‘THIS MADE ME A PAINTER!’

J.M.W. Turner and the perception of Holland and Dutch art in Romantic Britain

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Introduction

In 1842, the British painter Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851) exhibited a painting at London's Royal Academy that went beyond everyone's imagination. Exploring the effects of an elemental vortex, *Snow Storm - Steam Boat off a Harbour's Mouth* (Tate), shows a swift suggestion of a steam-ferry in the heart of the composition. The vessel is heavily suffering under the rough weather conditions of a snowstorm at sea, which, by an eruption of swirls of paint onto the canvas, denies the viewer the possibility to fully survey the entire episode. Instead, the viewer is swept away into the vortex, leaving him nothing else but the terrifying sensation of mankind's futility opposed to the tempestuous forces of nature. The picture is sublime in all its aspects and has come to be one of the artist's most famous paintings. It gave Turner the reputation of a ground-breaking, impulsive and extravagant painter who was way ahead of his time in creating such a powerful abstract work of art. The composition of the picture and the artist's application of paint are challenging and unprecedented in the British , and even the European, painting tradition. Today highly admired for just these reasons, the work was fiercely criticized and misunderstood at the time of its first exhibition. On 14 May of that year, a reviewer of the *Athenaeum* expressed his incomprehension by writing:

> 'This gentleman has, on former occasions, chosen to paint with cream, or chocolate, yolk of egg, or currant jelly – here he uses his whole array of kitchen stuff. Where the steam-boat is – where the harbour begins or where it ends – which are the signals […] are matters past our finding out.'[1]

Turner himself, however, argued that he did not paint the work to be understood. Recounting that he himself had witnessed the heavy storm, while lashed to the mast of a ship for over four hours, he felt bound to record his impressions, without any expectation of his audience to like the picture.[2] Said by a Romantic painter who lived in the first half of the nineteenth century, this statement reminds us rather of a modern and avant-garde artist of a much later time,

[1]Quoted in Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll, *The Paintings of J.M.W. Turner*, revised ed., New Haven and London 1977 , no 398, pp. 224-225.

[2]John Ruskin recorded this statement that was made in a conversation between Turner and Rev. William Kingsly. Butlin and Joll (1984), p. 224. The Royal Academy exhibition catalogue recorded the full title of the picture*: Snow Storm—Steam-Boat off a Harbour's Mouth making Signals in Shallow Water, and going by the Lead. The Author was in this Storm on the Night the Ariel left Harwich*. However, it is doubted whether the story is actually true as there would be no ship called Ariel, that was involved in such a storm in these years, nor any ship of that name that is known to have been sailing from Harwich at this time in general.

indifferent about others' opinions and engaged with expressing his own impressions and inner experiences upon a work of art. Yet, despite its progressive and ground-breaking appearance, the painting can also be understood as one of the last in a long and firmly based tradition.[3] It is one of the final pieces in a long line of paintings by Turner that are inspired by a painterly tradition, that finds its origins in seventeenth-century Holland. Indeed, *Snow Storm* is, as are many of Turner's sea pieces, ultimately derived from Dutch marine painting, extremely popular in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain. Following a long tradition of British sea-painters, Turner too was highly influenced by the Dutch and moreover extremely fascinated by their country.

Fig.. 1. J.M.W. Turner, *Snow Storm - Steam-Boat off a Harbour's Mouth*, 1842, oil on canvas, London (Tate).

[3] For an elaborate discussion concerning this argument see Christine Riding's *Turner and the Sea*, exh.cat. London (National Maritime Museum) 2013, pp. 26-35 and 242-249.

Turner's interest in Holland can already be found in a very early stage of his career. As a young boy, he was already intrigued by the paintings of the Dutch old masters. According to an anecdote by Walter Thornbury, one of Turner's earliest biographers, it may even have been due to the sight of a print after a picture by Willem Van de Velde I (1611-1693) that Turner decided to become a painter in the first place:

> 'Mr. Trimmer and Turner were one day looking over some prints. 'This' said Turner with emotion, taking up a particular one, 'made me a painter'. It was a green mezzotint, a Van der Velde – an up-right; a single vessel running before the wind and bearing up bravely against the waves.'[4]

In particular Dutch marine painting was of great interest for the young painter and for instance the painting *Dutch Boats in a Gale; Fishermen Endeavouring to Put their Fish on Board* (Private collection.[5]), exhibited as early as 1801, provides hard evidence for this affection for the Dutch. The work was commissioned by the Duke of Bridgewater as a pendant to Willem Van de Velde's *Rising Gale* (The Toledo Museum of Art), also in the Duke's collection. However, it were not only the great marine painters of seventeenth-century Holland who gained Turner's interest, for the realistic Dutch landscape painting of the same period was also highly appreciated. In fact, one the artists most admired by Turner was the landscape painter Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691), who was popular with British collectors and whose work was easily accessible to Turner. Even though his interest in Holland and its art existed from an early age, it took him quite long to finally visit the country itself. In the late summer of 1817, Turner undertook his first journey to the Low Countries, which back in those days also incorporated present-day Belgium. He returned in 1825 and visited the country again on several later occasions during larger European tours.

As the brief analysis of one of Turner's most celebrated paintings demonstrates, Turner's relationship with the Low Countries is proved to be a significant factor in the painter's artistic

[4] W. Thornbury, *The Life and Correspondence of JM.W. Turner*, 1862, rev. ed. 1877, p.8. The print in question, entitled *Gust of Wind*, is now at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find out after what exact painting this print is copied.

[5] The picture has been on long term loan at the National Gallery in London, but a current item on Art History News website 10 July 2014 notes this has been taken off display at the National Gallery and also removed from the website – which might indicate it is no longer on loan after many years or even about to be sold. See 'Turner's 'Bridgewater seapiece' to be sold?', online at http://www.arthistorynews.com/entries_by_date/2014/July (10 July 2014).

development and production. Yet, in the immense body of Turner literature that has been published over the last two centuries, relatively little attention is paid to the subject. A critical investigation of it, however, may offer refreshing insights in the painter's artistry and can contribute to the immense body of Turner scholarship that built a solid foundation of studies for the understanding of the artist's complex identity.[6]

Judging from that large bulk of publications, it seems as if almost every aspect of Turner's life and work has already been investigated. In 1977 Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll made the large and invaluable effort of publishing a comprehensive *catalogue raisonnée* of all the paintings and Andrew Wilton added to his excellent *Life and Work of J.M.W. Turner*, published in 1979, an extended catalogue of the watercolours. Since 2012, Tate is hosting a large scale research project, entitled *J.M.W. Turner: sketchbooks, drawings and watercolours*, which is resulting in a growing catalogue of the enormous amount of works on paper by Turner in the Tate's collection, watercolours, pencil drawings and sketchbooks, thereby aiming to provide a comprehensive revision and update of A.J. Finberg's *Inventory of Drawings of the Turner Bequest*.[7]

Having most of his artistic output easily at hand, many scholars have also been engaged with Turner as a traveller and Turner's sources of inspiration. Cecilia Powell closely studied Turner's travels to Italy and Germany and Ian Warrell spent considerable time investigating his visits to Venice and France.[8] In 2009 the Tate organized a large exhibition about the relationship between Turner and the old masters, *Turner and the masters*, in which masterpieces by Canaletto, Ruisdael, Rembrandt and Titian were placed next to Turner´s paintings.[9] Three years later, the National Gallery in London followed this idea by relating Turner´s work specifically to Claude Lorrain (1604-1682), *Turner inspired. In the light of Claude*. Two other Tate exhibitions emphasised an entirely different image of Turner. Tate Britain's 2005 exhibition *Turner, Whistler, Monet* and Tate Liverpool's *Turner, Monet, Twombly: later paintings* in 2011, look forwards rather than backwards. The four exhibitions

[6] See for an overview of the historiography of Turner literature; L. Herrmann, 'Publications on Turner -1900-74' , and M. Kitson, 'Publications on Turner- later 20th century', in: E. Joll, M. Butlin and L. Herrmann (ed.), *The Oxford companion to J.M.W. Turner*, Oxford 1992, pp. 244-250, and S. Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner. The making of a modern artist*, Manchester 2007.

[7] The catalogue is accessible online and grows over time. http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner. I am most fortunate to have been collaborating in this extensive project, when I prepared catalogue entries of the sketchbooks from Turner´s travels in Holland during my internship at Tate Britain from September 2013 until January 2014.

[8] See for instance C. Powell, *Turner in the South: Rome, Naples*, Florence, New Haven 1987; *Turner's Rivers of Europe*, London 1992 and *Turner in Germany*, London 1995; I. Warrell, *Turner on the Loire*, exh. cat. London (Tate Gallery) 1997 and *Turner and Venice*, London 2003.

[9] See D. Solkin and G. Faroult, *Turner and the Masters*, London 2009.

demonstrate a long-lasting debate among Turner scholars, held already since the end of the nineteenth century and today still as relevant as ever. This is the complex discussion about the position of Turner in the history of art, either at the end of the classical tradition or rather at the very beginning of modernism.

This discussion shall also return when one starts to explore Turner's relationship with the Low Countries and is for instance embodied in such extravagant paintings as the *Snow Storm*. As argued above, the particular relationship between Turner and Holland has found only a small amount of recognition and scholars have only briefly touched upon the topic. For much of the information present, researchers owe a great debt to the work of the Dutch-German art historian Fred Bachrach. Professor at Leiden University and founder of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute for the study of Anglo-Dutch relations, Bachrach devoted a great part of his career to the study of Turner's relationship with Holland and analysed some of his sketchbooks in great depth. His research was often done in collaboration with the Tate and resulted in several publications.[10]

Despite the marvellous legacy he left us, his account of Turner's travels and his relationship with Holland and Dutch art is far from complete and a lot of information about the exact dates and number of visits still has to be added. For instance, the later sketchbooks with Dutch subjects were thought to have been used during Turner's Continental tours in the 1840s, to Venice in 1840 or Switzerland in 1841 and 1844, but a specific identification of any of those three tours was left out. In 1995 Cecilia Powell identified one of those books as having been used during a tour to Northern Germany, the Elbe and Prague in 1835 in which Turner headed back for England via Rotterdam.[11] Such adjustments and additions can thus still be made to Bachrach's legacy. When exactly did Turner visit Holland, where did he go, how did he travel, where did he stay and what did he see? Many of these questions are still left unanswered. Also in terms of the importance of Holland and the Dutch masters in Turner's artistic development, a more critical analysis is in order. Bachrach's general argument is that Turner's interest in Holland had a long-lasting effect on this development. However, in his argument, Bachrach fails to offer a reflective comparison between Turner's Dutch output, in

[10] Among others, Bachrach published, *Turner and Rotterdam, 1817, 1825,1841*, Rotterdam 1974, 'Turner's Holland', *Dutch Quarterly Review of Anglo-American Letters* 6 (1976) 2, pp. 87-115, 'Turner, Ruisdael and the Dutch', *Turner Studies*, 1981, vol. 1, pp. 19-30, and *Turner's Holland*, London 1994. As said, Bachrach had analysed a great part of his Dutch sketchbooks, but there is still much left to do in this respect. The Tate research project *J.M.W. Turner: sketchbooks, drawings and watercolours* is engaged in completing this part of Turner's oeuvre.

[11] Powell (1995), p.60.

all media, and his other works. Another interesting article on this topic was written by Sarah Monks. In 'Turner goes Dutch', published in the exhibition catalogue of *Turner and the Masters*, she critically analyses Turner's relationship with Dutch seventeenth-century painting in which she elaborates on the fierce competition with the old masters which Turner tends to enter into and in which Turner ultimately surpasses them in many aspects.[12] However, how refreshing and sharp Monks's observations may be, a truly critical reflection of all of Turner's Dutch related practices, especially also in comparison with the rest of his oeuvre, is yet to be established.

It is therefore the aim of this thesis to do so and to raise a new, comprehensive and critical eye on the relationship between Turner and Holland. On the surface Holland and Dutch art seem to fulfil a great role in Turner's artistic production but one may wonder how this went about and on what grounds this influence is based. Did Holland suit Turner's Romantic ideals and inspire him to explore his Romantic genius, or did the country just offer him a firm base of public confidence and financial security because of its great history of painting, the demand for those paintings on the art market and the competition with colleagues who worked in a fairly 'Dutch' style? In short, what did Holland, both the country as its school of painting, mean for Turner as a Romantic landscape painter in nineteenth-century Britain?
All of this can partially be clarified by an exploration of the general attitude of nineteenth-century British painters towards the Low Countries and it becomes even more interesting if one compares Turner with his countrymen. He was not the first one to undertake a journey to the Low Countries and also after him, many others followed. There were many books written about such travels to the Netherlands, encouraging artists to undertake the journey themselves and guiding them in what to visit. Turner had read these books as well and he used such publications about Holland as resources for the preparation of his journeys. In addition, the Dutch painting tradition played a crucial role in the development of British Romantic art in general. In 1971 the Mauritshuis in The Hague and Tate Gallery in London organized a large exhibition that considered the Anglo-Dutch relationship in eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century British landscape art. *Shock of Recogntion* showed the general popularity of the Dutch old masters in England. The exhibition showed how Romantic landscape painting in Britain used the depiction of nature by the Dutch old masters as their inspiration

[12] S. Monks, 'Turner goes Dutch', in: Solkin (2009), pp. 73-87.

and in turn found their own unique identity by imitating the Dutch.[13] As the title of the show illustrates, the exhibition tended to express the sentiments of the British Romantic landscape painters towards Dutch seventeenth-century painting, as illustrated also in written accounts by those masters in which a delight for the Dutch realistic vision of landscape scenery becomes even more clear. In 1828 John Constable (1776-1837) wrote to a friend:

> 'I have seen an affecting picture this morning by Ruisdael; it haunts my mind and clings to my heart and stands between you and me while I am talking to you; a man and boy are cutting rushes in the running steam (the tailwater); the whole so true, clear, and fresh, and so brisk as champagne; a shower has not long passed'.[14]

Constable never went to Holland. Although a great admirer of Dutch landscape painting, he never went to see that landscape for himself. Other artists did and it is interesting to explore how Turner relates to those other visitors to Holland.

The image of the avant-garde and free-minded artist, as we know him from his later paintings such as the *Snow Storm*, lets one perhaps assume that his attitude towards Holland and Dutch art was extraordinary, impulsive and emotionally charged. On the other hand, it could also well be possible that just as in his fascination for Dutch marine painting, in his attitude toward the country Turner follows many earlier eighteenth-century British artists and art lovers. In addition, the great success of his earlier sea pieces might have inspired other artists to learn from Dutch marine painting too and perhaps therefore to visit the country as well, making Turner's travels in Holland and his perception of the land a kind of role-model for other emerging painters.

It will therefore be this thesis's main question of research to explore how Turner's attitude towards Holland – both the actual country as well as its painting tradition – relates to that of his colleagues who travelled to the country and how this reflects the vision of Holland and Dutch painting in nineteenth-century Britain. Turner's travels to the Low Countries will be explored in great depth by means of closely investigating the sketchbooks. In doing so, his perception of the country will be defined in which a consideration of his 'Dutch' artistic output within the rest of his oeuvre will also be thoroughly considered. The critiques on his exhibited works and the position of his works on the art market shall be taken into account, as

[13] F. Bachrach, *Schok der herkenning. Het Engelse landschap der Romantiek en zijn Hollandse inspiratie*, exh. cat. The Hague (Mauritshuis)/ London (Tate Gallery) 1971. Next to a great number of British artists, the exhibition also embodied a large amount of Dutch paintings to compare with.

[14] Quoted in Bachrach (1971), p.7.

well as the general tendency of the market and British taste in the nineteenth century, which can possibly help clarify some of his artistic choices, as well as those of other artists. Meanwhile, the broader context will be considered too, by closely investigating the position of Holland and Dutch art in British art theory and by focusing on other British travellers in the country. Travel journals and guidebooks as well as the production of other 'Dutch' works will therefore also be discussed. An overall conclusion to this subject may hopefully offer valuable information on the reception of Holland in nineteenth-century England. Moreover, the results of this research could function as a key in capturing the double nature of Turner's identity. An elaborate study of Turner's Holland can possibly help in bridging the gap between the images of Turner as the traditional artist on the one hand, and the modern artist who transcended his own time on the other. Yet, even Britain's biggest Turner admirer, John Ruskin (1819-1900), admitted: '*What for us, his work yet may be, I know not.*'[15]

[15] T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, *The works of John Ruskin*, 39 vols, London 1903/1912, vol. 7, p. 412, quoted in: Smiles (2007), p. 208.

Chapter 1

Beautiful, Sublime and Picturesque

The reception of Dutch Art in Romantic Britain

The ideas of Sir Joshua Reynolds

When Turner was admitted at the Royal Academy as a young boy of fourteen years old, he entered a world in which ideas on art were dominated by its very first president, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), who promoted his ideas in a series of lectures published as *Discourses on Art.* To understand Turner's background and the origins of his aesthetic principles it is thus important to consider Reynolds's ideas on painting and the artistic climate of the end of the eighteenth century. Apart from several lectures that Turner might have attended himself, he was most certainly familiar with Reynolds's ideas through their printed form. After Reynolds's death, in 1798 Edmond Malone published the *Discourses* as part of the collection of the artist's entire work and Malone's book was reissued several times shortly after. WE know that Turner had an edition of Reynolds's work in his possession.[16]

In his *Discourses,* presented over a period of twenty years, with a lecture held at the opening of the yearly Academy exhibition, Reynolds urged his students to seek ideal beauty, which he thought could be derived from a close observation of the physical world as well as by an intense study of the works by previous artists who had attained the same ideal. In this respect Reynolds aimed for a revival of the classical ideals from Greek and Roman antiquity and the painting of the High Renaissance, in particular the works of Raphael and Michelangelo. With his vision, Reynolds recapitulates ideas that had dominated European art theory and criticism since the middle of the fifteenth century.[17]

Despite this traditional vision on art, Reynolds was also well aware of the changing spirit of his time, which would ultimately led to a shift from Classicism towards Romanticism from the 1750s onward. In his art theory Reynolds maintained a strong balance between the

[16] See, Sir J. Reynolds, E. Malone, T. Gray, *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight; Late President of the Royal Academy; Containing his Discourses, Idles, A Journey o Flanders and Holland, and his Commentary on Du Fresnoy's Art of Painting*, London 1798. The inventory of Turner's library shows that he possessed the fourth edition of the *Works,* published in 1803. See 'Turner's Library', in: A. Wilton, *Turner in his time*, London 2006^2 (1987), p. 247.

[17] Reynolds had also read a considerable amount of such earlier literature on art. As Robert R. Wark argues in his introduction to the 1975 edition of the *Discourses*, it appears that Reynolds mostly consulted French and British art writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Apart from such standard sources as Vasari, he had barely read any documents on art theory from the Italian Renaissance. Wark based his argument on an analysis of Reynolds' library in Frederich W. Hilles, *The Literary Career of Sir Joshua* Reynolds, Cambridge 1936, chapter 7. See Sir Joshua Reynolds, R. R. Wark (ed.), *Discourses on Art*, London 1975, pp. xxii-xxiii.

Classical ideals and the Romantic ones.[18] The *Discourses* therefore comprehensively represent all distinctive features of art theory and criticism of the second half of the eighteenth century in which many aestheticians were involved. A brief exploration of these aesthetic ideas is in order to better understand the reception of Holland and Dutch art in Romantic Britain and, of course, Turner's position therein.

The Beautiful and Sublime

In eighteenth-century aesthetics in Britain three terms were ever dominant: the Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque. Visions of all three concepts widely differ among the various aestheticians and no adequate and accurate definition of any of them is possible. Yet it seems as if the search for the Beautiful is the key to pursuing the Sublime and the Picturesque as well.[19] Reynolds's vision of the Sublime is closely associated with the Beautiful, that is derived through a close observation of nature. According to Reynolds, the Sublime seeks to achieve natural Beauty to thereafter surpass it. This perception of the Sublime is in coherence with the original meaning of the term, even though nowadays the word can be associated with anything wonderful and can express a quality of any kind of unusual greatness. The term 'Sublime', first mentioned by the Roman philosopher known as Longinus, appeared in European art theory in the seventeenth-century and was linked to a certain kind of Beauty that uplifts the soul or provokes intense emotions.

In the course of the eighteenth century, its interpretation slowly shifted and the term could be applied to certain aesthetic experiences which deeply affect the viewer with intense emotions, not necessarily dealing with Beauty. This was mainly due to the British politician and philosopher Edmund Burke (1729-1797), who wrote about the concept in his *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, published in 1757. According to Burke, emotions of danger, fear or repugnance can also be connected with the Sublime. In fact, the foundation of his theory is the emotion of terror and to Burke's concept of Sublimity the paintings by the Neapolitan painter Salvator Rosa (1615-1673) appealed enormously. On the other hand, Claude Lorrain was regarded as the antithesis of Sublimity and exemplified the 'Beautiful' instead with his classical, harmonious and elegant

[18] Wark offers a clear analysis of the formation of this compromise between the two ideals in both his art theory and his own paintings, see Reynolds (1975), pp. xxix – xxxv. See for a wide explanation of the term Romanticism in European art, W. Vaughan, *Romantic Art*, London 1978 and H. Honour, *Romanticism*, London 1979. Generally the term comprises the period between 1750 and 1850.

[19] In his critical readings of eighteenth-century essays and lectures concerning British aesthetic theory, Walter John Hipple carefully analyses the discussions about the definitions of the three terms. See W.J. Hipple, *The Beautiful, The Sublime and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory*, Carbondale 1957.

compositions. The concept of Sublimity as defined by Burke and adopted by many after him, was associated with responses to the immense and erratic forces of nature that gave rise to terrific emotions, but it was also sensitive to smaller phenomena, such as darkness or silence, a deserted church or the ruins of a cathedral, which can provoke a certain sense of terror or threat. Such phenomena appealed particularly to landscape artists. Towering mountains, deep chasms, violent waves on rough seas and forceful storms were the kind of thrilling subjects that sublime landscape painters were on the look-out for.[20] However, it must be noted that the number of authors concerned with explaining the Sublime is immense and Burke's theory is but one of many interpretations.[21]

Even though Reynolds envisioned the Sublime as the ultimate form of Beauty, he did distinguish between the two by following Burke's ideas to a certain degree. He differentiates two terms by interpreting Beauty in terms of Elegance and thereby setting the Elegant against the Sublime. The latter would then gain its excess value by an extra intensity of form, composition and emotions, which could possibly even lead to thrilling sensations of terror or ugliness.[22] However, whereas Burke's concept of the Sublime particularly appealed to landscape painting, Reynolds's interpretation of the term is best to achieve in history painting. It was history painting that Reynolds propagated as the highest form and in order to achieve such this level of Beauty and Sublimity it was best to learn from the great masters of the past. He therefore urges his students to nourish themselves from those great masters of past times, to always keep them in mind during the study and depiction of nature and to follow the classical principles upon which their art was based.[23]

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[20] Christine Riding and Nigel Llewellyn, 'British Art and the Sublime', in Nigel Llewellyn and Christine Riding (eds.), *The Art of the Sublime*, January 2013, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/the-sublime/christine-riding-and-nigel-llewellyn-british-art-and-the-sublime-r1109418, accessed 07 April 2014. See also, A. Wilton, *Turner and the Sublime*, London 1980.

[21] It does seem that in the latter years of the eighteenth century, an association with the terrible sentiment frequently returned . S.H. Monk, *The Sublime. A Study of Critical Theories in XCIII-Century England*, Michigan 1960, p. 233. As Samuel Monk points out in the conclusion to his elaborate study of the Sublime, it had not been feasible for him to record all that was written on the subject. His book however offers an instructive survey on the perception of the Sublime from its origins in Classical Antiquity to its interpretation in British aesthetic theory in the eighteenth century, also elaborating on the usage of the term in the British painting tradition.

[22] Hipple (1957), pp, 139-147 and Monk (1960), pp. 84- 100.

[23] *'Study therefor the works of the great masters, for ever. Study as nearly as you can, in the order, in the manner and on the principles on which they studied. Study nature attentively, but always with those masters in your company.'* In 'Sixth Discourse', in Reynolds (1975) in p. 113. See for an elaborate discussion on Reynold's position in British aesthetic theory and his perception of the Beautiful, Sublime and Picturesque, Hipple (1957), pp. 133- 149.

The rise of landscape painting

With Reynolds's ideas, the Royal Academy's criteria for high art elevated historical painting above all other kinds. However, due to the growing popularity of new aesthetic ideas such as Burke's landscape painting gained more and more ground at the end of the eighteenth century and especially in the early years of the following, the genre was flourishing highly.[24] Initially artists looked at landscape paintings by earlier masters such as Claude Lorrain or Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), who created idealised landscapes in which the staffage of mythical figures or classical ornamentation gives an historical or classical impression to the image.[25] With such so-called 'historical landscapes', landscape painters attempted to justify themselves in the superior genre of history painting by letting the landscape play the most prominent role in the depiction of a historical subject.

When Romantic thought arose, landscape artists turned more and more to the countryside. The sudden and swift changes that society underwent during the Industrial Revolution caused an even bigger interest in nature. Romantic artists were constantly struggling with the realities of their age and possessed a strong desire for freedom and dissociation from that harsh reality. Painters found in the power of nature their greatest escape and hence went looking for new places where they could find comfort and peace. British landscapists in the late eighteenth-century developed a native style of their own with a large emphasis on the beautiful countryside of the British Isles and their rustic atmosphere rather than an idealized Italian focus.[26]

Painters thus focused more and more on the depiction of the natural scenery around them and the emotions that nature evoked in them. Rather than imitating earlier artists by focusing on idealized landscapes or merely presenting an exact copy of nature, the romantic landscape painters added an inner expression of the landscape. Landscape painting was hereby fully emancipated. Rather than the imitation of nature it was the artist's most intimate expression of nature that was sought to be achieved, which often resulted in a realization of the

[24] See M. Royalton-Kisch, 'Reynolds as a Collector' in T. Clifford and A. Griffiths, *Gainsborough and Reynolds in the British Museum*, exh.cat. London (British Museum) 1978, pp 64-65. This growing importance and appreciation of landscape painting was a development which took place all over Europe but was nowhere as present and dramatic as in Britain.

[25] M. Rosenthal (ed), *British Landscape Painting*, Oxford 1982, pp. 25-27, and Bachrach (1971). See for a wide explanation of the term Romanticism in European art, W. Vaughan, *Romantic Art*, London 1978 and H. Honour, *Romanticism*, London 1979.

[26] L. Herrmann, *British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century*, London 1973, pp.7-27. In this study of eighteenth-century landscape art in Britain, Herrmann describes the developments from classical landscapes and influence by European old masters to a native British school of painting. In this respect he calls Claude 'the father of the classical landscape'. Herrmann (1973), p. 12.

insignificance of mankind versus the powerful forces of nature. In expressing the sensations that are evoked by such forces of nature, the highest level of Sublimity could be achieved. [27]

In search for the Picturesque

Along with the rise of landscape painting and perhaps also as an offset for the urge for a sublime experience of nature, the term 'Picturesque' was introduced, although the origins of the interest in the picturesque qualities of British scenery go back much further in time and the earliest signs of the picturesque movement were found in the work of architects and garden designers at the beginning of the century. Literally meaning 'like a picture' or 'suitable for a picture' the term refers to the experience of that kind of beauty that is agreeable in pictures and calls one to look at landscapes as if they were pictorial compositions, in which those qualities ought to be isolated that recalled examples of the much admired paintings by earlier masters.[28] The movement of the 'Picturesque' came to a head when everyone was denied travel to the Continent as a result of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Inland tourism increased and artists were looking for the most 'Italianate' aspects of British scenery. The reverent, writer and amateur printmaker William Gilpin (1724-1804) was one of the pioneers of such picturesque travels and the first to apply the term to landscape scenery and painting. He discussed the various aspects of the 'Picturesque' in essays, travelogues, his correspondence with close friends and the remarks next to his own drawings, urging his readers to travel inland in search for picturesque beauty. [29]

[27] Honour (1979), p. 118. In his book, *The Mirror and the Lamp*, the literary critic Meyer H. Abrams offers a close analysis of the shift in English criticism in times of Romanticism from imitation to expression, tracing the origins of romantic ideas, the so-called expressive theories, that came to replace the tradition classical or neo-classical ideas, the so-called mimetic theories. While the mimetic theories seek to explain art as an imitation of nature, the romantics concentrate on the artists themselves to explain the external world by means of their own expression. Although his book mainly concentrates on literature and poetry, his theory is applicable for all Romantic arts. See M.H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp*, New York 1953.

[28] Rosenthal (1982), p 27 and L. Parris, *Landscape in Britain, c.1750-1850*, exh, cat. London (Tate Gallery) 1973, p. 58. The term Picturesque is descendant from the Dutch 'schilderachtig', that was used in Dutch art literature in the seventeenth century, generally meaning 'resembling the work of a painter' or 'suitable as a work of a painter'. See for a discussion on the origins and the meaning of the term 'schilderachtig', Boudewijn Bakker's 'Schilderachtig: Discussions of a seventeenth-century term and concept', *Simiolus* 23, no. 2/3 (1995), pp. 147-162.

[29] It must be noted that Gilpin himself, as Carl Barbier argues in his profound study about the reverent, never attempted to distinguish the term as an aesthetic criteria just as Burke did for the 'Beautiful' and the 'Sublime'. It where other writers that reduced the term to a concept with definite attributes. See C.P. Barbier, *William Gilpin. His drawings, teaching and theory of the picturesque*, Oxford 1963, p. 98.

Return to the Old Masters

It is not without reason that Reynolds had so explicitly stressed the need to study the old masters; for through the study and absorption of the painters of earlier times, the aesthetic ideals of his own time could finally be achieved.[30] For the Beautiful, Sublime and Picturesque, the old masters offer the ultimate examples. Lorrain and the Italianates exemplify the picturesque, Raphael stands for the Beautiful and Salvator Rosa hints at terrifying Sublimity. The old masters were of fundamental interest, constantly providing points of reference and examples for both the artists and the audience. The British Institution, a private body founded in London in 1805 to promote the advancement in the fine arts, even promoted the paintings of the old masters as the only valid yardstick against which to measure contemporary art. Naturally those masters were variously esteemed in various places and times and Claude Lorrain was by far the most favoured of all, Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) coming not far behind. At the other end of the scale were the Dutch painters, Jacob van Ruisdael (c.1628-1682), Jan Wijnants (1632-1684) and Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709) for instance, who appeared on the market and were also taken as examples, but to a much smaller degree.[31] In general, the Dutch old masters did not respond to the ideas of the Beauty and the Sublime. Yet, in the search of the Picturesque also the scenery that reminded one of the naturalistic Dutch landscapes by Ruysdael or Hobbema were frequently sought after. In fact, as the following pages will show, the Dutch old masters appear to have been of fairly great importance in the development of British painting. In his *Journey to Flanders and Holland*, written after a tour to the Low Countries in 1781, Reynolds specified this importance by stressing: '*Painters should go to the Dutch School to learn the art of painting, as they would go to a grammar school to learn languages.* '[32]

Anglo-Dutch relations and cultural exchange

England and Holland have retained strong ties ever since the medieval period when Holland was already an important trading partner for England. The relations between the two countries became more intimate in the seventeenth century when trade and travel took place on a very large scale. Englishmen and Scots served in the Dutch armies and sizeable English and Scottish communities existed in the Dutch cities. Likewise, a large population of Dutchmen lived in London. Despite the Anglo-Dutch wars, a series of wars fought in the seventeenth and

[30] Riding (2013b).
[31] Solkin (2009), p. 24 -32 , and Parris (1973), p.15.
[32] Sir J. Reynolds, H. Mount (ed.), *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, Cambridge 1996, p. 110.

eighteenth century for control over the seas and trade routes, Dutchmen continued to visit England and vice versa. The wars were hard-fought but nevertheless resulted in little ruthlessness between the two nations. In fact, a few years after the first Anglo-Dutch war, which ended in 1654 with the Treaty of Westminster, Charles II embarked from Scheveningen in 1660 for England to restore the British monarchy and thereafter invited Prince William III to come to England to marry his niece Mary in 1677, making the political and cultural relationships even stronger.[33] Just as these economic and political ties, the artistic relations between Holland and Britain are traced back to even before the seventeenth century. Among the Dutch permanent immigrants and temporary travellers to London were also a large number of Netherlandish landscape artists, who spent considerable periods in England. The reasons for artists to come to England varied. Some were invited by the court or significant commissioners, others came to search for success or for personal reasons such as marriage. Some of them enjoyed great success and stayed in the country indefinitely, others were less fortunate and returned home soon. These Dutch and Flemish masters in England, of whom the marine painters Van de Velde were the most eminent, produced a unique and large body of work.[34] Because of these Dutch immigrants and the glory of the Dutch Golden Age, the first three decades of the eighteenth century experienced a high demand for Dutch and Flemish landscape paintings.

In line with this long lasting relationship of cultural interchange between Holland and England, many students followed Reynolds advice and studied the Dutch masters. They were not only familiar with the works by those masters who came to England for these immigrating painters brought along many Dutch ideas on art. But also the work by other Dutch artists were easily accessible for them, either in British collections or by prints. The Dutch painting tradition had thus reached in England in many different forms.
Even though Dutch landscape painting of the seventeenth century will also appear significant, the influence of the Dutch masters is nowhere more evident than in the development of British

[33] H. Paget, 'The Orange and the Rose', in *The Orange and the Rose. Holland and Britain in the Age of Observation*, exh.cat. London (Victoria and Albert Museum) 1964, pp. 19-21. Hugh Paget explains that sea-battles on the scale of the Anglo-Dutch wars had never been seen before in history but that the fact that they were fought at sea meant that they left little devastation behind. William III was crowned King of England in 1689.

[34] Herrmann (1973), pp. 10-11. The Van de Velde were the most eminent among them but also other artists such as Jan Wyck, Abraham Begeyn, also called Bega, Hendrik Danckerts and Jan Siebrechts, proved to be of significant value. See also P. Hecht, 'Dutch Painters in England: Readings in Houbraken, Weyerman and Van Gool' and G.M.G. Rubestein, 'Artists from the Netherlands in Seventeenth-Century Britain', in S. Groeneveld and M. Wintle (ed), *The Exchange of Ideas. Religion, Scholarship and Art in Anglo- Dutch Relations in the 17th Century*, Oxford and Zutphen 1991, pp. 150-192.

marine painting in the eighteenth century, of which Willem van de Velde the Younger was the original founder. Together with his father he crossed the Channel to Britain in 1673, never to return to Holland again. The Van de Velde studio was extremely successful and supported by many patrons, who helped to introduce the Netherlandish tradition of marine painting to a British audience and eventually also into British art. The works by the Van de Veldes showed a close observation of nature and attention to detail that gives away the artists' first-hand knowledge of ships and maritime experience. Whilst their *Calm* seas expressed great serenity, their *Rough* seas also emerge in a certain degree of sublimity in the forces of waves and storms. Therefore their work became an ultimate model for maritime art in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In particular Willem van de Velde the Younger was judged by many to be the figurehead of a nascent British school of marine painting.[35]

To a much less exclusive extent than Van de Velde, but indeed of significance as well, were such landscape painters as Jacob van Ruisdael, Meindert Hobbema, and Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691). Although not like the Van de Veldes incorporated in the British painting tradition and never having lived in England, they were also influential for the development of British landscape painting in the eighteenth-century. 'Hobbima, my dear Hobbima, how I have loved you' are what are said to have been the final words of John Crome (1768-1821) when he passed away in 1821, and in the oeuvre of Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788) a naturalistic Dutch style and subject matter give evidence of the influence of Ruisdael on the British artist.[36] Also in the nineteenth century, Dutch art continued to play a significant role for the Romantic painters and, as has been illustrated by the quotation in the Introduction, John Constable owes much of his style to the Dutch old masters. Likewise, the entire Norwich School, a group of painters that gathered in Norwich and surrounding Norfolk, of which John Crome was one of the leaders, found its inspiration in the seventeenth-century landscapes from Holland.

For the Romantic spirit, Dutch pastoral scenes were actually just as appealing as the 'Arcadian'places found in the poetical landscapes by Claude. The pastoral scenes of quiet meadows with flocks of sheep or grazing cattle could represent a happy pastoral stage of civilization before it was ruined by the Industrial Revolution.[37] In England, the reason for this

[35] Riding, (2013a), pp. 26-31.

[36] Luke Herrmann elaborately describes the relationship between Gainsborough and Dutch seventeenth-century landscape painting in his survey on eighteenth-century British landscape painting. See Herrmann (1973), pp. 97-105.

[37] Jean-Jacque Rousseau provoked this argument by the concept of pastoral primitivism. He believed this state to be 'the state least subject to revolutions, the best state of man', as he argues in his *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* of 1754, quoted and explained in Honour (1979), p. 60.

interest in Netherlandish art seems in parts to be a matter of recognition as well. As Fred Bachrach elegantly shows in the title of his exhibition in 1973, the 'Shock of Recognition' led the English landscapists back to the Dutch. Their local East Anglian landscape, with its flat vistas dominated by windmills and dramatic skies, had much in common with Holland's wet meadows and vast plains.[38]

Dutch art in British art theory

Despite the long tradition of artistic exchange, British aesthetic theory in the eighteenth-century did by no means welcomed this strong influence of the Dutch on British art. A different light will shine upon Reynolds's quote about the Dutch masters in his *Journey* when one continues to read and find that even though painters should go to the Dutch school to learn how to paint, it is to the Italian School that painters must go 'to learn the higher branches of knowledge.'[39] The statement illustrates exactly the position in which Dutch painters found themselves in British aesthetic theory: always inferior to Italy. Earlier lectures and writings show that Reynolds was in fact not fond of Dutch art at all. In the three letters he wrote in 1759 for Samuel Johnson's *Idler*, essays published in the London weekly *Universal Chronical*, the Royal Academy's founding father used Dutch art as an example of everything that English painters should avoid, regarding it as a threat to the nascent of an English school of painting. This violent attitude was mostly pointed towards Dutch genre-painting, which was considered to be low and vulgar.[40] Perhaps because of this condemnation of Dutch genre painting, the British also held Dutch society and culture in general in a low esteem. Dutch people were vulgar, impolite and avaricious and were thus regarded as the identification of 'low culture'.[41]

As time went on, Reynolds slowly prepared the way for a more sympathetic response to Dutch art and he came more and more to appreciate the pictorial qualities of Dutch art, still not approving its low subjects. When he delivered the final *Discourse* he just came back from a journey through the Low Countries and honestly hoped to encourage young painters to

[38] Bachrach (1973); See for an elaborate investigation of the relations between the painters of Norfolk and the Dutch masters, Andrew Moore's *Dutch and Flemish Painting in Norfolk. A history of taste and influence, fashion and collecting*, London 1988. Moore also discusses the similarities in landscape in Holland and England, see p. xvi.

[39] Reynolds (1996), p.110.

[40] See for an elaborate description of Reynolds' position towards Dutch genre painting, H. Mount, *The Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England 1695-1829*, unpublished PhD thesis Cambridge University 1991, pp. 101-112. See for the *Idler Letters*, S. Johnson, *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, vol. 2, New Haven, 2004.

[41] David Solkin, *Painting for money. The visual arts and the public sphere in eighteenth-century England*, Yale 1992, pp. 50-52.

undertake the journey as well and to learn from the Dutch masters' naturalistic style. This was a quality that Reynolds thought could be admired in low subjects but was ridiculous in higher ones.[42] The superiority of Italian art above Dutch thus remains ever more present. After all, history painting and the classical painting tradition were considered to be the highest form of art.

The superiority of history painting also informs the preference for the French and Italian artists over the Dutch in terms of landscape painting. The Italianate and classical landscapists who often feature historical subjects or figures in their compositions were preferred over the naturalistic rural everyday-life scenes in Dutch landscape. In paintings by Claude, human figures from classical legends or from the Bible, were shown at historically important moments. Of such works, Reynolds argued that the truth in Claude's landscapes 'is founded upon the same principle as that by which the historical painter acquires perfect form'[43]. The seventeenth-century Netherlandish landscape tradition, so much admired in the early eighteenth century and of great impact on the development of British landscape painting, was disapproved of by the Neo-Classical critics of the final decades of that century.[44]

Dutch art in the British art market

The aesthetic disapproval of Dutch art by no means corresponded with the British taste in collecting. The popularity and high prices for paintings by Dutch and Flemish painters in the first half of the eighteenth century illustrate this contradiction. Dutch genre paintings and rural landscapes were just as much in fashion as classical history painting, naturally arousing the criticism by theoreticians.[45] Nevertheless, in the second half of the eighteenth century the taste for Dutch art continued to increase and by the time Turner started painting, Dutch art was easily accessible. Reynolds himself was a collector of Dutch painting as well. During his tour in 1781, Reynolds hunted eagerly for Dutch paintings, meeting with collectors and important art dealers. During his second trip in 1785 he even bought a number of paintings for his own collection. Reynolds's attitude towards Dutch art is thus of an entirely different kind in the discussion of Dutch paintings in the *Journey* than in his other works. Here, he speaks as a painter and a collector at once, rather than as an aesthetician, and thus assesses the pictures for all the qualities they possess, even if those qualities were deemed inferior by the absolute

[42] Mount (1991), pp. 102-108.
[43] Reynolds, *Discourses,* p. 66, quoted in; M. Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque. Landscape Aesthetic and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, p.26.
[44] Andrews (1989), p.26.
[45] Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting. The growth of interest in the arts in England, 1680-1768,*New Haven 1988, p. 168.

standards of his own aesthetic theory. Reynolds' position in this matter is but an illustration of a general tendency that occurred at the end of the century when conflicting estimations of art, offered by aesthetic theory on the one hand and the art market on the other, led to a general split between commercial values and theoretical traditions.[46]

Illustrative for the commercial position of the Dutch masters in England at the end of the eighteenth century is an anonymous text, *The Beauties of the Dutch School*, published by an unknown London art dealer in 1793. The small book comprises a series of fourteen aquatints by the Dutch printmaker Cornelis Apostool (1762-1844), who then worked in England. It represents the most admired Dutch landscape artists of that time, often also accompanied by a general estimation of the value of their work on the late eighteenth-century British art market. Willem van de Velde the Younger is presented as 'the most admired and eminent sea painter that did, or perhaps ever will, exist, whose works cannot be too much admired'.[47] Aelbert Cuyp's cattle pieces are held in the highest esteem and brought at least 250 to 300 guineas and no other artist ever attained such high perfection in his work than Paulus Potter (1625-1654). His paintings were very scarce in England but his drawings are in high esteem and would bring considerable prices. Also, the works by Karel du Jardin (1626-1678), were held in high esteem and purchased at considerable prices of about 150 to 200 guineas. The most eminent painter of all was Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668), who surpassed all artists of his time and whose work was treasured in all major art collections. Notably the naturalistic rural and 'Dutch' landscapes were given little attention. Jan van Goyen (1596-1656), was qualified as a second rate painter, whose work seldom brought more than 20 guineas, just as much as the finest work by Aert van der Neer (1603-1677) would bring, and also the paintings by Salomon van Ruisdael (1600-1670) were on sale for not more than 50 to 100 guineas.[48] Jacob van Ruisdael and Meindert Hobbema were not even mentioned at all, whilst it seems, for instance in John Crome's anecdote, that Ruisdael and Hobbema in particular inspired the Romantic landscape painters in the early nineteenth century and whose paintings could remind us of the natural scenery in Britain as well. In the late eighteenth-century British interest for collecting Dutch art was still largely influenced by classical taste and

[46] Reynolds (1996), pp. lix- lxvi. The introduction by Harry Mount also offers a critical discussion of the content of the *Journey* and its reception and importance in late eighteenth-century Britain.

[47] Anonymous, *The Beauties of the Dutch School. Selected from interesting pictures of admired landscape painters*, London 1793. Also quoted in Riding (2013a), p. 31.

[48] It must be noted that the valuation of a work of art is not only dependent on the appreciation of the artist but also on the scarcity of his paintings. Van Goyen produced a large number of works and therefore his works also become less valuable whereas for instance Vermeer only made thirty five paintings and is therefore extremely expensive. Yet, this is not the argument of the author of this small book. For him the prices of a Van Goyen and similarly Van der Neer or Ruisdael are primarily to illustrate British taste.

characterized by a preference for idealized paintings by artists such as Cuyp, Potter and Wouwerman.[49]

The collection of Dulwich Picture Gallery, founded in 1811 after sir Peter Frances Bourgeois donated his collection to Dulwich College, reflects with its large number of Dutch pictures this specific taste in Dutch art. The paintings in Dulwich were the first major Dutch works to be on public view in England and therefore extremely influential on public taste. A preference in landscape for landscapists as Aelbert Cuyp and Jan Both is dominant, as well as a large collection of works by Wouwerman. With the exception of one small work by Ruysdael there are no naturalistic landscapes at Dulwich.[50] This lack was regretted by many contemporary artists and critics.

As it holds the legacy of an eighteenth-century collector, Dulwich Picture Gallery represents the British taste for collecting in the last decades of the eighteenth century, while at the turn of the century this taste slowly shifted towards a higher appreciation for the realistic Dutch seventeenth-century paintings. This has to do with a new stimulus in collecting, due to the sale of various Continental collections in which Dutch art was well represented. Already from the 1760s onwards the supply of Dutch art in British collections began to rise because of such sales. In the wake of the French Revolution more collections were brought to England in order to protect them. The first of those internationally renowned collections was the prestigious Orléans collection formed by the French prince Philippe D'Orléans, Duke of Orléans, comprising over 500 paintings of which a large number of works by Dutch and Flemish artists.[51] The collection's sale took place in Pall Mall in 1798 and was bought by the Duke of Bridgewater who allowed his nephew Earl Gower a share of it and dispersed parts of the collection down the family. Although the Orléans collection was mainly focused on Italian and classical paintings and clearly gives away the eighteenth-century taste for collecting, the presence of a considerable number of Dutch paintings in the Pall Mall sale nevertheless stimulated collectors to buy Dutch art. In general the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, with all the turmoil that they caused in Europe, provided a fresh stimulus in the collecting of Old Master paintings. People were especially excited by the sudden access to the masterpieces

[49] Anonymous (1793).
[50] C. Wright, *Dutch Painting in the Seventeenth Century. Images of a Golden Age in British Collections*, London 1989, p. 157.
[51] See P. Simpson, 'The Expansion of the London Art Market 1793-1815', Ph.D . dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, London 2009.

by many famous Italian masters, but likewise Dutch realistic painters as Ruysdael, Rembrandt and Hobbema became extremely popular.[52]

A reliable and illustrative source offering a comprehensive overview of the taste in collecting in nineteenth-century Britain, hence after the influx of Dutch painting in England descendant from major European collections, is given by the German art historian Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794-1868) in a series of publications about British collecting: *Works of Art and Artists in England (*1838), *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* (1854) and *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (1857). Waagen mentions the popularity of Dutch seascapes in particular and other painters who were outstandingly popular were Paulus Potter, Teniers, Adriaan van der Werff and Dou. Waagen also pointed out that after the sale of the Orléans Collection, taste for the Dutch masters increased, leading to a rage for certain masters, particularly Hobbema, Cuyp, Potter, Pieter de Hooge, David Teniers (1610-1690), Adriaen (1610-1685) and Isaac van Ostade (1621-1649) and the marine painter Willem van de Velde. [53]

It seems that especially Dutch landscape painting was in high esteem with the Romantic painters and collectors and Dutch art was easily accessible for the young artists who wished to learn from it, if not through the private collections which were occasionally open for the public, then through the many prints that circulated. Yet, the British attitude towards the appreciation of Dutch art is somewhat ambiguous. In terms of collecting, the Dutch old masters were very much in fashion and also for the development of British landscape painting and marine painting the naturalistic Dutch School was often taken as an example. On the other hand, the Dutch painters were held in low esteem in terms of aesthetic theory and Romantic ideals, as taught by Reynolds at the Royal Academy. In the pursuit of the Beautiful, Sublime and Picturesque the critics mostly speak about the imitation of such old masters as Raphael, Salvator Rosa or Claude Lorrain. The Dutch old masters are in this respect practically neglected. Only in terms of the search for the Picturesque the Dutch are

[52]Francis Haskell explains in *Rediscoveries in Art* that this shifting fashion in collecting during the revolutionary wars was not so much to do about a change in taste but rather about the pursue of celebrated masterpieces that have now come available for the British public. See F. Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art. Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, London 1976, pp. 24-28. Also King George IV held a large collection of old master paintings of which many by Dutch masters and Frank Hermann, in his book about the history of collecting in Britain, stated that there is no doubt that all the Dutch painters, with emphasis on Hobbema, the Ruysdaels and Cuyp, were more popular in England than anywhere else in Europe. F. Herrmann, *The English as Collectors. A Documentary Chrestomathy*, London 1972, pp. 238, 239. Hermann also pays special attention to the sale of the Orléans Collection.

[53] G. Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England*, 1838, printed in: Herrmann (1972), p.150.

occasionally mentioned as parts of the natural scenery in Britain could be related to the naturalistic Dutch landscapes, but preference is clearly given to the classical painters. As an all-round painter, far from being a landscape painter alone and in addition also a teacher and member of the Royal Academy, Turner must have felt this ambiguous reception of Dutch art and one may wonder whether this inconsistency is also reflected in Turner's view of the Netherlands during his visits to the country, in the works he produced following from these visits and in fact in his entire oeuvre in general. These are questions to return to later. Let us first take a closer look at the British affection for Holland by investigating the Romantic travellers to the country.

Chapter 2

Waterways and neat cities

Holland through the eyes of the British traveller

Just as in aesthetic theory, and also partially due to it, Holland seemed for a long time inferior to other countries in the tradition of travelling as well. From the early eighteenth-century onwards, Britons did indeed visit the country but for many it was considered nothing more than a staging-post to Southern Europe, ideally Italy and later also to idyllic places in southern Germany or Switzerland. Of course, there were exceptions to this general tendency and some travellers, even though they were on the way to further destinations, did spend considerable time in the Low Countries. Turner was not the first to do so as in fact already since the Middle Ages merchants, tradespeople and academicians, travelled frequently between England and Holland.[54] Since the eighteenth century, however, tourists went to visit the country also, travelling for pleasure rather than business or education.[55] It is interesting to explore what the actual reasons were for those tourists from England to visit the country and what caught their eye during these visits. In order to understand the expectations that Turner must have had when he visited Holland in 1817, and naturally also for the purpose of considering Turner's attitude towards Holland in a broader context and his position in the general reception of the country in Romantic Britain, such questions are best answered by taking a look at a number of travelling journals and guidebooks.

Grand Tourists in Holland

The British have always been frequent travellers and in the lure of Italy, travelling to the Continent had become fashion since the late seventeenth century. The so-called 'Grand Tour' tempted many wealthy Englishmen to travel to Italy to study the Classical Antiquities. The tour took the Englishmen via France or Germany to Rome and ended in Naples. If the itinerary included a visit to Germany, Holland was often included as well and hence over the course of the eighteenth century the number of art loving travellers that came from Britain to

[54] The universities of Utrecht and Leiden were well thought of and many scholars travelled to Holland for this reason.

[55] H. Dunthorne, 'British Travellers in eighteenth-century Holland. Tourism and the Appreciation of Dutch Culture', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 1982, p. 77. Concluding from surviving travel journals, diaries, letters and so on, Dunthorne argues that after 1690 a sizeable increase took place in the numbers of British travellers, and tourists in particular, in Holland. He also stresses that in the mid-eighteenth century the Dutch Republic had established a well-functioning tourist industry of considerable size.

the Netherlands increased. In preparation for these Grand Tours, travellers stayed in the Low Countries, where they reached the Continent at the port of Rotterdam or Ostend, before heading south along the Rhine towards Italy. Even though the *Tour* aimed to experience Classical Antiquity and Ideal Beauty and many travellers therefore did not pay any interest in what was to be seen along the way, an increasing number at the end of the eighteenth century visited the Low Countries with a more attentive eye for its scenery and beauty. Still, the number of tourists actually interested in the Low Countries was rather small. Those who were, and indeed some Grand Tourists remained north of the Alps and never visited Italy at all, would concentrate on the classical aspects of the country, mostly found in the architecture of the big cities or the large country houses and castles.[56] In general, as can be derived from travel journals and guidebooks about the country, tourists found the Dutch cities very elegant, clean and well-maintained while the Dutch people were extremely rigid and strict.[57] Amsterdam was praised for its beautiful canal houses and churches, Leiden and Utrecht were admired for their universities and The Hague appreciated for the beauty of its governmental buildings and palaces. Conversely, the Grand Tourists had little attention for the Dutch countryside, coasts, rivers and lakes, which relates to the general preference of the Italianate over the naturalistic Dutch landscape paintings by British collectors in the eighteenth century. Yet, the popularity of the seventeenth-century masters did stimulate the influx of travellers to the Low Countries. They came to visit the country to see the actual paintings of Rubens, Rembrandt and those other great masters who inspired them.[58]

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[56] See A. Wilton, (ed.), *Grand Tour. The lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1996, pp.. The book elaborately discusses all aspects of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour.

[57] See for an elaborate discussion of such travel journals Dunthorne's article, in which he also mentions two seventeenth-century guidebooks: Sir William Temple's *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherland*s (1673) and William Carr's *Remarks of the Government…of the United Provinces, with Some few Directions how to Travel in the States Dominions* (1688). Examples of eighteenth-century travelling guides are *A New Description of Holland* (1701), *Directions for Travelling through Holland and Germany* (1734), *A Description of Holland… with Directions for making the Tour of the Provinces* (1749), all published anonymously. In addition, the British traveller also had access to a number of detailed hand-books and could hire guides or interpreters on the spot. Dunthorne (1982), pp. 79 and 82.

[58] Dunthorne elaborates on this appealing aspect of Holland for British travellers, stressing that by the second half of the eighteenth century most tourists would not have considered their journey in the country complete without visiting the major collections of Holland, being the collections of William V and the Fagel family in The Hague and the paintings belonging to the city of Amsterdam and the Hope collection. As an argument for this interest in the Dutch collections, he gives the diminished political and economic strength at the end of the century, by which Dutch painting was regarded as an evocation of the great days of the Dutch Republic. Dunthorne (1982), p. 81. For further reading on British travellers in Holland in times of the *Grand Tour*, see H. Kraan, *Dromen van Holland: buitenlandse kunstenaars schilderen Holland 1800-1914*, Zwolle 2002, pp. 25-27, and M. Kitson 'Britse Kunstenaars in Holland, speciaal met betrekking tot Katwijk, in D. Bieber (ed.), *Katwijk in de Schilderkunst*, Katwijk 1995, pp. 56-57.

Reynolds's *Journey to Flanders and Holland*

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, one of those travellers was Sir Joshua Reynolds. In the late summer of 1781 he travelled to the Low Countries and his journey lasted for two whole months. Back in England, he published his notes of the tour as a general guide for artists who wished to visit the country. His *Journey to Flanders and Holland* was first published in 1797 and unfortunately only of limited use as the boarders were soon closed, not to be opened again until after 1815. In addition, the French Revolution and subsequent Napoleonic Wars led to the displacement of many works of art that Reynolds had discussed.[59] Not surprisingly, his tour was focused on visiting the major painting collections of Flanders and Holland and Reynolds pays much attention to the many art works in the Flemish churches, most of them produced by Flemish painters, but occasionally also by Italians. Once in Holland he swiftly passed Rotterdam and Dordrecht without spending much attention to those places since there were no pictures there. He continued with a description of the Gallery of Prince William V of Orange in The Hague, where he found excellent pictures by painters from the Dutch school. After The Hague he travelled to Amsterdam where he visited the town hall and saw several works of Rembrandt, of which the *Nightwatch* somewhat disappointed him. He moreover visited a number of private collections in the city.[60] In his discussion of Flanders and Holland not one word is devoted to the countryside, the people, monumental sights or general characterisations of the country. As a guide for travelling artists the book is thus rather one-sided. It is a book devoted to the subject of Netherlandish art, and Dutch painting alone is what is being discussed. Later travelling books and journals were more varied, which is also partially due to an important change in the purpose of travelling in general.

Picturesque travels

Alongside the *Grand Tour* another kind of travelling arose. During the Grand Tour emphasis was put on the study of Classical Antiquity, but with the rise of the search for the Picturesque in British aesthetics, travellers undertook their journeys in search of the ideal landscape, as beautiful as in a picture. The basis of such travels was not so much the Beautiful and

[59] Reynolds (1996), p. xii. The first edition of the *Journey* was published in 1789 in the *Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, edited by Edmond Malone.
[60] These were the collections of the familie Gart, Le Bruyn and Hope.

Classical landscape but rather the search for rough, erratic and varied natural scenery, ideally experienced in atmospheric conditions such as in twilight or of coming storms.[61]
In addition to his explanation of the Picturesque and the standards which it should meet, the reverent William Gilpin also elaborates on such Picturesque travels.[62] In his *Essay on Picturesque Travel* Gilpin instructs his readers to search after atmospheric effects such as light and shade and to look for beauty of every kind, such as for instance established in works of art but mostly produced by nature itself, in which all forms of landscape can offer Picturesque beauty. In terms of architectural building types, the picturesque traveller should be most interested in relics of ancient buildings and look for ruined towers, Gothic arches, cathedrals or remains of old monasteries and castles.[63]
The entire character of picturesque travelling thus differs from the Grand Tour. Whereas those travellers were mostly affected by the beauty of classical antiquity, Gilpin does not mention such beauty at all. The Grand Tour was marked by luxury and extravagance while picturesque travel should be characterized by soberness and simplicity. The travels did not all lead to Italy either. In fact travellers did not have to travel to the Continent at all for a picturesque experience of nature. The Lake District in the north west of England was established as one of the principal quarries for those in pursuit of the Picturesque. On the Continent, the banks of the Rhine in Germany or the Loire in France could offer similarly beautiful and picturesque sights and the Low Countries offered many possibilities also.[64]

Samuel Ireland's *Picturesque Tour*

The writer, engraver and amateur painter Samuel Ireland (1744-1800) was among the first to undertake such a picturesque trip to Flanders and Holland, in 1789. In 1790, his tour was published as *Picturesque Tour through Holland, Brabant and part of France made in the autumn of 1789*, making it a valuable document in the understanding of the reception of Holland by picturesque British travellers. His journey is picturesque travel *par excellence,* the

[61]M. Andrews *Search for the Picturesque. Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800,* Aldershot 1989, pp. 67-85. Strikingly, one of the necessary equipment for the picturesque tourist to hunt for the ideal landscape scenery was the so-called Claude Glass. The name clearly refers to Claude Lorrain and is an optical device that took various forms but was basically a mirror that miniaturised the reflected landscape, in which details were largely lost and instead an ideal composition emerged, freed from particularities or irregularities. See Andrews (1989), p. 68.
[62] For Gilpin's explanation of the Picturesque and the discussion of the meaning of the term by British aestheticians in the eighteenth century, see p 28.
[63] Rev. W. Gilpin, 'Essay on Picturesque Travel', in *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape; to which is added a Poem on Landscape Painting*, London 1792, pp. 41-50.
[64] Kraan (2002), pp. 31-35 and P. Bicknell, *Beauty, Horror and Immensity. Picturesque landscape in Britain, 1750-1850*, exh.cat. Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum) 1981, p. ix –xvi.

traveller constantly searching for picturesque subjects, which he mostly found while travelling over water from one city to another. This was ideally done by a barge called 'Trekschuit' from which the flatness of the country offered an uninterrupted view of its natural scenery. The view of a Dutch town, approached from the river, frequently offered a most picturesque image as well. Ireland arrived in Holland at Hellevoetsluis, after taking the ferry from Harwich. Via Brill, he travelled to Rotterdam, then Dordrecht, Delft and The Hague from where he made a short excursion of one day to Scheveningen. Thereafter he went north to Leiden and Haarlem before arriving in Amsterdam. He made a short trip to various small villages north of the IJ and headed east to Utrecht where he also visited Zeist. Thereafter he turned west again, via Gorinchem to Breda and Bergen op Zoom, to travel to Flanders from there.

At every visit to a city, Ireland paid much attention to the artists who were born or had lived there as well as the most eminent artists of his own time. His visit to Dordrecht was therefore mostly dedicated to Aelbert Cuyp and other Dort painters of high allure. '*Having a wish to visit Dort, a place so much noticed in the works of the famous Dutch artists, we intend making a short excursion thither tomorrow',* Ireland wrote.[65] The passage shows how well familiar the author was with the Dutch school of painting and the relation between Dutch painting and the actual natural scenery in Holland.

Together with the experience of the scenery he knew from the famous paintings, Ireland also wished to visit all noteworthy works of art and private collections. His visits to the larger cities were mainly to seek out such collections and to visit the main buildings and monuments. Judging from the number of portraits of great men of Holland printed between the texts and the many historical accounts about the cities, Ireland was very interested and well-educated in Dutch history. His description of smaller villages are much more anecdotal and here he pays more attention to the customs and habits, the dress of the people and neatness of the streets, while his account on the bigger cities is largely focused on the arts and architecture.

In all, it becomes clear that Ireland could find satisfaction in his search for the Picturesque in Holland too. The illustrations in the guide after drawings, executed on the spot by the author himself give the reader an impression of what had caught Ireland's Picturesque eye. The

[65] S. Ireland, *Picturesque Tour through Holland, Brabant and part of France made in the autumn of 1789*, London 1796, p. 40. About Cuyp in particular, Ireland wrote: '*To painters of eminence it has been rather propitious, at the head of whom rank Albrecht Cuyp […] A name that must be held dear to every lover of the arts. His close attention to nature in his landscape , and nice discrimination of character of his cattle stand unrivalled; the mist of the morning light of noon and sombre tints of the evening are all delicately marked in his pictures*.' Ireland (1796), p. 44.

prints mostly comprise city views with a river with vessels in the foreground and waterways with windmills and barges. They moreover show his great interest in the classical architecture of the cities and the artificial beauties of the landscape and towns, preferring wide paved avenues over rustic paths or wild woods.[66] Also Noteworthy, however are a study of peasants entitled 'Dress of the North Hollanders' and a delightful drawing of Scheveningen, depicting the busy life of the fisher folk on the beach, moored vessels along the shore and the village church in the far distance.[67]

Despite a handful of exceptions, in his search for the Picturesque in Holland, Ireland was mainly affected by the cities, gardens and waterways rather than by rural life and the countryside or rough and robust phenomena of nature. The appreciation for the country thus lies in the same aspects as for the Grand Tourists and is strongly focused on the classical and ideal side of its appearance. In general, the eighteenth-century British tourists, either on Grand or Picturesque travel, experienced Holland as a country of cities and waterways rather than of delightful coasts and a beautiful countryside.[68]

Romantic travelling to the Low Countries in the nineteenth century

This image of Holland was slowly to change after the turn of the century. Because of the French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars, restricting access to the Continent, British artists and travellers were limited to travel in their own country and headed to the south coast of England, the northern Lake District or Scotland. It is in this period that picturesque travel gained ever more popularity and Gilpin's advice on how to travel and what to look for was generally taken. After the Britons were denied access to the continent for over twenty years, accept for the short period of truce in 1802, when some, including Turner, were lucky to undertake short journeys abroad, they were finally able to travel again in 1815 and did so in very large numbers.[69]

It is at this moment that picturesque travel came to its high point. Mostly, medieval ruins, abbeys and castles, found in France or Scotland were extremely popular. Anothercommon destinations of such travels was the river Rhine, also due to the comfort and ease which the

[66] For instance about The Hague he writes: '*You will perhaps smile at the opinion but it is a truth; that nature may be softened and embellished by the hand of art and derive such variegated tints from tasteful culture as to produce a beautiful effect, seldom found in Dutch landscape*'. Ireland (1796), p. 54.

[67] All drawings are engraved by the Dutch printmaker Cornelis Apostool (1762 -1844), who worked in the United Kingdom between 1786 and 1795. The particular images mentioned are found on pages 38, 77 and 175.

[68] See also Kitson (1995), pp. 56-57.

[69] Turner's first Continental tour was in this short interwar period in 1802 when he travelled to the Alps and spend a considerable time in Paris to visit the Louvre. See David Hill's *Turner in the Alps: the journey through France and Switzerland in 1802*, London 1992.

new steamship services offered. In 1816 the first steam-line, called the 'Prince of Orange' brought travellers from London, to Cologne via Rotterdam within four days. The Rhineland got more and more appealing in popular taste at the end of the eighteenth century, and when Turner first went there in 1817 the banks of the river were extremely touristic.[70] Many romantic travellers were also charmed by the river Mosel between Trier and Coblenz. Likewise, the Meuse became steadily more popular. Also the field of Waterloo, south of Brussels, where the famous battle had taken place after which Napoleon surrendered, had been attracting hundreds of visitors from the summer of 1815 onwards.[71]

With these popular destinations in mind, the number of travellers to Holland also largely increased since Rotterdam or Ostend often were the point of departure for their journey landward. However, many travellers did not just pass the Low Countries in order to arrive at Waterloo or on the picturesque river banks of the Rhine in Germany, but they also paid particular attention to the country itself, spending considerable time here and deviating from the main route along the river in order to visit other Dutch places. Favourable subjects were also found along the coast, so the beach of Scheveningen, often designated as 'Scheveling' in journals and guidebooks, gained more and more appreciation. In addition, as is shown in the previous chapter, Romantic landscape painters became more interested in the naturalistic Dutch landscapes of the seventeenth-century rather than the Italianized images. The picturesque was now also found in the cloudy skies and water scenery of Holland, with its many rivers and wet plains.[72]

Travellers guides by Charles Campbell and Robert Hills

For the British tourists travelling to the Low Countries, two guidebook proved extremely useful: Charles Campbell's *Travellers Complete Guide Through Belgium and Holland. with a Sketch of a Tour in Germany* and Robert Hills's *Sketches in Flanders and Holland*. Campbell's travelling guide comprises a journey through Flanders, the German part of the river Rhine and Holland. In the first edition of the book, published in 1815, the author first discusses Holland before describing Flanders and Germany. In the second edition he radically rearranged his material, starting with Flanders, and after elaborating on a visit to Waterloo

[70]The famous poet Lord Byron evocated the Rhine in the third canto of his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, published in 1816 in which he spent several verses describing the emotions of his melancholic hero Harold as he viewed the river, longing for his distant beloved and recalling the heroism of ancient and recent wars. See Cecilia Powell, *Turner's Rivers of Europe*, London 1991, p. 12.

[71] The battle itself had inspired paintings, poetry and prose. For an elaborate discussion of the appeal of the Rhineland and the rivers Meuse and Mosel, see Powell (1991), pp. 11-20.

[72] Kraan (2002), pp. 41-43 and 62-73.

and the picturesque qualities of the banks of the Rhine in Germany, discusses Holland at the end. Turner had used this second edition on his first trip to the Low Countries in1817, for he had followed this course of the journey.[73] Campbell observed Holland with an extremely attentive eye, observing all aspects and characteristics of the country and its people; from the remark that most interiors are neat and include spacious kitchens, to the notion of Dutch fashion and gastronomic habits.[74]

His journey starts in Harwich where he took the ferry to Hellevoetsluys. He then set course to Rotterdam while passing Vlaardingen, Schiedam and the Brill. In Rotterdam he dedicates a paragraph to the description of the so-called 'Spielhouses', brothels by which he was rather shocked. Apart from the Boompjes, the most agreeable street in Rotterdam, although the attempt ornamentation was the worst that could be imagine,[75] Campbell omits all other buildings or architectural highlights such as the Beurs or the various city gates. From Rotterdam he then goes on to Dordrecht, Gorinchem and Delft, where he was deeply fascinated by the tomb of William of Orange in the Nieuwe Kerk and spent a long paragraph describing it. After a short excursion from Delft to Gouda, Campbell went on to The Hague, which 'from the magnificence of its buildings and their ornaments surpasses many cities'.[76]

The next trip from The Hague to Scheveningen is illustrative of Campbell's general esteem of the country. He considered the views of the ocean from this little village admirable but apart from this brief impression Campbell does not elaborate on the picturesque qualities of the village and the busy life of the fishermen and women on the beach. Instead, he stressed that 'the natural beauty of the village was much enhanced by the length of the elegant paved avenue with trees and mansions leading to it from The Hague'.[77]

It was thus not so much the rural life and national scenery that Campbell appreciated in Holland but rather the elegance of its cities, avenues, palaces and constructed waterways. After The Hague came Leiden, Haarlem and Amsterdam. He was impressed by the former Town Hall at the Dam and pays much attention to describing its architectural features and

[73] It must be realised that with 'Holland' its present day connotation is meant, including all provinces of the Netherlands other than North and South- Holland. The rearrangement of the material for the second edition may have had to do with the observation that Waterloo became immensely popular among British tourists and likewise the Picturesque Rhine tours were perhaps given preference over a visit to Holland.

[74] C. Campbell, *The Travellers Complete Guide Through Belgium and Holland: containing Full Directions for Gentlemen; Lovers of the Fine Arts and Travellers in General; with a Sketch of Germany*, London 1817. Interesting in this respect is the paragraph in the introduction, entitled 'General views of the Customs and Manners of the Dutch', pp. xviii-xxxv. He moreover proves himself familiar with Dutch history and noticed the Dutch natural aptitude for the sea.

[75] Campbell (1817), p. 229.

[76] Campbell (1817), p. 238.

[77] Campbell (1817), pp. 243-244.

classical ornaments. Thereafter, Campbell discusses various small places in North Holland: Zaandam, Brock (by which he presumably refers to present-day Broek in Waterland, just north of Amsterdam), Texel and Alkmaar, before going north east to Groningen and Friesland. Even in the discussions of these more provincial places, Campbell does not pay any attention to local scenery but instead focuses on the appearance of the small towns and their economic circumstances.

Only in his discussion of the province of Zeeland he start noting natural scenery. Here, not only the towns, commerce and history caught his attention, but he was also fascinated by the agriculture, farms, fashion, manners and habits of the people. Yet in all, Campbell's view of the Netherlands is reminiscent of that of the eighteenth-century Grand Tourists rather than Romantic picturesque travellers. Remarkable also is the little attention he pays to Dutch painting, despite the fact that in the subtitle of the book Campbell addresses lovers of the arts in particular.[78] Only in his description of the Royal Palace in Amsterdam does he elaborate on the paintings in the Royal Museum on the second floor, any other collection are practically omitted.[79]

Robert Hills's *Sketches in Flanders and Holland*, published in 1816, responds much better to the desire for the Picturesque. Hills was a painter himself, mainly depicting animals but occasionally also doing landscapes in watercolour. On 14 July 1815 he left Billingsgate in England and took a ferry to Ostend. From thereon he travelled to Bruges, Ghent and Brussels, from where he made an excursion to Waterloo. Back in Brussels he continued his journey to Antwerp and took the diligence from there to Rotterdam. Rapidly passing this city, he went to Dordrecht, Gouda, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, The Hague and Delft to finally return to Rotterdam from where he headed back home to London, via Hellevoetsluis.

In general, Hills characterizes all Dutch towns in the same fashion as they were all marked by canals, drawbridges, typical gable-fronted townhouses, shops and barges. He visited the Royal Museum in Amsterdam[80] and found that this city had many handsome streets and noticed that they were all very clean. Also of The Hague he spoke very highly, although it is remarkable that in visiting this city, Hills did not make an excursion to Scheveningen. He was fond of the

[78] The subtitle of the guide book is *Full Directions for Gentlemen; Lovers of the Fine Arts and Travellers in General*.

[79] However, it must be noted that a lot of collections that Reynolds had visited in 1789 were no longer accessible after the Revolution.

[80] Robert Hills, *Sketches of Flanders and Holland*, London 1816, pp. 137,138. Of Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* he wrote, 'A large work, from the hand of Rembrandt, called "the Night Watch" is considered by Dutch connoisseurs among the best ornaments of his collection; but it did not strike me as much as several others.'

waterways in Holland and the beautiful views they provided. In particular he seemed fascinated by the windmills, both in number and size. It is remarkable that Hills is the only one of the authors discussed who specifically mentions their presence.

Hills is also the first of the three authors to spend time describing the St Lawrence Cathedral of Rotterdam. The most outstanding description, however, was dedicated to Dordrecht, of which he says: '*The country in this immediate vicinity is of more interesting character than is generally to be found in Holland and the buildings, the shipping about the quays and a thousand other objects which I saw there would have furnished excellent materials for a painter.*' His high esteem for the paintings by Cuyp may now come as no surprise, although he wished the painter had made more use of the beautiful environments of his hometown.[81] This comment illustrates the importance of Dutch seventeenth-century painting in Hills's perception of the country. He frequently describes parts of the country by referring to the Dutch school, for instance, in recognising the carriages along the road from prints after the old masters.[82]

The book also comprises a large number of aquatints after drawings he made on the spot. Just as in Ireland's *Picturesque Travel*, the prints give a wonderful impression of the author's perception of the Picturesque in Holland and what caught his specific attention. The plates present studies of nature, city views and many sketches he made during his travel over water, depicting barges and 'trekschuiten', flat polders, windmills and canals. He moreover seemed interested in rural life, depicting farm houses, agricultural machines and drawing several studies of figures and the Dutch fashion. Judging from these illustrations, it appears that picturesqueness in Holland was not so much found in its monuments but rather in its natural scenery.

In terms of the preference for the countryside over the city, Hills's image of Holland is much more in accordance with the general trends of picturesque travelling in Europe than that of earlier authors. Those aspects of the country were appreciated that were strongly reminiscent of the landscapes by the old masters; the waterways, peasants and coastal life. Whereas eighteenth-century British travellers experienced Holland as a country of cities and waterways

[81]Hills (1816), pp. 128-129. 'As I surveyed the celebrated name of Kuyp suggested itself […] I could not suppress feelings of surprise and regret that in the selection of his subjects he had not more frequently done justice to the picturesque localities of his native island.'

[82] Hills (1816), p. 7. 'The predominant fashion of their waggons about Ostend, and indeed throughout Flanders and Holland, seems to be of an ancient date. One often finds them introduced in prints after the old masters; and to those who recollect the pictures of Ruysdael, Van Goyen and others they must as they are seen driven along the flat sandy neighbourhood of this town, appear highly characteristic.'

rather than of delightful coasts and beautiful countryside, the nineteenth-century traveller became more and more interested in the latter. This is a shift that runs parallel with the changing taste for Dutch paintings, from a preference for the idealistic Italianate pictures to the naturalistic and rural Dutch. One should remember Hills's regret that Cuyp had not done enough justice to the beautiful qualities of his hometown but instead concentrated too much on idealized scenery. Even though Cuyp did depict his hometown and surroundings frequently, the Italianized light that shines over it and idealizes his compositions did not satisfy Hills as much as the fresh and bright Dutch cloudscapes he had found near Dordrecht. Yet, eighteenth-century taste remains predominant. Even though Ireland, in 1790, was already clearly aware of the strong connection between Dutch painting and the Dutch land, he remains fairly traditional in his appreciation of Holland, still focusing on its elegant cities, its monuments and its history, rather than on its rural life on the countryside. In 1817, Campbell shows a similar observation of the country and even Hills remains strongly attached to classical values, still intrigued by the elegant beauty of the Dutch cities, Leiden and The Hague in particular. It must be noticed though that the choice of monumental buildings that is discussed is very limited and that the authors in their discussions of Rotterdam and Amsterdam do not do justice to the elegant and picturesque qualities of many churches, towers and city gates. The main churches in Amsterdam are barely mentioned and likewise the Ooster Oude Hoofdpoort or Delftse Poort in Rotterdam are practically neglected.

In addition, Ireland, Campbell and Hills all show a great interest in the different modes of travelling and elaborate widely on the strange appearance of the carriages and mail-coaches. They were most of all intrigued by the possibilities and comforts of travelling over water, in particular as offered by the 'Trekschuit'.[83]

Considering the fact that travelling painters used these guidebooks in preparation for or during their journeys, one may wonder to what extent those nineteenth- century painters maintained a similar attitude toward the Low Countries. Of course, this question is most relevant in the case of Turner. In the following chapter one can soon discover Turner's independence from the guides. For instance his sketchbooks barely show any remark of the cities The Hague and Leiden at all, whilst all three authors seemed much impressed by them. Also, in his treatment of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, it will appear that Turner had a more careful and attentive approach.

[83] In his article, Dunthorne stresses that the notion of the 'Trekschuit' is present in virtually every travel account because it was comfortable, cheap and frequent. Dunthorne (1982), p. 78.

Chapter 3

'*Quite a Cuyp*'

Turner in Holland

As Turner was indeed an artist of his time, in pursuit of the contemporary aesthetic ideals as explained in the first chapter, it is plausible that he was also a voracious traveller in search for the Sublime and Picturesque. Throughout his entire life he made dozens of tours, both in Britain and abroad. After 1815, Turner would undertake extensive Continental tours almost every summer, leaving London in July or August and not returning home until about six or seven weeks later. During those trips he would fill one page after another in the many small-sized sketchbooks he carried along, feverishly recording everything that caught his eye, from impressions of skies, natural beauties and architectural highlights, to local fashion and crockery. He did not treat these books with much care and attention, sometimes teasing out pages, opening the book on a random page and holding it in various positions. Often, he also made several sketches on the same page or drawings that overlap pages or each other. His sketchbooks thus form a chaotic ensemble of brief impressions and short remarks. Back in London, he would spend the winter months working in his studio, where he transformed these sketches into carefully executed watercolours and complex oil paintings which he exhibited at the Royal Academy or sold directly to private patrons.

His very first journey to the Continent was made in 1802, when the short period of truce established by the Treaty of Amiens in March that year allowed Britons to cross the Channel. Aged 27, Turner then made a journey to the Alps, passing through Paris where he visited the Louvre. When access to the Continent was once again denied in 1803, it was not until 1817 that Turner crossed the Channel again, his destination on that occasion was Flanders and Holland.[84] He was to return to the Low Countries again in 1825 and thereafter briefly visited some Dutch places on longer Continental journeys. The port of Rotterdam was a common entrance to the continent and Turner's tours to Venice, Switzerland or Austria would start or end here, where a ferry was heading to Dover and the river Rhine offered an easy journey land inwards. Hence, Turner moored at the Dutch port during his tours to Venice in 1833 and

[84] C. Powell, *Turner's Rivers op Europe*, London 1991, p. 11. See also A. Wilton, *Turner Abroad: France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland*, London 1982. For a close analysis of Turner's journey to Switzerland in 1802 see D. Hill, *Turner in the Alps: the Journey through France and Switzerland in 1802*, London 1992; and with an emphasis on the sketchbooks that resulted from this tour see, David Blayney Brown, 'Sketchbooks from the Tour to Switzerland 1802', January 2010, in David Blayney Brown (ed.), *J.M.W. Turner: Sketchbooks, Drawings and Watercolours*, December 2012, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/sketchbooks-from-the-tour-to-switzerland-r1129681, accessed 05 June 2014.

1840, to Northern Germany and Denmark in 1835 and to Switzerland in 1841 and 1844. The results of these tours are at least ten sketchbooks that contain drawings of Holland, offering the most delightful and illustrative insights on how the artist experienced the country, what he went to visit and what caught his attention.[85]

The 1817 tour

It seems that the reasons for Turner to travel to the Low Countries in 1817 were twofold, and the two paintings that Turner exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1818 provide the clearest evidence of both. Exhibited were two pictorial opposites: *The Field of Waterloo* (Tate, London) showed the battlefield on a most exquisite manner with attention for the tragic despair of women searching for their loved-ones in the mound of dead soldiers and horses, both French and Scots Guards piled together, regardless of their allegiance. The terrifying presence of death is reinforced by the shivering lights, creating a sublime and terrific composition. In the distance, the intense and threating light of a flare, fired by the last remaining troops to frighten off raiders, illuminates the sky. The burning ruins of Hougoumont Manor in the right distance shed a third source of light into the composition.[86] In contrast with this high level of Sublimity was the fresh and naturalistic depiction of the harbour of Dordrecht, *Dort or Dordrecht. The Dort Packet-Boat from Rotterdam Becalmed* (Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven). The picture presents a view of the port of Dordrecht with the Great Church in the middle distance and the packet-boat 'The Swan' in the foreground, calmly drifting on the clear water, in which the reflection of moored vessels creates an overall serenity. In combination with the warm light, offered by a brilliant September sky, the composition represents a perfect embodiment of the Beautiful. The picture shows Turner's deep fascination for the Dutch Golden Age and is a clear tribute to Aelbert Cuyp, whose *The Maas at Dordrecht* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) was exhibited at the British Institution in 1815 and closely resembles Turner's composition.

[85] For Tate's research project of Turner's works on paper a great part of his sketchbooks are already investigated but there are still many left to be studied. Up until so far 11 sketchbooks have been analysed that hold Dutch subjects.

[86] The painting was exhibited with a quote from Byron's *Childe Harold* III, 28'Last noon behold them full of lusty life; Last even in Beauty's circle proudly gay; The midnight brought the signal – sound of strife; The Morn the marshalling of arms – the day, Battle's magnificently stern array; The thunder clouds close o'er it, which when rent, The earth is covered thick with other clay ;Which her own clay shall cover, heaped and pent; Rider and Horse – friend, foe in one red burial blent!''The poem illustrates exactly what has been depicted in the picture as well; a mound of dead bodies of both horses and soldiers, both from French and British sides, forming 'a thick clay that covers the earth'. See Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 138, p. 93, and Bachrach (1994), pp. 15-17 and 37,38.

Fig,. 2. *The Field of Waterloo*, exh. 1818, oil on canvas, 147,3 x 238,8 cm, London (Tate).

Fig. 3. *Dort or Dordrecht: The Dort Packet-Boat from Rotterdam Becalmed*, exh. 1818, oil on canvas 157.5 x 233.7 cm, New Haven (Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art).

Fig. 4. A. Cuyp, *The Maas at Dordrecht*, c.1650, oil on canvas, 114, 9 x 170,2 cm, Washington (National Gallery of Art).

Fig. 5. J.M.W. Turner, *Entrance of the Meuse Orange-Merchant on the Bar, Going to Pieces; Brill Church bearing S. E. by S., Masensluys E. by S.*, 1819, oil on canvas, 175,3 x 246,4 cm, London (Tate).

On the one hand it was the battlefield of Waterloo, extremely popular among British travellers just after 1815, that Turner sought to visit in 1817, and on the other his deep fascination for the Dutch old masters, which caused his curiosity to investigate the land which he knew from the pictures in real life.
The third painting that resulted from this tour, *Entrance of the Meuse: Orange- Merchant on the Bar, Going to Pieces; Brill Church bearing S.E. by S., Masensluys E. by S.* (Tate, London), exhibited in 1819, demonstrates Turner's third motivation to visit Holland: its marine tradition. It gives away his great fascination for the Dutch waters and shipping, which he had seen in the works of the Van de Veldes and came to experience with his own eyes when sailing from England to Ostend and along the many Dutch rivers, pools and canals.[87]

Turner had prepared his journey well and made use of the most recent literature on travelling to the country. It may come as no surprise that it was Campbell and Hills who served as the perfect guides. Hills's book presumably did not leave London as it was too cumbersome to carry along, but Campbell's *The Traveller's Complete Guide through Belgium and Holland* did indeed travel in the artist's inside pocket.[88] It was not to return home, as Turner wrote down in a small sketchbook that he had 'lost in the Wallet.. Cambell's Belgium'.[89] The *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook offers much more evidence of the debt Turner owed to both Campbell and Hills as he literally copied several practical notes from both books, which he wrote down in red ink in advance of his journey. He recorded prices and timetables of ferries and post coaches, distances between one city and another and names of restaurants and inns in the places he intended to visit. From Hills he also copied some Dutch phrases, which he thought could be of use but are ultimately nothing more than amateurish phonetic transcriptions. If Turner wished to ask for his room in an inn he would go for 'Vier ist mein Simmer', to ask for the time would be 'Wat Uure is het' and wanting to go to the Haagse Poort in Delft he would ask 'Will ye me branna naar de Haagshe poort voor ses stivers?'.[90] He seemed prepared for everything and even the most common concern every traveller copes with was thought of when he listed the possible remedies for intestinal infections and

[87] The title of this work is remarkable in this respect as the topographical exactness of the painter's indication of the location of the wrecked merchant- vessel is indeed , as Fred Bachrach clearly points out, corresponding to an infamous dangerous spot in the Meuse. See Bachrach (1994),p. 45.
[88] Cecilia Powell moreover argues that it is likely that Turner didn't even possess Hills as it was a rather expensive book. Indeed , in the inventory of Turner's library, published in Andrew Wilton's *Turner in his Time*, Hills's book does not appear.
[89] *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CLIX 101.
[90] *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CLIX 14a.

common symptoms as dodgy bowels or, as Turner describes it, 'the Fever of diarrhoea or vomiting'.[91]

The *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook also includes an elaborate and clearly written itinerary of his journey, in which he practically follows Campbell's route. He left from Margate on Monday 11 August and arrived in Ostend the day after. From there on, he visited Bruges, Ghent and Brussels before arriving at Waterloo. Afterwards, he headed for Liege to continue his journey towards Germany from there. Via Liege again, he arrived in Antwerp on 2 September, from where he took the mail coach to Rotterdam. From Rotterdam he went to The Hague, where he also visited Scheveningen. Via Haarlem he reached Amsterdam from where he travelled by boat towards Utrecht, passing Abcoude. Again by boat, he travelled from Utrecht to Rotterdam, going past Woerden and IJselstein. From Rotterdam he went to Dordrecht and travelled around in this area, also visiting Schiedam, The Brill, Maasluis and Willemstad. He returned to Rotterdam, from where he headed back to England in mid-September.[92]

Three other sketchbooks were filled with both brief impressions and more elaborately executed drawings. The *Guards* sketchbook focuses mainly on the field of Waterloo and the study of military costumes while the *Dort* and *Waterloo and Rhine* sketchbooks, as well as the *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook, comprise large numbers of city views, architectural studies, river scenes and harbours. Turner examined Holland with a great eye for detail, which also resulted in meticulous studies of costumes, pottery and carriages and a large number of sketches of figures, with details of their clothing.[93]

In the cities, he mainly focused on architectural highlights, executing for instance a series of sketches of the Cathedral of Antwerp seen from different points of views. He drew Amsterdam both from a distance, watching the city from the IJ, and from closer by, resulting in carefully detailed sketches of such buildings as the Royal Palace, the Westerkerk and the Munttoren but also in drawings of moored vessels along the quay and drawbridges. Similar sketches were made in Rotterdam, Dordrecht and Utrecht, where the Oude Gracht was clearly a beloved spot to start drawing. In Rotterdam he made various studies of the St Lawrence

[91] 'With the fever of diar[rhoea] or vomiting H […] m[?ixed] | in weak warm water washed off with W Gruel | If costive a Glyster Drink 2 of water whey | or Gruel to each quart a tea spoon full | of cream of tartare if lax motion No other medicine or food until the P becomes | cooler Bleeding to be avoided.' In *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CLIX 11. See also A. Rylance-Watson, 'J.M.W. Turner's Remedy: A Cure for Bilious Bowels', Tate Articles Online, 15 January 2014. http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/articles/turners-remedy (5 June 2014).

[92] *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CLIX 100.

[93] *Guards* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CLXIV; *Dort* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CLXII; *Waterloo and Rhine* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CLXIII.

church and moreover seemed intrigued by the bustle at the harbour and along the quays, focusing on the many different barges and vessels moored at the quay at Oppert, the small harbour characterized by the presence of the large column of the Hofpoort , the Leuvehaven or at the Oude Haven. Both the Ooster and Wester Oude Hoofdpoort are prominently present in Turner's drawings and the church of St Lawrence frequently recurs as well, rising above the warehouses in the background. The Oude Haven of Dordrecht gained just as much attention and Turner rendered a large number of city views of Dordrecht, seen from the river Meuse, characterized by the Great Church towering above all other buildings.

Fig. 6. J.M.W. Turner, *Oude Hoofdpoort, Rotterdam, Seen from Oude Haven* in *Dort* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CLXII 13a and 14.

No doubt the focus on Dordrecht, especially in the *Dort* sketchbook, had to do with the recollection of this town as the birthplace of Cuyp and indeed the old master plays a dominant role in Turner's experience of the city. Both the *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook and the *Guards* sketchbook also contain beautifully detailed studies of Dordrecht and in fact, these drawings served directly for the later *Dort* painting. Under one of the sketches in the *Dort* sketchbook Turner also refers to Cuyp literally: 'Small Cuyp Schuyt rather [?prevalent] | Smoke Blue [?...] the lightest of the whole | on the centre from the L. Schuyt | water [?only]

yellow green | Ray of light thro the cloud to the right'[94] is written under a drawing of Dordrecht with a group of vessels situated in the foreground, whilst the massive outline of the Great Church of Dordrecht rises in the distant left.

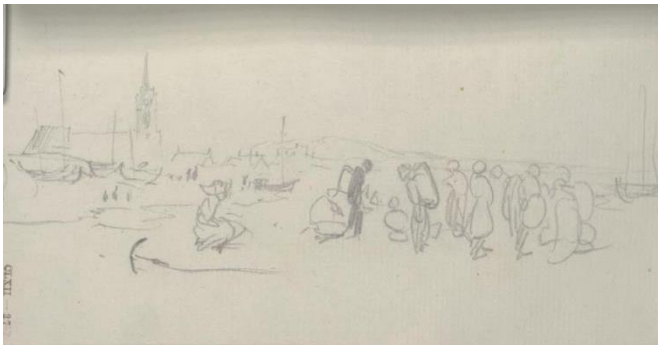
Fig. 7. J.M.W. Turner, *Dordrecht, Farmer's Cart and Three Sketches of Dort* (detail), in *Dort* sketchbook, 1817, pencil on 'blue' laid writing paper, 93 x 193 mm, London (Tate, Turner Bequest CLXII 86).

In this small drawing, only covering a quarter of a page, strong focus is put on the depiction of the sky, which perhaps even more than the composition, would have reminded Turner of Cuyp. The entire sketch would function, as Turner notes, as a 'Small Cuyp' with its water 'yellow green' and a 'Ray of light thro the cloud to the right'. Although the drawing did not serve as a direct study for the *Dort* painting in terms of composition, it might have been an inspiration for the atmospheric character of the picture, although Turner's description of a 'ray of light thro' the clouds to the right' does not return in the final painting.[95]

Such notes as under the Dort sketch give evidence of Turner's admiration for the Old Masters and the sense of recognition of those Old Master paintings, when observing the Dutch landscape. Carefully executed sketches can be found of the Dutch shipping and river scenes he knew from the works of the Dutch marine painters and of landscapes he had seen in the works of painters such as Van Goyen. It sometimes even seems as if Turner was observing Holland through seventeenth-century glasses. His views of Amsterdam, for instance, are highly reminiscent of the manner in which such seventeenth-century painters as Abraham Storck (1644-1708) depicted the city. In fact, one may even wonder whether Turner did not

[94] *Dort* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CLXII 86.
[95] Malcolm Cornmack suggests thatt he comment might be connected with the glowing light on the Oude Kerk of Dordrecht. See M. Cormack, ''The Dort': Some Further Observations', *Turner Studies*, vol. 2 no. 2, Winter 1983, p. 39.

have this artist's work in mind when he drew his images of Amsterdam, as Turner was well familiar with the Dutch painter and even owned one of his paintings, *Ships on a River IJ* (National Maritime Museum, London).[96] Another example of such a strong relation with the Dutch painting tradition seems to be the case in the interesting series of sketches of Scheveningen in the *Dort* sketchbook, comprising nineteen delightful drawings of this small coastal village and showing the everyday life of the fishermen and families enjoying the beach. These images reveal a high sense of Dutch realism and remind of such realistic seventeenth-century beach scenes by painters as Simon de Vlieger (1600-1653). Perhaps even more than just a reminder of the seventeenth-century masters, the Scheveningen series is the ultimate example of the manner in which Turner himself tended to practice the Dutch painterly tradition.



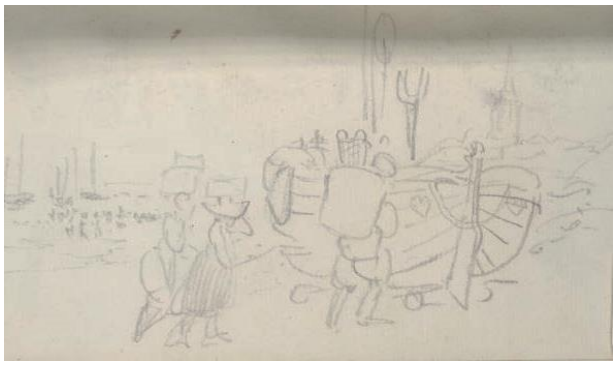


Fig. 8. J.M.W. Turner, *Scheveningen Beach with Fishing-Folk,* in *Dort* sketchbook, 1817, pencil on 'blue' laid writing paper, 156 x 93 mm, London (Tate, Turner Bequest CLXII 27).
Fig. 9. J.M.W. Turner ,*View of Scheveningen beach*, in *Dort* sketchbook,1817, pencil on 'blue' laid writing paper, 93 x 193 mm, London (Tate, Turner Bequest CLXII 35).

Fig. 10. Simon de Vlieger, *The Beach at Scheveningen*, oil on panel 68,6 x 106,7 cm, London (National Maritme Museum).

[96] Turner used several features of this work for his own oil painting *Admiral van Tromp's Barge at the Entrance of the Texel 1645*, exhibited in 1831 and now at Sir John Soane's Museum. It is assumed that Turner even bought the painting at one of his trips through the Low Countries, although specific accounts on such a sale have not yet been found. See Riding (2013a), p. 50.

The 1825 tour

Reviewing the innumerable sketches Turner had produced in the short month he spent in the Low Countries in 1817, one would assume that he had seen all of Holland and would have gathered enough material on which to build new pictures for the rest of his career. Yet, Turner appeared to be much intrigued by all he had seen in the Netherlands and must have felt the urge to return. He did so eight years later, in the late summer of 1825. On 27 August, Turner told his dear friend Walter Fawkes, who bought the *Dort* painting in 1818, that he was going to The Hague the next morning. Hence, he must have left England on 28 August and presumably returned to London in the beginning of October.[97]

This tour resulted in two sketchbooks, one thick pocket book, the *Holland* sketchbook, serving for all brief impressions and notes. and a horizontal book, while the *Holland, Meuse and Cologne* sketchbook, with far fewer pages, was used for more detailed views and studies. The sketchbooks are the only records available of the tour and despite the random order of the drawings in both, they offer an approximate trace of the journey's itinerary.[98]

Turner took the ferry at Dover and, after passing Brill, Maassluis, Schiedam and Dordrecht, entered Holland at the port of Rotterdam. He thereafter visited Delft, The Hague, Leiden, Amsterdam and Utrecht, from where he continued his journey to Cologne, via Cleves. On the way back from Germany back to Holland, he passed Aix-la-Chapelle and arrived in Maastricht. From there on, he followed the river Meuse southwards towards Liège and travelled further west to Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges, before arriving in Ostend. Presumably he travelled further southward and finally headed for England from the French coastal town Boulogne-sur-Mer.[99]

Just as his first journey in 1817, the tour was brief but fertile and resulted in hundreds of pencil drawings. Page after page shows Turner's inexhaustible practice, recording endless impressions and closer studies. The main body of drawings are architectural studies and city

[97] A.J. Finberg, *The Life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A.*, Oxford 1961, p. 291.

[98] *Holland* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CCXIV; *Holland, Meuse and Cologne* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CCXV.

[99] Fred Bachrach, following the biography of A.J. Finberg, suggested that Turner's journey ended in Ostend and that the artist took the ferry back to Dover from there. Also Cecilia Powell, who briefly touches upon the tour to the Netherlands and Germany in 1825, does not mention any remarks about the trip continuing more southwards. See Powell (1991), pp. 44 45. Also Andrew Wilton does not mention such a journey to France. See Wilton (1985), p. 29. However, the presence of a number of sketches of the French coastal town Boulogne-sur-Mer in the *Holland, Meuse and Cologne* sketchbook, as well as some drawings in the *Holland* sketchbook that presumably depict Dunkirk (Turner Bequest CCXIV 231, 233, 233a, 236) and another two that, according to Ian Warrell, possibly present Calais (CCXIV 237, 239a) indicate that Turner travelled south after visiting Ostend and crossed the Channel from the French coast. See Bachrach (1994), p. 19, Finberg (1969), p. 291 and Powell (1995), pp. 33-34. For the explanation of the sketches of Calais see I. Warrell, *Turner on the Loire*, exh.cat. London (Tate Gallery) 1997, p. 172.

views, similar to those that were found in the 1817 sketchbooks. Turner must have walked around the same site for hours, recording the buildings and streets from all different angles, as he did for instance in the Oude Haven in Rotterdam, resulting in a series of drawings in both sketchbooks. The presence of the slightest architectural features in these sketches, often accompanied with notes by the artist on colour and materials and applied by fine and secure pencil strokes, shows the artist's great eye for detail and his outstanding technical skills. Another large part of the sketches represent shipping scenes, revealing once more the artist's fascination for marine scenes, which also returns in the many oil paintings of this subject. In the 1830s he exhibited a number of other paintings of this kind, for instance, *[Antwerp:] Van Goyen Looking out for a Subject* (Frick Collection) and *The Rotterdam Ferry – Boat* (National Gallery of Art, Washington), both also showing the two cities' landmark, the church of Our Lady in Antwerp and the St Lawrence Church of Rotterdam. Both works will be discussed more elaborately in the following chapter. The many drawings of shipping in the *Holland* sketchbook of 1825 are reflected in the composition of the pictures and the shorelines rising in the far backgrounds are based on the numerous sketches of these towns.
Turner's knowledge of the Dutch seventeenth-century masters, of which the titles of his later marine paintings are also most illustrative, is reflected even more explicitly in a number of drawings in the *Holland* sketchbook, depicting copies of pictures he had seen in the Trippenhuis, the former Rijksmuseum, in Amsterdam. One of them shows *The Parental Admonition* (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam), by Gerard Ter Borch (1582-1662). Judging from the inscriptions next to the drawing, Turner seemed particularly interested or intrigued by Ter Borch's depiction of textiles, especially noting the colours 'blue and white' and the 'beautiful satin' of the lady's dress. Turner may have seen Ter Borch in England as well, as his work was popular with British collectors. Turner may also have remembered Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Journey to Flanders and Holland*, in which the painter recorded that he had seen two pictures by Ter Borch. One of them was the *Parental Admonition* and Reynolds too remarked on the extravagance of the satin dress.[100] Moreover, the rural painter Meindert Hobbema is mentioned in the margin of a drawing of a carriage on a road and, as in 1817, the association with the landscape painter Aelbert Cuyp appears frequently in a number of drawings of

[100] Bachrach 1994, pp.19 and 25 (note 40). Reynolds wrote: 'Two [pictures…] by Terburch, the white satine remarkably well painted he seldom omitted to introduce a piece of white satin in his pictures.' Turner made another drawing after a Dutch picture (Turner Bequest CLXII 101), of which it is hard to discovery what exact picture it is referring to. The painting is not included in the collection catalogues of the Rijksmuseum and Amsterdam museum, so it is unlikely that Turner had seen the work in the Trippenhuis; even though the drawing on the opposite page in the sketchbook show the Kloveniersbrugwal, where the Trippenhuis was located. It is more likely that Turner encountered the specific painting in one of the private collections in Amsterdam.

landscapes and skies in the *Holland* sketchbook. Next to a group of sketches of Dordrecht, he mentions 'Cyp' and it appears that especially the sight of the Huis te Merwede, depicted in the upper sketch of this particular page, clearly reminded him of a painting by Cuyp, *Peasants and Cattle by the River Merwede*, ca. 1660, in the collection of John Staniforth Beckett, who bequeathed the work to the National Gallery in London in 1889. The painting presents a view of the river Merwede with peasants and cows in the front and ruins on the left in the distance. In Turner's drawing a similar composition can be discovered, with a hill in front from which he looked out onto the river and the ruins.

Fig. 11. J.M.W. Turner, *Four Views from East of Dordrecht* (detail), in *Holland* sketchbook, 1825, pencil on white wove paper, 155 x 95 mm, London (Tate; Turner Bequest CCXIV 60a).
Fig.12. A. Cuyp, *Peasants and Cattle by the River Merwede*, ca. 1660, oil on panel, 38,1 x 50,8 cm, London (National Gallery).

Cuyp features more often in the book, and next to a view of Amsterdam the artist noted that the image was 'Quite a Cyp'. This drawing shows a river scene, near Amsterdam, with the city in the distance. The colour notes suggest that Turner made the sketch in the late afternoon, when the sun was already setting and gave a yellow, brown and orange glow to the river. It was mostly the atmosphere of the composition with the serenity of the cattle and reeds in the foreground and the impressions of light and colour reflected on the water that made the image reminiscent of Cuyp, who never made a painting with this specific composition.
As has become clear in both the 1817 sketchbooks and the *Holland* sketchbook of 1825, Turner especially admired Cuyp for his use of light and his creation of atmosphere and it is this atmosphere that the artist tried to establish in his own drawings as well, especially in his later sketches. In the 1825 sketchbooks, his drawings of waters and skies show a great eye for

light, often depicting reflections of the sun or moon in the water or composing his ships on the water upon a *contre jour* effect, next to which the artist often made notes on colour. By a varied use of pencil, applying different shading by blunt and sharp hatchings, Turner delicately uses this play of light to create atmospheric compositions, making some of the drawings of the 1825 tour stand on their own.
It is here that a certain development can be discovered in Turner's artistic approach toward Holland. Just as in 1817, he produced a large number of brief impressions of the country, almost as mnemonic devices, but in addition his 1825 sketches reveal a new visual experience of Holland and a great intensity in its perception. He now also experienced Holland as 'Picturesque' and saw in the Dutch countryside and waters a certain artistic potential that was initially based on the seventeenth-century Dutch painting tradition, but ultimately became independent from it.

This tendency is carried on in the drawings that result from later visits to the Netherlands. Although far fewer in numbers, his sketches of Holland in the *Rotterdam and Rhine* sketchbook, the *Rotterdam* sketchbook, the *Rotterdam to Venice* sketchbook and the *Arnheim &c.* sketchbook show how fascinated Turner was by the Dutch panoramas, skies and cloudscapes and display a certain development to a more and more impressionistic, if not abstract, perception of the landscape.[101] In the meantime, his interest in the Dutch cities and architecture remained and especially the Oude Haven of Rotterdam is an ever returning subject. It must be noted that the large number of sketches of Rotterdam resulting from these later visits is not a matter of preference for this city above any other, as these visits all formed part of larger Continental tours and most of the other Dutch cities were not included in the later itineraries.

On the way back from Venice in 1833

The first such brief travel through Holland presumably already took place in 1833 during Turner's journey homeward from his tour down the river Danube to Venice. The *Rotterdam and Rhine* sketchbook resulted from this tour and comprises swiftly rendered compositions of his tour along the Rhine northward to Rotterdam, showing among others impressions of Cologne, and other smaller towns of the German Rhineland, as well as panoramas of Dutch sites and large numbers of shipping scenes. Naturally, a significant number of more carefully

[101] *Rotterdam and Rhine* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CCCXXII; *Rotterdam* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CCCXXI; *Rotterdam to Venice* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CCCXX; *Arheim &c.* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CCCXXIV.

executed sketches of Rotterdam are also present in the book, not only of the Oude Haven but also of other small ports, quays and city gates. Although the book was initially thought to have been used in the 1840s during tours either to Venice or Switzerland, the presence of a number of drawings of the Hofpoort in Rotterdam suggests this earlier date.[102] The strange-looking city gate, characterized by a large column and lions on top, was built in 1778 and pulled down in 1833. Another drawing in the book presents a view of the river Nieuwe Maas with a steam-ferry, commonly known as 'Platluis', that ran from 1828 onwards and connected Rotterdam to the small town Katendrecht. Turner's note next to the sketch, referring to Katendrecht but written down phonetically as ' Cathe Dreg' supports the idea that the steamboat depicted is indeed the 'Platluis'.[103] The dating of the book is thus narrowed down and the book must have been used between 1828, when the ' Platluis' began running between Katendrecht and Rotterdam, and 1833, when the Hofpoort was pulled down. Thus the only tour that comes to mind is this particular journey down the Danube to Vienna and Venice. It began in Ostend from where Turner travelled to Bruges, Ghent, Brussels and Liege. Turner then headed east to Cologne and down the Rhine to Mannheim, travelling up the Neckar from there to Heidelberg and continuing his journey to Salzburg. From there he travelled north to Linz on the Danube and followed the course of the river downstream to reach Vienna on 25 August. He travelled over land to Salzburg, reached Innsbruck on 3 September and crossed the Alps at the Brenner Pass to ultimately arrive in Venice on 9 September. The date of his departure from Venice is unknown but an Austrian newspaper recorded that Turner was in Innsbruck on 23September. From thereon he travelled north and arrived in London by 20 October.[104] The exact course of the return journey has not yet been reconstructed,[105] but the evidence given in the *Rotterdam and Rhine* sketchbook makes it very likely that Turner followed the Rhine northwards and left for England from the port of Rotterdam, after spending at least one day in the city drawing and sailing around in the area and also recording Dordrecht, Delft and the river Ijssel. Excellent coordinated steamer services could bring him from Cologne to Rotterdam in a fairly short period of time and the connection between

[102] In *Turner and Rotterdam*, Bachrach argues that the book had been used in the autumn of 1841, together with the *Rotterdam* sketchbook (Turner Bequest CCCXXI). See Bachrach (1974), p. 79.See also Wilton (2006), pp.242, 243.
[103] Turner Bequest CCCXXII 36a. The identification of the steam-boat as the 'Platluis' has been achieved by Fred Bachrach. See Bachrach (1974), p. 106.
[104] Turner wrote a letter from his house in London to Mr. J.H. Maw on 20 October. See for an elaborate discussion of the entire tour, Powell (1995), pp. 35 -45, and for another close analysis of the exact itinerary, C. Powell, 'Approaches to Venice' in I. Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, London 2003, pp. 31,32.
[105] Cecillia Powell argues that this may be due to the fact that Turner started making pencil sketches on small loose sheets of torn grey paper and, as the Turner Bequest contains over 500 of such papers, resulting from all different kind of tours, it is hard to distinguish them. See Powell (1995), p. 44.

Rotterdam and London was much improved.[106] The Rotterdam council decided to pull down the Hofpoort on 20 September and it must have been a matter of weeks when the gate was actually demolished.[107] Turner could have made it to Rotterdam just in time to make his drawings of the odd-looking Hofpoort and its pillar in October 1833.[108] As some other images in the sketchbook reveal, Turner must have entered Holland near Cleves and followed the junction of the Nederrijn northward to Arnhem, following the course of the Nederrijn from there, via Rhenen and Wijk bij Duurstede to Vianen where the river Lek took him south-west, via Schoonhoven, to Rotterdam.

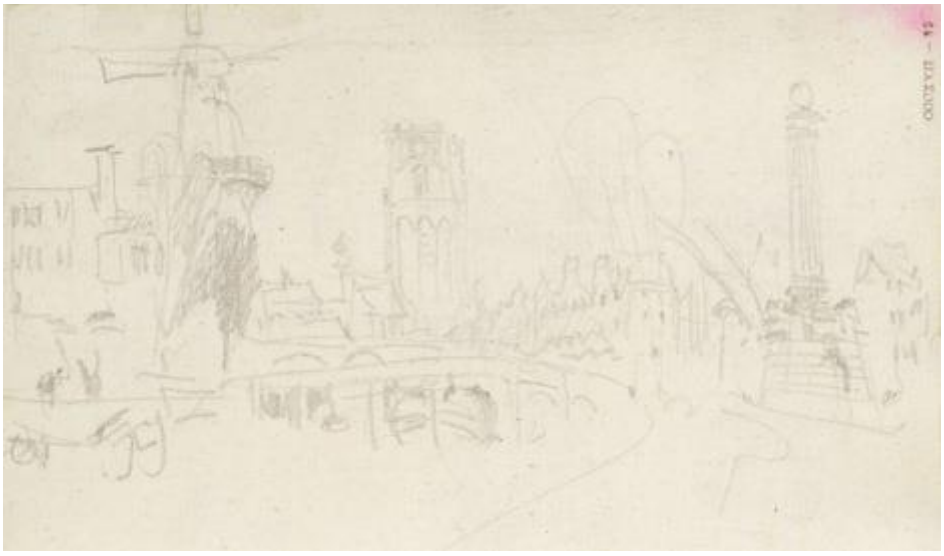


Fig. 13. J.M.W. Turner, *View of the Hofpoort in Rotterdam with the Blauwe Molen*, 1833, in *Rotterdam and Rhine* sketchbook, London (Tate: Turner Bequest CCCXXII 32).

[106] Powell (1995), p. 60. See for the sketches of Delft, Dordrecht and the river Ijssel, Turner Bequest CCCXXII 24, 31, 36 and 49.
[107] Stadsarchief Rotterdam; http://collecties.gemeentearchief.rotterdam.nl/Atlantis5/publiek/resultaten.aspx?highlightclassname=highlight&ru=http%253A%252F%252Fwww.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl%252Fnode%252F237&tag=afbeeldingen%253Bbeeld%253Bgeluid%253Balgemeen%253Bvideo%253Bfilm%253Bbestellen&uitgebreid_zoeken=true&invalshoek=135381755&cmveldName_VrijXXzoeken=VrijXXzoeken&cmveldValue_VrijXXzoeken=hofpoort&cmveldName_Collectie=Collectie&cmveldValue_Collectie=&cmveldName_BeschrevenXXpersoon=BeschrevenXXpersoon&cmveldValue_BeschrevenXXpersoon=&cmveldName_Documentnummer=Documentnummer&cmveldValue_Documentnummer=&cmveldName_Documentsoort=Documentsoort&cmveldValue_Documentsoort=&cmveldName_Vervaardiger=Vervaardiger&cmveldValue_Vervaardiger=&cmveldName_Titel=Titel&cmveldValue_Titel=&cmveldName_BeschrijvingXXinhoud=BeschrijvingXXinhoud&cmveldValue_BeschrijvingXXinhoud=&cmveldName_Datum_van=Datum_van&cmveldValue_Datum_van=&cmveldName_Datum_tot=Datum_tot&cmveldValue_Datum_tot=&cmveldName_Trefwoorden=Trefwoorden&cmveldValue_Trefwoorden=&op=Zoek&form_build_id=form-GSeae16PlncDlqJ-Rv2HY6FPkkPztGh51SbI08xU0xY&form_id=deventit_velden_form (10 January 2014).
[108] See also Q. van der Meer Mohr, 'Dating J.M.W. Turner: another visit to The Netherlands', Tate Articles Online, 12 February 2014. (http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/articles/dating-turner).

Journey homeward in 1835

A similar visit took place two years later, in 1835, when Turner travelled to Northern Germany, Denmark and Prague. In terms of its destination the most adventurous tour of all, Turner took the steam-ferry from London to Hamburg and arrived there on 3 September. Travelling from there to Copenhagen, he then went south to Berlin and Dresden to ultimately reach Prague, from where he headed back via Frankfurt to Cologne and up the Rhine to Rotterdam.[109] The same sketchbook as he had used in Prague, the *River* sketchbook, contains a number of drawings of places along the Dutch section of the Rhine, including a drawing of the castle at Loevenstein and a sketch of the church of Gorinchem, indicating that Turner had travelled along the Waal branch of the Rhine.[110] The *Rotterdam* sketchbook, however, provides most of the documentation of his visit in Dutch terms, in particular his stay at Rotterdam.[111] Similar to those from previous visits, his drawings of Rotterdam are characterized by an emphasis on the ports and its many barges and moreover comprise swiftly rendered street views, often with the St Lawrence church in the distance, and studies of architectural features. By now, Turner knew the city fairly well and already possessed many precise studies of its sights. The sketches are therefore much more rapidly executed than before, demonstrating the high speed in which he created architectonic structures, based on his great knowledge of perspective. They moreover reveal a great sense of movement and impressionistic perception, as is particularly evident in a panoramic view of the city, seen from the south in which no distinction is made between the several buildings along the shore and the vessels in the foreground are presented as a mass of masts and sails rather than individual ships.[112]

[109] Powell (1995), p. 60.
[110] *River* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CCIV 4v and 5r. For an elaborate description of the entire tour, see Powell (1995), pp.46-60.
[111] In 1995, Cecilia Powell linked the *Rotterdam* sketchbook to this particular tour for the very first time. Before, it was generally thought to have been used in the 1840s. See Bachrach (1974), p. 79. Powell builds her argument upon the presence of two very recently constructed buildings, the town-hall and the St. Domenicus church, that was not finished yet when Turner drew it. In addition, in 1836 W. Floyd published a watercolor depicting the fish market at the Leuvehaven, as an engraving in the second volume of the *Gallery of Modern British Artists*. The composition of the image is directly build upon one drawing of the Leuvehaven in the *Rotterdam* sketchbook, making it impossible that the book was used later than 1836. See Powell (1995), p.60.
[112] Turner Bequest CCCXXI 13a and 14.

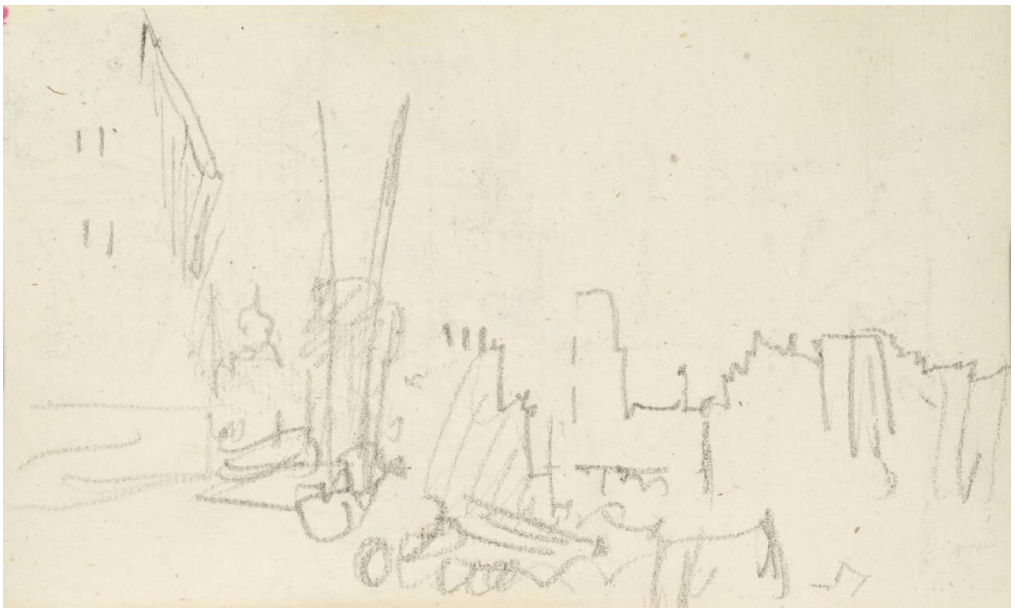


Fig. 14. J.M.W. Turner, *View of Rotterdam* in *Rotterdam* sketchbook, London (Tate) Turner Bequest6 CCCXXI 13a).

Later visits in the 1840s

Three more sketchbooks indicate other, later visits to Holland, two of which again connected to the port of Rotterdam as the beginning of a long journey inland. The *Rotterdam to Venice* sketchbook, the title of which already explains the course of the tour on which it was used, was carried along at a tour to Venice in the late summer of 1840. The book was bought by Turner in Rotterdam and merely contains two sketches of a Dutch subject, both are presenting the Leuvehaven of Rotterdam. The inside front cover contains a movable calendar and a label indicating it was of Dutch manufacture, sold by 'Koopmans Kantoor Zakboek' and produced in the 'Fabriek en Magazijn van Kantoor-Behoeften. G. Meijer'. The calendar is in Dutch as well, next to which Turner had written down the English translation.

On 1 or 2 August of that year, Turner caught a steam ferry from London, departing from Customs House Quay, to Rotterdam from where he presumably made use of the steamer service to Cologne.[113] He travelled south via Innsbruck, crossing the Alps over the Brenner Pass and arriving in Venice on 20 August. After a fortnight in Venice he left on 3 September, taking the steamer back to Trieste, travelling for a week along the Danube to Coburg and then following a familiar route home down the Rhine, from Cologne to Ostend, arriving in London on 7 October.[114]

[113] No hard evidence is found of this boat trip and Fred Bachrach believes that Turner travelled by road from Rotterdam to Cologne. Cecilia Powell, however, rightfully argues that there are no sketches that give evidence of such a journey and that Turner may well wanted to have travelled quickly up the Rhine by steamer. See Powell (1995), p. 81, note 6. See also Bachrach (1994), map on p.10.

[114] See Powell (2003), pp 32-33.

Turner presumably was in the Low Countries in 1841 as well, when he entered or left the continent from Flushing during his tour to the Alps, as the attribution of the *Rhine, Flushing and Lausanne* sketchbook to the 1841 tour to Switzerland suggests. The book contains three drawings of Flushing, one described as such and one other, inscribed by Turner as 'Fluss'.[115] The *Arnheim &c.* sketchbook contains a number of sketches of Arnhem, described by the artist as such in his notes next to the drawings. It is unclear when this book was used. The inside covers contain an almanac of the year 1840 whereas on the fly-leaf Turner wrote down '20 paid – Aug 13|44. July 23.' Although it is hard to discover what date and what expenses this description is referring to, one can assume that the book was used in the summer of 1844, when Turner travelled to Switzerland. The presence of several drawings of Heilbronn on the river Neckar in the same sketchbook may suggests that the sketchbook was used during this tour, meaning that Turner would have started his last Continental journey in early August 1844 at the port of Rotterdam, travelling south via Arnheim, presumably by steam-ferry, along the Rhine and Neckar, to reach Switzerland in September.[116]

These later trips in Holland closely resemble the journeys of most British travellers, either those in search of the picturesque or simply passing through, as did the 'Grand Tourists' of the previous generation. They were made to reach further destinations that answered to the urge for a Sublime, Beautiful or Picturesque experience. Even though the number of visits, sketchbooks and drawings is much larger, in the end Turner only dedicated two extended trips to the Low Countries primarily, and even those were combined with a trip to the picturesque Rhineland in Germany.

Yet, the artistic production that resulted from his encounters with the Dutch landscape gives evidence of his deep fascination for the country, its towns, rivers and skies. In many respects his observation of Holland is in line with the general image of Holland for British travellers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as has been described in the previous chapter. Just as most of them had, Turner experienced Holland as a country of cities and waterways and found a certain 'picturesqueness' in the panoramas that were offered by approaching a town from the river. Comparing Turner's travels then with the journeys

[115] *Rhine, Flushing and Lausanne* sketchbook, London (Tate), Turner Bequest CCCXXX. See for an elaborate description of this tour, I, Warrell, *Through Switzerland with Turner, Ruskin's first selection from the Turner Bequest*, London 1995. John Russell, basing his arguments on sir Nicolas Serota's thesis on Turner's Alpine Tours and Sir Gravin de Beer's accurate documentation on travellers in Switzerland, linked the *Rhine, Flushing and Lausanne* sketchbook to the 1841 tour to Switzerland. See John Russell, *Turner and Switzerland,* Zurich 1976, p. 30.

[116] Russell (1976), p. 30 and Powell (1995), pp. 74-75.

described by such authors as Charles Campbell and Robert Hills, the parallels are obvious. The itinerary of his travels are also practically identical with those of Campbell and Hills, which is comprehensible given that Turner initially also prepared his journeys on the basis of their books.

However, a few remarkable distinctions arise. Firstly, Turner seemed much less fascinated by the architectural beauties of The Hague than the two authors mentioned. In fact, even though the notes in the *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook indicate that Turner indeed visited the city, not one drawing of The Hague is present. Clearly, whereas Campbell and Hills were impressed by the classical beauty of the city, the Lange Vijverberg and the paved avenue leading to Scheveningen, Turner found none of this worthy his pencil. Similarly, the ancient university of Leiden and the classicist beauties of this town are completely neglected by Turner. Quite the contrary, his large number of drawings of Amsterdam and Rotterdam tells far more attention than the words both Hills and Campbell had spent on those cities. In this inexhaustible observation of architectural features and urban design rises not only a painter with a vast eye for detail and great technical competence but also a profound professor of perspective, which in fact he was at the Royal Academy.

In this respect, the omission of The Hague and Leiden in all of his sketches is somewhat notable. Perhaps it was due to the lack of time in which he then preferred to focus on the depiction of the simple life of the fishermen at Scheveningen and the natural beauties of this small village instead of focusing on a study classicist architecture which he well knew already. Turner thus appears much more interested in Holland's delightful coasts and beautiful countryside than both Hills and Campbell. It is therefore rather remarkable that Turner hardly pays any attention to the province of Zeeland, while it was this area only where Campbell was affected by the Dutch countryside, agriculture and pastoral life. In Turner's extended trips to the country in 1817 and 1825, the province is not mentioned at all and whilst the presence of a number of sketches of Flushing from the 1840s indicate that the artist certainly visited it, no further attention is paid to its countryside.

As has been argued in the previous chapter, the shift of focus, from the cities to the countryside, corresponds to the changing taste towards realistic Dutch painting. Indeed the appreciation for the Dutch masters that emerges from his drawings, and the notes next to them, show how Turner followed this tendency. Referring to Cuyp, Hobbema and Dutch marine painting, is in absolute accordance with the preference for those masters by nineteenth-century collectors and art lovers. This being said, Turner appears to be rather

conventional and an absolute example of a Romantic traveller in search for the Picturesque, in the purest sense of the word. Above all he wished to experience the land, sea and cloudscapes he knew from the old masters and to experience them in the way these Dutchmen had done and for which they were so highly valued. Yet, by his later sketches, he eventually also aimed to rise above them and make these landscapes his own, with Beauty and Sublimity most prevailing. Whether Holland indeed offered Turner a Picturesque experience and possessed a certain level of Beauty and Sublimity will become more clear after a closer analysis of the artistic output that resulted from his encounters with the country and the position of these works within his entire career.

Chapter 4

The 'Dutchness' of Turner's art

An analysis of the artistic output of Turner's Dutch journeys

The only directly finished results from Turner's visits in Holland are the three works that were already discussed in the previous chapter, the *Dort Packet-Boat* and *The Field of Waterloo* of 1818 and *Entrance of the Meuse* of 1819. In all three pictures, clear relations can be discovered between the pencil sketches in the 1817 sketchbooks, and the finished painitngs. After 1825, no such picture was exhibited, nor after any of his later visits. The only exception is the previously mentioned watercolour of the Leuvenhaven in Rotterdam, or rather its engraved version by W. Floyd in the *Gallery of Modern British Artists* in 1836, after a number of sketches made during Turner's stay in Rotterdam in 1835. Turner made two other watercolours in Holland, presumably during his visit in 1817, both presenting a view of the river Spaarne near Haarlem. The drawings are both fairly swiftly executed and simple in terms of colour and composition, indicating that these were not meant for sale or publication.[117] The immediate results from Turners Dutch travels are thus modest, but nonetheless a considerable number of paintings were exhibited after 1825 that are highly indebted to Turner's impressions of Holland and, above all, to the Dutch painterly tradition of seventeenth-century marine painting.

Turner's Dutch paintings

The first of this series was exhibited in 1827 and by entitling the work *Port Ruysdael*(Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven), no clearer affiliation with the Dutch old masters could be indicated. Although no specific sketches are present in any of the 1825 books that could have served as studies for this painting, it is plausible that Turner was inspired to start with the work after seeing the Dutch coasts, which until then he only knew from Ruisdael's paintings. As the title already suggests (and it is significant to note that there is no such actual place as Port Ruysdael), even a superficial glance at the composition can disclose that the picture is full of the spirit of Jacob van Ruisdael. The composition of the pier-head in the right foreground, with the opening into another arm of the harbour entrance on the left marked by a beacon that breaks the powerful waves and the sailing vessel in the

[117]London (Tate), Turner Bequest CCCLXIII 197 and 219. Turner visited Haarlem in 1817. The *Dort* sketchbook contains a drawing of the Amsterdam Gate of Haarlem in which the church of St. Bavo is depicted as well (see CLXII 41a; D13072). However, he visited Haarlem as well in 1825 and made some sketches of the city in the *Holland* sketchbook.

middle distance: all seem a familiar formula from various arrangements in Ruisdael's paintings. In terms of its composition and colour scheme, it seems that Turner found his inspiration in one painting by Ruisdael in particular, *Sea Port,* which he had seen in the Louvre in 1802 and of which he also made detailed sketches in his *Studies in the Louvre* sketchbook, writing down his observations next to it. Indeed *Port Ruysdael* is a similar 'brown picture, in which colour pervades thro' the water so as to check the idea of it being liquid' and also the 'forms of which the waves make on a lee-shore' is strongly similar to Ruisdael's picture.[118] The beacon on the left, on the other hand, is a motif directly reminiscent of Ruisdael's *A Rough Sea* (Kimbell Art Museum), which was in the collection of the Earl of Liverpool at that time and hence most likely familiar to Turner. It was thus not one specific painting by Ruisdael that Turner had in mind when he painted the picture, but rather a number of Ruisdael's sea pieces. Although highly impressed by Ruisdael's Louvre piece, Turner had some serious comments to make on the old master's handling of composition and colour, suggesting that the painting was too artificial, and full of 'inattention to natural forms'.[119] In his own *Port Ruysdael,*[120] Turner managed to find a balance between such opposing spheres of art and nature by pervading his images with a poetic visual drama and quiet horror, evoked by the striking force of the wind and waves. Turner dramatized the picture by white highlights, which enforce the powerful movement of the churning waves, emphasised also by the threatening clouds and strong wind that fills the sails as they struggle against the opposing waves, but also that whips against the beacon in the far left, making it difficult for the seagull to land on the beacon's ladder. The deserted pier that leaves nothing other than the pitiful presence of a fallen bucket of fish and the solitary vessel on the horizon, summons a sense of

[118] Turner's record of the painting in the Louvre reads: 'A Brown picture, which [colour] pervades thro' the waters, so as to check the idea of it being liquid, altho' finely pencilled the introducing of the House on the embankment destroys all the dignity of the left — an Offing with Ship mo[o]ring in strip of Weather happily disposed and color'd and a heavy sombre grey sky with warm lights (the half tints this leaf) — the chief light is upon the surge in the foreground — but too much is made to suffer: so that it is artificial — and shows the brown in a more glaring point of v[i]ew and *His* inattention of the forms which waves make upon a lee shore Embanked (the ships all in shadow'. Quoted in A.G.H. Bachrach, 'Turner, Ruisdael and the Dutch', *Turner Studies* 1981, vol.1 no.1, p. 20.

[119]*The chief light is upon the surge in the | foreground but too much is made to | suffer so that it is artificial – and | shows the brown in a more glaring | point of view and His [Finberg: this] inattention of the | forms which waves make upon a lee | shore embanked '.* In: *Studies in the Louvre* sketchbook, Turner Bequest LXXII 23, transcribed by David Blainey Brown, see D. Brown, '*Commentary on Jacob van Ruisdael's 'Burst of Sunshine' and 'Storm off the Dutch Coast' (Inscriptions by Turner)*1802 by Joseph Mallord William Turner', catalogue entry, July 2005, in David Blayney Brown (ed.), *J.M.W. Turner: Sketchbooks, Drawings and Watercolours*, December 2012, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-commentary-on-jacob-van-ruisdaels-burst-of-sunshine-and-r1129707, accessed 15 June 2014.

[120] The title of Turner's painting also strongly complies the relation of the work with Ruisdael's painting at the Louvre as in his discussion of this piece, Turner calls the work '*Sea Port Ruysdael'.* See Brown (2012).

Fig. 15. J.M.W. Turner, *Port Ruysdael*, exh. 1827, oil on canvas, 92 122,5 cm, New Haven (Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection).

Fig. 16. J. van Ruisdael, *The Jetty, or Stormy Weather over a Dyke in Holland, also known as A Storm*, ca. 1660, oil on canvas, 110 x 160 cm, Paris (Musée du Louvre).

desolation and gives to the composition a much higher level of dramatic, even terrific, Sublimity than Ruidael his works ever did.[121] This was already noted by the critic Robert Hunt in 1827, who experienced an 'ocean of maritime and sentimental pleasure that expresses gleams of hope amidst surrounding glooms of fate.'[122]

With *Port Ruysdael*, the tone was set for a long series of exhibited paintings of 'Dutch' marine subjects in the 1830s. A number of these works all focused on the celebrated Admiral van Tromp. There has been much confusion about the identity of Admiral Tromp as both father Maarten, originally named Maarten Harpertszoon Tromp (1598-1653), and his son Cornelis (1629-1691) were admirals. In addition both also added 'Van' to their surname, ensuing from their knighthoods. At least in the first of these pictures, Turner is certainly referring to 'Sir Martin', the father, who indeed, as the title of the work suggests, *Admiral van Tromp's Barge at the Entrance of the Texel*(Sir John Soane's Museum), *1645* was on convoy duty in Texel in 1645. Exhibited in 1831, the picture shows a state yacht in the centre of the scene, entering the roadstead near the Texel island, north of Holland. The Admiral is depicted in the distant right, on a small barge, about to board his flagship. The composition is one of a typical Dutch marine style and reminiscent also of many of Turner's sea pieces, showing a strong movement of forceful waves in the foreground, a proud state yacht, sailing away from the viewer, and a seventeenth-century man-of-war at anchor in the background. The two following van Tromp paintings, exhibited in 1832 and 1833, give a similar impression. The first, *Van Tromp's Shallop, at the Entrance of the Scheldt* (Whatsworth Athaneum Museum of Art, however, is a somewhat curious composition in which it appears that the Admiral is being brought ashore in a small barge in the foreground. The 1833 picture, *Van Tromp Returning after the Battle off the Dogger Bank* (Tate), shows a Dutch state barge lowering her jib while approaching the Admiral's flagship. The battle mentioned is that of 6 July 1652, in which Van Tromp had been ordered to attack the English fleet, which started the first Anglo-Dutch war. The three pictures all show Turner's

[121] This interpretation of the painting is based upon Sarah Monks' discussion of the work in her article on Turner's relation with Dutch art. She moreover suggests that there were at least four paintings by Ruisdael of rough seas with sailing boats, likely to have been known by Turner: the Louvre painting, *Rough Sea with Sailing Vessels* (c. 1668, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid), *Rough Sea at a Jetty* (c. 1652-55, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas) and *Rough Sea* (c. 1670, Boston Museum of Fine Arts) See Solkin (2009), p. 82, 83 and 227. For a closer analysis of Turner's relation with Ruisdael and a discussion of this work see Bachrach (1981), pp. 19-30. See also Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 237, pp. 131-132, and Bachrach (1994), p. 46.

[122] *Examiner*, 1 July 1827, p.404, quoted in Solkin (2009), p. 83.

Fig. 17. J.M.W. Turner, *Van Tromp''s Shallop, at the Entrance of the Scheldt*, exh. 1832, oil on canvas, 89 x 119,5 cm, Hartford, Conneticut (Wadsworh Atheneum).

Fig. 18. J.M.W. Turner, *Van Tromp Returning after the Battle off the Dogger Bank*, 1833, oil on canvas, 90,5 x 120,6 cm London (Tate).

Fig. 19. J.M.W. Turner, *Admiral van Tromp's Barge at the Entrance of the Texel 1645*, exh, 1831, oil on cnvas, 90,2 x 121,9 cm, London (Sir John Soane's Museum).

great fascination for Dutch marine history.[123] All three paintings were warmly welcomed at the Royal Academy, the 1831 piece being bought at the exhibition for 250 guineas, and the other two also highly praised for their beauty and freshness.[124] A similar historical marine was exhibited in 1832 as well, this time having as its subject prince William III of Orange. Fully entitling *The Prince of Orange, William III, embarked from Holland, and Landed at Torbay, November 4th, 1688 after a Stormy Passage* (Tate), Turner aimed to represent the episode as authentic as possible. The event is depicted as remarkably impressive, with the yacht 'Mary' in the foreground, carrying the prince and his conclave over a rough sea. The intensity of the storm is emphasised by a dark and powerful palette, with the yielding buoy in the right foreground and the struggling of small vessels against the waves. The work was for these reasons highly appreciated. Yet, remarkably, a critic of the *Examiner*, in his review of the Royal Academy's exhibition of 1832, not only referred to Turner's works as 'masterly sea pieces' but also as 'caricatures of history'. And indeed, however sublime Turner's rendering of this event may be, it is incorrect in several aspects. The prince of Orange's fleet had been ravaged by storms, but this was already in October 1688, after which it returned to base and sailed out again in perfect weather in November of the same year, reaching England on 5 November.[125]

Also exhibited in 1832 was *Helvoetsluys – the City of Utrecht, 64, Going to sea* (Tokyo Fuji Art Museum), which again embodied a historical subject, as the City of Utrecht was the flagship of the Admirals of the prince of Orange in 1688.[126] The flagship is approaching the port of the coastal town Hellevoetsluis. Notes in the *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook also indicate that Turner passed the town in 1817 and a number of sketches of the waterfront of Goerree, correctly depicted on the distant left in the final picture, demonstrate Turner's

[123] His reasons for this interest, may be political, as the Van Tromp series perhaps refer to the betrayal of the Dutch by the British Government at the outbreak of the Belgian Revolt in 1830, leading to a Dutch military operation that was foiled by intervention of French and British forces, ultimately resulting in the dissolution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. By depicting Van Tromp as a naval hero, he showed a clear sympathy for the Dutch. This discussion is, however, not for the purpose of this essay. See therefore Bachrach (1994), pp. 20, 21 and 50.

[124] *Van Tromp's Shallop, at the Entrance of the Scheldt*, was exhibited with three other marine paintings. The four paintings were reviewed together and a critic of *Library of Fine Arts*, thought them works 'beyond which art could never go, an which we may therefore perhaps truly say cannot go.' See Butlin and Joll (1977), no 344, p. 178.

[125] See for an elaborate discussion on the historically incorrectness of the work, Bachrach (1994), pp. 54-55.

[126] Bachrach (1994), p. 56.

Fig. 20. J.M.W. Turner, *The Prince of Orange, William III, Embarked from Holland, and Landed at Torbay, November 4th, 1688 after a Stormy Passage*, exh. 1832, oil on canvas, 90,2 x 120 cm, London (Tate).

Fig, 21, J.M.W. Turner, *Helvoetsluys; - the City of Utrecht, 64, Going to Sea*, exh. 1832, Oil on Canvas, 91,4 x 122 cm, Private Collection

awareness of Dutch topography. The presentation of the church tower of Goeree must have been based upon these sketches. [127]

With the exhibition of the following piece, Turner stayed within the genre of historical marines, however less politically engaged. *[Antwerp] Van Goyen Looking out for a Subject*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1833, once again showed Turner's great interest of the Dutch old masters. As the painting offers a view of the waterfront of Antwerp, seen from the river Scheldt, Turner may well have been inspired by his visits to the Low Countries to execute this work, even though 'Antwerp' was not part of the original title.[128] The work was exhibited eight years after Turner had visited Holland in 1825 and just before he was to travel through the country again. The *Holland* sketchbook contains various sketches of Antwerp, frequently also featuring the city's cathedral. One specific sketch comprises an excellent and delicately executed study of the cathedral's spire, which must have been an important source for Turner's depiction of the building rising on the shoreline in the distance. With the subject of this composition, it seems as if Turner is implying the artistic practice of the Dutch painter Jan van Goyen, which was based upon personal observations, notwithstanding the dangers that might occur along the trip. Herein Turner was perhaps indirectly making comparable claims for himself, making the piece something of a manifesto painting. At least, this implication is what a reviewer of the *Atheneum* derived from it when he discussed the painting. Turner showed how Van Goyen would 'man a yacht, stand out to sea [...] and sometimes on the edge of battle, sketch the warships of his country'.[129] Van Goyen did certainly visit the city and found various subjects there to paint, of which his *View of Antwerp, from the left bank of the river Scheldt* (private collection) could well have been the subject that Van Goyen was painting while approaching the city in Turner's picture. However, the strong wind with which the painter's vessel is having to cope is completely absent in the original painting and one may rarely find such immense battleships in the paintings of the Dutch master. If indeed Turner was to imply the heroic and adventurous practice of Van Goyen in order to present the portrait of an artist as a well-travelled and tough sailor, by

[127] On page 1 of the *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbook, Turner notes: 'Helvoetsluys Place Inn 80 Feet water.'
[128] Butlin and Joll (1999), no. 350, p. 183.
[129] *Athanaeum*, no. 289, 11 May, 1833, p. 297. Quoted in Riding (2013a), p. 18. Also in this line, the art historian Barry Venning argued that the painting was 'something of a manifesto picture'. See B. Venning, 'A macabre connoisseurship: Turner, Byron and the apprehension of shipwreck subjects in early nineteenth-century England', *Art History*, vol. 8, pt. 3 (September 1985), p. 305. Venning also quotes the review by the critic of *Athenaeum*.

which he legitimates, if not praises, his own artistic practice, he certainly romanticized this entire image.

If Turner had used his sources well, he would have known that Arnold Houbraken, in his work on the biographies of the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century, tells the anecdote of a painter approaching a naval battle the record the events. Yet it is not Van Goyen but Willem van de Velde I about who Houbraken tells this anecdote! If Turner only knew the story was about the marine painter, who indeed produced numbers of battles, he would not have to romanticize and dramatize the story at all. [130]

And so Turner brought himself in a complex situation, for Van Goyen is rather known for the serenity which pervades his views of the Dutch rivers, with their peaceful towns along the river banks and barges of fishermen floating on the calmly rippling water. Yet, despite the relatively small degree of resemblance between Turner's overwhelming perception of the sea and Van Goyen's serene river views, the atmospheric impression enhancing the serenity in the old master's paintings is an element which Turner felt highly comfortable with and is clearly dominating this picture as well. The misty appearance of the Antwerp cathedral and the warship in the distant left that almost fades into the hazy cloudscape, seem to have been painted with a similar atmospheric eye as Van Goyen would often do.[131] Turner takes this even further by the diagonal movement of light, from sharp and bright in the foreground on the right leading towards a dense mixture of shades in white and light blue, creating a great sense of depth and liveliness and pulling the viewer right into the composition. One could almost feel the wind blowing in the sails and hear the vessel breaking though the splashing waves, getting more and more curious as to what will be found once the warship has approached. Building upon the old master's paintings and inspired also by his own encounters with the Dutch waters, Turner creates a sublime and sensitive image in which he elevates his

[130] A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen: waar van 'er veele met hunne beeltenissen ten tooneel verschynen, ... zynde een vervolg op het schilderboek van K. v. Mander* ...The Hague 1753, p. 355. Judging also from the review in the *Athenaeum,* it seems as if this was not just Turner's mistake but rather that the story was passed down in England incorrectly. This also explains the choice of Van Goyen as a subject, which on the survey appears rather strange for Van Goyen's reputation was in those days still fairly small. See for this matter C. Vogelaar, *Jan van Goyen*, exh.cat. Leiden (De Lakenhal), p. 10.

[131] Fred Bachrach uses the words 'painted in tinted steam' in this respect, referring to Constable's utterances about Turner whose later works, according to Constable, seem to be painted with tinted steam'. As Bachrach describes it, 'Van Goyen had pushed his tonal monochromatic style as far as it would go before actually dissolving into great 'tinted steam''. See Bachrach (1981), p. 26.

art above Van Goyen's works in terms of dramatic and Romantic experiences. The picture was warmly welcomed at the Academy and generally praised highly by critics.[132]
A similar play of light as in the *Van Goyen* picture is present in the other marine painting of a Dutch subject that Turner exhibited that year, and in fact *The Rotterdam Ferry Boat* may well have served as a pendant to *Van Goyen,* although there is no hard evidence of such a connection. The picture presents a similar composition of a river scene with a small barge in the foreground sailing in the same direction, a seventeenth-century man-of-war at anchor and the waterfront, this time of Rotterdam, illuminated in hazy white in the background with the church of St Lawrence dominating the skyline. The picture was briefly noticed at the Royal Academy's exhibition by most of the critics and received considerable praise.[133]

After this continuous production of Dutch-mannered marines in the early 1830s, it almost seemed as if Turner got tired of them, waiting another ten years before returning to the subject again. Even though a large number of sea pieces and water scenes were produced in the meantime, ultimately also deriving from the Dutch painterly tradition, it was not until 1844 that Turner

[132] Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 350, p. 183. Nonetheless, the work remained unsold and was ultimately bought by Elhanan Bicknell in 1844.
[133] Presumably, it was bought at the Academy's exhibition in 1833 by Munro of Novar, although the history and title of the picture has been much discussed and confused in relation to *Admiral Van Tromp's barge at the entrance of the Texel 1645*. See for an outset of the history of this discussion, Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 348, pp. 181-182. Nowadays, the picture houses in the National Gallery of Art in Washington.

Fig. 22. J.M.W. Turner, *[Antwerp], Van Goyen Looking Out for a Subject*, exh. 1833, oil on canvas, 91,8 x 122,9 cm, New York (The Frick Collection)

Fig. 23. J.M.W. Turner, *The Rotterdam Ferry Boat,* exh. 1833, oil on canvas 92,7 x 123,2 cm, Washington (National Gallery of Art).

returned to obvious Dutch grounds. In that year, he exhibited as many as three such pictures, reminiscent of the events of a decade earlier. In fact, two of them literally revived his earlier works as they presented another Port Ruysdael and Van Tromp. The latter, entitled *Van Tromp, Going about to Please his Masters, Ships a Sea, Getting a Good Wetting* (J. Paul Getty Museum), shows an identical composition to all the other Van Tromp paintings and likewise depicts a historical event, in which the Admiral is sailing up to 'his masters', the government body of the Dutch republic, having been relieved of his command after failing to come to the aid of Admiral Michiel de Ruyter.[134] Yet, in terms of colours and technique, it is clear that the work was executed a decade later, showing a swiftly rendered impression of the rough sea and expressing a high sensitivity for atmospheric light and colour.

However, compared to the two other exhibited works of 1844, the composition is fairly fully modelled. *Fishing Boats Bringing a Disabled Ship into Port Ruysdael* (Tate) presents an intensified version of the 1827 *Port Ruysdael*. A similar fishing boat as in the first Ruysdael picture, is the focus of attention, racing together with a few other small barges toward the big ghostly-looking flagship in the far distance to bring the disabled craft back to shore. Again, the familiar formula of a pier-head interrupts the composition behind which space is created for an open sea, although in this case the breakwater in the foreground has nearly vanished into the dark monochromatic palette. By a loose handling of paint, rapidly applied to the canvas, Turner suggests a dense atmosphere in which the oncoming stormy weather whips up the restlessly churning sea. On the one hand, a grim sense of threat is even more dominant than was the case in the 1827 painting, on the other the outbreak of sun, emphasised by bright touches of white relieves the viewer from this fear and offers him hope. Turner gave the overall picture, organized by a simple combination of monochromatic tints of grey, brown and white, establishes a lively sensation of the cold windy ocean and fresh, breezy sky and a most tangibly sublime character.

A comparable sensation appears in the third exhibited painting of 1844, *Ostend* (Neue Pinakothek), but perhaps even to a greater extent. Showing the same monochromatic palette, enlivened by fresh highlights in white, the figures along the pier-head and the fishing boats struggling at sea are absorbed into the greater whole of light and colour, provoking an intense emotional drama. Here, at the port of Ostend, Turner presents the sentiments of hope and relief heavily, as the right sailboat finally approaches the Flemish coast after a rough journey and the little vessel in the centre was about to smash against the breakwater had he

[134] For a more elaborate explanation of the story, see Bachrach (1994), p. 53.

not jibbed his mainsail at the very last moment to follow the others into the port. The sensation is all-embracing, most likely to have been derived from Turner's own experiences at the coast. We know that when Turner entered Calais on his first journey abroad in 1802, he had experienced a similar event. He wrote down next to a drawing for the later painting *Calais Pier; with French Poissards Preparing for Sea; An Anglish Packet Arriving* (National Gallery, London), 'Our landing at Calais- nearly swampt'.[135] At Ostend, he had entered the continent frequently, also for his final journeys to Switzerland in the 1840s, and many sketchbooks contain brief impressions of his experiences.[136]

Fig. 24. J.M.W. Turner, *Van Tromp, Going about to Please his Masters, Ships a Sea, Getting a Good Wetting*, exh, 1844, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 121,9 cm, Malibu, California (The J. Paul Getty Museum).

[135] From the *Calais Pier* sketchbook, London (Tate) Turner Bequest LXXXO 58-59.
[136] Among others, the *Ostend, Rhine and Wurzburg* sketchbook, London (Tate) Turner Bequest CCCIII, and the *Ostend, Rhine and Berne* sketchbook, London (Tate) Turner Bequest CCCXXVII). Also from his journeys in Holland in 1817 and 1825 several sketches of Ostend are present; in the *Dort* and *Itinerary Rhine Tour* sketchbooks of 1817 and the *Holland* sketchbook of 1825.

Fig. 25. J.M.W. Turner, *Fishing Boats Bringing a Disabled Ship into Port Ruysdael*, exh. 1844, oil on canvas, 91,4 x 123,2 cm, London (Tate Britain).

Fig. 26. J.M.W. Turner, *Ostend*, exh. 1844, oil on canvas, 92,9 x 123,2 cm, Munich (Neue Pinakothek).

The exhibition of 1844 demonstrated how Turner in his perception of the Dutch coasts and his interpretation of Dutch marine painting achieved a final stage of sublimity and, despite this strong influence of traditional painting, maintains the relatively indistinct, riotous, if not semi-modern, style that characterized the final years of his career. Turner himself justified these activities with the comment 'Yes, atmosphere is my style'.[137]

Indeed, atmosphere is the general word that can be used in the description of most of Turner's later works, executed either in pencil, watercolour or oil. It was also the aspect Turner was constantly looking for during his journeys in search for the picturesque, not only in the final years, but ever since he started travelling. In this respect, the 'atmospheric' and picturesque in Holland was far less noticed than was the case in other places. In fact, Turner's depiction of the country is fairly one-sided and relatively rare. As argued, only three works on canvas and one watercolour can be linked directly to one of the Dutch tours and about a dozen more were 'Dutch-inspired', but by the Dutch painterly tradition rather than actual physical encounters. The large number of sketches of street views, quays and bridges, as well as drawings of figures, costumes and carriages, were all left unused. Elsewhere, this was not the case at all, for Turner travelled to many other places, from which the artistic results are far richer.

The artistic productions from other Continental journeys

The frequency of Turner's visits to Europe is exceptional, as is his artistic output resulting from his experiences abroad. Different from most of his colleagues, who recorded impressions and made notes for a lifetime's output during only one or two tours abroad, Turner felt the need to constantly recharge his experience of a country, district or town. In all, during the period between 1817 and his last tour in 1845 Turner visited the Continent eighteen times, travelling to Italy, France, Germany and Switzerland, about five times each. Compared with his entire travelling history, his stays in the Low Countries are relatively few and above all very short. Whereas in 1817 and 1825 Turner's trips to the Low Countries lasted not longer than three or four weeks, most of his Continental journeys encompassed over two months. Of course this also due to the long distances Turner had to make elsewhere.[138]

[137] Solkin (2009), p.218, derived from *The Diaries of John Ruskin*, eds. Joann Evans and John Howard Whitehouse, Oxford 1956, vol .I, 29 April 1844, pp. 273-274.

[138] See for an overview of Turner's travels, Wilton (1982) and in the summarized biography of Turner's life in A. Wilton, *Turner and his time*, London 2006[2] (1987), pp. 224-245, although the summary of his travels is in both books somewhat outdated as new research has shed new lights on the dates and itineraries of his travels. See for more specific studies on Turner's travels C. Powell, *Turner in the South: Rome, Naples, Florence*, New

Likewise the artistic output that resulted from his other travels abroad is much bigger than the Dutch and shows an entirely different character. As the Rhineland attracted many travellers, Turner kept returning to its picturesque sights and in France the river banks were favourable places for Turner to endlessly depict the delightful scenery.[139] During his stay in Italy in 1819, Turner filled over twenty sketchbooks with hundreds of drawings. Most of them are pencil studies but about fifty are executed in watercolour. The letters that Turner wrote from Rome demonstrate how happy he was there. Italy, not surprisingly, provided him with the greatest splendour of old master painting and sculpture as well as the grandeur of its ancient monuments, stimulating Turner to develop his Claude-like fascination for landscape by not only feverishly filling all of his sketchbooks but also by producing a number of paintings there. For instance, his *View of Orvieto. Painted in Rome* (Tate), *Regulus* (Tate) and *Vision of Medea*(Tate), were all produced abroad and exhibited in Rome in 1828 in some rooms which Turner subsequently occupied at the Quattro Fontane.[140] In these paintings, made in Italy, human life is generally almost dwarfed to insignificance by a focus on ancient architecture and Arcadian landscapes, illustrating perfectly Turner's perception of the land.[141]

Similarly, the artistic production resulting from his visits to Venice is immense. Staying in the city only three times, in 1819, 1833 and 1840, and on all occasions for not longer than a fortnight, he nonetheless produced large numbers of astonishing sketches, watercolours and paintings, the latter counting a total number of thirty-one. His light-filled, fairly unfinished and highly atmospheric images of Venice, executed later in his career in both watercolour and oil, have especially come to be renowned. A talented topographer with a particular passion for water and light, Turner felt strongly affected by the dramatic settings Venice had to offer, rising from a series of islands in the middle of a lagoon with waterways instead of streets, balancing precariously between sea and sky. As a marine painter, he could here bring his fascination for the sea to an elevated emotional experience, provoked by an intense Italian

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Haven 1987, *Turner's Rivers of Europe*, London 1992 and *Turner and Germany*, London 1995; I. Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, London 2003.

[139] As has been argued in the previous chapter, the visits to Holland in 1817 and 1825 were indeed also part of such Rhine travels. See Powell (1995). See Wilton (1982), p. 24.

[140] In the *Diario di Roma* of 17 December 1828, Turner advertised that he was to exhibit two landscapes for a week at the Pallazo Trulli, which by John Gage had been identified as the *View of Orvieto* and *Regulus.* See Butlin and Joll (1975), pp. 154-155. At all events only three paintings were exhibited in 1828, but a number of works, such as *Palestrina* and *Regulus* were exhibited much later. A large number of works, however remained unexhibited and were left in the Turner Bequest. See also J. Gage 'Turner's Academic Friendships: C.L. Eastlake', *Burlington Magazine* cx 1968, pp. 679-680.

[141] See for an elaborate study on Turner's visits in Italy, Powell (1987).

light reflecting on the marvellous monumental buildings along the shore and in the ever calmly rippling water. A more 'atmospheric' setting is hardly imaginable.[142]

In addition, Switzerland fulfilled Turner's urge for terrific Sublimity. It is not without reason that his very first journey beyond British shores was dedicated to the sublime mountains of the Alps. It was, however, a region comprising the entire area from Austria to Savoy which became more and more important for Turner as he grew older. In the early 1840s he annually visited the country, until his age finally prevented him from travelling at all. His journeys resulted foremost in large numbers of astonishing watercolours, as well as some ten wonderfully executed oils that express the greatest sublimity and tend almost towards abstraction. They present epic images of mountain passes and lakes, as well as delightful atmospheric views of such places as Zurich, Constance and Heidelberg. [143]

While drawing, Turner always kept in mind the expectations of those who stayed at home. He acted as the general eye for his countrymen, observing and feeling what he knew they wished to feel and see. Being a good businessman too, he ensured that his images of the Continent reflected something of the preferences of his audience.[144] In many tours, Turner was therefore also in a continuous search of material for various publications reproducing his watercolours. Publishers of illustrative engravings all seemed persuaded by Turner's wonderful watercolour technique that, with the greatest delicacy and precision, could embrace the grandest landscapes on the smallest scale. Not only landscapes were the subjects of his watercolours for they also showed his great interest in the cities, people and their occupation, often representing large crowds, either at busy market-places or on public holidays or festivals. Also the many thorough sketches of human figures and their habit of dress in several of his sketchbooks show this great interest.[145]His watercolours were just as much autonomous works of art as any of his finished oils.[146] Therefore several projects were at hand in which Turner could demonstrate his great mastery in the medium and present the result of his impressions of his picturesque journeys abroad. Apart from the great series of *Picturesque Views in England and Wales*, of which the first plates appeared in 1827, Turner was also assembling a

[142]See I. Warrell, *Turner and Venice*, pp. 14-30.
[143] Wilton (1982), p. 25.
[144] Wilton (1982), pp. 14-16.
[145] Wilton (1982), p. 19. Wonderful examples of such sketches can be found in the *Swiss Figures* sketchbook (Turner Bequest LCCVIII) , used at the first trip to the Alps in 1802. Also in Holland Turner produced such drawings. See for instance the *Dort* sketchbook, folio 17 (Turner Bequest CLXII 17).
[146] See for Turner's practice in watercolour, Eric Shanes, *Turner's Watercolour Explorations, 1810–1842*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London 1997 and Andrew Wilton, *Turner as Draughtsman*, Aldershot 2006.

mass of subjects for a grand project of the 'Great Rivers of Europe'. During his many travels, perhaps at least partly undertaken with the project in mind, he made many brief studies of picturesque sights and finished designs alike on small sheets of paper. On this list of rivers were the Meuse, Moselle, Loire and Seine and especially in France he explored the river banks with some such scheme in mind. Finally only two of the 'Rivers' were published; the Loire in 1833, under title *Turner's Annual Tour – Wandering by the Loire* and the *Wanderings by the Seine* in 1834 and 1835. In 1820 and 1821, Turner produced a short series of finished watercolours and afterwards began work on a series of Italian subjects for a planned series of 'Picturesque Views in Italy'.[147]

These engraving projects offered large numbers of beautifully executed watercolours, but apart from those, the production of watercolours inspired from his tours abroad is generally immense, both executed back in his studio in London and rendered on the spot. France, Rome, Venice and the Alps all offered wonderful occasions for Turner to take out his watercolour equipment and the small number of such watercolours of Dutch subjects is therefore remarkable. It was not the case that Turner did not think of executing watercolours at all after returning from his trip in 1817. In fact, the journey resulted in the grand total of fifty-one watercolours depicting views of the Rhine. The drawings are derived from sketches in the *Waterloo and Rhine* and *Rhine* sketchbooks.[148] Even though they vary from highly finished executed designs to broad and swiftly rendered sketches, the entire group of drawings was acquired by Walter Fawkes for a total of 500 guineas.[149] Nevertheless, Turner used several of the drawings later also as preparatory studies for more highly developed watercolours, produced about 1820. The series comprises peaceful views along the Rhine, terrific images of the cliffs and mountains further south on the river, delightful pastoral scenes of figures along the river banks and careful representations of towns and castles.[150] With the many sketches of Holland, executed during the very same trip, Turner did no such thing. It seems then, that in

[147] A further plan for a series of the *Picturesque Views in Italy* had been promulgated, begun and died.

[148] See for an outset of Turner's use of paper, both in sketchbooks and loos sheets, Peter Bower, *Turner's papers : a study of the manufacture, selection and use of his drawing papers 1787-1820*, London 1990 and *Turner's later papers : a study of the manufacture, selection, and use of his drawing papers 1820-1851*, London 1999.

[149] See in Andrew Wilton's catalogue of watercolours nos 636-696. A. Wilton, *J.M.W. Turner. Life and work*, London 1979 , pp. 374-380. Walter Thornbury remarks that after returning in Britain he 'even before taking off his great-coat produced the drawings, in a slovenly roll, from his breast-pocket; and Mr. Fawkes bought the lot for some £500,-…' Quoted in Wilton (1985), p. 37. See for an elaborate discussion of this series of watercolours as well as his travels along the Rhine, Cecilia Powell, *Turner and Germany*, London (1995).

[150] One part was executed for the Swinburne family from who Sir John Swinburne chose the subjects himself from the drawings in Fawkes' collection. The rest was a set of drawings of roughly the same dimensions as the original watercolours of 1817 that was to have been published in a series of Rhine views by W.B. Cooke, who also exhibited two of them, *Ehrenbreitstein , during the demolition of the fortress*, and a view of *Neuwied, on the Rhine looking towards Andernach*. See Wilton (1975), nos. 687 and 689, pp. 374 and 379.

his picturesque travel in the rest of Europe, Turner was a lot more productive and creative, finding picturesqueness, sublimity and atmosphere in far more various things than merely coast views and seascapes. Although Holland also possessed such picturesque streets, riverbanks and elegant architecture and Turner also recorded many such images in his sketchbooks, he clearly did not found these valuable enough for more concrete works of art.

Fig. 27. J.M.W. Turner, *View of Orvieto. Painted in Rome*, 1828 reworked 1830, oil on canvas, 91,4 x 123,2 cm, London (Tate).

Fig. 28. J.M.W. Turner, *Venice- Maria della Salute*, exh. 1844, oil on canvas, 89,5 x 121,2 cm, London (Tate).

Fig. 29. J.M.W. Turner, *Near the Pass of S. Bernadino: A Bridge over a River in a Gorge*, from *Bellinzona* Sketchbook, graphite, watercolour and pen on paper, 22,7 x 32,7 cm, London (Tate, Turner Bequest CCCXXXVI 17).

Fig. 30. J.M.W. Turner, *Oberlahnstein*, 1817, watercolour and bodycolour on paper, 19,8 x 31,6 cm, London (British Museum).

Fig. 31. J.M.W. Turner, *Mainz*, 1817, bodycolour on paper, 20,2 x 31,1 cm, Mainz (Landesmuseum).

A sea painter in Holland

In Holland, Turner was above all a sea painter, exploring this genre in the most favourable but traditional manner by looking back at the painterly conventions of the Dutch marine artists and building upon the great success of such images at the British audience. His Dutch paintings primarily recall the large debt to these old masters, by which Turner moreover stepped onto the terrain of a fierce trans-historical competition. Already as early as 1801, when he exhibited *Dutch Boats in a Gale,* he aimed to compete with Van de Velde in order to surpass him. The work was deliberately one foot larger than the original Van de Velde piece, next to which his work was commissioned as a companion piece Also in terms of dramatic appearance, emphasised by the intense palette that produces a threatening sky, the hard labour of the fishermen and the fresh white highlights that enforce the churning waves, Turner's painting outshines Van de Velde's *Rising Gale.*[151] Such a victory also appeared in later works, the *Van Goyen* painting of 1833 being but one example. However, although occasionally lifting his pictorial inventions above those of his predecessors and thereby elevating the marine subject into the Romantic perception of the Sublime and Beautiful, Turner shows little artistic license in Holland, which in other countries he surely felt more free to do. Although his later Dutch marines, the late *Port Ruysdael* and Van Tromp painting as well as *Ostend*, achieve a fairly high level of artistic creativity, poetic license and sublime experience by means of the swiftly applied brush strokes and intense use of colour contrasts, they remain above all revisions of his earlier successful work as an attempt to manage his reputation. Especially since a large number of his latest paintings were considered 'unintelligible' by many of his contemporaries and being in his seventies by this time, Turner was much engaged with the issue of his legacy. In a self-conscious meditation of the past, present and future of his work, Turner returned to the scene of his earlier successes.[152] As a matter of fact, I find that the underlying message of the 1844 Van Tromp painting illustrates this perfectly, as here it is argued that in the hour of its need, a popular hero, such as Van Tromp, should swallow his wounded pride and serve his country.[153] Not suggesting that Turner considered himself the bohemian who is forced to subject himself to the preferences of his audience, the Van Tromp painting may well refer to Turner's awareness of the public's ignorance of his latest

[151] Sarah Monks widely discusses this argument. See Monks (2010), pp. 73-76.
[152] This attitude resulted foremost in the substantial bequest of all his unsold work as well as watercolours, sketchbooks and other works on paper to the nation, the famous Turner Bequest. Already in 1829 he had drawn up a will that two of his paintings should hang in the perpetuity with two by Claude Lorrain in the National Gallery. See Riding (2013-a), pp. 241-244 and Monks (2010), p. 83, 84.
[153] Bachrach (1994), p. 53.

experiments and his need to return to more comprehensible and favourable subjects in order the secure his reputation; hence the return to the Dutch, and Dutch marine painting in particular.

This is something highly important to note, as clearly the Dutch school of painting, so greatly admired in nineteenth-century Britain, embodies much more than just seascapes. Turner also tried to emulate another of these celebrated masters, perhaps the most celebrated of all: Rembrandt van Rijn. In 1824 the British Institution's exhibition of Old Master paintings featured three of his works, stimulating Turner to revive his greatness.[154] Without success, unfortunately, as his three Rembrandtesque paintings, exhibited in 1827 and 1830 gained a fair amount of adverse criticism. The first, *Rembrandt's Daughter* (Fogg Art Museum), is a clear exercise in Rembrandtesque painting and inspired by Rembrandt's *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin), exhibited in the British Institution in 1824. It was judged as a 'first attempt at historical painting'[155] or even worse 'a parody'[156] or 'joke upon Rembrandt'.[157] Perhaps the sharpest comment of all was written by a critic of the *Morning Post* on 15 June 1827: 'Turner had Rembrandt in his fancy when he painted this extraordinary picture, he also had him in his eye!'.[158]

The exhibited works of 1830 are less obviously reminiscent of Rembrandt, but clearly composed with Rembrandt's painting in mind. *Jessica* (Tate) was perhaps even the most violently abused of all of Turner's exhibited work, largely due to the harsh tint of yellow in the background. Upon seeing the picture, the poet William Wordsworth (1770-1850) even got the impression that Turner 'had indulged in raw liver until he was very unwell'.[159] Jessica would resemble a 'lady getting out of a large mustard-pot.'[160]*Pilate washing his hands* (Tate) underwent a similar judgement. A critic of the *Literary Gazette* of 8 May 1830 called the work 'wretched and abortive'. The same magazine quoted a week later the words of a viewer saying he rather fancied 'a pilot washing his hands as 'a fine marine subject'.[161]

[154] The paintings exhibited were Rembrandt's *Flight into Egypt* (National Gallery of Ireland), *Jospeh and Potiphar's Wife* (Gemälde Galerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) and *Portrait of a Man* (UK Collection Trust, Busot Park, Oxfordshire). See Solkin (2009).
[155]*The Times*, 11 May 1827.
[156]*Literary Magnet* 3, p. 334.
[157]*New Monthly Magazine*, III, pp. 379-380.
[158]*Morning Post*, 15 June 1827. See Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 238, pp. 132-133.
[159]Quoted in Solkin (2009), p. 150-151.
[160] Solkin (2009), p. 150-151. See also Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 333, p. 169.
[161] Quoted in Bachrach (1994), p. 49. See also Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 332, p. 168.

Fig,. 32. J.M.W. Turner, *Rembrandt's Daughter*, exh. 1827, oil on canvas 122 x 86,3 cm, Cambridge USA (Fogg Art Museum)

Fig. 33. J.M.W. Turner, *Jessica*, exh. 1830, oil on canvas, 122 x 91,5 cm, London (Tate; generally displayed at Petworth House, Sussex).

A more typical quote could not be placed here, as this was exactly what seems to have determined Turner's somewhat limited production of Dutch works.

In the case of Holland, the British audience wished Turner to produce Dutch marine painting more than anything else. Rather than inspiring Turner to explore his Romantic genius, Holland thus mainly seem to have offered him a firm base of public confidence and financial security. Dutch marines were what his critics, audience and buyers wanted to see from him and hence Dutch marines were what Turner produced. The natural scenery of the Low Countries also do not lend themselves for such Sublime effects as in Switzerland or Italy. Therefore, Holland was Turner could find Picturesque scenes after the seventeenth-century Dutch paintings. Relishing Arcadian landscapes, the terrifying forces of nature and historical subjects elsewhere, in Holland Turner was best in representing the fresh and bright images of the sea and the intriguing lights of the Dutch cloudscapes – no genre-pieces, no history paintings, no large groups of figures or profound messages, just water, vessels and clouds.

The contrasting appearance of the *Field of Waterloo* and the *Dort Packet-Boat* and their similarly opposing reception at the Academy illustrates this perfectly. Presenting a most tragic moment after the battle, filled with utter desolation and profound grief, the *Field of Waterloo* was a failure with the general public. It was returned to Turner's studio and remained unexhibited for another 120 years until 1983 when it was shown in Paris.[162] A review of the work in the *Annals of the Fine Arts* was rather adverse, if not even satirical, reading: 'Before we referred to the catalogue we really thought this was the representation of a drunken hubbub on an illumination night and the host as far gone as his scuffling and scrambling guests, was with his dame and kitchen wenches looking with torches for a lodger**,** and wondering what was the matter'.[163]
Unlike the Waterloo painting, the *Dort* was bought at the Royal Academy immediately by Walter Fawkes of Farnley for the considerable price of 500 guineas. Being a homage to the work of Aelbert Cuyp, such a sum was about the same as one would pay for an original painting by the old master. The *Morning Chronicle* called the Turner's *Dort* 'one of the most

[162] A. Rose (ed.), *J.M.W. Turner, 1775-1851,* exh. cat. Paris (Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais) 1983 -1984, no. 33. Bachrach (1994), p. 17 and Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 138, p. 93. Many viewers at the Academy expected a picture of the battle at Waterloo to be in harmony with the national euphoria about its victory and were therefore disappointed in Turner's presentation of the battle.
[163]Quoted in Butlin and Joll (1977), no, 138 , p. 93.

magnificent pictures ever exhibited, which does honour to the age.'[164] This is what the British audience wished to see from Holland, water, ships and clouds, reminiscent of the wonderful paintings of the seventeenth century.

Fierce competition

Yet, on top of this trans-historical contest with the Dutch old masters, a contemporary competitive factor also overshadowed Turner's choice of subjects. In fact, it appears that the *Dort* was executed not only by means of a competitive countermove against Aelbert Cuyp, but also by way of a challenge to a similar marine piece by a contemporary artist, soon to be his greatest rival, Sir Augustus Wall Callcott (1779-1844). His *Entrance to the Pool of London* (private collection) was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1816 and, also strongly reminiscent of Cuyp's *Maas at Dordrecht*, the painting enjoyed a great success. The work measures 60 by 87 inches, which is thus the same size within a few inches as the *Dort* painting, measuring 62 by 92 inches. Turner admired Callcott's painting highly and as Turner's biographer Walter Thornbury suggested, he would have awarded the painting a thousand guineas.[165] If it was indeed some sort of competition that Turner hoped to provoke, Callcott perhaps even let Turner win, when he, as a member of the Hanging Committee in 1818, removed a picture of his own in order to give the Dort painting a more prominent position, in the centre of the wall at the end of the Great Room.[166]

Such a rivalry with Callcott remained throughout Turner's career and in the 1820s the young artist Clarkson Frederick Stanfield (1793-1867), often wrongly referred to as William Clarkson Stanfield[167], entered the battlefield as well. Both Callcott and Stanfield enjoyed great success with the public and patrons, producing finely wrought 'Dutch' marine paintings. Their work was far less challenging than Turner's, but while Turner's most ambitious paintings remained unsold, Callcott and Clarkson Stanfield's modest sea pieces proved extremely popular. Having visited the Low Countries several times as well, it is therefore interesting to compare their perception of the country with Turner's. In fact, in order to underpin the earlier assumption that Turner would return to Dutch marine subjects and leave out any other aspects of Holland in his finished works because of public and competitive

[164] Published in the *Morning Chronical* of May 1818, see Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 137, p. 92.
[165] 'Had I been deputed t set a value upon *that picture*, I should have awarded it a thousand guineas', quoted in Butlin and Joll (1977), p. 91. Ultimately, Callcott received the eminent amount of two hundred guineas for the picture. See Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 137, pp. 91-92.
[166] Butlin and Joll (1977), no. 137, pp. 91-92.
[167] See the biography of the artist on Tate website; http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/clarkson-frederick-stanfield-518 (25 June 20140).

pressure demanding him to do so, a consideration of how his colleagues, not only Callcott and Clarkson Stanfield, treated the Low Countries is in order. Such an investigation will also hopefully shed light upon the main question of this thesis about the extent to which Turner and his attitude to Holland was typical for his time. The next chapter will therefore set out the visits of other British artists to the country and their perception of the land and its painting tradition.

Fig. 34. Sir. A. W. Callcott, *Entrance to the Pool of London*, exh. RA 1816, oil on canvas, 153 x 221 cm, United Kingdom (Private Collection).

Chapter 5

Made in Holland

English artists travelling in the Low Countries

As has been explained earlier, Britons were frequent travellers and during their Grand Tours in the eighteenth century and the later picturesque travels across the Continent, Holland was often included. Yet, the number of artists specifically travelling to the Low Countries, as Turner did at least twice, is relatively small. In fact, the artists travelling to Holland in the eighteenth century are to be counted on the fingers of two hands. Sir James Thornhill (1675-1734) visited Holland in 1711, followed by Joseph Highmore (1692-1780) in 1732. In 1748 Thomas Hudson (1701-1779) travelled together with the brothers Joseph (1699-1749) and Alexander van Aken (1701-1759). Finally, of course, there were Sir Joshua Reynolds and Samuel Ireland who undertook the journey, in 1781 and 1789, of whom the travel journals of these trips have been discussed in the second chapter. Remarkable also is the fact that of those artists only Reynolds and Ireland paid attention to the arts of the Low Countries. One would expect that the number of English artists travelling in Holland would significantly increase after 1815, when many more Britons started travelling to the continent in general, but the number of visits remained fairly limited.[168] It seems that Turner was one of the first among painters to undertake the journey and his travels to Holland may therefore be considered as wonderful examples for other, minor, artists who followed in his footsteps.

Landscape painters

Even of those British landscape painters who were most indebted to the Dutch seventeenth-century painting tradition, very few ever went to visit the country themselves. Gainsborough and Constable, whose works are strongly reminiscent of Dutch seventeenth-century landscape painting never travelled in Europe at all. John Crome, the founding father of the Dutch inspired Norwich School only visited the Continent once for a trip to Paris. Although his work is strongly affected by Dutch seventeenth-century landscape painting, he never went to see the Dutch scenery himself.

Like Crome, most painters of the Norwich School stayed at home, with the exception of Joseph Stannard (1797-1830) who visited Holland in 1821 and especially John Berney Crome (1794-1842), 'Old' Crome's son, who visited the country several times. During these visits he

[168] Kitson (1995), p. 57.

made rough pencil sketches and watercolours of Amsterdam and the river Amstel, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Delft, Leiden, Haarlem and the beaches of Scheveningen. In 1819 he exhibited three oils of Dutch subjects at the Norwich Society of Artists: *The Entrance to the Pool of Rotterdam, The Briel* and *Boats; the Town of Vlarding in the Distance* (locations not known).[169] In terms of its subject, the paintings are typical for an English artist observing the Dutch sights and thus also strongly remind one of how Turner had treated this subject. The three paintings formed the beginning of a long list of works with a Dutch subject. They mostly comprise peaceful river scenes, often also focusing on towns along the river bank and frequently depicted by moonlight, making them reminiscent of the work of such artists as Aert van der Neer and suggesting a highly atmospheric character.[170]

For the younger Crome, Holland clearly formed a great source of inspiration and, just as can be deduced from the travellers' books and Turner's sketches, he too seemed mostly fascinated by the country's abundance of water and the atmospheric possibilities which its cloudy skies had to offer.

Fig. 35. John Berney Crome, *View of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*, 1828, Norwich (Castle Museum and Art Gallery).

[169] That same exhibition Crome also presented two drawings 'in black and white'. The exhibited works by Crome of the year 1819 are listed in M. Rajnai, *The Norwich Society of Artists 1805-1833. A dictionary of contributors and their* work, Norwich 1976, p. 39. See also Kraan (2002), p. 62 and Kitson (1995), p. 58.

[170] In all, Crome exhibited 23 works with a Dutch subject at the Norwich Society of Artists, among which also several pencil drawings. Two of the works were also exhibited at the British Institution; *View at Rotterdam* in 1822 and *Scene between Leyden and Haerlam* in 1825. See Rajnai (1976), pp. 39-41.

Of the genre painters who found their inspiration in Dutch seventeenth-century painting, only David Wilkie (1785-1841) undertook the journey, in fact as one of the very first artists to do so after 1815. He visited Holland and Flanders in 1816 and once more in 1840 on his way to the Near East. His perception of Holland was as follows:

> 'The character of the Country is singular beyond everything, and yet it is more like England than any other place I have seen abroad. What struck me the most in my journey in Holland was the perfect resemblance everything bore to what I have seen in the Dutch pictures. Every bush, and house, and window, and, above all the people themselves, struck me as if I had seen them and known them before.'[171]

Wilkie's observations, even though he seemed impressed with the beauties of the Dutch scenery, may be just the reason for others not to cross the channel and visit the country. British painters did not have to visit Holland for its glorious school of painting as these paintings were easily accessible in England in large numbers. They therefore also already knew the Dutch scenery from a close and frequent observation of the many Dutch paintings in British collections. Moreover, the scenery of the east coast of the British Isles offered a similar natural climate to Holland's and hence painters did not have to cross the Channel to get their inspiration to paint in a Dutch manner. Holland perfectly resembled the landscapes they had seen in the famous paintings and the few artists who did travel there also watched the land foremost through seventeenth-century pictorial glasses.
The Royal Academician William Collins (1788-1847), a friend of David Wilkie who worked in both landscape and genre painting, visited Holland and Flanders in 1828. His son and biographer Wilkie Collins (1824-1889) wrote about this trip:

> 'The horse, the wagons, the farming implements that he drew, seemed the very models from which Wouwermans had drawn before him; and the old houses, many of which are now pulled or pulling down, were then happily intact. Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, Brussels and as far as Dinant inland – Antwerp, The Hague and Rotterdam – were the principal point of his journey. All that he saw – the pictures, unrivalled by any foreign collections of the Dutch school; the flat fertile country; the picturesque original people delighted him.'[172]

[171] A. Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, vol.I, London 1842, p. 444, quoted in: Kitson (1995), p. 77.
[172] *Memoires of the Life of William Collins Esq. RA*, vol. I, London 1848, p. 309, quoted in: Kitson (1995), p. 77.

Collins was much amused by his experiences in Holland and indeed depicted Holland in the same way as his seventeenth-century examples had done. He was focused on the pastoral countryside, sketching images of horses, carriages, farms and pastoral life. Indeed, his finished works also frequently show such a Dutch pastoral style, and Dutch-style coastal views were often depicted too. In such pastoral and beach scenes, however, specific Dutch sites and subjects are left out and English places are shown instead. Collins had travelled around a lot on the Continent and whereas Holland is omitted in his finished works, the French coast and Italian countryside are well represented in his oeuvre.[173] However fascinated by the Dutch landscape and life, Collins did not feel the urge to paint it. The expectations in the art market also did not stimulate him to do so either.

Collins was not an exception in this attitude toward the Low Countries as it seems that there was generally little demand for images of Dutch subjects. Many European places and even cities in the Near East could offer beautiful views that were much to collectors' taste. Sketches of towns were developed into watercolours and often also converted into prints. As Turner's habit in this matter also shows, it appears that Dutch cities were less suitable for such productions than other more idyllic and picturesque places. The taste was rather for the exaggerated picturesque, grandeur and the Romantic; for medieval cathedrals and castles or ancient ruins. In Holland such sights were hard to find. Hence, as has already been argued earlier in the case of Turner's production in the medium, there was little demand for watercolours and prints of Dutch subjects.[174]

Sir Augustus Wall Callcott

Dutch-inspired sea pieces on the other hand, as has also been argued in the case of Turner, were much more sought after. Hence it is in the arena of marine painting that the most successful journeys to the Low Countries were established. In the wake of Turner, three painters are particularly worth singling out in this respect: Sir Augustus Wall Callcott, Clarkson Frederick Stanfield and Edward William Cooke (1811-1880). As Turner's lifelong follower and rival, it is not surprising that Callcott travelled to the Low Countries twice, in 1818 and 1824. Notably though, both visits were primarily undertaken in order to gather material for a commissioned painting and not so much out of inner curiosity. For the purpose

[173] Examples of such works are *Sorrento: Bay of Naples*, 1841 and *Villa d'Este, Tivoli,* 1842, now both in the Victoria and Albert Museum,

[174] Kitson (1995), p.63.

of producing *Rotterdam Harbour* (private collection), commissioned by Count Grey in 1816 and finally exhibited at the Royal Academy after his visit in 1819, and the *Quay at Antwerp during the Fair Time* (The Marquess of Tavistock, Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire), commissioned by the Duke of Bedford in 1824, Callcott's visits in Holland only lasted for a couple of days in which he recorded the necessary details of the cities of Rotterdam and Antwerp in order to paint the large oils. He paid scarce attention to the Dutch countryside, people or lifestyle.[175]

When in Rotterdam, he made a pencil drawing, depicting the Leuvehaven full with vessels and the tower of the St Lawrence cathedral in the distance to the right. A later oil sketch depicts a similar composition, but taken from a closer view point.[176] The composition is similar to the many drawings Turner had made of the Leuvenhaven and other city views of Rotterdam with St Lawrence in the background. It shows that both painters observed Rotterdam with a similar eye, impressed by its harbours, quays and vessels.

A sketchbook comprising his records of a visit to Amsterdam, either in 1819 or in 1824, equally demonstrates how Callcott observed the city in the same way as Turner did. The book contains various carefully studied drawings of canal houses, architectural features, drawbridges and church spires, presenting closely analysed details of building structures and ornaments. The drawings are schematic and practical recordings of the city, build upon strict schemes of perspective and without any hint of atmosphere or sentiment.[177] However, whereas Turner filled such images with emotional experience and a great eye for weather conditions and incidences of light, thereby creating personal and artistic works of art that could almost stand on their own, Callcott treats his subjects pragmatically, as clear and objective mnemonic devices that could be used for later works of art.

[175] David Blainey Brown, *Augustus Wall Callcott*, London 1981, p. 15. See also Kraan (2002), pp. 49-55, and Kitson (1995), pp. 64-65. In 1818 he stayed in Rotterdam for four days and described it as 'large as Bristol, with very good inns'. Farington, 5 May 1819, quoted in: Brown (1981), p. 81.

[176] See for a description of the oil sketch, now in the collection of Mrs. Guy Knight, Brown (1981), p. 83. Both this oil sketch and the pencil drawings were used for the production of the final Rotterdam painting, although in the final piece, the view is taken from further down the Leuvehaven so that the massive tower of the St. Lawrence church appears in the very far distance.

[177] This information is derived from investigating one of Callcott's sketchbooks, kept in the Amsterdam Museum, *Schetsboek van een reis naar Amsterdam* (inv. nr. TA 18251).

Fig. 36. J.M.W. Turner, *View of the Gelderse Kade in Amsterdam with the Waag on the Nieuwmarkt in the centre*, in *Holland* sketchbook, London (Tate; Turner Bequest CCXIV 100a).

Fig. 37. Sir. A. Wall Callcott, *View of Amsterdam*, in *Schetsboek van een reis naar Amsterdam*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam Museum).

The 'Dutch' paintings of both artists, however, do not differ so much. In this respect, although it was exhibited long before Callcott set foot on Dutch grounds, his *Pool at the Entrance of London* must certainly be considered. Even though the work represents an English subject, its strong relation with Albert Cuyp's *Maas at Dordrecht* and its provoking competition with Turner's *Dort Packet-Boat* is definitely worth mentioning.

The success of the Cuyp-like *Pool* led to Earl Grey's commission for the *Rotterdam Harbour*. Perhaps again by means of a reaction on Turner's *Dort*, the picture shows a similar calm condition of mooring vessels along the quay of the Leuvehaven, their outlines reflected in the serene and peaceful water above which a low sun produces a subdued yet highly atmospheric light. The painting was a considerable success at the Academy and published reviews were generous. Exhibited at the same time as Turner's *Entrance to the Meuse*, it was noted that

whereas Turner's work had 'fewer attractions than he used to have', this was compensated by Callcott's *Rotterdam* which was 'grander than he used to be'. Also, Callcott's use of colour was far richer than Turner's. However, so the comment continues, it was 'less beautiful as he deviates from the delicate grey of Cuyp.'[178] This remark means a victory for Callcott in his competition with Turner, yet in competing with Cuyp, he was not quite there yet. Nevertheless, Earl Grey bought the piece for the significant sum of 500 guineas, just as much as had been paid for Turner's *Dort*.

A similar composition and atmosphere is achieved in the *Quay at Antwerp during the Fair Time*. Again an influence of Cuyp, or any other Dutch *Calm* for that matter, pervades the composition, illustrating how Callcott, analogous to Turner, tends to reinterpret and rival the Dutch old masters. In his later career, Callcott produced several other Dutch marine paintings. In 1832, he exhibited *Dutch Sea Coast* (Tate), bought by Robert Vernon who listed the work in his inventory as a copy from Van der Velde. Presumably, the view is taken from a view point on the north side of the river Scheldt near Flushing.[179] The figures in the left foreground and vessels on the right certainly belong to the Dutch seventeenth century and the composition is indeed strongly reminiscent of Adriaen Van de Velde's Scheveningen subjects or similar paintings by such artists as Simon de Vlieger.[180] Likewise, in 1842 Callcott exhibited a small panel entitled *Dort* (Victoria and Albert Museum), presenting a typical Cuyp-like composition with cattle and resting figures in the foreground and Dordrecht in the far distant. As a critic wrote in the *Art Union* the painting was 'surely beating Albert Cuyp on his ground', meaning a victory in Callcott's trans-historical battle with the Old Masters. [181]

It is unclear whether these later pictures were built upon earlier executed pencil drawings from his visits to Holland, and Callcott may as well have taken his inspiration from the many Dutch paintings in England. It does seem clear, however, that his visits to the Netherlands were merely focused on the production of such pictures, inspired by the Dutch painting tradition rather than by his own experience of the actual Dutch scenery. His trips were not so much the Romantic travel that cared about achieving such goals as experiencing the Beautiful, Picturesque and Sublime. Even though Turner's general attitude toward Holland may have been the same, for he ultimately only produced pictures inspired by Dutch marine painting as

[178] This remark was observed by Henry Crabb Robinson in his diary. *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson,* vol I, 1872, p 329, quoted in: Brown (1981), p. 82.
[179] Brown (1981), p. 88.
[180] Note that Adriaen van de Velde was a landscape painter who did not merely work in coastal scenes but depicted all different kind of landscapes. However, he produced a considerable number of scenes at Scheveningen, among others in the Royal Collection in England, the Mauritshuis in The Hague and Musée du Louvre.
[181] *Art Union,* IV, 1842, p. 124, quoted in Brown (1981), p. 89.

well, his sketchbooks and his later Dutch seascapes reveal a certain sense for the Romantic ideals and artistic creativity, far greater than in Callcott's oeuvre. For instance a series of sketches in the *Rotterdam* sketchbook, representing impressions of water and clouds near The Brill show Turner's affection with the natural beauty of Holland whereas the sketchbooks of Callcott merely comprise schematic, organized and impersonal representations of the cities, harbours and rivers. Whereas Callcott generally imitates the Dutch old masters in his depiction of the scenery in Holland and pragmatically observed the country, for Turner that scenery offered more intense experiences of the Beauty and Sublimity in natural phenomena, making his depiction of the landscape an expression of those sensations rather than a mere imitation of what was to be seen and what was reminiscent of the Dutch masters. The landscape in Turner's painting is therefore much more emancipated.

Fig. 38. Sir. A. Wall Callcott, *View of Amsterdam*, in *Schetsboek van een reis naar Amsterdam*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam Museum).

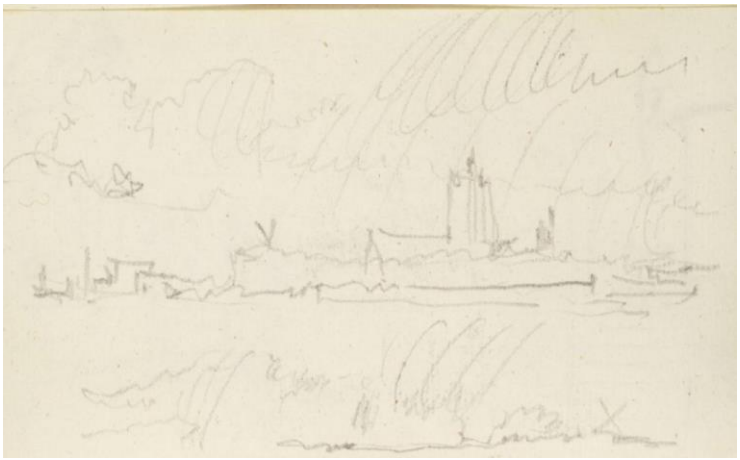

Fig. 39. J.M.W. Turner, *View on Canal*, 1835, in *Rotterdam* sketchbook, London (Tate; Turner Bequest CCCXXI 14a).

Fig. 40. Sir A. Wall Callcott, *Rotterdam*, oil on canvas, 157 x 221 cm (Private Collection).

Fig. 41. Sir. A. W. Callcott, *Dort*, 1841, oil on panel, 31,7 x 76,2 cm, London (Victoria and Albert Museum).

Clarkson Frederick Stanfield

A generation younger and similarly both a follower and rival of Turner, the successful marine painter Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, visited Holland several times. In 1823 and 1830 his journeys to the Low Countries were part of typical picturesque travels towards the Rhine valley in Germany but in 1843 the artist visited Holland only, visiting popular places as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Dordrecht and also travelling to smaller towns as Alkmaar, Zaandam and Monnikendam.[182] His journeys provided enough material for several of his greatest land- and seascapes. The very first of his 'Dutch' paintings is a clear result of his trip in 1823 and was exhibited at the Society for British Artists in 1824.

In terms of composition and use of light and colour, *The Harbour at Antwerp* (location not known) is strongly reminiscent of Turner's *Dort* and Callcott's *Pool of London* or both his Rotterdam and Antwerp paintings. With its overall serenity by the calm water at the port, the cheerful activity of the merchants on their small vessels and the moored packet-boat, highlighted by yellow and golden colour accents, it seems as if Stanfield sought to enter the complex competition with both his contemporaries and the Dutch old masters. Whereas his picture of Antwerp reminds of the *Dort*, his second Dutch painting is very similar to Turner's *Entrance to the Meuse.* The painting, *A Market Boat on the Scheldt* (Victoria and Albert Museum) was Stanfield's first major sea piece exhibited at the British Institution in 1826 and it received laudatory critical acclaim.[183] A similar small barge as in Turner's painting is the focus of attention, preparing to transfer its passengers to the river bank in the distant left. In the background are various other craft, among them a Dutch 'schooner' tacking up the river. The play of contrasting light, established by the dark clouds in both corners of the composition and the beams of sunlight that illuminate the market boat as well as the opposite land and water, reminds one of various sea pictures by Turner too. The picture therefore reveals a similar perception of the Dutch land; a country of water and fascinating skies.

[182]P. van der Merwe, *The Spectacular Career of Clarkson Stanfield 1793-1867 Seaman Sea-Painter Royal Academician*, New Castle (Tyne and War County Council Museum), 1979. See also Kraan (2002), p. 55.

[183] A critic for *The Times* noted: 'Mr. Stanfield, whose scenery at Drury Lane Theatre it has often been our pleasing task to praise, shows by his pictures that he is no less worthy of commendation for his paintings in oil'. *The Times* 2 February 1826, quoted in *Catalogue of British Oil Paintings 1820-1860*, Ronald Parkinson, Victoria and Albert Museum, London: HMSO, 1990, pp. 270-71.

Fig. 42. Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, *A Market Boat on the Scheldt*, 1826, oil on panel, London (Victoria and Albert Museum).

Fig. 43. Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, *On the Scheldt near Leiskenshoeck- Squally Day*, oil on canvas 95,3 x 128,3 cm, exh. RA 1837, London (Royal Academy of Arts).

Later in his career, Stanfield exhibited two other paintings of a similar subject, *On the Scheldt, near Leiskenshoeck– Squally Day* in 1837 and *Oude Scheldt. Texel Island* (Royal Academy of Arts, London) in 1863. Moreover another *On the Scheldt* picture was engraved by R. Wallis for Charles Heath's *Picturesque Annual* on 1833. The first of these later Scheldt paintings, *On the Scheldt near Leiskenshoeck – Squally Day* served as Stanfield's diploma picture when he was elected to full membership of the Royal Academy in 1835. The picture gives a convincing impression of a bleak stormy day on the Dutch waters, presenting a similar composition as in 1826 with a small boat with passengers in the foreground. By 'Leiskenshoeck' the artist presumably meant Liefkenshoek, a military fort on the left bank of the Scheldt near Antwerp.

Whether the windmill on the shore is drawn from nature is unclear, but it shows a most typical feature of the Dutch landscape which Stanfield also may have placed in the composition deliberately to emphasise its Dutch character. Again the composition owes its persuasiveness to the powerful play of light in both water and sky.

Such strong effects are even more present in the exhibited painting of 1844, *The Day after the Wreck. A Dutch East Indiaman on Shore on the Ooster-Scheldt; Zierikzee in the Distance* (Sheffield City Art Galleries). The forceful waves and the wreck of the barges in the right foreground and centre left, the large East Indiaman and the angry clouds gives the composition a dramatic and sublime character, which is comparable to various of Turner's late marine paintings. The painting presented at the Royal Academy two years later is similar in this respect. *A Dutch Dogger Carrying Away her Sprit (On the Dogger Bank)*(Victoria and Albert Museum) shows a direct imitation of the stormy scenes of Van de Velde and above all reveals a most dramatic sensation of a struggling craft in the foul but forceful water at the sandbank, intensified also by the verse that accompanied the picture:

> 'On the Dogger Bank, in the cold North Sea,
> Wearily day and night toil we;
> weary, wet, hungry and cold
> three poor fishermen we, weakly and old'[184]

[184] Van der Merwe (1979), p. 169.

Fig. 44. Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, *The Day after the Wreck. A Dutch East Indiaman on Shore in the Ooster Scheldt; Zierikzee in the Distance*, oil on canvas (152 x 232,5 cm) exh. RA 1844, Sheffield City Art Galleries.

Fig. 45. Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, *A Dutch dogger carrying away her sprit (on the Dogger Bank)*, oil on canvas 76,2 69,9 cm, exh. R.A. 1846, London (Victorian and Albert Museum).

Stanfield had by that time established his reputation, both in professional circles and among a growing number of collectors. His seascapes were highly admired and much in demand. Reviewing the 1846 Royal Academy exhibition, a critic of the *Art Union* praised his work by stressing:

> *'We cannot have too much of the salt-water that he (Stanfield) paints, we want not the tame blue voiceless Mediterranean, but the 'glad waters' of our own green North Sea.'*[185]

The comment perfectly illustrates the popularity of the North Sea and hence also of Stanfield's Dutch marine subjects. The artistic output that resulted from his visits to the Low Countries also reveals Stanfield's strong affection for the Dutch waters, mostly presenting images of ships at sea or near the river bank. However, apart from the appearance of the St Lievenmonstertoren of Zierikzee in the far distance in his *Day after the wreck* (Sheffield Art Galleries), Stanfield barely pays attention to geographical landmarks or any other Dutch features that give evidence of the fact that he had actually visited the country. His works could just as easily have been made in London, without any personal encountering on Dutch grounds and inspired by the many Dutch sea pieces in British collections.
Happily, a series of twenty-six drawings of impressions from his Rhine travels suggests differently. Illustrating Leith Ritchie's *Travelling Sketches on the Rhine and in Belgium and Holland*, published in 1833, the series mainly contains images of the Rhine in Germany; only six drawings represent the Low Countries. At Bruges, Ghent and Brussels, Stanfield depicted the lively market places with views of either the Town Hall, as is the case in Brussels, or the town's most distinctive churches. They show the traditional and popular formula of the depiction of European towns, with their distinctive buildings, market-places, quays and crowds. In Rotterdam, Stanfield depicts the Ooster Oude Hoofdpoort along the Oude Haven, a view that is frequently recorded by Turner as well. Whilst Stanfield could also have chosen to depict Antwerp in a similar way, the Church of Our Lady, the Groenplaats and the harbour offering similar picturesque views, he drew the city's surroundings, presenting another view of the Scheldt with windmills along the river bank and barges on the calmly rippling water. Although printed monochromatically, the composition is pervaded with a wonderful incidence of light creating an atmospheric unity. Likewise, in The Hague, Stanfield went out to draw

[185] Quoted in: Van der Merwe (1979), p. 170.

the country, resulting in a pastoral composition that reminds one of seventeenth-century Dutch paintings.[186] The drawing shows a rustic windmill where a couple, Teniers-looking figures, rest peacefully on the river bank and Wouwerman-style horses, seen from the back, are drinking water. This image is pure Dutch School and shows an entirely different side of Holland than is evoked in the rest of Stanfield's oeuvre. Hence not only water and clouds could catch his eye; in search of the Picturesque, any subject that reminded him of the old Dutch pictures was worth drawing, although it would be those waters and clouds that remained the most favourite.

Fig. 46. Clarskon Frederick Stanfield, *Mill near the Hague*, in L. Ritchie, *Travelling Sketches on the Rhine and in Belgium and Holland*, p. 237.

Fig. .47. E.W. Cooke, *Dutch Pincks at Scheveningen, Holland*, 1860, oil on canvas, 67 x 108 cm, London (City of London Corporation).

[186] L. Ritchie, *Travelling Sketches on the Rhine and in Belgium and Holland*, London 1833, plates 19-24.

Edward William Cooke

Strongly affected by Stanfield's art and hence his fascination for the Dutch sea piece, Edward William Cooke also visited Holland numerous times. His art is strongly related to the Dutch marine tradition and Van de Velde in particular; his production was immense and his success considerable. As a frequent traveller who was also fascinated by the beauties of Venice, he visited Holland more than most, travelling there on eight different occasions: 1837, 1838 1841, 1843, 1853, 1855, 1876 and finally 1879.[187] He often stayed in Leiden, Amsterdam and Rotterdam and explored various small coastal villages including Scheveningen, Marken, Volendam and Hoorn.[188] The diary he kept when he travelled to Holland in 1837 gives wonderful accounts of his impressions of the land. He was accompanied by his sketchbooks, paint box and a sheaf of letters of introduction for contemporary artists, collectors or British residents.[189] His diary is peppered with enthusiasm and excitement. First of all, travelling over water provided first-rate material for the dedicated sea painter. Cooke was fascinated by the characteristics of the Dutchmen and Dutch life, closely studying them and steeping himself in most of the nautical aspects of Dutch life, paying particular attention to the different vessels and craft as well as the moods of the sea.

He observed the Dutch boats with great minuteness and was strongly affected by the paintings of the old marine masters. His own paintings, either executed on the spot or back in his studio in England, were much sought after by patrons who were seeking for such traditional marine paintings but at an affordable price. Several of his Dutch paintings show a focus on fishermen and women and coastal life, and Scheveningen in particular appears to have been one of his favourite sites.

A letter he wrote to a friend during his visit there in 1843 demonstrates how fascinated he was by the busy fishery at the town and how he would endlessly practice painting from nature there, particularly affected by the pictorial qualities of the sea and sky.[190] Also the traditional Dutch *Calm* was a frequent subject, for which the river IJ and Spaarne, with distant views of Amsterdam, offered wonderful occasions, as did the Scheldt with its views of Antwerp.

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[187] Kraan (2002), pp. 57 and 401. See also J.L. Howgego, *Edward William Cooke 1811-1880*, exh.cat. London (Guildhall Art Gallery) 1970.

[188] Kitson (1995), pp. 65-67.

[189] For instance at his second Dutch tour in 1838 he carried letters from Sir Barles Bagot, the former British ambassador at the Hague for the painter Albert Brondgeest and the collector Lord J.G. Verstolck van Soelen. See, John Munday, *Edward William Cooke […] a man of his time,* Woodbridge 1996, p. 105.

[190] 'I have never before improved so much in painting from nature, sea and sky – indeed I am glad I did not, under all circumstances go to Italy […] I am tempted to stay here and paint several things for the Dutch market and also study skies and seas from my window, the aspect is such that I have the finest effects and not bothered by the sun […] the sunsets are glorious'. Quoted in: Munday (1996), p. 106, where more of the letter is printed.

Examples of such works are *Beach at Scheveningen* (University of London) and *Shipping on the IJ* (Ashmolean Museum of Art).[191]

The rivers and coasts of Holland were also favourable among a group of minor artists, generally following Turner and the other major marine painters of their time. Painters such as Edmund Thornton Crawford (1806-1885), Samuel Austin (died 1834) and George Balmer (1806-1846) all travelled through the Low Countries. George Chambers (1803-1840), considered as one of the best marine painters in England in the first half of the nineteenth century but nowadays somewhat forgotten, also visited the country several times, occasionally accompanied by several of his students. Others, such as Joseph Stannard (1797-1830), James Webb (1825-1895) and Edwin Hayes (1819-1904), likewise produced large numbers of Dutch river landscapes, coastal scenes or marines. Although the quality of these works was far beneath Turner's or that of any Dutch old master, the pictures were highly fashionable among the less prosperous collectors who could not afford the original paintings by the Old Masters.[192]

Dutch landscape painting, marine painting in particular, thus proves to be the overall motivation for artists to travel to Holland and produce paintings of Dutch subjects. If painted decently, these pictures were guaranteed to succeed with an audience of collectors and patrons who were very fond of the Dutch School and its subjects. Dutch landscape painting therefore also appears to be the focus for most of the travelling artists. They experienced the country, its natural scenery, cities and atmosphere with the old pictures in mind, also constantly referring to them in their sketches and diaries. Once back in their studio's, they tried to establish that same atmosphere and character of the Dutch land as the old masters had done. Topographical accuracy, personal experiences or a close observation of the people's lives and occupations were of less interest.[193]

Nevertheless, Britons travelled relatively little in Holland, especially compared to the number of British travellers to France or Italy. Yet, the British school of painting and tradition of collecting in the nineteenth century was closely tied to the country and its painting tradition. Painters and collectors, however, were mostly already pleased with the Dutch paintings in their homeland and did not feel the urge to go and look at Holland itself.[194] Those artists who

[191] See for his entire 'Dutch' oeuvre, Munday (1996).
[192] Kraan (2002), pp. 59-61.
[193] It must be emphasised now that the importance of Dutch genre painting did not play a part in this, as most of the British genre painters did not travel to Holland for this purpose.
[194] Kitson (1995), p. 75.

did, did so mostly for commercial reasons. At least, so it seems and let us not forget that Callcott for instance only went to Holland with the production of two large commissioned paintings in mind.

Most of them, Callcott included, also did that in the wake of the great successes that Turner enjoyed after having visited the country. By travelling to Holland, recording their impressions and painting delightful Dutch land- and seascapes, as they had seen Turner do, they entered the ambitious domain of competitive assessment which not only involved contemporary rivalry with one of the greatest painter of their time, but also rises to a trans-historical level by competing with the Dutch old masters themselves. Two factors of the Dutch country were herein of the upmost importance: water and sky. Above all, Holland was a land of water and air. The competition was held on water: rivers and canals, ports and quays, seas and beaches, all reinforced and characterized by a fascinating play of light, created through the interaction of clouds and rays of sunlight, of rain and thunder and storms and breezes.

Conclusion

In May this year, Mike Leigh's movie about the wonderful life of Turner premiered at the Cannes Film Festival. The trailer for *Mr. Turner* starts with a shot of a windmill along a canal. The sun is setting and pervades the image with a play of tints of orange and red, creating a most atmospheric impression of the view. Turner is standing in a meadow, holding a small sketchbook and recording this most delightful scene. The sketchbook in his hand could well be the *Holland* sketchbook and the notes which the actor Timothy Spall is making could well say 'Quite a Cuyp', for the impressions of sky and water were what Turner was mostly fascinated by in Holland and which reminded him especially of the seventeenth-century master. Although the movie is about Turner's life in general and the rest of the trailer focuses on the artist's genius and all sorts of anecdotes, the fact that Mike Leigh is inviting his audience into the trailer with this specific scene is rather illustrative of the prominent role of the Dutch travels in Turner's life and artistic production. The question remains, of course, whether his relationship with Holland indeed helped in creating the wonderful image of Turner which Leigh is presenting in his film: the artist as an extravagant and extraordinary figure, who 'revolutionized the way we see the world'.[195] Is Turner's attitude towards Holland instead not comparable to those of other British travellers and art lovers and therefore most illustrative of the general vision of Holland and Dutch painting in nineteenth-century England? This would rather provide the artist with an image as a traditional and conventional figure – typical for his time.

After discussing the general perception of Dutch art in British art theory and its position on the art market, analysing journals by British travellers in Holland in the early nineteenth century, describing the works of other British painters who visited Holland and comparing all this with the way Turner perceived the country, it appears that Turner was indeed not exceptional at all. The British observed Holland as a land of waterways and elegant cities. The Picturesqueness of Holland was found in images of towns that are seen from the river, in ports and harbours and delightful coastal villages and beaches. Moreover, the British travellers were strongly fascinated by Holland's naval history and, most of all, the pictorial qualities of the Dutch waters and cloudscapes. Turner also focused highly on the depiction of water and weather conditions, making numerous compositions of city views and impressed by the country's naval aspects which resulted in numerous sketches of barges and shipping. Most

[195] Quoted from the trailer *Mr. Turner*.

importantly though, Turner and his countrymen all experienced the country in their recollection of the Dutch School, continuously making comparisons between what they saw and what they knew from the paintings. For many, the success of the seventeenth-century Dutch paintings with the British audience was the leading motive to travel to the country in the first place. Turner is no exception. In search for the 'picturesque', in its purest meaning, he also wished to experience the land-, sea- and cloudscapes of the old masters. The artistic output that resulted from his journeys recalls the large debt to these old masters and to the Dutch marine painters in particular. Whereas in other countries and after other journeys he created most Sublime and Beautiful compositions of pastoral scenes, Arcadian landscapes, mountains and rivers, both in oil and watercolour, his production of Dutch subjects is rather limited and merely focused on marines. With these sea paintings, Turner stepped into a fierce and complex competition with both his contemporaries and the old masters in order to secure his position on the British art market. Marine paintings were what British collectors wished to see from Holland and Turner's 'Dutch' marines were therefore immensely popular. Holland thus offered Turner a great deal of public respect and financial security but appears to have offered him fairly few possibilities to explore his Romantic genius.

In his attitude toward the country, Turner must have felt the similar ambiguity that also characterized the general appreciation for Dutch art in Britain at that time. On the one hand, collecting Dutch paintings and British paintings in a Dutch manner was much in fashion. On the other hand, in terms of aesthetic principles, the Dutch school was held in a low esteem and could not truly answer to the Romantic urge of achieving Ideal Beauty and Sublimity. It was thus that many travellers merely passed through Holland on their way to ideal places in Southern Germany, Switzerland or Italy. It is also therefore that Turner's artistic freedom in Holland was rather limited compared to the rest of his oeuvre. From his visits to Holland no such high levels of the Sublime and Beautiful could truly be achieved. However, his Dutch paintings perfectly answered to the wishes of the buying audience, in which a high level of rivalry was reached with contemporary artists as well as the seventeenth-century masters. Yet, in his trans-historical competition with the old masters, Turner nevertheless aimed at surpassing the expectations of traditional marine painting and added a certain level of Sublimity to his work, as is most evident in the *Port Ruysdael* and *Van Goyen* paintings. Especially in the later oil paintings of a Dutch subject, the late *Port Ruysdael, Van Tromp,* and *Ostend*, but also other paintings inspired from Dutch marine painting such as the *Snow Storm*, Turner managed to create his own interpretation of the Sublime and set himself free from the

traditional tendencies of the old masters. This is also evident in the most direct results from Turner's reception of Holland, his sketchbooks, for his later sketches reveal a new visual experience of a high artistic potential that became independent from the Dutch painting tradition and created images of Holland that are not just mere documentations of the country but little emancipated and emotional works of art.

In the introduction to this thesis three hypotheses were proposed that could result from the research that was to be done. It is now possible to shed light on all three of them, for it seems that they are all applicable. In his attitude towards the country, by means of his travels as well as the artistic production that resulted from his fascination for Dutch painting, Turner forms part of a general tendency among British artists and art lovers in their perception of the country, grounded already in the mid-eighteenth century. His outstanding talent and celebrated reputation at the Royal Academy also meant that younger artists after him, aiming to compete with the great master, followed in his footsteps and modelled their visits to Holland and their perception of the land and its art on Turner's. Most of the artistic output after such travels was also modelled on his greatness and that of the old masters. Whilst those paintings are mere imitations of such compositions and copies of the old masters, Turner's Dutch marine paintings reveal a far greater sense of creativity and artistic licence by achieving a wonderful combination of the Romantic ideals of the Picturesque, Beautiful and Sublime. In that sense, he indeed seemed to surpass the expectations of his time and in a close analysis of the Dutch sketchbooks one comes to find that indeed his observation of Holland was also impulsive and emotionally charged.

Yet his great success with the earlier Dutch-inspired paintings, and the consequent competition on the market with younger and minor artists who worked in the same manner, let Turner remain true to the relatively traditional subject of Dutch marine painting, even in his later more self-sufficient sea pieces. If one was to judge the position of Turner then within the history of European painting by means of an analysis of his relationship with Holland, one could conclude that Turner was above all a Romanticist, standing rather at the end of a long classical painting tradition than at the beginning of Modernism. However modern and progressive his late paintings and sketches may appear, they are built upon a solid foundation of painting traditions, public expectations and aesthetic theories. That same foundation is the key for Turner's relationship with Holland. His attitude towards the country therefore perfectly reflects the nineteenth-century British vision on Holland and Dutch art. In this

respect, Turner was most definitely typical for his time, rather than an unprecedented genius. However, the frequency of Turner's travels in Holland is remarkable, as is the intensity of his perception. Whereas many painters did not need to visit the country or only went for the purpose of a commission, Turner kept returning to the country to wander around cities and enjoy the delightful waterways, creating compositions out of these impressions that reach much further than a mere imitation of the Dutch seventeenth-century painting tradition. In the actual results from this traditional position toward the land, Turner definitely proves to be most outstanding. As his earliest biographer suggests, Turner himself was also well aware of his greatness and specialness. In an everlasting comparative assessment and trans-historical competition with the Dutch old masters, he ultimately knew that he '*had outshone Cuyp, distanced Vandervelde and beaten Ruysdael.* He would have known already that he '*had founded English landscape, that he had carried art further than it had gone before.*'[196]

[196] Thornbury (1877), p. 283.

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- BBC Paintings:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/amsterdam-the-netherlands-1269

Fig. 36. J.M.W. Turner, *View of the Gelderse Kade in Amsterdam with the Waag on the Nieuwmarkt in the centre*, in *Holland* sketchbook, London (Tate; Turner Bequest CCXIV 100a).
- Tate:
http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/turner-street-scene-gildersche-k-turner-d19038

Fig. 37. Sir. A. Wall Callcott, *View of Amsterdam*, in *Schetsboek van een reis naar Amsterdam*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam Museum).

- Photographed by Amsterdam Museum

Fig. 38. Sir. A. Wall Callcott, *View of Amsterdam*, in *Schetsboek van een reis naar Amsterdam*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam Museum).

- Photographed by Amsterdam Museum.

Fig. 39. J.M.W. Turner, *View on Canal*, 1835, in *Rotterdam* sketchbook, London (Tate; Turner Bequest CCCXXI 14a)

- Tate:

http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/turner-view-on-canal-d32471

Fig. 40. Sir A. Wall Callcott, *Rotterdam*, oil on canvas, 157 x 221 cm (Private Collection)

- scan from D. Brown, Augustus Wall Callcott, London 1981), p. 81.

Fig. 41. Sir. A. W. Callcott, Dort, 1841, oil on panel, 31,7 x 76,2 cm, London (Victoria and Albert Museum).

- Victoria and Albert Museum:

http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O56104/dort-dordrecht-oil-painting-callcott-augustus-wall/

Fig. 42. Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, *A Market Boat on the Scheldt*, 1826, oil on panel, London (Victoria and Albert Museum).

- Victoria and Albert Museum:

http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O133317/a-market-boat-on-the-oil-painting-stanfield-clarkson-frederick/

Fig. 43. Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, *On the Scheldt near Leiskenshoeck- Squally Day*, oil on canvas 95,3 x 128,3 cm, exh. RA 1837, London (Royal Academy of Arts).

- Royal Academy of Arts:

http://www.racollection.org.uk/ixbin/indexplus?_IXSR_=y7UALJiwvPa&_IXSP_=17&_MREF_=21111&_IXSS_=_IXSESSION_%3deC0nAm2nAyj%26%252asform%3d%252fsearch_form%252fallform%26_IXresults_%3dy%26exhibitions%3dtrue%26_IXACTION_%3dquery%26all_fields%3dSTANFIELD%26archives%3dtrue%26_IX%252ey%3d0%26books%3dtrue%26_IX%252ex%3d0%26works%3dtrue%26_IXMAXHITS_%3d18%26_IXTRAIL_%3dSearch%2bResults&_IXACTION_=display&_IXSPFX_=templates/full/&_IXTRAIL_=Search+Results

Fig. 44. Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, *The Day after the Wreck. A Dutch East Indiaman on Shore in the Ooster Scheldt; Zierikzee in the Distance*, oil on canvas (152 x 232,5 cm) exh. RA 1844, Sheffield City Art Galleries.

- BBC Paintings:

http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/the-morning-after-the-wreck-71270

Fig. 45. Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, *A Dutch dogger carrying away her sprit (on the Dogger Bank)*, oil on canvas 76,2 69,9 cm, exh. R.A. 1846, London (Victorian and Albert Museum).

- Victoria and Albert Museum:

http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15125/a-dutch-dogger-carrying-away-oil-painting-stanfield-clarkson-frederick/

Fig. 46. Clarskon Frederick Stanfield, *Mill near the Hague*, in L. Ritchie, *Travelling Sketches on the Rhine and in Belgium and Holland*, p. 237.

- In L. Ritchie, *Travelling Sketches on the Rhine and in Belgium and Holland*, London 1833.

https://archive.org/details/travellingsketch02ritc

Fig. 47. E.W. Cooke, *Dutch Pincks at Scheveningen, Holland*, 1860, oil on canvas, 67 x 108 cm, London (City of London Corporation).

- BBC Paintings:

http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/dutch-pincks-at-scheveningen-holland-51062