THE NATIONAL GALLERY

THE NATIONAL GALLERY WOMEN AND THE ARTS FORUM

THE ANNUAL ANNA JAMESON LECTURE

Fourth Lecture
26 June

2024

THE NATIONAL GALLERY

A WOMAN OF LETTERS: LADY EASTLAKE'S LEGACY AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY

Professor Julie Sheldon, Professor of Art History at Liverpool John Moores University
The Annual Anna Jameson Lecture, No. 4, 26 June 2024

ABOUT THIS LECTURE SERIES

The National Gallery Anna Jameson Lecture series, established in 2021, takes place annually and invites a guest speaker to give a lecture focused on women in the arts, past and present. The lecture series and related publication series are supported by Professor Diane Apostolos-Cappadona. The Anna Jameson Lectures form part of the lively research and events programme associated with the National Gallery's Women and the Arts Forum, also supported by Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, in honour of her mother, Stacia Apostolos. The lecture series is named in recognition of Anna Jameson (née Murphy, 1794–1860), who is often identified as the first English female art historian. An early scholar of Italian Renaissance art, she was also the author of the first systematic study of Christian iconography in English.

SPEAKER'S BIOGRAPHY

Julie Sheldon is Professor of Art History at Liverpool John Moores University, where she is also Dean of the Doctoral Academy. She has written extensively on Lady Eastlake: her edition of *The Letters of Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake* was published in 2009 (Liverpool University Press) and, with Susanna Avery-Quash, a study of the Eastlakes in the Victorian Art World, *Art for the Nation*, was published in 2011 (Yale University Press and the National Gallery). She is on the Executive of the UK Council for Graduate Education and is currently working on a study of collaborative PhD supervision in the UK.

Portrait of Julie Sheldon

SYNOPSIS OF THE LECTURE

The fourth annual Anna Jameson Lecture spotlights the part played by Lady Elizabeth Eastlake (1809–1893) in the history of the National Gallery. For many years she has been relegated to a footnote in art and literary criticism by her redoubtable views on arts and letters, and obscured by her marriage to Sir Charles Eastlake, the first Director of the National Gallery. However, in her day her fame was such that when her husband received his doctorate at Oxford in 1853, the University's Public Orator described Eastlake as a man fortunate in his most famous spouse, 'who is herself as distinguished in letters as he is in art'. In this lecture Professor Sheldon examines Lady Eastlake's amateur art practice and her professional career as a translator, critic and essayist, to demonstrate the ways in which her interests crystallised at the National Gallery. An inveterate letter writer, Lady Eastlake has left a rich legacy of correspondence which Professor Sheldon draws upon to illuminate the part she played in the Gallery's history. Indeed, far from seeing the letters as a means of animating or corroborating her husband's tenure, Professor Sheldon shows how this 'woman of letters' was an active agent in the promotion and protection of the Gallery's mission.

Edited by Susanna Avery-Quash and Jon King

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I wish to examine Lady Eastlake's 'fame' by reviewing her amateur art practice and her professional career as a translator, critic and essayist, to demonstrate the ways in which her interests crystallised at the National Gallery. An inveterate letter writer, Lady Eastlake has left a rich legacy of correspondence which I will draw upon to illuminate the part she played in the Gallery's history. Far from seeing her letters as a means of animating or corroborating her husband's tenure, I will show how this 'woman of letters' was an active agent in the promotion and protection of the Gallery's mission.

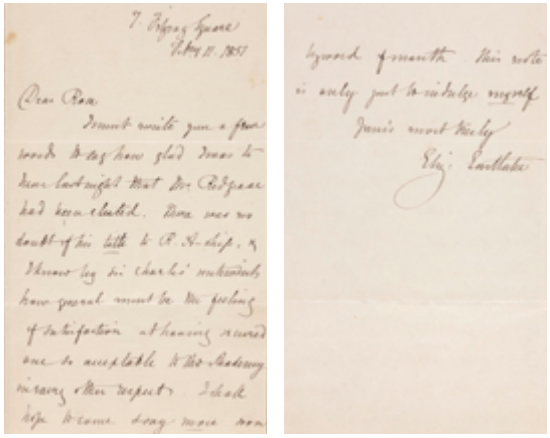

Fig. 1 **Elizabeth Eastlake** (1809–1893)
letter to Rose Redgrave, 11 February 1857, Private collection
(Photo: National Gallery, London)

In 2009 I published an edition of Lady Eastlake's correspondence. To find her distinctive handwriting in folders and albums within archives was always a treat and even the most perfunctory letter was crafted with care and elegance (fig. 1). I spent 10 years transcribing her letters and this gave me a vivid sense of Lady Eastlake's voice – inflected in her letters with words and passages underlined for emphasis. As one of her contemporaries observed: 'she wrote exactly as she talked' with 'perfect frankness and spontaneity', commenting in an obituary:

> As a letter-writer she deserves to stand high …Looking over her letters now, one can see the smile and hear the tone in which she made a point in conversation. She talked on paper as with the living voice – with ease, charm and strength … She talked as she wrote, without hurry, and with easy mastery of her thoughts, and their expression in words. To read her letters … is to live with a keen observer and a strong and sensible mind.[2]

In addition to being a prolific letter writer, Lady Eastlake sketched conscientiously, leaving 2,000 drawings to a niece on her death. Almost 200 of these drawings were collected into an album, which was generously donated to the National Gallery archive. The album contains the earliest known likeness of Lady Eastlake, a coloured self portrait most likely drawn when she was in her teens (fig. 2). We know that her nephew Charles Eastlake Smith (1850–1917) inherited 'an early portrait, painted by herself when 17',[3] and the retention of the portrait in a family album is suggestive of its importance.[4] Also suggestive is the hairstyle of the sitter: Lady Eastlake consistently arranged her hair in coils over her ears and fixed with a decorative pin.

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Fig. 2 **Elizabeth Rigby** (1809–1893)
Self Portrait (folio 18, no. 57 in the Album) possibly late 1820s, graphite, touched with brown wash, heightened with red pencil, on buff paper, mounted on card, 27.6 x 19 cm, National Gallery Archive, London, A2011/4 (© The National Gallery, London)

Fig. 3 **Elizabeth Rigby** (1809–1893)
Framingham Earl: view of the front of the house (folio 3, no. 9 in the Album), 1842, graphite, heightened with white, on buff paper, 16.7 x 25.3 cm, National Gallery Archive, London, A2011/4 (© The National Gallery, London)

The sitter was born Elizabeth Rigby in Norwich on 17 November 1809 – the same day that her future husband celebrated his 16th birthday. She was the fifth of 12 children born to the obstetrician and gentleman-farmer, Dr Edward Rigby (1747–1821), and his wife Anne Palgrave (1777–1872). The teenage Miss Rigby, self-depicted here, was raised at the family home in Framingham Earl in Norfolk (fig. 3). The Rigbys were connected to a number of writers, explorers, botanists and antiquarians, and the young Elizabeth Rigby learned to engage with the many gentlemen-scholars and scientists who called on the family. But the young Miss Rigby wanted to be an artist more than anything else: 'my pen', she later confessed, 'has never been a favourite implement with me; the pencil is the child of my heart'.[5]

Fig. 4 **Elizabeth Eastlake** (1809–1893)
Two views of Deal, Kent (folio 29 in the Album), 1850, both images: brush drawing in brown wash, over graphite, 17.8 x 25.5 cm, National Gallery Archive, London, A2011/4 (© The National Gallery, London)

The album contains a selection of portraits and topographical drawings (fig. 4). Miss Rigby's talent for drawing was nurtured under the tutelage of various local artists, including the Norwich School painter John Sell Cotman (1782–1842). It is fitting, then, that the earliest letter that I have been able to trace, written when she was 21, concerned her ambition to publish engravings after her drawings. She sent sample drawings in 1830 to her cousin, the historian, Sir Francis Turner Palgrave (1824–1897), to enlist his help in publishing them:

> I have no idea in what form a publisher would bring them forth, but of course as my only object is to dispose of my drawings that will be of little consequence to me; should they be published in the form of an annual or any thing of that kind I should be equally happy to furnish short descriptions and anecdotes to each print. In case you should be able to arrange this affair for me, Mr Cotman strongly advises that the impressions should be sent to me while in progress, for me to correct, this seems [a] very presumptuous task for me to undertake but he assures me it will be of great benefit to the print as well as improvement to myself. I am very anxious as to the success of these drawings and I am sure you … will understand my feelings.[6]

This letter contains two portents – first, she will need to be tenacious and thorough, and second, this will not be the last time that she has to appeal to influential men in realising a plan.

Miss Rigby's first publication was not, as she hoped, a set of engravings after her drawings but a translation in 1836 of *Tour of a German Artist in England* by the influential German art historian, J.D. Passavant (1787–1861). The commission was brokered by her uncle, the antiquarian Dawson Turner (1775–1858), trading on his niece's proficiency in modern languages. The family had spent a couple of years in Heidelberg in the 1820s where Miss Rigby had learned German. She could also speak Italian and French and, as three of her sisters married Estonian barons, she also had some Russian and Estonian in her repertoire. Her translation of Passavant's text brought significant works of art in English collections to the public's attention and, as its translator, it gave Miss Rigby her first taste of art history. Her next publication followed a two-year residency in Estonia. *Letters from the Baltic*, published in 1841, was a collection of her letters and realised her earlier ambition to publish her drawings (fig. 5). More significantly, the book launched Miss Rigby into professional journalism, when its publisher John Murray II (1778–1843) invited her to contribute articles to his prominent periodical, the *Quarterly Review*. Judging her fitness for the role, the editor, John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854), compared her writing with her engravings and concluded: 'pen against pencil; 1000l to an orange, say I'.[7] Now, and for the rest of her life, she would be a professional writer.

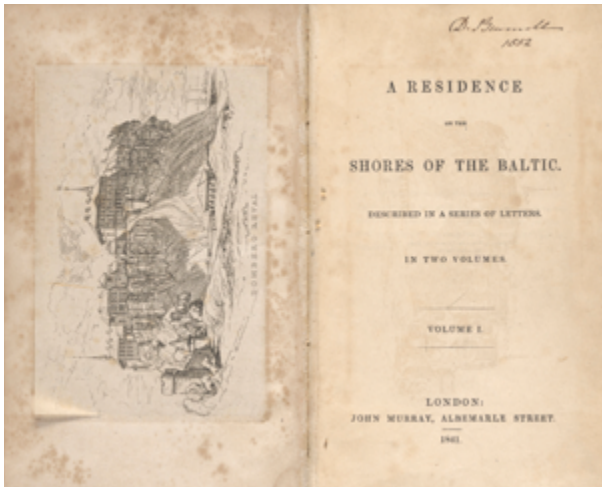
A RESIDENCE
SHORES OF THE BALTIC.
IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOLUME I.
LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

Fig. 5 **Elizabeth Rigby** (1809–1893)
A Residence on the Shores of the Baltic. Described in a Series of Letters. In Two Volumes. Frontispiece and title page to Vol. 1, London: John Murray, 1841, Private collection (Photo: The National Gallery, London)

Fig. 6 **David Octavius Hill** (1802–1870) and **Robert Adamson** (1821–1848)
Elizabeth (née Rigby), Lady Eastlake, 1843–1848, calotype, 20.6 x 15.6 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG P6(124) (© The National Portrait Gallery, London)

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Fig. 7 **David Octavius Hill** (1802–1870) and **Robert Adamson** (1821–1848) *Lady Elizabeth Eastlake*, 1843–1848, salted paper print from a paper negative, 20.5 × 15.2 cm, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 88.XM.57.14 (Public Domain)

In fig. 6 and fig. 7 we see Elizabeth Rigby, now in her early thirties. She moved to Edinburgh in 1842, where she was a frequent sitter for the photographers, Hill and Adamson. These are but two of a number of surviving calotypes in which her statuesque figure (she was almost six feet tall) is posed in attitudes suggestive of her literary and societal status.[8] According to one friend, the poet Sara Coleridge (1802–1852), Miss Rigby

> is perhaps the most brilliant woman of the day … She draws, takes portraits like an artist, and writes cleverly on painting; she plays with power, and writes most strikingly on music; she speaks different languages … she has well-bred, courteous, unassuming manners, [and] does not … hold forth to the company - a fault of which many lionesses of the day are guilty.[9]

The 'literary lioness' is glimpsed in the calotype (fig. 6) where she is posed with an elbow propped on a stack of books. Although all contributors to the *Quarterly* wrote anonymously, it was known among insiders (such as Sara Coleridge) that Miss Rigby was one of its essayists. She wrote articles on music, the art of dress, lady travellers and children's books in the 1840s.[10] However, she is better remembered, albeit harshly, for her infamous review of *Jane Eyre* in 1849, which she dismissed on the grounds of its 'coarseness of language and laxity of tone'.[11] The calotype (fig. 7), showing Miss Rigby dressed in evening finery, strikingly counterbalances the image of a 'literary lioness'. The outspoken writer was also a 30-something woman with a weight of societal expectations that would make her amenable to a proposal of marriage. Who would take on this formidable woman?

Fig. 8
Portrait of Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, date unknown, photograph, National Gallery Archive, London, NG67/5/1 (© The National Gallery, London)

Elizabeth Rigby met Charles Eastlake (1793–1865) in 1843 at a dinner given by the publisher John Murray III (1808–1892) (fig. 8).[12] Onlookers detected a frisson between Eastlake and Miss Rigby but it would be a slow courtship.[13] My speculation is that Eastlake, whose personality tended to err on the side of caution, determined the stately pace of their ensuing relationship. Eastlake had built his reputation as a painter of high-minded portraits, biblical scenes, topographical views of the Italian campagna and sanitised genre scenes. Much to his future wife's

satisfaction, he did not paint female nudes or what she would have called 'racy' subjects. With reference to Eastlake's painting, *Ippolita Torelli* (fig. 9), she wrote to Sara Coleridge in 1851: 'She is what a wife best likes her husband to portray – so pure'.[14] Eastlake was no prude but his impeccable clientele, which included Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, sought his signature works. The Prince Consort had also spotted Eastlake's organisational talents that made him the artist of choice for administrative roles in the art world. Eastlake was appointed first, in 1841, as Secretary to the Fine Arts Commission overseeing the work on the decoration of the Houses of Parliament and second as Keeper of the National Gallery, between 1843 and 1847. To add then to his hesitant wooing, we can also see that Eastlake was extremely busy after his first encounter with Miss Rigby in 1843. The pair finally married in Edinburgh in April 1849, before settling at Eastlake's London home, no. 7, Fitzroy Square.

the Eastlakes were conjoined in both domestic and professional spheres for the 17 years of their marriage, until Eastlake's death in 1865. Just a year into their marriage, in 1850, Eastlake was appointed President of the Royal Academy (a role that carried with it a knighthood and upgraded Mrs to Lady Eastlake). The Presidency also, ex officio, made Eastlake a Trustee of the National Gallery and, in 1855, he was offered the chance to become its first Director, a new position established on the back of findings of a Select Committee which had looked into the administration, financing and role of the Gallery in 1853. Rather exceptionally, Lady Eastlake accompanied her husband to Downing Street to receive the formal invitation. This set a precedence: Lady Eastlake would be by Sir Charles' side on all but two of his European travels, sharing his packed itinerary of inspecting pictures for the nation and recording their encounters and experiences in her letters.

Fig. 9 **Charles Eastlake** (1793–1865)
Ippolita Torelli, 1851, oil on canvas, 89.5 x 72.5 cm, formerly in Tate, London as N01398, destroyed by flood in 1928 (© Tate, London)

Fig. 10
Portrait of Lady Elizabeth Eastlake, date unknown, photograph mounted on a sheet and handwritten underneath "By Mrs V Bartholomew", National Gallery Archive, London, NG5/351/5 (© The National Gallery, London)

I illustrate the Eastlake marriage with two photographs from the 1850s (figs 10 and 11), as, regrettably, no joint portrait of the couple has ever emerged. Nevertheless, and as I will demonstrate,

She had also accompanied her husband to Oxford in 1853 when he received his first honorary doctorate (he would receive a second from Cambridge). Oxford University's Public Orator, as noted, described

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Fig. 11
Portrait of Sir Charles Eastlake as President of the Royal Academy, date unknown, inscribed: 'Engraved by D.J. Pound from a Photograph by John Watkins, Parliament St.', Private collection
(Photo: The National Gallery, London)

Eastlake as a man fortunate in his spouse. According to Lady Eastlake her husband 'liked it', but she objected 'to people's fancying that he has not fully sufficient merits on his own account, without dragging me in'.[15] We find cruder aspersions about Lady Eastlake's domineering presence in letters and diaries from the period, in which the pair were widely known as 'Little Eastlake' and 'Lago Maggiore', while, years later, Beatrix Potter reported the gossip that Lady Eastlake 'used to be able to lift up her husband under her arm'.[16] A vestigial memory of Lady Eastlake as overbearing perhaps accounts for the late art critic Brian Sewell's reference to Eastlake's 'smothering wife' in his review of the Eastlake exhibition held in the Gallery in 2011.[17]

'Smothering' she was not, but Lady Eastlake was certainly the more pugnacious of the pair. Throughout their marriage, Charles Eastlake was routinely criticised in the press as the representative of the National Gallery. While Eastlake took much of it on the chin, Lady Eastlake took up the cudgels. For example, there are several letters to the publisher John Blackwood, entreating him to retract a statement in the *Edinburgh Magazine* in 1853, which had accused Sir Charles of over-zealous picture cleaning. After some blandishments, Lady Eastlake wrote:

> I have written on my own responsibility relying on your long known kindness to give your full attention to my request. For while, like all individuals in any way before the public, Sir Chas is too much exposed to mere party attacks in the newspapers not to be indifferent to them, I know too well the estimation in which he holds your Magazine not to hasten to protest against what I hope will prove to be as great an injustice to yourself as it is to him.

A few days later, dissatisfied with Blackwood's platitudes, she persisted:

> … I cannot agree with you as to the unimportance of the passage attributed to Sir Charles. On the contrary such words from his mouth are downright treason to art, & such as he cannot be otherwise than most impatient to be cleared from. I must therefore ask you to have the kindness, which believe me I shall highly estimate, to insert a plain contradiction of that passage as follows …I have not shown Sir Chas our correspondence, nor shall I till I can show him also the contradiction of the statement which annoys him.

While her hectoring might appear quasi-comical, Lady Eastlake fought earnestly for her husband and for the reputation of the National Gallery with her only weapon – her letters. The offending statement was duly corrected in the next volume.

To rectify any impression that Lady Eastlake was merely a belligerent and over-protective spouse, there are many other letters that demonstrate that she was, more properly, one half of an intellectual powerhouse. In extensive correspondence with the Eastlakes' friends, she demonstrated the skill with which she blended her domestic and professional personas. I quote an extract from a letter of 1856 to the antiquarian Rawdon Brown (1806–1883), resident in Venice:

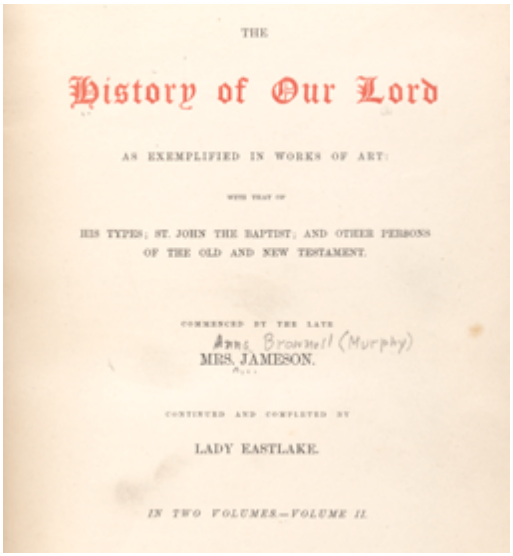
> …Sir Chas has not been so well as I cd wish. I hardly suppose that you saw that attack upon the Nat: Gallery in the House of Commons – but if you did you must not suppose that he cared for it. Indeed the defence was worth ten of the attack, which was both so violent & so shallow that it has turned the abuse upon itself – & now all the neutral papers are become our hearty partisans. In short the attack was very unEnglish and is therefore

repudiated. Then my dear Sposo never cares for real bothers, it is only imaginary ones that assault & hurt his soul.

…Millais has been here – as happy as in the honeymoon, & happier, intending to stay for the opening of the Exhibition but, finding he cd not live without the sweet Effie, he is gone back again. He has done much & well – has made great improvement in certain things, but has still to throw off much of the poisonous Ruskin-teaching … He is becoming more catholic in his tastes for pictures, & has evidently already learnt much good sense from his good angel. As to the Denmark Hill "party" as Millais calls him the Edinr & Quarterly have both opened simultaneously upon him and admirably to the point – the one having taken up his contradictions, the Q: his general ignorance of the principles of art. He won't care, but I trust the public will be more convinced that he is a false teacher.[18]

This letter begins with a report on her husband's reaction to yet another controversy, slides into gossip about the painter John Everett Millais (1829–1896) and ends by attacking Ruskin. This might all be mere tittle-tattle were it not for the fact that Lady Eastlake was the author of the *Quarterly*'s review of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*. She told Brown that the *Quarterly* had exposed Ruskin's 'general ignorance' but the review was more forensic in its detail, and also traduced Ruskin's work as 'morbid and diseased'.[19] It is hard not to read Lady Eastlake's review as a sign of her affiliation with Mrs Effie Millais, the former wife of eminent polymath, John Ruskin (1819–1900), but the content of the review made it, simultaneously, a retaliation for Ruskin's review, published almost a decade earlier, of Charles Eastlake's *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*, which Ruskin had dismissed as a pointless exercise in technical art history. Lady Eastlake's special form of power, then, was critical commentary.

Both Eastlakes were highly productive as independent writers on art. While Sir Charles was concerned mainly with historical artistic technique, authentication, chronology and provenance, Lady Eastlake was,during her marriage to Eastlake, translating, reviewing and editing works of art-historical importance. She translated two


THE

History of Our Lord

AS EXEMPLIFIED IN WORKS OF ART:

HIS TYPES; ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST; AND OTHER PERSONS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

COMMENCED BY THE LATE

Anne Bronwell (Murphy)

MRS. JAMESON.

CONTINUED AND COMPLETED BY

LADY EASTLAKE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOLUME II.

Fig 12. **Anna Bronwell Jameson** (1794–1860) and **Elizabeth Eastlake** (1809–1893)
The History of Our Lord As Exemplified in Works of Art: with That of His Types; St. John the Baptist; and Other Persons of the Old and New Testament. Commenced by the Late Mrs. Jameson. Continued and Completed by Lady Eastlake, London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865. Title page of Vol. 1, Private collection (Photo: The National Gallery, London)

canonical art historical texts in the mid-1850s: the three-volume *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* (1854–7) by Gustav Waagen (1794–1868), and an edition in 1855 of the *Handbook of the History of Painting, The Italian Schools* by Franz Kugler (1808–1858). She also continued to supply the *Quarterly* with reviews, in addition to the review of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, on topics including Michelangelo, the Crystal Palace, Christian art, photography, and the Louvre. Additionally, she completed the larger portion of *The History of Our Lord*, which Anna Jameson – after whom this series of National Gallery lectures is so deservedly named – had left unfinished at her death in 1860.[20] As previous speakers in this lecture series, Adele Ernstrom and Hilary Fraser, have ably discussed, Anna Jameson's extensive writing on Christian iconography was highly influential, explaining the form and content of religious work to predominantly Protestant audiences. Lady Eastlake

was uniquely placed to take on *The History of Our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art*: she had access to Eastlake's vast private Library, comprising some 2,000 volumes, and she was in Europe each year to undertake the research.[21] Lady Eastlake took an increasingly proprietorial interest in the four-year project. She not only wrote four-fifths of the text, but she also tracked down the engravers and artists that supplied its near 300 illustrations.[22] She took the decision early on to alter Mrs Jameson's original plan by arranging the exemplary works according to the chronology of Christ's life. Although Mrs Jameson's name takes precedence on the title page and appears in a slightly larger font, Lady Eastlake viewed the work as her own '*maximum opus*'.[23] It demonstrated her knowledge of art history to the wider public, writing in her own name for the first time (up to this point, as was the convention of the day especially for women writers, all her reviews and translations had been published anonymously) (fig. 12). The critical reception of the *History of Our Lord* was mixed.[24] While *The Athenaeum* praised 'the delicacy of female criticism [that] throws a graceful character over the work',[25] the critic W.M. Rossetti (1829–1919), brother of the Pre-Raphaelite Dante Gabriel (1828–1882), found Lady Eastlake's portions grating, being 'ready enough to lay down the law … and certify to the patient reader what … he may accept with confidence, what distrust, and what reject'.[26] However, Rossetti's unfavourable verdict was neutralised by a highly enthusiastic review in the more widely read *Quarterly*, which was supplied (again, anonymously) by Lady Eastlake herself.

One of the most exciting finds in Lady Eastlake's drawing album has been the discovery of 20 drawings after Old Master paintings. Fig. 13 and fig. 14 are representative of Lady Eastlake's drawings in the album. It is useful to see them alongside Eastlake's travel notebooks, which painstakingly recorded his views on the works of art he saw in Europe (fig. 15). Eastlake's notebooks often included a tiny sketched *aide-memoire* of details from paintings and he occasionally refers to drawings made by his wife ('see sketch by E', he would write).[27] Susanna Avery-Quash has been able to match these instances with his wife's drawings, noting where Lady Eastlake's copies after Old Master paintings tally with Eastlake's lengthy notes.[28] Although Eastlake collected engravings and sometimes used photographs to convey the features of a work to the National Gallery Trustees, his preferred record of a work was his – or his wife's – drawings.

Fig. 13 **Elizabeth Eastlake** (1809–1893)
The Litta Madonna (folio 42, no. 117 in the Album), 1855, graphite outline with pen and ink, 17 x 12.7 cm, National Gallery Archive, London, A2011/4 (© The National Gallery, London)

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Fig. 14 **Elizabeth Eastlake** (1809–1893)
The Virgin and Child with Saints Paul and George after Giovanni Bellini (folio 39, no. 107 in the Album), 1854, pen and ink, 12.6 x 15.9 cm, National Gallery Archive, London, A2011/4
(© The National Gallery, London)

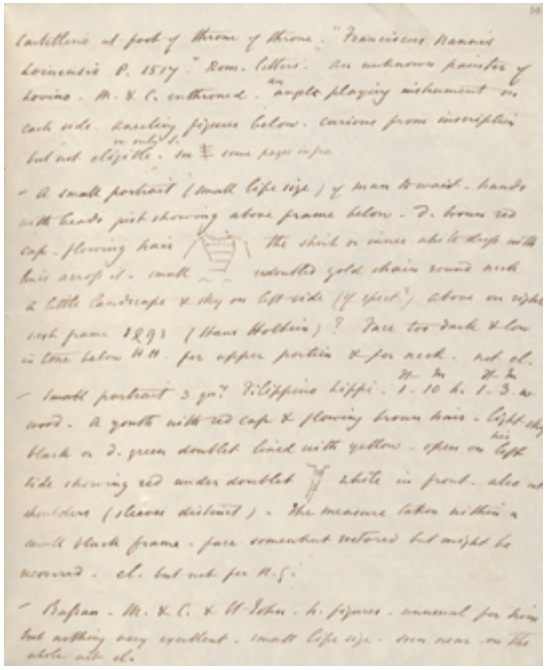

Fig. 15
One of Charles Lock Eastlake's travel notebooks, August–October 1862, p. 10, National Gallery Archive, London, NG22/30
(© The National Gallery, London)

Lady Eastlake was at her husband's side during many deliberations about a potential purchase and the acquisition of two paintings in particular reveal that she had a more active role on occasion than is often supposed. During the protracted but unsuccessful negotiations for the purchase of a Ghirlandaio painting, she tried to sway matters with one of the Italian officials, writing 'I went to see good old Count Buonarotti …[who] kindly said he would do his best' in the purchase of the Ghirlandaio.[29] On other occasions she facilitated inspections, as was the case in 1859, when she told the Eastlakes' great friend, the archaeologist, politician and diplomat, Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894): 'Sir Charles wants you to see a Sebastian del Piombo … But he would like me to take you, and so, if not otherwise engaged, would you like to go on Tuesday?'[30] Her agency with Layard was incremental and by April 1861 she was writing to Layard with an intriguing glimpse into the deliberations over the purchase of Piero della Francesca's *The Baptism of Christ*:

> Sir Chas is anxious that you shd kindly inspect the … P. della Francesca on view at Christies on Monday – with a view to giving him your opinion as to the policy of endeavouring to secure it for the N: G: He is irresolute – considering its injured condition – & the silence of Vasari, & the criticism of Passavant. He will also examine it afresh on Monday … I shall probably accompany him, & what influence I have will probably be executed in favour of trying to obtain it.[31]

Notwithstanding the two instances of the word 'probably' in this letter, Lady Eastlake was understating her influence – and Layard knew it. Eastlake overcame his equivocations, and *The Baptism* is rightly considered one of his finest purchases (fig. 16). What the letter really shows is the deepening alliance between Layard and Lady Eastlake – one that would endure for over 30 years. Layard certainly thought of Lady Eastlake as an occasional intercessor with Sir Charles. For instance, he sought her 'confidential' advice in 1860, to recommend 'any step which might help Sir Charles in … making some kind of chronological arrangement' at the National Gallery.[32]

Layard was preaching to the converted since Eastlake was already committed, on principle, to a chronological hang and had made several attempts to display works at Trafalgar Square by school and date, but – like so many cultural managers – he had to contend with logistical difficulties, not least with a space halved by the joint occupancy in the Wilkins' Building of the Royal Academy of Arts (the RA occupied half the site from 1838 to 1869). More revealing is Layard's belief that Lady Eastlake might have any traction here.

Fig. 16 **Piero della Francesca** (about 1415/20–1492)
The Baptism of Christ, about 1437–1445, egg tempera on poplar, 167 x 116 cm, National Gallery, London, NG665
(© The National Gallery, London)

A final example of Lady Eastlake's intermediary role is evident in the Gallery's protracted negotiations for a painting, at the time attributed to Carpaccio, of *The Virgin and Child with Saints Christopher and John the Baptist and Doge Giovanni Mocenigo*. Layard wrote to Lady Eastlake in October 1865:

> I am very anxious indeed that he [Eastlake] should secure this magnificent picture for the National Gallery and I feel sure that he would greatly regret to find that it passed into other hands. … I do not like to press the matter too much upon Sir Charles as it might trouble him but I should be glad if he could say a word. … I suppose it to be the finest Carpaccio in existence.

What Layard is really asking is can Lady Eastlake make an 'out-of-hours' case for the painting. The 'Carpaccio' was purchased but the acquisition process was punctured by the death of Sir Charles Eastlake in Pisa on Christmas Eve 1865 after a short illness.

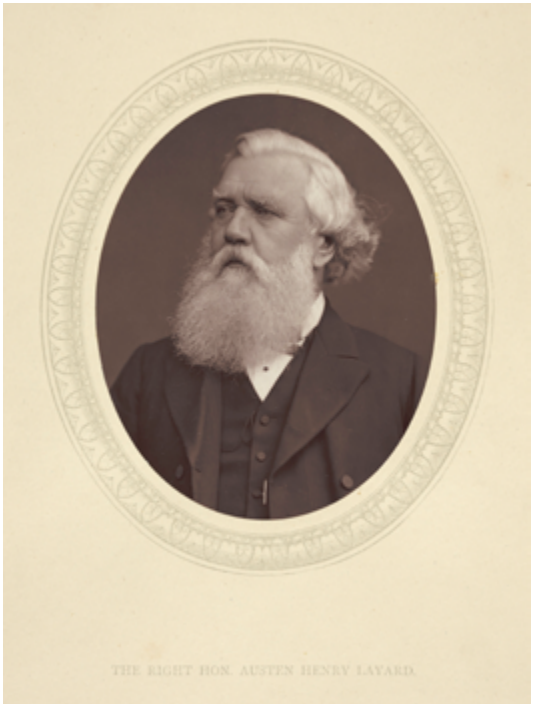

Fig. 17
Portrait of Sir Austen Henry Layard by Lock & Whitfield, Woodburytype, published by Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1877, Private collection (Photo: The National Gallery, London)

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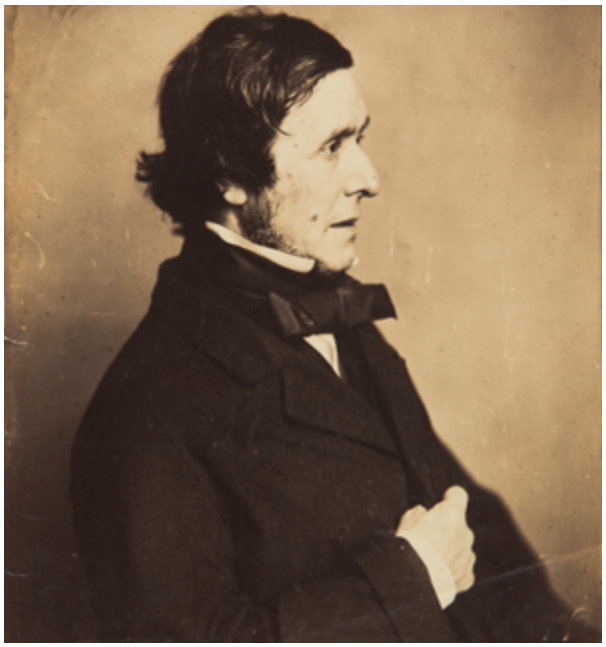

Fig. 18
Portrait of William Boxall, 1866, photograph, National Gallery Archive, London, NG67/2/4 (© The National Gallery, London)

Returning home after Eastlake's death, Lady Eastlake confessed to Layard (fig. 17):

> … there is one thing which has been much in my mind in my journey and for which I am anxious to work by any means in my power. My Beloved one always thought that there was no one so like himself in mind, taste and education of art as Boxall. He is the man to succeed him in the National Gallery. He has the true feeling for the Old Masters – he has the knowledge of the literature belonging to them. He has that peculiar – and as Sir Charles thought more and more – indispensable requisite for the highest commissionship – he being himself a refined painter who has always looked to the Old Masters for guidance. And then he has those pure and upright qualities as a gentleman without which no one could be fitted to succeed him.
>
> … Will you do all in your power with those with whom the appointment rests and if permissible I may say how Sir Charles thought of him.
>
> Personally Boxall and you were the two men he most loved.[34]

William Boxall (1800–1879) (fig. 18) had been a friend of Eastlake's since the 1840s and, to Lady Eastlake's mind, was sympathetic to the late Director's vision and values. She was therefore delighted that, on the same day that Layard became a Trustee of the Gallery, Boxall was appointed as the institution's second Director:

> This is the first sense of pleasure I have known for long … I am quite sure that good Boxall owes the appointment to you. Now indeed with you as Trustee, my Dear One's plans and views will be reverentially carried out – I shall so gladly make over all he has left into such good and kind hands.[35]

While she observed the then traditional two-year period of mourning, she had to forego visits to the National Gallery, but she wrote constantly to Boxall and to Layard for updates on Gallery business. Boxall visited Fitzroy Square dutifully most weeks to hear about the 'Dear One's plans and views', and to consult his predecessor's precious travel notebooks.[36] Boxall was a biddable successor and, early on, he followed the prompts left by Sir Charles, for example, achieving the late Director's plans to purchase *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas* by Cima da Conegliano. While Lady Eastlake's compensatory alliances with Boxall and Layard sustained her interests in the Gallery, she developed a virulent antipathy to the Gallery's Keeper, Ralph Nicholas Wornum (1812–177) (fig. 19). There are numerous letters complaining about Wornum's absenteeism and torpor. This extract to Layard is a characteristic example:

> A friend who paints there [at the National Gallery] from 11 to 4 every Thursday and Friday tells me that …that the attendants come late … and that since Easter she has not seen Mr. Wornum in the Gallery any Thursday or Friday. I am sure you will enquire into this. I trust you will not think me ill-natured when I warn you of Wornum's exceedingly indolent habits.[37]

Wornum's standing with Lady Eastlake was further weakened by his 'Ruskinite' stance, naming one of his 14 children after John Ruskin and dedicating his book on Hans Holbein to him in 1867.

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Fig. 19
Portrait of Ralph Nicolson Wornum by the studio of William Green, Northumberland, 1873, photograph, National Gallery Archive, London, NGA02/8/2/1 (© The National Gallery, London)

In commemoration of her husband's directorship of the National Gallery, Lady Eastlake donated to the national collection one of his private purchases, Pisanello's *Virgin and Child with Saints Anthony and George*, in 1867 (fig. 20). Around this time, she also sold a number of paintings from Sir Charles' art collection to the Gallery, at the prices that he himself had originally paid for them. Later still, after protracted negotiations, she succeeded in persuading the Trustees to purchase Eastlake's pioneering private art library, which contained about 2,000 volumes, with the proviso that the National Gallery referred to his books as 'The Eastlake Library'.[38] In gratitude for their decision, she donated another painting to the Gallery: Giovanni Bellini's *The Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr* in 1870 (fig. 21). In both donations she was much vexed by Wornum's administration. After presenting the Pisanello in 1867 she wrote to Layard:

> Yesterday I received from Mr. Wornum his proposed notice of the Pisano [Pisanello]. It would have been difficult to have made it more illiterate & vulgar. He describes St. George as wearing a kind of 'Panama hat'.
>
> I should be glad to see his notices of the other pictures, if not asking too much, for it is trying to have them made the sport of Mr. Wornum's English & style.[39]

In a letter to Boxall in May 1870, in similar vein, she laid out her conditions for the Bellini presentation:

> I make no condition for this other than the inscription 'Presented by Lady Eastlake to the Nation –1870'.
>
> But I particularly request – indeed condition to be consulted before any paragraph is put into the paper. Will you make Mr. Wornum understand that I shd like the place (now occupied by the Beaucousin Titian) but I make no condition of that kind.[40]

A few days later, outraged by Wornum's posting of a notice in the *Times*, she wrote to Boxall:

> If this paragraph emanates from Mr. Wornum I can only beg you to call the attention of the Trustees to this want of good faith towards me on the only point which I was anxious about. I was anxious not to be startled by the sight of my own name & anxious especially not to see the fact stated in the bad English in wh: it now appears. But whatever my motive, you will agree with me that my condition shd have been complied with.
>
> If Mr. Wornum has done this in defiance of yr instructions I am perfectly ready to write to the Trustees & complain for myself.[41]

Her frustrations with Wornum were not merely the outbursts of a demanding donor, they were deeper manifestations of her realisation that her position had waned. She made no more donations to the Gallery, although she would bequeath on her death a landscape painted by her husband (this picture was subsequently transferred to Tate).

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Fig. 20 **Pisanello** (about 1394?–1455)
The Virgin and Child with Saints Anthony Abbot and George, about 1435–1441, egg tempera on poplar, 46.5 x 29 cm, National Gallery, London, NG776 (© The National Gallery, London)

The Irish painter, Frederic Burton (1816–1900), succeeded Boxall as the third Director of the National Gallery in 1874 and showed no inclination to consult Eastlake's widow – nor indeed to request sight of the precious travel notebooks. The appointment of Sir Charles Eastlake's nephew and namesake – Charles Locke Eastlake (1836–1906) – as Keeper in 1878 also failed to provide Lady Eastlake with a more meaningful channel to the Gallery. She confided to a cousin in 1875 that she felt she would have been a far better Director than Burton:

> I had such an exceptional education in connoisseurship at my beloved One's side – & there is scarcely a creature with whom I can share it. I feel that I shd have been his best successor in the direction of the Nat: Gallery. Boxall was unimpugnable, but hated the employmt, the present man is totally unfit for it, & has introduced most inferior things. Without vanity I know I shd have been the right person, tho' the world wd be astonished at such an idea.[42]

Fig. 21 **Giovanni Bellini** (about 1435–1516)
The Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr, about 1505–1507, oil on wood, 99.7 x 165.1 cm, National Gallery, London, NG812
(© The National Gallery, London)

To add to her frustrations at the National Gallery, Lady Eastlake was struggling to assert her credibility as an art-historical scholar in her own right. She had endured decades of anonymity or compromised credits such as 'continued and completed by', 'compiled by', and 'translated by'. Her mounting impatience with publishers and conventions that had subjugated her authorship reached an angry climax when she agreed to prepare a new edition of Kugler's *Handbook of the Italian Schools of Painting*. The commission required a sizeable overhaul of the material in the light of new attributions of paintings (originally edited by Sir Charles, and translated, as noted, by herself in 1855). Lady Eastlake worked extraordinarily long and hard at the edition and lobbied the publisher for her name to appear as its rightful editor. As illustrated by its title page, the book was finally published as 'originally edited' by Charles Eastlake and 'revised and remodelled from the latest researches by Lady Eastlake' (fig. 22).

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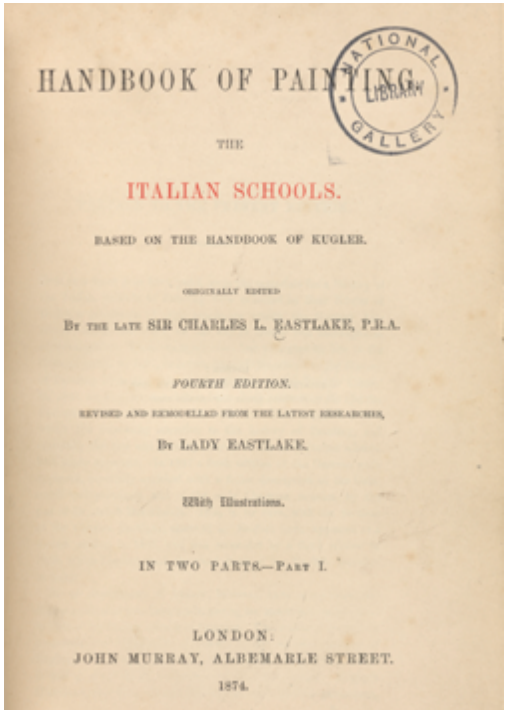
HANDBOOK OF PAINTING.

THE

ITALIAN SCHOOLS.

BASED ON THE HANDBOOK OF KUGLER.

BY THE LATE SIR CHARLES L. EASTLAKE, P.R.A.

FOURTH EDITION.

BY LADY EASTLAKE.

IN TWO PARTS.—PART I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1874.

Fig. 22 **Franz Kugler** (1808–1858)
Handbook of Painting: The Italian Schools. Based on the Handbook of Kugler. Originally edited by the late Sir Charles L. Eastlake, P.R.A. Fourth Edition. Revised and remodelled from the latest research, by Elizabeth Eastlake. With Illustrations. In Two Parts, London: John Murray, 1874, National Gallery Library, London, NH 1071 Eastlake
(© The National Gallery, London)

Bruised by her failure to assert her independent editor status, Lady Eastlake began to write essays on artists that would later be collected into a book, *Five Great Painters* in 1883.[43] Her first solo authored book in her own name, published when she was almost 74 years old, was a defiant showcase for her mature and decisive thoughts on Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo, Titian and Dürer. Not only did she exhibit her rebarbative character when dealing with rival art historians, she took the opportunity to labour a bigger point about value based on the 'character' of the artist. In a moralising account of art, she emphasised each artist's struggle with corrupt societies and patrons in the exercise of what she called 'genuine individual character'. But the book seemed out of touch with the prevailing art-historical turn that favoured either established connoisseurship or a new type of aesthetic writing as exemplified by Walter Pater (1839–1894).

Lady Eastlake's professional life began at a time when art history (*Kunstgeschichte* in the original German) was a largely continental field of study, promoted within the universities, exemplified by the scholarship of Carl Friedrich Rumohr, Franz Theodor Kugler, Carl Schnaase, Anton Springer, Gustav Waagen, Giovanni Morelli and G.B. Cavalcaselle. By contrast, in Britain art history was a nascent discipline, to which John Ruskin, Lord Lindsay and Charles Eastlake were contributing in other arenas to the wider field, through their respective and distinct interests in romantic theory, theology and connoisseurship. By the end of the 19th century, they would be joined by an increasingly broad band of art critics and aesthetic theorists. Lady Eastlake, along with Anna Jameson, Maria Callcott and other women writers including Mary Philadelphia Merrifield, was at a mid-point in the development of Victorian art history, and positioned in the space between connoisseurship and criticism. On the one hand, Lady Eastlake was a transmitter and supporter of continental models of art history, especially as translator and editor of works by Passavant, Waagen and Kugler, all of which can be cited as examples of canonisation literature. Her presence at Charles Eastlake's side meant that she was also *au fait* with the ongoing construction of art history according to ideas of progress and the rankings of artistic quality by those in charge of state collecting. On the other hand, she was an active agent of the periodical press in bringing her sophisticated understanding of continental art history to the English-reading public. These strands of thought explain the critical nature of *Five Great Painters*. In this neglected work, Lady Eastlake combined the key element of the continental monograph, the focus on the life and works of the single artist, with a form of home-grown empirical Protestantism, which highlighted

how the innovative artist found grace in the natural world through observation of human character and human relationships. Her perceptive reading of Raphael is a good example of a process connecting individual psychology and collective expression:

> Till Raphael's time the Virgin was not the mother, nor Christ the child. He first revealed the world of feeling and endearment between them, and opened that fount of beauty which, if less orthodox in the sense of dogma, is more sacred in that of Nature … It was the child who gained under Raphael's new treatment. In his hands the supreme idea was raised rather than lowered, for, instead of quenching the natural in the divine, he sought and expressed the divine in the natural.[45]

In such sensitive statements in *Five Great Painters*, Lady Eastlake advanced the view that the receptive artist escapes from what might be called formulaic religious productions by picturing the humanity of the depicted situation.

Lady Eastlake passed most of later years in Fitzroy Square, increasingly confined by rheumatism to the first-floor drawing room. Visitors would always find her next to the fireplace, working at a slanted writing desk on top of an old-fashioned round table littered with papers. Callers recalled how the walls were covered with so many Old Master paintings, intermingled with landscape paintings by Sir Charles Eastlake, that the overspill had to be shown on easels or propped on chairs. The elderly Lady Eastlake was – as a nephew recalled – 'considered one of the best connoisseurs of Old Masters, and well known people came to her daily to talk pictures and art, and to get her advice thereon'.[46] Bernard (1865–1959) and Mary Berenson (1864–1945), for instance, were among the visitors who were regaled with Lady Eastlake's stories about discovering artworks in the lumber room of the Uffizi and both felt inspired 'to follow in our humbler way the example of Lady Eastlake'.[47]

Fig. 23 **Giueppe Gabrielli** (active 1863–1886)
The National Gallery 1886, Interior of Room 32, 1886, oil on canvas, 110 x 142 cm, on loan from the Government Art Collection, L45
(© Crown copyright: UK Government Art Collection.
Photo: The National Gallery, London)

On Friday 15 July 1887 Lady Eastlake paid her last recorded visit to the National Gallery, transported in her wheelchair through a back entrance to see the newly completed Barry Rooms (fig. 23). She arranged to meet her friends – the Layards, her nephew Charles Eastlake, and the connoisseurs, Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891) and Gustavo Frizzoni (1840–1919) – at the Gallery, telling them to 'find me in the Early Italian room'.[48] One imagines that she was here reunited with works that she and Eastlake had first seen in Italy as well as works that had been in their own collection ('old friends', as she liked to call them).[49] She described the visit as an 'immense treat' and, in many ways, I wish I could finish my account here with this charming scene, but Lady Eastlake had one final encounter with Gallery business. On hearing that Burton was to retire from the directorship in 1893, she wrote to the Prime Minister, William Gladstone (1809–1898), with her ideas on succession planning:

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> There is no first-rate Connoisseur now in England. Sir Fred: Burton has never been one; but it is easy to secure good pictures at inordinate prices. Such being the case I venture to suggest that the duties of the Director, & of the Keeper & Secretary might be merged together, at a saving to the nation & at no loss to the country. My nephew Mr. C. Lock Eastlake has for years filled the post of Keeper & Secretary, & I am not singular in saying that he has filled them admirably … He has inherited much of Sir Charles' conscientious accuracy in all he undertakes … Will you kindly believe that I am biased by no nepotism in suggesting him for the double position. I have all Sir Charles' notes on pictures in all parts of the continent … which are at his service. I placed them at Sir Fred: Burton's' but he has not availed himself of them.[50]

This poignant letter – written a few months before her death – is a sad conclusion to Lady Eastlake's special covenant with the National Gallery. Her lobbying for her nephew to become an elevated Keeper/Director was futile, and he did not become the next Director. Her touching faith that Sir Charles' notebooks had any traction with National Gallery purchasing was unfounded and the notebooks remained largely neglected until Susanna Avery-Quash transcribed and published them in 2011.[51] Lady Eastlake's legacy at the National Gallery then is not one that is traceable through its infrastructure: in the people, operations and mission of the Gallery. However, her benefactor's legacy is, and remains, tangible on the labels next to a Pisanello and a Bellini and on the Gallery's website.[52] Furthermore, and as I hope to have demonstrated, Elizabeth Eastlake's extensive art-historical publications, her editions and translations, her correspondence, and her drawings suggest her intangible legacy far exceeds the formal recognition of a donor. Lady Eastlake was an important commentator on arts and letters, a collaborator in canonical art-historical texts, and an influential opinion-maker in mid-Victorian culture. She was – and is – a significant figure in the history of the National Gallery even though her 'soft power' was highly mediated – as it had to be – in and through her relationships with powerful men – with Sir Charles Eastlake, William Boxall and A.H. Layard. However, she was no mere auxiliary. I return to 1855, when she visited Florence with Sir Charles and first experienced early Italian art at scale. She wrote: 'I am fairly bitten with all the true pre-Raphaelites … and I shall be truly proud if we succeed both in rescuing some examples, and introducing them into England, where already there are a chosen few who adore them'.[53] Her use of the plural pronoun 'we' is not just suggestive of the Eastlakes' mutuality in life, in taste and in art.[54] It also says something about her agency in the directorship of Eastlake. In 1967 Winslow Ames jointly credited the couple with the fortunate purchases at the National Gallery: 'he and his wife, with their remarkable expertise, mobility, and knowledge of private sources, worked as one to build up what was already an important gallery'.[55] This mutuality is best summed up by John Steegman, writing on the Eastlakes in 1950: '"Eastlake" really means "them", a perfect and wonderfully fruitful partnership' or 'rather a joint personality'.[56]

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NOTES

1 Adele M. Ernstrom, '"Equally Lenders and Borrowers in Turn': The Working and Married Lives of the Eastlakes', *Art History*, 15.4 (December 1992), pp. 470–85, p. 429.
2 [Anon] 'Lady Eastlake. One Who Knew Her'. *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 81, 4 January 1896, pp. 8–10, p.10.
3 Writing to John Murray in preparation of his edition of Lady Eastlake's *Journals and Correspondence*, Smith wrote: 'I have an early portrait, painted by herself when 17: Large portrait by Boxall 1851: ditto James Swinton later: Copy of Watts' drawing (you have the original I fancy): Bust by Theed and several photographs'. Letter from Charles Eastlake Smith to John Murray, 18 May 1895, National Library of Scotland, MS 41106.
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6 Julie Sheldon, ed., *The Letters of Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake*, Liverpool, 2009, p.29.
7 Smith, *Journals and Correspondence*, 1, p.10.
8 Julie Sheldon, 'Elizabeth Rigby and the Calotypes of Hill and Adamson: Correspondence from the John Murray Archive, 1843–1880', *Studies in Photography*, 2007, pp. 42–8. In 1857, she wrote one of the earliest critiques of photography for the *Quarterly Review*, elegantly summarising mid-19th-century debates about its relationship to art. See Julie Sheldon, 'Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake', *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, John Hannavay, ed., New York, 2007, pp. 1195–6.
9 Letter to Edward Quillinan in Sara Coleridge, *Memoirs and Letters, edited by her daughter* (Edith Coleridge), 2 vols, London, 1873, pp. 224–5.
10 See Bibliography of Lady Eastlake's publications in appendix.
11 See Lady Eastlake's anonymous review, 'Vanity Fair and Jane Eyre', *Quarterly Review*, vol. 84, December 1848, pp. 153–85.
12 She wrote to John Murray on 5 May 1843: 'If you would kindly procure him an introduction to Mr. Eastlake, Mr. Swinton would consider it a great advantage & I a great favour. I would have given him a letter to that gentleman myself, but feared he might wonder at this liberty from one, whom he has by this time probably forgotten.' Sheldon, *Letters*, p. 82.
13 For the report that John Murray thought Eastlake was 'a little in love' with Miss Rigby, see George Paston, *At John Murray's: Records of a Literary Circle 1843–92*, London, 1932, pp. 85–6.
14 Unpublished letter to Sara Coleridge, 24 May 1851, Harry Ransom Center. MS-0866 [12.2].
15 Smith, *Journals and Correspondence*, 1, pp. 311–12. See also Ernstrom 1992, p. 482.
16 See Isobel Violet Hunt, *The Wife of Rossetti: Her Life and Death*, London, 1932, p.107. See also *The Journals of Beatrix Potter from 1881–97, transcribed from her code writing by L. Linder*, London, 1966, p. 55.
17 https://www.standard.co.uk/culture/art-for-the-nation-sir-charles-eastlake-at-the-national-gallery-review-7426154.html 2012 [retrieved 22/02/24].
18 Letter to Rawdon Brown, 25 April 1856, in Sheldon, *Letters*, 2009, pp. 177–8.
19 'Modern Painters [by Ruskin]', *Quarterly Review*, vol. 98 (March 1856), pp. 384–433, p. 402.
20 See letter from Sir Charles Eastlake to Richard Brailsford, dated 19 July 1861. NG Archive.
21 She reported: 'I have been working very hard in the Gallery here (Munich): I am so constantly taking notes now for my particular object, that I see no chance of getting any sketches, unless I could have time to draw for my own purposes'. Smith, *Journals and Correspondence*, 2, p.141.
22 *The History of Our Lord, commenced by the late Mrs. Jameson, continued and completed by Lady Eastlake*, London, 1864.
23 Smith, *Journals and Correspondence*, 2, p. 161.
24 For the view that the work represents a 'solidarity', see Maria H. Frawley, *A Wider Range: Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England*, London and Toronto, 1994, p.71. Robinson writes about a 'duet of female voices': Ainslie Robinson, '*The History of Our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art*: Anna Jameson's coup de grâce', *Women's Writing*, 10 [1] (2003), pp. 187–200, p.188, and Palmer about their shared expertise: Caroline Palmer, '"A fountain of the richest poetry": Anna Jameson, Elizabeth Eastlake and the Rediscovery of Early Christian Art', *Visual Resources*, Special Issue: Women's Expertise and the Culture of Connoisseurship, 33, Issue 1–2 (2017), 48–73, p.48.
25 *Athenaeum*, no. 1907, 14 May 1864, p. 668.
26 W.M. Rossetti, 'Mrs Jameson and Lady Eastlake: The History of Christ in Art', *The Reader* 3:74 (28 May 1864), pp. 672–3, p. 672.
27 See Susanna Avery-Quash, 'The Travel Notebooks of Charles Eastlake, 1830–65', *The Walpole Society*, vol. 74, 2 vols (2011).
28 Susanna Avery-Quash and Julie Sheldon, ''The Pencil is the Child of my Heart'. A Rediscovered Album of Drawings by Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake', *British Art Journal*, 14:2 (2013), pp. 45–63.
29 Smith, *Journals and Correspondence*, 2, pp. 74–5.
30 Letter to Layard, 8 May 1859, National Library of Scotland MS.42168 (464A).
31 Letter to Layard, 6 April 1861, Sheldon, *Letters*, p. 208.
32 Layard to Lady Eastlake, Venice, 27 September 1860: NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 20v. Quoted in Cecilia Riva, 'Austen Henry Layard collector and amateur: diplomacy, art history and collecting in 19th Century Europe', unpublished PhD thesis, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2019. p. 79.
33 Ibid, pp. 75–6.
34 Letter to Layard, 10 January 1866, Sheldon, *Letters*, p. 242.
35 Letter to Layard, 9 February 1866, Sheldon, *Letters*, p. 246.
36 Letter to Layard, 16 February 1866, Sheldon, *Letters*, pp. 246–7.
37 Letter to Layard, 17 July 1866, Sheldon, *Letters*, p. 258.
38 Susanna Avery-Quash. 'The Eastlake Library: Origins, History and Importance', *Memofonte*, 10, (2013), 3–45: http://www.memofonte.it/contenuti-rivista-n.10/s.-averyquash-the-eastlake-library-origins-history-and-importance.html.
39 Letter to Layard, 31 October 1867, Sheldon, *Letters*, p. 277.
40 Letter to Boxall 5 May 1870, Sheldon, *Letters*, p. 330.

41 Letter to Boxall 18 May 1870, Sheldon, *Letters*, p. 332.
42 Letter to Hannah Brightwen, 14 October 1875, Sheldon, *Letters*, p. 407. See also Julie Sheldon, 'His Best Successor: Lady Eastlake and the National Gallery'. In K. Hill (ed.) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities* (pp. 61–4). Woodbridge, 2012, p. 61.
43 Julie Sheldon, 'Lady Eastlake and the Characteristics of the Old Masters', 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* (28), 2019.
44 Lady Eastlake, *Five Great Painters: Essays Reprinted from the Edinburgh and Quarterly Review*, 2 vols, London, 1883, 2, p. 129.
45 Lady Eastlake, *Five Great Painters: Essays Reprinted from the Edinburgh and Quarterly Review*, 2 vols, London, 1883, 2, pp. 149, 151.
46 Letter from Charles Eastlake Smith to John Murray, 18 May 1895, National Library of Scotland MS.41104.
47 Ernest Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur*, Cambridge, MA., 1979, pp.120–1.
48 Enid Layard's Journal, British Library, vol. X, Add MS 46,162.
49 See for example letter to Layard, 31 October 1867 and 24 August 1876 in Sheldon, *Letters*, pp. 277 and 422.
50 Letter to Gladstone, 5 May 93, Sheldon, *Letters*, p. 637.
51 See Susanna Avery-Quash, 'Notebooks of Charles Eastlake, 1830–65'.
52 The label for the Pisanello records that the painting was 'Presented to the Nation by Lady Eastlake in Memory of her Husband.' That for the Bellini reads: 'Presented by Lady Eastlake.'
53 Smith, *Journals and Correspondence*, 2, p. 76.
54 For example: 'Lady Eastlake was one of the most remarkable women of her time … and the extraordinary improvement in the quality of Eastlake's purchases can hardly fail to have been assisted by her companionship' in Sir Charles Holmes and C. H. Collins Baker, *The Making of the National Gallery,1824–1924*, London, 1924, pp. 32–3.
55 Winslow Ames, *Prince Albert and Victorian Taste*, London, 1967, p. 126.
56 John Steegman, 'Sir Charles Eastlake: 1793–1865', *The Architectural Review*, 138 (November 1965), p.364.

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