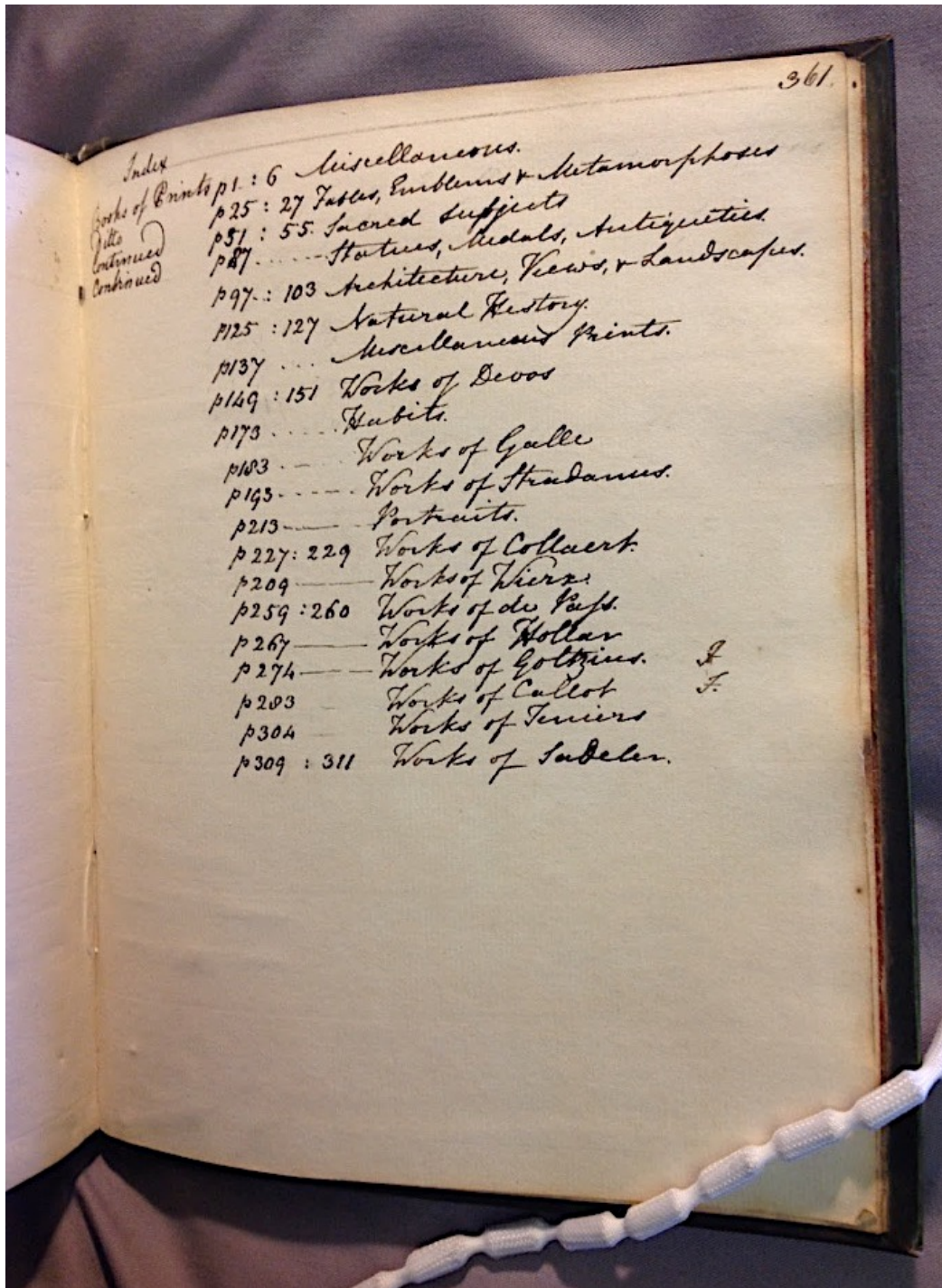


Fig. 8. 'Flemish Masters and French Masters'. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/15, f.18. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates).

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Fig. 9. Hollar entries, *Catalogue of Prints*, Alwick Castle, DNP: 122B, f.267. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates).

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Fig. 10. 'Prints sell for'. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/190, f.1. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates).

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Fig. 11. ‘I want the following prints by Hollar’. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/175. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates).

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Fig. 12. Listing of Portraits, *Catalogue of Prints*. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.213. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

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Portraits

Subject	after	By	N ^o	Price	
				L.	S. D.
Heads of Boninus & M ^{rs} Cursons D 1679	no	Larmosin	146	1	1
Heads of the Medici Family			39		
12 Coats & their wives	Titian	Sadler	24		
12 th of W ^m & T ^o ntis piece	no	Titian	Sadler	26	
Celebrated English Poets	no	Kneller	Vertue	13	
Celebrated Painters	no	Turatti	Francis de Veracchini	51	
Heads of Kings of England	no	Kalberne	Vertue	42	
D ^o of Illustrious Persons of Britain D ^o	no	D. Houbrake	81		
de Temple de la Loire			18		3
Ammones Illustres de France 17 ^{me} Vol	no	Delille	Vertue	102	
Members of the Kit-cat Club	no	Kneller	Sadler	46	
Heads of the Painters				102	
Various Portraits	no		Sadlers	92	
Allegorical Representations de la Reine de France			Larmosin	149	1 1
Theatrum Principium			Moncornet	305	1 1
L'Europe Illustrée 6 Vol			Fiquet Dup	39	6 5
Album Heroicum 4 parts			Custodi	167	
Reign of St George 3 ^d Vol 1 st					
Vol 2					
Vol 3					
200.3. Vol 4					

Fig. 13. 'Prints which I want'. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/63, f. 78. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

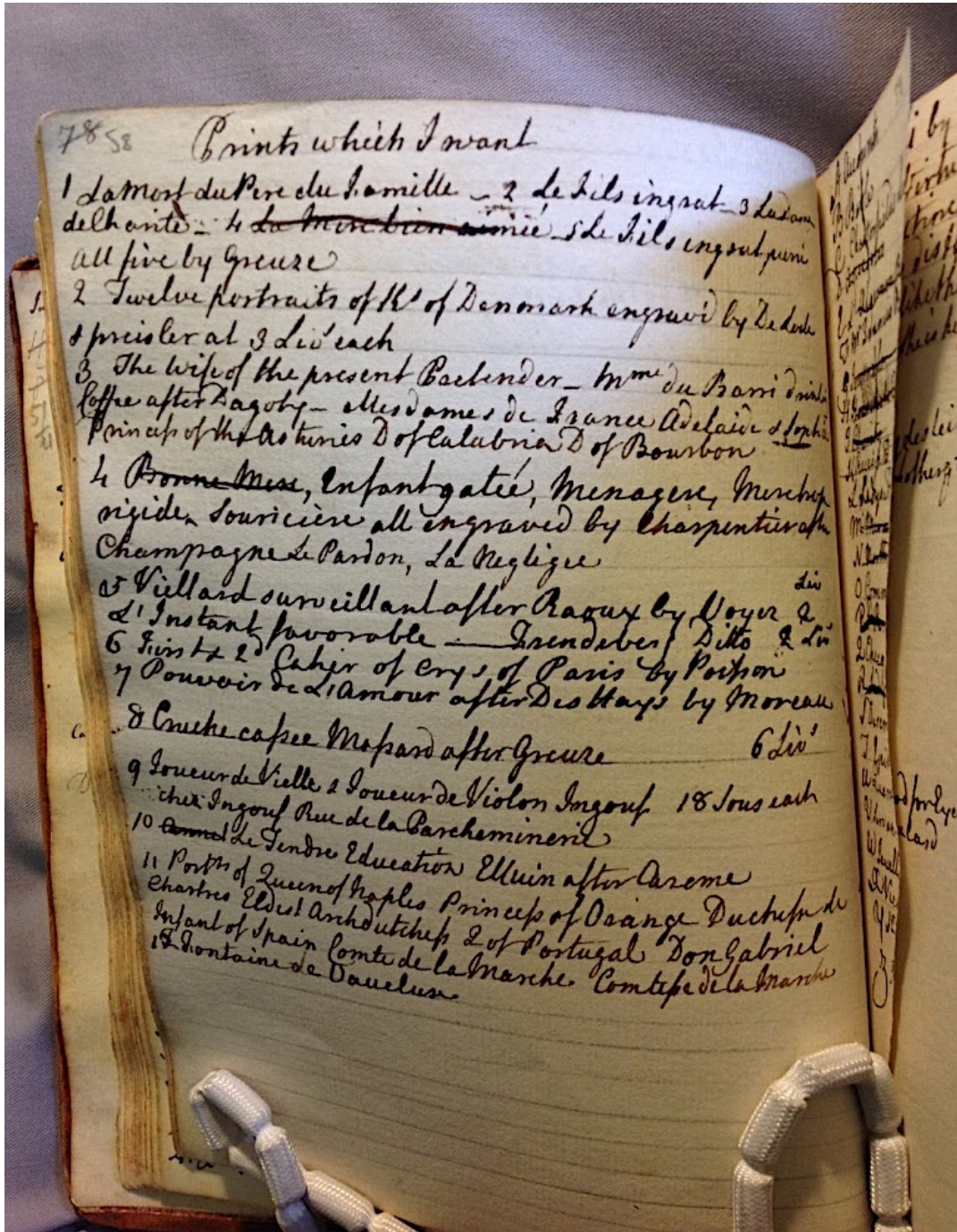


Fig. 14. John Raphael Smith, (Published by Carrington Bowles), *Spectators at a Print-Shop in St. Paul's Church Yard*, 1774, mezzotint, 35.3 x 25.2 cm. Museum Number: 2010,7081.379. British Museum (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 15. Unknown, (Published by Carington Bowles), *High Life below Stairs*, 1770, mezzotint with etching, 25.3 x 35.5 cm. Museum Number 2010, 7081.344. British Museum (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 16. Matthew Darly, *The Female Connoisseur*, (from *Caricatures, Macaronis and Characters*, 1772, etching, 17.1 x 11.9 cm. Museum Number: 1852,0214.362. British Museum (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum)).



Fig. 17. Francis Adams, *Modern Refinement or the Two Macaroni's*, 1772, mezzotint, 35 x 24.8 cm. Museum number: 2010,7081.365. British Museum (Image © The Trustees of the British Museum).



3. PRINT ALBUMS AT ‘THE MOMENT OF MAKING’

Fig. 1. Album binding and spine in ‘Harleian’ style (detail). UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).



Fig. 2. Encapsulated mount (detail) from UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne. (Photograph: author).

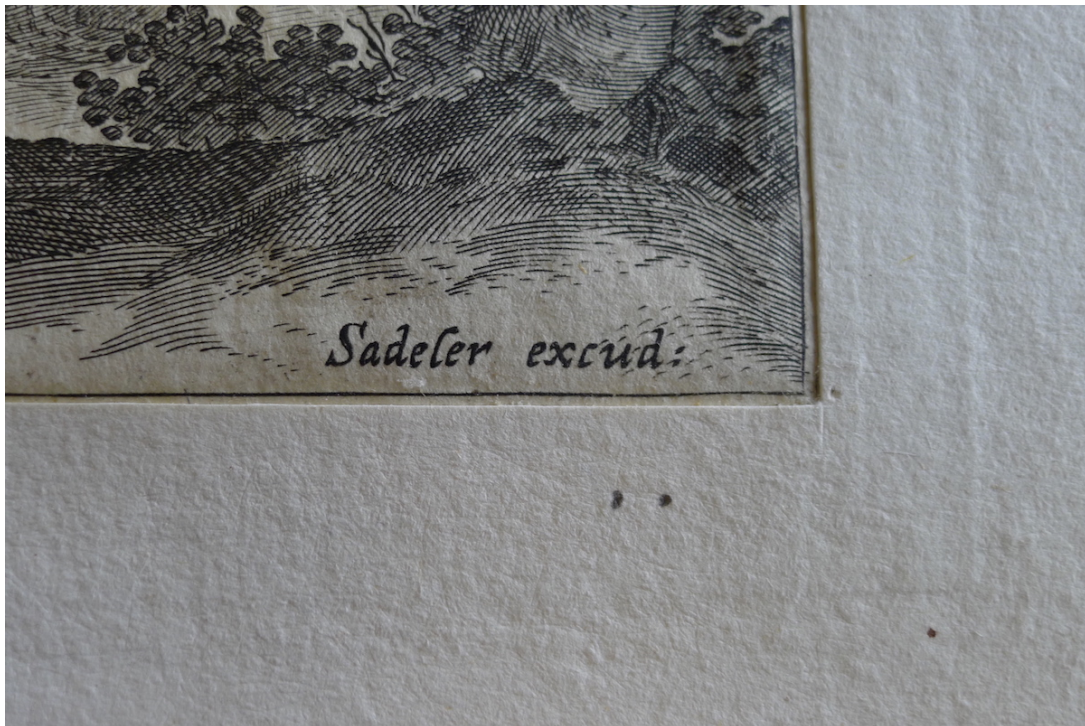


Fig. 3. *Spencer Album 5: Oeuvre of Teniers, Ostade, and other Dutch Artists, c.1725*, Red morocco bound album of prints, gift of Melvin R. Seiden; William M. Prichard Fund, by exchange; Gift of Mrs. William Simes, by exchange; Lessing J. Rosenwald Fund, by exchange. Object Numbers: S5.-1.-112. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum (Image: © President and Fellows of Harvard College).



Fig. 4. Album binding and spine (detail) of one of the De Vos Albums. UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/1 v.2A Sadelers/de Vos. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).



Fig. 5. Example of ‘tabbed’ mounts in De Vos album. UniM Bail SpC 37FF/2 v1.A Sadelers/de Vos. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).



Fig. 6. Loose print showing margins partially cut into tabs (recto and verso). Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), *Mater Dolorosa*, 1584-1587, engraving, 18.4 x 12.9 cm (image only). UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/1 v.2A Sadelers/de Vos, f.91. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photographs: author).

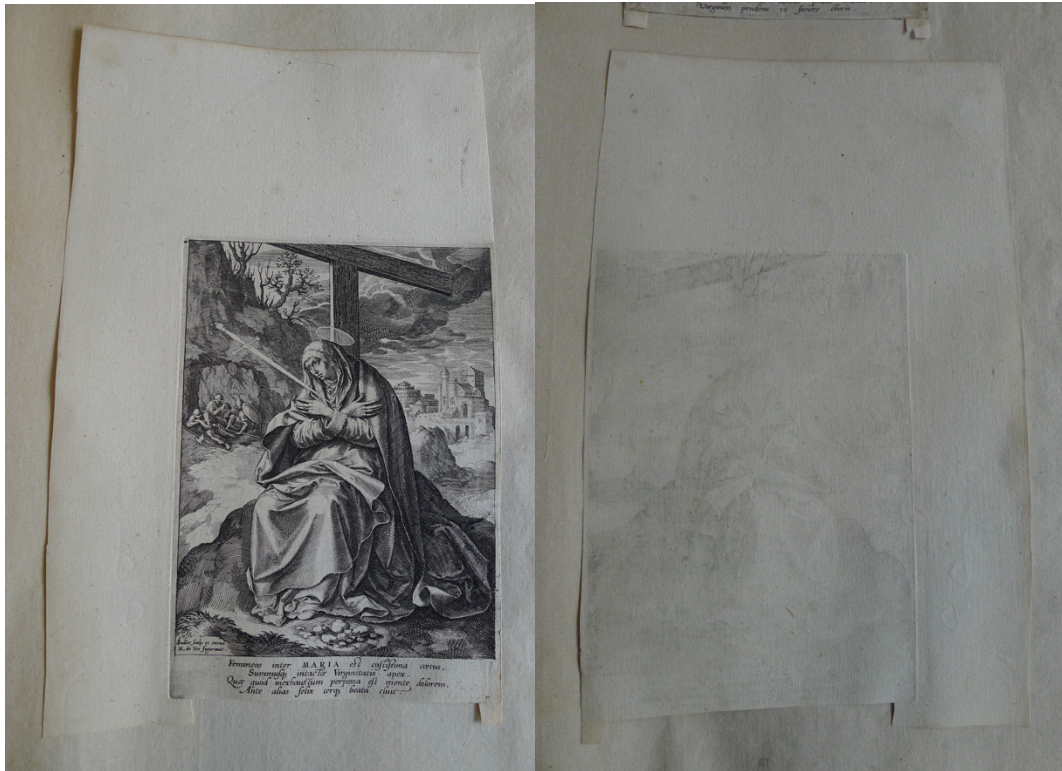


Fig. 7. Loose print showing margins partially cut into tabs. Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), *St Prisca*, 1584-1587, engraving, 18.4 x 12.8 cm (image only). UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/1 v.2A Sadelers/de Vos, f.100. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).



Fig. 8. Loose print showing margins partially cut into tabs, and remnants of other tabs still adhered to the album leaf. Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), *St Catharina*, 1584-1587, engraving, 18.2 x 12.9 cm (image only). UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/1 v.2A Sadelers/de Vos, f.95. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).



Fig. 9. Example of integrated tab (detail) from UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/1 v.2A Sadelers/de Vos, f. 47. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).



Fig. 10. Supported tab (detail) from UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/1 v.2A Sadelers/de Vos, f. 66. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).

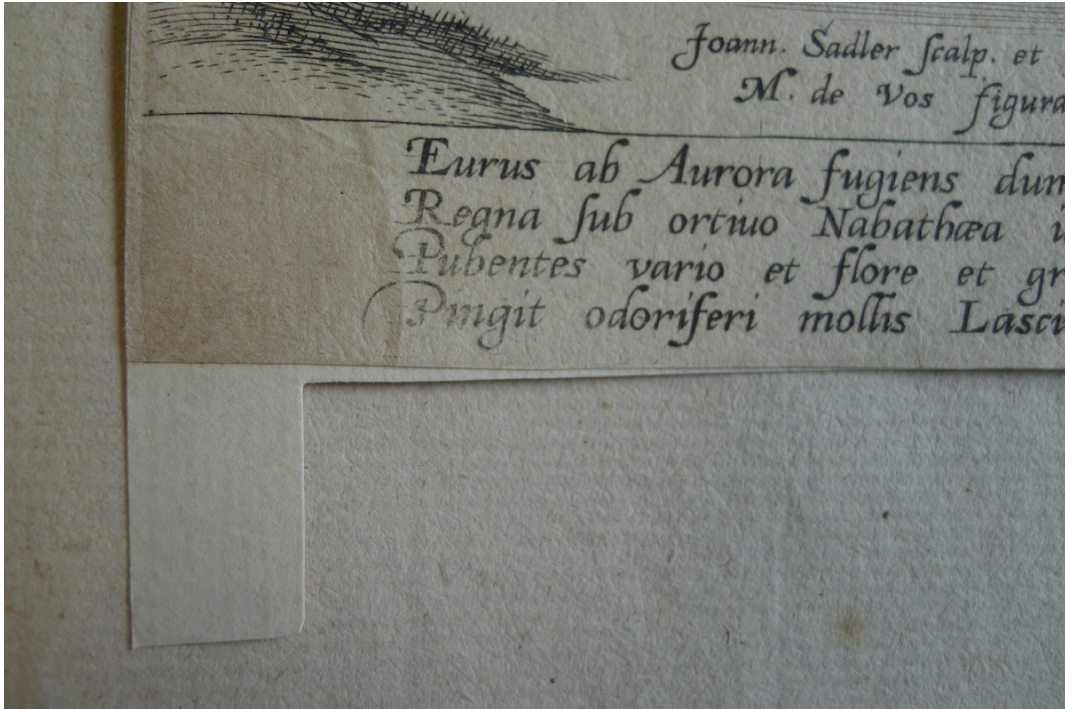


Fig. 11. Example of separate tab (detail) from UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).

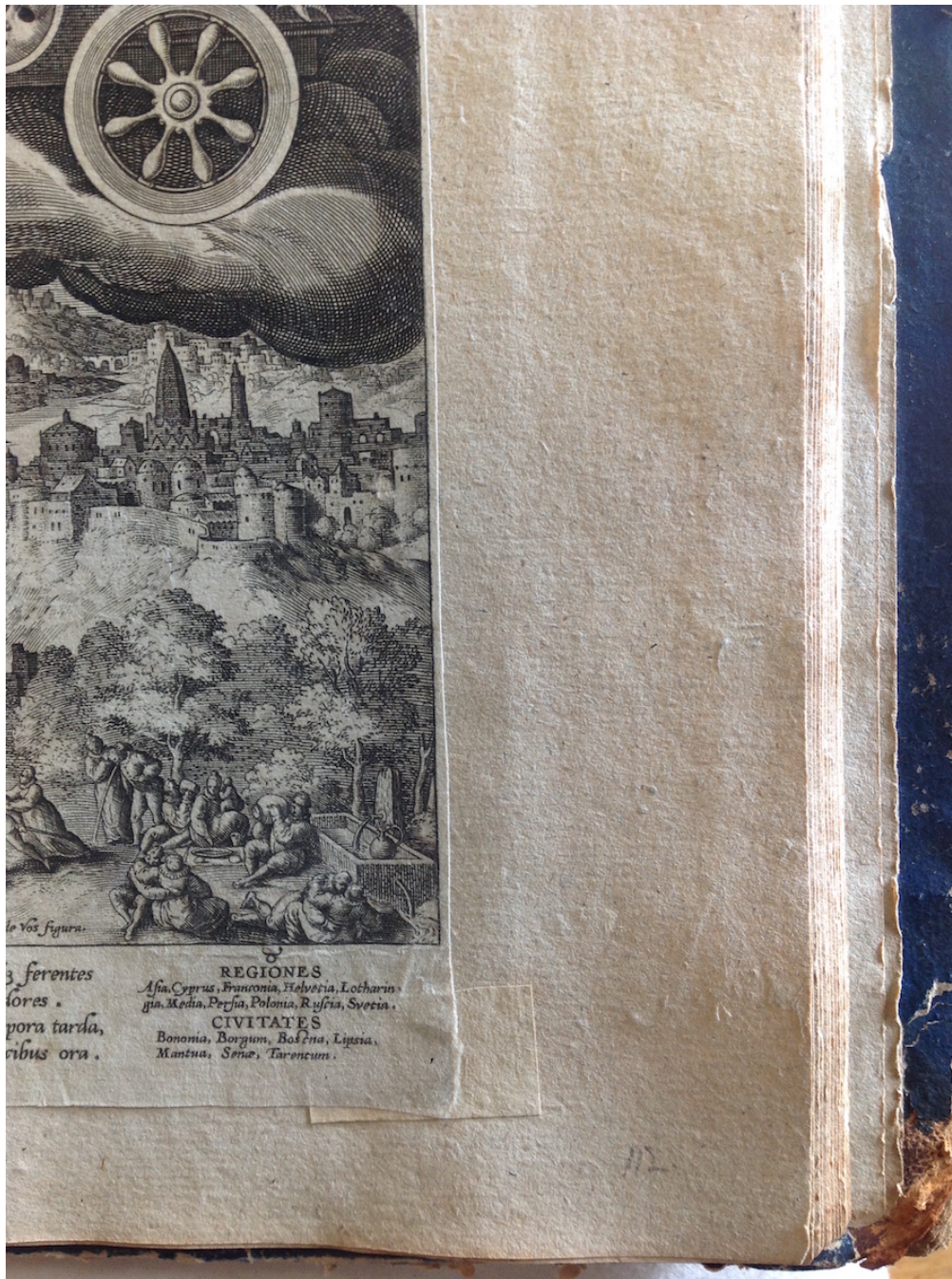


Fig. 12. Layering of tabs and repairs on the versos of prints. Selection from *The Seven Liberal Arts*, after 1575, engravings, each approx. 14.8 x 10.9 cm. Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/1 v.2A Sadeler/de Vos, f.118. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).

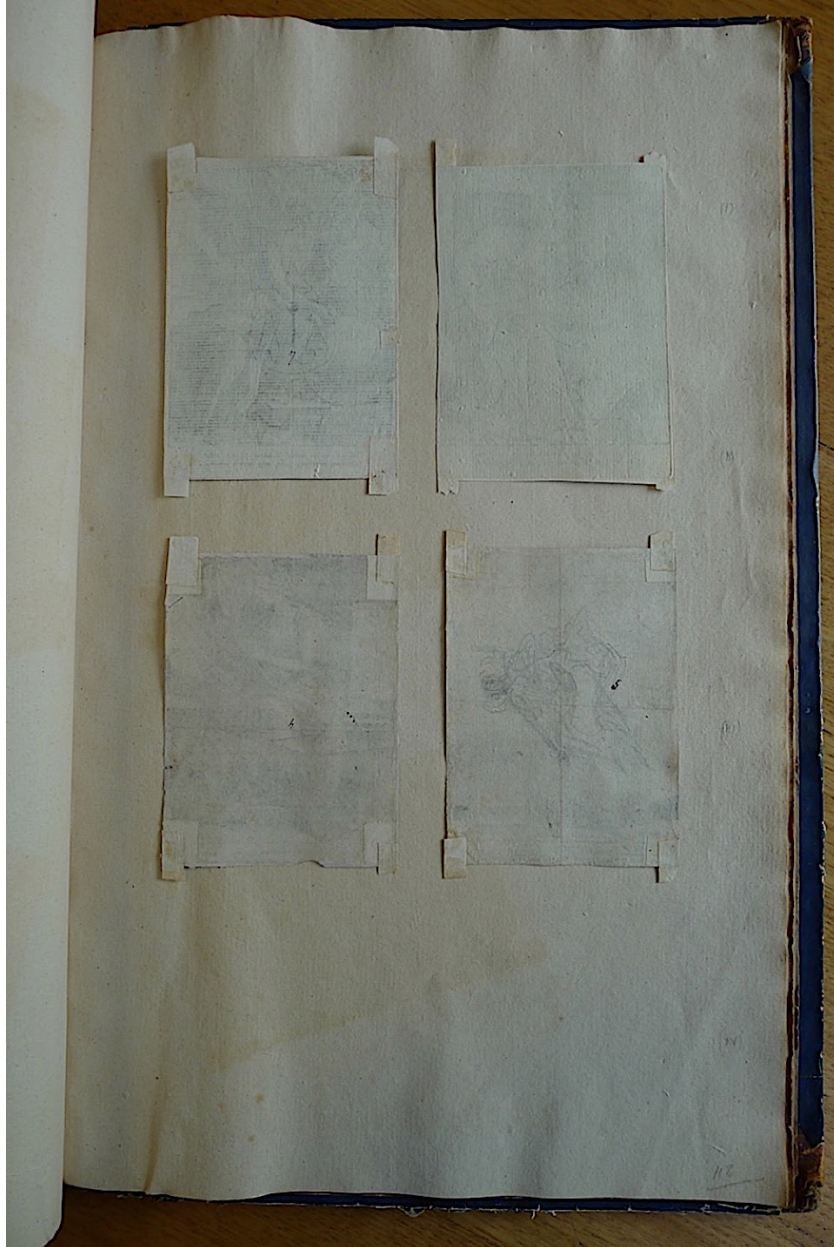


Fig. 13. Layering of tabs and repairs on the versos of prints (detail of Fig. 12). Selection from *The Seven Liberal Arts*, after 1575, engravings, each approx. 14.8 x 10.9 cm. Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/1 v.2A Sadeler/de Vos, f.118. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).



Fig. 14. ‘Works of Sadeler’ from *Catalogue of Prints* (detail), Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.311. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates).

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Fig. 15. 'Prints pasted'. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/60, f.38-39. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

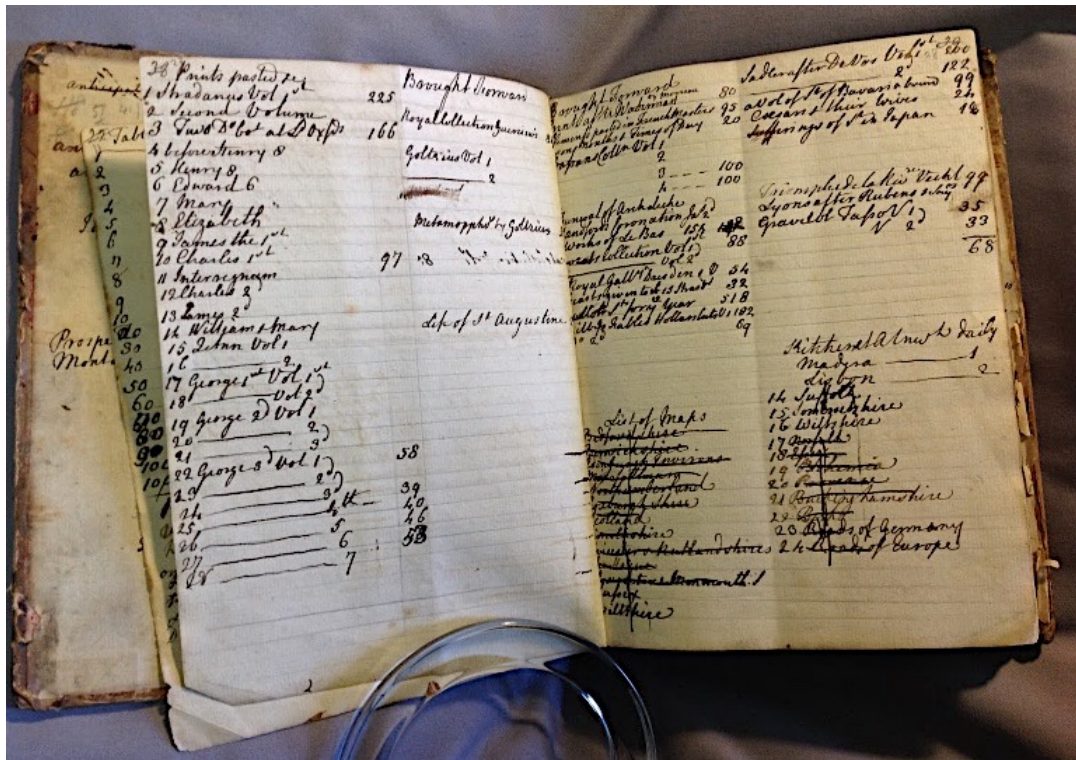


Fig. 16. *Interior of Castletown House print room, County Kildare, Ireland* (Image courtesy Castletown House & Parklands, Office of Public Works/Davison and Associates).



Fig. 17. Annotation on album leaf under print by Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), 'The First Day: The Creation of Light', 1580-1590, engraving. UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A Sadeler/de Vos f.3. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).

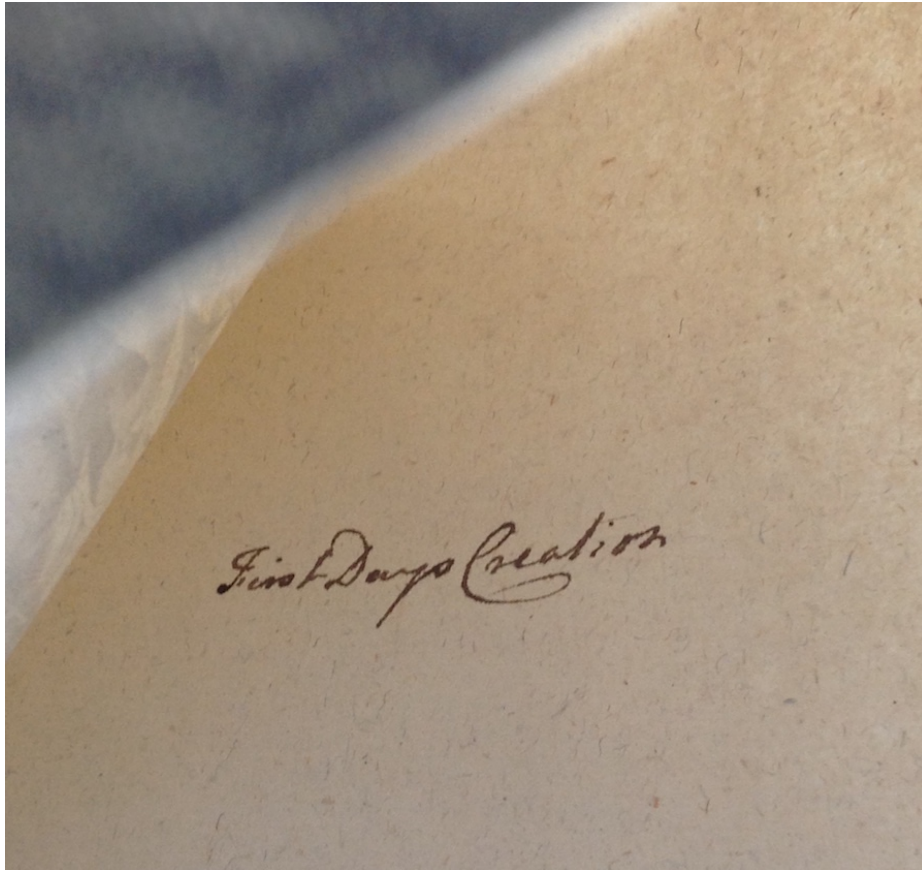


Fig. 18. Annotations on the album leaf under ‘Cain Tilling the Ground, Abel as Shepherd, part of the series *Boni Et Mali Scientia* (*The Story of the First Men*, 1583) The notation reads: ‘Cain ploughing Abel finding Thief / Genes is 4 No. 5’. UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos f.8. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).

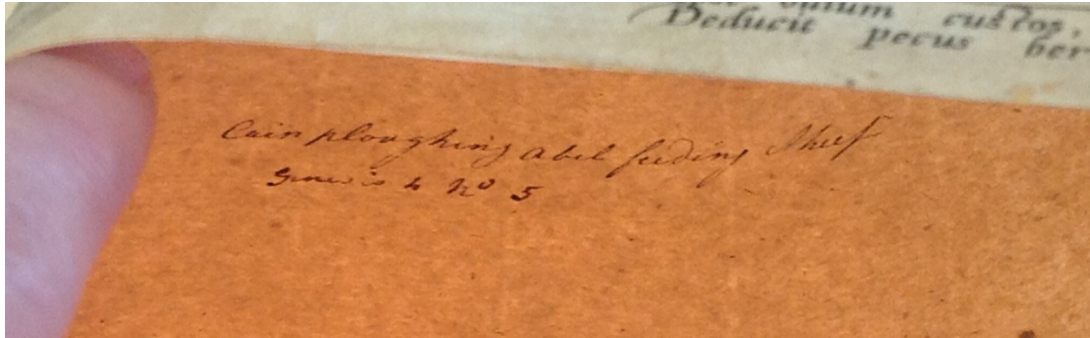


Fig. 19. Aegidius Sadeler II (after Joseph Heintz the Elder), *Portrait of Maarten de Vos*, 1590. Engraving, 29 x 23.3 cm. UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos f.1. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Image courtesy Baillieu Library Print Collection).

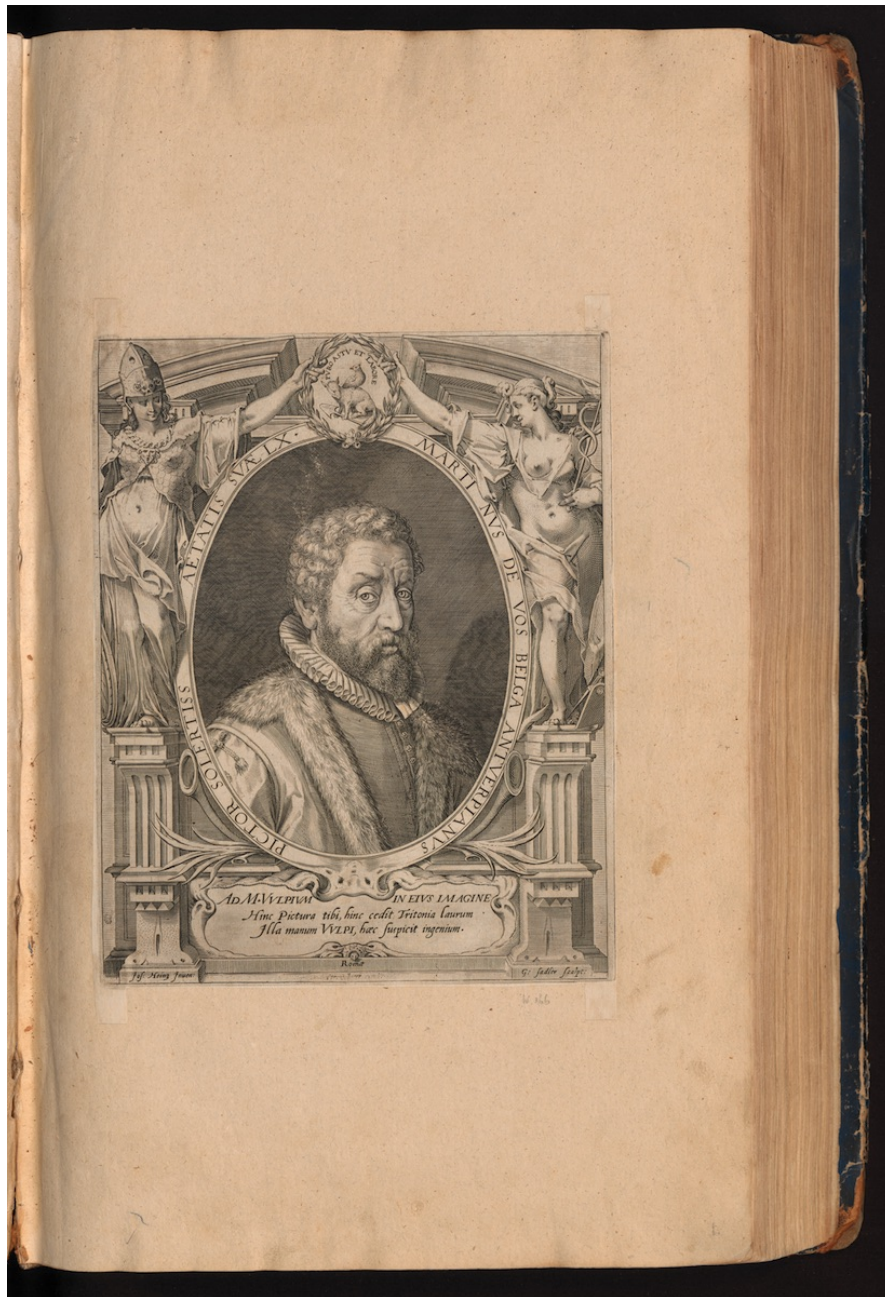


Fig. 20. Truncated inked foliation in UniM Bail SpC/RB 37FF/2 v.1A, Sadeliers/de Vos. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).



Fig. 21. Dealer annotations in front endpaper, with pressmark at bottom right (detail), in UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/1 v.2A Sadelers/de Vos. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).

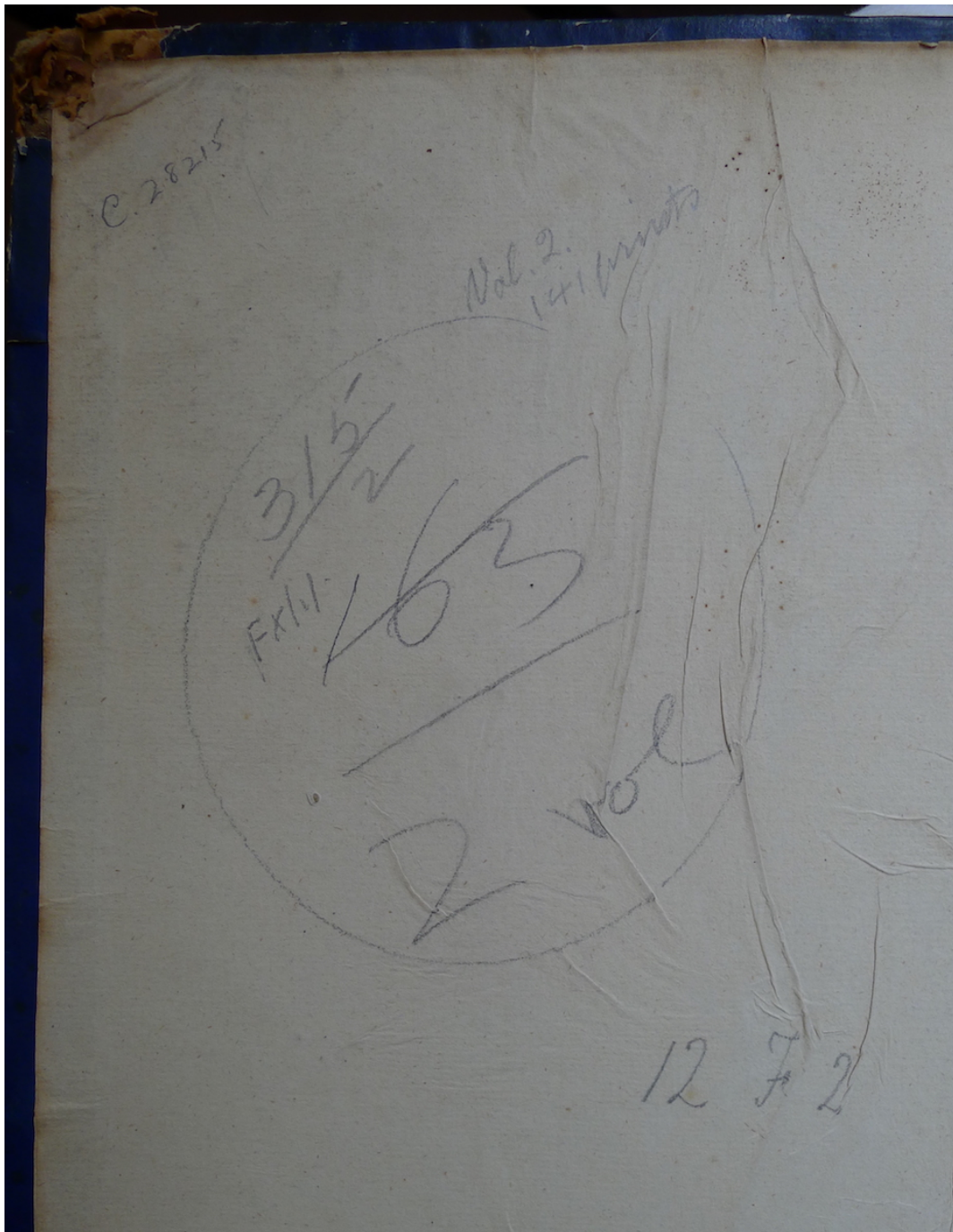


Fig. 22. Annotations in the duchess's hand for *Sylvae Sacrae*. UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A, Sadeliers/de Vos, f.49. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Image courtesy Baillieu Library Print Collection).

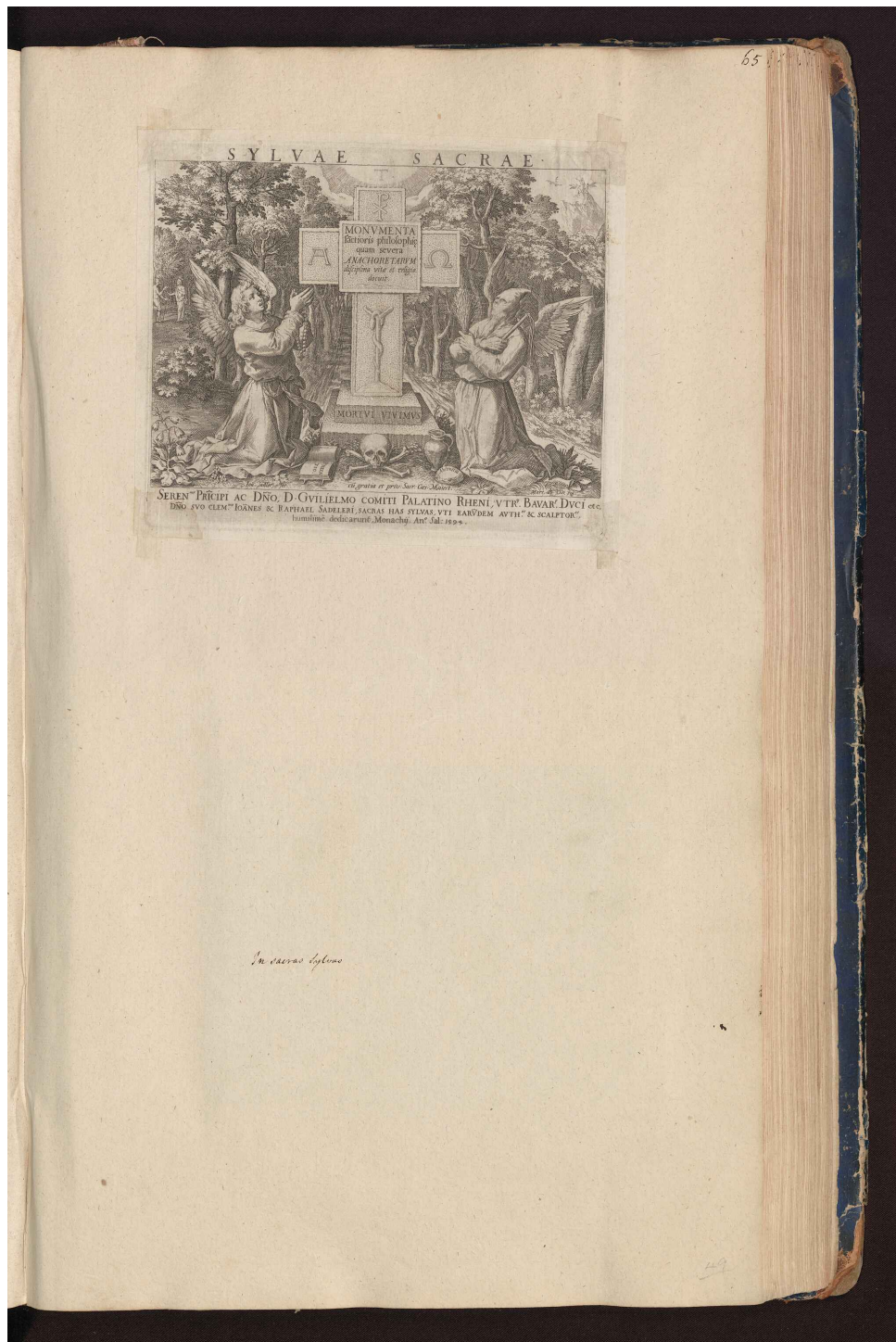
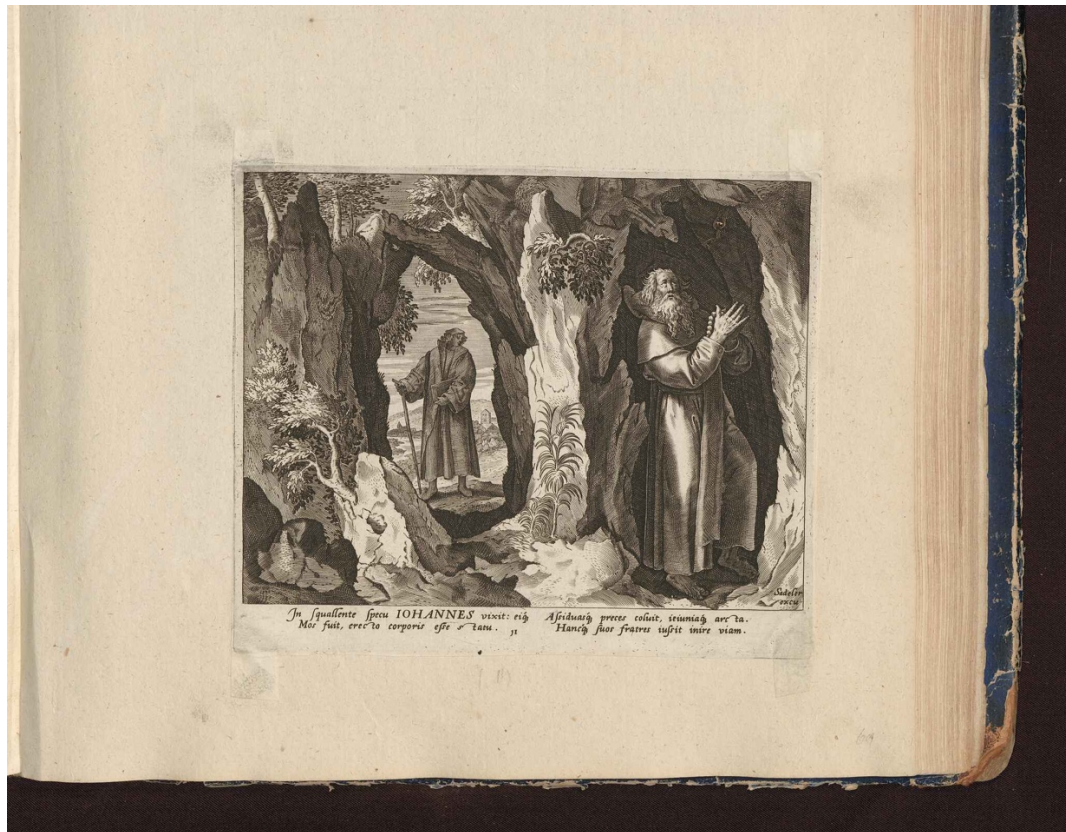


Fig. 23. 'Iohannes', Johannes Sadeler after Maarten De Vos, from *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticolarum*. UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A, Sadeler/de Vos, f.69. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Image courtesy Baillieu Library Print Collection).



4. PRINT ALBUMS ENCLAVED AND CATALOGUED

Fig. 1. 'Notable features' list. Alnwick Castle, DNP MS 121/184, f.43-44. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

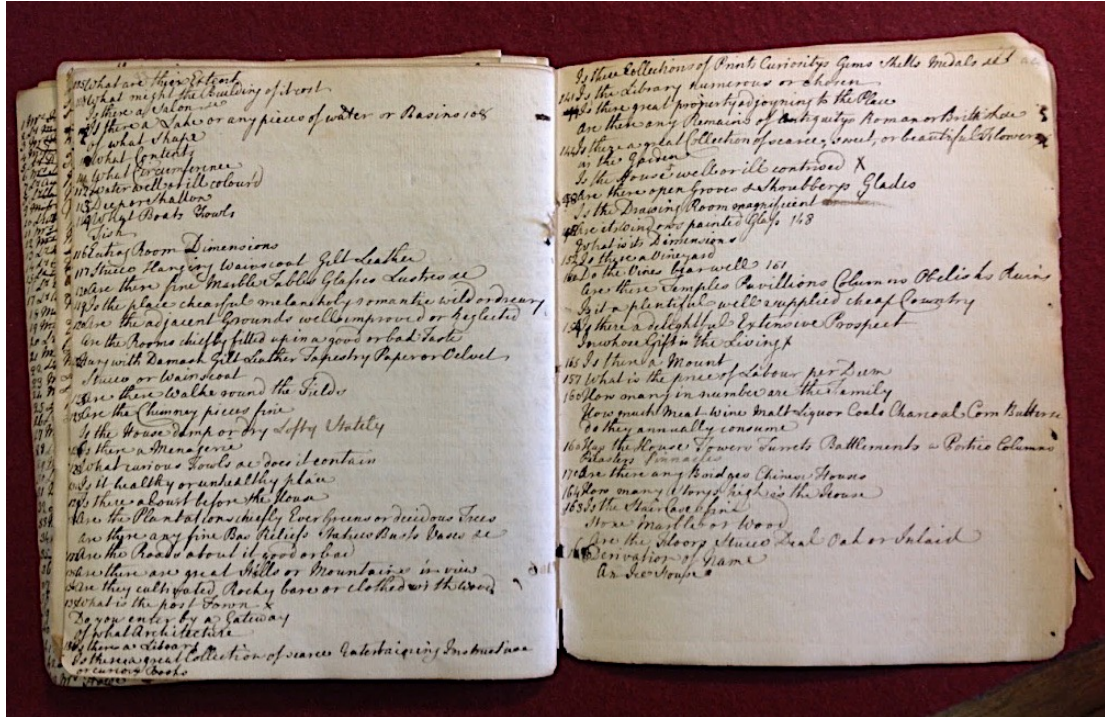


Fig. 2. Exterior, *Catalogue of Prints*, Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

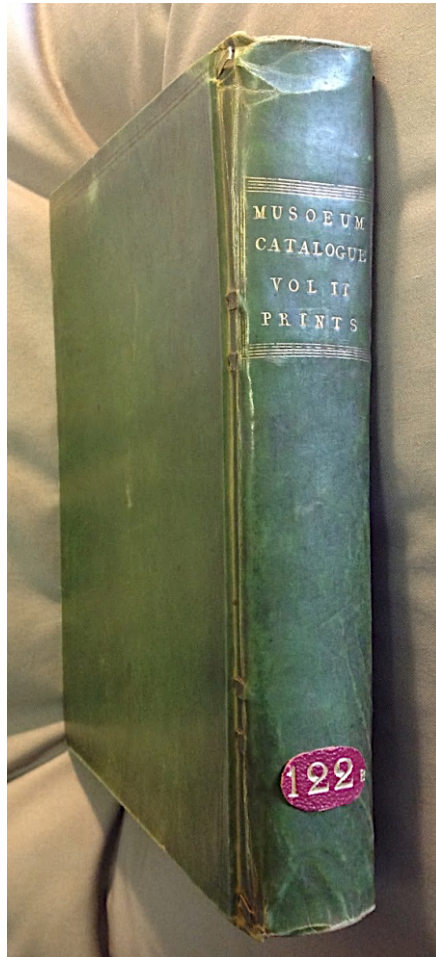


Fig. 3. 'Index', *Catalogue of Prints*, Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.361. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

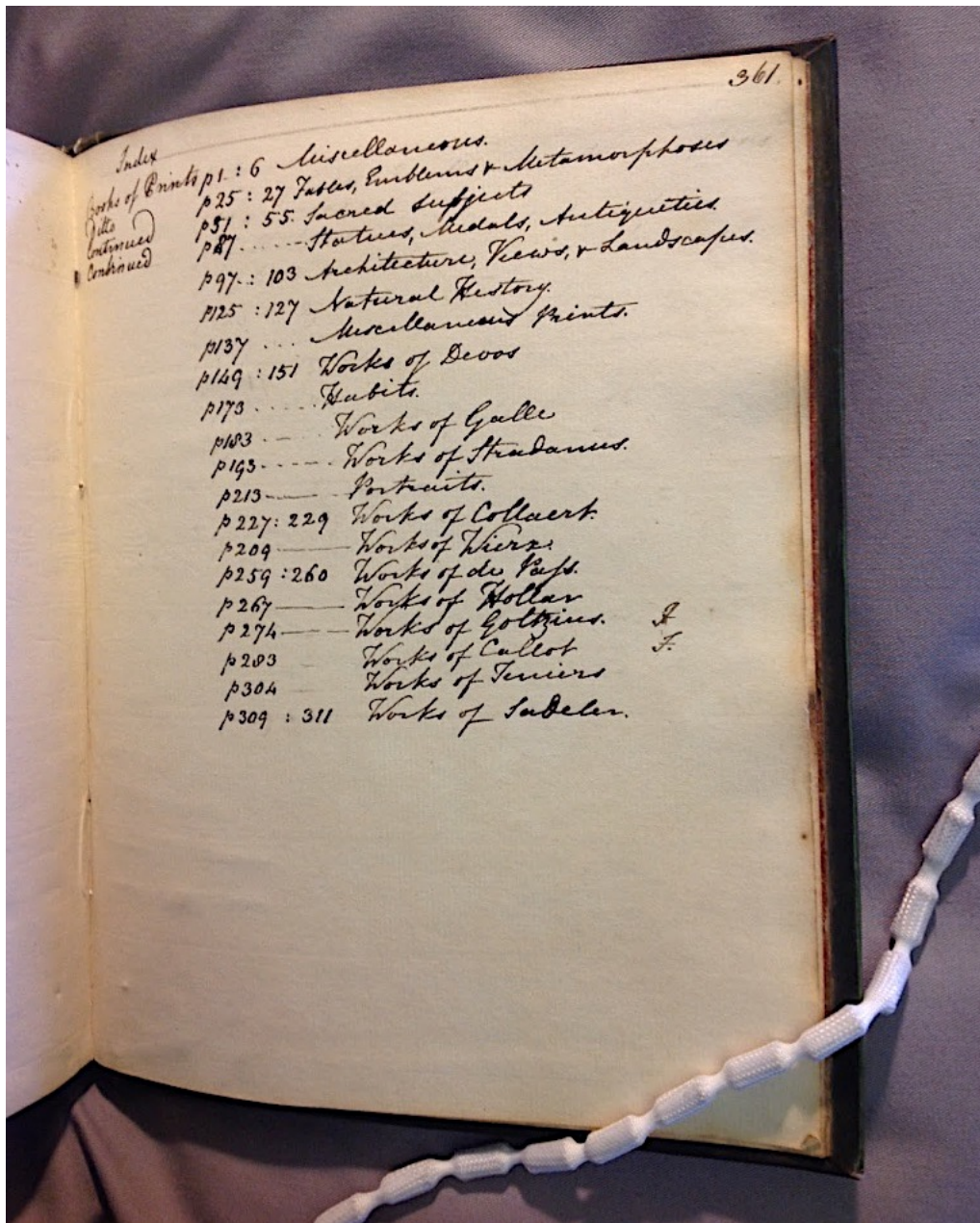


Fig. 4. Page opening 'Works of De Pass' from *Catalogue of Prints*. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.259. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

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Works of De Pass

Subject	After	By	N ^o	Price	
				£	s. d.
Part of part of the Shield			24		
David's Metamorphoses	De Vosse	Crispin	78	7	6
Custodulum Reum		Do	239	4	
Metamorphoses			128		
L'Instruction du Roy Pluvial		Crispin	65		
Causes on Horseback	Madanus	Ditto	12		
Aspic Moss & Resurrecho L. H. J. J. J.		Ditto	21		
Chaque Vertue Worthy, Worthy, Worthy, Worthy, Worthy		Ditto	36		
Love of Jacob	Jacyles	Ditto	12		
St. Mary, Cardinal Vertue, & Elements		Ditto	10		
Single & Muses		Ditto	21	13	1/2
Act of Charity	De Vos	Do	8		
Parable of Wise & foolish Virgins	Do	Do	6	1	6
Pluvial's Horsemanship Copy		Do	56	1	1
Cats to a Dutch Song Book		Do	48		
Not belonging to Endymion			16		
Quarters of the World			4		
Call of Diana de Monte may or			19		
Leaves			5		
Threats des Cruautes des Heretiques de notre Temps			29	10	
			971		

Fig. 5. 'Works of De Vos' from *Catalogue of Print.*, Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 122B, f.149. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

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Works of De Vos.

Subject	By	N ^o	Price		
			L	s.	D.
Creation	Visscher	6			
History of Abraham	Do	6			
Do of Gideon Samson David Solomon	Do	28			
Do of Elisha Jeremiahs & Jeremiah	Do	15			
Kings of Judah	Do	8			
Monarchs	Collaert	4			
Books of Esdras Tobit & Judith	Visscher	13			
Evangelists	Do	4			
New Testament	Do	19			
Sufferings of Christ & the Apostles	Do	14			
Articles of Creed	Do	13			
Famous Women in Old Testament	Collaert	21	3		3
History of Genesis & the Binding	Sadler	34			
Do of Pascha & Resurrection of Christ	Debye	51			
Several Subjects as	Sadler	207			
Several Hermits	Sellain	24			
Several Bibles					
Dominicae Papianis Mysteries	H. Wintz	25			
Parables of Wise & Foolish Virgins & Acts of Charity &c.		13			

Fig. 6. Prints located in London, Syon and Stanwick. Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/5. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

London	Syon	Stanwick
2 Sables	2 Vanduyken	Osbornes Sables
Bucks Views	1 Sables	best Vanduyken
Rubens	De Vos	2 Edwards
Potier & Buehl	Albin	Goltzius
Callot	1 Edwards	Blomaert
Jac. Toccia	Old Masters	Leffler
Vivaroz	Caesar Ripa	Juglora Virtuoso
Idella Belta	Rademaker	Koberts
Barrocell	Collaert	Houbraken
Kierz	Berelle	Kollar 2
Galle	Kitcat Club	De Paps
1 Koberts	Dripenbeke	Romadi Julia
De Bouyn	Vischer	Salvator Rosa
Kollar	Stradanus	Van Somer
Belloni	Parvus Mundus	Monkeys
Bouchardon	French Heads M ^{rs} Nym	Dredius Family
Molinet's Medal	Otho Venius	2 ^d Berelle
Tempests (copy London)	Byrtell's Habits	
Messrs of Painters	Lebruns Papers	
Palazzi di Roma	Seagons Months	
Caraches	Oudry's Caron	
Picart	Borjdel	
Watteau	Running Horses	

Fig. 7. 'Prints of Sadeler'. Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/11. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

Prints of Sadeler

915	Collection bought at Osbornes
621	Ditto bound by Dames
888	Sadeler's Emblems
199	Bavarian Saints in one Volume
175	Sufferings of the Saints in Japan
136	Hermits & Hermitesses bound together
51	Vestigi della Antichità di Roma
24	Twelve Caesars & their Wives
145	Raderius's Bavaria Sancta 4 Vol
250	Genesis & Hermits & Hermitesses
104	Bavaria Sancta 2 p ^{ts} bound in One
78	Viaggi da Venetia a Constantinopoli

Fig. 8. 'French Prints' in Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/11. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

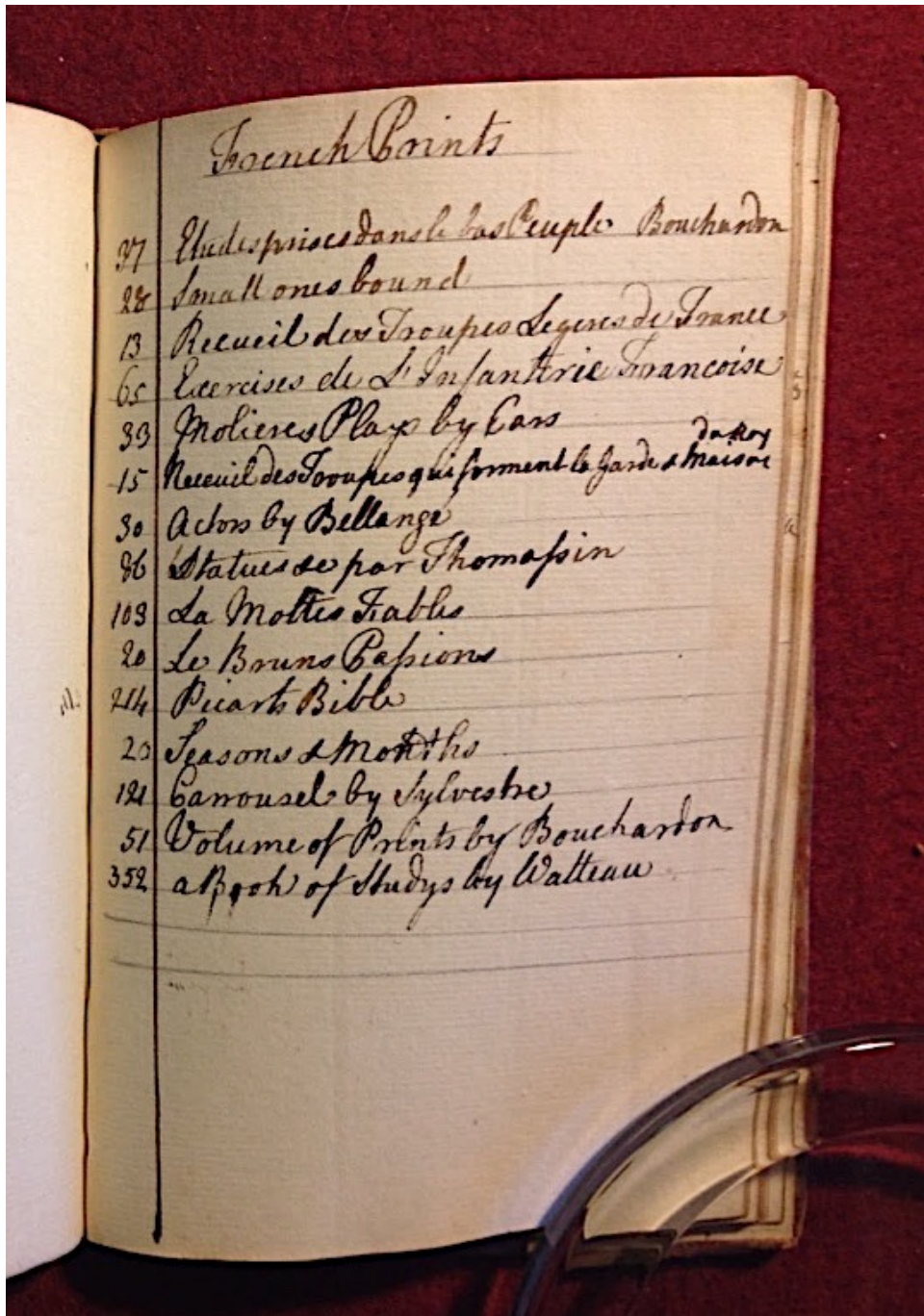


Fig. 10. '174 Sadlers Hermits &c' in Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.68. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

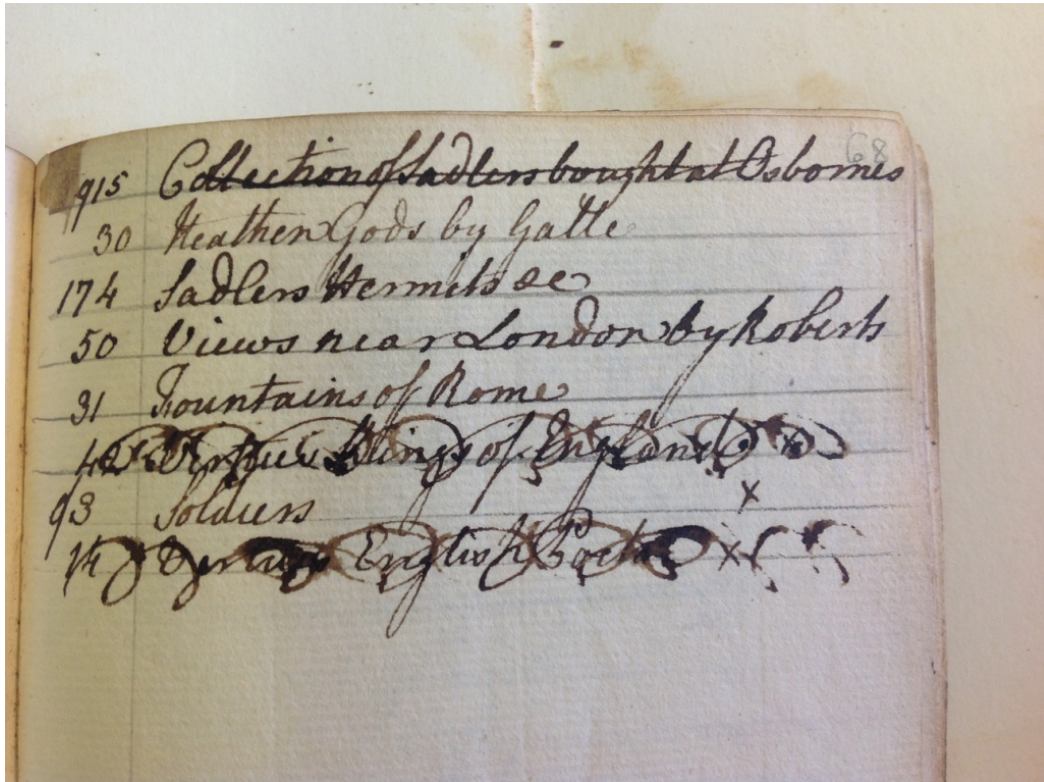


Fig. 11. 'London'. Alwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.70. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).



Fig. 12. Print locations. Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 121/176, f.98. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

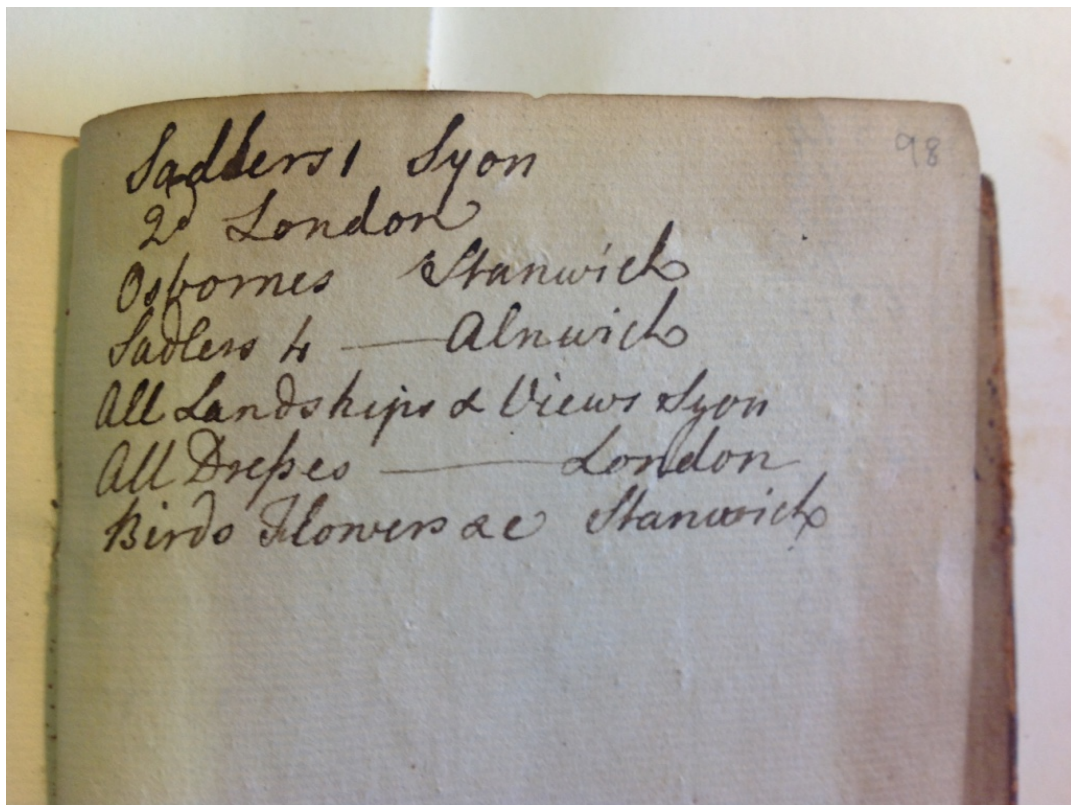
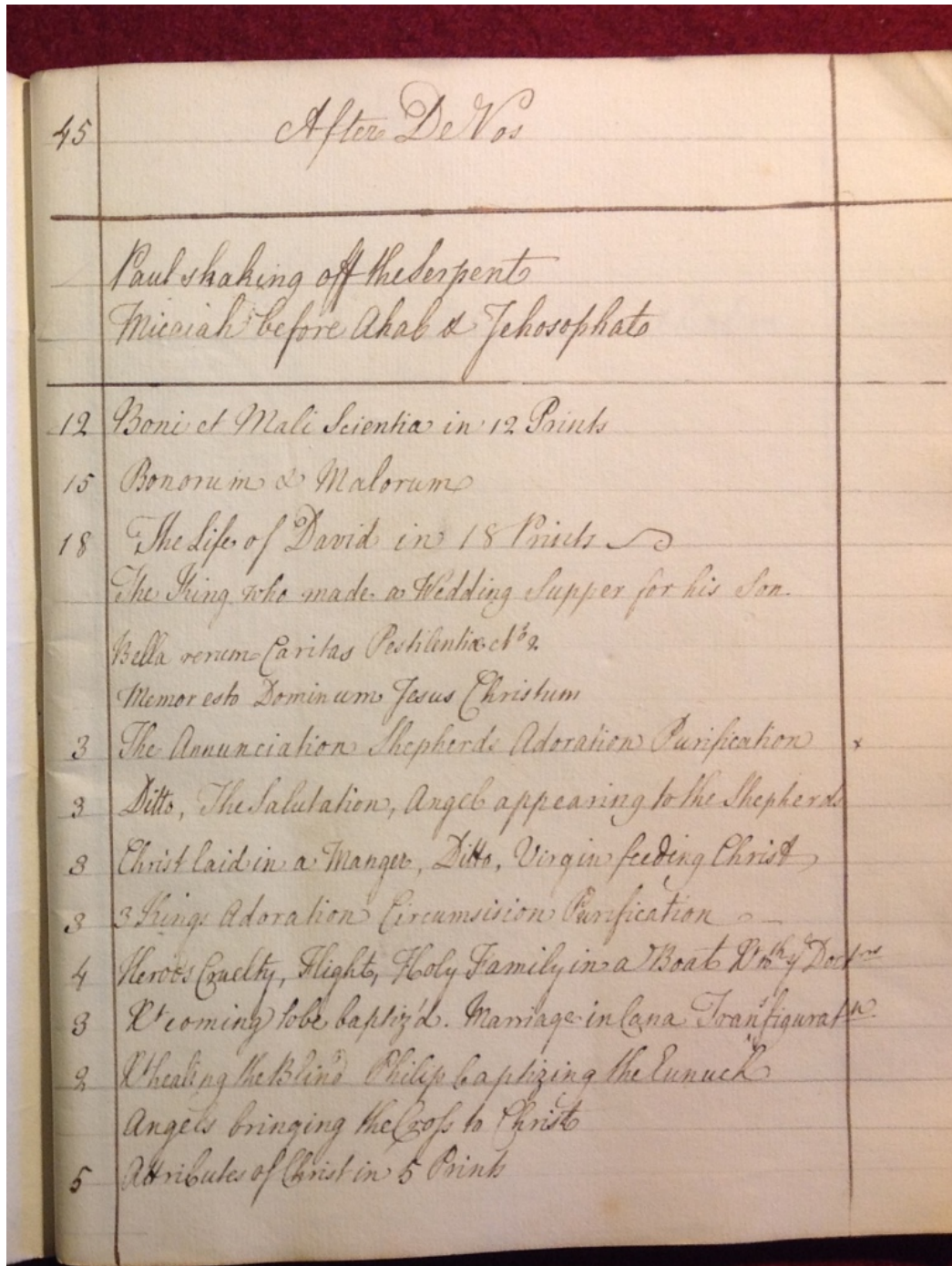


Fig. 13. De Vos notebook. Alnwick Castle, Alnwick Castle, DP: D1/II/19. Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).



5. CULTURAL COMMERCE: THE DUCHESS'S PRINTS AND ALBUMS AS TWENTIETH-CENTURY CONSUMER GOODS

Fig. 1. Annotated Sotheby and Co. auction catalogue, British Library S.C. Sotheby 1951, p. 23. British Library (Photograph: author).

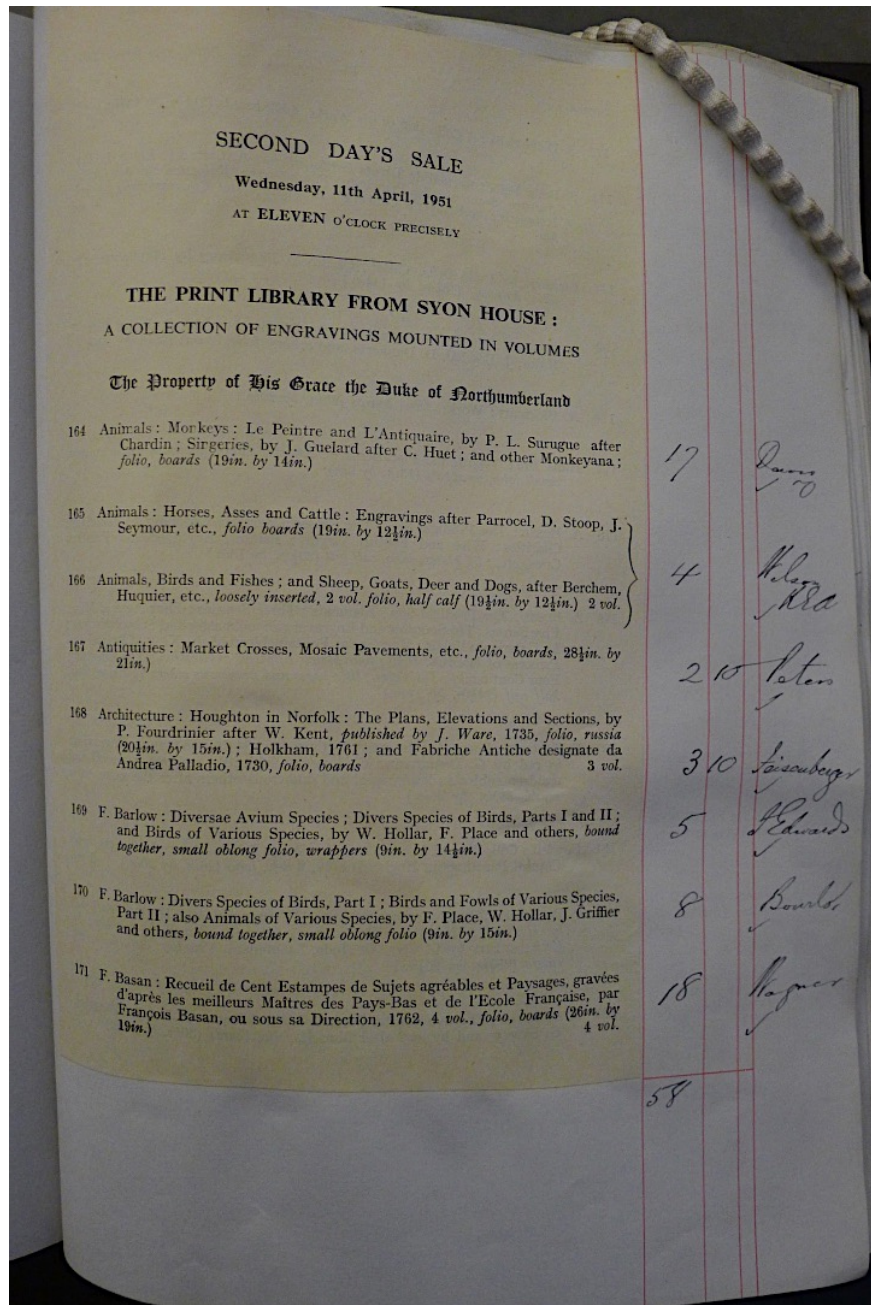


Fig. 2. Annotated Sotheby and Co., auction catalogue, showing lots 315 and 316, 11 April 1951 British Library S.C. Sotheby, p. 37. British Library (Photograph: author).

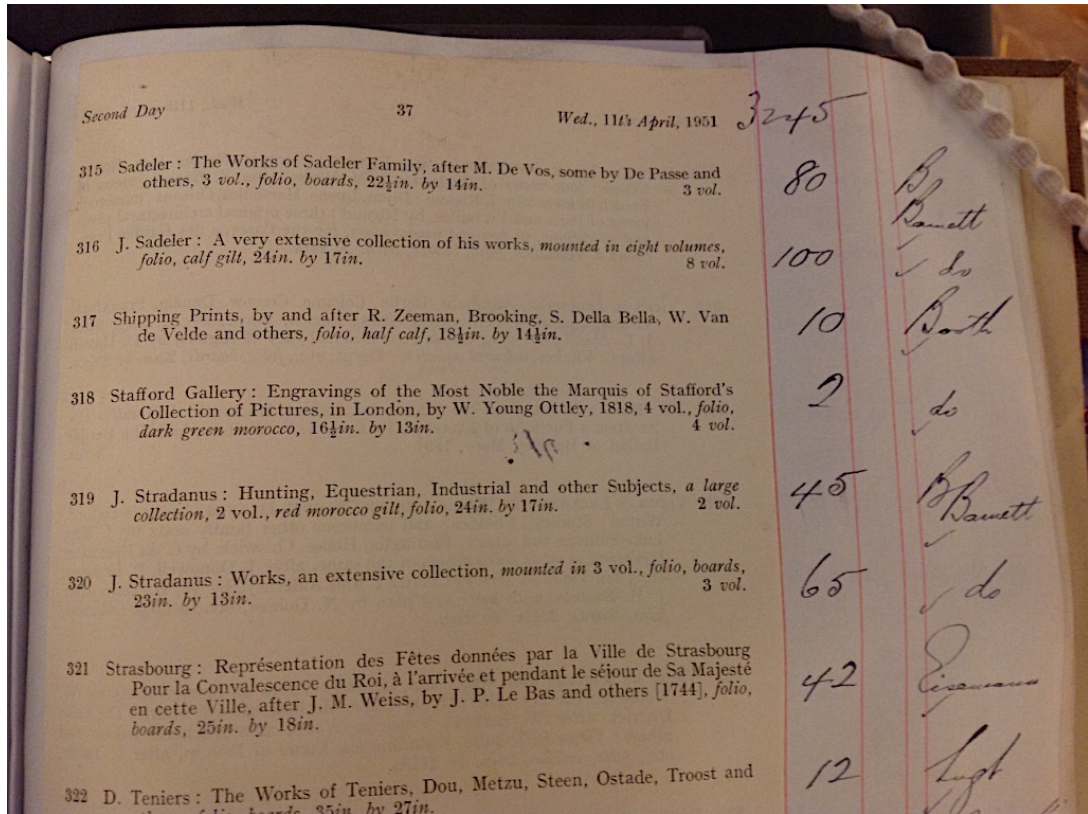


Fig. 3. Album binding and spine (detail) showing Sotheby and Co. lot number. UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).



Fig. 4. Verso of endpaper showing Colnaghi stock number (detail). UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37BB/2 v.8 Mark and George. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).

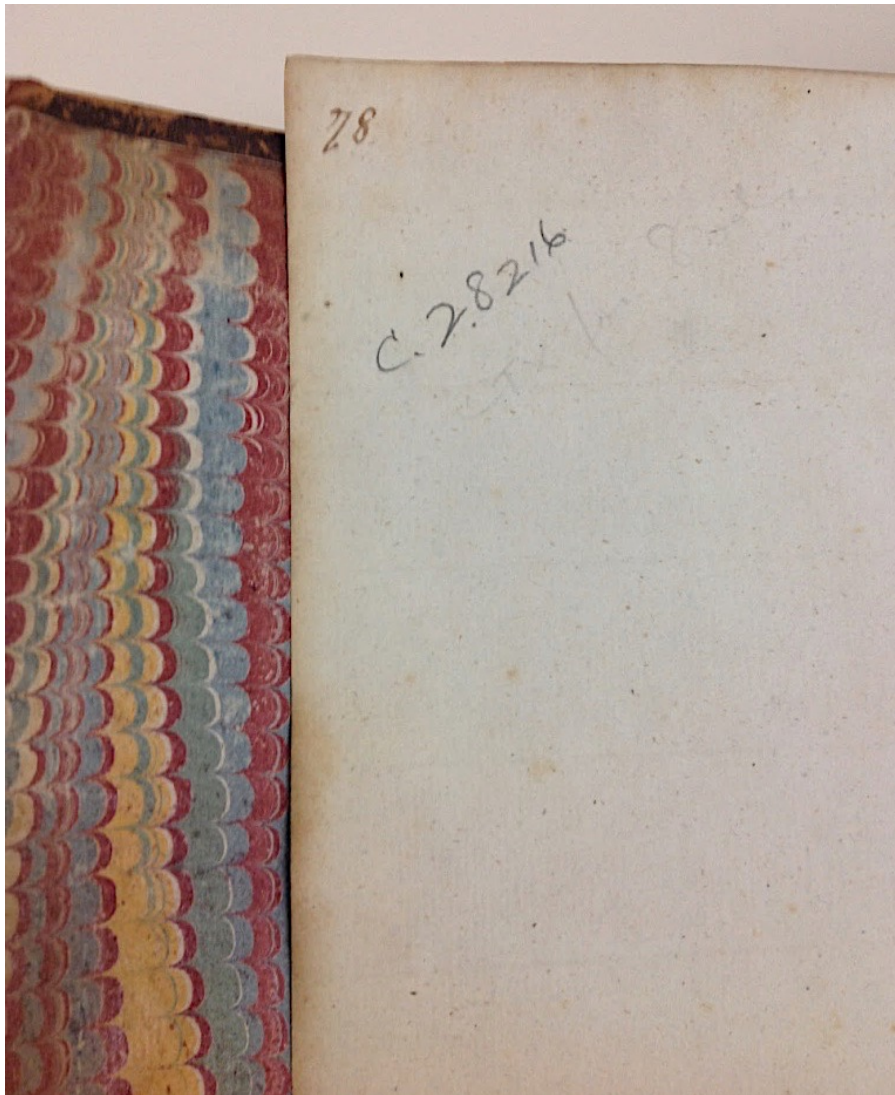


Fig. 5. First attached endpaper of De Vos album. UniM Bail SpC/RB 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).

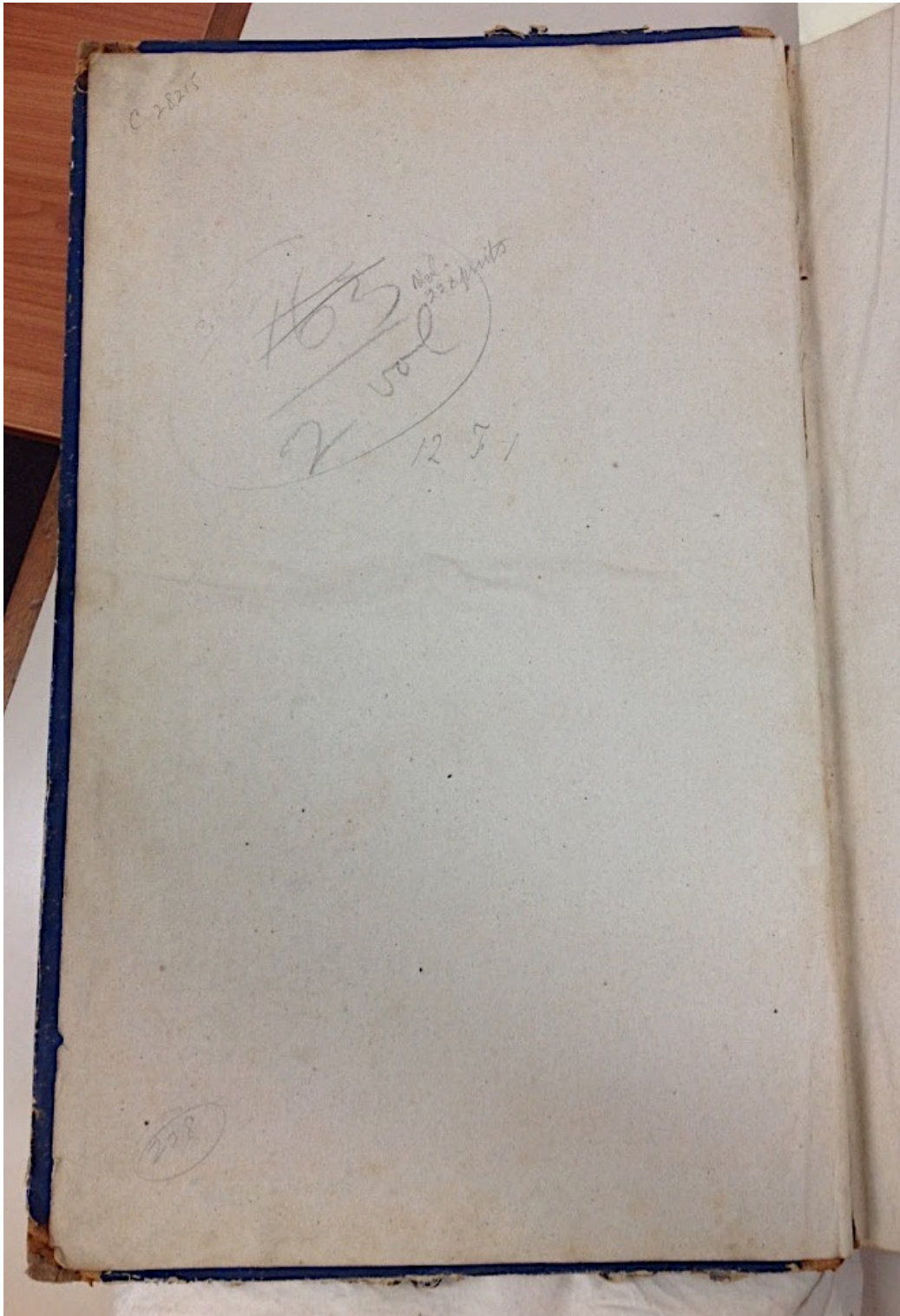


Fig. 6. Example of mounted and loose duplicate prints. ‘Ioannes’ and ‘Theonas’ from *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremicolarum* series, UniM Bail SpC/RB 37FF/2 v.1A Sadeliers/de Vos. f.67b. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Photograph: author).

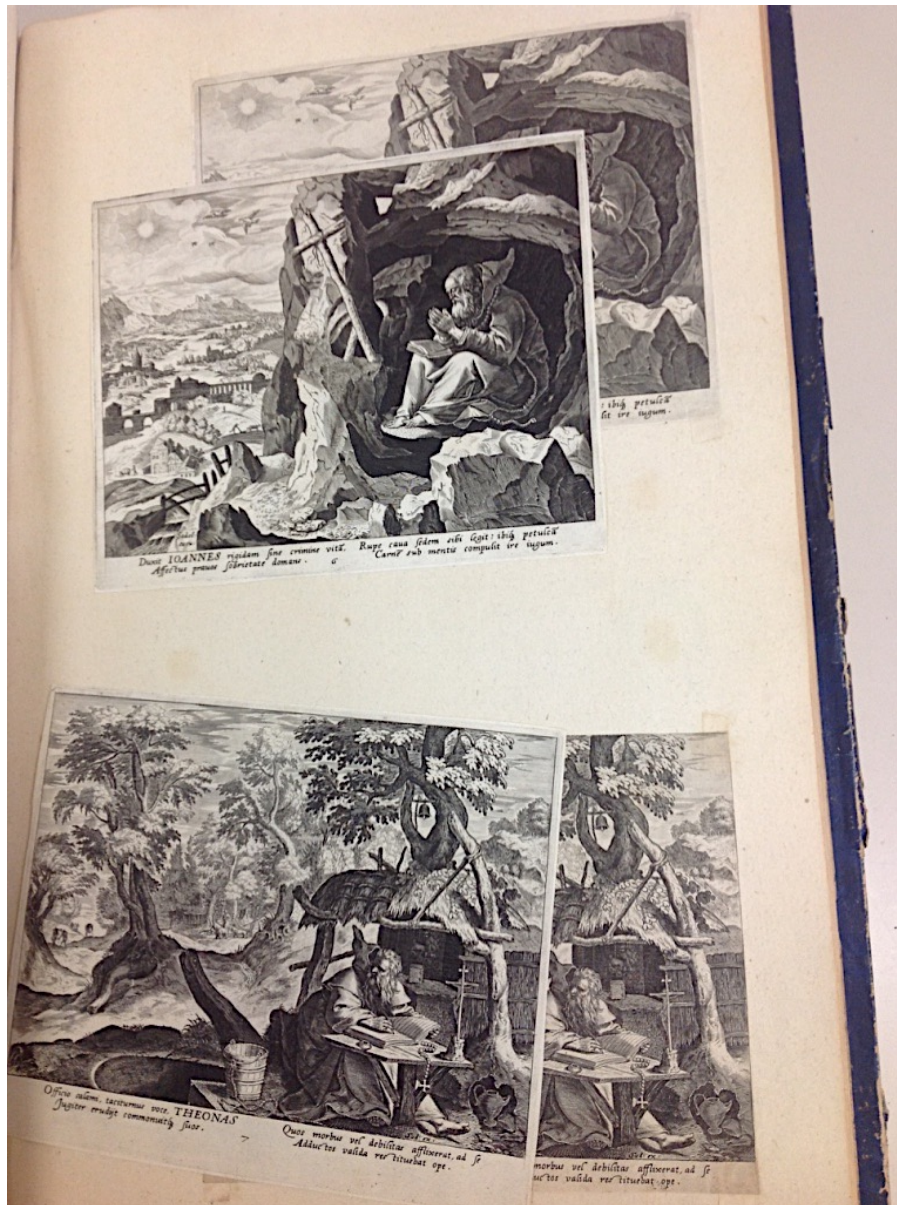


Fig. 7. John Faber the Younger after Philippe Mercier, *Philippe Mercier*, 1735, mezzotint, 32 x 25.1 cm (image), Everard Studley Miller Bequest. 1959 (576-5). National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (Image: National Gallery of Victoria).

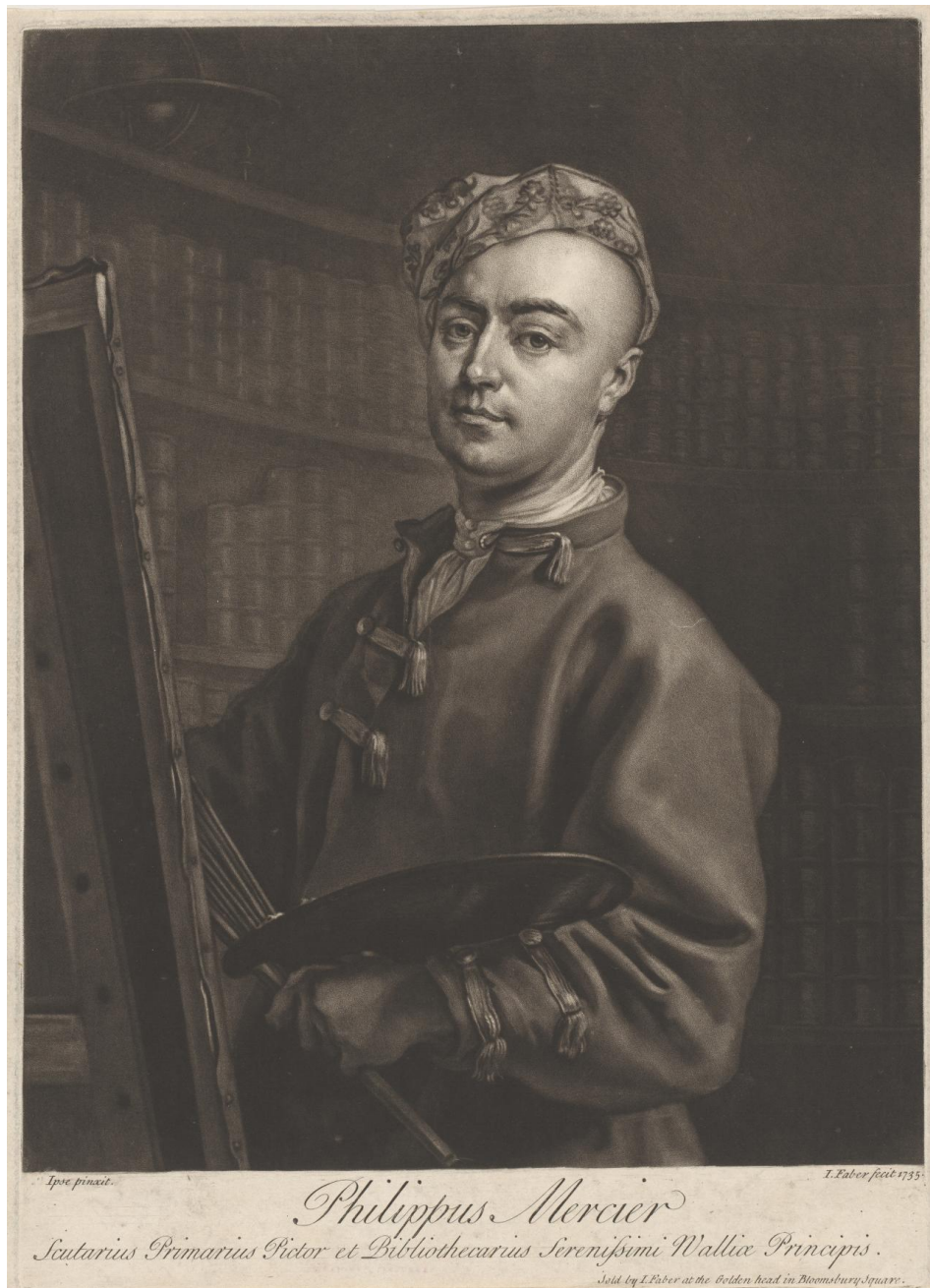


Fig. 8. Jacob Frey, after Carlo Maratti, *Carlo Maratti (1704-1713)*, engraving, 39 x 27.5 cm (image), 39.7 x 27.7 cm (sheet, trimmed within platemark), Everard Studley Miller Bequest. 1959 (442-5) National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (Image: National Gallery of Victoria).



6. PRINT TRANSLATIONS: HERMITS, HERMITAGES AND ‘AFTERLIVES’

Fig. 1. Statue at the ‘Nine Year Hole’, Brizlee Hill, Hulne Park, Northumberland Estates
(Photograph: author).



Fig. 2. Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), 'Paphnutius' from *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticorum* 1580-1590, engraving, 17.5 x 21.5 cm, UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A Sadeler/de Vos, f.109. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Image courtesy Baillieu Library Print Collection).



Fig. 3. Statue of 'Anub', Hulne Priory, Hulne Park, Northumberland Estates
(Photograph: author).



Fig. 4. Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), 'Anub' from *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticorum*, 1580-1590, engraving, 17.5 x 21.5cm, UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos, f.76b. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Image courtesy Baillieu Library Print Collection).

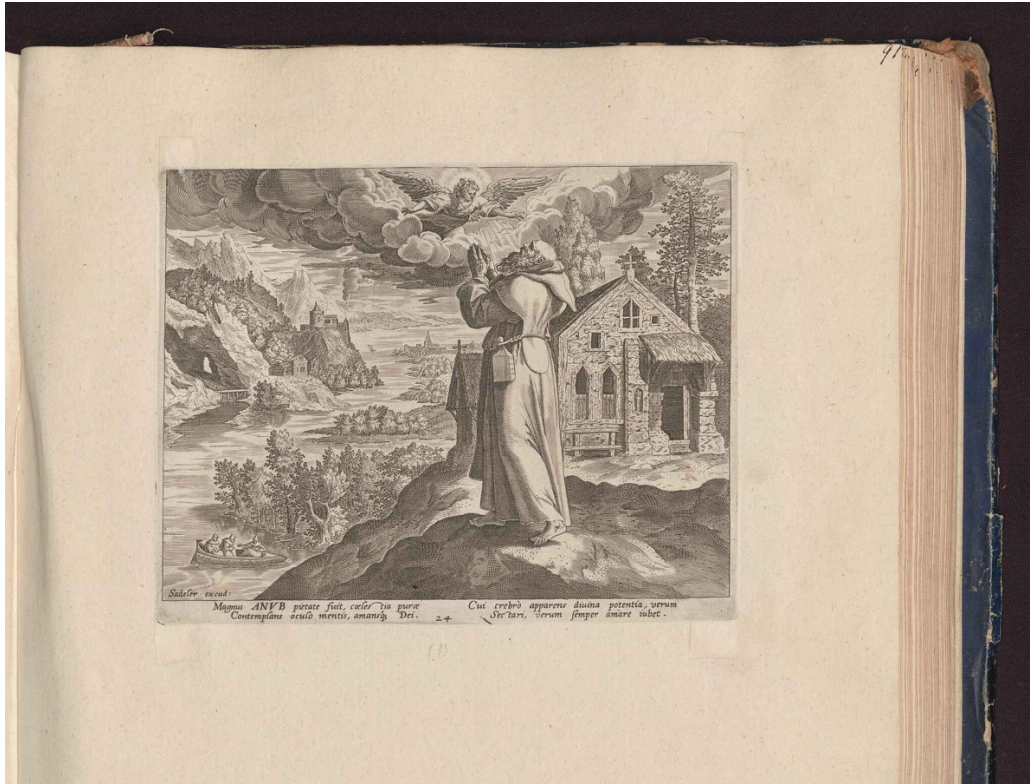


Fig. 5. Statue of ‘Didymo’, Hulne Priory, Hulne Park, Northumberland Estates
(Photograph: author).



Fig. 6. Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), 'Didymo' from *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticorum* 1580-1590, engraving, 17.5 x 21.5cm, UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A Sadelers/de Vos, f.109 Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Image courtesy Baillieu Library Print Collection).



Fig. 7. Statue of 'Mutius', Hulne Priory, Hulne Park, Northumberland Estates (Photograph: author).



Fig. 8. Johannes Sadeler I (after Maarten de Vos), 'Mutius' from *Solitudo Sive Vitae Patrum Eremiticolarum* 1580-1590, engraving, 17.5 x 21.5cm, UniM Bail SpC/RB: 37FF/2 v.1A Sadeler/de Vos, f.68. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne (Image courtesy Baillieu Library Print Collection).

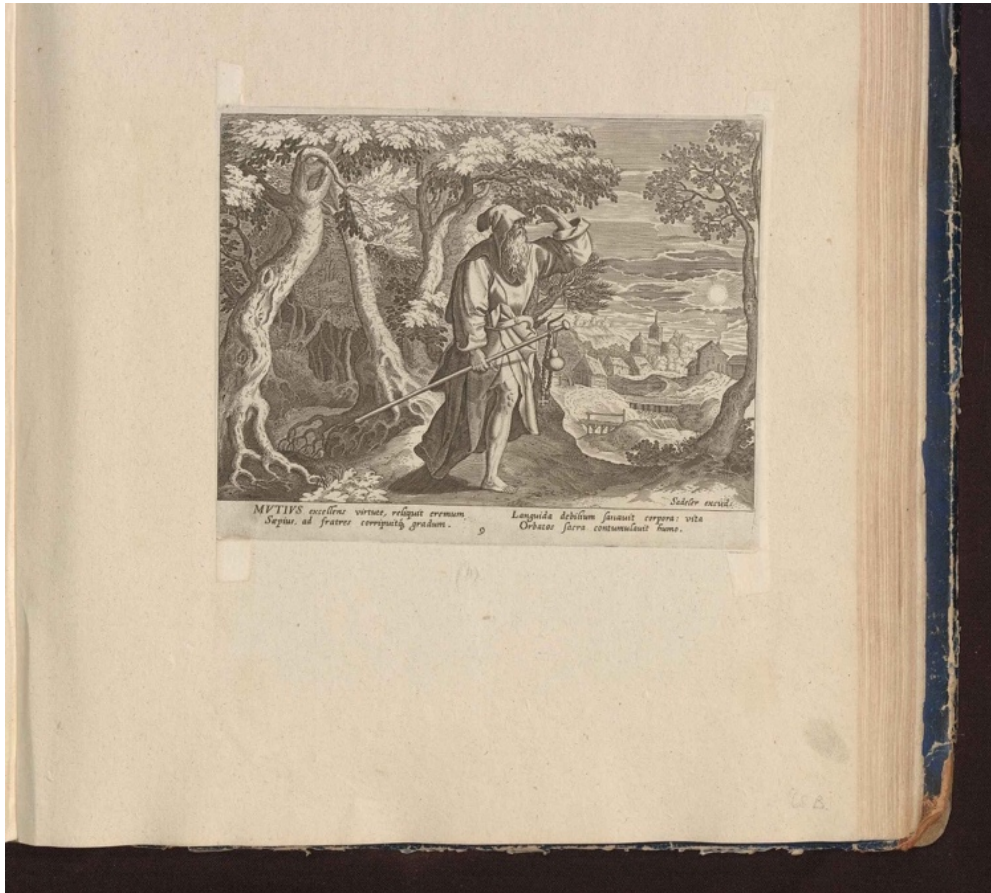


Fig. 9. Ruins of Hulne Priory and the palimpsest of structures visible in 2018, Hulne Park, Northumberland Estates (Photograph: author).



Fig. 10. Ruins of Warkworth Castle, Northumberland, English Heritage (Photograph: author).



Fig. 11. Exterior of Warkworth Hermitage, Northumberland, English Heritage (Photograph: author).



Fig. 12. Vista towards Warkworth Hermitage from English Heritage cross-river ferry, Northumberland, English Heritage (Photograph: author).



Fig. 13. Interior of Warkworth Hermitage, Northumberland, English Heritage (Photograph: author).



Fig. 14. W. Beilby, ‘A view from the Hermitage near Warkworth, taken from one of the cells’, 1773, from an album titled, *A Series of Sketches Views in Great Britain, the Continent, and America 1772-1778* (Alnwick Castle: 03398/52). Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

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Fig. 15. ‘Hermitage late Richmond Gardens, Surrey, called Queen Caroline’s Hermitage’, watercolour, from an album titled, *A Series of Sketches Views in Great Britain, the Continent, and America 1772-1778* (Alnwick Castle: 03398/62). Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Image © Northumberland Estates, Photograph: author).

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Fig. 16. View from the summit of Brizlee Hill, Hulne Park, Northumberland, Northumberland Estates. (Photograph: author).



Fig. 17. Figure at 'Nine Year Hole', Brizlee Hill, Hulne Park, Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Photograph: author).



Fig. 18. Statue at the 'Nine Year Hole', Brizlee Hill, Hulne Park, Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Photograph: author).



Fig. 19. Battlement figures, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, Northumberland Estates
(Photograph: author).



Fig. 20. Battlement figures, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, Northumberland Estates
(Photograph: author).



Fig. 21. Damaged battlement figure now within the bailey of Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Photograph: author).



Fig. 22. Brizlee Tower, built 1781, Hulne Park, Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Photograph: author).



Fig. 23. Commemorative roundel of Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland, on the exterior of Brizlee Tower, built 1781, Hulne Park, Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Photograph: author).



Fig. 24. Figures at Hulne Priory, showing damage, Hulne Park, Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Photograph: author).



Fig. 25. Jan Brueghel il Vecchio “Dei Velluti” (1568-1625), *Sei paesini: Eremita in preghiera davanti ad un'immagine*, 1597, oil on copper, 26 x 36cm. Inv 74/D. Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Image © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana/Mondadori Portfolio).

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Fig. 26. Paul Bril (1554-1626), *Paesaggio con Mutius (Paesaggio con San Muzio)*, c.1590-1599, oil on canvas, 177 x 265cm. Inv. 996. Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Image © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana/Paolo Manusardi/Mondadori Portfolio).

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Fig. 27. Paul Bril (1554-1626), *Paesaggio con Anub*, c.1590-1599, oil on canvas, 177cm x 125c. Inv. 995. Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Image © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana/Paolo Manusardi/Mondadori Portfolio).

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Fig. 28. The juxtaposition of the renovated Lord's Tower, the ruins of Hulne Priory, the eighteenth-century statuary, and the cloister gardens, Hulne Priory, Hulne Park, Northumberland, Northumberland Estates (Photograph: author).

