



ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS, LONDON

*Drawings Collection*

*Catalogue of  
the Drawings Collection  
of the Royal Institute  
of British Architects*

ALFRED STEVENS

by Susan Beattie

GREGG INTERNATIONAL



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*Designed and produced by Design for Print Ltd, London NW1*  
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Preface

Alfred Sorensen's drawings of development from the highest finish, defy its exponents of English actor fashion of his total output that can reasonably be discerning during the day-to-day of Sorensen's imagination is in the minutest detail. A succession of 'interest seen' drawings of Alfred Sorensen to the floor, from which he is crushed and moved they were eventually taken of Sorensen's rough sketches which are in his studio in New York and will continue to do so. It has been complete.

All the drawings for which were created by Sigmund's father he estimated a \$100,000 in two separate groups and much smaller group drawings had been acquired in 1907 from the collection of the late 1914-15 and as the Greek, in fact, had been the English family, of Sorensen's life-long friend, a collection of 'James' several drawings are immense in the library of the Victor Gollancz in 1912.

To your condition of no larger, a reduction of Sorensen's drawings - has it results impossible. Rough sketches as to be worth more or Sorensen's substantial work as a 'modern' relative depicted 'brought' to use, varying widely in a chronological sequence as a proposal of miscellaneous decisions could be made. His attention are also not volume corrections made in this dangerous group drawings by Sorensen made.

The \$100,000 Manuscript containing primary sources



# Preface

Alfred Stevens's drawings, vast in quantity and embracing every stage of development from the slightest sketch to life studies and designs of the highest finish, defy his continuing reputation as one of the most enigmatic of English artists. The RIBA's collection represents a tiny fraction of his total output and contains only a handful of drawings that can reasonably be described as finished. The rest reflect with piercing clarity the day-to-day – even minute-to-minute – workings of Stevens's imagination as he grappled with each problem of design in the minutest detail. Many, certainly, would have been among the succession of 'merest scribbles' described by Hugh Stannus in *The Drawings of Alfred Stevens* that were thrown daily by the artist impatiently to the floor, 'from which they were every morning carefully collected by his attendant and stored away in the drawers and cupboards, whence they were reverently taken after his death'. The dispersal far and wide of Stevens's rough sketches with the rest of his effects that began at the auction sale in his studio in 1877 has hindered the study of his work ever since and will continue to do so until the formidable task of collating them all has been completed.

All the drawings for which no provenance is given in the catalogue were amassed by Sigismund Goetze, decorative painter best known for the frescoes he executed at the Foreign Office, and presented to the RIBA in two separate groups, the larger (some 800 sheets) in 1927 and a much smaller group (some 50 sheets) in 1935. Most of Goetze's drawings had been acquired a matter of weeks before their presentation in 1927 from the collection of C. H. Curtis, a tailor of Blandford, Mayor of the town 1894-95 and ardent admirer of Stevens's work. It is evident that Curtis, in turn, had obtained a substantial number of his drawings from the Pegler family, descendants of Samuel and his son Alfred, Stevens's life-long friend, and that the source of others was the residue of the collection of James Gamble, the artist's pupil and assistant: several drawings are immediately identifiable in D. S. MacColl's notes (in the library of the Victoria & Albert Museum) of his visit to Mrs Gamble in 1912.

The poor condition of most of the drawings in the collection – often, I suspect, a reflection of Stevens's own treatment of them, as well as of more recent ill-usage – has made their precise description in the catalogue virtually impossible. Ruthless folding and trimming of sheets is so common as to be worth recording only when the appearance of important sketches is substantially affected. Where a sheet is described as 'stuck on to mount' relatively recent therapy is implied, otherwise the description 'mounted' is used. The drawings are principally on cartridge paper, varying widely in quality. They are arranged in the catalogue in chronological sections and sub-sections, sections VII and VIII being composed of miscellaneous sketches for which no straightforward classification could be made. As far as possible, the drawings within each sub-section are also arranged in approximate order of date: I would welcome corrections of the errors that I will undoubtedly have made on this dangerous ground. Section IX is a group of tracings from drawings by Stevens made and presented by D. S. MacColl.

The RIBA Manuscript Collection holds three groups of papers containing primary source material on Stevens. First in general impor-

tance are the Stannus Papers, principally comprising Hugh Stannus's notes for his biography of 1891, *Alfred Stevens and his work*, but including also all the artist's letters to Alfred Pegler known to have survived, letters addressed to Stannus from Stevens's friends and associates, and other valuable documents. These papers were presented, with a small number of drawings from Stannus's collection, by the biographer's descendants in 1956. The Dorchester House Papers include Stevens's letters to his patron R. S. Holford and other documents directly concerned with the decoration of the house. The Penrose Papers contain his letters to F. C. Penrose during the course of the Wellington monument commission. A fourth collection of papers, compiled by C. H. Curtis and later in the possession of Kenneth Romney Towndrow, was stated by Towndrow in his biography of Stevens published in 1939 to be awaiting presentation to the RIBA but disappeared without trace after his death in 1953. (C. H. Curtis's annotated copy of Walter Armstrong's biography of the artist was presented to the Library in 1942 by Mrs Goetze.) Nor have Towndrow's own papers, containing, no doubt, valuable notes on his further research up to the time of his death, ever come to light. In 1965 a small collection of early articles on Stevens extracted from journals, exhibition catalogues, photographs and miscellaneous papers dateable 1903-15 once in the possession of P. H. Hood were presented by Mr Borley, together with three sheets of drawings.

Two other groups of papers of secondary importance exist: the notes and letters assembled by D. S. MacColl in the course of his study of Stevens during the first quarter of this century, now in the library of the Victoria & Albert Museum (MacColl Collection), and those more recently collected by the late F. A. Ollett which are now in the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester.

The major repositories of Stevens's work are the Victoria & Albert Museum, Tate Gallery, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, British Museum and Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. All these include large numbers of his drawings that are closely linked in quality and subject with those in the RIBA. Other important related collections of drawings are at Princeton University Art Museum, USA, and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and smaller but significant holdings are at the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, and the Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

The location of models, finished metalwork, paintings and other material immediately relevant to the drawings in the Collection is cited in the notes following the catalogue entries.

Several drawings by Godfrey Sykes, Stevens's pupil and assistant, have come to light among the Goetze gift. These, and a number of other sketches from the same source less certainly attributable to him, are catalogued at the end of this volume.

SUSAN BEATTIE

*Since this catalogue went to press a substantial part of the Tate Gallery's Stevens collection, including most of the works transferred from the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1952, has been added to the Museums holding*



# Acknowledgements

Among the many people whose help has been invaluable to my work on the catalogue, I wish to thank in particular the following: Terence Hodgkinson, Leonard Joyce and John Physick of the Victoria & Albert Museum and the staff of the Museum's Print Room; Peter Cunningham, who with uncommon generosity gave me limitless access to his unpublished writings on Stevens, including his catalogue of the drawings in the Fitzwilliam Museum; John Thackray of the Geological Museum; Edward Morris of the Walker Art Gallery; Michael Diamond of the Graves Art Gallery; Duncan Robinson of the Fitzwilliam Museum; Peter Moore of Sheffield Polytechnic; A. R. B. Fuller, Librarian, St Paul's Cathedral; Pauline Harrold of the India Office Library; Roger Peers of Dorset County Museum; my cousin Nicholas Cox of the Public Record Office; Mandy Tomlinson of the Conway Library and John Sunderland of the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art; the staff of the Print Room at the British Museum; Peter Bezodis and John Greenacombe of the Survey of London, Greater London Council; Irena Zdanowicz of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne; H. Wade White, formerly of the Fogg Art Museum, Massachusetts; Frances Follin Jones of the Art Museum, Princeton University; W. E. Dancker-Jensen of the Railway Museum, Copenhagen; George Warner Allen, Patrick Syngé-Hutchinson and Brian Thomas, whose private Stevens collections I was privileged to see; Cecil Thomas; Victoria Smallpiece; Bob Bage; my brother-in-law John Denison; Jennifer Sherwood and those other friends of the Historic Buildings Division of the Greater London Council – John Milnes-Smith, Anne Riches, Malcolm Airs, Neil Burton, Frank Kelsall, Anthony Quiney and Robert Weston, and of the RIBA Library and Drawings Collection – especially Jill Lever and Margaret Richardson, without whose unfailing encouragement I would never have finished the job. I am very grateful too for the travelling grant I received from the Council of the Marc Fitch Fund, and for the tolerance with which my employers the Greater London Council and in particular Ashley Barker, Surveyor of Historic Buildings, allowed me several months' leave of absence to complete the research for the catalogue in 1972-73. The index I owe to George McHardy who most kindly undertook it at short notice and to an even shorter deadline. Lastly and immeasurably to be thanked are my beloved and long-suffering husband, mother, daughter and sister, upon whom I have leaned so heavily during the past two and a half years.

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*The Art Journal*, XIV, 1875, p.232  
*The Athenaeum*, 8 May 1875, p.630  
*The British Architect*, III, 1875, pp.267-268  
*The Builder*, XXXIII, 1875, p.405  
*The Building News*, XXVIII, 1875, p.512  
*The Hampshire Independent*, 8 May 1875, p.3  
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 J. Morris Moore, 'Notes on Alfred Stevens', *The Art Journal*, 1903, pp.340-344  
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- (\* indicates exhibitions in which Stevens's work for industry was substantially represented)
- \**Works by the Old Masters and by deceased masters of the British School; including a collection of drawings and models by Alfred Stevens*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, winter exhibition, 1890
- Loan collection of works by Alfred Stevens*, National Gallery, British Art (Tate Gallery), London, 1911-12
- \**Loan collection of works by Alfred Stevens*, Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield, 1912
- Cartoons, paintings and drawings by Alfred Stevens for the decoration of the dining room at Dorchester House lent by Sir George Holford and Mr Alfred Drury*, National Gallery, British Art (Tate Gallery), London, 1915 (preface by D. S. MacColl)
- The Alfred Drury collection of drawings by Alfred Stevens*, Leicester Galleries, London, 1946 (introduction by Kenneth Romney Towndrow)
- \**Festival of Britain art exhibition*, Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield, 1951 (Gallery VI devoted to the work of Stevens, introduced and catalogued by Kenneth Romney Towndrow)
- \**Victorian and Edwardian decorative arts*, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 1952 (Section B devoted to the work of Stevens)
- British sculpture 1850-1914*, Fine Art Society, London, 1968, pp.31-32
- Victorian church art*, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 1971, pp.90, 91, 92, 93
- \**Victorian and Edwardian decorative art: the Handley-Read Collection*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1972, pp.57, 58-59 & *passim*
- 'Marble halls'*, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 1973, pp.57, 158, 159, 192



# Abbreviations

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

- AR *The Architectural Review*, 1897-  
 Armstrong Walter Armstrong, *Alfred Stevens, a biographical study*, 1881  
 CL *Country Life*, 1897-  
 Potter Henry Ingle Potter, *Notes on some works by Alfred Stevens from 1850 to 1857 as shown by the original drawings and models in the possession of Messrs Henry Hoole and Co. Ltd. of Green Lane Works, Sheffield*, n.d.  
 RIBA Jnl *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1894-  
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 Survey of London Committee for the Survey of the Memorials of Greater London, and London County Council (later Greater London Council) *Survey of London* volumes  
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## TEXTUAL

- BM British Museum  
 c. circa  
 C century  
 cm centimetre(s)  
 d dated  
 dem. demolished  
 Edinburgh National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh  
 Exhib exhibited  
 FS full size  
 GLC Greater London Council  
 illus. illustrated, illustration  
 Insc inscribed  
 LHS left-hand side  
 Lit literature  
 Lithog lithographed  
 Melbourne National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia  
 Pres. presented  
 Princeton Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, USA  
 PRO Public Record Office  
 Prov provenance  
 Pur. purchased  
 r recto  
 Reprd reproduced  
 RHS right-hand side  
 RIBA Royal Institute of British Architects  
 s signed  
 Sheffield City Museum & Art Galleries, Sheffield  
 Tate Tate Gallery  
 v verso  
 V & A Victoria & Albert Museum  
 w/m watermark  
 1877 sale The sale held by Robinson & Fisher on 19 & 20 July 1877 of the contents of Stevens's studio at the time of his death: an abstract of the catalogue was published by K. R. Towndrow, both in his biography and in the *Tate catalogue*, from a bound and marked copy that had belonged to Hugh Stannus but which is now lost; other copies of the catalogue are among the Stannus and the Borley Papers

Dimensions of sheets are in millimetres, height before width

# Arrangement of entries

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- [1] Miscellaneous sketches & copies, school copybook & sketchbook

## 12 Section II 1833-42

- [2] Topographical views, sketchbook & miscellaneous observations of the Italian scene
- [3] Portrait studies
- [4] Sketches of Italian paintings & sculpture, illustrations of medieval & Renaissance costume & miscellaneous tracings
- [5] Album of tracings, prints & sketches & miscellaneous sketches of architecture & ornament

## 15 Section III 1842-50

- [6] Model cannon for Alfred Pegler
- [7] Competition for fresco decorations in the New Houses of Parliament
- [8] Portrait of a young woman
- [9] The Ascension of Christ
- [10] Nos.28-30 Westbourne Terrace, London
- [11] Deysbrook House, Liverpool
- [12] Geological Museum, Jermyn Street, London
- [13] Lincoln cathedral, angel choir sculptures
- [14] Salisbury cathedral, chapter house portal sculptures
- [15] Bible illustrations
- [16] Parmigiano painting of the Vision of St Jerome during the Sack of Rome
- [17] Moses & the Miracle of the Brazen Serpent
- [18] King Alfred & his Mother
- [19] The 'Struggling Figures' composition

## 25 Section IV c.1850-c.1858: Industrial design

- [20] Designs for Hoole & Co. recorded by Stannus & Potter
- [21] Designs probably produced for Hoole & Co. but not recorded by Stannus or Potter
- [22] Design for the Coalbrookdale Iron Co.
- [23] Independent designs for street furniture & other cast iron work
- [24] Independent designs for majolica & silver ware

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- [25] Crystal Palace, Sydenham
- [26] St George's Hall, Liverpool
- [27] Daylesford House, Gloucestershire
- [28] Railway carriage for Frederick VII of Denmark
- [29] School of Art, Sheffield
- [30] Queen's waiting room, Paddington station, London
- [31] Portrait of L. W. Collmann
- [32] No.11 Kensington Palace Gardens, London
- [33] Reading Room, British Museum, London

## 36 Section VI 1856-75

- [34] Wellington monument, St Paul's cathedral, London
- [35] Dorchester House, London
- [36] Government offices, Whitehall, London
- [37] National & Local Prize Medals, Department of Science & Art
- [38] Memorial to the Great Exhibition
- [39] Liverpool & London Insurance Co. policy
- [40] House & studio, Eton Road, London
- [41] Copies of decorations in the logge of the Vatican, Rome
- [42] Royal Horticultural Society's garden, South Kensington, London
- [43] Certificate of Honourable Mention, International Exhibition, 1862
- [44] St Paul's cathedral, London
- [45] Christ Church, Cosway Street, London
- [46] Chimney-piece for Alfred Elmore
- [47] Olympic Theatre, London
- [48] Yacht
- [49] Victoria & Albert Museum, Bombay

## 54 Section VII Miscellaneous sketches & unidentified projects, c.1842-56

- [50] Applied design & decoration
- [51] Architecture
- [52] Figures & drapery
- [53] Miscellaneous subjects

## 57 Section VIII Miscellaneous sketches & unidentified projects, c.1856-75

- [54] Applied design & decoration
- [55] Architecture
- [56] Miscellaneous subjects

## 58 Section IX Tracings

- [57] Sixty-nine sheets of tracings by D. S. MacColl from drawings by Alfred Stevens

## 59 Catalogue of drawings by Godfrey Sykes, formerly attributed to Alfred Stevens

## 60 Index of persons & places

TO  
ALEXA

1863  
Alfred Stevens was born  
Dover, on 24 December  
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what is known of his  
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family circle. His self-po-  
portraits of the Peglers  
and James Barrett (Wall  
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## ALFRED STEVENS (1817-1875)

## I 1817-33

Alfred Stevens was born in Blandford Forum, Dorset, on 30 December 1817, the second son of Susan and George Stevens, a house decorator and heraldic painter of considerable local repute. Most of what is known of his earliest years was gleaned by Stannus from the Pegler family of Blandford who had been the Stevens's neighbours and close friends, and from Frank King, an old gunmaker, apprenticed to Samuel Pegler in 1829, whose most colourful memories of a childhood shared with Stevens were the days of the Reform Bill riots in 1831. 'I well recollect', he recorded for Stannus in 1890, 'the second night of rioting in Blandford in White-Cliff Mill St when Alfred Stevens, Harvey Applin & myself pulled up the flint stones in that street for the Rioters to smash the back premises of George Moore Solicitor for the Tory Member. . . I could mention many other instances of our Activity in different parts of the Town during the 2 days rioting in 31 or 32 and I can testify to his kind and amiable [sic] disposition with every one he was acquainted with. . . ' (Stannus Papers).

Yet Stevens would never play games and would spend most of his time indoors, at work alone in his room. Mr King told Stannus that there was little sympathy between Stevens and his father, a man given to bouts of heavy drinking and violent attacks upon his wife. It seems that the deep solitariness of Stevens's nature which was constantly to hamper him in his dealings with patrons, was greatly fostered by the circumstances of his family life during these early years.

His interests were and remained extraordinarily catholic. According to King he was 'fond of mechanical work' and he made a boxwood lay figure and a steel lathe about which he was 'very particular and would have it perfect'. Both these objects are given by Stannus to the year 1843, though their date of origin is not specified in the biographer's notes of his conversations with King and may well have been considerably earlier. Another curious illustration of the range of his exploration of craftsmanship is a model in wood of a Gothic tower, now in the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester. A number of copies of sea-pieces, landscapes and animal paintings have survived that show an unusual competence, but it was probably his talent as a portrait painter that first attracted interest in the young artist from outside the family circle. His self-portrait, now in the Tate, portraits of the Peglers (Tate and Walker Art Gallery) and James Barrett (Walker Art Gallery), all works of his early teens, would certainly have been sufficient to convince his family and friends that some effort should be made to provide him with a training as a painter. Henry Hoyles remembered Stevens telling him in Sheffield some twenty years later that 'they were anxious to put him to a great London Artist & that Landseer was sounded on the subject', but that 'Landseer wanted about £500 & they thought going to Italy would be cheaper' (Stannus Papers). Whatever course was to be taken, help was needed and offered itself in the person of the Hon. and Rev. Samuel Best, then rector of the neighbouring hamlet of Blandford St Mary. According to Stannus, Best, who had already encouraged Stevens with the loan of pictures to copy, now presented him with the sum of £50 with which, together with an additional £10 given by other friends, he was dispatched to Italy from the Port of London in the autumn of 1833. The rector's role in Stevens's early life is obscure. The artist's own cryptic comment to Alfred Pegler in later years that he never felt any gratitude to Best 'who had his own idea in sending me out' (Stannus Papers) is intriguing but uninformative. It seems likely, however, that Best's support extended much further than this initial £50 and that his sponsorship of Stevens continued after 1833. Lord Wynford, Best's grandson, told

D. S. MacColl that his mother remembered hearing of 'frequent expenditures by my grandfather on Stevens' behalf and that my father had mentioned as much as £300 in all having gone to Stevens. . . ' He added, 'I have every reason to believe. . . in the truth of this as I always heard that my grandfather was the sort of man who never wished to let one hand know what his other hand did' (V & A Library, MacColl Collection).

[1] Miscellaneous sketches & copies, school copybook & sketchbook, c.1824-33 (14):

1 Recto & verso: Two copies of the coat of arms of Sir Edward Baker, the more complete & highly coloured version on recto, verso sketch enlivened with gold paint

Insc: *Sir Edward B Bakers Arms by Alfred Stevens 6 years*, probably in C. H. Curtis's hand

Pencil & watercolour, with some gold paint verso (212 × 214)

Prov: Probably acquired by Goetze from C. H. Curtis, whose MS note in the margin of p.2 of his copy of Armstrong (in the RIBA Library) refers to this sheet, then in the possession of H. Stickland

2-3 Two framed landscapes with figures, probably copies after contemporary prints: No.2 shows a country lane with an inn in the distance & a man grazing his horse in the foreground; No.3 shows a wooded landscape with figures beside a stream & a Gothic ruin on a hill in the background

Insc: (in margin below each drawing) *A Stevens Aged 8 yrs*, probably in C. H. Curtis's hand

Pen, pencil & grey wash (183 × 265, 220 × 290)

Prov: Probably acquired by Goetze from C. H. Curtis

Reprd: (No.2) *RIBA Jnl*, XLII, 1935, p.174

4 School copybook of 14 leaves & marbled paper covers containing, on 1 side only of each leaf, specimens of handwriting & italic script with elaborate surrounding scrollwork

Insc: p.1 *Classical and Mathematical School Blandford*; p.2 *A Specimen of Penmanship by Alfred Stevens June 11th 1828*; p.3 *Contentment is a divine virtue*; the subsequent texts on pp.4-6 & 8-13 are of a similarly high moral tone; the text on p.7 is a copy of a money order & the last page is flamboyantly insc. *Vive la Plume w/m*: (each leaf) G. & R. Turner 1827

Pen (233 × 385)

Prov: Among the Stannus Papers pres. by Robert Hugh Stannus Robertson & Miss J. Robertson, 1956; formerly in the possession of Alfred Pegler

Lit: *Stannus*, p.2

5 Sketchbook of 5 leaves with marbled paper covers, in poor condition, many leaves loose or missing; each side of each leaf & the inside covers numbered 1-12, have been worked to their fullest capacity The naive pencil sketches on each page & the pen & brush sketches on p.10 are of a variety of subjects, including bearded heads, head of Christ for an Ecce Homo, architecture, tiny figures, caricatures & genre scenes; superimposed upon these & generally to a larger scale are rapid & vigorous brush drawings, principally of biblical subjects, with apostle-like figures in the High Renaissance manner

Pencil, pen & wash (205 × 165)

Prov: Probably acquired by Goetze from C. H. Curtis

6-10, 9-10v Studies for biblical compositions, similar in quality to the pencil underdrawings in the sketchbook, No.5 above; the Crucifixion studies are drawn on the inside of the marbled covers of a similar sketchbook, from which No.8 may also be a fragment w/m: (No.8) 1831

Pencil (6-7, 203 × 160; 8, 160 × 195; 9, 194 × 145; 10, 115 × 177)

Prov: Probably acquired by Goetze from C. H. Curtis

11-13 Three sketches or copies of ornamental motifs or ormolu work, possibly from a manufacturer's pattern book

Insc: verso C (initial of C. H. Curtis); the envelope containing the 3 tiny drawings is insc. *3 Sketches A Stevens Before leaving home in 1833 C H Curtis*

Pencil, Nos.11 & 13 with touches of ochre wash (11, 100 × 40 irregular; 12, 72 × 50 irregular; 13, 51 × 39 irregular)

Prov: Acquired by Goetze from C. H. Curtis

14 Copy of a painting in the manner of Delacroix: a woman in a cap & vermilion dress is seated on the ground, half-reclining against a rock, a sea- or landscape in the background

Watercolour (330 × 345); the sheet is much damaged, with joins along 2 edges

Prov: Probably acquired by Goetze from C. H. Curtis

Stevens's surviving boyhood sketches do not support the argument of his biographers that his talent was notably precocious. Often crudely executed and always uneven in quality, they seem, on the contrary, to be characteristic of a boy struggling with the difficulties of learning to draw in the isolation of a small country town.

Drawings of this period are rare and Nos.1-14 probably now comprise the largest single group. C. H. Curtis, Mayor of Blandford 1894-95, from whose collection all but the copybook probably came, had combed the locality for Stevens's early works and owned the most significant number, apart from the group which remained in the possession of the Pegler family. Exactly what proportion of his collection was purchased by Goetze is not known (see Preface). An early oil portrait of Emma Pegler once owned by Curtis and later acquired by Goetze is now at the Tate (4379).

The Peglers' collection of pre-1834 oil copies and portraits is divided principally between the Walker Art Gallery and the Tate. Four watercolour drawings executed at about the age of eight and a very early small oil portrait of Samuel Pegler are in the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester.



## II 1833-42

Stevens's years in Italy from 1833 to 1842 are undocumented and knowledge of them has been almost wholly dependent on Stannus's account, itself based principally on his own and other associates' memories of brief conversations with the artist. According to Stannus the fifteen-year-old boy arrived in Naples in October 1833 and stayed there for over a year before walking to Rome in the spring of 1835, finally arriving in Florence via Siena and San Gimignano in the autumn. After spending at least three years studying in the city, 'though not enrolled as a regular student of the Accademia delle Belle Arti', he went on, Stannus relates, to Milan where he studied 'ornament' at the Academy during 1839, setting out, at the end of the year, for Venice to spend 'about six months, copying pictures', including Titian's Assumption and St Peter Martyr altarpieces. In 1840 he started back for Rome, where for 'about a year' he copied pictures, spent a short time as a clerk of works and then in 1841 entered the studio of the Danish Neo-Classical sculptor Bertel Thorwaldsen as an assistant. When the old sculptor left Rome for the last time in 1842, Stevens returned to England.

Stannus's description of nine more or less nomadic years in Italy, during which Stevens appears to have received little formal teaching, is probably misleading, and there is reason to believe that the artist was at least based in Florence as a student at the Academy for the whole period up to his departure to work in Rome, c.1840. In evidence before the Special Committee set up in 1846 to inquire into the management of the School of Design at Somerset House, Stevens was to declare that he spent 'five consecutive years at Florence and three years afterwards'; in reply to a question from C. R. Cockerell he reiterated: 'I was in Italy almost ten years. I went there when a boy and commenced my studies there - I was a pupil in the Florentine Academy about eight years' ('Report of a Special Committee of the Council of the Government School of Design', *Accounts & Papers*, LXII, 1847, Command Paper 835).

E. F. Strange of the V & A, who first discovered and published this evidence in *The Burlington Magazine* (XIV, 1909, p.275), evidently had access to a source unknown to Stannus and which still remains obscure. During a lecture on Stevens delivered at the Architectural Association in 1912 (published in *The Builder*, CII, 1912, pp.61-63, and *The Architects' & Builders' Journal*, XXXV, 1912, pp.87-96) Strange stated that the man responsible for introducing the artist to his benefactor Samuel Best was a Mr Henry White who, in July 1836, had written to the Director of the Academy at Florence 'conveying the anxiety of Stevens's parents and asking for news of the boy. The Director, Strange continued, had replied that Stevens had been working there, but not as a student of the Academy. He had been studying in the life school and had made a considerable number of copies of pictures and was at that time away with the American sculptor Kinlock. It must surely be assumed that Stevens's family had at least a rough plan of campaign in mind for him when he left Blandford in 1833: Strange's information about Mr White implies that the intention had been for Stevens to make his way directly to Florence and to establish contact with the school there. Perhaps lack of money had precluded his formal enrolment, but he evidently attended classes on a regular basis. William Blundell-Spence wrote in his memoirs of classes conducted by Professor Bezzuoli which he himself had attended in Florence in the 1830s: 'In this private academy... one of my fellow pupils was a young Englishman named Stevens who is now occupied on the Duke of Wellington's monument. He was very quiet and modest. We all admired his talent. He modelled a head from nature which our professor extolled most highly. There was also an American Mr K[inlock]... (J. Kerr-Lawson, 'Two portraits of William Blundell-Spence', *The Burlington Magazine*, V, 1904, p.310).

Presumably this 'private academy' was the Academy of Florence, though Giuseppe Bezzuoli (1784-1854) did not become Professore there until 1844, when he was appointed Head of the Painting Department. In 1846 Stevens, as one of the masters at Somerset House, was asked by the Special Committee to explain the teaching system at the Academy of Florence and he emphasized then that all pupils underwent, for nearly ten years, a common system of training, whatever branch of art they intended to follow later. It is clear that on his return to England Stevens considered himself equipped as an artist in the true Renaissance sense: as painter, sculptor, architect and decorative designer. Indeed, he would describe himself by whichever title happened to suit the moment. At Somerset House, when the principal contention was that the students of the school were receiving insufficient training as ornamental designers, he asserted that he had studied in Italy 'chiefly with a view to ornamental design', yet there is evidence that he was offered his post of master at the school on the strength of his architectural drawings (see section III, introduction). It was primarily the Government competition for fresco painters that drew him to London in 1844, and C. H. Wilson, when recommending him in 1847 to design bronze doors for the Geological Museum, described him as 'a sculptor by profession, subsequently a painter and... the most skilful ornamentist I know'.

No reference to Stevens has yet been found among the records at the Thorwaldsen Museum in Copenhagen, so that Stannus's dating of his term as an assistant in the sculptor's studio cannot be checked. If, in 1846, Stevens was not exaggerating the length of his attendance at the Florence Academy, it is difficult to reconcile this period of eight years with nearly three years allegedly spent in Rome. However short his time with Thorwaldsen, it seems to have made a powerful impression on Stevens: he later maintained that the Danish sculptor had been the strongest single influence upon him. The development of his drawing style after 1842 suggests that this was indeed so. His pen drawings for a series of illustrations to Homer (mostly in the Ashmolean Museum; see also [52].43-46 in this collection) and those for the relief panels of the Geological Museum's bronze doors show to a remarkable degree the influence of the Neo-Classical manner and of Thorwaldsen's own drawing style in particular. It is probable that the relentless refinement of form and line which later characterized Stevens's working method owed much to his confrontation, at the end of the Italian period, with Thorwaldsen's ideals of simplicity and unity and to his experience at first hand of the intellectual discipline of Neo-Classicism.

## [2] Topographical views, sketchbook &amp; miscellaneous observations of the Italian scene (18):

1 View of a Romanesque church interior looking towards the open door, a small chapel & pulpit on right  
Pencil & watercolour (294 × 233)

## 2 SAN GIMIGNANO

View from a valley below the town, with peasant women & donkeys in right foreground, the towers on the centre horizon [Fig.1]  
Pencil with pale pink & grey washes, smudged with ochre lower right (417 × 275)

## 3 VENICE: Doge's Palace

View from the Lagoon, the Piazza of S Mark faintly shown left [Fig.3]  
Pencil & pale rose & blue washes (192 × 324)

4 Study of a rocky landscape with a bay on left, probably the island of Capri which Stevens is known to have visited  
Pencil (240 × 330)

5 Study of rocks  
Pencil (165 × 237)

A large number of topographical drawings made in Italy and copies by Reuben Townroe of others of the same period are in the V & A.

6 Sketchbook of 27 leaves with marbled board front cover, back cover missing  
The book is almost filled with tiny rapid sketches of peasants strolling, standing or sitting at street corners, soldiers, animals & a few views of buildings & landscapes; on p.20 is scribbled a plan of a house with parlour & kitchen indicated  
Insc: Colours of peasants' dress & soldiers' uniforms frequently noted  
Pencil, with smudges of watercolour on pp.14 & 21 (100 × 140)

The remarkable economy and liveliness of these sketchbook studies, which probably date from Stevens's earliest years in Italy, contrast with the uneven and tentative quality of his more self-conscious work of copying and portraiture. An important collection of similar small sketchbooks recording Stevens's impressions of everyday life in Italy is in the possession of Mr George Warner Allen.

7-10 Slight sketches of figures, similar in quality to those in the sketchbook, No.6 above  
9v: Studies of drapery

Insc: (No.7) Colour notes  
w/m: (No.10) Carlo Giusti  
Pencil, No.7 stuck on to mount (7, 150 × 97; 8, 100 × 150; 9, 279 × 170; 10, 222 × 160)

11 Slight sketches of a man in a high-collared coat; caricature head & head of an old man in profile  
Verso: Detail of a panelled ceiling  
Pencil with some red chalk (200 × 130)

12 Impression of a jockey astride  
Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (123 × 160)

13 Sketch of a standing woman, her head turned away  
Pencil (110 × 102)

14 Sketch of 2 seated women, one with a child on her lap  
Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (138 × 127)

15 Studies of a youth bathing  
Pencil (219 × 153)

16 Studies of a horse & cart by a pile of stones; brief note of a campanile  
Pencil (220 × 285)

17 Sketches of the front & side elevations of an armchair, drawn with a ruler  
Insc: Measurements marked in pen  
Pencil & pen (215 × 235)

18 View of a bedroom looking towards the door, with a four-poster bed on right, some lines ruled  
Insc: *ceiling Blue & Gold*  
Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (200 × 265)

## [3] Portrait studies (9):

1 Rapid sketch of a little girl in a full-skirted dress, seated on a low stool facing left  
Insc: Very faint colour notes given  
Pencil & pen (270 × 200)



2 Two incomplete studies of a little girl in a smock & strap shoes, seated in an armchair facing front, the study on the left squared for enlargement

Verso: Brief sketches of foliage, a man in a top hat & a woman's plaited hair

Insc: verso *Torino* & *I am an Englishman* in 2 different hands, the latter probably Stevens's; in the top left corner the initials *S.P.*

Pencil, with brown wash for woman's hair (265 × 405)

The initials *S.P.* on the verso of this sheet and on Nos.3 & 5-9 below suggest that these were among the drawings given by Stevens on his return from Italy to Samuel Pegler, friend of Stevens's family and father of his own lifelong friend Alfred. In 1912 No.2 was in the Gamble Collection, where it was seen and its verso inscriptions noted by D. S. MacColl (V & A Library, MacColl Collection).

3 Study of a man with moustache & side-whiskers seated sideways on his chair, facing right, his arm across the back of his own & another tilted empty chair to left, a top hat at his feet

Insc: verso *SP*

Pencil (205 × 192); the sheet is defaced by a brown splash mark

4 Suggestion for a portrait head of Michelangelo; in the top left corner another smaller sketch showing a different pose

Insc: verso *Michael Angelo* in an unidentified hand

Pencil (330 × 275)

5 Head of a man, probably an Italian peasant, facing left in three-quarter view

Verso: Very faint sketches of figures, probably after a fresco painting

Insc: verso *SP*

w/m: Go. Chiari e FI

Pencil (275 × 200)

6 Head of a young man with pointed beard & high collar, facing front, the features softly modelled [Fig.5]

Insc: verso *SP*

Pencil (280 × 217)

The subject may be John Morris Moore whose portrait, now in the Tate, Stevens painted in Rome c.1840.

7 Head of a youth in profile, facing left, executed with an Ingres-like delicacy

Insc: verso *SP*

Pencil with highlights in red chalk (170 × 208)

8 Faintly sketched head & shoulders of a woman, turning to face the spectator, lifting a naked child on her arm; right, sketch of a console supporting a coved cornice

Insc: (beside architectural sketch) *Diverse Study* . . . ; verso *SP*

Pencil, recto inscription in pen, sheet trimmed (195 × 208)

9 Head & shoulders of a woman wearing a cloak, turned left in three-quarter view; the contours, originally softly modelled, have been crudely overworked with a hard pencil

Verso: Faint sketch of the woman's head in a different pose

Insc: verso *SP*

Pencil (270 × 230)

Stannus describes how, during his walk from Naples to Rome in 1834-35, Stevens would make portraits in pencil and washes in exchange for his lodging. It is likely that he continued to earn part of his living in this way as he moved about Italy and that some of the drawings above are preliminary sketches for these 'wayside' portraits.

[4] Sketches of Italian paintings & sculpture, illustrations of medieval & Renaissance costume & miscellaneous tracings (35):

1 C15 Madonna & Child, half-length

Insc: *La Scala* . . . *Naples*, very faintly, lower edge

Pencil (227 × 167)

A very early sketch, probably dating from Stevens's first weeks in Italy.

2-9 Details from Tuscan fresco cycles of the school of Giotto

2 St Sylvester revives a bull, panel by Maso di Banco, Bardi chapel, S Croce, Florence

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (213 × 350)

3 Death of a female saint, with attendant monks & nuns [Fig.2]

Pencil (277 × 360)

4 Group of onlookers on LHS of a fresco panel

Verso: Faint sketch for a portrait of a man

Insc: colour notes given on recto & verso

Pencil (290 × 220)

5 Group of onlookers on RHS of a fresco panel w/m: Go. Chiari e FI

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (200 × 133)

6 Female saint with symbol

Insc: Colour notes given

w/m: Carlo Giusti

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (180 × 105)

7 Studies of the drapery of 4 attendant figures

Pencil (195 × 264)

8 Outline impression of a group of saints & angels

Pencil (262 × 205)

9 Two impressions of the head of a Franciscan monk in profile

Verso: (on mount) Notes of medieval armour & a rectangular panel with figures

Pencil & washes on tracing paper, mounted

(290 × 335, including mount)

10 Slight impression of the head of Titian's Venus of Urbino, Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Pencil on torn scrap of tracing paper, mounted

(160 × 120, including mount)

11 Sleeping female nude & attendant figure, probably from a Venetian painting

Pencil & touches of red chalk (166 × 215)

12-16 Sketches of antique Roman & Renaissance figure sculpture

12 Six impressions of figures from classical mythology

Verso: Rapid outline impression of Michelangelo's Creation of Eve, Sistine chapel ceiling, Rome

Pen, verso sketch in pencil (220 × 290)

13 Winged & helmeted figure, possibly a cupid

Verso: Faint sketches of saints from a Renaissance painting

w/m: Go. Chiari e FI

Pen, verso sketches in pencil (290 × 220)

14 River god, probably from a garden fountain

Verso: Prophet or saint from a Renaissance painting

Pen, verso sketch in pencil (165 × 230)

15 Three studies from different viewpoints of a sculptured bust of a bearded old man

Pencil (286 × 220)

16 Frieze of 6 standing figures, rapidly sketched in outline

Pencil (186 × 263)

17-21 Tracings & copies from costume illustrations

17 *Cardinal 1300*, *Florentine magistrates 1300*, *Florentine notary 1300*, *A French noble 1300* & a knight in chain mail 1200, all on separate small sheets of tracing paper; on mount, below right notes of foliage decoration

Insc: As above, colour notes given

Pen & pencil on tracing paper & mount, the tracing of the knight enlivened with watercolour & gold paint (238 × 330, including mount)

18 Sketch of a belted tunic, outline impression of the head of a young boy in a flat cap & slight sketch of a seated woman in contemporary dress

Pen & pencil on blue paper (180 × 223)

19 Sketches of a youth & a child in Renaissance costume

Insc: Colour notes given

Verso: Notes of cornice mouldings

Pencil, sheet trimmed (253 × 90)

20 Impression of a pair of legs in blue & white striped hose & garters

Verso: Thumbnail impression of Titian's

Venus of Urbino

Pencil & coloured washes (150 × 96)

21 Head & shoulders of an old man in red cap & tunic

Pencil & coloured washes (122 × 100)

22-35 Miscellaneous sketches & tracings or enlarged copies, principally from engravings; all except Nos.25 & 33 have been mounted at a relatively recent date

22 Metope, N side of the Theseion, Athens, squared

23 Anatomical male nude

24 Half-elevation of the Bonsi monument, S Gregorio Magno, Rome

25 Copy of the drawing after Michelangelo, now in Berlin, for the lower half of the tomb of Julius II

Verso: (on mount) Scribbled impression of a vertical panel of grotesques; (stuck on to mount) sketch of a figure of *Justicia* in a niche, insc. *Ronen? S.G* (Sigismund Goetze)

Insc: *18 Cubits long - plan a square and a half*, not in Stevens's hand; verso (on mount) as above & *Julius 2nd Michael Angelo*, not in Stevens's hand

26 Frieze of classical figures

27 Figure group from a Neo-Classical relief panel

Insc: *Lady Crompton Charity - by Pietro Tenerani*

Tenerani (1789-1869) was the contemporary and one-time colleague of Thorwaldsen in Rome, where he and the Dane were the two most prominent sculptors at the time when Stevens was in Italy.

28 Figure group from a Neo-Classical semicircular relief panel

29 Fragment of a decorated pilaster

30 Titian's St Peter Martyr altarpiece

Insc: *The Martyrdom of St Peter, a Dominican Monk Titian* (repeated on back of tracing paper)

31 Head of a Madonna

32 Raphael's Aldobrandini Madonna

33 Front & side elevation of the lion's head & claw support of a Roman table in the Vatican

34 Part of a double-handled covered vase with grotesque decoration



## 35 Ewer &amp; detail of the handle with lion's head

22, 23, 26-28, 33 Pencil  
24-25, 29-32, 34 Pen  
35 Pencil & wash  
22-35 On tracing paper, mounted (180 × 175 smallest, 330 × 405 largest)

On the evidence of surviving drawings, it was principally to C13 & 14 fresco paintings that Stevens devoted his attention during the first years in Italy. Large numbers of his sketches from fresco cycles are in the BM and other important examples are in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. All appear to date from the same period and are closely similar in quality to Nos. 2-6 above.

As his skill as a copyist increased Stevens turned to Venetian painting and was able to use his abilities as a means of earning a living: Florence Morris Moore described in a letter to Professor Legros (Stannus Papers) how, 'while studying sculpture [he] supported himself by copying the old masters, which copies were sold by the dealers to unsuspecting foreigners as originals. As Mr Stevens used laughingly to say when telling this, "it was not my fault if they were so stupid as to believe it".' Among the copies in oils that he brought back to England and kept in the studio for the rest of his life were Titian's Presentation of the Virgin (V & A), Assumption (Walker Art Gallery), St Peter Martyr (private collection) and Venus of Urbino (V & A). Also at the V & A are watercolour copies of Titian's Flora and portrait of the Duchess of Urbino. All were included in the 1877 sale.

There is very little evidence of the direction of Stevens's study of sculpture before 1841. He seems to have made few sketches, and those that survive are an oddly assorted group suggesting that his interests lay chiefly in decorative reliefs rather than in monumental sculpture.

[5] Album of tracings, prints & sketches & miscellaneous sketches of architecture & ornament (9):

1 Album of 45 remaining leaves, the binding much damaged, into which are stuck tracings from engraved measured drawings, prints taken from books & sketches, principally relating to Stevens's architectural studies in Italy. The first two pages of tracings have been omitted from the existing page numbering in red ball-point pen. All drawings are in pencil on tracing paper except where otherwise indicated.

First double page (unnumbered) & pp. 1-2  
FLORENCE: Pandolfini Palace  
Details

p. 3 ROME: Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila ('Raphael's House', demolished 1661), Borgo Nuovo  
Elevation

p. 4 FLORENCE: Palazzo Rucellai & Palazzo Guadagni  
Elevations & details

p. 5 FLORENCE: Pandolfini Palace  
Detail; plan & part of an elevation of another palace

p. 6 ROME: Palazzo Caffarelli  
Elevation

p. 7 Palazzo Alberini Julio Romano architetto  
Elevation

p. 8 FLORENCE: court of Strozzi Palace  
Elevation; details

pp. 9-10 Detail of a ceiling decorated with grotesques & figure panels

p. 11 Orvieto: Details of Gothic decoration  
FLORENCE: Palazzo Riccardi  
Details

p. 12 FLORENCE: Gondi Palace  
Elevation & labelled details of court

p. 13 ROME: Palazzo Giraud Borgo Nuova, Bramante  
Plan & elevation; plate from a book entitled *Lari da una pittura d'Ercolano*, mounted upside down

p. 14 Details of an entablature by Andrea Palladio;  
plate from a book of Renaissance costume, mounted upside down

p. 15 Study of part of a coffered ceiling  
Pencil & wash on cartridge

p. 16 FLORENCE: Pazzi Chapel  
Perspective sketch of loggia  
Pen, pencil & washes on thin blue paper

p. 17 Naples: Rough details of mouldings & sculptured ornament

p. 18 ROME: Palazzo Spada  
Elevations

p. 19 Detail of a window architrave; on leaf of album, slight outline sketch of a palace façade

p. 20 ROME: Palazzo Linotte Vicolo dell'Aquila  
Elevations; small plans, elevations & sections of other palaces

p. 21 Blank

p. 22 Sketch of a Venetian Gothic palace, *between the windows filled up with arabesques*, mounted upside down  
Pencil, on leaf from a small sketchbook

p. 23 Rough studies of decoration  
Pen, pencil & wash on fragment of tracing paper  
FLORENCE: Palazzo Vecchio  
Sketches of decorative relief panels  
Pen & pencil on thin paper

p. 24 FLORENCE: Palazzo Nicolini Via dei Servi  
Elevations, plan & section  
Small plan & section & elevation of a little palace near the Porta di Venezia  
Small tracings in pen

pp. 25-28 ROME: Palazzo Massimi  
Details of internal decoration; plan, elevations & perspective view  
p. 26 Pen on tracing paper

pp. 29-30 Interior perspective sketch & ground floor & ceiling plans of an unidentified house  
Insc: Various notes & measurements given  
Pencil on single sheet of thin white paper

pp. 31-32 Blank

pp. 33-34 ROME: Farnese Palace  
Plan, elevation, section & details

p. 35 Blank

pp. 36-38 ROME: Villa Pia  
Plans & details of interior & painted decorations

pp. 39-46 Blank

pp. 47-48 Details of ceiling decoration, unidentified

p. 49 ROME: Palazzo della Cancelleria  
Details of wall & ceiling decorations on piano nobile

p. 50 Old print showing a band of men hunting with falcons

p. 51 Blank

p. 52 Rough sketch of a decorative panel  
Pencil on fragment of cartridge  
Three small prints showing S Sylvestro, Constantine & another Emperor, mounted upside down

pp. 53-57 Blank

p. 58 VENICE: Biblioteca Veneziana  
Details  
Pen on tracing paper

p. 59 Blank

p. 60 VENICE: Cortile del Palazzo Ducale  
Elevation  
Pen on tracing paper

p. 61 Two slight sketches of figure sculpture  
Pen on tracing paper

p. 62 Blank

p. 63 Details of an early Renaissance altarpiece or wall tomb

Inserted: Engraving of an early Renaissance wall tomb

p. 64 Fragmentary details of a wall tomb

p. 65 ROME: SS Apostoli, tomb of Pietro Riaro  
Details

pp. 66-67 Antique Roman urns  
p. 66 Pen & pencil

p. 68 ROME: Temple of Concord, details; plate from *The Ancient buildings of Rome* by A. Desgodetz with engravings by G. Marshall, 1771-95  
See also pp. 72, 79, 80, 83 below.

p. 69 Rome: Forum of Nerva  
Details

p. 70 Base of an antique candelabrum  
Fragment with study of a decorative moulding

p. 71 Blank

Inserted: ROME: S. M. del Popolo, engraving of a Sforza tomb

p. 72 ROME: Arch of Septimius Severus, details; plate from *The Ancient buildings of Rome* by A. Desgodetz with engravings by G. Marshall, 1771-95, mounted upside down

p. 73 Blank

p. 74 ATHENS: Choragic monument of Lysikrates, finial

p. 75 Plate from a book of engravings: ceiling decoration

p. 76 Engraving of an early Renaissance altarpiece

p. 77 Details of a fluted column  
Engraving of an allegorical figure in a niche

p. 78 Details of wall paintings from Stabia, Naples, National Museum  
Pencil & wash on tracing paper



pp.79-80 ROME: Pantheon, details; Arch of Septimius Severus, details; both plates from *The Ancient buildings of Rome* by A. Desgodetz with engravings by G. Marshall, 1771-95, both mounted upside down

p.81 ROME: Temple of Castor & Pollux  
Details

p.82 Doric temple, side elevation

p.83 ROME: Pantheon, details, plate from *The Ancient buildings of Rome* by A. Desgodetz with engravings by G. Marshall, 1771-95, mounted upside down

p.84 ROME: Pantheon  
Details  
Pen & pencil

p.85 Slight sketch of a pedestal with diaper ornament, mounted upside down  
Pencil on leaf from a small sketchbook  
Sheet of sketches, mounted upside down, showing *The College Manchester, Bruce Castle near Nottingham & Knowle House Kent*  
Pen on thin paper

Insc: Tracings &c as above, principally in pen, with numerous notes & measurements given; on flyleaf at back *Collected by Mr Alfred Stevens | and sold by auction at his sale | July 19 1877. bought for me by H Stannus | F. C. Penrose | Colebyfield Wimbledon*  
Board covers (383 x 280)  
Prov: Pres. by Capt. C. Fenwick-Owen, 1939

Three 'scrapbooks' were listed in the catalogue of the 1877 sale (second day): Lot 36 'containing designs and engravings from the Etruscan and other schools', Lot 155 'containing curious old engravings after Albert Durer and others, pen and ink and pencil sketches by Alfred Stevens', and Lot 156 'a book containing pencil sketches and sketches in colour'. According to the bound and marked copy of the sale lists belonging to Hugh Stannus which was published by Towndrow in an abbreviated form and is now lost, the scrapbook bought for Penrose by Stannus was Lot 156, for £2 15s. The description of this lot, however, is the one that seems least to fit the RIBA album and can, on the other hand, be exactly applied to a scrapbook of tracings and sketches principally dating from the Italian period which is now in the collection of Mr Brian Thomas. The third volume has not yet come to light.

The RIBA album is a unique record of Stevens's work as a student of architecture and underlines his deep concern, from an early date, with architectural decoration. It was evidently compiled gradually over a long period, with additions made after his return to England.

2 Page from an album on to which have been stuck 6 sheets of tracings & sketches of various dates  
Recto: (left) *Door of San Pietro in Montorio*, details, similar to the tracings in the album, No.1 above  
Pencil on tracing paper, mounted (270 x 230)  
(right) Slight notes for a stove grate  
Pencil (190 x 133)  
Verso: (above left) Sketches of Gothic ornament, including window tracery in the *Chapter House York, Exeter & York Minster*, details of the *Monument of the Earle of Gloster Tewkesbury Cathedral & fireplace at Conisborough Castle*  
Pen & pencil on tracing paper, mounted (190 x 250)  
(below left) 2 fragments with sketches of band ornament  
Pen & pencil & wash (55 x 105, 70 x 105)

(right) WAKEFIELD (Yorks): Chapel on the Bridge  
Pen (117 x 265)

Insc: As above, in Stevens's hand, with other notes (recto & verso) in an unidentified hand  
(280 x 382)

Prov: Pres. by Mr Borley, 1965

The sketches on the verso are obviously linked with those on p.85 of the album (No.1 above) and were probably made between Stevens's return to England and his arrival in London in 1844.

3 Sketch of part of a 3 storeyed house, showing the canted bay at the street corner, the arched recess on the ground floor containing figure sculpture [Fig.4]

Insc: (on mount, in C. H. Curtis's hand) *Sketch by Alfd Stevens of | The House he lived in, at Rome. | Given to C. H. C. by Jas. Gamble Mar. 1911*, repeated, with slight variations, on back of mount

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (166 x 113)

Lit: *Towndrow*, p.46

This is presumably the house on the Via Margutta, which according to John Morris Moore Jnr in a letter to D. S. MacColl (V & A Library, MacColl Collection) his father shared with Stevens in 1840 and there sat for the portrait now at the Tate.

4 FLORENCE: S Spirito

Sketch of part of the coffered vault of the sacristy vestibule by Giuliano da San Gallo

Pencil & grey wash with touches of gold (240 x 172)

5-6 Florence: S. Spirito

Two sketches of pilaster capitals

Insc: (No.5) As above

Pencil & pen, trimmed fragments stuck on to mounts (each 80 x 80 approx.)

7 Sketches of the decorative mouldings of 2 window architraves

Pencil & pen, trimmed fragment stuck on to mount (110 x 95)

8 Detail of a panel of geometrical ornament  
Pen & coloured washes (113 x 95)

9 Rapid sketch of a fragment of relief decoration with heraldic motif  
Pencil (145 x 103)

### III 1842-50

Stevens spent the remainder of the year 1842 and probably the whole of 1843 in Blandford Forum. Tangible proof that he was involved during this period with his father's house decorating business exists in the five plaster reliefs in the staircase and north entrance halls at Chettle House, Blandford, where George Stevens was employed as decorator by the Castleman family in the 1840s. All the reliefs are copies, with minor variations, of marble bas-reliefs by Bertel Thorwaldsen now in the Thorwaldsen Museum, Copenhagen: works that Stevens had no doubt been given to copy in Rome and drawings of which he had probably brought home to England in his portfolio (F. A. Ollett, *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, XXVI, 1953, pp.169-170).

His time at home must have been chiefly taken up with preparations for the Government fresco competition of 1842-43, while he continued also to work out ideas for illustrations to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, inspired by those of Flaxman and conspicuously Neo-Classical in feeling, most of the drawings for which are now in the Ashmolean Museum.

Early in 1844, according to Stannus, he arrived in London and took rooms at No.10 Robert Street, off Hampstead Road, Camden. 'Robert [sic] Stevens, artist' was listed there in the Post Office directories in 1849. 'I am literally penniless', he wrote from his rooms in a letter to Samuel Pegler asking for a loan of £10 and for Pegler's help in obtaining prompt payment for a picture recently painted for a Mr Bennet, presumably of Blandford - an early work that has never been traced and for which he received £15 in due course (Stannus Papers, Pegler letters, undated). At the same time Stevens referred to his intensive work on the second Government fresco competition, in which, he wrote, 'my chances of complete success are even greater than I had supposed before leaving Blandford'. This letter, with its bleak message followed by a bold assertion of hope in the future, is characteristic of many which followed it, intermittently throughout Stevens's life, to Pegler's son Alfred who, now working as a jeweller in Southampton, took over from his father Samuel as the artist's chief confidant and support in times of crisis. His successive failures in the two fresco competitions, which perhaps contributed to those 'nervous and rheumatic pains in the head' that Stevens described to his friend in a later letter, were fortunately soon overshadowed by his delight in his appointment, in October 1845, to teach at the Government School of Design at Somerset House. The first hint of a contact with the school is given hurriedly at the end of an undated letter to Alfred Pegler: 'Something has been said about my making some drawings of Architecture for the School of Design When I can go out I will see about this then write to you...' On 26 August 1845, writing to Pegler about a series of lithographs in course of preparation (see [13]), p.22 he could not resist adding: 'when I write to you again I hope I shall be able to tell you that I have made a considerable step towards rescuing myself from my present unpleasing position and getting a reputation - as you will be anxious to know how this is to be brought about I will tell you with the understanding however that you keep it for a certain time a secret - I was sent for the other day to Somerset House and offered a place in the School of Design as *Professor of everything* The place is one that will at once put me in such an excellent position and is so well fitted for me that I expect to gain much credit from it I don't think I can expect too much from it. The salary will make me quite independent It will interfere scarcely anything with my time indeed the two hours I shall be required to give daily will be spent perhaps the most profitably of any. I got this place without any sort of interest and without solicitation on my own part The present Directors happened to see some of my designs and instantly dispatched one of their number to hunt me up The truth is they have



been lately so lashed by the press as incompetent that they tremble for their places and are very happy to find me knowing a little of what they ought to understand well themselves. They have promised to interfere with me in nothing to allow me to choose my own time for visiting the school and to get as much as they possibly can from the Treasury as salary possibly at first not more than £170 probably much less. The excitement of this caused I believe the illness I mentioned and perhaps this present nervous attack. All this will be settled on the first of October till that time I shall remain in a very unpleasant state of suspense. I am told I have little ground for uneasiness yet there is a difficulty in getting money for new offices. I have promised to keep these things quite secret. You must therefore consider yourself bound in the same manner, remember this becoming known may shut me out from all chance of success I am to be smuggled in by what trick I cannot tell.

The reality of the situation can be better assessed from the minutes of the Council of the School of Design. At a committee meeting on 29 July 1845 Charles Heath Wilson the Director had stated in his report on the new arrangements proposed for the morning school that, '... the chief defect in this department has been the absence of instruction in Geometrical and Architectural Drawing... I propose effectually to provide for full and efficient instruction in Architectural Drawing and Perspective by the appointment of an experienced Master in the room of our Probationers' (*Minutes of the Council*, II, 1846, pp.265-266). At the meeting on 7 October Wilson informed the Council that C. H. Richardson 'architect and pupil of Sir John Soane, ... is a candidate for the situation of Master in the evening, as Teacher of Architecture and Ornamental Drawing and Perspective at a salary of £100 per annum, to attend nightly for two hours and a half. Mr Stevens is a candidate for the office of Morning Master to teach Architecture, Perspective and Modelling; he is also highly competent to give instructions in Painting and Ornament if required. I submit a specimen of Mr Stevens' abilities, and have to state that he has been nine years in Italy, studying carefully the remains of ancient art, and the works of the old masters. Mr Stevens will be required to attend five hours daily, at a salary of £150 per annum...' (II, 1846, pp.286-287). Both appointments were approved. Stevens's fellow teacher in the morning class for drawing and painting the figure was Henry Le Jeune, whose note to Stannus in 1890 unwittingly throws much light on the retiring character of his friend: 'I knew Alfred Stevens intimately for many years & shall be only too pleased to talk to you about him, but our intercourse was so uneventful & I knew so little of his private affairs & absolutely nothing of his family, that I fear I can give you little help in your proposed memoirs' (Stannus Papers).

The regular salary at Somerset House does not seem to have alleviated Stevens's money problems in any way. He found the hours of work irksome and in April 1846 received a letter from Wilson drawing his attention to the need for punctuality in the mornings (PRO, Ed.84/1 150). Made wretched by generally poor health and worried by news of continuing strife between his parents, he wrote to Pegler in the autumn of 1846: 'I think of getting my Father and Mother to live with me [an idea that came to nothing] I dare say they would then agree much better besides which I want a housekeeper I find living in lodgings very dull and as my health prevents me from eating & drinking like other people, I don't like to go into society -'.

The only major opportunity that came Stevens's way - and was lost - during his time at the school seems to have been the decoration of the staircase hall of Sir Robert Peel's town house, No.3 Whitehall Gardens. Peel's architect, Sydney Smirke, had apparently proposed to Wilson that masters and pupils

might collaborate in the work, for in July 1846 the Director replied that he found 'an earnest desire in the School both amongst my Colleagues the Masters and amongst the Pupils to endeavour to carry out this idea of decorating Sir Robert Peel's Hall'. Smirke was evidently acting with an eye to economy, for Wilson's subsequent letter confirmed that 'whatever may be the design our Pupils could do it for less than a Decorator. The cost must depend on the amount of Ornament. Mr Stevens morning master who is well acquainted with Ornament tells me that he also would aid and without any view to pecuniary advantage... Mr Stevens would if required make the designs for the Ornt without any idea of gain merely stipulating that he should be known as the Designer...' (PRO, Ed.84/1, 473 & 476). Stevens did prepare drawings (two of which, for quadrant panels with putti, are in the BM) and made a start in the house, but left the work unfinished and credit for it was given entirely to Smirke's favourite firm of interior decorators, Collmann & Davis, when the new scheme was reported in *The Builder* (V, 1847, p.72). The artist may at least have benefited indirectly from the experience, for it seems to have been his first working association with Leonard Collmann, through whom he was soon afterwards and at intervals throughout his life to gain important commissions for decoration.

General dissatisfaction with C. H. Wilson's management of the school and the lack of emphasis given there to the teaching of decorative design came to a head towards the end of 1846. On 3 November a special committee of the Council, which included the architect C. R. Cockerell, was appointed to consider and report upon the matter (*Accounts & Papers*, LXII, 1847, Command Paper 835). The evidence given by Stevens before the committee is a valuable source of information, not only about his studies in Italy (see II, introduction) but about his circumstances in 1846, within and outside the school. For instance, his reply to Cockerell's pertinent questions 'Have these gentlemen [the masters Townsend, Horsley, Stevens, Le Jeune and Richardson], who are painters, laboured at all for manufacturers? Have they made designs for manufactures of any kind?' was 'I have not'; and throughout his questioning as to the method of teaching design in Italy he obstinately refused to consider 'decoration' as a subject divorced from 'art'. He alone among the masters remained steadfastly loyal to Wilson, whom, however, he later described to John Morris Moore as 'a mild man [who] falls a-crying if a severe thing be said to him'. (V & A Library, MacColl Collection). Stevens's only vehement criticism of the teaching system at Somerset House was the length of time devoted by pupils to study: 'They are hurried through the classes, and get but a smattering of what is taught in each. The average time of pupils' attendance at Somerset House is eleven months; at the Italian Academies it is ten years.' Asked whether he, like other masters, had any complaints as to the 'manner of the Superintendent of the School', his terse reply was: 'None at all. Mr Wilson and myself having both been educated in Italy, agree upon all points, so that any advice given by him to my pupils is so much assistance given to me. It saves me the trouble of saying the same thing myself.' Pressed further, Stevens indulged in a little private lobbying: 'There is one suggestion which I wish to make,' he said. 'It is, that an alteration be made in the hours of attendance of the Morning Masters, and that the duties of the Master of Ornament be considerably lightened. I hold that appointment at present. I teach Elementary Drawing; Drawing and Painting Ornament, Modelling Ornament and Figure; Geometrical and Architectural Drawing. My required hours of attendance are from 10 to 3. It is hardly necessary to point out that as long as the present regulations exist the Council cannot expect to secure permanently the services of an efficient Master. Circumstances may compel an artist to accept the appointment, but he will naturally take little interest in

the well-being of the School when there, and leave it at his earliest convenience.'

The inquiry led to substantial reorganization of the school during 1847. C. H. Wilson resigned under pressure, and on 13 November *The Athenaeum* reported that 'Mr Stevens has declined to continue in the office of Under Master, and Mr Le Jeune, another Master, has also refused. This is owing, no doubt, to the peculiar nature of the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee; - to our thinking, somewhat unguardedly commented upon by some of the witnesses in the appendix to the evidence' (1847, p.1178). Towards the end of November Stevens wrote to Pegler: 'I have as you may have heard just given up my place at Somerset House - Not before I was heartily sick of it' (Stannus Papers).

Most of Stevens's projects and commissions of the period 1843-50 are represented in the Collection. Those which are not, but are mentioned by Stannus, include a number of illustrations to Shakespeare's plays (notably at the Fitzwilliam Museum) and to Macaulay's *Lays of ancient Rome*, some contribution to the decorative sculpture of the Fitzwilliam Museum building at the instigation of C. R. Cockerell (Stannus Papers, letter from Henry Hoyle 1 July 1890; decorations no longer extant), a plaster model of a pedestal proposed for Nelson's column (now in the V & A), and a small painting in oil on panel of a female figure with a sword, known as Judith (Tate).

The question of his involvement with manufactures between 1846 and 1850 has never been resolved. Armstrong suggests that Stevens was employed at an early date by 'upholsterers and other traders'. Quantities of drawings datable c.1846-50 demonstrate his keen interest in applied design at this period and he wrote at the end of 1847 to Alfred Pegler, 'I am now working very hard at something for the forthcoming Exhibition'. It is reasonable to suppose that he was referring here to one of the annual exhibitions of decorative art held at the Society of Arts from 1847 to 1850, forerunners of the Great Exhibition of 1851. At the Society's exhibition held in the spring of 1848 Collmann & Davis, who were described as 'upholsterers' in contemporary trades directories, showed a 'Loo Table - Specimen of Marquetric'. Could the designer, unnamed in the catalogue, have been Stevens himself? It is evident, moreover, that the candlestick designs for William Potts of Birmingham, which Stannus believed to have been made in 1850 in preparation for the Great Exhibition, originated before that year (see IV, introduction). Potts too was an exhibitor at the Society of Arts with his silver and porcelain ware and in March 1850 included several candelabra and a candlestick among his entries.

#### [6] Model cannon for Alfred Pegler

Rapid sketch of a horizontal shaft, the upper curve decorated with nude figures & a lion in the round, c.1842-43

Insc: Various notes in Stevens's early hand, including *Miss Manro | Edmondshaw Buildings & (N)apoleon*

Pen, trimmed fragment stuck on to mount (73 x 227)

Lit: (general) *Stannus*, pp.26-27, paras.241-243

In 1890 Alfred Pegler wrote to Stannus: 'I had quite forgotten the Cannon. The master designed it for me, long before I had a son or was even married. Years after he promised to finish it for my son who was the ill-fated sailor boy. It was made of box wood in my fathers shop & turned in a lathe, subsequently it was lengthened, the artistic work was laid on in plaster of paris. The touchhole was the mouth of a scorpion, the body of the beast being beautifully designed & coiled round the breech of the gun. The front part was reeded. It was never finished & I have no idea what became of the unfinished work...' (Stannus Papers, letter from Pegler to Stannus d. Feb 3 1890). The sketch does not correspond exactly with Pegler's description, but it does resemble the



wax and wood model of the cannon with the monograms AS and AP on the fluted and decorated shaft which was purchased in 1911 from Mrs James Gamble by the V & A (A.79-1911, transferred to the Tate 1952).

Pegler's memory seems to have been at fault when he stated that the work was never finished, for according to Henry Hoyles, 'Mr Stevens mentioned that he had promised a friend's son a brass cannon - this was in 1856 - about 15 or 16 years afterwards we [Hoole & Co. of Sheffield] cast the cannon for him, so the boy would be getting on when he got it - it was certainly very clever -'. He added on a postcard a few days later: 'Re Cannon - the mould was returned with the rough casting, we have not the slightest trace of anything pertaining to it. The mould was in plaster and very beautiful and at least 12" or 15" long...' (*ibid.*, letter from Hoyles to Stannus d. Jan 22 1891 & card postmarked Jan 31 1891). In December 1865 Stevens instructed Pegler to tell Willy his son that 'the cannon will in all probability make its appearance about Christmas' (*ibid.*, Pegler letters: the letter is d. 16.XII.65 in Stannus's hand, probably on Alfred Pegler's instructions).

On stylistic grounds the sketch must date from the period immediately after Stevens's return from Italy, when he first gave his attention to the design.

#### [7] Competition for fresco decorations in the New Houses of Parliament, London

Study for a spandrel angel in the cartoon of the Expulsion of Sin & Rebellion, submitted in the first competition, 1842-43  
Black chalk (265 × 287, triangular, with 2 corners cut)  
With the high-minded, if somewhat cautious intention of 'promoting and encouraging the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom' and ascertaining 'whether Fresco painting might be applied with advantage to the decoration of the Houses of Parliament', Her Majesty's Commissioners of Fine Arts announced an important public competition in April 1842 (advertisement in *The Art Union*, IV, 1 May 1842). Artists were invited to submit cartoons, with figures not less than life-size, to demonstrate their potential as fresco painters on a grand scale. Subjects were to be selected from British history, Spenser, Shakespeare or Milton. The use of colour was forbidden and competitors were directed to use chalk, charcoal or 'similar material'. Entries were to be submitted during the first week of June 1843.

If Stannus's dating of Stevens's return to England in the late autumn of 1842 is correct, the artist must have begun work on his cartoon almost immediately on arrival, for, contrary to Stannus's belief, he did enter for this first competition. The *Catalogue of the cartoons sent in ... for exhibition in Westminster Hall* (London 1843) contains the following item: 'No 53 The Expulsion of Sin and Rebellion 'Headlong themselves they threw / Down from the verge of heaven! Eternal wrath / Burn'd after them to the bottomless pit.' Paradise Lost book VI Width 10' 11" Height 15'.'

The *Art Union's* review of the exhibition on 1 August 1843 identified the artist of No.53 as 'Stevens' and briefly described the composition as 'A number of headlong figures, grouped circularly, as if designed for a bas-relief; the *vis cadendi* is, however, wanting; this and much else has been sacrificed to nearness of arrangement. The features are deficient of all expression of pain, confusion, defeat and consequent infernal ire and disappointment; as opposed to this the glory of the Messiah pursuing is insufficiently upheld.' No.53 was unplaced in the awards and the three first prizes of £300 were won by Edward Armitage, G. F. Watts and Charles West Cope.

The principal composition - with which no preliminary studies have yet been identified - was framed by four spandrel shapes so that the whole cartoon formed a square. The above study is for the heavily draped kneeling angel holding a scroll or, more probably, a serpent, which filled the spandrel at

the bottom left corner of the cartoon. Companion studies, for the two upper spandrel angels, are at the V & A (E.2563-1911, E.2562-1911). The fourth study is lost but is recorded among the copies of all four drawings made by Reuben Townroe also in the V & A (E.2813 to 2816-1911). (Most of the above information was first published in *The Builder*, CII, 1912, p.61, a transcript of a lecture delivered to the Architectural Association by E. F. Strange of the V & A, who had then recently identified the two spandrel drawings in the museum's Stevens collection.)

Though no other drawings in the RIBA Collection can be confidently related either to the fresco competition of 1842 or to that which followed it in 1843, so little is known of Stevens's work on these important projects, which must have accounted for a large proportion of his output during his first years in London, that it seems appropriate here to give some account of the second competition of 1843 and to suggest that many unidentified early drawings (*see* [52].1-28) may have been made in preparation for competition entries that were abandoned and later lost or destroyed.

The Government competition announced in July 1843 was the second stage of that held in 1842 and was itself to be followed by a third and a fourth stage in 1845 and 1847, in which Stevens did not take part. (For a detailed general history of the competitions *see* T. S. R. Boase, 'The Decoration of the New Palace of Westminster, 1841-1863', *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes*, XVII, 1954, pp.319-358.) In 1843 artists were invited to submit portable specimens of fresco painting, 'for the purpose of assisting the Comms in the selection of persons to be employed in the decoration of portions of the Palace at Westminster' (advertisement in *The Art Union*, V, 1 August 1843). The choice of subject was left entirely to the competitors - most of whom, however, were to select from the subjects suggested in 1842 - and up to three specimen frescoes might be submitted, 'not less than three and not more than eight feet in the longest dimension', at least one to contain figures not less than life-size. Stevens succeeded in entering only one specimen by the closing date, 8 June 1844. This was listed in the catalogue as 'No 42 A Subject from Shakespeare's Richard III Act 4th Scene 4th (Fresco) A. Stevens. Width 3' Height 2' 5" (*Catalogue of works of art sent in ... for exhibition in Westminster Hall*, London 1844).

In August *The Art Union* commented: 'The style of this work is imitated from that of the Giotteschi. The composition consists of three female figures, the centre one of which is deduced from some one of the most devout of the ancient masters, and not a very fitting impersonation for a scene from Shakespeare. The work exhibits some power, nevertheless; the artist may have a fertile imagination, and possess some skill in depicting character. He seems also to have studied the frescoes of the old masters. But the subject is not happily chosen: it is grievously inappropriate' (VI, 1844, p.213).

Now at the 1877 sale Lot 72, described as 'five frescoes, executed for public competition', was sold to 'Haydon' for thirty shillings. In 1878 Haydon wrote to Stannus offering for sale at £12 'a Fresco I have by Mr A. Stevens from Richard 3rd', measuring about 3 × 2½ft (Stannus Papers). The panel must have passed shortly afterwards into the possession of the Rev. Philip Baker, for it was he in turn who approached Stannus in 1879 requesting information about it and who sent him the faint photograph now among the Stannus Papers which is the unique record of this lost work. The fresco panel was rectangular, inscribed by a Tudor arch framing the seated figures of the two queens and the Duchess of York as described at the opening of scene IV. Contained in the spandrel areas at the top left and right corners of the panel are small circular medallions with narrative scenes. Their subjects are scarcely recognizable in the print, but by comparison with a pair of studies in the

Fitzwilliam Museum (2187-13 & 14) can be identified as the murder of the Princes in the Tower and the body of the Duke of Clarence being immersed in the malmsey-butt. A third sketch at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2187-44) and the red chalk study illustrated in *Stannus*, pl.V, now at the Walker Art Gallery, are among the few drawings that have been positively identified with the central composition. A small and very rough sketch for three conversing figures seated on the ground, on [52].18v, may also be related to it.

What became of the other four frescoes apparently included in Lot 72 remains a mystery. Their loss no doubt conceals the identity of numerous studies datable c.1843-44, and it is interesting to speculate how many of the themes that Stevens developed after 1844 - among them King Alfred and his Mother and the enigmatic 'Struggling Figures' composition - may have originated as ideas for one or both of the Government fresco competitions.

#### [8] Portrait of a young woman

Preliminary studies for a portrait of an unknown woman, seated, in three-quarter view, c.1845-46 (4):  
1 Rapidly executed sketch of the sitter's head & shoulders: her dark straight hair is drawn flat from a central parting & clubbed on either side of the face; her brown dress has a low shawl collar striped with black & trimmed with lace at the neck  
Insc: (on first mount, in Reuben Townroe's hand) Sketch by Alfred Stevens RT; (on back of second mount, in C. H. Curtis's hand) Given by Reuben Townroe to C. H. Curtis | Mar 12 1911  
Watercolour on card, twice mounted (82 × 132)

2 Study for the complete portrait squared for enlargement [Fig.6]  
Verso: Two studies for an alternative arrangement of the hands of the sitter  
Pencil on greenish paper (206 × 163)

3 Roughly executed squared study for the complete portrait, close to No.2 but without modelling on the face  
Verso: Faint & very rough architectural sketches in pencil, including plans of staircases & a perspective view of an arcade; superimposed, in pen, impression of a decorative border with flowers & foliage  
Insc: verso, obscure notes, including *Grand Staircase of ... Vitae* (repeated)  
Pencil, verso with some pen (227 × 185)

4 Recto & verso: Very rough architectural studies, similar to those on No.3v, principally for the arcaded ground floor of a 2 storeyed house, with a plan & a list of rooms, recto; below right recto, rapid study for the hands of the sitter in the portrait  
Insc: Various enigmatic scribbles on recto, including *to a spouse, Blundergut, Blandford, Manufacturer, Caro Alfredo, Alfredo Stevens, papier mache, Jas Hills, soul of my eye, all (?) my darling, I learn to drink of the cup of happiness (?)*; beneath the plan the list of rooms includes *library, stable, coachhouse saddlery, nursery, 4 bedrooms*  
Pencil on blue paper, recto with an architectural perspective in pen & wash (232 × 370)

A fine and more advanced study for the portrait is in the Stevens collection at Princeton (48-1972).

This important project is unrecorded and the sitter cannot be identified with any of Stevens's known portrait subjects. The final painting, if ever begun, has yet to be discovered. The studies evidently date from Stevens's early years in London and are close in quality to the drawings for the Westbourne Terrace ceiling decoration [10], datable c.1846. They already convey the tranquility and tenderness that characterize his portraits of women, notably the pencil portrait of a young girl in the Ashmolean Museum (illustrated in *Townrow*, pl.31b), and Mrs Mitchell (1851) and Mary Ann Collmann (1854) at the Tate.



## [9] The Ascension of Christ

Preliminary studies for the unfinished panel painting now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, c.1845-46 (7):

1 Study for the group of Apostles in the left foreground, the pose of the principal standing figure, probably St Peter, close to the final version  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (270 × 180)

2-3 Rough sketches for the upper half of the figure with arms raised, suggested in the left background of the final version

2 Verso: Miscellaneous figure studies, one crudely overdrawn & others probably relating to a bible illustration of the Massacre of the Innocents

3 Verso: Notes for the decoration of a room with a coved ceiling, possibly Deysbrook; superimposed notes for rectangular panel decoration with female nudes

Pencil, No.2 trimmed, No.3 on blue paper with some sketches verso in pen (160 × 130, 185 × 160)

4 Very rough study for a group of standing & kneeling Apostles proposed for right foreground of which only a fragment of 1 figure is extant in the painting; the drawing is squared for enlargement but has been savagely over-worked, the forms crudely outlined with a hard pencil

Verso: Squared study for 2 seated figures in attitudes of prayer, probably early ideas for a figure in the left foreground

Insc: Faint colour notes given on recto

Pencil, with touches of black chalk verso, sheet much trimmed (300 × 175)

5 Study for the figure of Christ ascending, missing from the panel painting, the supporting angels very roughly suggested, with numerous pentimenti

Verso: Very rough notes for a standing Apostle proposed for the right side of the composition, missing from the painting but shown in the bible illustration of the same subject at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2224); faint impression of the whole lower half of the composition

Pencil, sheet trimmed (265 × 185)

6 Studies for the legs of the attendant flying angels in sharp foreshortening below & to right of Christ; notes for hands, probably also related to the upper half of the composition

Verso: Rough sketches for a kneeling figure, probably for the right foreground  
Pencil (210 × 300)

7 Studies for the legs of an angel in flight, shown in sharp foreshortening, & for drapery, an upturned head in profile & a hand, probably the right hand of Christ as shown in the bible illustration (Fitzwilliam Museum 2224)

Verso: Notes for drapery & a kneeling figure probably for the left foreground  
Pencil (183 × 315)

The unfinished painting at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2204, previously identified as a 'study for a ceiling') is nowhere recorded in the literature on Stevens.

Nos.1-7 above, a black chalk study in the V & A (E.2499-1911) and two pencil studies in the possession of Mr Patrick Syng-Hutchinson are the only drawings so far positively identified with it. Executed in oil and gesso on panel, the painting seems to have caused Stevens great difficulty, for it is in bad condition as well as unfinished. A group of Apostles on the left, a fragment of a figure on the right, an angel in flight at the centre and two angels in dramatic foreshortening in the upper right quarter of the panel are all that survive of the composition.

Stevens's Ascension is clearly based on Titian's Assumption of the Virgin which he had copied in Italy and particularly revered, but the addition of an angel in flight between the assembly below and the

heavenly vision above has resulted in a composition of uncomfortably narrow proportions (916 × 425).

The close relationship of the panel painting to Stevens's bible illustration of the Ascension, also at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2224), is somewhat perplexing. It might be assumed that the pen drawing preceded the larger work, but the quality of Nos.1-7 above strongly suggests that these were executed some few years before the more fluent bible drawings and are contemporary with the Westbourne Terrace ceiling studies [10] of c.1846.

[10] LONDON: Nos.28-30 Westbourne Terrace, Westminster

Preliminary studies for proposed ceiling decorations, c.1846 (11):

1-5 Studies for the ceiling of a semicircular ended room on the 1st floor of No.30 Westbourne Terrace

1 Rough sketch for a rectangular decorative panel on the E side of the ceiling, showing putti & grotesques surrounding a central medallion with the archer god Apollo, LHS of panel squared for enlargement [Fig.10]  
Pencil & pen, sheet stuck on to mount (177 × 275)

2 Studies for figures in the narrative panel on the E side, possibly depicting the return of Chryseis by Odysseus to her father Chryses; the figure on the right, probably Odysseus, with a hand raised in greeting, is squared for enlargement; LHS, details of the figure of Odysseus approaching Nausicaa, for the narrative panel on the S side [Fig.9]

Verso: Notes for the figure of Odysseus, a variation on the recto study on RHS; slight impression of a woman descending stairs, probably unrelated to the ceiling decoration

Pencil on white letter-paper (168 × 216)

3 Studies for the narrative panel of Odysseus & Nausicaa on the S side, including, right, the figure of Odysseus squared for enlargement & details of his arm & hands; left, notes for Nausicaa & Odysseus & for a meditative figure, probably that standing 3rd from the left in the 'Chryseis' panel

Verso: Sketch for the meditative figure as recto; studies of legs

Pencil (205 × 277)

4 Study for the battle scene on the W side, the rounded ends of the panel indicated & the 2 groups of figures clearly shown, those to the left throwing lances & those on the right in disarray, with a heap of fallen bodies in the foreground

Verso: Two rapid impressions of a giant, seated, hurling a boulder  
Pencil (172 × 355)

5 Rapid notes for figures in attitudes of panic or recoil, probably for the battle scene, as No.4r

Verso: Slight figure studies, including, right, Pallas Athene, seated, with owl, possibly for one of the roundels proposed for the frieze; left, standing nude, possibly related to the 'Chryseis' panel  
w/m: J. Whatman 1843

Pencil on blue-grey paper (200 × 310)

1-5 The detailed watercolour drawing in the V & A (D.408-1895) on which the identification of Nos.1-5 is based, describes the whole of the upper part of a semicircular ended room, with the frieze and cornice mouldings shown in perspective and the ceiling on plan. The frieze, in which decorative panels alternate with figure roundels, is broken at the centre of the semicircular (N) end by the architrave of a window recess. On the ceiling a central half-oval shape is painted with a white velarium stretched across a sky-blue background. Round it five narrative scenes and five decorative panels with small figure medallions framed by grotesques alternate to form a wide border. In a not altogether satisfactory attempt to reconcile the rectangular compositions of the border with the

ceiling's rounded end, the sides of the narrative panels are curved and the ten principal compartments are separated by narrow wedge-like panels with a vase and ribbon motif. The theme of the ceiling is taken entirely from Homer. The three narrative scenes most readily identifiable are all from the *Odyssey*. At the centre of the straight (S) side Nausicaa and her maidens are confronted by the naked Odysseus after his shipwreck (*Odyssey*, Book 6). On either side of the decorative panel in the centre of the round end are Odysseus and the Sirens (Book 12) and the homecoming of Odysseus (Book 19), a composition which Stevens was to use again with only minor variations on the mantelpiece frieze painted for Mrs Mitchell in 1851 (now at the Fitzwilliam Museum).

The significance of the remaining two scenes, opposite each other on the long sides, is more obscure. That on the E is a frieze-like composition of seven standing figures. A woman is led away to the left by a male figure and a younger man stands as if in meditation behind them, forming a hiatus between this and an apparently separate incident to the right. Here two figures, a man and, possibly, a woman follow behind a bearded figure who advances to the right with outstretched arm to greet a heavily-cloaked figure of priest-like appearance. It is possible that two events in the *Iliad* are represented in this panel: on the left the abduction of the girl Chryseis by Agamemnon and on the right her return by Odysseus to her father Chryses, priest of Apollo (*Iliad*, Book 1). The corresponding panel on the W shows two opposing groups of figures, those on the left in attitudes of extreme aggression and those on the right in recoil, with a tangle of fallen bodies in the foreground. Whether this scene is intended to represent the attack of the Laestrygonians on Odysseus and his men (*Odyssey*, Book 10) or one of the battles between the Achaeans and Trojans described in the *Iliad*, is difficult to ascertain. The sketches for giants on No.4r suggest that the former story was in the forefront of Stevens's mind.

The figures in the small medallions of the decorative panels represent Greek gods and were probably intended to relate directly to the narrative scenes which they adjoin. Thus to the right of the Nausicaa panel appears Poseidon, god of the sea from which Odysseus had just been washed ashore, and Artemis faces the homecoming scene, probably in reference to Odysseus's hunting accident. If the interpretation of the 'Chryseis' panel is correct, the placing of Apollo in the medallion to the right of Chryses his priest would also be appropriate. The two remaining decorative panels are incomplete, but their medallions were no doubt intended to contain figures of Zeus and Athene. (I am grateful to my brother-in-law John Denison for his interpretation of the ceiling's iconography.)

The seated figures in roundels on the wall frieze, shown in sharp foreshortening in Stevens's drawing and probably also representing Greek gods and goddesses, are closely similar in style and conception to those in the ceiling cove of the large drawing-room at Deysbrook, executed in 1847.

6-11 Studies for a music room ceiling, probably at No.28 or No.30 Westbourne Terrace

6 Rough sketch for a corner of the ceiling, differing considerably from the final design, but showing a scheme of quadrants & circles, a figure of Pegasus & a tabernacle containing a Muse

Insc: recto (in Goetze's hand) *Music-room ceiling plate XXII (Stannus) S.G.* (the correct plate number in *Stannus* is XXXII); verso *Alfred Stevens | 10 Robert Street | Hampstead Road*, repeated some 10 or 12 times  
w/m: 1840

Pencil on blue-grey paper, sheet trimmed (185 × 310)



7 Three studies for a motif of grotesque monsters & foliage to form the base of the garlands at the centre of each side of the ceiling, subsequently abandoned for a simpler mask & drapery motif; very slight figure notes, possibly early ideas for the ceiling  
Insc: Illegible scribble in Stevens's hand  
Pencil on blue-grey paper, sheet trimmed & stuck on to mount (185 × 310)

8 Two rough suggestions for the angle treatment of the ceiling border, one incorporating a pair of conversing female figures & both differing from the final design  
Verso: Studies for nude figures, probably the floating 'Muses' framed by garlands in the centre of each side  
Pencil (167 × 225)

9 Study for a floating nude figure, close to those on No.8v & to one of the 'Muses' in the final design  
Pencil (127 × 150)

10 Rough study for one of the caryatid half-figures supporting the circle at the centre of the ceiling; faint notes for other caryatids  
Verso: Studies of hands, legs & a standing figure, partly squared for enlargement, possibly related to the Ascension panel painting or to another biblical subject composition  
Pencil on grey paper, sheet trimmed (285 × 182)

11 Three studies for caryatid half-figures, similar to those on No.10r; notes for swathes of drapery; suggestion for a seated nude, looking up, not immediately identifiable with either ceiling design  
Verso: Notes for hands, feet & standing figures, related to No.10v; rough plan of a house  
Pencil (190 × 315)

6-11 Lit: (general) *Stannus* p.16, paras.143-144, pl.XXXII; H. Stannus, 'Some designs in applied art by Alfred Stevens', *Art Workers' Quarterly*, April 1904, p.52

The finished watercolour drawing, identified by Stannus as a design for a music room ceiling, to which Nos.6-11 relate, is in the V & A (D.257-1904). It shows a ceiling of exactly square proportions decorated with a complex scheme of circles, quadrants and squares in perfect symmetry, linked by delicate grotesques and punctuated by Muse-like figures suggestive of Poetry and Music. At the centre, a circle is supported by eight caryatid half-figures springing in tendrils of foliage from an outer ring. The corners of the ceiling are linked to the ring by caryatids and grotesques supporting tabernacles with seated figures, identified by Stannus as 'the God of Music, with Sappho, Orpheus and Arion'. Four floating figures, including a Pegasus, framed by leafy quadrants and ribboned wands, mark the centres of the sides, where a border is formed by an inner square lightly hung with drapery.

Nothing is known of the circumstances of Stevens's Westbourne Terrace commission. Nos.28 & 30 are now divided into flats, their original internal decorations long gone, and there is little reason to suppose that the schemes of painted decoration he proposed were ever carried out. The link between No.30 Westbourne Terrace and the ceiling design in the V & A (D.408-1895) to which Nos.1-5 above and an important group of drawings in other collections are related, is established by two somewhat obscure pieces of evidence. The first is the inscription *Mr Alexander the Architect* in Stevens's hand on the verso of a sheet of preparatory studies for the design at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2187-4). The second is the anonymous entry of 1895 in the V & A catalogue of Stevens's drawings which describes D.408-1895 as a 'Design for the decoration of a billiard-room ceiling in the house of Mr Alexander, an architect, at Westbourne Terrace'. Now George Alexander was not, as the entry suggests, a resident of Westbourne

Terrace, but the architect responsible for the design of Nos.28 & 30 which together form the end portion of the western block of houses immediately to the S of Craven Road (formerly Conduit Street). Alexander, of No.9 John Street, Adelphi, is given as the architect on a contemporary print of the two houses in the RIBA Drawings Collection and there is also a building contract for Nos.28-30 in his name. (GLC Department of Architecture & Civic Design, Historic Buildings Division file). It is possible that he had originally intended to live in one of the houses himself, but when they first appear in the rate books in 1847 and 1848 respectively the occupants are listed as Miss Read and Mrs Geddes at No.28 and Charles Woodford Brown and Thomas Rishworth at No.30. The two houses are conceived externally as one magnificent Italian palazzo with two three-bay façades, each with a central entrance, that of No.30 being in Craven Road. The Craven Road front to No.30 is distinguished by the central semicircular bay which rises through three storeys and provided the north-facing room on the first floor between the two principal reception rooms with a plan of closely similar proportions to those of the 'Billiard Room' ceiling design in the V & A.

Evidence that Stevens's scheme for the decoration of the 'Billiard Room' was not confined to the ceiling is provided by drawings at the Tate and at Princeton. 3399 CXV at the Tate is a perspective view of a semicircular ended room with large double-folding doors, showing proposed wall decoration. D. S. MacColl's identification of this and the related sheet 2809 (*Tate catalogue*, pp.76-77) was no doubt based upon the V & A catalogue entry of 1895, for there is nothing, either in his writings on Stevens or in his papers in the V & A Library, to suggest that he had made any major new discoveries about the scheme.

Closely related to the Tate drawing 3399 CXV is a general view at Princeton of a small round-ended room with double doors in the side wall and a frieze of grotesques and roundels immediately below the ceiling, on which a decorative scheme is briefly indicated (48-2018). The doors on the end wall and the window recess are decorated with panels of grotesques. Two other perspective drawings at Princeton (48-2016 & 48-2017) show an important scheme of interior decoration which is evidently of similar date and character to the 'Billiard Room' scheme and may have been intended for another part of the same house. Preliminary studies for the 'Billiard Room' ceiling subject panels are at the Fitzwilliam Museum and in the collection of Mr Patrick Sygne-Hutchinson.

The argument for the identification of the 'Music Room' ceiling design with one of Alexander's Westbourne Terrace houses is extremely tenuous. Apart from general stylistic similarities with the 'Billiard Room' ceiling, only one piece of evidence can be produced in its support. When Stannus wrote his biography of Stevens and illustrated the watercolour drawing of the 'Music Room' ceiling, then in the possession of his wife, he attributed the work to the year 1856 and added in parentheses, 'It is not known for whom this was executed: anyone who can give the information is requested to communicate with the writer.' In April 1904, when he published one of a series of articles on Stevens in the *Art Workers' Quarterly*, Stannus illustrated the drawing again, reiterated the date 1856 and was able to state that 'It shows the Design for the Decoration, in one of the large houses then recently built near Westbourne Terrace, of a Music-room Ceiling, now, unhappily, a thing of the past.' Where Stannus can have obtained this information without also discovering a great deal more about the commission it is impossible to tell. The date he twice gave so firmly is almost certainly at fault: on grounds of style the drawing must have originated between Stevens went to Sheffield in 1850, while the 1840 watermark and repeatedly scribbled Robert Street address on No.6v also strongly

suggest a much earlier date. It is reasonable to suppose that the 'Music Room' decorations, if indeed intended for one of the houses, were planned, like the 'Billiard Room' scheme, concurrently with the completion of Nos.28-30 Westbourne Terrace in 1845-46.

Stylistically the two designs and their related studies appear to anti-date Stevens's work on the decorations at Deysbrook, Liverpool, undertaken in 1847, many of the features of which they foreshadow.

[11] LIVERPOOL: Deysbrook House, West Derby  
Studies for the decoration of the large & small drawing-rooms, 1847 (6):

1 Two studies of drapery across the legs of a seated figure, probably for the wall panel Truth in the large drawing-room  
Pencil (204 × 280)

2 Rough sketch for the ceiling panel Agriculture in the large drawing-room, showing 3 figures dancing in the wake of a plough, the ox on the left  
Pencil (92 × 223)

3 Study for a caryatid figure terminating in foliage & for a border of formalized foliage, probably for the frieze over the double opening, large drawing-room  
Pencil on grey paper stuck on to mount (178 × 188)

4 Recto & verso: Slight notes for decoration at the angle of a coved ceiling, probably in the large drawing-room  
Pencil (122 × 190)

5 Study for the seated figure Architecture for a wall panel in the small drawing-room; right, rapid sketch of the hands of Architecture  
Pencil, sheet trimmed & stuck on to mount (128 × 270)

6 Study for a figure seated on the ground with legs crossed beneath heavy drapery, the head not shown, perhaps related to the wall panel Geometry in the small drawing-room  
w/m: Whatman Turkey Mill 1837 (part)  
Pencil (207 × 300)

1-6 Lit: (general) *Armstrong*, p.32, illus. pp.29, 31; *Stannus*, p.8, paras.65-70, pls.VII-XI; H. Stannus, 'Some designs in applied art by Alfred Stevens', *Art Workers' Quarterly*, July 1904, pp.129-130; D. S. MacColl, 'The Decorations by Alfred Stevens at Deysbrook', *AR*, XXX, 1911, pp.297-303; *Townsend*, pp.81-84; *Tate catalogue*, pp.65-66, Nos.57-67; *Walker Art Gallery monograph*, pp.15-16, illus. pp.9-12

These very slight sketches are a small fraction of the copious preparatory work for Deysbrook which has survived, and which can best be appreciated in the working drawings, detailed studies and watercolour designs concentrated at the V & A, Walker Art Gallery and Tate. A small sketchbook of early pencil notes for the scheme is in the possession of Mr George Warner Allen and other significant drawings are in the Fitzwilliam Museum and at Princeton.

Stannus states that the artist received his commission to decorate the dining-room and drawing-rooms at Deysbrook through Leonard Collmann and that the work, once begun, was rapidly executed in less than a fortnight in 1847. His authority for the date seems to have been sound, for correspondence addressed to him in 1890 from Colonel Blundell, confirming that the decorations were done for his father Richard Benson Blundell-Hollinshead-Blundell, refers to a 'MS account' that Stannus had inspected at the house some time previously and wished to see again but which had since been lost (Stannus Papers). Though Stevens had evidently worked out the whole scheme well in advance in London and would have painted only the figure panels himself, leaving the subsidiary decoration to Collmann's assistants, it is unlikely that his progress at the house was as rapid as Stannus



maintained. The artist told Alfred Pegler at this time that he had been in Liverpool for seven weeks, 'four very hard at work and three quite ill' (Stannus Papers, Pegler letters).

This was probably the first occasion on which Stevens and Collmann had collaborated on a business basis, though during the previous year both had been concerned with the decoration of Sir Robert Peel's London house. Many of Stevens's subsequent commissions for interior decoration were similarly received in the form of sub-contracts from Collmann's firm, a fact which does not emerge clearly from Stannus's biography.

By far the longest-lived of any of Stevens's decorative schemes, the Deysbrook wall and ceiling paintings survived in situ until 1946, when the house was demolished. They were photographed in detail during their removal and taken into store at the Walker Art Gallery, where they remain.

[12] LONDON: Geological Museum, Jermyn Street, Westminster

Studies for stone doorcase, proposed bronze doors & interior decoration, 1848 (14):

1-13 Studies for the doors, principally relating to the figure compositions in the relief panels

1 Incomplete elevation of the stone doorcase with first ideas for the bronze relief panels of the left door roughly sketched in; the projecting studs shown on the ribs at the angles of each panel were later abandoned; above right, 2 studies for the implement reliefs in the dado panels, showing a formal composition differing from the final design; the rest of the sheet is filled with very faint sketches for figure compositions, including, top right, a woman grasping a child, perhaps for a bible illustration of the Massacre of the Innocents

Insc: (top left corner) *Bronze doors for Geological Museum S.G.* (in Sigismund Goetze's hand); (below right) *industry / application* (in Stevens's hand)  
Pencil (500×347)

2 Three broadly sketched nude figures for the 'Coal' panel, superimposed on faint framed sketches for the whole composition; top left, detail of the shell moulding surrounding each relief panel

Verso: Centre, rapid framed sketch for the 'Iron' panel, superimposed by details of the shell moulding; the rest of the sheet filled with numerous notes for the angle studs as proposed on No.1 above, a framed sketch for 'Coal', a detail of the foreground nude with hammer in 'Iron' & several impressions of a putto with arm raised, pointing  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (275×265)

3 Sheet apparently first used for red chalk figure studies, probably for one of the biblical subject compositions on which Stevens was working at this period, drawn to a larger scale than the bronze doors studies; superimposed outline sketches in pencil include the crouching attendant figures in the allegorical panel 'Gold' & the seated foreground figure in the subject panel 'Stone'

Verso: Red chalk impression of a standing figure, probably for a biblical subject painting; pencil studies for 'Iron'

Pencil & red chalk (330×265)

4 Outline pen sketch for striding nudes in 'Iron'; numerous small pencil studies for crouching attendant figures in the allegorical panels, principally the figure on the right in the panel between 'Iron' & 'Stone'

Verso: Numerous scribbled impressions of 'Iron'; crude sketches of an arm

Pencil & pen, some black chalk verso (212×200)

5-12 rectos & 8-11 versos: Rapid studies in a vigorous shorthand style for individual nudes at the forge in 'Iron' & trials & retrials of the whole composition of this panel [Fig.24, 11r; Fig.25, 8r, detail]  
Unrelated sketches include: 7r, struggling figures, probably for a bible illustration; 5v, drapery & a seated figure probably for a biblical subject painting; 6v, man's profile & part of a figure, probably not in Stevens's hand; 7v, 2 suggestions for the composition Parmigiano Painting during the Sack of Rome; 8v, sea figures supporting a plaque; 9v, scribbled landscape

Insc: 7v *Young Mitchell Esq / School of Design / Sheffield*

(2 ink blottings from an envelope); 9v *Bruciani / Drury*; 10v *Horsley Down*

5, 7-9 Pencil & pen, No.9 on white letter-paper, 7-9 trimmed

6 Pencil, sheet trimmed

10-12 Pen on blue paper, 10v with faint notes in pencil

(5-8, 268×325 approx.; 9, 178×215; 10, 178×110;

11, 110×172; 12, 120×110)

13 Notes for a bearded head, muscular shoulder & hand, possibly relating to figures in the relief panels

Pen with indecipherably faint pencil notes, sheet trimmed (240×163)

14 Study for a decorative panel proposed for a window recess on the 1st floor landing, with 2 robed female figures seated on a mound, squared for enlargement; left, faint profile head of Dante

Verso: Suggestion for a decorative frieze with foliage, roundel & figures, possibly related to the panel study, recto

Insc: Colour note *ppl* on drapery, recto, & roundel, verso

Pencil, sheet trimmed (130×215)

See also [20].1v

1-14 Lit: (general, doors only) *Armstrong*, pp.9-11; *Stannus*, pp.9-10, paras.82-85, pl.XIV; *Townsend*, pp.77-81, 87, pls.13, 14; *Tate catalogue*, p.60, No.28

Stevens's final design for the doors and doorcase of the Geological Museum's Jermyn Street entrance is at the V & A (8068, illustrated in *Stannus*, pl.XIV). The highly enriched stone doorcase, turned in at the foot to rest on a panelled plinth, is framed by a band-architrave with a formalized leaf moulding continued round a surmounting panelled frieze carved with scallop shells. The whole is crowned by a dentilled and modillioned cornice. Each door consists of five relief panels forming balanced pairs, no two panels being of the same design. Those at the foot of the doors in line with the panelled plinth are decorated with the tools and apparatus of geological research, conceived as low reliefs. The eight principal panels above are shown to be deeply sunk and richly moulded and filled with heroic figures in high relief. The upper pair contain female figures symbolizing Gold and Iron, enthroned within an architectural frame and each flanked by two crouching attendants. Below these, a pair of taller panels contain scenes of men labouring with the mineral symbolized in the allegory above. The four remaining panels repeat this scheme, with Coal and Stone as the minerals represented.

A small number of studies similar in quality to Nos.1-13 are divided principally between the V & A, Walker Art Gallery, Fitzwilliam Museum and Tate. Among these, studies for the nudes of the 'Iron' and 'Coal' panels predominate. A second version of the V & A finished design, possibly a later copy, but of a high quality, is in the Walker Art Gallery (1898).

Armstrong and Stannus, while acknowledging that the proposed bronze doors for the Geological Museum were Stevens's first major commission, give no more than the briefest account of his association

with the new building. Stannus, relying on the Pegler letters and on the recollections of Henry Hayles who had worked with Stevens at Sheffield in 1850, states that the Museum's Director, Henry de la Beche, had asked Stevens to prepare designs for the doors in 1846, and both biographers blamed the artist's dilatoriness for the final abandonment of the scheme. The recent discovery, among the papers of Sir Henry de la Beche, of a letter addressed to him from C. H. Wilson, former Director of the School of Design at Somerset House, reveals for the first time the true circumstances under which Stevens obtained the commission. The letter is dated 7 December 1847: 'My dear Sir Henry,

'My connection with Somerset House is at an end, and your door remains heavily on my mind. I provided for the Pupil, who is now Designer for Minton; and now I am anxious to provide for the door.'

'I have found the best Artist in London for the purpose, unknown fame that but his true ability will be appreciated by me. He was my best Master in S. H. but like me is no longer there. He is willing to Design and Model the whole thing with his own hands, at a weekly stipend of course stating the total to be allowed. He will model it for £50 now anything more moderate is inconceivable. It will be in the hands of an Artist and thus it will escape the delays resulting from trying Pupils and it will be in the hands of one man instead of two or three.

'I would stipulate a time. I promise you a very fine thing so strong is my impression of Mr Stevens 10 Robert Street Hampstead Road, and if you like this proposal I will either introduce him to you at once or be the go between, or you can if it suits you send for him.

'Mr. Stevens was 9 years in Italy a sculptor by profession subsequently a Painter and is the most skilful ornamentist I know.

'I would have written sooner to you about this but I have been plagued a good deal.

'I will give Stevens your drawings if you approve.

'Very truly yours, C. H. Wilson

'I am still head of all the Provincial Schools of Design. I would have nothing more to do with Somerset House.' (De la Beche Papers, ref. M.2, Department of Geology, National Museum of Wales. I am grateful to John Thackray of the Geological Museum for drawing my attention to this letter and the Geological Museum MS sources cited below.)

This was not the first time that a prospective patron had offered Wilson an important design project for his students. In 1846 Sydney Smirke had done so on behalf of Sir Robert Peel, when Stevens himself had briefly become involved with the decoration of Sir Robert's town house. De la Beche no doubt hoped that by employing students he might obtain the work cheaply: the building of the museum had been beset from the start by financial difficulties. By the time Wilson was able to give the matter his full attention, however, he had resigned from the school in uncomfortable circumstances and was no longer eager to do anything to advance its reputation. He was, on the other hand, very well-disposed towards Stevens who, alone among the masters, had staunchly supported him during the attack on his administration of the school in 1846-47. Here was an opportunity to repay the artist for his loyalty and to express faith in his ability. De la Beche must have agreed almost at once to Wilson's proposal - at least in principle. On 5 April 1848 a payment of £20 was made to A. Stephens (sic) for *Designing Metal Door* (Geological Museum, GSM 1/2, *Disbursements for sundries for the year ending 31 March 1849*, p.349). Thus it is likely that Stevens spent the first three months of 1848 in concentrated work on the commission. He wrote to Alfred Pegler at this time: '... As to my visit to Blandford I am quite unable to say when it may take place I expected a little while since to be able to leave London about this time but although I have worked from 17 to 18 hours a day



for some time past I have still much to do before I can be idle - My government commission the bronze gates oblige me to work exceedingly hard the payment for them, as the commission were afraid to ask for the money some months back, is an affair very much in perspective and as the work is a very expensive one I am half my time engaged in getting money to carry it on...' (Stannus Papers, Pegler letters).

Stevens did not date this letter but it was inscribed in error 29.X.1846 by Stannus, who took 1846 to be the date of the commission. The paper is watermarked 1847 and, on the evidence of certain domestic details which the letter also contains, it must post-date another in the same group to Pegler in which Stevens announced his recent resignation from Somerset House at the end of 1847.

There seems to be no reason, so far, for supposing that Stevens was unduly slow in producing a design for the doors. It remains to speculate why - and at what point after April 1848 - his design was abandoned. The development of the designs for the new Geological Museum, projected on the Jermyn Street-Piccadilly site in 1845, seems to have been fraught with difficulty from the beginning. James Pennethorne, architect to the Commissioners of Woods & Works, had been instructed in May 1846 to revise completely his first scheme, omitting all external and internal architectural decoration and to 'substitute brick fronts of the plainest possible character', to effect a saving of some £10,000 (PRO, Works 3/6). In May of the following year the designs were changed again (PRO, T.I. 5556/8614) and there was much public speculation about the waiting site in Piccadilly on which no building work had yet begun. In March 1847 *The Builder* had commented prematurely that 'the door of the public entrance in Jermyn Street will be produced by the electrotype and in a semi-circular opening above it there will be a sculptured tablet' (V, p.141). On the evidence of this description of an already obsolete design and another discarded design for the Jermyn Street front in the archives of the present Geological Museum, it appears that Pennethorne had produced at least two unacceptable schemes for the doorway before de la Beche approached C. H. Wilson. It is remarkable that, when *The Builder* featured the museum again on 18 November 1848 (VI, p.558), taking the opportunity to correct its earlier account by illustrating an elevation of the doorway as finally proposed, the bronze doors shown in the engraving and credited to Pennethorne were not those designed by Stevens. Only the doorcase, which *The Builder* also illustrated with a section of the frieze and cornice, was identical to that shown in the V & A drawing. The journal commented: 'The doors, 16 feet high by 6 feet 3 inches wide, are proposed to be of bronze, and (as may be seen) to be very elaborately and elegantly ornamented, including, in oval panels, the heads of two of the Gorgons, probably because of the myth which ascribed to them the power of transforming into stones all who looked at them. It was at one time proposed to employ the electrotype process in the production of these doors, but this is at present not decided on...' The double doors in the illustration are identical, having a plain studded dado panel recessed at the centre, a principal panel of formalized foliage with a central oval containing a Medusa head and a square upper panel with a wreath entwined by a snake and enclosing an eagle.

This confusing evidence suggests that Stevens's design for the doors had already been rejected by November 1848, the cost of their execution recognized, perhaps, by de la Beche as hopelessly beyond the limit of Government tolerance, and that Pennethorne had released to *The Builder* a new and less ambitious design of his own, retaining only Stevens's noble stone architrave. (Even Pennethorne's Medusa doors were never executed. Photographs of the Jermyn Street doors before the demolition of the museum in 1935 show them to have been panelled but without relief

decoration of any kind.) So convinced must de la Beche have been that Stevens's design was impracticable that the museum did not retain the drawing for which payment had been made. It was still in the artist's studio at the time of his death and in June 1875 was offered to the museum authorities by Alfred Pegler, his executor (Geological Museum, GSM 1/9, p.378). The offer was turned down and Pegler sold the drawing to the V & A (Register of Drawings, 4 August 1875, No.8068). Twenty years later Stevens's assistants working at South Kensington produced bronze doors to the quadrangle, V & A, that were obviously influenced by his Geological Museum design.

According to Henry Hoyles, Stevens's work on the doors had progressed beyond the drawing stage before it was abandoned. 'One of the compartments', he wrote to Stannus in 1891, 'was partly modelled and used to be in a case at Green Lane Works but I never saw it. I believe Stevens was paid somewhere about £120 for these Bronze doors but the supplies after that must have been stopped as he used to say he never thought the affair was to be a matter of money and the cause of the stoppage was through no further cash being obtainable...' Stevens had the carving on the door or rather stone work done to his own suggestions and thought it well done but thought he had over done it and one or two parts would have been better left plain' (Stannus Papers). This last statement is of considerable interest, confirming that the great stone architrave was indeed the artist's own conception and thus the one part of his design to have been carried out. Armstrong alone among Stevens's biographers credited him fully with the design of the doorcase, describing it as the most striking architectural feature of the museum. In a subsequent letter to Stannus Hoyles told how the 'Bronze Doors' (presumably the V & A drawing) and 'the model of the Coal-getter (panel for same)' were among the works kept by Stevens in his room at Green Lane; he added, 'I never heard Mr Mitchell blame Stevens for not finishing the Bronze Doors so I do not think him liable for all the blame of their non-completion - He had an idea of working on them at Sheffield and he went down a Coal pit at Tinsley' (Stannus Papers). Hoyles's letters suggest that Stevens went to Sheffield in 1850 still hoping that there might be a change of heart and confirm that, in this instance at least, Armstrong and Stannus were mistaken in assuming that he was responsible for the abandonment of his design.

It has always been assumed that Stevens's association with the Geological Museum ended with the Jermyn Street doors. But two watercolour drawings recently discovered in a roll of plans at the present museum building in South Kensington (GSM 1/210) and a related and previously unidentified drawing at the V & A (E.2114-1911) provide incontrovertible evidence that he also devised a scheme for the decoration of the interior. Each is a perspective view of the first floor landing, showing a design for the painted decoration of the S wall with its three large windows overlooking Jermyn Street. The designs vary slightly, both in detail and in degree of finish, but all indicate that Stevens's principal intention was to decorate the wall areas between the windows with pedimented niches framing monumental standing figures. In the more finished of the two drawings at the present Geological Museum the figure decoration proposed for the wall panel beneath the right window recess is indicated in some detail and it is with this panel that the study on No.14r appears to correspond.

No documentary evidence that Stevens was officially involved with the interior decoration of the museum has yet been traced, and nothing came of his proposals. It may be that Pennethorne, having been instructed in 1846 to eliminate all internal architectural ornament for the sake of economy, consulted him privately on the question of substituting painted decorations at the time when the artist was at work on the design for the doors. On stylistic grounds the three watercolour drawings can be confidently dated c.1848.

[13] LINCOLN: Cathedral  
Sketches of the angel choir sculptures, to illustrate C. R. Cockerell's paper on ancient sculpture in Lincoln cathedral, 1848 (2):

1 Two of the spandrels on the S side of the choir, showing angels with scrolls (Nos.5 & 6 in the lithographic pl.II of Cockerell's published paper)  
Insc: Numbered 5 & 6  
Pencil (326 x 461)

2 Two of the spandrels on the S side of the choir, showing angels with musical instruments (Nos.7 & 8 in the lithographic pl.III of Cockerell's published paper) [Fig.26]  
Insc: Numbered 7 & 8  
Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (350 x 438)

1-2 Prov: Bequeathed by the daughters of F. P. Cockerell, 1930-32  
Lithog: *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, London 1850  
Exhib: Tate, 1911-12, 'Loan collection of works by Alfred Stevens', No.151a; Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield, 1912, 'Loan collection of works by Alfred Stevens', Nos.88-90  
Lit: *Stannus*, pp.8-9, paras.71-72.

C. R. Cockerell's request to Stevens to draw the angel choir sculptures at Lincoln followed shortly after the resignation of the two men from their positions at the Government School of Design, where the architect had sat on the Council and Stevens had taught as morning master since 1845. Their shared act of protest had no doubt strengthened an acquaintance which was to lead to several small commissions for the younger man (see also [14] & [26]). On 26 July 1848 Cockerell was to read a paper on the medieval sculpture in Lincoln cathedral at the annual meeting in Lincoln of the Archaeological Institute, and proposed to illustrate his lecture with drawings of the spandrel angels. Whether he originally intended Stevens to execute them all is not known: in the event, seven of the thirty sketches produced at the Lincoln meeting were by Stevens and the rest in his own hand. All of them survive, Cockerell's twenty-three drawings at the RIBA and those by Stevens at the RIBA (5, 6, 7, 8: Nos.1 & 2 above) and Princeton (13, 14, 15: 48-2027, 48-2024 & 48-2023 respectively). One other drawing, of spandrel 15, was made by Cockerell's son Frederick Pepsy, then a boy of fifteen, under Stevens's guidance and this is also in the RIBA Drawings Collection. J. E. Goodchild, one of Cockerell's assistants, told Stannus that in 1869 when he had had occasion to meet Stevens during the Wellington monument crisis, 'we had some pleasant conversation about Mr Cockerell and his son Fdk who was left at Lincoln with Stevens while Mr C went to Lichfield. Fdk always spoke of this as a nice time with Stevens in making these drawings. No.15 of that series was by Fdk, very much to the joy of his father who, when showing me the drawing, said "Stevens is very pleased with him".' (Stannus Papers, letter d. 10 October 1890). In fact, it was Stevens's own sketch No.15 and not the boy's version which was produced at the meeting on 28 July, when Cockerell interrupted his dissertation to acknowledge the help he had received: 'In the delineation of these works the accomplished pencil of Mr Stevens has been engaged; and his devotion, in Italy, to the work of Giotto and the masters of the 14th century, (which he assures me are surpassed by those of the Lincoln sculptures) renders his assistance of the greatest value...' (*Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, London 1850, p.2: see bound extract in RIBA Drawings Collection, box H10).

There is no record of a payment for the sketches, but later in the same year Cockerell asked Stevens to make lithographs of all the spandrel figures for the forthcoming publication of the paper in the institute's *Proceedings*, and the artist drafted the



following reply: 'My dear Sir I have considered as you desired me the question of the expense of lithographing the Lincoln Sculptures - as nearly as I can judge each bay of three figures would occupy me a little more than a day I shall therefore mention twelve pounds' (Stannus Papers, undated note). He added in the final letter to Cockerell, 'This with the understanding that I am to be provided with the lithographic stones' (RIBA MSS Collection, COC/2/42). By 15 December 1848 when he wrote again work on the lithographs had begun (COC/2/43/1) and they appeared in the *Proceedings* in 1850, printed by Hullmandel & Watson. The published paper carried a footnote to Cockerell's acknowledgement of Stevens's assistance, stating that, 'The whole of these lithographs are by this gentleman and the Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15 are from his own drawings: the remainder are from mine - C.R.C.' (*Proceedings*, loc. cit.). The attribution of No. 4 to Stevens must have been an error: the sketch numbered 4 in the RIBA Collection is undoubtedly by Cockerell himself.

No other lithographs by Stevens are known, but there is evidence that he had used the technique on at least one previous occasion. On 25 August 1845 he wrote to Alfred Pegler promising that certain lithographs 'will be ready in a few days. I supposed they would have been completed long ago, preparing the stone for printing from seems to take more time than I had calculated upon. . .'. He went on to describe in some detail his difficulties in mastering the process and to imply that this unknown work of 1845 was his first experience of it (Stannus Papers, Pegler letters).

[14] SALISBURY: Cathedral

Sketches of the chapter house portal sculptures: the Virtues and Vices in their containing niches, executed to illustrate C. R. Cockerell's paper on the decorative sculpture of Salisbury cathedral, 1849 (11):

1 No 1 / SPES / DESPERATIO  
(267 × 223)

2 No 3 / JUSTITIA / POENA  
(273 × 198)

3 No 4 / VERITAS / MENDACIUM [Fig. 27]  
(276 × 173)

4 Unnumbered, untitled sketch, showing a headless & armless Virtue in the niche at the base of the left curve of the portal arch  
(275 × 173)

5 No 8 / PENITENTIA / OBDURATIO  
(270 × 232)

6 No 9 / FIDES / IDOLATRIA  
(275 × 175)

7 No 10 / MODESTIA / IMPUDENTIA / SIVE  
EBRIETAS  
(276 × 199)

8 No 11 / INDUSTRIA / IGNAVIA  
(270 × 181)

9 No 12 / CARITAS / MENDICITAS  
(268 × 182)

10 No 13 / SOBRIETAS / NEMPERANTIA (sic)  
(266 × 168)

11 No 14 / FORTITUDO / INVIDIA  
(265 × 200)

1-11 Insc: As above

Pencil, sheets mounted on card (mounts 463 × 327)

Prov: Bequeathed by the daughters of F. P. Cockerell, 1930-32

This was the second occasion on which C. R. Cockerell had asked Stevens to provide the illustrations for an Archaeological Institute lecture on medieval sculpture (see [13]). The Salisbury drawings were never published and neither Stannus nor any other writer on Stevens seems to have been aware of their existence. They are recorded, however, in the account of the annual meeting at Salisbury on 26 July, published in the *Archaeological Journal*, 1849: 'Professor Cockerell R.A., then gave a dissertation on the decorative sculpture of the Cathedral, with the view of appropriating the statues still seen on the west front, and retaining, although greatly mutilated, much beauty in design. He called attention to the perfection of art displayed by various works of sculpture of this nature in England, and spoke of the curious symbolism shown in their design, of which a striking example is supplied by the representation of Virtues and Vices which decorates the doorway of the Chapter House. A beautiful series of drawings, chiefly by Mr Alfred Stevens, were produced by the Professor, in illustration of this interesting subject.' With the exception of No. 4, all the drawings are numbered in Stevens's hand according to the position of each niche on the portal arch. Thus his Nos. 1, 3 & 4 represent the niches on the left curve of the arch and Nos. 8-14 those on the right, numbered from top to bottom. The drawings of the three remaining niches, Nos. 2, 5 & 6, were made by F. P. Cockerell who accompanied Stevens to Salisbury as he had done the previous year to Lincoln, and these are also in the RIBA Collection. They are inscribed in Stevens's hand: No 2 / MISERICORDIA / SIVE HOSPITALITAS / INSIDIA; No 5 / PUDICITIA / LIBIDO; No 6 / LARGITAS / AVARITIA.

The Salisbury sketches, which now serve as a unique record of the sculptures before their extensive restoration later in the C19, illustrate the marked development in Stevens's drawing style which took place towards the end of the 1840s. They also exhibit, in their title inscriptions, the very low quality of the artist's lettering, a surprising but habitual weakness that he never overcame.

An interesting observation on Stevens's experience of the Salisbury sculptures was made by W. R. Lethaby who suggested that the imagery of the C13 Truth and Falsehood and Valour and Cowardice (Nos. 3 & 11 above) inspired the great bronze figure groups of the Wellington Monument (V & A Library, MacColl Collection, letter to D. S. MacColl d. 6 March 1903).

[15] Bible illustrations

Studies for wood engravings proposed to illustrate a bible, c.1848-51 (16):

1-7 Studies principally for whole- & half-page narrative compositions

1 Framed sketches for the Massacre of the Innocents, Descent from the Cross, Ascension of Christ & Jacob's Dream, one of the small illustrations intended for the corner of a page of text; superimposed on the incomplete Ascension study is a detail of 2 seated apostles, probably for a Last Supper or Pentecost illustration

Pen on tracing paper, torn & creased & stuck on to mount (240 × 303)

The Massacre study, with small groups of soldiers and struggling women and a box-like cavity in the foreground containing a woman crouching over her baby, has counterparts at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2226-2) and the Walker Art Gallery (7111). Further studies for the Descent from the Cross are 7121 at the Walker Art Gallery and No. 3 below. The most complete pen study for the Ascension is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (2224), which also has the closely related panel painting of this subject (see [9]).

A study for Jacob's Dream and a woodblock with the design partly transferred in ink are at the Tate (2850a & b).

2 Sketch for the figure of Christ in the Ascension, as on No. 1 above, the head & drapery indicated in greater detail  
Pen on a fragment of tracing paper, stuck on to mount, probably originally part of No. 1 (80 × 55 approx.)  
See also [24].1.

3 Two framed sketches for the Descent from the Cross; that at the bottom of the sheet is for a square composition; in that at the top the figures are compressed to fit a horizontal rectangle as on No. 1  
Insc: *Descent from the Cross*  
Pen on blue paper, trimmed (170 × 110)  
The drawing style, medium and quality of paper link this sheet with [12].10-12 devoted to studies for the bronze doors of the Geological Museum, datable c.1848.

4 Three framed rough sketches for an alternative & probably earlier version of the Descent from the Cross, an uncomfortably narrow upright composition; left, faint impression of the figure of Parmigiano & slight sketch of a woman's head  
Verso: Fragment of an architectural drawing  
Pencil (270 × 223)

5 Framed sketch for Joseph cast into the Pit; above right, pen studies for individual figures in this composition; above left, 3 studies in pen for the figure of Pharaoh in the composition Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dream  
Verso: Rough studies for metal work, including a candelabrum  
Pencil & pen, sheet trimmed (168 × 208)  
I am indebted to Edward Morris of the Walker Art Gallery, who first identified these studies. Related drawings are in the Walker Art Gallery (7109, 7107-8, 1888, 7120), Fitzwilliam Museum (2226-1 & 2225) and V & A (E15-1955).

6 Framed sketch for the composition Pentecost; above, almost illegible, framed outlines of the Massacre illustration as on No. 1, showing the hiding woman & child in the left foreground; left, 3 studies for a trade stamp proposed for *Mess Simms & Binyon Chatham Pl Blackfriars B*  
Insc: As above  
Pencil, trade stamp sketches in pen & pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (173 × 180)  
A related study for Pentecost is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (2187-21). Nothing is yet known either of Stevens's connection with Simms & Binyon or of the firm itself, which is not listed in mid-C19 London trades directories or under Chatham Place in street directories. The stamp design occurs again in the V & A drawing E42-1939. [50].18 below and Tate 5816 are also related. On the Tate sheet Stevens has scribbled *Mess. Simms & Binyon Engraving on wood copper & stone*.

7 Sketches for a throned & crowned figure, probably Solomon for a Judgment of Solomon composition  
Insc: Various illegibly faint pencil notes  
Verso: Two studies for a chair back or panel decorated with a coat of arms  
Pen & pencil, sheet much trimmed (227 × 197)



8-16 Studies for decorated borders & illuminated capital letters

8 Rough layout for a whole recto page with a wide margin on the right & across the base & narrow strips for decoration along the left & top edges; the right margin is enriched with figure decoration, the principal motif a standing figure on a pedestal insc. *CARITAS*; the centre of the page is blank but for random rough studies for the letters *N* & *T* & other faint scribbled notes; left, cut from another sheet & pasted alongside the above sketch for the page border is a detailed study for the standing figure of St Andrew carrying his cross

Verso: Several studies for candlesticks

Pen & pencil, verso pencil only (230 × 180)

Prov: Bequeathed by Charles Handley-Read, 1972

The figure of St Andrew, proposed for the wide border of a verso page, appears on No.9 below and in the Fitzwilliam Museum drawing 2187-18. It was not uncommon for Stevens to adopt a scissors-and-paste method in working out his designs for bible illustration: several other examples of its use are among the bible sketches at the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Walker Art Gallery.

9 Rough layout for a whole verso page with a wide border on the left & along the base & a narrow strip of decoration on the right edge; on a pedestal in the wide vertical border is the standing figure of St Andrew, as on No.8 above, surmounted by a plaque set in grotesques & insc. *ANDREW*; decoration is roughly indicated in the remaining borders & a column of text is suggested; the rest of the sheet is filled with rough sketches for the illumination of the Roman letters *I*, *N*, *A* & *T*; pieces have been cut from each side of the sheet, probably by Stevens himself for insertion on other drawings [Fig.23]

Verso: Two sketches for foliated capital letters

Pen & pencil, sheet trimmed (190 × 180 approx.)

See note to No.8 above.

10 Study for a wide vertical border with foliage decoration & the figure of an Apostle with a staff, probably St James, standing within a pedimented niche; 2 thumbnail sketches for the head of a youth; suggestion for a horizontal border with flower & foliage decoration

Pen, sheet trimmed (240 × 90)

The same figure appears on a sheet of bible sketches at the Walker Art Gallery (7103), together with two other apostles, with the note beside them in Stevens's hand *Saint Paul | St John | James*.

11 Numerous studies for the decoration of narrow horizontal borders, including a band of cherubs' heads, as in the Fitzwilliam Museum study for a complete page (2222E); various suggestions for the illumination of the Roman letters *T* & *N* & the foliated letter *T* [Fig.22]

Insc: Various scribbled & smudged notes in Italian, including *calcografia camerato* (?)

Verso: Rough studies for foliated border decoration; left, standing figure of a saint, probably St Peter, for a wide border, close to a study at the Walker Art Gallery (7114)

w/m: Whatman 1846

Pen with traces of pencil, sheet trimmed (140 × 245)

12 Studies for the illumination of the Roman letter *N* & narrow horizontal borders, 1 insc. *GENESIS*

Pen, fragment stuck on to mount (105 × 107 approx.)

13 Layout for the lower portion of a recto page, the borders decorated with a rich pattern of flowers & foliage, that at the base of the page having a central roundel with a winged putto's head; at the top left corner of the text space is an elaborately decorated capital letter *T*, repeated once above

Verso: Two rough layouts for a bible page conceived like an altarpiece with heavy panels of decoration enclosing the text; various related slight sketches for figure panels & a seated Apostle

Insc: Faint notes including subject lists: *Adam | Noah | Moses | Solomon; Faith | Hope | Charity*; on 1 of the figure panel sketches is scribbled *Apostle | small Bible*

Pen & pencil, sheet trimmed (240 × 190)

The interesting implication of the latter verso inscription is that Stevens was preparing two sets of bible designs, though this cannot be firmly established from the surviving drawings.

14-16 Rapid notes for illuminated capital letters

(14, 15), details of figures for narrative scenes (14), & border decoration & tailpieces (14, 16 & 15 v); the 3 sheets are linked by the predominance on each of rough studies for industrial designs, including stove grates (14v, 15r, 16v) & silver & majolica ware (14r & 15v)

Pen & pencil, 15 on blue paper, all sheets trimmed (14, 255 × 185; 15, 200 × 260; 16, 230 × 170)

See also [12].1, 3, 7, 5v; [19].1

1-16 Lit: (general) *Armstrong*, p.33; *Stannus*, pp.7-8; E. Morris, 'Alfred Stevens' bible illustrations', *Annual Report & Bulletin*, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, I, 1970-71, pp.38-45, illus.

The largest and most comprehensive collection of Stevens's drawings for bible illustrations is in the Fitzwilliam Museum; a number of important studies are at the Walker Art Gallery. A woodblock at the Tate (2850a), partly prepared for the engraving of the small corner composition *Jacob's Dream* (see No.1 above), is the unique surviving evidence that Stevens carried the bible project beyond the preliminary drawing stage.

Among the drawings at Cambridge and Liverpool are several studies for subjects not represented in Nos.1-7 above, notably the Finding of the Cup in Benjamin's Sack, Sacrifice of Isaac, Baptism of Christ, Blessing of the Children, Agony in the Garden, Betrayal of Christ, Last Supper and Entombment. An interesting indication of Stevens's intentions for the series is given on a sheet at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2187-23) on which he made two lists of proposed New Testament subjects, marked 'half-sized compositions' and 'small compositions'. On the first list of half-page designs are *Descent from the Cross*, *Children brought to Christ*, *Murder of the innocents*, *Entombment*, *disputing in the Temple*, *driving buyers and sellers out of . . .*, *Jesus feeds five thousand*, *Draught of Fishes*. The small quarter-page compositions suggested are *Christ in cornfield*, *Christ in the garden*, *Martha and Mary at the feet . . .*, *angel appearing to Joseph*, *Holy Family*. Studies for the Ascension and Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dream (Fitzwilliam Museum, 2224 & 2226-1) are among those that represent a third group of compositions designed to fill the whole of a bible page without text.

Armstrong maintained that Stevens had produced 'large numbers of designs for an illustrated edition of the Bible' executed in pencil and watercolour, which, he believed, were in America at the time of writing in 1888. But no set of completed designs has come to light, either in this country or in America, while all known studies are in pen and ink or pencil. Stevens's work was not published and no evidence has yet been found to confirm Armstrong's statement that it originated in 'the suggestion of some London publisher'. Stannus gives the bible illustrations to the year 1846. It is apparent, however, that the majority

date from 1848-49 and that Stevens was still working on them when he went to Sheffield in 1850. Henry Hoyles of Sheffield told Stannus in 1891 that he remembered having seen in Stevens's studio 'several of the Bible subjects finished ready for the engraver, besides unfinished ones', adding that he knew nothing of their present whereabouts (Stannus Papers, letter from Henry Hoyles d. 18.1.1891). Nos.5, 8 & 14-16 all include studies for metalwork, while a design for a page border in the Fitzwilliam Museum (2222A) includes several sketches for three-branch candlesticks, datable c.1849. 1846 seems to be the earliest watermark date among the surviving studies (see No.11 above) and 1849 the latest (Walker Art Gallery, 7112).

It is difficult to establish the precise relationship of the bible illustrations to Stevens's many other projects for biblical subject compositions undertaken during the period 1845-54. At least four themes for large paintings appear to have been developed independently either before or during his work on the series. A particularly notable example is the Ascension panel painting in the Fitzwilliam Museum (see [9]), which appears to ante-date its counterpart among the bible series. Studies for Martha and Mary at the Feet of Christ (V & A, E.2533-1911), for the so-called 'Struggling Figures' composition (see [19]) and for Moses and the Brazen Serpent (see [17]) can also be linked with the illustrations while differing from them in scale and character. It is likely that the series was both a synthesis and a source of ideas for large paintings, while providing Stevens with his first major opportunity to put his 'masterly knowledge of Italian ornament' (Stannus Papers, letter from Henry Hoyles d. 18.1.1891) to practical use.

[16] Parmigiano painting the Vision of St Jerome during the Sack of Rome

Studies for an easel painting projected, c.1844-54 (4):

1 Scribbled schematic studies for the whole composition, the most legible, left, showing the artist seated on a high stool in the centre foreground with the St Jerome altarpiece on the right & figures bursting through a curtain in the bottom left corner

Pencil, sheet much trimmed & stuck on to mount

(240 × 305)

2 Two rapid framed sketches for the vertical

composition as above; top right, faint sketch of a horizontal version with a central division between the studio interior shown on the right & an exterior scene to the left

Insc: *Explanation on back S.G.* (in Goetze's hand); verso, notes for an allegory, not, as Goetze's inscription suggests, related to the Parmigiano sketches

Pencil (330 × 230)

3 Study for the figure of Parmigiano, wearing a flat cap & holding a bowl & brush; the whole study, originally carefully executed with soft modelling & squared for enlargement, has been savagely overworked & an alternative pose for the head crudely superimposed

Insc: verso *SP*

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (405 × 320)

4 Framed study for a portrait of a young man, facing right in profile, almost certainly related to Stevens's work on the figure of Parmigiano, the head being close in type to his portrayals of the artist (cf. No.3 above)

Verso: Three impressions of the head & shoulders of a young man wearing a flat cap & looking right in profile, probably Parmigiano

Pencil (240 × 190)

See also [12].7v; [15].4; [29].4v, 8v; [51].46v; [52].37v

1-4 Lit: (general) *Stannus*, p.6, paras.47-48; *Towndrow*, pp.24, 64, 79 n.1; *Tate catalogue*, pp.62-63, Nos.39-45



Most of the principal public collections of Stevens's drawings include studies in pencil or red chalk for this composition, notably the Tate, BM, Walker Art Gallery and Ashmolean Museum. Its history is characteristically obscure. Henry Hoyles recalled that among the things Stevens kept in his room at Hoole's ironworks in Sheffield in 1850-51 was 'the Grand Historical Picture' (Stannus Papers, letter from Hoyles d. 22.1.1891), a description highly suggestive of the Parmigiano painting, which, according to Stannus, was never finished. An unfinished canvas painting of this subject is said to have been in the possession of F. W. Moody of the South Kensington Museum shortly after Stevens's death (*Towndrow*, p.64, n.2, source not stated), but the only evidence of a final work that survives today is a fragment of an underpainting on wood of the figure of Parmigiano and other faint detail, now at the Walker Art Gallery and formerly in the collection of Alfred Drury.

Like the King Alfred, 'Struggling Figures' and Brazen Serpent themes, Parmigiano seems to have become an almost obsessive preoccupation during the artist's early years in London. Stannus states that the project originated in 1844 and it was evidently still in Stevens's mind as late as 1854 while he was at work on the competition for Sheffield School of Art (see [29].4v & 8v). Most of the surviving studies, including Nos.1-4 above, appear to date from 1847-49 and reveal that Stevens spent a great deal of time deliberating between a vertical and horizontal format for the picture. In the vertical version the whole composition was to be devoted to a view of the interior of a lofty studio, the artist seated high up in the centre on a ladder or long-legged stool and soldiers thronging into the room from the left below. In the alternative version the composition was to be divided into two equal parts, with the interior on the right and an open-air battle scene on the left, a crowd of figures advancing on the studio and invading it through a curtain at the centre of the picture.

[17] Moses & the Miracle of the Brazen Serpent  
Studies for an easel painting, projected c.1844-54 (3):

1 Rough sketch for 2 figures, with numerous pentimenti: a woman with her arms raised is supported from behind by a male figure & is entwined about the waist, possibly by a serpent, but the drawing is so much altered & badly rubbed that none of the detail is clear; a study, left, for a kneeling leg appears to relate to an alternative pose for the male figure  
Black chalk on brown paper (395 x 465)

2 Notes for the architectural treatment of the gallery in the Italian Court, Crystal Palace, 1 sketch superimposed on a small framed study for the Brazen Serpent, repeated, faintly, below, the nude figures reduced to outlines

Verso: Numerous similar notes for the composition & its details, principally concerned with the group of figures in the left foreground  
w/m: J. Coles 1852

Pencil on blue-grey paper (370 x 305)

3 Framed study for an alternative version of the composition, with notes for individual figure groups; left, slight sketch of 2 soldiers advancing with shields, possibly related to the Parmigiano composition  
Verso: Very rough notes for the façade of Sheffield School of Art

Pencil, with touches of red chalk verso (235 x 310)

See also [24].5v, [25].2v, [51].48v

1-3 Lit: (general) *Stannus*, p.6, para.46; *Tate catalogue*, pp.59-61

No coherent group of studies for the Brazen Serpent painting emerges from the mass of Stevens's drawings for obscure figure compositions, so that the development of this project is very difficult to establish. According to Stannus the work was begun in 1844 and was 'in hand for about ten years; but it was never finished, and was probably destroyed in some iconoclastic mood'. Though it is unlikely, in view of the very rough quality of all the surviving studies, that Stevens ever began a final painting, Stannus's dating of the project is supported by Nos.1-3 above. No.1 is datable c.1845 on stylistic grounds, while Nos.2 & 3 and [24].5v, where the composition appears again, evidently originated between 1852 and 1854-55 and probably reflect a revival of his interest in the subject following his work on the series of bible illustrations c.1848-51. It seems that he did not return to the Brazen Serpent theme again until c.1862, when he was preparing designs for the decoration of the dome of St Paul's cathedral. The roundel painting on the dome model and its related sketches (see [44].19r) are closely linked with the studies of 1852-55 and suggest that Stevens was still far from satisfied with his treatment of the composition. It might be argued, in this instance as in many others, that the artist's reverence for an Italian Renaissance prototype - here the Brazen Serpent corner spandrel of the Sistine chapel ceiling - actually impeded the progress of his own work.

[18] King Alfred & his Mother

Studies for the unfinished panel painting, now in the Tate, c.1848-50

Two rapid sketches for an octagonal composition with the seated queen holding an open book & the boy Alfred on the right at her knee; in the sketch on the right a 3rd figure is suggested in the right background

Verso: Two scribbled impressions of compositions with struggling figures, both including a female nude & suggestive of a Rape of Proserpine or Massacre of the Innocents subject

Insc: verso, deleted scribbles, including *Blandford Dorset*

Pencil (136 x 320)

Lit: (general) *Tate catalogue*, p.67 (illus. frontispiece)

Both studies differ considerably from the final version, where the boy Alfred appears on the left and the composition is circular. One onlooking figure is shown in the painting and there is evidence that a fourth figure was contemplated for the left background. Two attendants are clearly indicated in the rough studies for a square version of the composition on [52].18v.

Numbers of pencil and red chalk studies survive, datable principally between 1846 and 1849: a characteristic group is at the Tate (2170 & 2184-9). A second circular version of the painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1972 (Handley-Read Collection, C89). Neither Armstrong nor Stannus records a painting of this subject, though the Tate panel was purchased from Stannus himself in 1903, and nothing is known of its history. The theme may have suggested itself to Stevens while he was at work on the Houses of Parliament fresco competitions of 1842-44: subjects from British history were among those specified for cartoon entries in 1842 and on [52].18v there is an interesting juxtaposition of sketches for King Alfred and notes for a composition closely resembling the lost Richard III fresco submitted in the second competition of 1843-44.

[19] The 'Struggling Figures' composition  
Studies for a group of struggling figures, probably for a biblical subject painting, c.1848-50 (7):

1 Right, framed sketch for a bible illustration of the Judgment of Solomon; below left, closely worked rough sketches, varying in scale, for a group of figures including at least 1 female figure, engaged in a violent struggle

Verso: Numerous similar notes, the group here more clearly defined as a knot of figures on the left, 1 one of them female, approached from the right by a solitary figure running forward & reaching out towards them

Pencil & pen (255 x 320)

2-7, 3v-7v Rapid & very rough trials & retrials for the figure group as on No.1v, some of them framed; as far as can be ascertained, the running figure to the right is consistently portrayed as female while the group to the left includes 1 woman & 1 or sometimes 2 male figures; on No.2r 1 figure is portrayed as a soldier with a helmet

2v Two small pen studies for a decorative figure, probably for a bible page border

Insc: (No.5v) *Campo San Fantino often times w/m: (No.4) S. Evans & Co. 1846*

Principally in pencil, with pen studies on Nos.2,4 & 5 & touches of red chalk on Nos.3 & 4; No.4 on blue-grey paper (315 x 250 largest, 130 x 154 smallest)

See also [50].12v, [51].49, 50v

1-7 Lit: (general) *Tate catalogue*, pp.59-61

No entirely convincing identification of the subject of this composition has ever been made. The common theme of a large quantity of Stevens's unidentified figure studies was first recognized by D. S. MacColl and labelled for convenience the 'Struggling Figures' composition. MacColl suggested that the true subject may have been the Rape of Deianeira, while Towndrow believed that Stevens intended to represent the Massacre of the Innocents. Certainly, in some of the studies a child seems to be involved in the group on the left of the composition (see No.5r above and Walker Art Gallery sheets 1973-74), but it seems unlikely that Stevens would have chosen to illustrate the Massacre with so small a number of figures. There is, however, a close stylistic relationship between the 'Struggling Figures' drawings and those related to the bible illustrations. It may be more than a coincidence that on No.1r above and on a sheet at the Walker Art Gallery (7103) framed sketches for the familiar struggling group are side by side with contemporary studies for a bible illustration of the Judgment of Solomon, a subject dominated by the struggle between two women and an executioner over a child. Whatever his intention, the theme caught Stevens's imagination and became, like Parmigiano, King Alfred and Moses and the Brazen Serpent, one of those private problems of composition to which he would return again and again over a period of years. His development of the same theme in terms of sculpture may be seen in the plaster model of three struggling figures now at the Tate (V&A, A19-1912, transferred to Tate 1952; No.2890 at the Tate is one of a number of bronze casts made c.1912 at the instigation of Sir Charles Holroyd from this original model).



## IV c.1850-c.1858: Industrial design

The low standard of industrial design in England was already causing grave concern when Stevens returned from Italy in 1842. The schools inaugurated as a result of a Government Committee on Arts & Manufactures in 1836 were failing to produce the hoped-for stream of decorative designers and were continuing instead to employ artist-teachers with little or no experience in industry or special knowledge of applied design. *The Art Journal* was to protest in 1849 that 'the two fundamental principles for which they were founded, viz. the teaching of Design and its application to manufacture have been wholly lost sight of' (XI, 1849, pp.270-271).

Stevens gave his own opinion of the productions of a leading manufacturer in one of his earliest letters to Alfred Pegler. He had drawn out an idea for a presentation piece to be executed in metal, apparently for the Mayor of Blandford, and begged his friend 'to get them to wait and have this design executed instead of buying some ready-made abortion from Hunt and Roskill whose hunting cups and pieces of presentation plate do more towards giving strangers a low opinion of our taste than the work of any other manufacturer...'

His appointment in 1845 at Somerset House, itself in a state of turmoil symptomatic of the national situation, brought him face to face with the problem of industrial design and it is highly probable, though not yet proved, that he made contact with several manufacturers during the two years he spent there. The designs for candlesticks for William Potts of Birmingham are the only commissioned works that may safely be assumed to have originated before Stevens left London for Sheffield in 1850. Stannus writes: 'In 1850 Messrs Potts, of Birmingham, invited him to make designs for Candlesticks, to be exhibited at the World's fair. The candlesticks were not made; but his drawings are engraved in Mr W. Armstrong's "Study"'. Stannus also implies that the candlesticks were intended for execution in silver. Why the biographer should thus have ignored reliable evidence supplied to him by Henry Hoyles of Sheffield in 1891 is perplexing. According to Hoyles, the designs for Potts certainly dated from before 1850 and were to be made in bronze. He explained that the illustrations in Armstrong's biography (pp.42-45) were copies by C. E. Wilson from tracings made by Stevens 'for Mr Hoole to see when he was negotiating with Mr Hoole through Mr Mitchell, and that he himself had lent the tracings to Wilson when the illustrations for Armstrong's book were being prepared (Stannus Papers). Several of the original designs survive (V & A, E.2097, 2099-1911; Walker Art Gallery, 1890), together with a wax model on a turned wood base (V & A, A.80-1911, transferred to Tate 1952), but in accordance with Stannus's belief there is no firm evidence that they were ever carried out in metal. With their rich mouldings and groups of encircling figures, Stevens's candlesticks are astonishingly ambitious and uncompromisingly sculptural in conception: indeed, according to Hoyles, they were 'far beyond the powers of any English workman at that time and even at the present day [1890] it would be very difficult to get them decently chased'.

Stevens's appointment, shortly before February 1850, as chief artist to Hoole, Robson & Hoole on the recommendation of his former pupil Young Mitchell, then Head of Sheffield School of Art, was a momentous turning-point, both in his own development as an industrial designer and in the history of the Sheffield firm. It may be argued that Henry Hoole was the only employer who ever achieved a mutually satisfactory and fruitful relationship with him, though he too, on more than one occasion, was outraged by the artist's arrogant disregard of date-lines and conventional standards of loyalty in business dealings. On 25 April 1851, in the midst of hectic preparation for the Great Exhibition, Hoole wrote from London to his ironworks at Green Lane, Sheffield, 'The Exhibition will be opened on the

1st May and on Tuesday next the Queen is to have a private View - Stevens must therefore without any mistake let me have the Boys here on Monday [the 'Boys' were the putti in high relief holding cornucopia designed to flank stove No.962]. - He has not acted the part of a high minded man of feeling & honor in his transactions with me - I have had the mortification of seeing a number of his designs for large knives, Handles & blades, which the party boasts will be here finished by the 30th Inst & our own work is - where? This surely is not correct in principle, or in accordance with the agreement he entered into with me, nor does it shew much consideration for the feelings - outraged as they have been so often by his neglect - or failure or anything else you like to call it - but I certainly was not prepared to find that he had been bartering our interests, & honor, by selling his time for a paltry sum of Twenty pounds - O Tempora! O Mores! You know well how gladly I would have given him £50.0.0. if he had only enabled us to have stood far above competition, how pleased I should have been to have shewn my satisfaction in a thousand ways, if he had not so often mortified me by compelling me as a suitor, to entreat as a precious boon, what it was his duty to have offered without solicitation. . . . But Hoole added in a postscript, 'I have seen no Air Stoves equal to Stevens' (Stannus Papers).

The rival 'party' for whom Stevens, to Hoole's disgust, had made designs for knives was George Wostenholm, the Sheffield cutler. Examples of the three bowie knives and their sheaths, the only objects known to have been designed by him for the firm, are on loan to the V & A, where models for them are also preserved. The watercolour drawing from which Stannus's pl.XXI in the biography was made is in the Walker Art Gallery. It had first been illustrated in 1851 by Matthew Digby Wyatt in his volume on the Great Exhibition, *The Industrial arts of the 19th century*, where he had lavished praise on both Hoole and Wostenholm for having secured Stevens's services. 'At the present day,' he concluded his note on the daggers, 'when the system of the division of labour obtains to so great a degree, the artist and manufacturer have become separated, and it only remains for the latter to secure the best artistic talent he can obtain; it is for this reason that we congratulate Mr Wostenholm in having Mr Stevens as his coadjutor.'

In the event, Hoole's fears for his firm's success at the Great Exhibition were unfounded and his stand No.140, with its collection of grates designed by Stevens, was awarded the Council Medal (Class XXII, Iron & General Hardware) amid a public acclaim that left little to be desired. The jury was of the opinion that 'The grates of Messrs Hoole, Robson & Hoole of Sheffield, executed from designs by Mr Alfred Stevens, may be adduced as evidence of remarkable advancement in tasteful design' and went on to remark that these were 'designed chiefly in the Italian taste of the earlier half of the 16th century and display a subserviency of the execution to the intentions of the artist, to a degree which places them among the most remarkable contributions from the United Kingdom. . . . The manner in which many of the castings of Stevens's grates remained unchanged in the state in which they had left the mould was particularly admired. So too was the colourful and inventive use of materials - burnished steel and dull grey or black cast iron, brass and ormolu, bronze and porcelain - that was one of Stevens's outstanding contributions to English metalwork. 'He introduced into English manufacture,' writes Stannus, 'the method of placing plates of bright brass behind casting in grey iron, thus adding colour and emphasizing the beautiful relation between the ornament and the interstices in which he was unapproachable.'

Several of Stevens's early stoves and fenders were shown in 1853 at the Exhibition of Art & Industry in Dublin, under the name of Benham & Sons, Hoole's London agents, when they were illustrated with much

favourable comment in *The Art Journal's* catalogue. But the crowning achievement for the association of Hoole and Stevens came in 1855 at the Paris Universal Exhibition, when their stoves and grates were transferred from Class IX (Heat, Light & Electricity) to Class XXIV (Furniture & Decoration) on the grounds of superior merit and won for Hoole & Co. a Medal of Honour and for Stevens a silver medal as collaborating artist. In his report on Class XXIV, Matthew Digby Wyatt commented as juror: 'Mr. H. E. Hoole of Green Lane Works, Sheffield, maintained the reputation he acquired in 1851. Thanks to the genius of Mr. Alfred Stevens, this branch of trade has been developed to such an extent, as to have obtained the suffrages of all nations, and to have won for the house of Hoole the distinguished reward of a gold medal of honour. The leading characteristic of Mr. Hoole's exhibition was excellence rather than great novelty. What especially gratified the French connoisseurs was to observe that good taste presided equally over the designs for the cheapest and for the most expensive goods produced by the house' (*Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition*, I, 1856, p.315).

The surviving evidence suggests that Stevens made his last design for Hoole at the end of 1857 (see [20], notes). Their association was again acclaimed at the International Exhibition of 1862 when several of the finest later works were shown. On this occasion Hoole himself had acted as chairman of the class in which he was an exhibitor and so was unable to qualify for any prize medal. Stevens's influence continued to dominate the firm long after he had ceased to produce designs, for he was succeeded by Henry Hoyles who had worked under him at Green Lane: Hoole's principal source of young designers was the School of Art in Sheffield, where Stevens had first established in 1850 the devoted band of disciples that included Godfrey Sykes, James Gamble, Reuben Townroe and William Ellis as well as Hoyles himself.

It was probably as a direct result of his success at the Paris Exhibition that Stevens was approached soon after 1855 by a number of other manufacturers. The first of these was Joseph Bradbury, Sheffield silversmith, who obtained two designs from him in 1856 - a silver tray and a table-centre. The artist's correspondence with Bradbury about the designs is preserved among the records of the firm in Sheffield City Library and was published in the *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* (VI, 1944, pp.38-40). Stevens's dislike of the chasing method, reflected in the beautiful fluid surfaces of his bronze and ironwork, was a handicap when he came to design for silver plate, for which he seems to have had little sympathy. Frederick Bradbury wrote to Stannus in 1890:

'... the first thing [he did for us] was a model for a 25 inch coffee tray for casting in sections, when cast in metal it was so heavy that no servant could carry it, it was ornamented on both sides so as to show the design in front outside the tray & also the back on the inside, the border stood straight up like a fender and finished inside as well as out, he would not alter it to make it lighter so we did it ourselves by leaving the outside exactly as he sent it & filing the inside work away & modelling it lighter. he charged 21£ for the model in wax the tray did not sell very well it came too expensive 21£ each but they sell at this distance of time 3 or 4 every year. The next design was a centre piece for a table with 4 arms for lights & a glass dish in centre for flowers: that was very unsatisfactory for he modelled the arms so short that when the candles were in they set the flowers on fire He would not alter the arms so we altered them ourselves, we did not sell many of them, he charged 35£ for this he made the arms all fast together & it was a very ungainly article to stow away. His things were too heavy for silver or plate he was better at Hoole's of Green Lane Works where he produced some first class work. . . . You do not want a silver centrepiece for a table to be as heavy as



a door scraper or a dog for a stovegrate... (Stannus Papers, letter d. 11 October 1890). Examples of the tray in electroplate and in two different sizes are in the V & A and Walker Art Gallery. No example of the épergne is known.

Perhaps because he disliked the prospect of designing again for silver, or on account of his other heavy commitments after 1856, Stevens turned down an opportunity, about 1857, to make designs for the Atkin Brothers of Sheffield. H. W. A. Atkin told Stannus that he and his brother had called on the artist at his house in Kensington, to ask 'if he had any designs suitable for our trade at all, as we would gladly buy them etc. He said in his drawing way that he had no designs to sell and that he could not promise to do any for us - We knew that he had designs and pushed hard - but it was no use - he would not sell - He might just as well have had £50 of us as not but he simply lied and would not sell...' (Stannus Papers). Similarly, it seems, the Coalbrookdale Iron Company was disappointed when Stevens failed to produce more than two designs for manufacture between 1857 and 1860 (see [22]). It is difficult to understand why he did not respond to such invitations from manufacturers, for, according to Stannus, he had 'opened a studio' in 1856 with the specific purpose of producing designs for industry and had summoned his pupil William Ellis from Sheffield to assist him. Stannus's source for this information is not known, but such a studio project may well account for the large quantity of studies and designs for street furniture and majolica and silver tableware, datable c.1856-60, which cannot be related to commissions from manufacturers (see [23] & [24]). The magnificent painted plaster model of a plate given by Stannus to the year 1859, now in the V & A, was probably also an independent studio venture.

Stevens's last undertaking for industry, according to Stannus, was the decoration of a large and a small vase and a dinner and dessert plate for Minton of Stoke on Trent, examples of which were acquired by the South Kensington Museum (V & A) in 1864. Stevens's association with Minton is commonly assumed, on Stannus's authority, to have originated in 1861: a pair of the large vases was exhibited at the International Exhibition in 1862. However, the firm was already well acquainted with his designs for porcelain by this date, having manufactured the earthenware tile panels for Hoole's Hot-Air stove of 1850-51 and other stove cheeks, and made the pavement for St George's Hall, Liverpool, in 1854. According to a letter among the Stannus Papers, the firm had actually adapted the principal band of figures in the pavement design for use in the decoration of a dish, and the possibility that many of Stevens's designs for tureens, urns and vases were made at Minton's request cannot be discounted.

[20] Designs for Hoole & Co. of Sheffield recorded by Stannus & Potter  
(In this group the Stannus references without page or plate numbers are to MS material in the Stannus Papers)  
Studies for stove grates, fenders, fire-dogs, table & overmantel, 1850-57 (22):

1-2 Rough studies for grates & fenders, principally concerned with the 'enriched hollow' stove, registered design No.979, identified by Stannus as one of Stevens's first designs for Hoole, c.1850-51; originally forming 1 sheet, the versos each showing half of the same house plan

1 Verso: Fragment of a sketch for the proposed bronze doors of the Geological Museum  
Pencil, with touches of pen on the verso plan (205 x 325, 202 x 315)

3 Study for a putto terminating in foliage which forms the central ornament of the Hercules fender design No.400; left, faint notes for the foliated scrolls of the same fender; numerous sketches for house façades

Verso: Numerous closely worked suggestions for large & elaborately decorated fire-dogs, similar, though not identical, to the Pluto stove dogs of 1855 (see No.11 below)  
Pencil (270 x 365)

A complete example of the Hercules fender is at Sheffield. A cast iron fragment including the central putto is in the V & A (A78-1911). A burnished bronze and brass version was exhibited at the Crystal Palace in 1851, with the 'fluted hollow' stove grate (design No.984, illustrated in *Potter*, p.22, figs.1-2, example at the V & A, 4028-1853) and illustrated in the *Reports of the Jurors*, IV, p.1628.

4 Faint notes for the Hercules fender as on No.3r & studies for a round-arched grate surround & free-standing stove with columns at the angles & elaborately decorated cover

Verso: Notes for an alternative version of the stove as recto with round-arched openings & grotesque ornament at the angles; impression of a man climbing a ladder  
Pencil (272 x 368)

The sketches for a free-standing stove probably relate to the well-known Hot-Air stove shown at the 1851 Exhibition (see Nos.17-19), the only stove of this type known to have been made to Stevens's designs.

5-6 Rectos & versos: Notes for a frieze of female caryatid half-figures, winged & terminating in foliage tendrils, supporting the shelf of the Blue & Gold stove No.1105, dated by Stannus 1854 & illustrated in *Potter*, p.14 [Fig.38, No.5r]

5 Verso: Suggestions for a palace façade with a colossal central exedra

6 Verso: Studies for the knob finials & corbels decorating the basket of the Brass Dog stove No.1053, dated by Stannus 1852-53 & illustrated in *Potter*, pp.16-17; notes for a pedimented façade  
Pencil (268 x 360, 270 x 378)

The Blue & Gold stove, bronze gilt with ormolu enrichment on a blue porcelain background, was shown at the International Exhibition, 1862, and illustrated in J. B. Waring's *Masterpieces of industrial art and sculpture at the... exhibition*, II, 1863, pl.131. A radiator case at the V & A (A54-1953) compiled from the principal castings of the stove was specially ordered from Hoole & Co. for the E staircase of the new museum in 1866. No extant examples of the stove itself are known. Three related drawings are in Melbourne and a wax model for one of the half-figures of the frieze is in Edinburgh. The complete design is shown in the tracing, No.21 below.

The Brass Dog stove was flanked by vertical panels of blue and white tiles with a design incorporating putti, swags of fruit and foliage and serpentine monsters, on a base of paired elephants' heads (see No.9 below and *Stannus*, pp.11-12, pl.XVIII). No examples of the stove appear to have survived, but a pair of the fine brass fire-dogs is at Sheffield (illustrated, with misattribution to the Pluto Dog stove, by Richard Seddon in 'Alfred Stevens at Sheffield', *AR*, CXXVIII, 1960, p.207, fig.2).

7 Notes for the basket & fire-dogs of the Brass Dog stove & for the capitals & decorative masks of the angle colonnettes for the Blue & Gold stove [Fig.36]  
Verso: Incomplete sketch design for a free-standing stove with a pulvinated base & grotesque decoration  
Pencil; verso, pencil, pen & wash (302 x 315)

8 Notes for the basket of the Brass Dog stove & the grille on the side panels of the Blue & Gold stove; miscellaneous mouldings  
Verso: Notes for the basket & fire-dogs of the Brass Dog stove; suggestions for ceiling decoration  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (265 x 368)

9 Recto & verso: Studies for the elephants' head motif at the base of the Brass Dog stove tile panels [Fig.37, recto]  
Pen & pencil (175 x 135)

10 Studies for arch mouldings & a corbel formed by a female head in profile terminating in foliage scrolls, for stove No.1069, dated by Stannus 1854  
Pencil (195 x 105)  
No extant stove of this design is known. A wax model of the corbel feature is in Edinburgh.

11 Rapid impression of the Pluto Dog stove No.1136, dated by Stannus 1855 & illustrated in *Potter*, pp.20-21; the fire-back is shown without its narrative relief decoration & the basket differs from the final design, but the general form of the dogs with their elaborate decoration of grotesques & half-figures clustered about a central tapering support is close to the bronze casting [Fig.30]  
Pencil (240 x 303)

See also [29].3, 6v, 28v  
Perhaps the best known and most commonly illustrated of all Stevens's designs for Hoole, the Pluto stove is distinguished by the narrative scene of the Rape of Proserpine in low relief which decorates its concave fire-back, and by the monumental bronze fire-dogs with their opposing female nude half-figures and dolphin finials. The stove was shown at the International Exhibition of 1862 and appeared, with the relief in reverse, in *The Art Journal*'s illustrated catalogue with the comment 'The very beautiful grate and fender... were designed by Mr A. Stevens who was for some time associated with Mr Hoole. The pillars are original in design, and admirably display the peculiar talent of the artist...' Many sketches for the bas-relief survive, together with numbers of plaster and wax sketch models for details of the stove and dogs, notably at Edinburgh, Sheffield and the V & A. The two last both have examples of the complete finished work and a pair of the fire-dogs is in the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford (formerly Handley-Read Collection).

12 Recto & verso: Rough notes for the Pluto fire-dogs

Verso: Three studies for a fountain with a fluted tapering shaft, basin & pedestal surmounted by a crouching female nude pouring water from an urn  
Pencil (270 x 224)

The fountain studies are evidently contemporary with those for the Pluto stove, suggesting their connection with Stevens's work for Hoole, but there is no other evidence that he designed a fountain for manufacture.

13 Incompletely realized design & FS working details for a mirror overmantel with a frieze of ribbons supporting circular medallions & framed by pilasters with an interlocking circle motif, c.1856; illustrated in *Potter*, p.6

Ins: Measurements marked & various instructions given, including *put here the moulding made for spaniel of enriched hollow stove & here moulding of architecture of pillar stove*  
Pen & ochre wash on tracing paper, mounted, much torn (362 x 530)



Potter states that the overmantel was made as a later addition to the Console stove of 1850-51, shown at the Great Exhibition (illustrated in M. D. Wyatt, *The Industrial arts of the 19th century*, I, 1851, pl.129; Potter, p.4; example at Sheffield). The interlocking circle motif on the pilaster strips matches exactly the decoration of the consoles which frame the stove. An almost identical drawing in the V & A (D.1213-1908) is inscribed *height from floor to cornice 13½ for the one made for Mr. . . . Nov 1856*. The name Richard Sally is entered in the blank space in Stannus's hand. Like the 'enriched hollow' stove (see Nos.1-2 above) the 'pillar stove' to which Stevens's instructions refer was among the artist's first designs for Hoole (registered design No.987, illustrated in Potter, p.7). It was shown at the 1851 Exhibition and chosen by Matthew Digby Wyatt for illustration, with the Console stove, in the first volume of his *Industrial arts of the 19th century*. No extant examples of the overmantel are yet recorded.

**14** Incomplete and roughly executed plan & FS elevation showing the fire-dog & supporting scroll work of stove No.1477, dated by Stannus 1857, illustrated in *Stannus*, pls.XIX-XX, & Potter, pp.12-13; both sides of the sheet are closely worked with small rough studies relating to the stove & its mouldings, including baluster dogs, pillars framing the basket, scroll & mask ornament on the bar beneath the basket, & fender [Fig.32, recto].  
Pencil & pen (520 × 320)

The stove was flanked by tile panels, the central round-arched portions of which Stevens had designed in 1850 for the sides of the Hot-Air stove (see Nos.17-20 below & [34].1-2 & [36].6v-7v). The brass baluster dogs were supported on scrolls carried forward from beneath the pillars flanking the basket; a crest-like relief panel of grotesques formed the fire-back. No extant example is recorded. A plaster model of the fire-back is in the V & A (A.44-1911) and a wax model of the bearded mask motif on the bar beneath the basket is at Edinburgh. Stevens's FS cartoons for the tile panels are at Sheffield and his design for the complete grate and fender is at Melbourne.

**15** Roughly traced FS elevation of the baluster-dog & supporting scroll of stove No.1477 as on No.14r; study for the repeating foliated motif at the base of the flanking tile panels  
Pencil & wash on tracing paper stuck on to mount (440 × 230)

**16** Rapid impression of a cast iron table, registered design No.1367, illustrated in Potter, p.15; the sketch is superimposed on notes for wall panelling, probably for the dining-room at Dorchester House

Verso: Studies for Corinthian capitals & for columns with oak-leaf patterned shafts, probably related both to the Dorchester House dining-room wall pilasters & to the Wellington monument columns

Pencil, with touches of pen verso (240 × 340)

See also [21].11, [22].4v.

The tracing of design No.1367 in the Stannus Papers is dated 1860, but according to the copy of Stevens's salary account in the Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield, the artist was paid for the model of a table in September 1857. No other table design for Hoole is known, and in a list of Stevens's Hoole designs elsewhere among his papers, Stannus amended the date to 1857. A number of the tables were later supplied by Hoole & Co. to the South Kensington Museum (V & A) for use in the new refreshment rooms. Only two of these now survive. Among the casts acquired by the V & A from Mrs James Gamble in 1911 are Stevens's plaster models for the supports, cross-bar and table top (A.34-A.36). His original design for the table is now at Melbourne.

**17-22** Copies & tracings by assistants & pupils

**17** Fragment of a FS setting out of one of the sides of the Hot-Air stove No.1038, illustrated in Potter, pp.10-11; the top, bottom & edges have been heavily trimmed & most of the inset tracing of the tile panel has flaked away; the interstices of the bronze angle ornament, shown on the left, are crudely overworked in pencil

Pencil & pen with inset panel in pen on tracing paper (570 × 480)

**18** Fragment of a tracing showing the circular top of the Hot-Air stove No.1038 in perspective, with the seated figure of a woman originally intended to form its finial

Pen & wash on tracing paper stuck on to mount (143 × 192, including mount)

**19** Tracing from a perspective drawing of the Hot-Air stove, possibly that now in Sheffield (K.1913-96) or as illustrated in *Stannus*, pl.XVI

Pencil on tracing paper, stuck on to mount (405 × 275, including mount)

Lit & reprd: N. Taylor, *Monuments of commerce*, 1968, p.33, pl.18

See also [24].1v

**17-19** Stevens's free-standing Hot-Air stove in bronze and brass with inset panels of glazed earthenware was shown at the 1851 Exhibition and the design first illustrated by Matthew Digby Wyatt in *The Industrial arts of the 19th century*, I, 1851, pl.99. The South Kensington Museum acquired an example shortly after the exhibition which is the only one known to have survived (V & A, 4030-1853). Numbers of models for the richly elaborate angle reliefs are extant, notably in the V & A, and examples of the three tile panels representing the Descent of Orpheus, the Rape of Proserpine and the Quest of Demeter, manufactured by Minton to fill the round-arched openings in the sides and back, are at Sheffield.

**20** Fragment of a FS rough setting out of a rectangular tile panel for the sides of stove No.1477 (see No.14 above); the central figure panel of the round-arched centrepiece, identical with those designed for the Hot-Air stove, is missing, as also is the figure decoration at the base; the free grotesque decoration filling the upper part of the stove panel is roughly indicated, verso, in position over the arch & repeated above, recto

Pen on tracing paper, stuck on to mount (775 × 320, including mount)

**21** Tracing of a FS cartoon for the tile panel on the right side of the 'figure dog' stove No.1029, dated by Stannus 1852-53 & illustrated in *Stannus*, pl.XX, & Potter, pp.18-19

Pen & ochre wash on tracing paper, mounted (1000 × 230)

Prov: Pres. by Mr Borley, 1965

The original cartoons for both tile panels are at Sheffield. In front of each panel were set the remarkable fire-dogs from which the stove took its name, in the form of male nudes seated upon low pedestals, reminiscent of the *Ignudi* on the Sistine chapel ceiling. The numbered design for the stove is at Melbourne. No complete stove of this type is known, but a pair of the bronze dogs is at the Walker Art Gallery and another in the collection of Mr Brian Thomas. Plaster models of the nudes are at the Tate (transferred from V & A 1952) and at Edinburgh.

**22** Tracing of a design for the Blue & Gold stove No.1105 (see Nos.5-6 above); the tracing is mounted on a page from an album, on the verso of which are 2 small sheets of sketches of band ornaments in an unidentified hand

Pen & blue & grey washes on tracing paper, mounted (280 × 380, including mount)

Prov: Pres. by Mr Borley, 1965

See also [51].45v, 48

The records of the firm of Hoole & Co. are now lost and present knowledge of Stevens's work for the firm is dependent principally on the researches of Hugh Stannus and H. I. Potter, together with a MS copy dated 1910, now at the Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield, of 'Alfred Stevens' salary a/c at Green Lane Works Sheffield, 1850-57'. The account shows that on 28 February 1850 an advance of £50 was paid to the artist, followed, on 16 March, by the carriage for two boxes, suggesting that he had arrived in Sheffield in the course of that month. Stevens received payments amounting to £229 up to 21 December 1850 and £200 up to 5 September 1851, when the last payment, £50, was made to him at Green Lane Works. In December £40 was paid 'per Mr Hoole in London'. The subsequent outgoings to Stevens in London were £107 in 1852, £97 in 1853, 5s for clay in 1854, £145 5s in 1855, £61 5s in 1856 and £207 from August 1856 to December 1857. From 1855 to 1857 some details are given of the designs and models supplied.

The most comprehensive survey of Stevens's work for Hoole was that made by Stannus during the preparation of the biography. He evidently had access to the firm's catalogues, for among his papers in the RIBA MS Collection are his dated tracings of numbered designs for twenty stoves, fifteen fenders and a table, together with a draft chronological list of every piece that he knew to have been designed by Stevens for Hoole, probably compiled with the help of Henry Hoyles. It would be wrong, however, to assume that Stannus's list is comprehensive. He includes no reference to the fingerplates used in Dorchester House and illustrated in Potter, p.24, nor to a patent stove No.1213, the last item in the transcribed accounts for 1857. The official catalogue of the 1851 Exhibition contains a lengthy list of Hoole stoves and fenders, too briefly described to be useful, but suggesting that Stevens may have been responsible for a great many more designs than Stannus gives to the years 1850 and 1851.

An invaluable photographic record of Stevens's principal Hoole works was made by Henry Ingle Potter, an architect who moved his practice to Sheffield from the south of England in 1901. His booklet *Notes on some works by Alfred Stevens from 1850 to 1857*, undated, but probably published about 1910, was compiled entirely from drawings, models and finished metalwork that he had seen at the Green Lane works.

The dispersal of the firm's collection of Stevens material soon after 1912, when a large quantity was lent for exhibition at the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield, is one of the many major disasters to have overtaken the artist's work since his death. The most representative collections of his Hoole metalwork and related drawings and models are now at Sheffield, the V & A and at Edinburgh (wax and plaster models only); an important group of finished and numbered designs in pen and wash for many of the principal pieces is at Melbourne.



[21] Designs probably produced for Hoole & Co. but not recorded by Stannus or Potter Studies & designs for stove grates, fenders & fire-dogs, c.1855-57 (23):

1 Design for a stove grate with rectangular opening & narrow enriched surround, the basket supported by 4 dragon corbels springing from a fixed fender [Fig.31] Pen with ink & ochre washes on tracing paper, mounted (230 × 235, including mount) Another drawing of this grate is at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2187-86). Two plaster models for the dragons are in the V & A, one for those in the round supporting the centre of the basket (A.58-1911) and one for those in high relief abutting against the stove cheeks (965-1903). The existence of models suggests that the stove was cast in metal but no surviving examples are recorded.

2-9 Sketch designs of similar date & quality for decorated stove grates: Nos.2-4 rectangular with plain moulded round-arched openings & decorated spandrels, Nos.5-8 semicircular headed with broad bands of foliated decoration & No.9 with a wide rectangular architrave surround; baskets & ornamental fire-back are briefly indicated on all but No.9 [Fig.28, No.4; Fig.29, No.7] 7 Verso: Studies for fenders with attached fire-dogs, elaborately decorated with foliated scrolls 8 Recto & verso: Numerous small rough sketches for projects of the late 1850s, including Dorchester House dining-room, the Wellington monument victory tablets & coffering, Stevens's house & furniture & church steeples, those on the recto superimposed on the stove grate sketch design

9 Recto: Superimposed on stove sketch design, very early suggestions for the Wellington monument with surmounting winged figure; sketches of helmeted heads

Pen & pencil (250 × 270 smallest, 278 × 375 largest)

10 Studies for an elaborate stove with heavy cresting & flanking scrolls in which are seated half-figures terminating in cornucopia [Fig.33] Verso: Impression of a stove, a variation of that on the recto, showing the proposed pedestal dogs which are decorated with a mask between the base supports & have a central globe & crowning finial; slight sketch for a casket or tureen [Fig.34] Pencil (180 × 225)

11 Impression of a stove similar to that on No.10, with numerous suggestions for fender decoration; below left, sketch of a table, probably that designed for Hoole & Co. in 1857 (see [20].16); below right, notes for chairs, probably for Stevens's Eton Road house Verso: Notes for semicircular stove surrounds; perspective sketches of a vaulted corridor Pencil (275 × 360)

12 Rough study for a round-arched stove surround with foliage, drapery & figure decoration Verso: Faint note for a fire-dog Pencil (230 × 290)

13 Rapid impressions of a grate with a basket supported on 2 corbels, possibly related to the design on No.1 above Verso: Numerous notes for fenders & fender-ends Pencil (255 × 323)

14-22 Nine sheets, including the versos of Nos.15 & 17-20, of rough studies for fenders, with occasional notes for other details of stove grates; the fender shown on Nos.18r & 19r & v, terminating in cylindrical pedestals with vase-shaped fire-iron rests, is close to the Hoole vase fender No.420, dated by Stannus 1850-51 [Fig.35, No.19r]

21 Verso: Note for wall decoration, possibly an early idea for Dorchester House dining-room

14, 15, 17-19, 21, 22 Pencil 16, 20 Pen & pencil, No.16 with touches of red chalk (60 × 195 smallest, 275 × 390 largest, Nos.14-18 trimmed fragments)

The vase fender No.420 was exhibited, with stoves to Stevens's designs, by Hoole's London agent, Benham & Sons, at Dublin in 1853 and appeared in *The Art Journal's* illustrated catalogue (p.36, bound with Vol.V, 1853). A complete example is in the V & A.

23 Tracing from a design for a fire-dog with central vase & scroll-work & terminating finial, probably not in Stevens's hand Pen on tracing paper, stuck on to mount (380 × 235)

[22] Designs for the Coalbrookdale Iron Co. Study, design & prints relating to 2 mantelpieces, 1857-58 (4):

1 Study for the 'festoon' mantelpiece; numerous rough notes for its decorative details including the vertical panel mouldings, ribbon & scroll ornament, & flower & bud motif of the fender [Fig.40] Verso: Unrelated faint notes for mouldings & sculptural work

Insc: Some measurements marked

Pencil, blot of crimson wash below left (265 × 363) See also [23].3v

2 Design for the high relief decoration in the frieze of the 'festoon' mantelpiece, showing a reclining nude flanked by ribbons, swags & scrolls [Fig.39] Pencil & grey wash (100 × 370)

3 Engraving from a trade catalogue illustrating the 'festoon' mantelpiece with basket grate & fender to fit, titled *No.28, Best finish cast iron Chimney-Piece of Renaissance design, with alto-relievo panels, modelled by the late Alfred Stevens, Berlin black, or tinted plain colour, £ ; Electro-bronzed, £ . | Sizes: 67 in. wide at base, 54 in. high; opening or register, 39 × 39; jambs, 4½ in wide; shelf, 66 × 9 in. Register suitable: 189, as above, or five dogs. For prices see list, adding each for fitting to chimneypiece* (175 × 230)

Prov: Unknown, probably originally among the Stannus Papers

4 Lithograph of the final design for the 'paired pilaster' mantelpiece: paired pilasters, hung with delicate festoons & resting on a pulvinated base & plain moulded plinth, carry a deep frieze decorated with tablets & ribbons in low relief Verso: Rapid outline impression in pencil of the fire-back shared by the festoon & paired pilaster mantelpieces & of the cast iron table designed for Hoole & Co. (see [20].16)

Insc: verso *James Gamble* (in red ink in Gamble's hand) (245 × 305)

Prov: Unknown

1-4 Stannus records that Stevens designed and modelled 'a Mantel-piece, Stove, and Fender' for the Coalbrookdale Iron Co. in 1859. 'The Mantel', he states, 'is square in shape, with a festoon border at top and sides; the effect is rich without losing simplicity and largeness of style. The Stove and Fender are simple and reticent.' During his research for the biography, Stannus had corresponded with the firm, whose representative had dated the mantelpiece to 1859 and had added that he believed 'a rough sketch Drawing of the Design was supplied some little time previously. The Commission arose out of an acquaintance which arose about the time of the Exhibition in Paris in 1856 [sic] between Mr Stevens and the then Manager of these Works Mr Charles Crookes... I believe we should have been glad to have other Designs and Work from Mr Stevens between 1857 and 1860 if it

had suited him to attend to them...' (Stannus Papers). The implications of this last comment are interesting: many studies and designs for cast iron work that cannot be identified with any manufacturing company, for which no models exist and which appear to date from that period (see [23]) may well have been motivated by such an open brief, only to be laid aside as the Wellington monument and Dorchester House claimed more and more of Stevens's attention. In fact, however, the Coalbrookdale Iron Co. obtained at least one other design from him which has been consistently overlooked by students of his work: the paired pilaster mantelpiece shown in the lithograph, No.4 above. Both this and the festoon mantelpiece with the fire-back, grate and fender designed to fit both were illustrated by *The Building News* on 23 December 1892 (LXIII, p.893) as examples of the firm's productions 'from Designs by the Late Alfred Stevens'. The journal's illustration demonstrates that the pilaster mantelpiece was intended to serve a double purpose, as an independent grate surround and as a mirror overmantel to the festoon chimneypiece. A design for it in pen and wash is in the V & A (E.2692-1911), together with several plaster models for its principal parts, originally in the Gamble Collection (A.54, A.65, A.68-1911), but no example of the finished work in metal is known. The museum also has, from the same source, a model of one of the ram's heads that decorated the ends of the curved fireback (A.73-1911). A fine wash drawing of a detail of the festoon mantelpiece is at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2187-87), and a complete electro-bronzed example of the grate surround, formerly in the Handley-Read Collection, is now in the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford. Another survives in the Small Council Chamber at the Institute of Chartered Accountants, Moorgate Place, City of London.

[23] Independent designs for street furniture & other cast iron work

Studies & designs for street lamps, railings, stair balustrades, hall stand & casket, c.1855-58 (15):

1 Left, rapid study for the pedestal of a street lamp, with lions' heads decorating the base of the shaft; right, idea for a fountain with a crouching nude figure pouring water (see also [20].12v); rough impressions of a free-standing stove with arched openings, surmounted by a standing figure, & of a stove grate with heavy mantelpiece Verso: Closely-worked rough notes for frieze decoration Pen & pencil (194 × 315)

2 Studies for single- & 3 light street lamps, several with elaborate scrollwork or high relief decoration, superimposed on notes for a circular panel with putti upholding a shield Verso: Study for a repeating pattern of foliage scrolls, possibly for a metal grille; slight notes for the decoration of furniture & panelling of Stevens's house at Eton Road Pencil (377 × 275)

3 Studies for single-light street lamps with richly modelled shafts, superimposed, right, on a sketch for the angle ornament of a bookcase or cabinet for Stevens's own house [Fig.41] Verso: Below, numerous notes for Stevens's chairs & bookcases; above, rough notes for the Coalbrookdale 'festoon' mantelpiece; impression of a helmeted figure Pencil (325 × 235)

4 Design for a single-light street lamp with a cylindrical pedestal decorated with ribbons & festoons, the base of the fluted shaft elaborately modelled with shells & ram's heads in high relief [Fig.44] Pencil on tracing paper, mounted (527 × 173, including mount)



5 Design with flier for a single-light street lamp, a variation on No.4, the pedestal cylindrical & the fluted shaft set on a vase-shaped base decorated with shells & swags; the flier shows an alternative design for the lantern, almost identical with that on No.4 Pencil on tracing paper, mounted (510×195, including mount)

6 Design for a 3 light lamp standard on a high plinth at the base of a flight of steps to a public building: the short vase-shaped shaft is foliated & surmounted by a standing female nude supporting on her head the central light globe & in her hands the scrollwork from which the 2 other globes spring [Fig.43] Pencil & yellow wash on tracing paper, mounted (414×236)

1-6 A similar group of studies & designs for street lamps is in the V & A, Nos.4, 5 & 6 having exact counterparts in E.2105-1911, E.2102-1911 & E.2108-1911 respectively, from which they are probably traced. That the group dates from the late 1850s is established by the sketches for the Coalbrookdale mantelpiece and for Stevens's own furniture which share sheet Nos.2 & 3. Another lamp design in the Tate (3399 CVI) is accompanied by studies for Dorchester House dining-room of the same period.

The terminal figure on the entrance light, No.6, is close to the plaster model of a female nude with coils in either hand at the Tate (transferred from V & A 1952), of which several bronze casts were made early in this century and which is usually identified as a figure for a fountain.

7 Study for a railing with slender posts terminating in foliated scrolls above the upper & below the lower cross-piece [Fig.42] Pen & pencil (265×290)

8 Suggestion for a railing or gate, an enriched variation on No.7, the posts resting on a deep panel of scrollwork & balusters Pencil (242×190)

9 Study for a railing of intricate form, the baluster posts linked by an elaborate repeating pattern of foliated scrolls & ribbons Pen & pencil (220×340)

10-12, 10v-11v Studies for a stair balustrade, the baluster posts alternating with broad perforated panels of grotesques; numerous alternative patterns for the panels are suggested, that on No.11v clearly showing the principal motif to be a pair of wolves backing upon a cross

12 Recto & verso: Studies for furniture & architectural notes, including a rapid impression of the BM Reading Room dome & a tiny motif of 3 interlocking circles, Stevens's device for the Sheffield School of Art competition Pencil, with touches of pen on No.11r (378×275, 265×363, 270×370) Related drawings are [27].1v & Tate 3399 III (*Tate catalogue*, p.76, No.113).

13 Two incomplete FS sketch designs for a baluster with a foliated shaft Recto & verso: Related notes for decorative details Pencil, pen & black chalk, sheet trimmed (1004×310)

14 Sketch design for an ornamental hall stand with scrolled branches; left, faint impression of the stand in perspective [Fig.52] Pencil & ochre wash (343×270)

15 Sketch design for a casket or chest showing front & incomplete side elevation: the box stands on a high plinth & is flanked by female terms on baluster supports carrying the cornice, which projects over the angles Pencil & pen (240×320)

Prov: Pur. 1959 through S. Rowland Pierce

[24] Independent designs for majolica & silver ware Studies & designs for soup tureens, plates, table-centres, coffee- & teapots, cutlery &c, c.1850-58 (19): 1 Studies for 2 tureens, one with an elaborate cover & bulbous bowl with octagonal panels for figure decoration, the other with concave-sided bowl having a central Greek cross motif (see No.2 below); above left, rapid impression in pen of the figure of Christ for the bible illustration of the Ascension Insc: Colour notes given

Verso: Faint sketch for the Hot-Air stove for Hoole & Co., 1850, showing the seated figure originally intended to surmount its cover Pencil; Ascension sketch in pen (185×160)

2 Study for the decoration of a tureen with Greek cross & foliage decoration, as on No.1r, the cross containing the nude figure of a youth holding a staff; numerous small sketches for 2 branch candlesticks; suggestion for a straight-sided tureen with broad attached base

Verso: Notes for a crouching figure to surmount a tureen cover, as suggested on No.1; part of a façade with niches for sculpture Pencil (187×278)

A finished design for a tureen with the same Greek cross and inset figure decoration is in the BM (1910-6-11-17).

3 Studies for tureens of various forms, one of them tulip-shaped & all with an overall pattern of grotesques Insc: Colour notes given

Verso: Notes for the decoration of a circular border, probably for a plate, & other motifs Pencil (365×265)

4 Four sketch designs for tureens, arranged in pairs on the sheet, showing the saucer bases in section Verso: Sketch for part of a façade with panelled door, niche for figure sculpture & mezzanine with square openings, possibly an early idea for Sheffield School of Art Pencil (255×300)

5 Numerous studies for decorated tureens of various elaborate forms with scrolled handles, the whole sheet closely worked & including notes for silverware, figure compositions & a winged half-figure, possibly the figure-head of a boat Verso: Similarly rough & closely worked notes for a house façade, the Brazen Serpent composition, an escutcheon & a sailing clipper w/m: T. James Huncott Mill 1852 Pencil on blue paper, with touches of red chalk verso (395×310)

1-5 A series of highly finished pen and watercolour drawings for soup tureens is divided between the BM and the V & A, Fitzwilliam and Ashmolean Museums.

6 Fragment of a pupil's copy of a design for a majolica dinner plate with figures of the Elements round the border, executed for Minton, c.1861; the left & lower edges of the sheet have been trimmed; the centre of the circular design is pierced by a compass point Insc: *Earth | Air | Fire | Water | Dinnerplate* (not in Stevens's hand) Pencil (210×240)

Stevens's working drawing for the Minton dinner plate, illustrated in *Stannus*, pl.XLVIII, is still in the possession of the firm. This was one of four designs – for two plates and two vases – which the artist made for Minton and which Stannus dated 1861. No.6 is related to the V & A drawing E.2732-1911, a copy by Reuben Townroe of sections of the dinner plate. Examples of all four manufactured articles are in the V & A.

7 Pupil's incomplete copy of a design for a majolica dessert plate with figures of the Domestic Virtues in roundels at the centre, executed for Minton, c.1861; the sheet is pierced by compass points

Insc: *Sincerity | Gaiety | Generosity | Amity* (in the same hand as that on No.6) Pencil (270×285)

See note to No.6 above. This drawing is almost identical with E.1046-1965 in the V & A, identified in the catalogue as a copy by Godfrey Sykes. Stevens's working drawing for the dessert plate, illustrated in *Stannus*, pl.XLIX, is still in the possession of the firm.

8 Incomplete sketch design in an unidentified hand for a plate with a wide border of grotesques & a group of dancing putti at the centre Pen & pencil (260×210)

9 Study for a vase decorated with nude figures in high relief; slight notes for decorative motifs Verso: Sketch for a candlestick & faint impression of a mirror frame or panel border with winged cherubs' heads Pencil (190×280)

10 Study for a chalice with prophet-like figures seated in niches round the base of the bowl; faint notes for a teapot [Fig.48] Verso: Fragmentary notes for architecture & decoration Pencil (300×175) A design for a chalice of this description was lent by Mrs Gamble to the loan collection of works by Alfred Stevens at the Tate, 1911-12 (No.148).

11 Studies for 3 branched table-centres, one with the lower dishes upheld by standing figures; impressions of an ornamental vase on a stepped base & a putto half-figure to decorate a twisted handle [Fig.49] Pen & pencil on white letter-paper (175×223) The sheet may be related to the design for a silver ewergone commissioned in 1855 by Joseph Bradbury (see IV, introduction).

12 Closely worked rough notes for coffee pots or ewers, a tureen & a 3 branched table-centre similar to those shown on No.11 above; other notes appear to be concerned with the treatment of the end elevation of the Wellington monument sarcophagus Verso: Rough notes for a Corinthian capital, possibly related to the Wellington monument Pencil, verso notes in pen, sheet trimmed (250×315)

13 Twelve lightly sketched coffee pots of various shapes, several with decoration briefly indicated Verso: Notes for street lamps, railings & a chair with side supports formed by winged half-figures Pencil (275×380)

14 Numerous suggestions for coffee pots, ewers, sugar bowls, vases & a cup & saucer, superimposed on architectural notes Verso: Elevation of a 3 storeyed house, 3 bays wide with channelled ground floor & triangular pediments to the 1st floor windows; faint notes for the façade & plan Pencil; verso elevation in pen & wash (253×310)



15 Ten studies for decorated soup tureens, teapots & fluted coffee pots  
Verso: Slight sketches for plates with bands of ornament; study for a soup tureen  
Pencil, sheet much trimmed (245 × 295, irregular)

16 Three heavily worked studies similar to those on No.15 for elaborate teapots with coiled & knotted handles, one having a crouching figure on the lid; slight impressions of spouts & knotted handles, jugs & pots [Fig.47]  
Verso: Faint architectural notes; impressions of a finial  
Pencil, sheet much trimmed (235 × 310, irregular)

9-16 The largest single group of Stevens's pencil drawings for silverware is in the V&A. Most of the principal collections have examples.

17 Design for a teapot, the oval bowl encircled by a broad band of foliated decoration based on the wild strawberry plant, with roundels containing the monogram RT, the handle formed by scrolled tendrils supporting a female half-figure & the lid surmounted by a strawberry knob; the sheet, also used for small rough pencil sketches, has been mutilated by irregular trimming on all sides & part of the handle of the pot lost; the missing fragment has been copied on to the mount in another hand [Fig.50]

Insc: (on mount, in unidentified hand) *This design for Tea pot along with design for Coffee-pot & service gained the 'Mayor's Prize' 1856-7 - by Reuben Townroe -*  
Pen, pencil & grey & yellow washes, sheet trimmed & stuck on to mount (188 × 309, irregular)

Prov: Pres. by Robert Hugh Stannus Robertson & Miss J. Robertson, 1956, from the collection of Hugh Stannus  
Exhib: 'The Silversmith', Sheffield Polytechnic, 1973, No.71

Despite the implication of the inscription that Reuben Townroe was responsible for this design, both the drawing style and the general quality of the sheet strongly suggest that it is in Stevens's hand, perhaps with some over-drawing by Townroe. However, in 1858 Townroe did win the Mayor's Prize at Sheffield School of Art. The school's annual report for that year provides the following account of the prizegiving ceremony on 2 February: 'The Mayor's Prize of £10 10s was given this year for the best design for a tea service, suitable for manufacture either in silver or plated ware. It was specified that the set should consist of tea pot, coffee pot, cream jug, sugar basin, and tray - the ornamentation to consist of a conventional application of the wild strawberry plant, applied flat, suitable for chasing or engraving; or in relief, suitable for embossing or casting. Figures, either the human figure or animals, might be introduced into the ornamentation. . . To prevent any suspicion of partiality, the designs for this . . . had been sent to Mr. Redgrave, R.A., London, who returned the following award to Mr. Mitchell: - "I have examined carefully the drawings you have sent up to me, and am much pleased with the results of your competition; even those not successful have sent works of much ability. I should award the prize for the tea service to Reuben Townroe, since I think his forms the most correct, and the adaptation of the ornament bold, without any coarseness. . ."

With its strawberry plant motif and monograms, the preliminary design above is clearly related to the prize competition and appears to be a striking illustration of close collaboration between Stevens and his pupil. Townroe was the most dependent and devoted of all the young men in Sheffield who came under his powerful influence in 1850. In 1859 after leaving Sheffield he went to work with his master in London and quantities of his faithful copies of Stevens's studies and designs survive, principally at the V&A. It may be that many of Stevens's drawings for metal- and majolica ware which cannot be identified with commissions from manufacturers are related to the design projects set for the students at Sheffield School of Art.

18 Design for a fish slice, the perforated blade formed by foliage scrolls springing from a vase & surmounted by a dolphin; detail of the handle mouldings [Fig.45]  
Pen, pencil & grey-brown wash (355 × 160)  
Repr: *RIBA Jnl*, LXXI, 1964, p.436, fig.2

19 Designs for a fish slice & fork, the knife's perforated blade incorporating the figure of a fisherman carrying a net, amid naturalistic foliage; both drawings have been roughly and frequently reworked [Fig.46]  
Pencil, pen & yellow wash (430 × 230)  
Lit & repr: N. Taylor, *Monuments of commerce*, 1968, p.33, pl.19

18-19 These drawings are probably to be identified with the 'Design for a Fish Slice & Fork, & another for a Fish Slice', sold as Lot 68 among other items from James Gamble's collection by Messrs Foster on 7 May 1919. They appear to be Stevens's unique essay in this field. There is no evidence to suggest that they originated in an official commission from a manufacturer: close in style to the teapot design, No.17, they may likewise have been inspired by one of the projects set at Sheffield School of Art.

## V 1850-56 (except industrial design)

His commitment to industrial design between 1850 and 1856 prevented Stevens from undertaking any other major schemes during this period. He found time, however, to execute several oil portraits for his friends, among which the most poignant is 'Mrs Mitchell and her Baby', now in the Tate. The artist spent a great deal of time while in Sheffield during 1850 and 1851 in the house at Meersbrook of Young Mitchell, his former pupil and headmaster of the School of Art, whose first wife Elizabeth was then gravely ill. He also painted for her, shortly before her death in May 1851, a mantelpiece frieze (Fitzwilliam Museum) and portrait of her dog Ben (Sheffield). Early in 1855 he painted Young Mitchell's ten-month-old son by his second wife (also at Sheffield). Other oil portraits of the period were the William Blundell Spence (Tate) and Mr & Mrs Collmann (see [31]), of whose two little boys Stevens later made plaster busts (Tate).

On his return to London, probably in the late summer of 1851, Stevens took a lease of a small house in Kensington, No.7 Canning Place (still extant), and was in residence there by October when his name first appears against this address in the poor rate book for the parish of Kensington South. He moved from Canning Place to York Cottage, Walham Green, Fulham, in April 1858 (Stannus Papers, letter from G. C. Eaton d. 23 October 1890).

He played a vigorous part while at Canning Place in the attack initiated by his friend John Morris Moore against the picture purchasing and cleaning policies of the National Gallery, then under the directorship of Sir Charles Eastlake. He gave evidence before the Select Committee set up in 1853 to inquire into the matter and in 1855, on the publication of its findings, signed Morris Moore's 'Protest and Counter Statement'. In March 1856 he wrote to *The Athenaeum* (29 March 1856, p.399) expressing his opinion of 'Sir Charles Eastlake, Mr. Wornum and their German "travelling adviser", Herr Mündler' in the most scathing terms and was rewarded by a no less offensive editorial diatribe against his own 'impertinence' in *The Art Journal* (1 May 1856, p.156).

Very little other information about Stevens's personal life during this period has survived. The letters he wrote to Alfred Pegler between the late 1840s and the late 1850s are lost, and pupils and friends such as Reuben Townroe and G. C. Eaton who provided Stannus with many reminiscences of the later years had little contact with the artist in London before 1856.

Other schemes to which Stannus refers but which are not represented in the Collection are decorations at Harewood House, Leeds (ceiling panels in the Green Drawing Room, still extant), a design for an altarpiece with an Ecce Homo painting 'for the Roman Catholic Church at Moorfields' (lost) and ironwork for railings at the BM (see [33], note), all, according to the biographer, works of 1852.



[25] LONDON: Crystal Palace, Sydenham, Bromley Studies & tracing of a design for the decoration of a demonstration room in the Italian Court & related architectural sketches, 1852-53 (5):

1 Traced elevations of 2 arched wall bays for the room intended as the setting for Stevens's reconstruction of Raphael's paintings in the Stanza della Segnatura: the treatment of the bays is closely similar, each having 3 openings, the central opening being round-arched & topped, in the elevation on the right, by a broken triangular pediment, above which a circular ceiling panel of Raphael's composition *Philosophy* is briefly indicated; the flanking rectangular doorcases in both elevations are surmounted by heavy overdoors incorporating a square panel with a segmental pediment; in the left elevation the central opening is closed at ground level by a low balustrade in front of which stands a pedestal carrying a bust of Raphael & the lunette space above the 3 openings is filled with an outline impression of Raphael's composition of the *Virtues, Strength, Prudence & Temperance*  
Insc: As above (on left elevation, not in Stevens's hand)

Pen & pencil on tracing paper (326 × 570)  
Prov: Goetze Gift, 1927, formerly in the Gamble Collection according to D. S. MacColl (V & A Library, MacColl Collection)

A more detailed version of the elevation on the left is in the Tate (2039).

2 Very rough perspectives & details of the Raphael room, showing arched wall bays as in No.1 above & the coffered compartments of a vaulted ceiling  
Verso: Rough notes for a group of nude figures, possibly related to the composition *Moses & the Brazen Serpent*  
Pencil & pen with touches of ink wash, sheet trimmed (250 × 362)

3 Study for the wall bay shown in the elevation on the right of No.1 above, with brief indication of ceiling panels including *Philosophy* above the central opening, contained in a border of grotesques  
Pen, pencil & wash (303 × 320)

4 Rough study for part of a façade with arcades on 2 storeys, the raised attic storey of the central pavilion decorated with figure sculpture & frieze  
Insc: CRYSTAL PALACE  
Verso: Rough perspective of a façade with figure sculpture, a variation on that shown on the recto; notes for stove grates.  
Insc: As above; verso, scribbled notes relating to the stove grate sketches, 2 of these | 2 of these in Room No. ... | Hall 4 of these  
w/m: Smith & Son 1851  
Pencil on grey-blue paper (401 × 312)

5 Rough notes for Italianate façades, one of them with details similar to the upper arcade in the cortile of the Farnese Palace, Rome  
Verso: Notes for decorative figures, furniture & details of a façade  
w/m: E. Towgood 1853  
Pencil on grey-blue paper (404 × 311)

See also [17].2, [26].1v

1-5 Lit: (general) *Guide to the Crystal Palace and Park* (official handbook ed. Samuel Phillips), 1854, with description of the Italian Court by Matthew Digby Wyatt & J. B. Waring; *Builder*, XII, 1854, pp.553-554; *Stannus*, p.14, paras.124-126; *Towndrow*, pp.114-115

The re-erection of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham was begun in the summer of 1852 and the palace, with its series of internal courts illustrating the development of art and architecture, was opened on 10 June 1854. One of the prime movers in the enterprise was Matthew Digby Wyatt, architect of

the Italian Court and a declared admirer of Stevens, whose help he was already seeking with the decorations proposed for the Queen's waiting room at Paddington station (see [30]). Stannus, who states that Stevens painted two ceilings in the Italian Court – one a copy of Raphael's ceiling in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican and the other of Serlio's flat coffered ceiling in the Biblioteca Antica in Venice – does not suggest that he was involved in any way with the architectural design of the court. Yet the studies above imply that, initially at least, Wyatt may have given him a free hand in the Raphael room and even consulted him on the architectural treatment of the court as a whole, which was described in the official guide as 'founded on the upper arcade of the quadrangle of the Farnese Palace'. However, Wyatt's own contribution to the text of the guide, which was the basis of Stannus's account, gives Stevens credit only for 'the painted ceiling from Venice, in the gallery' and the 'very beautiful vaulted ceiling nearest the Central Transept'. Of this Wyatt wrote: 'It would be difficult to imagine a more faithful reproduction of this beautiful ceiling than has been made in the present case by Mr Alfred Stevens, whose long residence in Italy and profound study of Raffaele, had eminently qualified him for the task. In its execution he was much aided by the loan, from the Council of the Royal Academy, London, of the elaborate copies of the various subjects of the Ceiling, presented to the Royal Academy by Lady Basset.'

The arcades which lined the court were decorated with copies of Raphael's grotesques in the Vatican logge, but according to Wyatt these were not executed by Stevens. The series of watercolour sketches of the grotesques in the RIBA Collection (see [41]), which might have been assumed to relate to the Crystal Palace project, more probably date from the artist's brief visit to Italy at the end of 1859.

Copies by Stevens, in oil on panel, of the eight principal panels of Raphael's ceiling were included in the 1877 sale. All except *Theology* and *Philosophy* are now in the Walker Art Gallery.

[26] LIVERPOOL: St George's Hall  
Studies for the decoration of the mosaic pavement, 1853 (2):

1 Rapid sketch of a boy astride a dolphin, the principal motif of the bands of sea figures; above, impression of the boy's head; unrelated notes for the angle motif of a decorative panel [Fig.65]  
Verso: Rough perspective sketches of a room with arched wall bay & panelled ceiling, probably related to the Italian Court at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, on which Stevens was working in 1853  
Pencil; recto, the principal sketch overdrawn in indian ink (340 × 240)

2 Slight sketch of a fragment of the band of sea figures, showing a mermaid with flowing drapery seen from the rear & the coiled tails of dolphins; faint notes for a pedestal with supporting figures  
Verso: Notes for cornice mouldings & ribbon motifs for a frieze  
Pencil (303 × 233)

1-2 Lit: (general, pediment & pavement) M.D. Conway, 'The work of Alfred Stevens in Liverpool', *Builder*, LIV, 1888, pp.223-224; *Stannus*, p.9, paras.79-81, pl.XIII; p.14, paras.127-128, pl.XXV (from a photograph of a section of the border which was uncovered at Stannus's request in 1890); *Walker Art Gallery monograph*, pp.15-16; *Tate catalogue*, p.74, No.104

When Harvey Lonsdale Elmes died in 1847 the completion of his masterpiece, St George's Hall, was left to C. R. Cockerell. About 1849 Stevens was asked to prepare a drawing of the proposed pediment for lithography and at this time several modifications were made, at the artist's suggestion, to the figure sculpture in the tympanum (now destroyed; the original drawing

and examples of the lithograph are in the V & A). Cockerell, who had a deep respect for Stevens's powers as draughtsman and designer, consulted him again when the design of the sunken mosaic floor of the hall was in hand in 1852-53. Stannus implies that Stevens was entirely responsible for the four curved bands of sea figures which he describes as 'the redeeming feature' of an otherwise commonplace geometrical floor pattern, but Cockerell's own sketch for the border, with tridents, sea figures and boys riding dolphins (V & A, E.2017-1909, watermarked 1852), indicates that as in the case of the pediment sculptures he was asked only to improve upon a design already broadly conceived by the architect. On 18 February 1854 *The Builder* (XII, p.89) reported that preparations for laying the pavement, manufactured by Minton of Stoke-on-Trent, were nearly complete, and by July the work was finished. The pavement survives intact, but is normally boarded over and cannot be seen.

Very few related drawings are extant, a reliable indication that Stevens did not spend long at work on the project. Princeton and the Tate have examples.

[27] MORETON-IN-MARSH (Glos): Daylesford House  
Studies for the decoration of the boudoir, c.1853-54 (3):

1 Rough perspective of the upper part of a domed room with round-arched wall recesses, showing proposed decorative scheme; suggestions for the decoration of the dome, principally for a system of circular & rectangular compartments separated by vertical & horizontal bands & lightly ornamented with arabesques; left, note for a railing or lamp-post [Fig.54]

Verso: Two suggestions for a stair balustrade with elaborate perforated panels, one incorporating a pair of wolves (see [23].11v). Below left, circular panel with coat of arms of Frederick VII of Denmark for the door of the state railway coach; right, study for the frieze running beneath the windows of the coach  
Pencil, sheet slightly trimmed (273 × 371)

2 Notes for the decoration of the boudoir as on No.1r, for a stair balustrade, probably an alternative to those on No.1v, & numerous impressions of decorative detail for the door of the Danish state railway coach including panel with the letter *F* encircled, surmounting the coat of arms  
Verso: Notes for details of the boudoir  
Insc: Scribbled measurements on verso  
Pencil, with some red chalk verso, sheet slightly trimmed (271 × 368)

3 Rough perspective of the boudoir, with dome decoration similar to that indicated on Nos.1 & 2  
Verso: Faint notes for the coat of arms of Frederick VII of Denmark as on Nos.1 & 2  
Pencil (268 × 377)

The identification of a design in the Tate (2045) for a domed room, to which Nos.1-3 and two similar studies at Princeton (48-2039 & 1980v) are closely related, was first made by K. R. Towndrow some time between the publication of his *Tate catalogue* in 1950 and the preparation of the Tate's *Concise catalogue of the British school*, published in 1953, where the drawing is described as a 'Design for the decoration of Daylesford House near Kingham, Gloucestershire'. How Towndrow had made his important new discovery remains at present a mystery. The design unquestionably relates to the boudoir at Daylesford, but no documentary evidence that Stevens was ever concerned with the house has yet come to light. He, or more probably L. W. Collmann, may have been commissioned to prepare a scheme as part of the programme of redecoration begun by Harman Grisewood, into whose ownership Daylesford came in 1853. A *Plan of (the) Boudoir* at the Tate (2825, wrongly identified by Towndrow in 1950 as the Queen's



waiting room at Paddington station) is on a sheet watermarked 1852 and numerous notes on Nos.1-3 above for the Danish state railway carriage suggest that these sheets were worked not later than 1854. It seems unlikely that Stevens's scheme of painted decoration was ever carried out. No traces of it were found during the recent restoration of the house.

[28] Railway carriage for Frederick VII of Denmark. Studies for exterior decorations, 1853-54. Rough notes for a circular medallion with the arms of Frederick VII supported between 2 standing nude figures, to decorate the door of the coach; above, rough plans, elevations & perspective of a house with a high basement storey & attic loggia, apparently related to Stevens's designs for his own house. Verso: Notes for decorated panels & other motifs probably related to the state railway coach; plan & other very rough notes for a house, as recto. Pencil (378 × 272).

Lit: (general) *Stannus*, p.9, paras.73-74; *Tate catalogue*, pp.66-67, Nos.69-70. 'Marble Hall' exhibition catalogue, V & A, 1973, p.158, No.107 (illus.)  
Information supplied by the Railway Museum at Copenhagen throws new light on a commission which Stannus believed to have come to Stevens in 1848 'probably ... through ... his connexion with Thorwaldsen (then dead) with whom the King while Crown Prince had been intimate'. The design for a railway carriage which is represented in this country by two coloured tracings, both probably in Stevens's hand, at the V & A (418-1895) and Tate (2813) was made for Peto, Brassey & Betts, the engineering contractors responsible for the building of the South Schleswig Railway. On one of his working visits to Liverpool between 1847 and 1853 Stevens had apparently called on Martin Appel the engineer - friend of Thorwaldsen - bearing a visiting card from the sculptor with the scribbled message, 'Give him a good reception Martin'. Appel had responded by gaining for him the commission for the coach which was made, together with the rest of the South Schleswig rolling stock, at the Canada works in Birkenhead and presented by the firm to King Frederick on the occasion of the opening of the railway in 1854. It was sold in 1890, having been removed from service, and, remarkably, still survives at Hurup (Thy), where it is at present in use as a weekend cottage. (I am grateful to the Superintendent of the Railway Museum at Copenhagen, William E. Dancker-Jensen, for his help in establishing something of the history and the present whereabouts of the coach.)

Very few studies for the carriage decoration are known. Two of the most important are at Princeton (48-1980 & 2039) which, like those on [27].1-3, appear side by side with sketches for the decoration of the boudoir at Daylesford House, also datable c.1853-54. The architectural notes on the above sheet are puzzling, and, if correctly identified as ideas for Stevens's own house, are of special interest, anticipating features that the artist did not develop further until the late 1850s.

[29] SHEFFIELD (Yorks): School of Art, Arundel Street. Preliminary studies for the competition designs, 1853-54 (32):

1-18 Studies, recto & verso, for a 3, 4 or 5 bay palazzo façade of 2 storeys & attic, surmounted by a heavy cornice; the ground floor is usually rusticated with round-arched openings, the entrance on the left with a panelled door; the piano nobile is articulated with venetian windows, sometimes set in relieving arches, or with aedicules alternating with niches for sculpture; the attic openings are usually square with shouldered architraves; in almost every study the artist has indicated his intention to cover the wall surfaces with a rich sculptural or sgraffito decoration [Fig.69, No.2r; Fig.70, No.2v; Fig.71, No.15r; Fig.72, No.10r].

1-10 Devoted principally to the treatment of a 3 bay façade, which is shown on Nos.9 & 10 juxtaposed with a 4 & a 5 bay elevation.  
11-16 Showing the development of the wider front.  
17-18 Occupied principally by interior perspective sketches & rough plans.

The elevations are surrounded, on every sheet, by related notes, including rough plans and sections, perspectives of a staircase hall, of domes, panelled rooms and vaulted corridors, details of windows and niches, scribbled calculations and measurements. A few sheets include references to other projects, as follows:

3v Notes for the Rape of Proserpine composition for the fire-back of the Pluto stove (see [20].11).

4v, 8v Rough impressions of the Parmigiano subject composition.

5v, 18v Sketches for decorative borders, probably for Hoole metalwork.

6v Faint notes for the fire-dogs of the Pluto stove; impressions of several stove grates.

10r Study for a fountain with a standing figure in a niche; doodles of an elephant & grotesque heads in profile.

Insc: No.2r (over door on façade study) *SCHOOL OF ART*; No.17r *Raph | Mi | Titian | Leonardo | Mass*, probably suggestions for busts to fill circular niches on the façade; No.18 (below left) 3 interlocking circles, Stevens's device for the competition entry. Pencil, Nos.1 & 14 with red & blue washes, No.2 with some red chalk & pen verso (356 × 533 smallest, 380 × 555 largest; Nos.7, 8, 11 & 15 worked principally in the vertical).

Reprd: No.10r, *RIBA Jnl*, LXXI, 1964, p.436, fig.4.

19 Fragment of a study for the façade, with lavish sculptural decoration.

Verso: Perspective impression of a hall with venetian windows & coved ceiling, probably an idea for the principal room on the 1st floor of the school. Pencil, pen & ink wash (415 × 303).

20-24 Rough studies for a 2 storeyed 3 bay façade with a deep frieze & cornice, the ground floor channelled with openings set in relieving arches.

21v Rough notes for stove grates, fenders & borders of grotesques.

23 Suggestion for an urn & rapid sketch of a teaspoon.

24v Six rapid suggestions for stove grates.

20-22 Pencil.

23-24 Pen & pencil (20, 410 × 333; 21, 275 × 375; 22, 110 × 172; 23, 220 × 175; 24, 175 × 202).

25 Study for a 5 bay façade of 2 storeys & high attic the entrance in the centre & the 1st floor windows linked by garlands; study for a term supporting the cornice over a window opening. Pencil on blue paper (200 × 325).

26 Faint sketch of part of a façade with channelled ground floor & a bust of Michelangelo in a circular niche.  
Insc: *Modelling School | Elementary School | Theatre*.  
Verso: Studies for an elaborate sideboard; perspective sketch of a corridor with a coved & compartmented ceiling.

Pencil on blue paper (193 × 325).

27 Rough perspective sketches of a large room with coved or vaulted ceiling; notes for part of a rusticated façade with niche.

Verso: Sketches of a room, as recto, & faint notes for a table, a chimneypiece & the border & handle of a tray, probably related to a design for Joseph Bradbury (see IV, introduction).

Pencil (300 × 275).

28 Recto & verso: Numerous studies for façades, some related to the school, others apparently for a private house, several rough plans of which are shown.

Verso: Scribbled notes for the figure of Proserpine on the Pluto stove fireback for Hoole & Co. (see [20].11).

Pencil, Proserpine notes in red chalk verso (555 × 420).

29 Ground & 1st floor plans of the school, the proposed ceiling decoration in the entrance lobbies & the seating in the lecture theatre roughly indicated on the ground plan.

Insc: Two rooms on the 1st floor plan faintly labelled *Painting School & Court*.

Pen & indian ink, with pencil additions (455 × 550).

30-31/2 (31/2 originally a single sheet) Two identical sections of the staircase hall, showing some wall panelling & the coffered barrel-vault of the landing; right, part of the principal front drawn to the same scale.

32v Rough notes for the plan.

30 Pencil, sheet trimmed & stuck on to mount.

31/2 Pen & pencil.

(366 × 524, 305 × 284, 305 × 295).

See also [17].3v, [35].10v, 14, [51].42.

1-32 Lit: (general) *Stannus*, p.15, paras.134-135.

The public competition for a new building to house the School of Art at Sheffield was announced in 1854, though Stevens, friend of Young Mitchell the Headmaster and in close contact with many of the pupils, must have known of the project some time previously. In the autumn of 1853 Godfrey Sykes had won the Overend Prize with his design for a door for the new school, and a public subscription of over £3000 towards the cost of the building had already been raised, due largely to the enterprise and enthusiasm of the Headmaster (*Sheffield Times*, 29 October 1853, p.7, report of annual meeting at School of Art). Designs were to be submitted by the end of 1854, and on 17 January 1855 the committee of assessors reported that of 116 designs submitted they had selected the plans of Messrs Manning and New of London (Stannus Papers, 'Report of the committee appointed by the Council to examine and report on the various designs for the new school'). A notice of the competition results was published in *The Civil Engineer & Architect's Journal* in February 1855 (XVIII, p.63). The school, built in Arundel Street, was destroyed in the Second World War.

Stevens's entry which, Stannus records, he had signed 'with the device of three interlacing circles' received no recognition in the committee's report. Indeed, the preliminary studies suggest that, far from developing a workable set of plans, he was engaged up to the last moment in an obsessive exploration of classical proportion and the relationships of sculpture and architecture in the façade. Stannus described



Stevens's design as 'somewhat like that of the Pandolfini Palace', but the almost total absence of plain wall surface and the richly sculptural treatment of the piano nobile with aedicules, niches, swags and roundels more closely recalls the façade of Raphael's Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila, Rome. Stevens's drawing after an engraving of the lost palace is included in the album of his architectural studies in Italy (see [5].1, p.3). His may well have been among those entries rejected 'on account of the elaborate character of the façade, the amount of ornament rendering it only too apparent that the design could not possibly be executed for the funds at the disposal of the Council' (Stannus Papers, 'Report of the committee...'). According to Stannus, the competition drawings were no longer in existence at the time of writing in 1890-91. Three 'frames of Architectural Plans for a School of Art at Sheffield', similar in size to Nos.1-18, and an 'Architectural Drawing of the same series' were lent to the 1911-12 exhibition at the Tate by Mrs Gamble (*Catalogue of loan collection of works by Alfred Stevens*, National Gallery of British Art, 1911-12, Nos.149-150), but part of the Gamble Collection is known to have passed to Goetze and Nos.1-18 probably include these exhibited drawings. Nos.1-32 form the largest single collection of Stevens's studies for the competition, though a considerable proportion of the many unidentified architectural drawings scattered among public and private collections is undoubtedly also related to it.

[30] LONDON: Queen's waiting room, Paddington station, Westminster  
Preliminary studies & design for the decoration of an octagonal domed chamber, c.1854 (9):  
1 Design for the decoration of the waiting room, the proposed treatment of the entrance wall & 3 bays of the dome indicated in detail: the round-arched entrance is framed by a broken architrave, frieze & cornice & surmounted by a square foliated panel with the monogram V.A.; a purple curtain is visible beyond the opening; the deep wall frieze is decorated with a repeating pattern of flowers & foliage scrolls, at the base of each dome compartment lies a life-size figure heavily draped & framed beneath an elaborately moulded semicircular arch, its coffered soffit visible in sharp foreshortening; above each arch is a hexagonal or oval coffer-like panel with similarly elaborate mouldings & a central medallion containing a crouching figure; the interstices between the 'coffers' & 'arches' are filled with grotesques, the principal motif of which is a winged female half-figure terminated & surmounted by urns; a frieze of swags & corbels & a series of coves with light arabesque decoration terminate the dome [Fig.56]  
Insc: (on mount, probably in R. Phené Spiers's hand) Sir M. Digby Wyatt. *Design for Royal Waiting Room, Paddington. The figures in panels by Alfred Stevens*  
Pen, pencil, watercolour & gold leaf, the sheet stained by water in many places (436 × 252)  
Reprd: RIBA Jnl, XXXV, 1927, p.34  
Prov: Goetze Gift, 1927, formerly in the possession of R. Phené Spiers (F)  
A copy of this drawing by Reuben Townroe is in the V & A (E.2757-1911), together with Stevens's own closely similar alternative design for the waiting room decorations (E.996-1914).

2 Rough perspective sketch of part of the dome, showing the arches round the base & circular compartments above, their mouldings & the grotesques in the interstices indicated in some detail & close to the design in No.1 [Fig.55]  
Pen, pencil & ink wash (357 × 497)

3-6, 4v Rough perspective sketches of the chamber, showing early ideas for the treatment of the entrance wall & the dome compartment above it, for which a delicate arabesque decoration is suggested  
3v Faint notes for a border with rose, thistle & shamrock, probably for the waiting room frieze  
4v-6v Fragments of a sketch for an arch, drawn with a pair of compasses  
Pencil (each 230 × 240 approx.)  
Nos.3-6 originally formed one sheet.

7-9 Rough perspective sketches, principally for the decoration of the dome, showing the development of the 'coffered' compartments & in-fill of grotesques adopted in the final designs  
8v-9v Further notes for the dome decoration including (No.8v) a proposal for painted arcading round the base of the dome  
Insc: Colour notes given; No.9r (in Sigismund Goetze's hand) *Design for Royal Waiting Room at Paddington Station. S.G.*  
7, 9 Pen & pencil; No.8 pencil (each 182 × 224 approx.)

1-9 Lit: (general) 'Marble Halls' exhibition catalogue, V & A, 1973, No.108, p.159 (illus.)

When Matthew Digby Wyatt was invited by Brunel in 1851 to take part in designing the new Great Western Railway station at Paddington, he was deeply involved in the Great Exhibition and had already formed, from the exhibits of Henry Hoole and George Wostenholm, the highest opinion of Stevens's powers as a designer. At what point he in turn approached Stevens for help with the decoration of the royal waiting room is not clear, for none of the letters which establish the early history of the project is dated. In April 1852 the Secretary of the railway company wrote to Brunel instructing him on behalf of the Directors that 'There is a very decided objection on their part to any sort of decorative ornament to the passenger platforms or offices which they wish to be as plain and inexpensive looking as possible' (H. Parris, 'British transport historical records and their value to the architectural historian', *Architectural History*, II, 1959, pp.54-55). While it is unlikely that Wyatt would have begun negotiations with Stevens after receiving such a directive, the special function of the waiting room may have led him to remain for some time optimistic about the acceptance of a scheme for its lavish decoration. Stylistic evidence and the presence of related studies on the verso of a sheet of sketches for the Collmann portrait ([31]) suggest that most of Stevens's work was done in 1854.

Three letters from Stevens to Wyatt in the V & A Library and extracts among the Stannus Papers, made by Wyatt's assistant Alfred Jowers from this and other lost correspondence between the two men, provide the only clues to the circumstances of this unfulfilled commission. It appears that Wyatt had originally provided Stevens with a drawing showing his own proposed colour scheme for the waiting room and that this was a source of considerable annoyance and difficulty to the artist. 'I have laboured hard at the drawing,' Stevens wrote in the first of the letters recorded by Jowers, 'but cannot with my little skill succeed in producing an agreeable effect of colour. The difficulty arises from the quantity of red I have to deal with. If you can think of any alteration in your first plan that shall diminish or do away with this difficulty or will permit me to try an alternative or two I will make another attempt to accomplish my task else I fear I shall be obliged to relinquish it... Do you not think that more positive colours might be introduced on the walls and ceiling...?' Wyatt then asked for an estimate for 'painting the 8 panels and the 8 lunettes' in distemper and evidently complied with Stevens's request for greater freedom, for the two designs which the artist eventually produced, and their related studies, show him to

have been concerned with the overall decorative scheme of the room. The letter that Stevens sent with the designs and his two subsequent letters to Wyatt are those in the V & A Library. 'Make use of whichever [design] you may like best,' he suggested. 'I incline myself to the blue one, No.2 [V & A, E.996-1914] which would also be the least expensive. My price for painting the figures as arranged in this drawing would be about £15 for each of the eight sides. The figures in the gold and white design No.1 ([30].1 above) would cost something less. Some of the figures would as you will see, by referring to the scale, be as large as life - The yellow on wall in drawing No 2 represents gold color'd silk... I shall be very sorry if my tardiness in completing these drawings should have put you to any inconvenience.' He added in one of two postscripts, 'I have no "failures" to send you as each of my failures was sponged out to make room for a fresh attempt.'

No further letters from Wyatt to Stevens are recorded before Stevens wrote again to ask for a payment of £10 for whichever of the two designs Wyatt was disposed to keep, 'since it seems unlikely that the scheme for decorating the Queen's waiting-room at the Paddington Station will ever be carried out'. The architect replied on 29 March 1856 enclosing a cheque and both drawings and regretting that he 'had not been able to succeed in getting the decoration carried into effect'. As far as Wyatt was concerned, the matter was evidently closed, but Stevens insisted that he keep both drawings and sent them back again with a long explanatory letter reiterating the difficulties he had experienced and justifying his claim to a fee which, it had been agreed, would only have been waived 'if the cupola was given to me to paint'.

The situation so poignantly reflected in the letters was one with which Stevens, exquisitely painstaking and incapable of compromise, was to become all too familiar. His apology for 'tardiness' and postscript reference to 'failures' strongly imply that Wyatt, beginning to despair of ever receiving a finished design, had had to beg even to see rejected work, and the possibility must be considered that the scheme was abandoned not simply on economic grounds but as a result of Stevens's own procrastination.

Stannus knew of Stevens's association with the Queen's waiting room and had made preparations to illustrate the 'gold and white' design, No.1 above, in the biography, but suppressed all mention of the scheme when a controversy arose between him, Alfred Jowers and R. Phené Spiers, over the extent of Stevens's responsibility for it (Stannus Papers, correspondence from Jowers and Phené Spiers, 1890).

Surprisingly few preparatory studies have survived. Examples are at the Tate (3399 VI) and Fitzwilliam Museum (2187-39 & 40).

[31] Portrait of L. W. Collmann  
Preliminary study for the portrait now in the Fogg Art Museum, USA, 1854  
The study is roughly executed, the features of the face barely indicated & the hair & jacket harshly outlined; the sitter's pose differs slightly from that in the finished work, his left elbow resting on a high chair back & the hands loosely clasped together; the drawing is squared for enlargement; above, a rapid outline impression of the figure showing an alternative pose for the arms  
Verso: Several rapid sketches of the decoration proposed for the Queen's waiting room, Paddington station, c.1853-54  
Insc: Colour notes given on verso  
Pencil (311 × 238)  
Lit: (general) *Stannus*, pp.14-15, paras.129-130, pl.XXXVI; K. R. Towndrow, 'A Lost portrait of L. W. Collmann by Alfred Stevens', *Apollo*, XLVI, 1947, p.48; *Tate catalogue*, p.74, No.103



According to Stannus, this portrait and its companion piece Mary Ann Collmann, now in the Tate, were painted in 1854. The Collmann portrait left England in 1929 when it was acquired, with several drawings, models and bronzes, from the Ricketts & Shannon Collection by Grenville Lindali Winthrop of New York, and passed to the Fogg Museum in 1943 as part of the Winthrop Bequest. A second, smaller portrait of Collmann, in three-quarter view, is among the Ricketts & Shannon Bequest at the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Leonard William Collmann (1816-81) was Stevens's close friend and, on many occasions, his employer. Stannus described him somewhat misleadingly as a 'former assistant' of Sydney Smirke, but there is no evidence that he ever practised as an architect. In 1843 Collmann, like Stevens, had entered for the Houses of Parliament fresco competition, in the class of decorative works, when he had received commendation for his entry. Collmann & Davis are described in the London Post Office directory as early as 1846 as 'decorators and upholsterers' and in the same year submitted a marquetry table of their own manufacture in the Society of Arts Exhibition of Decorative Art. The records of the firm are unfortunately lost. Hugh Stannus, who was employed as Collmann's chief artist during the 1870s and must have had access to them, inexplicably failed in the biography to give a coherent account of Collmann's relationship with Stevens and seems on the contrary to have consistently underemphasized his role in the artist's life. There is no doubt, however, that a considerable amount of Stevens's work came to him through his decorator friend. It was as artist to the firm that Stevens painted the decorations at Deysbrook, No.11 Kensington Palace Gardens and Melchet Court, made designs for the decoration of the Olympic Theatre and, as Collmann's associate, designed the lion sejant for the forecourt of the British Museum and the urns on the museum gates. It is significant that the only drawings by Collmann now in the V & A were in Stevens's studio at the time of his death and were sold with his studio effects in 1877, only later to be correctly identified by Reuben Townroe.

Collmann worked in a restrained and respectable Adam style much approved by his contemporaries. His many works in collaboration with the architect Sydney Smirke included the decoration of the New Exeter 'Change in the Strand, 1844, Sir Robert Peel's residence, No.3 Whitehall Gardens, 1847, and the new galleries at the Royal Academy, 1869. Among his drawings at the V & A are interior decorative schemes for Bamford Hall, Lancashire, Cutlers' Hall, Sheffield, St James's church, Whitehaven, and the Town Hall, Bolton.

[32] LONDON: No.11 Kensington Palace Gardens, Kensington & Chelsea

Preliminary studies & cartoons for the paintings of Heroines from Spenser's *Faerie Queene* which decorated the walls of the drawing-room, 1854-55 (10):

1 Two studies for seated & heavily draped female figures, probably early ideas for Radigund & Belpheobe

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (159 × 262)

2 Three studies for the drapery over the left leg of Mercilla; right, faint sketch of the complete figure & impressions of the figure of Alma & another Heroine, probably Briana

Verso: Study of drapery folds, notes for the figure & drapery of Briana

Pencil, with some red chalk verso (273 × 330)

3-10 FS working drawings for 8 of the 10 heroines; each heavily draped figure, on a plain background, occupies the whole height of the sheet; the forms are swiftly & economically described in outline with broad hatching

3 *CYMOENT*, seated, facing right, driving a stone chariot carved with shell & sea figure & drawn by a pair of dolphins [Fig.57]

4 *Belpheobe*, seated, facing left on a plinth, holding a bow & arrow [Fig.58]

5 *ALMA*, seated, facing right on a stone chair, in meditation [Fig.59]

6 *RADIGUND*, seated, turned to the left & looking to the right on a stone stool carved with dragons, wearing helmet & breastplate & holding a shield & staff [Fig.60]

7 *AMORET*, seated, facing half right on a scrolled stone stool, her scarf blown by the wind [Fig.61]

8 *BRIANA*, seated, facing left on a pulvinated stone pedestal, a garland in her flowing hair [Fig.62]

9 *SERENA*, seated, facing half right in meditation, her elbow resting on the back of a chair obscured by drapery [Fig.63]

10 *MERCILLA*, seated, facing half left on a stone throne with lions' claw feet, a sceptre in her hand & a sword beneath her left foot [Fig.64]

3-10 Insc: All sheets titled as above & all except No.4 insc. in Stevens's hand with a list of the principal colours proposed, each colour note corresponding with a symbol which is matched on the appropriate areas of the drawing; versos, notes in various unidentified hands relating to Spenser's poem or identifying the patron, as follows:

3v B - 3|C - IV|V - 31-33

4v *Don Christobal de Murieta* | *Marquis d'Santurce* | 11 Kensington Palace Gardens

5v *Don Christobal de Murieta* | *Marquis d'Santurce*; (in another hand) *That even been rejoiced her sweet face to see* 10v (in pen) *Thus she did sit in soverayne maiestie, | Holding a scepter in her royall hand, | The sacred pledge of peace and clemencie | With which High God had blest her happy land, | maugre so many foes which did withstand | But at her feet her sword was likewise layde | whose long rest rusted the bright steely brand | Yet whenas foes enforst or friends sought ayde, | She could it sternely draw, that all the world dismayde*

Pencil on tracing paper, mounted (3, 450 × 376; 4, 426 × 317; 5, 400 × 347; 6, 423 × 371; 7, 395 × 338; 8, 430 × 370; 9, 440 × 315; 10, 425 × 313)

Exhib: On loan to the Tate 1948-56 for exhibition in the Stevens Room

Lit & reprd: *Towndrow*, p.119, pls.20a (No.9), 20b (No.10); *Tate catalogue*, p.75, No.111, pls.20, 21 (Nos.3, 8)

See also [52].77v

Lit: (general) *Stannus*, p.15, paras.131-133, pls.XXVIII, XXIX, XXX

No.11 Kensington Palace Gardens, a large stuccoed mansion in the Italian style, was designed in 1852 by Sydney Smirke for the Spanish merchant Don Cristobal de Murietta. The house was completed, according to the terms of the building agreement, in 1854, and when the ground lease was granted in June 1855 de Murietta was already in residence (full account in *Survey of London*, XXXVII, *Northern Kensington*, ch.8, pp.165-167). Stannus, who states that Stevens was responsible for the decoration of the drawing and morning rooms only, gives no hint as to how the commission was obtained. But a watercolour drawing

in the V & A (8594.11), showing an early design for the W wall of the drawing-room, bears the trade stamp of L. W. Collmann, the interior decorator who was habitually engaged by Smirke to carry out work of this kind and who, in turn, frequently employed Stevens as artist to his firm (see [31]).

None of the original decoration of No.11 Kensington Palace Gardens survives, but it is reasonable to assume that Collmann was made responsible for all four principal rooms on the ground floor. During his survey of the house in 1890-91 Stannus noted 'twelve cameo paintings on ceilings of Drwg rooms & Liby' (Stannus Papers) but apparently judged that neither the second drawing-room nor the library contained Stevens's work. The two designs in the V & A (8594.11 & D.1219-1908) for the general treatment of the W wall of the large drawing-room and a photograph of the room taken before its redecoration in 1937, when the ceiling paintings were still intact (Crown Estate Office, file 14361), suggest that here too the unremarkable decorative scheme which provided the setting for Stevens's panels was devised and executed by Collmann and his assistants.

The large drawing-room lies at the back of the house on the N-S axis, the long window wall overlooking the garden on the E. It was originally divided by wall pilasters and free-standing columns to form two compartments of unequal length, that on the S being the smaller, with a bay window on the E and its own chimneypiece on the W wall.

The arrangement of the ten canvas panels painted by Stevens with figures from Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is shown on a sketch plan in the Stannus Papers. Each panel, enclosed by an ornamental frame painted directly on to the wall surface, occupied the centre of a wall space, at a height of about 7ft from the floor. In the principal compartment of the room, Amoret and Briana flanked the chimneybreast on the short N wall, with Una and Britomart on either side of the door in the W wall and Serena and Mercilla to left and right of the french windows on the E. At either end of the S wall in the small compartment were Cymoent and Belpheobe, with Alma and Radigund flanking the chimneypiece on the W. The panels were not conceived as independent units, but their pairing round the room was emphasized by a gentle interaction between the poses of the heroines, each figure being orientated towards the architectural feature separating it from its partner. Stannus's sketch shows that the corners of the flat ceilings in each compartment were punctuated by oval canvas panels decorated with a single figure. Several of these panels, to which no studies or designs have yet been related, were loosened from their setting when Stannus observed them and noted their subjects in 1890-91. The morning room ceiling was decorated with four quadrat panels at the corners, containing 'small emblematic figures of the four Seasons', painted in grisaille on a blue ground. Short descriptive notes of these are in the Stannus Papers but no other record of them has survived.

Despite Stannus's plea in 1891 that the heroines 'should be secured for the nation if ever the present owner should part with his interest in the house', they disappeared sometime during the first three decades of this century and Towndrow's attempts to trace them during the late 1930s came to nothing. It is thus particularly fortunate that most of Stevens's cartoons have survived. Of the two drawings missing from the set of ten, one, for the heroine Una, is at Princeton (48-2031). The other, for Britomart, has not been traced, but a copy of it is among Reuben Townroe's copies of all ten cartoons in the V & A. Stannus's biography contains reproductions of nine of the finished paintings, the Una print including the surrounding frame. A few preliminary studies for the figures are scattered between the V & A, Fitzwilliam and Ashmolean Museums, the Tate and Walker Art Gallery.



On the basis of an inscription on a working drawing at the V & A (D.1220-1908) for a decorative motif in a wall panel, Stevens is often assumed to have worked also at No.9 Kensington Palace Gardens, built for de Murrietta's relative Don Anselmo de Arroyave. This mansion, like No.11, was completed in 1854 to the designs of Sydney Smirke, who may well have brought in Collmann to execute the interior decorations, but there is no conclusive evidence that Stevens himself was concerned with them.

[33] LONDON: British Museum  
Preliminary studies for the decoration of the dome of the Reading Room, 1854-55

Studies for oval panels with single standing figures, differing from those in the final design; rough sketches of sections of the dome, showing existing panels, & faint notes of proposed painted architectural features [Fig.86]

Verso: Rough plan & notes for the architectural treatment of an interior, including a room with a coffered ceiling & a niche in the end wall, probably related to the Sheffield School of Art competition  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (250 x 397)

See also [37].7, [51].51v, [55].4v

Lit: (general) *Armstrong*, p.27; *Stannus*, p.22, paras. 186-188, pl.XL; *Towndrow*, pp.146-147; *Tate catalogue*, pp.87-88, Nos.180-185; *'Marble Halls'* exhibition catalogue, V & A, 1973, p.192, No.135 (illus.)

Inspired by Anthony Panizzi's suggestion in 1852 that a circular library should be built in the central quadrangle of the British Museum, the Reading Room was begun in 1854 to the designs of Sydney Smirke. In August of that year Panizzi, then Keeper of Printed Books, submitted a report to the Trustees recommending that Government approval should be sought 'to the interior of the Cupola, over the new Reading Room, being painted in a high-art style' (BM, Trustees Minutes, XXVI, 12 August 1854, p.8731). The idea, with its promise of a large increase in costs, was flatly rejected, but in October he again urged 'the importance of having the interior of the Cupola... painted by eminent Artists' and went on to suggest that 'preparations should be made by the Architect whilst the Building is being erected for the purpose of placing marble statues between the windows of the cupola' (*ibid.*, 14 October 1854, pp.8741-8742). Ignoring his repeated request for their consideration of the painting of the dome, the Trustees directed that Smirke should be consulted about the proposal for figure sculpture. The architect happened at that time to be constructing a model of the Reading Room for the 1855 Paris Exhibition. He wrote on 5 December to Sir Henry Ellis expressing his general approval of the scheme and saying that he would be better able to 'report as to the practicability of the suggestion' when the model 'shall have been further advanced'. (BM, Original Letters & Papers, LI). Neither of Panizzi's proposals was discussed by the Trustees again, at no time was Stevens's name put before them, nor is there any evidence to suggest that, as Stannus maintained, the Librarian himself asked the artist to provide designs for the decoration of the dome. Yet barely three months later Stevens had done so. On 24 March 1855 *The Builder* (XII, pp.133, 139) published a report on the progress of the Reading Room, with an engraving of Smirke's exhibition model showing the dome already complete with Stevens's painted decorations, and with standing figures in position over the cornice. 'The decorations', stated the journal, with misplaced confidence but without any mention of the prospective artist, 'will be painted. It is proposed to introduce a series of statues around the room, at the springing of the dome.'

The only assumption that can be made from the available evidence is that sometime between August

1854 and the first weeks of 1855 Smirke decided that his model, if not the dome itself, should benefit from Panizzi's vision and took it upon himself to discuss the matter with Stevens, no doubt also hoping that the Trustees might still be persuaded to change their minds. His choice of artist is not surprising. He was already well acquainted with Stevens through their mutual association with Leonard Collmann. In 1852 Stevens had provided him with a design for the urns on the museum entrance gates and for the lion sejant on the low railing round the lodges. (A study for the urns, which replaced the rather feeble griffons of Smirke's original design, published in *The Builder*, X, 1852, p.153, is in the V & A (D.1242-1908). The original 25 cast iron lions were dispersed when the railings were dismantled in 1895. Several remained at the museum and twelve were sent to St Paul's cathedral, where they may be seen on the posts round the Wellington monument. Innumerable further casts and copies were made: the little animal is still probably Steven's best-known work.) At the time the Reading Room decorations were under discussion, both Collmann and Stevens were at work on the interior decorations of No.11 Kensington Palace Gardens, newly erected to Smirke's designs.

Whether the model was ever shown to the Trustees is not known. No reference to it has yet been found in the museum's archives. In any event, Stevens's scheme suffered a fate identical to that of his designs for the decoration of the dome of St Paul's cathedral. When *The Builder* returned to the subject of the Reading Room shortly before the formal opening, it was only to report that 'The statues... and the artistical decorations in the panels... have been omitted' (XV, 1857, p.229). The journal bitterly regretted the substitution of a plain blue, white and gold colour scheme: 'How splendid an apartment this might have been made, if the rich colours of the books had been extended in coloured ornamental forms to the windows and dome. Art should have been called in to decorate. The omission, however, is not the fault of the designer so much as the consideration of £s.d.; and the length of time which it would have taken to complete the work.'

In 1864 an Italian engineer, P. T. Volprignano, devised a system of scaffolding that would allow the dome to be decorated while the room remained open to the public, but there appears to have been no connection between this and Stevens's scheme. 'I only wonder,' wrote Volprignano to Stannus in 1891, 'why neither the Officials of the British Museum nor the Architect Smirke ever brought up the name of Stevens and his decoration whilst I was just proposing the same thing? In fact discovered the way to reach the walls, under the stated conditions, I should have thought that Sir Smirke [sic] would have referred me to the already elaborated decorations' (Stannus Papers).

The wood and plaster model prepared by Smirke and decorated by Stevens entered the V & A in 1890 and has recently been restored. 585mm high, it shows three-quarters of the dome, that is, fifteen of the twenty ribbed bays. Stevens intended to represent one aspect of man's achievement in each bay. The upper elliptical panels are each occupied by a single symbolic female figure seated, in sharp foreshortening, within a shell niche and similar in character to the heroines designed at the same period for the drawing-room at No.11 Kensington Palace Gardens. Beneath, immediately over the window arches, are ranged groups of three heroic portrait figures, seated, with attendant putti, in pedimented recesses filling the whole width of each bay. Thus, for example, Painting symbolized in the ellipse is represented below by Titian, Michelangelo and Raphael. This lower register of figures, closely related in spirit to Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura, reads as a continuous horizontal frieze subtly counterbalancing the verticals of the ribs and the narrow panelled bays. Some of the consoles at cornice level still retained their tiny plaster figures when the restoration of the model was undertaken

Studies for the paintings are principally at the V & A and the Tate, but are relatively few in number, a reflection, perhaps, of the unaccustomed speed with which Stevens apparently completed his work. Both collections also have a set of copies in watercolour by Reuben Townroe of the figure compositions, painted directly from the model.



## VI 1856-75

In 1856 Stevens began work on the two schemes that governed inexorably the last twenty years of his life: the decorations for Dorchester House, Park Lane, and the Wellington monument competition which led to his commission in 1858 to erect the great pile that now stands in St Paul's cathedral. Both were to become at once his masterpieces and a crushing burden upon him, frequently preventing the completion of other important projects and aggravating, through the overwork and emotional stress they caused, his chronic ill-health. Relentless in his pursuit of an elusive ideal and consumed with the image of Michelangelo and High Renaissance Italy, Stevens was ill-equipped to meet the needs of the Victorian patron. To the few men who recognized his genius – R. S. Holford of Dorchester House, F. C. Penrose, architect to St Paul's, L. W. Collmann – his stubborn refusal to compromise for the sake of speed and economy and his almost total lack of business sense must have been cruelly frustrating.

There was little time to devote to anything other than competitions and commissions during this period, but Stevens would often escape from demanding patrons to design furniture for the mansion he dreamed of building near No.9 Eton Villas, Haverstock Hill, Hampstead, his home from 1862 until his death (see [40]). He revisited Italy briefly, probably late in 1859, and according to Reuben Townroe came back to work on the model of the Wellington monument with renewed vigour, exclaiming when he saw it again, 'Not so bad after all' (Stannus Papers). The ragged course of his illness can be plotted from his letters to Alfred Pegler, the series of which from 1864 to 1875 has survived almost intact. To the habitual digestive troubles and acute headaches were added, in 1867, the ordeal of a heart attack that left him lame and with orders from his doctor to rest completely. The death of his mother in 1869 made oppressive the feelings of loneliness that so often accompany total absorption in work. 'I am in great grief', he wrote to Pegler. 'You who have a wife and children a brother and sisters can hardly understand how much this loss affects me who have none of these...' W. J. Linton wrote in his *Memoirs* (1895): 'Myself and Edward Wehnert (the watercolour painter) were, I think, almost his only visitors at the house on Haverstock Hill... Engrossed with his work he never went into society. It was difficult to drag him out even to dine with his friend Wehnert's family, a brother and three sisters all fond of him; and having called on him with Wehnert to take him to dinner, I have known him turn back, when as the door was opened he saw an extra hat in the hall, with "O Wehnert, I forgot", – that there was something to prevent his stay; and we had almost to force him in. Not that he was averse to or unfit for conversation; it was only the shyness of a man who did not care to make new friends...' There were, of course, the decorative artists from Sheffield School of Art who had made themselves his pupils – Godfrey Sykes, William Ellis, Henry Hoyles, Reuben Townroe, James Gamble and Hugh Stannus – all of whom except Hoyles spent periods with him in London working as his assistants. But there is no evidence to suggest that any of them ever progressed beyond the most formal master-assistant relationship with him – and that alone maintained often with difficulty. When Gamble was asked whether Stevens had ever taken pupils, he exclaimed, 'Pupils! What pupil could ever work for him, or ever satisfy him! He was never satisfied with his own work, much less other peoples' (Townroe, p.99, quoted from the Curtis Papers). Stevens's barely tolerant attitude to lesser men is expressed in his reply to Stannus, who was questioning him closely and unnecessarily one day about colour symbolism in his work: 'Take a little more claret, Stannus!' (Stannus Papers). 'He was no pupil of mine', Stevens wrote to John Morris Moore, adding one of those cutting asides of which he was extremely fond: 'he is an awful bore, and so literal a blockhead that he always offers an explanation for

things self-evident. I really believe that when he leaves this world and goes below to visit the pyrotechnic display in the infernal regions, he is capable of exclaiming, "These are fireworks"! (V&A Library, MacColl Collection, quoted in a letter from Morris Moore's son to D. S. MacColl).

In the autumn of 1872 Stevens suffered another stroke and by the spring of 1874 was in such financial straits that he was forced once again to ask Pegler for money – this time to help cover the costs of the Wellington monument. On 19 June he made a will appointing Pegler as sole executor and residuary legatee. (Stevens's inclusion of his father's name in his signature on the document, *Alfred George Stevens*, probably initiated the misunderstanding – still common – that this was his own full name. He was christened simply Alfred.) On 29 April 1875 Pegler received word that his doctor had diagnosed congestion of the lungs but had 'promised after this that I shall be better and stronger than I have been for some years'. Two days later, on 1 May, Stevens died during a third attack of angina. His doctor certified that his state of general debility had been among the causes of death.

Stevens's obituaries were brief, often misinformed and dominated by accounts of the Wellington monument affair. 'He has left', wrote *The Times* (4 May 1874), 'neither wife nor children, nor riches, but the name of one of the greatest decorative artists insensibly devoted to his art.' *The Art Journal* confessed peevishly 'to know nothing of Mr Stevens's works, simply because they have never come before us – so far as we recollect – except his design for the Wellington Monument... and this was far from having our approval...' (XIV, 1875, p.232, but cf. II, 1856, p.304). Only *The Builder* gave fitting emphasis to an obituary that filled the whole front page and concluded: 'Thus has passed away from us a man, quiet and unobtrusive in his ways, whose influence in Classic Art has been, and will continue to be, very strongly felt, and whose death we cannot speak of as less than a loss to the nation' (XXXIII, 1875, p.405). Self-sufficient and austere in spirit, Stevens stood remote, in his life as in his work, from the flamboyant coteries of his contemporaries the Pre-Raphaelites and the High Victorians of the Royal Academy. With whatever influence *The Builder* credited him, the unflinching abstract idealism which informs everything he produced, from the humblest fender to the most noble figure group, was to remain an alien force amid the mainstream of C19 art.

The only works after 1856 that are listed by Stannus but are not represented in the Collection are a posthumous portrait drawing, 1859, of Leonard Christie, aged ten, whose parents were friends of L. W. Collmann (Tate), and decorations on behalf of Collmann's firm in 1868 at Melchet Court, Hampshire, for Lady Ashburton (destroyed by fire). Documentary evidence survives of two small schemes, both unknown to Stannus. During the 1860s Stevens was asked by the editor of *Once a Week* to design a cover for the periodical, but the time allowed was a mere two weeks. 'I told Mr Dallas that this would be impossible', he wrote to James Gamble. 'I have addressed him to apply to you or to Reuben and have promised if you undertake the work to be of all the use to you that I can' (letter at Fitzwilliam Museum). Stevens did indeed make sketches for the cover. The two most complete are at Princeton (48-1988) and the V&A (E.1715-1914). The second, more obscure, project is referred to in a letter from the artist to Henry Cole dated 8 October 1870. 'I have made some sketches for an exhibition ticket', he wrote, 'but cannot put these into shape until I know how much and what kind of type I have to fit into my composition – will you have the kindness to direct that a proof of this part of the ticket be sent to me' (V&A Library, Cole Correspondence box 12). No drawings or finished work have yet been found that might be identified with Stevens's proposed ticket, presumably intended for the International Exhibition of 1871.

[34] LONDON: Wellington monument, St Paul's cathedral  
Preliminary studies (28) & related drawings by pupils (3), 1856-c.1870:

## 1-28 Preliminary studies

1 Seven small studies for the competition model in elevation & perspective, concerned principally with the treatment of the lower stage; 3 studies show pillars set at regular intervals round the sarcophagus carrying a continuous entablature; 1 sketch shows crouching caryatid figures substituted for pillars; left edge, study for the central urn motif at the base of an earthenware stove panel designed for Hoole & Co., 1857 (see [20].14, 20) [Fig.79]  
Verso: Scribbled notes for the model; studies for the base of the stove panel, as recto  
Pencil (262 × 210)

Reprd: *RIBA Jnl*, LXXI, 1964, p.438, fig.8

2 Two rapid studies for the competition model in elevation & perspective, 1 clearly showing caryatid figures seated round the sarcophagus supporting the entablature; notes for the upper part of the stove panel for Hoole & Co. (see No.1r) & for an elaborate torchère or fire-dog [Fig.80]

Verso: Rough elevations, section, interior perspective & plan of a large public building, probably relating to the Government offices competition of 1856-57  
Pencil (320 × 525)

1-2 These studies are of special interest for the evidence they provide of Stevens's early intention to use figures instead of columns to support the superstructure. The idea was apparently short-lived, for it is not developed in later drawings.

3 Faintly scribbled trial sketches for the arch & figure group pedestals; above, sketch of the central pedestal of the 1851 Exhibition memorial model  
Verso: Tiny plan & faint elevation & perspective of a bridge carrying a pavilion crowned by a domed lantern

Insc: verso *Bridge for ornamental water in St James's Park*

Pencil on blue paper (305 × 190)

A suspension bridge (no longer extant) over the ornamental lake in St James's Park was built by Rendell and decorated by Matthew Digby Wyatt in 1857. Apart from these slight sketches, there is no evidence that Stevens was concerned with the scheme. This sheet was among those noted by D. S. MacColl as being in the Gamble Collection in 1912 (V&A Library, MacColl Collection)

4-5 Recto & verso: Very rough notes principally for the cavetto moulding at the bases of the columns, & for the general layout of wall & ceiling decoration, Dorchester House  
Pencil, both sheets trimmed (238 × 340, 265 × 330)

6 Rough perspective of the arch & superstructure, as in the competition model; notes for fenders; below right, faint note of the 1851 Exhibition memorial model

Verso: Very rough sketches for fenders, panels with putti supporting drapery swags & the 1851 Exhibition memorial model  
Pencil (235 × 405)

7 Six experimental studies for Truth & Falsehood, the lines of pedestal & superstructure shown; notes for the decoration of a cornice soffit [Fig.82]

Verso: Rough perspective of Dorchester House dining-room & suggestion for the chimney-piece & frieze

w/m: E. Towgood 1855

Pencil (310 × 195)



8 Studies for the colonnettes at the angles of the superstructure & suggestions for the frieze in the principal entablature, with festoons, winged cherubs' heads & a descending dove; faint notes for Valour & Cowardice [Fig. 81]

Verso: Notes for a frieze, as recto, & studies for Corinthian capitals, an oak-leaf pattern indicated on the column shafts  
Pencil (312 × 230)

9 Studies for the capitals of the columns & colonnettes; faint notes for Dorchester House dining-room chimneypiece caryatids

Verso: Notes for colonnettes, as No. 8r, & for Valour & Cowardice; suggestions for a round-arched niche or panel with an enthroned figure  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (310 × 245)

10 Faint scribbled notes for the columns, superstructure & equestrian figure; rapid sketch for a chest of drawers

Verso: Slight sketches for figure compositions, superimposed on concentric circles drawn with a pair of compasses, possibly in preparation for a plate design  
Pencil, with touches of pen verso, sheet trimmed (255 × 295)

11 Rough notes for the decoration of the pedestal, showing ribboned victory tablets; tiny perspective sketch of the arch & surrounding structure, showing triangular pediments over the entablature as in the FS model & final version; above, scribbled notes for a circular figure composition, probably related to the design for the Local Prize medal commissioned by the Department of Science & Art (see [37])  
Verso: Studies for a sideboard & table leg, probably relating to Stevens's house at Eton Road; very rough impression of the Isaiah spandrel for St Paul's cathedral  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (277 × 346)

12 Incomplete side elevation of the wooden framework for the FS model, with colonnettes & scrolled pilasters roughly indicated  
Insc: Measurements marked

Verso: Studies for the decoration of a dome & a room with coved ceiling & end wall with a niche containing a bust, unidentified  
Pen & pencil, sheet trimmed (533 × 370)

13 Numerous rough notes for details of the wooden framework for the FS model  
Verso: Several studies for church steeples (see [55]) & rough notes for a palazzo façade  
Pen & pencil (330 × 512)

14 Rough studies for the arch & its coffering, showing flanking scrolled pilasters as first intended; note for a colonnette [Fig. 83]  
Pen (315 × 270)

15 Very rough sketches for arch coffering; slight sketch for the upper angle detail of Stevens's drawing table (see [40])

Verso: Very rough plans & elevations probably relating to Stevens's conversion of the iron church in Eton Road to a studio dwelling  
Pencil (314 × 255)

16 Numerous faint rough studies for the arch & its coffering, with flanking scrolled pilasters, as on Nos. 14 & 15r; notes for a pedestal & a frieze  
Verso: Rough studies for a sideboard & a baluster, probably relating to Stevens's house & garden at Eton Road; faint note for the Annunciation lunette, Christ Church, Cosway Street; impression of arch coffering, as recto  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (540 × 375)

17 Perspective impression of the arch with scrolled pilasters & figure group pedestals; slight notes for a frieze panel with reclining figures & profile heads in roundels

Verso: Rough studies for a sideboard, probably related to that on No. 16v, the rectangular superstructure flanked by standing figures & containing a circular frame insc. *picture*  
Insc: As above  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (235 × 310)

18 Two perspectives of the arch, as on No. 17r; sketches of the general scheme of decoration proposed for the dome of St Paul's cathedral, with cruciform, square & circular panels; suggestion for Dorchester House dining-room chimneypiece, showing caryatid figure on a high pedestal  
Verso: Studies for a cornice & for the treatment of the chimneypiece wall in Dorchester House dining-room  
w/m: ... Kent 1859  
Pencil on blue paper, sheet trimmed (395 × 317)

19 Perspective of the arch & superstructure, showing development of the detail adopted for the FS model, the containing scrolled pilasters giving way to heavy brackets supporting small scrolled corbels; unidentified rough plan with room measurements & heavily worked perspective sketch of a vaulted alcove  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (326 × 270)

20 Study for the arch, showing the introduction of a segmental hood raised over the arch on brackets, close to the final design; numerous studies for church steeples

Verso: Slight impression of the end elevation of the sarcophagus  
Insc: Stannus Collection stamp top right corner  
Pencil (380 × 560)  
Prov: Pres. by Robert Hugh Stannus Robertson & Miss J. Robertson, 1956, from the collection of Hugh Stannus

21 Study for part of the arch & superstructure in elevation, close to the final design, the brackets decorated with foliage & the soffit of the segmental hood hung with drapery  
Verso: Suggestions for decorative panelling for St Paul's cathedral dome; sketches for the Dorchester House dining-room chimneypiece caryatids  
Pencil, with touches of pen verso (330 × 265)  
Prov: Pres. by Robert Hugh Stannus Robertson & Miss J. Robertson, 1956, from the collection of Hugh Stannus

22 Study for an alternative version of the monument, the columns spiral, the superstructure & all figure sculpture eliminated & the segmental hood over the arch surmounted by a cross [Fig. 84]  
Pen with pencil underdrawing (316 × 170)

23 Study & slight related notes for the monument as on No. 22, the surmounting cross superimposed over a faintly sketched conventional superstructure  
Verso: Rough sketches for fountains, probably relating to Stevens's garden at Eton Road; notes for the Dorchester House caryatids  
Pencil (173 × 105)

22-23 This puzzling variation on Stevens's design for the monument was probably provoked by official criticism of the equestrian figure in 1867, when Lord John Manners suggested that 'a cross pointing heavenward' might provide a more suitable termination for the Duke's memorial (Penrose Papers).

24 Rapid note for the equestrian figure; sketch of the buffet in Stevens's library-dining-room at Eton Road  
Verso: Scribbled suggestion for wall panelling  
Pencil & pen (180 × 105)

25 Numerous rapid trial studies for Valour & Cowardice, the pedestal indicated & the figures reduced to hieroglyphic outline; right, note for a panelled door  
Verso: Faint notes for the buffet in Stevens's library-dining-room at Eton Road  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (255 × 305)

26 Rough notes for the sarcophagus with recumbent figure, with various alternative suggestions for its form & decoration

Verso: Rough sketches for an unidentified structure  
Insc: verso *Wanted to rent or purchase | a small cottage close to the | sea within 70 miles of | London a cottage standing | alone with a large garden | ... (deleted & illegible words) preferred with 2 or (deleted) 3 acres of land write*  
Pencil, verso sketch & inscription in pen (307 × 330)  
The draft advertisement for a cottage is discussed in *Townsend*, pp. 216-217.

27 Fragment of a sketch of the superstructure, showing the Garter supported by crouching figures &, left, the group of Valour & Cowardice; above, outline impression of a female head in profile, probably for Valour  
Pencil, trimmed fragment stuck on to mount (177 × 125)

The figures supporting the Garter on the superstructure were introduced in the FS model only, appearing in neither the competition model nor the completed monument.

28 Recto & verso: Rapidly worked details of the scaly tail of Falsehood  
Pencil (152 × 334)

29-31 Related drawings by pupils

29 Tracing  
Insc: (above left) *St Paul's Cathedral | Sketch for Wellington Monument | retraced from another tracing of | Mr Stevens' original sketch*; (below right) *6/3/66*  
Pen & wash on tracing paper, mounted (440 × 335, including mount)  
Stevens's early sketch of his competition model shown in the setting first proposed for the monument beneath one of the nave arches, is now at Liverpool. Henry Hoyle's tracing of it is reproduced as pl. XXXIII in *Stannus* and is probably that to which the above inscription refers.

30 Tracing or copy of a design for part of a Corinthian capital, possibly for the monument  
Pencil on tracing paper, mounted (374 × 250)

31 Two working details of the pedestal of the Truth & Falsehood figure group: left, front elevation; right, side elevation; both details showing part of the figure of Falsehood & the orb on which its hand rests  
Insc: Some measurements marked  
s: *James Gamble*  
Verso: Working details for pedestal mouldings  
Scale:  $\frac{1}{8}$ FS; verso FS  
Pencil (390 × 345)

See also [21].8, 9; [35].4, 9, 10, 16v, 17, 18, 21v, 22v, 27v, 28, 31v, 38, 41, 42, 49v; [36].1; [37].6; [38].2v, 3v; [40].1-3, 22v, 23v, 27, 28, 39, 50; [44].16, 25v, 26; [46].1v, 4v; [54].15v; [55].6v, 7v



1-31 Lit: (general) The Wellington monument competition & its aftermath were widely reported in the art & architectural press; all the principal contemporary journals published comments, *passim*; *Armstrong*, pp.15-24, 33-39, illus. pp.16-17; *Stannus*, pp.17-21, paras.149-181; p.23, paras.193-198; pp.26-31, paras.229-231, 244-250, 260-296; & *passim*; pls.IV, XXXIII-XXXVIII; D. S. MacColl, 'The Wellington monument by Alfred Stevens, AR, XIII, 1903, pp.87-96 (illus.); 'The Completion of the Wellington monument', *The Saturday Review*, 24 January 1903, pp.96-97; 'The Disposition of the Wellington monument', *The Saturday Review*, 22 February 1908, pp.230-231; *Townsend*, detailed account, illus. & numerous references, *passim*; *Tate catalogue*, pp.78-85, Nos.127-167, pls.26, 27; J. Physick, *Designs for English sculpture 1680-1860*, 1969, pp.186-189; *The Wellington monument*, V & A, 1970; *Victorian church art*, exhibition catalogue, V & A, 1971, pp.92-93

It was advertised in the newspapers on 8 September 1856 that Her Majesty's Commissioners of Works & Public Buildings invited artists of all nations to submit designs for a monument to the Duke of Wellington, to be erected in St Paul's cathedral. The conditions stated that models, one-quarter full size, should be submitted on or before 1 June 1857 and that the monument, to stand beneath the easternmost arch on the N side of the nave, should not exceed in cost the sum of £20,000. The model, now in the V & A, that Stevens constructed and submitted under the motto 'I know of but one art' within moments of the appointed closing time on 1 June, was one of five entries to be placed fifth in the awards and to receive a premium of £100. The first premium went to W. Calder Marshall and the second and third to W. F. Woodington and Edgar G. Papworth. In the catalogue of the exhibition of models in Westminster Hall Stevens's model was officially described as 'a fine piece of architectural splendour, most admirable in its restrained richness, and well studied in its light and shade. Erected in a provincial square, it would be the pride and crown of the place...' But *The Art Journal* (III, 1857, p.293) thought the award to Stevens 'unquestionably a mistake', while *The Builder* found his design 'far too lofty for the cathedral' (XV, 1857, p.490).

Alone among the nine placed entries, his was a sepulchral monument in the true sense, the rest being, in Stannus's words, 'more suitable for testimonial centrepieces than monuments'. It is built up of three stages, the quarter-scale plaster and wax model rising to a height of 9ft 9in. The highly enriched mortuary pile with the recumbent figure of the Duke is raised on a pedestal decorated with ribboned tablets commemorating Wellington's principal victories and enclosed by twelve clustered Corinthian columns. From the entablature with its frieze of winged cherubs' heads springs a triumphal arch with richly coffered soffit, on either side of which are set the pedestals of the two monumental figure groups of Truth and Falsehood, Valour and Cowardice, the most powerful of all Stevens's sculptural inventions. The groups are separated and the arch surmounted by a massive rectangular block with elaborate colonnettes at its angles which forms the second stage and carries the crowning equestrian figure of the Duke on an enriched pedestal.

On the face of it, then, the Wellington monument competition had been won by Calder Marshall, but, as the judges took pains to point out in their report, the situation was far from clear. It appeared that in judging the entries no consideration had been given to their suitability for the chosen site. 'We cannot', the judges declared, 'forbear suggesting that before any design is finally adopted by the Government, it would be desirable, considering the peculiarity of the situation contemplated, and that it essentially differs from that of all other monuments now existing in the cathedral, the opinion of some experienced

artists should be called for, who would be better judges of the local effect than we consider ourselves to be; more especially as Mr Cockerell, the only one of the appointed judges professionally connected with the arts; though we have derived from him valuable assistance and information in the progress of the examination, has declined on that account taking part in the ultimate decision.' In the art world a torrent of righteous protest broke out. Did the competition results bear no relation, then, to the conditions originally laid down? Once more the prizewinning entries were examined and a model of the nave arch to the same scale placed over each. During private discussions in the early months of 1858 the First Commissioner of Works, Lord John Manners, and F. C. Penrose, who had succeeded C. R. Cockerell as architect to the cathedral, decided that No.18, Stevens's model, was, after all, the best of the entries, but at the same time that the Consistory Court chapel would provide a more satisfactory site for the monument. Their decision in favour of an obscure and still relatively youthful artist was announced to a bewildered public in June 1858. In those agonizing months of waiting, Stevens had told his friend G. C. Eaton, 'They must give it to me: no one else knows anything about ornament' (Stannus Papers). But his triumph now, officially confirmed on 9 September 1858, was clouded by two dangerous provisos: that he should first erect, within one year, a full-size model to be placed on trial in the cathedral and that 'the entire cost of the monument if executed according to the model' should not exceed £11,000 – a reduction of £9000 on the originally allocated sum. Stevens must have known that if, as he was determined, there were to be no drastic modifications to his infinitely elaborate design of bronze and marble, the work would absorb every penny of the £20,000 originally proposed for it, yet before he started work, under the general supervision of F. C. Penrose, on the great plaster model in his converted iron church at Eton Road, he had agreed to a compromise sum of £14,000 to cover the whole scheme, including the making of the model.

The extraordinary and protracted history of the development of the model and of the monument itself is told in full by John Physick in his monograph *The Wellington monument*, with detailed reference to all the principal source material. Stevens's total inability to work to government time schedules, his obstinacy in ignoring the repeated requests of the Office of Works for news of his progress, his frequent bouts of ill-health and preoccupation with other commissions and, not least, official indecision and arrogant interference, make it remarkable that the final work was even begun in his lifetime. The full-size model took not twelve months but nine years to complete and was never moved, as once intended, from his studio to the site in the cathedral. At an early stage the Dean of St Paul's, Henry Hart Milman, objected to the equestrian figure and was supported in his opinion by Lord John Manners, who wrote to Penrose in January 1867: 'Personally I do not lay great stress on the canopy being crowned at all, but if, for artistic reasons, some crown is necessary, a cross or some other simple termination will satisfy me, and in my opinion, the simpler and less obtrusive the better... What has become of your idea of the angel with the last trump? What would be the effect of substituting for the trump a cross pointing heavenward?' (Penrose Papers). Stevens was allowed to start work on the memorial itself in the spring of 1867.

Manners was succeeded as First Commissioner of Works in 1869 by Acton Smee Ayrton, a politician who 'despised art and all its manifestations, and believed himself to be possessed of a new and effectual method of managing its sometimes stubborn professors' (*Armstrong*, p.36). It was to Ayrton that Penrose reported at the end of that year not only that 'it is

impossible to hope that Mr. Stevens will complete his monument during the year ending March 31st 1871', but also that, in his opinion, the artist should nevertheless be paid the balance of the £14,000, now amounting to a mere £1424. Fuel was added to the flames of Ayrton's rage by Penrose's valiant defence of Stevens in a further letter when he declared: 'On one point I would beg to assure the First Commissioner that I am prepared to venture my professional reputation, namely, that from what I have seen of the work in progress, and what I know of Mr. Stevens, I am certain that however far from complete the monument may be when the stipulated sum of £14,000 has been expended, it will be fully worth the money, even quantity for quantity, as compared with the price of other monuments, and further it will be so remarkable for its beauty and finish that there will seem to be a greater propriety in assisting Mr. Stevens to prosecute the work uninterruptedly than in holding him strictly to the letter of his contract...' Ayrton requested that a full report on the present state of the monument be made by the Director of Works and the Surveyor of Works, and from them he learned on 31 May 1870 that a further expenditure of £15,000 was estimated, Stevens having already received a total of £13,000. The crisis had reached a head. He ordered that Penrose be relieved of his responsibilities as consulting architect and Stevens of the model and all materials so far prepared for the monument. On 14 November 1870 Government officials took possession of everything relating to it and locked the studio in Eton Road. Early the following year, however, Ayrton's decision to employ another sculptor to complete Stevens's work was overruled by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and, on the advice of James Fergusson, an arrangement was made whereby Stevens's friend, the interior decorator Leonard Collmann, was given direct responsibility for the completion of the monument – by Stevens – within a period of two and a half years for a sum not exceeding £9000. All payments to Stevens were to be made through the agency of Collmann, whose contract with the Treasury was signed on 26 June 1871.

But the troubles continued unabated. Stevens, now frequently too ill to work, was soon once more desperately short of money. In 1874 he began to borrow again from Alfred Pegler. His last letter to his old friend, received on the very day of his death, 1 May 1875, reveals, however, a spirit of optimism quite undimmed by seventeen years of grinding work and anxiety: 'I am very well today', he wrote, 'better than before my illness and working vigorously to finish some trifles for the vaulting. From sixty-five [sic] when this monument was begun I have not – my illnesses included – been three months away from the work altogether. I have just ascertained this.'

At the time of Stevens's death the only major part of the monument left to be completed was the casting in bronze of the Truth and Falsehood figure group and, of course, the vetoed equestrian figure, the full-size model of which was bought by Hugh Stannus at the 1877 sale and stored in the cathedral crypt. Collmann recommended Stannus, at that time working as chief artist to the decorator's firm, to execute all the outstanding work. The public were admitted to see the monument on its cramped site in the renamed Wellington chapel at Easter 1878.

A campaign, headed by Frederic Leighton, to remove the monument to the position in the nave for which it was originally designed was begun in 1888. In 1892 Leighton himself started a fund for the purpose and another to complete the memorial with the equestrian group. The removal to the present position under the centre arch of the N arcade of the nave took place in 1894, but Leighton's death in 1896 led to the abandonment of his second proposal until the matter was raised again by D. S. MacColl in 1899. After yet another succession of controversies and delays the group was cast from a model by the



little-known sculptor John Tweed, closely based upon Stevens's surviving plaster model, and set upon the monument on 25 January 1912.

All the storiated parts of the monument are in bronze, the rest, including the principal columns with their oak-leaf patterned shafts, in Carrara marble, 'cut and carved', as Stannus remarks, 'with the most unworldly disregard of money; the fastidiousness of the Artist having led him to discard several of the columns when nearly formed, on discovery of grey stains which in his mind marred their perfection'. The first significant change that Stevens made to his original design was the introduction, in the full-size model, of triangular pediments over the side columns. The pedestals of the figure groups were heightened and, in the monument itself, the arch emphasized by heavy segmental hoods raised on brackets. Stannus regretted these alterations to the architectural parts, considering them to have had 'an unfortunate effect on the proportion'. How long and with what intensity Stevens laboured over the monument's structure at all stages of its development is clearly reflected in the preliminary drawings, yet, characteristically, he was unable to match the inspired vigour of his sculpture in his treatment of architectural form. It is significant, perhaps, that not one important modification to any of the figurative or decorative sculpture was made between the conception of the competition model and the final monument.

The full-size plaster version and most of the smaller plaster sketches and models which were in Stevens's studio at the time of his death are now in the V & A together with an important group of preliminary drawings. Many other drawings have survived and all the principal collections have examples.

[35] LONDON: Dorchester House, Park Lane, Westminster  
Design & rough studies for decoration, fittings & furniture, 1856-c.1870 (56):

1-47 Dining-room

1-11 Elevations & perspectives concerned principally with the evolution of the design for the W & N walls & buffet

1 Elevation of all 4 walls showing the room at an early stage of development: no pilasters are indicated, but all wall surfaces are filled to half height by a dado with decorated panelling; broad lunettes for figure compositions are cut into the ceiling cove, the 'spandrels' to contain pedimented niches with seated figures; top left, N wall, in the centre a squat buffet having a semi-domed niche & projecting wings with dwarf columns supporting a continuous entablature; reclining figures on the extrados of the arch support festoons falling from an urn finial; below left, S wall, doorcase framed by quarter-columns with entablature blocks, carrying a triangular pediment; top right, E wall, 4 windows, from the floor, with plain architraves; below right, W wall, doors with shouldered architraves & moulded cornices; central chimneypiece differing substantially from the final design; the grate is framed by herms supporting a high entablature with pulvinated frieze & serpentine pediment & the shelf above carries a hood-shaped superstructure with terminal figure; the rapidly indicated fire-dogs & fire-back appear to be those of the Pluto & Proserpine grate designed for Hoole (see [20].11) [Fig.88]

Pen, pencil, ink wash (488 × 710)

2 Perspective looking N, showing a variation on the buffet design on No.1, top left: the central niche is extended into the cove & the entablature is surmounted within the recess by a panel framed by decorative carving [Fig.87]

Pen, pencil & ink wash (370 × 309)

3 Perspective looking W: the ceiling is coffered & a deep frieze for figure paintings replaces the cove; the doors are framed & the frieze interrupted by relieving arches to ceiling height; the chimneypiece, similar to that shown on No.1, is flanked by tall rectangular wall panels above a panelled dado; on the right, the buffet is indicated as a single coffered arch cut into the wall to ceiling height

Pen, pencil, ink wash (258 × 406)

4 Perspective looking W, a variation on No.3, the ceiling coffered with a plain cove & the buffet developed as a venetian opening set into the N wall; above & overlapping the perspective sketch are early notes for the Wellington monument competition model, including an impression of the whole monument surmounted by a standing figure; right, superimposed, suggestion for the façade of Stevens's house at Eton Road; notes for a seated female nude [Fig.111]

Insc: (left, corner, in Sigismund Goetze's hand) *suggestion for cenotaph with upright figure of Duke on the summit S.G.*

Pencil, façade & nude study in pen, the sheet stuck on to mount (240 × 324)

5 Rough elevation of W wall with frieze, cornice & plain cove, the chimneypiece with herms, scrolled pediment over shelf & elaborate panelling above; the doors panelled with pedimented overdoors carried to cornice height & the wall spaces occupied by tall rectangular panels, possibly intended as mirrors; an overall repeating foliage pattern is indicated on the remaining wall surfaces; below left, notes for figures with festoons, probably for the frieze (see No.6 below) top centre, suggestion for a church spire & for the Great Exhibition memorial

Verso: Large pricked detail of pedestal moulding, probably for the Great Exhibition memorial; notes for a Corinthian capital

Pencil (458 × 633)

6 Left, elevation of N wall, showing buffet as venetian opening, flanked by wall panels with shouldered architraves; wall frieze decorated with festoons, nude half-figures & greyhounds with an escutcheon bearing Holford's greyhound device centred over the buffet; a pendentive dome is sketched within the buffet recess, carried on columns matching those on the wall plane; right, incomplete elevation, a variation on the above [Fig.89, detail]

Pen & pencil (345 × 545)

7 Right, perspective impressions of the W wall & chimneypiece with scrolled shelf, related to No.5 above; the uppermost sketch shows the introduction of wall pilasters as in the final design; top left, rough perspective looking N, the buffet related to No.6 & framing the elaborate superstructure of a wine cooler; pediments are tried out above the central arch, & cove paintings & ceiling panelling are indicated; centre, impressions of the buffet dome & wine cooler; below left, scribbled impression of N wall with pilasters, band course & buffet recess with festooned semi-dome almost exactly as executed [Fig.90]

Verso: Experimental notes for the general layout of the ceiling decorations & for figure & foliage carving above the buffet semi-dome

Pencil (327 × 513)

8 Rough perspective looking N, showing the ceiling, cove & part of the W & E walls, the general scheme closely related to the final design: a raised triangular pediment surmounts the buffet, as executed, & each wall surface between the pilasters is divided by a band course into 2 compartments with a pedimented rectangular frame below & a decorated medallion above; right, perspective sketch of the wine cooler with superstructure as shown on No.7r, a design subsequently abandoned for a much simpler stand; left, study for a doorknocker, the handle supported in the beaks of 2 opposing peacock-like birds (see also No.56 below); faint notes for an overdoor & for the decorative motif in the upper wall panels [Fig.91]

Verso: Sketches of the wine cooler, as recto; note for the left caryatid of the chimneypiece; the sheet is principally devoted to superimposed studies for the general decorative scheme of St Paul's cathedral dome

Pencil (315 × 520)

9 Studies for a pillared stand surmounted by a pedimented panel, probably the buffet wine cooler shown on Nos.7 & 8; notes for reclining nudes to decorate the buffet superstructure, not as executed; thumbnail impression of Valour & Cowardice, for the Wellington monument; sketch of a balustrade with urn

Verso: Numerous notes for the decorated cavetto moulding at the base of the Wellington monument columns & details of cornice mouldings & coffered panels probably also relating to the monument

Pencil (552 × 374)

10 Rough perspectives looking W, related to the scheme shown on No.8r, with pedimented doors & chimneypiece with hood-shaped superstructure, no supporting figures shown; notes for the superstructure of the Wellington monument, as in the competition model

Verso: Architectural notes probably several years earlier in date than the Dorchester House studies, including, top left, a façade similar to Sheffield School of Art; below left, impression of the Great Exhibition memorial

Pencil (275 × 310)

11 Incomplete rough perspective looking W, with wall treatment as on No.8r

Verso: Numerous faint plans, elevations & perspective sketches of a 2 storeyed house with pitched roof, probably relating to Stevens's scheme for building a house based on the iron church, Eton Road

Pencil (326 × 261)

12-29 Studies relating principally to the development of the design & sculptural decoration of the chimneypiece

12 Perspective impression of the chimneypiece with a heavy coved mantelshelf supported by small kneeling caryatids on tall brackets; slight notes for W wall, cove & a lion rampant

Verso: Rough notes for layout of ceiling & cove decoration

Pencil (315 × 260)

13 Rough perspective, front & side elevations of the early version of the chimneypiece as on No.12r, with high superstructure & terminal figure with shield; below left, large rough detail of a column base & pedestal for the Wellington monument

Verso: Numerous plans & other notes for a large house, probably relating to Stevens's studio at Eton Road

Pencil (434 × 314)



14 Below, rough elevation without caryatids, the superstructure reduced in height & flanked by sculptural ornament, the terminal figure framed by a pedimented wall panel; notes for panelling as above & for the painted decoration of a wall panel flanked by pilasters above the scroll band; numerous notes for a table leg carved with rams' heads, probably for Eton Road; note for a 2 storeyed 3 bay façade similar to Sheffield School of Art; sketch of a table end with winged supports, probably for casting in metal  
Verso: Sketches for a bookcase, probably for Eton Road  
Pencil, table end in pen (258×323)

15 Recto & verso: Notes for the superstructure & background wall panelling, as on No.14r, the superstructure rising from a pulvinated shelf & flanked at the base by grotesque masks  
Verso: Sketch of a garden wall with pedimented niche flanked by urns on pedestals, insc. *Garden at V & V (?)*, probably for Eton Road; part of a façade with niche for sculpture  
Insc: As above  
Pencil (263×328)

16 Numerous closely worked notes for the whole chimneypiece in various forms, all indicating caryatids as in the final version; top right, notes for the pilaster panels & decorative carving in the buffet superstructure  
Verso: Notes for the chimneypiece & its frieze of masks & swags, closely approaching the final design; for the carving in the buffet pediment & for a roundel with seated female figure, probably a medallion for the doors on to the gallery; numerous notes for the central structure of the Wellington monument, showing the introduction of segmental pediments over the side columns [Fig.94, detail]  
Pencil (492×615)

17 Two faint impressions of the chimneypiece within a relieving arch, the caryatids showing supporting entablature blocks as executed; notes for the decorated cavetto moulding of the Wellington monument column bases & for a 3 tiered sideboard & a seated figure in a niche, probably for a fountain, the 2 latter subjects probably related to Eton Road  
Verso: Below right, numerous tiny trial sketches of the chimneypiece caryatids, not as executed; above right, outline notes for the decoration of St Paul's cathedral dome; left, rough elevation & numerous details of Stevens's own buffet & a table leg probably also related to Eton Road  
Pencil (363×544)

18 Below right, rough perspective showing the hood-shaped superstructure with fish-scale surface & masks at the base, resting on a pulvinated shelf; above left, impressions of the chimneypiece in elevation & a panelled door with triangular pediment; rapid notes for the caryatids are scattered across the sheet; superimposed right, sketches for the lunette composition, Christ Church, Cosway Street; superimposed left, perspective of the coffered arch of the Wellington monument with flanking scrolled pilasters  
Verso: Notes for pilaster panels with grotesque decoration, probably for the buffet superstructure; notes for figure compositions probably for the cove; sketches for Stevens's couch & buffet for Eton Road & the Wellington monument arch coffering  
Pencil (325×522)

19 Scribbled note for the whole chimneypiece as on No.14r, with caryatids indicated  
Verso: Slight impressions of the wall panelling; notes for decoration, unidentified  
Pencil (220×148)

20 Left, rough perspective & elevations, showing caryatids, coved shelf & a high tiered superstructure with terminal figure & shield; superimposed & right, outline notes for the arms, torso & drapery of a caryatid  
Verso: Three impressions of the right caryatid, as executed, seen from the left in profile  
Pencil (317×505)

21 Numerous tiny studies, covering the whole sheet, for both caryatids from many different angles, some including pedestal & entablature blocks [Fig.95]  
Verso: Left, closely worked notes for the pedestal & victory tablets of the Wellington monument; sketches for the panelling of Stevens's library-dining-room at Eton Road; right, notes for wall panelling as at left & couch for Eton Road; sketches for an upholstered & embroidered chair with elaborately carved legs, probably intended for Dorchester House dining-room; thumbnail impression of chimneypiece caryatids & of Valour & Cowardice for the Wellington monument; 2 monograms *AS*  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (320×528)  
Reprd: *RIBA Jnl*, LXXI, 1964, p.438, fig.7 (detail)

22 Five impressions of caryatids, the largest, centre, showing left caryatid as executed; studies for a hall chair with elaborately carved supports & for a pedestal fountain, probably relating to Eton Road  
Verso: Faint rough notes for Stevens's buffet at Eton Road & cavetto moulding, Wellington monument  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (310×242)

23-25 Three sheets of rapid studies for both caryatids, of varying size & viewpoint [Fig.99, No.24]  
23v House plan & other notes probably relating to Eton Road; part of a cabinet; 2 male heads in profile, crudely drawn  
24v Several caryatids as recto; notes for a decorated panel, probably for the upper wall panels in the dining-room; scribbled notes for spandrel & semi-dome, St Paul's cathedral  
25v Impression of left caryatid; notes for the panelling & chimneypiece of the library-dining-room at Eton Road  
Pencil (315×260, 320×258, 303×298), No.23 much damaged

26 Right, study for a corner of the overmantel with pulvinated shelf & hood-shaped superstructure decorated round the base with grotesque masks; outline impression of a standing nude; left, notes for spiral colonnettes [Fig.96, detail]  
Verso: Sketch of chimneypiece; notes for a lion's head, possibly for the carved frieze in the library-dining-room at Eton Road  
w/m: Joynson 1859  
Pen & pencil (165×211)

27 Outline impression of the terminal figure of a boy supporting a shield with the Holford greyhound device, neither figure nor shield, here with holly-leaf outline, is as executed  
Verso: Notes for cavetto moulding, Wellington monument  
Pencil (180×111)

28 Numerous rough notes for the white marble overmantel frieze, as executed, with female masks, festoons & knotted ribbons, 1 showing the terminal figure in position over the central mask, supporting a shield of rounded outline, as executed; right, faint impressions of Valour & Cowardice, Wellington monument [Fig.97, detail]  
Pencil (322×512)

29 Studies for the knotted ribbon motif between the masks on the overmantel frieze, as executed; details of fold formation [Fig.98]  
Verso: Slight sketches of a knot & a bird's wing, probably for the sculptured groups of putti with birds over the buffet entablature  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (226×252)

30-39 Rough studies & designs, principally for wall decoration & furniture  
30 Notes for upper wall panels with decorative painting; above left, suggestion for an alternative version of the terminal feature of the chimneypiece, with a central panel of drapery & putto with shield on the left  
Verso: Centre, tiny impressions of a decorative motif for upper wall panels; notes for a façade with niches & for the spandrels & dome of St Paul's cathedral with related inscription *cherubs / angels / prophets / apostles*  
Insc: As above  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (277×325)

31 Study for the principal cornice, as executed  
Verso: Notes for the Wellington monument pedestal & flat coffering above side columns  
Pen & pencil (197×310)

32 Recto & verso: Notes for the band course with Vitruvian scroll ornament running between the wall pilasters  
Pen & pencil, sheet trimmed (306×240)

33 Design for a wall pilaster, the Corinthian capital & upper shaft worked in detail [Fig.93]  
Verso: Notes for the buffet superstructure & carving, close to final design; above left, note for ceiling & chimneypiece with scrolled pediment over mantelshelf, hood-shaped superstructure & a framing border of ornament on the wall behind  
Pen, pencil & wash; pencil only verso (383×354)

34 Sketch for a rectangular frame with grotesques, probably an early idea for the walnut mirror frames  
Pencil, sheet trimmed & stuck on to mount (190×122)

35 Left, note for top left corner of a mirror frame with winged monster motif, not as executed; note for a square panel with ribbons enclosing the initial *H*, for the lower panels of the S door; suggestion for a chimneypiece with tall rectangular overmantel & flanking ornaments on pedestals, unidentified  
Verso: Rough notes for figures in the cove  
Pencil (143×252)

36 Study for part of the engraved glass border of mirrors with leaf & berry motif; unrelated notes for decorative borders  
Verso: Notes for mirror border as recto & for pendent knobs & finials, possibly intended for the dining-room chandelier (see also No.38r)  
Pencil & pen (340×337)

37 Incomplete front & side elevations of a mirror & frame with surmounting urn & winged monsters, close to the final design  
Pen & pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (463×336)

38 Right, 2 studies for a chandelier, probably that intended to hang from the central ceiling panel; notes for ceiling & wall treatment; fragment of a sketch for Wellington monument superstructure; note for a pendentive dome  
Verso: Notes for N wall, cornice & frieze with greyhound motif; 2 studies for the structure of the Great Exhibition memorial with a hexagonal central pedestal  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (315×495)



39 Closely worked studies for an upholstered dining chair with fringed & richly embroidered back & seat, probably intended for the dining-room; top left, faint thumbnail impression of Stevens's buffet at Eton Road Verso: Rough details of embroidered patterns for the chair, as recto  
Pencil (264 x 325)  
Repr: *RIBA Jnl*, LXXI, 1964, p.436, fig.3

40-47 Rough studies principally for the ceiling & cove decorations

40 Recto & verso: Sketch of a corner of the ceiling & cove, differing substantially from the final intention: the cove, which is hollowed out to form lunettes at the corner, is decorated with dancing figures supporting drapery & 'niches' with seated figures; small painted panels are indicated among the richly elaborate coffering on the ceiling; recto, right, rapid early note for the buffet; sketches for the end wall of a vaulted corridor with small niche, possibly an idea for the gallery (see Nos.51-54); verso, below left, flying figure probably for the lunette composition, Christ Church, Cosway Street  
Pencil (343 x 533)

41 Slight perspective sketch, showing ceiling panels & cove with compartments for figure compositions; another suggesting deep coffering; these sketches are superimposed on notes for the pedestal & victory tablets of the Wellington monument, one lightly insc. *WATERLOO*; notes for a fountain & a frieze with figures & roundels  
Insc: (below left) List of subjects for cove paintings: *Battle of Giants | Corineus goes... | Sabrina...*  
Verso: Faint sketch for a cabinet, the superstructure having a standing figure set in a niche (see also [54].1-3)  
Pencil (371 x 274)

42 Rough plan of part of the ceiling with suggested layout for panels & cove with figures; sketch of a corner of the cove with seated figures; framed thumbnail perspective sketch of Wellington monument competition model; notes for mouldings  
Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (300 x 257)

43 Left, notes for the cove, probably over S wall, with shorthand sketches of figures in vigorous action, superimposed on a rapid sketch of Corineus Throwing Magog into the Sea, for the S cove; right, sketches of octagonal plinths & a square pedestal surmounted by an urn  
Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (265 x 348)

44 Faint outline study for Corineus Throwing Magog into the Sea, with notes for onlooking figures, S cove Verso: Rapid impression of a seated woman looking right, for left centre of S cove (as in the incomplete oil painting at the Tate, 3737)  
Pencil (176 x 247)

45 Studies for the Judgment of Paris for the S ceiling panel with, left, impressions of the advancing figure of Venus & the retreating Juno; right, 2 impressions of the figure of Juno  
Pencil (225 x 365)

46 Slight notes for Venus & Juno in the Judgment of Paris, as on No.45  
Verso: Note for Corineus & Magog, as on No.44  
Pencil (225 x 183)

47 Study for a group of 3 figures including a woman raising a child to her shoulder, possibly for the cove  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (175 x 230)

1-47 Though never completed, the great dining-room of Dorchester House remained as Stevens left it, until its destruction in 1929, a room of astonishing splendour, a setting fit for the giants and heroes that were to have been portrayed on the ceiling and cove. (The basis of the following descriptions is the series of photographs taken by *CL* in 1928 to illustrate C. Hussey's two articles on Dorchester House.)

On the long W wall, facing four tall windows, stood the marble caryatid chimneypiece, 15ft high by 10ft wide, and on the N the carved walnut wood buffet, answered on the S by the principal doorway with its inlaid marble architrave, panelled door and monumental pediment. The wall space was divided horizontally at about two-thirds of its height by a Vitruvian scroll band course with cornice mouldings, and vertically by Corinthian pilasters set on plinths in the dado, supporting an entablature with deep frieze and heavy cornice beneath the plain cove of the flat ceiling. The wall panels thus formed below the scroll band were fitted with cut and engraved glass mirrors in walnut frames of singular richness and invention, carved with grotesques on a stippled gold background. Of the eight mirrors – two to flank the chimneypiece, buffet and S doors and two between the windows on the E wall – five are preserved at the Walker Art Gallery. Panelled doors, one of them false, with arabesque carving in walnut similar to that on the S door, occupied the end bays on the W wall: these and the windows were surmounted by wall panels with projecting cornice mouldings or pediments, which, with the remaining flat wall areas above the scroll band, were to have been filled with painted arabesque ornament. The doors to the dining-room and other principal rooms on the first storey are now at the Walker Art Gallery.

Early studies for the dining-room decorations suggest that the buffet, which survives, dismembered, at the Walker Art Gallery, was among the first features of the room to take shape in Stevens's mind: the half-model, still extant at Sheffield, though in very poor condition, is dated 1860. 16ft high and set in a recess between the pilasters on the N wall, the buffet was, in effect, a venetian opening in three dimensions, backed by mirrors and concealing a jib door to the service room. Columns encrusted with decorative carving and attached to square piers rose from the table to support a heavy entablature on which was set a festooned semi-dome with radiating ornament. The lines of the inner columns were continued above the entablature by decorated pilaster panels on which a broken triangular pediment was raised over the dome. The sides of the pediment were surmounted by urns and in its apex a shaped panel was supported by vigorously carved male nude figures resting on the extrados of the dome arch. The spaces above the entablature over the side openings were filled with carved putto half-figures, fabulous birds and foliage scrolls. Slender balusters supporting a canopy stood on the table between the columns, in line with a wine cooler on the floor below – a much simplified version of the complex structure that Stevens had once envisaged (see Nos.7-9 above).

The buffet's warm walnut and gold colouring and richly wrought surfaces must have provided a sumptuous contrast to the massive smooth forms of the chimneypiece in white Carrara and greenish Bardiglio marbles that dominated the dining-room. The chimneypiece is about to be moved from its long concealment at the Tate to the V & A, where it will stand in the refreshment room designed by James Gamble. A small plaster model is at Sheffield and the full-size model at the V & A. The principal features are the two life-size female figures crouching on low, shaped pedestals on either side of the fireplace, their arms upraised to steady the bulky entablature blocks that rest upon their shoulders. Set back from the projecting mantelshef above the entablature is a pulvinated shelf surmounted by a frieze richly carved in high and low relief with masks, festoons and ribbons.

On a plinth above the central mask and framed by a pedimented wall panel stands a putto holding before him an armorial shield with a greyhound, the Holford device. This final form of the overmantel appears to have been a relatively late development. The preparatory studies show that Stevens had long envisaged a much bulkier hood-shaped superstructure, coved in section and tapering from the mantelshef to form a narrow base for the terminal figure. The grate is surmounted by a band of inlaid coloured marbles, similar to that which framed the principal door. Though Stevens evidently hoped to equip the chimneypiece with a fire-back and fire-dogs to his own designs, there is no evidence that he ever did so (see No.1).

He provided designs for the curtains and chairs in the dining-room. Photographs taken by *Country Life* in 1928 show that his curtain hangings and valances were then still in situ, while the upholstered chairs appear to have been a simplified version of those sketched on No.39 above.

D. S. MacColl's reconstruction of Stevens's unexecuted scheme for the cove and ceiling is set forth in the catalogue of related cartoons, paintings and drawings exhibited at the Tate in 1915. The artist took as his theme for the decorations the *Chronicles* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which he knew in the Bohn's Library translation, and had intended to introduce the legend on the ceiling with two rectangular panels depicting Aeneas and Anchises at the N end and the Judgment of Paris at the S. A large central panel above a chandelier was to have contained decorative painting and a band of arabesques was to frame the whole ceiling area. James Gamble, who was closely involved with the preparatory work, told MacColl that the narrative pictures were to be painted 'as if on tapestries stretched and attached by cords from point to point like tent ropes'. A number of studies for the two principal figures of the Aeneas panel have survived, but no work on canvas was begun. The Judgment of Paris composition is well known from numerous studies and the unfinished canvas painting in the Tate (3743, exhibited as Cartoon XI in 1915: the description 'cartoon' as applied to the series of unfinished canvases for the cove and ceiling is misleading: these were presumably the final canvases that would have been used in the decorative scheme). Round the cove was to run a series of further scenes from the legend, linked and carried round the angles by spectator groups of women and children, youths and warriors. MacColl suggested that in the W cove above the chimneypiece Stevens intended to illustrate the feast of Brutus and its interruption by the giants' attack. The N and W coves were to be devoted to the battle itself and the giants' defeat by the Britons, and the S cove to Corineus's overthrow of Magog. Most of the surviving preparatory material for the cove which can be clearly identified relates to the onlooking or ancillary figures and to the final scene of Corineus Throwing Magog into the Sea, partially executed on canvas (Tate 3736, exhibited as Cartoon XIII in 1915).

48-50 Saloon

Rough studies for the chimneypiece  
48 Perspective sketches of the saloon looking E, showing the chimneypiece in its setting between the arched openings on to the gallery; superimposed, rapid outline sketch for the left angle of the chimneypiece, with measurements  
Verso: Notes for panel decoration, possibly for the dining-room  
Pen & pencil (427 x 277)

49 Studies for the consoles on the left of the grate, showing the linking festoon & plaque  
Verso: Notes for the superstructure of the Wellington monument FS model, with Valour & Cowardice shown in position  
Pencil (262 x 170)



50 Studies for the superstructure, showing semicircular pediment, crowning finial & flanking torchères, with scribbled suggestion for decoration in the tympanum; note for an upholstered chair, as on No.39r; ruled lines divide the sheet into 5 columns, that on the right used for rough scribbles  
Pencil (284 × 248)

48-50 The white marble chimneypiece in the saloon, Stevens's only contribution to this room, was set between two arches in the E wall opening on to the gallery and extended to the full height of the wall, its finial standing proud of the cornice. The dismembered parts are now in store at the Walker Art Gallery. A heavy entablature was supported on either side of the grate by two stout consoles set at right-angles to each other and linked by a festoon hung with a plaque inscribed *RMH* (the combined initials of Robert and Mary Holford). The overmantel, resting on a richly carved plinth, was conceived by Stevens as a frame for a mirror (see his design, V & A D.1216-1908), though, as shown by a photograph in the Walker Art Gallery of the chimneypiece in situ, it was ultimately occupied by Van Dyck's portrait of the Marchesa Balbi. The architrave surround was framed by fluted quarter-columns and surmounted by a decorated frieze and cornice heaped with sculptural decoration: a semicircular arch or pediment topped by a winged finial was flanked by claw-footed torchères and enclosed a wreath supported by opposing winged monsters, half woman, half beast, in high relief on a background of coloured marble panels (see Fig.100). An unremarkable design by Vulliamy himself for the saloon chimneypiece is among his drawings in the Collection (see Vulliamy, Lewis [10].63).

#### 51-54 Gallery

Rough studies for wall decoration

51-52 Perspectives, probably of the S gallery looking W, with suggestions for the treatment of the ceiling & end wall; numerous rough notes for the frieze, cornice & ceiling of the dining-room

51v Notes for the dining-room with ceiling plan & wall elevations laid out; thumbnail sketch of the buffet  
52v Scribbled notes for mouldings & suggestions for a large 3 storeyed house façade  
Pencil, No.52r with brown washes (332 × 273, 261 × 327)

53 Studies for painted decoration with a pedimented niche over a basin which is terminated below by a bearded mask; the niche contains a standing female figure pouring water from an urn balanced on her shoulder; notes for a carved chair-back, probably for Eton Road  
Pencil & pen (379 × 276)

54 Above, studies for a pedimented niche with a basin on a tall stem; below, numerous notes for a foliated console, probably for the saloon chimneypiece  
Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (429 × 263)

51-54 Conclusive evidence that Stevens made designs for the decoration of the W wall in the S gallery, where doors opened into the saloon and green drawing-room, is provided by two drawings, one at the Tate (2041) and the other in the Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art (1805) – together with a photograph, in private ownership, of that corner of the gallery taken immediately before the demolition of the house. Both drawings show the wall in elevation framed by the columns carrying the arches of the gallery vault. In the centre, tightly inserted above the dado rail between the two doorcases, is a niche with architrave surround and segmental pediment, raised on a plinth with a central basin and containing a standing figure. In the Tate drawing the basin is terminated beneath, as on No.53, by a bearded mask. Vestiges of this scheme of painted decoration were revealed and photographed when

the wall was stripped of its later covering in 1929. (The photograph recording the gallery wall in this state is in the possession of Mr George Warner Allen, who kindly drew my attention to it and to the true identity of the Tate drawing.) If their identification is correct, however, the sketches on No.51 & 52r suggest that Stevens was also concerned with the architectural detail of the gallery, which seems improbable.

#### 55-56 Doors

Studies for decorative carving & a door knocker

55 Incomplete outline sketch of a kneeling female nude with a veil, for a carved medallion  
Pencil (160 × 102)

56 Sketch design for a door knocker in a rectangular frame, the handle supported in the beaks of 2 opposing birds (see also No.8r) [Fig.92]  
Pen & pencil (193 × 139)

Apart from a small area of wall painting (see Nos.51-54) Stevens's only contribution to the decoration of the gallery seems to have been the enrichment of the walnut panelled doors to the principal rooms. Their arabesque carving, similar in character to that on the dining-room sides, is interrupted on the centre panel of each leaf by an elaborately moulded circular frame. Stevens designed a remarkable series of female figures in high relief to fill these roundel panels, of which six seem to have been executed and only three, including that for which No.55 is a study, have survived on the doors now at the Walker Art Gallery. Plaster models for eleven figure roundels are at the Tate (transferred from V & A 1952) and many drawings survive, including a series of boldly executed studies in sepia and yellow wash, divided between the Tate, Fitzwilliam Museum, BM and Walker Art Gallery.

The interior faces of all the surviving doors except those that served the dining-room and one which was not completed have painted grotesque decorations in their panels which do not appear to be the work of Stevens.

Because Stevens was responsible for the design of the fingerplates and handles of the doors on the principal storey, as well as for their carving, it is generally assumed that the door knocker in the form of a kneeling putto framed by a garland, of which there are casts in the V & A, Tate and Fogg Art Museum, was also produced for Holford. (Towndrow suggests that this was intended not for Dorchester House but for Holford's country seat at Westonbirt, *Tate catalogue*, p.122, No.392.) The link between the door knocker shown on No.56 and the Dorchester House commission is similarly tenuous, though somewhat strengthened by the recurrence of the design among studies for the dining-room on No.8r.

See also [21].8; [34].4-5, 7v, 9, 18, 21v, 23v; [37].1v; [38].2v; [40].14, 15, 16, 19v, 21, 24, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37v, 40v, 47v; [43].2v; [44].1v, 13v, 27v; [45].3v, 4v; [46].1, 3v; [54].15v; [55].6v, 8v

1-56 Lit: (general) *Armstrong*, pp.27-32, illus. frontispiece & pp.6, 7, 10, 26, 30; E. Balfour, 'Dorchester House', *The Magazine of Art*, 1883, pp.397-404; *Stannus*, pp.22-23, paras.189-192; p.24, paras.205-207; p.26, paras.234-238; pp.31-32, paras.297-300; pls.LV-LVII; D. S. MacColl, *Catalogue of cartoons, paintings and drawings by Alfred Stevens for the decoration of the dining room at Dorchester House*, National Gallery of British Art, 1915; R. W. Benson, *The Holford Collection*, 1927; E. Beresford Chancellor, 'Dorchester House and Alfred Stevens', *AR*, LXII, 1927, pp.91-95; C. Hussey, 'Dorchester House, London', parts I & II, *CL*, LXIII, 1928, pp.646-653, 684-690; C. Hussey, 'Dorchester House', part II, *RIBA Jnl*, XXXV, 1928, pp.666-675; *Towndrow*, pp.147-156, pls.7a & b, 29a & b, 30a & b; *Tate catalogue*, pp.89-106, 118-122, pls.4, 8-12, 15, 17-19, 25; *Walker Art Gallery monograph*, pp.23-26

Dorchester House, which stood until 1929 on the site of the present Dorchester Hotel in Park Lane, was designed for Robert Stainer Holford by Lewis Vulliamy (q.v., [10]) in 1849-52. In 1853, as building approached completion, Holford was preparing to engage an interior decorator whose work could match the magnificent scale of the great palazzo: a number of letters from hopeful applicants are among the Dorchester House Papers in the RIBA MS Collection. It was probably during the same year that he received a letter from John Morris Moore, 'Verax' of *The Times*, well-known connoisseur and Stevens's close personal friend, drawing his attention to the abilities of 'Mr Alfred Stevens... of all the artists I have known, the only one who has studied with success upon the best models the principles of ornamentation' (Dorchester House Papers, letter d. 31 March, no year). Holford must have acted on Morris Moore's advice almost immediately, for on 1 October 1856 *The Art Journal* (II, p.304) reported: 'This beautiful house, we might say "palace", which is one of the objects that make foreigners stare – inasmuch as it is for the residence of a private gentleman of England – is about to receive its interior decorations... We are much rejoiced to hear that [these are] likely to be in the hands of an Englishman – and of one who, we are quite sure, will perform his part worthily. Mr Stevens, "of Kensington", is already entrusted with the decoration of the dining-room, with respect to which he is given "carte blanche", and this with the full concurrence of the architect, which speaks well for that gentleman's liberality of feeling. Under these circumstances there is no fear as to the result; nor, we should think, that the whole of the apartments will not eventually be placed in Mr Stevens's hands.' The journal took this opportunity to give a general appreciation of Stevens's work, the only substantial critical appraisal that the artist received from the press during his lifetime: 'We have often had occasion to speak of Mr Stevens' works in Ornamental Art with high praise. The style in which he is strongest is Italian (so-called), the most appropriate, on the whole, for English edifices of the class of Mr Holford's house; yet he is no servile copyist – his compositions, though fully imbued with the full and fervid character of the Italian School, are yet no mere *refacimenti* – he thinks for himself. In any other European state he would have achieved by this time a much wider celebrity than has as yet fallen to his lot. This arises from no shortcomings on his part, but from the fact of there being no proper "status" yet for an ornamentalist in this country – at least, for a British one. We trust, however, this will, ere long, cease to be the case, and that ornament... will have its rank acknowledged. The success we predict in the present instance will give its aid, which we reckon on, inasmuch as our own impression would not hesitate to venture Mr Stevens' powers in his own style by the side of those of any living ornamentalist, and this notwithstanding that he may be more generally known to the public by the assistance he has given in the best class of ornament connected with stores and grates than by his other compositions...'

*The Art Journal* may well have been correct in supposing that Stevens was intended to undertake the decoration of all the principal rooms in the house. But Holford had reckoned without the Wellington monument which was to absorb so much of Stevens's energy until the day of his death; nor did he recognize at first that he had to deal with no ordinary interior decorator. 'When I first had negotiations with him,' Holford wrote to Stannus, 'I told him plainly that I was not prepared to embark on a system of decoration to be charged for as fine art. He answered, very fairly, that he proposed to charge his work as decorative work and not as high art' (Stannus Papers, letter d. Oct 2/90). It must have been with some alarm that Holford realized how wide a gulf separated his own relatively straightforward expectations from Stevens's Michelangelesque ambitions for



the Dorchester House commission. He and his wife moved into the house in 1856 only to wait some fifteen years before the dining-room was habitable, and were never to have the satisfaction of seeing it completed.

The first of Stevens's letters to Holford in the Dorchester House Papers is dated 22 December 1859 and acknowledges receipt of £100, the earliest recorded payment for work in the dining-room. Stannus maintains that most of the preliminary work for Holford's decorations was done between 1860 and 1865: certainly large numbers of studies and designs are datable on stylistic grounds within this period. All the decorative woodcarving in the dining-room, including the full-size buffet, doors and mirror frames, seems to have been executed between 1862 and 1865 (Dorchester House Papers, accounts). By 1864 the models of the dining-room and saloon chimneypieces were completed (*ibid.*, letter from Stevens to Holford d. Dec 20 1864) and those for the medallions on the gallery doors in hand (*ibid.*, letter from Stevens to Holford d. August 4 1864). The saloon chimneypiece was probably installed towards the end of 1869 (*ibid.*, draft letter from Holford to Stevens d. May 19/70). In May 1870 Holford settled his account with Hoole & Co. of Sheffield, who had manufactured, to Stevens's designs, the metal fittings for the dining-room mirrors and the fingerplates and handles for all the doors to the principal rooms on the first floor. (Hoole's invoice for this work is among the Dorchester House Papers. One of the fingerplate designs used in the house is illustrated in *Potter*, p.24.) In the same month he drafted a letter to Stevens expressing his concern that the amount of work accomplished scarcely justified the large sums of money he had already paid out – £5400 in all up to February 1869, rising by 1875 to between £7000 and £8000 – 'while my house has been rendered partly useless to me by the delay'. He protested: 'When I first consulted you on the decoration of the dining room I felt that it was so complicated an affair that reliable estimates were impossible and I therefore asked for none; but I may remark that had I known that the saloon chimneypiece would have cost so large a sum as £1,800 I should have been content with a good form and much less ornament, while admiring its beauty...' (draft letter d. May 19/70). Holford, who must rank among the most long-suffering patrons of the C19, was still hoping that the dining-room would be completed within the year. He wrote on 11 July: '...pray remember that I am pledged to open the dining room with ceiling and painted decorations finished very early next year. I really trust to your own good feeling of what is due both to me and to yourself to redeem your promise...' Stevens agreed to execute the painting at the rate of fifteen shillings a square foot and estimated a total cost of £1000. A start was made on several of canvases, but none was brought anywhere near completion. In 1874 he was still at work on the figure sculpture and decorative carvings of the dining-room chimneypiece (Dorchester House Papers, letter from Stevens to Holford d. Feb 16th 1874): the caryatids were finally completed and installed after his death by James Gamble (*ibid.*, letters from Gamble to Holford). In May 1875 Gamble offered his services to complete the dining-room painted decorations, but, as Holford later explained to Stannus, among all the sketches that Stevens left, there was 'nothing in the nature of a completed cartoon that would make it possible for anyone to carry out his intentions' (Stannus Papers, letter d. Oct 2/90). The ceiling was later unsuitably painted with birds in flight against a background of sky from a design by Sir Coutts Lindsay, whose services Holford had enlisted in other rooms at Dorchester House during the 1860s.

All the exasperation ever felt by Stevens's patrons is expressed in Holford's letter to Stannus in 1890 when he declared: 'I had, and have, the greatest admiration of his genius as an artist, and what he did finish for me is admirable. I believe him to have

been a thoroughly honest man and an industrious and hard worker... but he was so absolutely incompetent to take in the slightest notion of business, and apparently so unconscious of the moral duty of not undertaking more than he could perform in some reasonable time, that it really was impossible to deal with him...' (*ibid.*).

The dining-room chimneypiece, buffet, doors, mirrors, joinery and principal doorcase, the panelled doors and the saloon chimneypiece, were all put up to public auction with the rest of the principal contents of the house on 13 August 1929 (Knight, Frank & Rutley).

A vast quantity of studies and designs for the decorations has survived, ranging in scope from the briefest pencil scribbles to highly worked red chalk life studies, fragments of canvas paintings and designs in watercolour for wall decorations. All the major collections of Stevens's drawings have examples, principally relating to the figure compositions projected for the ceiling and cove. The most important groups are those at the V & A and the Tate, the latter including the drawings, cartoons and paintings claimed by Holford from Stevens's estate in 1875 and rediscovered by D. S. MacColl in the muniment room at Dorchester House early in the present century.

[36] LONDON: Government offices, Whitehall Preliminary studies for competition designs, 1856-57 (12):

1 Below, rough block plan, showing proposed new layout for Trafalgar Square, the offices ranged about a circus with radiating streets, closed on the N by a shaped podium for monuments & fountains (see reconstructed block plan, *Stannus*, p.16); above, rough block plan of a group of offices & numerous scribbled notes for a long elevation with colonnade & central exedra, probably intended as a new National Gallery; faint notes for the Wellington monument [Fig.73]  
Pencil (528 × 320)  
Repr: *RIBA Jnl*, LXXI, 1964, p.437, fig.5 (detail)

2 Rough plan & perspective of the podium area, related to No.1, overlooked on the N by a monumental façade with central exedra on which an alternative suggestion for a surmounting dome is superimposed; numerous related scribbles, including fragment of a plan insc. *Colonial* & impression of a monument with horse & rider & 2 striding figures [Fig.75]  
Verso: Notes for a bridge & a radial street plan: studies for a free-standing stove, probably for Hoole & Co., its side panels or niches with seated figures  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (284 × 388)

3 Closely worked rough notes, including a plan & perspective detail of the podium area as on No.2r but relating principally to the plan & domed centrepiece of the building proposed for the National Gallery site; above, notes for a bridge with central curved flights of steps & surmounting monument to connect 2 blocks of Government offices [Fig.74]  
Verso: Notes for a barrel-vaulted apartment, panelling & furniture  
Pencil (364 × 544)

4 Notes for a colonnade & a façade with exedra, related to Nos.1-3  
Pencil, sheet much trimmed (270 × 280)

5 Large rough plans for 3 linked blocks of Government offices, with 2 of the street elevations laid out; numerous related notes including rough exterior & interior perspectives, site & block plan [Fig.76]

Insc: Some departments roughly labelled on large plans & site plan above right; the offices forming the front range are, from left, *Board of Trade*, *Privy Council*, *Board of Control*, *Office of Works*, *Office of Woods & War Office*, *Admiralty*; at the rear, *Home Office* & *Statepaper Office*, *Treasury*, *Colonial Office*  
Pencil (550 × 716)

6-7 Rough elevations, sections & interior perspectives of a range of Government buildings in the Italianate manner, of 2 principal storeys with basement & attic  
Versos: Numerous studies for the grotesque decoration in the upper part of an earthenware stove panel, designed for Hoole & Co. 1857 (see [20].14 & 20)

6v Notes for a domed pile of buildings, probably related to the Government offices scheme, & for a decorated colonnette, unidentified  
Pencil, sheets trimmed (360 × 517, 368 × 506)

8 Rough section of a range of Government offices of 2 principal storeys with basement & attic; notes for a colonnade; slight view of Florence from Fiesole, roughly framed  
Pencil on blue paper (264 × 200)

9 Recto & verso: Studies, probably related to No.3v, for the general treatment & architectural detail of an elaborate galleried apartment with an apsidal end & a richly coffered ceiling; recto below right, faint perspective of several tall blocks of Government offices linked by lower wings or colonnades [Fig.77, recto; Fig.78, verso]  
Pencil (375 × 555)

10 Rough notes for colonnades & Italianate façades, probably related to the competition  
Verso: Fragment of a radial street plan & rapid notes for colonnades & a dome  
Pencil, sheet slightly trimmed (290 × 497)

11 Fragment of a plan & faint perspective of a vaulted gallery or corridor, probably related to the competition  
Verso: Notes for a decorative base, probably a fire-dog  
Pencil, sheet much trimmed (210 × 235 approx.)

12 Large rough details of a long palazzo façade with notes for niche sculpture & frieze decoration, probably related to the competition; below right, the monogram *RSH* encircled (Robert Stainer Holford, Stevens's patron at Dorchester House)  
Pencil (550 × 745)

See also [34].2v; [37].5v, 6v

1-12 Lit: (general) *Armstrong*, p.14; *Stannus*, pp.16-17, paras.145-148, illus. p.16; *Towndrow*, pp.127-128; *Tate catalogue*, pp.85-86, Nos.168-172; 'Marble Hall's' exhibition catalogue, V & A, 1973, p.37 (general history of competition)

The Government offices competition was announced less than a month after sculptors had been invited, on 8 September 1856, to submit designs for the Wellington monument. That Stevens should have embarked upon an architectural scheme of such complexity when he was hard at work on the monument model and had already received the Dorchester House commission, was a remarkable expression of the breadth of his ambition. It is significant that he submitted his entries for both competitions under the motto 'I know of but one Art', in explicit reference to Michelangelo.

The competition conditions, discussed by *The*



*Builder* on 27 September 1856 (XIV, p.521), required architects to submit three designs. The first, for which a first premium of £500 was offered, was to take the form of a block plan showing the most suitable method of concentrating the principal Government offices and 'the improvements which may be suggested in the principal approaches to the New Palace at Westminster, as well as in the communications with the Surrey side of the River Thames, especially with reference to the New Westminster-bridge, the ultimate position of which must be considered in connection with this design'. In addition, first premiums of £800 each were offered for designs for the Foreign and War Offices. Entries were to be submitted by 20 March 1857.

A report of the exhibition of submitted designs at Westminster Hall published in *The Building News* on 12 June (III, pp.597-598) includes the following brief comment: 'No.135 is Italian, under the designation "I know of but one art". As there are only five drawings and no elevation, it is not easy to pass judgement on the intentions of the artist.' Not only the motto, but the Italianate style and the very incompleteness of this set of drawings indicate that Stevens was responsible for No.135, which was, inevitably, unplaced in the awards. Very little is known of his proposals. Nos.1-12 above are the largest single group of studies that can be related to the competition. The Tate has several sheets with similar sketches and many unidentified architectural drawings in other collections may prove to belong to the scheme, but nothing in the nature of a completed design, either for the general layout of offices or for individual buildings, has yet been found. 'Eight architectural drawings, designs for the Foreign Office' were listed as Lot 35 in the 1877 sale catalogue but had disappeared without trace before the auction began, causing Sir Walter Armstrong to conclude that 'someone who admired the work of the deceased artist, not wisely, but too well, took measures to obtain them without running the chances of public competition'. Stannus, whose personal knowledge of Stevens's designs was presumably based on rough studies of the quality of Nos.1-12, described them as 'grandiose in character, much broken up by arcades, with details similar to those engraved in Serlio...'. Reproduced in the biography is his reconstruction, 'from the description of an admirer', of Stevens's block plan. Like the series of related studies on Nos.1-4, it is focused almost entirely upon Trafalgar Square and the National Gallery site and suggests that the artist spent much of the allocated time at work on a problem of replanning that was outside the competition's terms of reference.

[37] National & Local Prize medals, Department of Science & Art  
Preliminary studies for competition designs, 1856 (7):  
1-7, 2v, 4v, 7v Rough studies concerned principally with the development of the Three Graces theme finally adopted for the Local Prize medal; studies on Nos.1r & 2r show the incorporation within the design of a medallion to contain a profile portrait head of Queen Victoria, as finally adopted for the National Prize medal [Fig.67, No.1; Fig.68, No.6]  
1v Notes for a circular panel with arabesque decoration, possibly for Dorchester House dining-room upper wall panels  
2v Insc: (beside sketch for a medal figure) *Mercury*  
3v Suggestion for a frieze or balustrade with female terms & scrolls  
5v Rough impression of an interior with coved ceiling & panelled & alcoved walls  
Insc: *Foreign office*  
6r Two tiny impressions of the Wellington monument structure beneath an arch  
6v Numerous suggestions for the elevation of a large public building, probably related to the Government offices competition

7r Rough notes for a decorated border, probably for a plate; impression of the dome of the BM Reading Room  
7v Faint notes for an urn & for the plan & elevation of a house  
1, 3-7 Pencil  
2 Pencil with touches of pen  
4, 6, 7 Sheets trimmed (1, 275 × 190; 2, 278 × 360; 3, 267 × 230; 4, 238 × 305; 5, 177 × 225; 6, 325 × 505; 7, 280 × 375)

See also [34].11, [40].21v

1-7 Lit: (general) *Stannus*, pp.15-16, paras.140-142, pl.XXXI; H. Stannus, *The Drawings of Alfred Stevens*, p.13, pl.XXXIII; *Townsend*, pp.123-125, pls.21a & b; *Tate catalogue*, pp.77-78, Nos.120-126

In February 1856 the board members of the Department of Science & Art decided that six artists, among them Stevens and the French silversmith Antoine Vechte, then working in London, should be asked 'to prepare designs for the reverses of the Local and National Medals and to submit the same modelled to be afterwards electrotyped. A sum of £15 15s to be allowed for each Model which is to become entirely the property of the Department' (PRO, Ed.28/5). Stannus implies that Stevens's customary delay in producing his models contributed to his failure in the limited competition: the models of Vechte and Wyon, of the family of engravers and medallists, for the National and Local medals respectively, were approved by the Board in November (PRO, Ed.28/6).

Stevens's finished model in wax for the National Prize medal and a preliminary plaster sketch for the Local medal are now at the Tate (V & A 7814-1863 & A.87-1911, transferred to Tate 1952). The wax version of the second medal, illustrated by Stannus when it was in the possession of Reuben Townroe, is now lost. Numerous sketches have survived.

The National Prize medal is oval with two allegorical figures in high relief encircling an oval medallion with a profile portrait of Queen Victoria. The Local Prize medal is circular with low relief female figures of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, joining hands and seated together on a low throne, the right-hand figure in the front plane facing left, with arm outstretched across the group.

[38] Memorial to the Great Exhibition  
Studies for the competition model, 1857 (7):  
1 Seven rapidly sketched early ideas for the memorial, all differing in their architectural detail & arrangement of figure sculpture from the final design: female caryatids support the cornice of the central pedestal where it is brought forward at intervals to carry figure sculpture round the base of the surmounting statue; left, several sketches of helmeted heads  
Verso: Slight notes for decoration & the face & engraved back of a pocket watch  
Pencil (391 × 318)

2 Large, heavily worked rough elevation & perspectives for the upper structure of the memorial, showing the evolution of the principal architectural features: small corbels support the segmental pediments that terminate the pedestal; the bowl-shaped decorated base for the figure of the Queen is shown as executed; notes for the pulvinate shelf at the base of the pedestal, for the relief panels on the podium & the commemorative inscription

Verso: Rough sketches for a monument on the theme of the 1851 memorial but exhibiting flamboyant outflung groups of figures & scrolls round a small pedestal decorated with an escutcheon & terminated by a standing figure; left, notes for vertical panel decoration, probably for a stove; early sketch of the profile of the dining-room chimneypiece, Dorchester House; right, perspective sketch of the superstructure of the Wellington monument competition model  
Pencil, with some pen recto, the sheet pricked & badly damaged (472 × 634)

3 Four impressions of the memorial, showing the stepped podium without pediments & the central pedestal circular in plan with pilasters & encircling group of seated figures; notes for an alternative version with a short square pedestal  
Verso: Right, perspective sketch of the lower stage of the Wellington monument competition model; superimposed, brief impression of the 1851 memorial with circular pedestal, as recto; left, sketch for an alternative version with a panelled podium terminated by segmental pediments  
Pencil (314 × 404)

4 Recto & verso: Numerous rough sketches for the memorial, showing the artist experimenting with a combination of circular podium with circular pedestal, square podium with circular pedestal & square podium with square pedestal, the figure sculpture indicated in briefest outline  
Verso: Numerous notes for fenders; impression of an escutcheon, related to the Liverpool & London insurance policy border decoration [39]  
Pencil, sheet much damaged & torn (474 × 303 approx.)

5-7, 6v, 7v Closely related series of rough sketches concerned chiefly with the memorial in its final form; numbers of sketches showing a circular pedestal with recessed panels & pilasters indicate, however, that this alternative form remained in the forefront of Stevens's mind up to the last moment  
5v Notes for a fender, superimposed on a faint impression of the memorial, & for the coat of arms of the Liverpool & London Insurance Co.  
6v Rough notes for the Liverpool & London Insurance policy border, including plaques supported by putti, 1 roughly insc. *LIVERPOOL AND LONDON INSURANCE*; framed note for an unidentified figure composition [Fig.85, No.6]  
Pencil (263 × 321, 326 × 524, 264 × 325)

See also [34].3, 6; [35].5, 10v, 38v; [39].1, 2; [40].2; [55].2v

1-7 Lit: (general) *Armstrong*, pp. 14-15; *Stannus*, pp.21-22, paras.182-185, pl.XXXIX; *Townsend*, pp.136-137, pls.23, 24a, 24b, 25; *Tate catalogue*, p.86, No.173; Survey of London, XXXVIII, *The Museum area of South Kensington & Westminster*

At the instigation of Thomas Challis, the Lord Mayor, a committee was formed in 1853 to erect a memorial to the Great Exhibition of 1851 on the exhibition site in Hyde Park, and in July 1857, with funds of some £6000 in hand, architects and sculptors of all nations were invited to submit designs. The closing date for the competition was 2 February 1858. A surprisingly small total of twenty-two models and twenty-nine sets of drawings was submitted and exhibited to the public in February at the South Kensington Museum amid much disparaging comment.

On 12 February *The Building News* (IV, p.145) published a complete list of entries, with brief descriptions of each, and ruthlessly condemned the majority of the sculptural exhibits, with their 'prodigious assemblage of naked niggers, harlots and street-sweepers, enrolled as the four quarters of the world, the cardinal virtues, and various abstractions



personified'. Six designs, five of which took the form of models, were short-listed, and the committee then invited artists to identify their entries in the exhibition. Only a few responded, including five of those short-listed – John Bell, Joseph Durham, W. Calder Marshall, E. G. Papworth and M. Bougerel of Nantes – so that the names of most of the competitors were and remain unknown. Joseph Durham's model was proclaimed the winning entry on 15 March. His memorial was never erected in the park, but, after substantial modifications to its design, was finally unveiled in the Royal Horticultural Society's gardens in 1863. It was moved about 1890 to the present site behind the Albert Hall.

Stevens's name seems never to have been published in connection with the memorial competition, but his model is readily identifiable, in the complete list of entries published by *The Building News*, as 'No 2 *Vi et Arte* A somewhat lofty composition, consisting of a pedestal surrounded with sculpture in high relief, above which occur statues symbolising the four quarters of the globe; and the whole crowned with a statue of Her Majesty'. *The Builder*, publishing a report on 13 February, considered the modelling of No.2 to be 'full of spirit and skill, though roughly executed' (XVI, 1858, pp. 103-104). None of the drawings that were submitted can be identified as Stevens's work and it must be assumed that the plaster model, 6ft 10in high, now in the V & A, was his only entry.

Stevens's memorial rises spire-like in narrowing stages from a stepped podium decorated with a continuous band of relief sculpture and inscribed on its principal face *TO COMMEMORATE THE EXHIBITION ON THIS GROUND IN THE YEAR 1851 OF THE WORKS OF ART AND INDUSTRY OF ALL NATIONS*. The podium is terminated on each side by a triangular pediment surmounted by a shallow stepped plinth with a projecting cornice to carry a slender pedestal encircled by four draped female figures – Europe, Asia, Africa and America – linking hands and seated on a pulvinated shelf. The pedestal is square in plan, with sides recessed in panels and surmounted by segmental pediments. Upon its domed top is set the bowl-shaped decorated base of the crowning figure of the youthful Queen Victoria, standing erect with orb and sceptre.

It is surprising that the critics who were quick to point out the absurd imagery and 'toadyism' of many of the sculptural entries should have found almost nothing to say in praise of a design conspicuously innocent of both. Yet the proportions of Stevens's memorial, like those of the Wellington monument, are far from satisfactory. His decision, in both monuments, to embark on a complex architectural structure competing in importance with the sculptural parts caused him the utmost difficulty, as the preliminary studies for the two works show. Despite a profound knowledge of the vocabulary of Italian Renaissance architecture, Stevens was seldom an inspired architectural designer, and the busy assemblage of plinths and pedestals, pediments and cornices in the 1851 memorial model provides an uneasy setting for the effortless grace and clarity of the figure sculpture.

It is possible that Stevens's interest in the design of the church spire (see [55]) developed directly out of his work on the memorial. Studies for both themes, with their intimately related forms and proportions, are consciously juxtaposed on [35].5.

The model was bought by James Gamble at the 1877 sale for £2 10s and acquired by the V & A in 1880. Few related drawings have survived. The largest group apart from that in the RIBA Collection is at the V & A and there are isolated examples at the Walker Art Gallery (1891 & 1891A) and the Tate (3399 V).

[39] Liverpool & London Insurance Co. policy Studies for decorative borders, 1857 (2):

1 Rough sketch for a rectangular frame decorated with figures & foliage, containing an oval panel bordered by the faint inscription *LIVERPOOL AND LONDON FIRE LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY*. . . : the panel is supported at the base of the frame by 2 sea figures reclining on an escutcheon surmounted by a cormorant; left, sketch for part of the same frame &, below & centre, faint notes for a plaque insc. *LIVERPOOL & a reclining sea figure*; right, early notes for the treatment of the upper pedestal of the Great Exhibition memorial Verso: Rough notes for the top left corner of the frame, as recto, showing a female figure leaning against the oval panel; suggestion for a border with dragons & escutcheon; scrolled corbel related to the design for the Great Exhibition memorial Pencil (266 × 515)

2 Sketch for a coat of arms with cormorant &, possibly, a dragon; 2 sketches for the upper left corner of a wreathed border decoration with putti supporting scrolls & plaques, 2 of which are inscribed *LIVERPOOL & ESTABLISHED 1839*; early notes for the upper pedestal of the Great Exhibition memorial Verso: Numerous impressions of the structure of the Great Exhibition memorial, close to the final design, with figure sculpture briefly indicated Pencil (319 × 245)

In conversation with Stannus in 1891 Reuben Townroe recalled that Stevens had once told him of a design for the border of a policy which he had made for an insurance company 'before 1856' (Stannus Papers, note in Stannus's hand d. 31.1.91). Now the head offices in Dale Street, Liverpool, of the Liverpool & London (subsequently Liverpool, London & Globe) Insurance Co. were built between 1855 and 1857 to the designs of C. R. Cockerell. It can surely be assumed that studies for decoration incorporating the name and emblems of an insurance company whose architect was Stevens's close associate (see [13], [14] & [26]) are directly related to the project recorded by Townroe. Every study for the policy border in the RIBA Collection (see also [38].4v, 5v, 6v) is accompanied by sketches for the Great Exhibition memorial model, which implies that all were made not 'before 1856' but during the summer of 1857 when the competition for the memorial was announced. It would have been at precisely such a time that the Liverpool & London might have considered changing the design of the policy document, to mark the completion of a new head office, but the company's records contain no reference to Stevens, nor can the decoration on any of the surviving early policies be identified as his work.

No studies in other collections have yet been related to the project.

[40] LONDON: House & studio, Eton Road (Hampstead), Camden

Studies for the studio conversion of an iron church & for Stevens's house & furniture, c.1858-70 (65):

1-3 Recto & verso: Rough plans, sections, elevations & perspectives of a single-storeyed hall structure with a raised or pitched roof, probably relating to the conversion of the temporary church as a studio dwelling in which to erect the FS model of the Wellington monument

1v Small sketch of the Wellington monument with a cross as terminal feature; notes for trolleys, platforms & wooden framework, all relating to the erection of the great model

2r Two impressions of the central pedestal of the 1851 Exhibition memorial, showing encircling figures; notes for framework of Wellington monument model

1-2 Pen & pencil, both sheets trimmed  
3 Pencil

(327 × 509, 320 × 500, 303 × 500)

See also [35].11v, 13v

4-12 Studies for a house, probably first ideas for the house in Eton Road as a structure independent of the studio-church

4-7 Notes for the end elevation of a house on a long narrow site, with central projecting bay, steeply pitched roof & venetian opening in the gable

7r Notes for the plan & interior perspective; unrelated scribbled notes for mouldings & ceiling decoration; thumbnail impression of a palazzo façade with arcaded ground storey

4-5 Pen, both sheets trimmed

6-7 Pencil, both sheets trimmed

(4, 108 × 179; 5, 180 × 190; 6, 140 × 315, irregular; 7, 493 × 310)

8-9 Notes for the elevation of a house to be built on sloping ground, a variation on Nos.4-7, with basement storey containing a semicircular arched opening  
9r Sketch for an arcade with decorated spandrels & frieze, insc. below *emblems of the Passion*  
Pencil, both sheets cut & rejoined (374 × 230, 228 × 366)

10 Notes for a 3 storeyed house on sloping ground with basement containing 3 arched openings & ground storey flanked by round arched bays  
Recto & verso: Unidentified notes for palazzo façades

Insc: verso, below left, *Wellington | Moore |*

*Abercromby | Napier | Wilson | Blake . . .*

Pencil & pen (240 × 340)

11-12 Rough elevations & perspectives of a house of 3 principal storeys with attic loggia

11r & v Unidentified figure studies

12r & v Unidentified architectural sketches, including notes for church spires

w/m: (No.12) E. Towgood 1853

11 Pencil, sheet trimmed

12 Pencil & pen on blue paper, sheet cut & rejoined (183 × 259, 399 × 311)

See also [28] & [51].41-63, note

13 Small sketch for the side elevation of the house, shown to be on sloping ground & close to the final design, with attic loggia, ground storey flanked by round-arched bays & basement with central semicircular opening; notes for a carved bench (see also [46].4v); shorthand impressions of prophet spandrels, St Paul's cathedral  
Verso: Notes for buffet, chimneypiece, bookcases & pilastered panelling in the library-dining-room  
Pencil, sheet trimmed (305 × 251)

See also [35].4

14-34 Studies for fittings & furniture, principally for the library-dining-room

14 Right, large rough sketch for the buffet in elevation, showing the carved central cabinet & superstructure with stilted arch; superimposed, recto & verso, countless notes for the buffet & its details & other furniture & fittings for the room, including richly carved table legs on castors, chairs & pedimented overmantel

Recto & verso: Rapid sketches of the Dorchester House dining-room chimneypiece caryatids

Pencil (497 × 622)



15 Large rough elevation & small detail notes for an alternative version of the buffet's central cabinet & superstructure

Verso: Life studies & numerous tiny trial sketches for the Dorchester House chimneypiece caryatid figures; notes for a similar figure supporting an urn, probably for a fountain in the garden at Eton Road Pencil (259 × 373)

16 Two studies for the buffet, variations on No.1r; numerous notes for the richly decorated turned legs of a chair or table [Fig.115]

Verso: Two studies for the buffet with superstructure approaching the final form; numerous rough notes for Dorchester House chimneypiece caryatids Pencil with touches of pen, sheet trimmed (313 × 245)

17 Small study for the buffet with stilted arched superstructure, as No.1r; numerous notes, recto & verso, for the decorative carving on the central cabinet

Pencil (227 × 176)

18 Two impressions of the buffet, variations on No.1r; notes for a chair with turned legs & upholstered seat

Verso: Notes for roundels with heads in profile, possibly for the cabinet panels

Pencil, pen & pencil verso, sheet trimmed (167 × 242 approx., irregular)

19 Faint notes for the buffet, close to the final design; sketches for a carved hall chair; 2 impressions of a pair of pliers (see also [46].3 & 4 to which this sheet & No.23 below are closely related)

Verso: Densely worked notes for panelling, probably for library-dining-room, for Dorchester House chimneypiece caryatids, Stevens's projected yacht, Alfred Elmore's chimneypiece &, superimposed, the monogram FMLJ in an oval, repeated many times (see also No.31r)

Pencil, monogram also in pen verso (240 × 298)  
A scrap of tracing paper found among the Stannus Papers is inscribed in Stevens's hand with the same monogram FMLJ in an oval, the date 1863 and the note *Initials of Mr Le Jeune child to be engd on cup & case of knife fork & spoon*. No details of this work are known. Stevens and Henry Le Jeune had first met when they were masters at Somerset House, 1846-47.

20 Two thumbnail impressions of the Buffet, close to the final design; decorative heads for the buffet cabinet panels; spandrel figure with floating drapery, unidentified; faint note for page decoration insc. *THE HOME*

Insc: As above

Verso: Numerous studies for turned & richly carved chair legs

Pencil, sheet trimmed (255 × 315)

21 Six studies of the Buffet, close to the final design; right, 2 rapid impressions of a caryatid figure for Dorchester House dining-room chimneypiece; left, scribbled note for Isaiah spandrel, St Paul's cathedral

Insc: As above

Verso: Numerous notes for the Local Prize medal, Department of Science & Art

Pencil, sheet splashed with ink (237 × 454)

22 Studies for the buffet cabinet panels, with classical female heads in profile set on a rectangular background of foliage scrolls [Fig.114]

Verso: Closely worked notes for pedimented overmantel, table & buffet & for a valance decorated with the initial S; repeated impressions of the Wellington monument victory tablets

Pen & pencil (275 × 375)

Repr: *RIBA Jnl*, LXXI, 1964, p.440, fig.11 (detail of recto)

23 Notes for the upper frieze of lions' heads & foliage in library-dining-room panelling & for the chimneypiece, showing its terminating panel flanked by scrolls & decorated with a ribboned heraldic shield; rapid impression of buffet superstructure; note for a stove grate with fire-dogs

Verso: Numerous notes for various projects including the fluted Ionic pilasters of library-dining-room panelling, a carved bench, Stevens's yacht with figurehead & decorated stern inscribed *THEETIS* & the Wellington monument victory tablets (see also No.19 above & [46].3 & 4)

Pencil (234 × 292)

24 Notes for wall panelling, buffet & scrolled overmantel panel with shield as on No.23r; right, sketches of Alfred Elmore's chimneypiece, with alternative suggestion for overmantel; below left, sketches of the Dorchester House dining-room chimneypiece caryatids

Pencil (261 × 325)

25 Outline impression of the chimneypiece set within a relieving arch; notes for the overmantel with scrolled panel & for the buffet; above, faint perspective of a staircase & plan of a ceiling, probably for the house

Verso: Slight notes for an architrave surround & decorative panel

Pencil, sheet trimmed (325 × 240)

26 Right, incomplete study for a heraldic shield with the device of 2 eagles to decorate the chimneypiece overmantel panel; left, rough notes for panelling & buffet [Fig.116]

Pen & pencil (265 × 322)

Prov: Originally among the Stannus Papers, pres. by Robert Hugh Stannus Robertson & Miss J. Robertson, 1956

27 Numerous rough notes for furniture & fittings, including, above left, coat of arms for overmantel as on No.26r, various chairs, couch, valance with S initial, chests of drawers, decorative mouldings; impression of arch of Wellington monument, not as executed

Insc: Scribbled lists of house fittings & furnishings, in Stevens's hand: *curtains red | carpet blue | Kitchen table | 4 Windsor chairs 16 | Wash stand 2 or 3 | Towel Horse 2 | Chest of drawers . . . | dressing table 3 . . .*

Verso: Notes, above, for ribboned shield with dolphin device for Alfred Elmore's chimneypiece &, below, for Wellington monument victory tablets & cavetto moulding; valances & chair, as recto

Pencil on blue paper, sheet trimmed (488 × 400)

28 Closely related to No.27 above: top right, notes for various chairs & pilaster caps for panelling; below right, notes for Wellington monument arch detailing, as on No.27r, & for Alfred Elmore's chimneypiece; below left, sketches of flanking scroll for overmantel panel & foliated pilaster strips on buffet cabinet; frieze with thistle motif, unidentified

Pencil on blue paper, sheet trimmed & stuck on to mount (400 × 511)

29 Right, notes for upper frieze panelling with lions' heads, urns & foliage decoration & for another frieze with crouching figures, possibly for Dorchester House dining-room; left, Ionic pilaster cap for panelling; notes for square panels with rosette motif for Dorchester dining-room doors & profiles of various mouldings

Verso: Rough notes for grotesque decoration, probably all relating to Dorchester House, the saloon chimneypiece rapidly sketched left

Pencil & pen (291 × 480)

30 Suggestion for a medallion with projecting lion's head, seen from the front & side, possibly for upper frieze of panelling

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (167 × 103)

31 Innumerable studies for the elaborate turned & carved legs of a dining table, variations on those sketched on Nos.14, 16 & 20; right, notes for an alternative table design with perforated end supports incorporating caryatid figures; below centre, the monogram FMLJ in a rectangle, repeated (see No.19v, note)

Verso: Perspective impression of the upper part of a panelled & arcaded room with braced ceiling, perhaps related to the house; 2 notes for a pinnacled garden pavilion; numerous notes for wall panelling & mouldings

Pencil (383 × 556)

32 Studies for turned table legs similar to those on No.31r, the principal bowl-shaped upper member carved with rams' heads, probably as executed (cf. table shown in G. C. Eaton's 'Interior', Walker Art Gallery); another dining table with carved end supports similar to that on No.31r; dining chair with turned legs, similar to those on No.14, 18 & 27r; notes for unidentified panelling & rough impression of a chimneypiece with coved & tapered overmantel, probably an early idea for Dorchester House dining-room chimneypiece

Verso: Profiles of cornice mouldings & architrave surround

Pencil, sheet trimmed (307 × 270)

33 Rapid sketch of a dining table & upholstered armchair with turned legs, probably as executed (cf. G. C. Eaton's 'Interior', Walker Art Gallery)

Pencil on scrap of envelope (125 × 196)

34 Study for the chimneypiece & adjoining panelling, superimposed, heavily worked pen sketches of the royal standard with notes for the various heraldic charges &, left, one of the Dorchester House caryatids

Pen & pencil (264 × 327)

35-53 Studies for furniture intended for study, bedrooms & other rooms in the house

35 Right, 3 sketches for a painted panel with artist's instruments, for the left side-cupboard of Stevens's drawing table; left, notes for Dorchester House dining-room decoration, including ceiling plan, painted wall panels & tasselled window valances [Fig.113, detail]

Verso: Right, rough layout for Dorchester House dining-room ceiling with cove figures indicated & 2 angles insc. with subjects, *children & group of giants*; left, notes for panelling with figure compositions probably also for Dorchester House, with a subject list for the ceiling paintings, *Brutus | Arthur | Vorigen* / . . .

Insc: As above

Pencil, drawing table panel on recto in pen, pencil & blue wash (317 × 515)

36 One large sketch & numerous small impressions of the turned leg on castor of Stevens's couch; above, notes for a painted panel with drawing instruments, for the right side-cupboard of Stevens's drawing table (see also No.35r)

Verso: Studies for a table, probably for execution in cast iron, with elaborately scrolled & perforated end supports & heavy base; perspective impression of Dorchester House dining-room looking N & of the ceiling with panel layout, probably as finally intended

Pencil, large couch leg study in pen, sheet trimmed (375 × 275)



37 Recto & verso: Studies for the end elevation & decorative detail of a cast iron table as on No.36v, the supports shown to incorporate 2 nude figures; notes for a panel with drawing instruments for the drawing table, as on No.36r [Fig.112]

Verso: Note for ceiling & cove, Dorchester House dining-room

Pen & pencil, sheet slightly trimmed (265 × 324)

38 Sketch for a table similar to those on Nos.36 & 37, with a chair beside it having carved side boards, back & footrest; the very rough sketches covering the remaining area appear to be concerned principally with the ornamentation of Stevens's garden, with pedestals to carry urns & steps contained by low ramped walls; other small sketches include a pig, cow, 2 mice &, below left, a pedestal monument with figures

Pen, sheet trimmed (252 × 321)

39 The sheet has been folded into 4 & each quarter used, probably at different times, for a different group of subjects: top right, notes for a chair & table as on No.38r, details of Stevens's drawing table & a richly carved cabinet; top left, various rapid suggestions for the angel in the lunette composition for Christ Church, Cosway Street; sketches of a metal wall bracket & outline impression of a crouching female figure holding a dish, for a rectangular panel decoration, probably related to gallery door medallions at Dorchester House; below right, notes for the sarcophagus & arch, Wellington monument; below left, notes for Stevens's couch; perspective sketch of an arcaded hall with gallery & deep coved ceiling, unidentified [Fig.104, detail]

Pen & pencil (645 × 515)

40 Numerous studies for chairs, principally with elaborately carved side boards & similar in character to that on No.38; notes for a cabinet or sideboard & a washstand having a panel ornamented with the initial S

Verso: Sketches for a cheval glass, small table with central carved support, chairs & armchair as on Nos.32 & 33 &c, sideboard as recto & foliated scroll ornament; rough perspective of Dorchester House dining-room ceiling & cove

Pencil, touches of red chalk recto (515 × 314)

41 Study for an armchair with carved side boards, a variation on those shown on Nos.38-40; note for a square panel with head in profile, probably for the library-dining-room buffet cabinet

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (192 × 152)

The drawings are on the back of a page of newsprint, datable 1860, with a plan & description of the proposed geometric gardens of the Horticultural Society, South Kensington.

42 Sketches for chairs with carved side boards,

related to those on Nos.38-41, & a coffee pot

Verso: Slight architectural notes, unidentified

Pencil (313 × 194)

43 Notes for chairs, as on No.42r, sideboard & table with elaborate central support

Verso: Notes for a sideboard, decorative panels, arm of a couch & flying figure

Pencil (226 × 359)

44 Two studies for chairs, related to those on Nos.38-43, the side boards incorporating a female head with winged torso; notes for a cassone with grotesque masks at the base; recto & verso, notes for cornice mouldings

Pencil & pen, red chalk verso (312 × 193)

45 Numerous studies for a hall chair of a type similar to the chairs on Nos.38-44, with carved side boards & footrest & shaped back with an oval panel supported by scrolls or half-figures; the initial S is insc. on the panel in the most complete sketch, right

Verso: Studies for hands, 1 squared for enlargement, probably related to St Paul's cathedral dome decorations

Pencil, with red chalk verso, sheet stained & slightly

trimmed (251 × 327)

46 Numerous closely worked studies for the hall chair with shaped back, as on No.45r, superimposed on sketches for a dressing table mirror (see also No.51), library-dining-room buffet superstructure & spandrel compositions for St Paul's cathedral dome; 1 impression in red chalk of a female head in profile for a medallion probably related to the buffet cabinet panels; impression of a soup tureen [Fig.117]

Verso: Sketches, principally for library-dining-room panelling, showing doorcase with triangular pediment & figure decoration, not as executed; other notes include a variation on the hall chair (see also No.47), buffet & numbers of impressions of the Isaiah spandrel, St Paul's cathedral

Insc: Stannus Collection stamp recto & verso

Pencil, with 1 red chalk study recto (314 × 504)

Prov: Pres. by Robert Hugh Stannus Robertson & Miss J. Robertson, 1956, from the collection of Hugh Stannus

47 Study for the carved back of a hall chair, the principal upright motifs being a pair of satyrs divided by a central branch of foliage & the whole surmounted by an arched crest with an eagle supported between 2 dolphins; small related notes for dolphins & foliage scrolls; note for a figure composition & house plan; the studies are superimposed on a fragment of a design in pen for wall or cabinet panelling

Verso: Rough studies for the chair back, as recto, & for an upholstered & embroidered chair probably for Dorchester House dining-room, as on [35].39r

Pencil with some pen recto, sheet slightly trimmed

(265 × 207)

48 Rapid study for a male torso facing left & eagle crest, both related to the chair back design on No.47

Verso: Male torso facing right, for the chair back, as recto

Pencil, trimmed fragment (205 × 110 approx.)

49 Rapid impression of arched crest for chair back, as on Nos.47 & 48; study for a small basin or stoup to hang on a wall; slight notes for foliated decoration

Verso: Notes for a cornice & vertical panels of grotesques

Pencil, sheet trimmed (200 × 150)

50 Numerous sketches for chairs, principally a small upholstered chair with a circular buttoned back; various brief notes for panelling & figures, including Valour & Cowardice for the Wellington monument

Verso: Notes for coffering & oak-leaf detail on Wellington monument column shafts

Pen, some pencil verso (200 × 321)

51 Studies for a dressing table mirror, as on No.46r, with front & side elevations & details of mouldings

Pencil, sheet slightly trimmed & stuck on to mount

(333 × 326)

52 Studies for a bookcase with elaborately decorated panel at the base, probably an early idea for library-dining-room bookcases; outline impression of a female head in profile

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (370 × 553)

53 Rough impression of a sideboard with turned legs over a wine cooler; faint notes for light brackets & other furniture detail

Verso: Rapid impression of a low sideboard over a wine cooler, the supporting panels incorporating a pair of opposing wolves; another rapid note for a similar sideboard on a flier, top left corner

Pencil (380 × 276)

54-65 Miscellaneous rough studies for panelled rooms & scribbled notes for interior detail & garden ornament, datable on stylistic grounds c.1860-70 & tentatively related to the Eton Road house project; principal subjects only are stated

54 Room with a lean-to roof decorated with grotesques & alternative panelled version

Verso: Equestrian monument, probably related to Wellington memorial

Pen (175 × 220)

55 Hall with elaborate panelling, frieze & flat coffered ceiling; notes of measurements

Verso: Wall elevation with bust in a niche, flanked by doors

Pen & pencil (200 × 320)

56 Elevations with bust in niche as on No.55v with measurements, the bust apparently of Michelangelo

Pen & pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (317 × 478)

57 Room with ceiling divided into three coved compartments & wall bays with richly decorated relieving arches & panels

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (232 × 355)

58 Corner of a staircase landing with arched openings

Pen & pencil, sheet trimmed (225 × 176)

59 Corner of a ceiling cove with grotesque decoration (cf. similar study, V & A, D.1284-1908); decorated ceiling band

Pencil & pen with touches of watercolour, sheet trimmed (254 × 312)

60 Fragmentary notes for architrave surrounds, panelled room & brickwork

Pen & pencil, sheet trimmed (252 × 399)

61 Ceiling & frieze decoration, rough calculations

Pencil (522 × 320)

62 Arcade with pedimented gateway insc. *entrance to garden*

Pencil (310 × 185)

63 Wall with entrance gate, similar to No.62;

Corinthian pilaster caps

Insc: *Church Road | Haverstock Hill*

Pencil & pen (326 × 263)

64 Pedimented wall bay in a garden

Pen & pencil, sheet trimmed & stuck on to mount (68 × 135)

65 Nine studies for a standing female caryatid figure, 2 squared for enlargement, possibly a garden ornament

Verso: Niche with standing figure holding a pitcher, probably for the garden wall fountain mentioned in *Stannus* (p.27, para.247); perspective impression of an arched alcove with stepped dais & wall panel, possibly a chapel

Pencil; fragment of pen & wash recto (360 × 274)

See also [21].8; [23].2v, 3; [34].11v, 15, 16v, 23v, 24, 25v; [35].4, 11v, 13v, 14, 15v, 17, 18v, 21v, 22, 23v, 25v, 26v, 39, 53; [43].1; [44].3, 4v, 11, 13, 17v, 19v, 26, 27; [45].5v; [46].1, 4; [48].7; [54].1-11 [55].8v



1-65 Lit: (general) *Armstrong*, pp.32-33; *Stannus*, p.2, para.5; p.27, paras.246-247; p.28, paras.251-257; *Townsend*, pp.165, 214-216, pl.39; *Tate catalogue*, pp.123-125, Nos.395-405; *Walker Art Gallery monograph*, pp.25-26, illus. p.21

Early in the spring of 1858 Stevens moved from No.7 Canning Place, Kensington, to York Cottage, Walham Green, Hammersmith, and it was probably at about this time, when he was already in his forties and still without permanent accommodation adequate for his needs, that he began to concentrate his thoughts on the question of designing a house for himself. Authorized, in September, to proceed with the full-size model of the Wellington monument, he was faced with the immediate problem of finding a studio space sufficiently large to contain the massive structure and in October took a seven-year lease of a disused iron church with adjoining garden which stood on the N side of Church Road (now Eton Road), Hampstead, opposite the newly consecrated church of St Saviour and immediately to the W of Eton Villas (Stannus Papers, lease d. 12 October 1858). From York Cottage he wrote to F. C. Penrose: 'I have agreed to take as a study the building I believe I spoke to you about the other day, the temporary church, Church Road, Haverstock Hill. I shall be obliged to make some expensive alterations in it to fit it for my use' (Penrose Papers, undated letter). Stevens's name does not appear against York Cottage in the Hammersmith rate books, so that the date when he finally left the house is difficult to establish precisely, but a letter to Alfred Pegler dated by Stannus on Pegler's authority 6 January 1860 is addressed from No.5 Church Road and contains the postscript 'I have, (as you will see by this letter) left York Cottage' (Stannus Papers, Pegler letters). Now, as the Hampstead rate books show, in 1860 Church Road contained only two houses at its easternmost end: the terrace to the W of the iron church on the N side was not built until 1863. It seems therefore that '5 Church Road' was Stevens's own unofficial designation for the iron church and that the 'expensive alterations' entailed its equipment not only as a studio but as a temporary dwelling while he worked out the possibilities for development presented by the magnificent hillside site.

He appears to have lived in the converted church for nearly two years: not until Michaelmas 1862 does his name occur in the Hampstead rate book as the new occupant of No.9 Eton Villas, an adjoining terrace house of which he bought the leasehold in 1864 (Middlesex Land Register, 1865-1-149). Stevens's reluctance to abandon the idea of the studio as his permanent residence is reflected in his continued use of No.5 Church Road as an address on letters until 1867. By that time Church Road had been officially renamed Eton Road and the recently erected terrace of houses to the W of the studio renumbered 3-16 (GLC street naming plan No.403, 10 November 1865). Penrose was instructed, 'Pray in future to remember to address my letters 9 Eton Villas Haverstock Hill. The true No 5 Church Road is a house at the other end of the road and to this house my letters are sometimes carried - this causes delay...' (Penrose Papers, letter d. 30 November, no year).

Meanwhile, on the studio site, building operations were well under way. In his account of the year 1866 Stannus records: 'His house began to take shape this year. His workmen had been cutting the marble; and building up the various parts for the Wellington Monument; and not having sufficient work for their continuous employment, he revived an old idea - to build a House for himself. Some hundreds of sketches for this are extant and shew what, if finished, would have been a charming example of an Italian casino. The corrugated iron building which served as a studio for the large Monument... was disregarded in planning the house, the walls being partly inside and partly outside of it... This went on slowly at intervals for some years and at that time the walls were up to

the first floor; when the work was suspended by his illness. He made great use of the favourite Italian garden-treatment of Balastrades, using them in a balcony, a staircase and a terrace, and he further carried out the Italian effect by a Wall-Fountain at the end of the garden, with a patterned floor-margin in marble mosaic. Most of this outdoor work was in cement; and it has nearly all perished.'

Most of the surviving studies which can be unquestionably identified with Stevens's design for the Eton Road house and garden are in the V & A (e.g. E.2630/1-1911, D.1233-1908). Other particularly significant examples are [35].4 in the RIBA Collection (Fig.111), 2187(89)-(90) at the Fitzwilliam Museum and 2012(a) at the Tate. They show that Stevens's scheme for the villa was characteristically ambitious and suggest that it was never fully resolved. The house was to be some five storeys in height, the high basement pierced by a large central semicircular opening. The façades were to be decorated with niches for sculpture and loggias carried across the long elevations at the principal storey, with balustraded flights of steps leading down into the garden. The first storey is shown, in most of the studies, to be terminated by a steeply pitched roof with a pedimented or venetian window in the gable. The crowning feature of the design was to have been a gallery or loggia running the whole length of the house-top. Whether this attic feature was ever included in Stevens's final plans it is impossible to tell: the two upper floors that were added after his death by the subsequent owner were of a conventional Italianate type that may well have reflected the artist's own intended compromise. In 1882 the house became the North London High School for Boys, whose headmaster, Septimus Payne, first named it Wellington House and completed the extension buildings, begun after Stevens's death, which are shown, with the garden façade, in an engraving on the school prospectus of 1890 (Stannus Papers, letters & documents received from Septimus Payne, October-November 1890).

Built of brick with stone and cement dressings, and towering above the surrounding terraces, Wellington House still retained the basic elements of Stevens's design for the basement and principal storey until, in 1964, it was demolished to make way for a block of flats (GLC Historic Buildings Division, early photograph showing garden front, A684).

A quantity of furniture was designed for the house, some of which has fortunately survived and is now in public collections. According to Stannus it falls into two main groups - the study and bedroom furniture made in deal by Stevens's carpenter Moss in 1859 and 1860, and the mahogany fittings and furniture for rooms on the principal (ground) storey, begun in 1867. The studies suggest, however, that there was no clear difference in date between the two groups and that all the pieces were developed over a long period from about 1859. The mahogany panelling in the principal room on the ground floor, which seems to have combined the functions of dining-room and library, was removed from the house and purchased by the London County Council in 1920 for re-erection at the Geffrye Museum, Shoreditch. It was transferred in 1946 to the Walker Art Gallery, where it remains, at present dismantled and in store. Photographs taken at Shoreditch show that two of the principal features, the central carved cabinet of the buffet and the mirror overmantel of the marble chimney-piece, were then already missing and these have never been recovered (GLC Historic Buildings Division, 4 views of the re-erected panelling, A137, A139, A140, A3032). While the decorative detail is derived from the grotesques of Raphael's Vatican logge, so dear to Stevens's heart, his library is essentially late English Renaissance in feeling. The repeating elements of the panelling are a high dado and cushioned frieze surmounted by paired and fluted pilasters carrying an entablature and blocking course. Four bookcases, two for each long wall to flank the chimney-piece and the

pedimented doorcase, are expressed as shallow projections of the continuous panelled surface. The decorative carving was not finished when Stevens died: areas left unworked or incomplete include the cupboard doors in the bookcase dados, the double door panels and doorcase and the upper frieze of lions' heads, urns and foliage.

An engraving of the buffet in its original form was published in *The Magazine of Art* in March 1881 (IV, p.220) to illustrate an article on Stevens by Walter Armstrong, and an early photograph of the buffet wall is reproduced in the *Walker Art Gallery monograph*. Framed between two tall cupboard doors on one of the short walls, this curious object had a plain panelled base to the same height as the dado, surmounted by a casket-like cabinet on scrolled feet, with four panels on its front elevation each carved in relief with a circular medallion containing a female head in profile. On top of the cabinet, set back against the panelled surface, stood a rectangular block with a semicircular arched recess flanked by grotesque term-like brackets supporting a cornice moulding. The superstructure was terminated by a deep coved frieze with heavy projecting cornice and a tier of three blocking courses.

The chimney-piece, which is of marble with plain consoles flanking the grate, appears to have been intact in 1890. In that year Septimus Payne described the panelled room to Stannus and mentioned that 'The Mantelpiece is in the same room, 'tis not elaborate in itself but the woodwork which is carried over it makes it more so' (Stannus Papers, letters & documents received from Septimus Payne, October-November 1890). The original overmantel is clearly shown in a painting by G. C. Eaton, now at the Walker Art Gallery, of Stevens seated beside the chimney-piece. A square mirror was framed by fluted pilasters and entablature in keeping with the rest of the panelling and surmounted by a small panel supported by scrolls and decorated with a heraldic shield. Stannus noted that the arms - per chevron azure and ermine, in chief two eagles displayed or - were those granted in the C16 to Mathew Stephens of Colchester, from whom Stevens evidently claimed descent.

Also visible in Eaton's 'Interior' are an armchair and a dining table, the carved details of which appear to correspond with numerous studies but which are now lost, as are most of the single pieces of furniture represented among Stevens's drawings. Notable exceptions are the massive drawing table in deal with painted side-cupboards, now at the Walker Art Gallery (illustrated and described in *The Connoisseur*, CXI, 1943, p.72), and a leather-covered deal couch at present in Leighton House, Kensington (on loan from the V & A). A whitewood cabinet from a private collection was included in the exhibition of Victorian & Edwardian Decorative Arts at the V & A in 1952 (B13). A small table and another cabinet have recently come to light and are now in the V & A.

Of the hundreds of surviving drawings that relate to Stevens's house and its furniture, the majority are divided between the V & A and the RIBA, while there are examples in most of the other principal collections.

#### [41] ROME: Vatican logge

Sketches of the decorations by Raphael & his assistants in the Vatican, principally of the grotesques in the upper & lower logge, 1859 (26): 1-13, 1v, 3v, 6v-10v, 12v, 13v Details of the decoration of the vaults, arches, spandrels, pediments & pilaster panels in the upper loggia: each sketch or group of sketches is numbered, in Stevens's hand, from 2 to 13, reversing the usual order of bay numbering; thus Stevens's no 13 (No.13) shows part of the vault of the 1st bay [Fig.53, No.3r]



14-20, 15v, 18v, 19v Details of the decoration of lunettes 4 (No.14), 5 (15), 6 (16), 10 (17), 11 (19) & 13 (20) & cupola 10 (18) in the lower loggia

21-26 Details of decorative painting not readily identifiable with either loggia but possibly in the loggetta or stufetta of the Cardinal Bibbiena

1-26 Insc: Most of the sheets carry brief descriptive & colour notes in pencil in Stevens's hand; occasional identification notes in 2 other hands  
w/m: Fragments of J. Whatman 1853 appear on Nos.8, 15, 19 & 21  
Pencil & watercolour; No.26 pencil (115×78 smallest, 340×165 largest)

The dating of this group of sketches is problematic. The watermark 1853 and the fact that at the same date Stevens was making copies of Raphael's ceiling in the Stanza della Segnatura for the Italian court at the Crystal Palace, immediately suggest a connection with the Sydenham project. But the spontaneous quality of the sketches implies that they were made on the spot in Rome. Varying in size, but all of paper of the same weight and texture, the sheets have evidently been cut by Stevens himself from large sheets for ease of handling while sketching and are folded where necessary to a convenient pocket size. Now Stevens is known to have made a brief second visit to Italy late in 1859, but there is no evidence that he made a special trip to Rome during the preparations at Sydenham in 1853-54. According to Matthew Digby Wyatt, architect of the Italian court, his reconstruction of Raphael's ceiling paintings in the Stanza della Segnatura was made with the assistance of a set of copies loaned by the Royal Academy, while the Vatican logge grotesques reproduced in the arcades of the Italian court were the work of 'Mr Gow and Mr Earle' (*Guide to the Crystal Palace and park* (ed. Samuel Phillips), 1854; description of Italian Court by M. D. Wyatt & J. B. Waring). It would be surprising if Stevens had not assisted with the decorations in the arcade, but until evidence can be produced to show that he went to Rome to make detailed sketches in 1853-54, Nos.1-26 must be assumed to date from the last months of 1859.

Stannus states that Stevens left London for Italy in September of that year and returned early in January 1860. His source for this information was George Clayton Eaton, painter and friend of Stevens, who told the biographer that he had in his possession a letter – presumably from Stevens himself – dated 9 January 1860, indicating that the artist had 'just returned from Rome'. Eaton went on to relate how Stevens 'had gone in four days, but in returning by sea (I think he also went by sea) he said he was knocking about several days in the Mediterranean. At Marseilles he had some trouble about his passport, being taken for an Italian. At Rome he had some trouble to see the Vatican etc being, he believed, taken for a "Protestant Priest"'. However, with the help of a friend who "blew his trumpet" he got permission to go everywhere, even into some of the private rooms and to copy what he liked. . . ' (Stannus Papers, letter from G. C. Eaton d. 23 October 1890).

[42] LONDON: Royal Horticultural Society's garden, South Kensington

Studies for proposed arcades & designs for unidentified panel decoration, 1859-60 (4):

1 Sketch elevations & faint perspectives of arcades on a terraced site, *To be made in white majolica and red brick*, with niches for figure sculpture; related notes for panel & vault decoration

Insc: As above

Pen & pencil (514×620)

2-3 Rough notes for arcades with niches for standing figures & decorative panels  
Pen, sheets trimmed (135×248, 218×265)  
Originally 1 sheet.

4 Left, incomplete design for a rectangular panel, 4'×5' 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, incorporating a central roundel with a spreading tree & subsidiary circles with the monograms HS & date 1860; right, incomplete design for a similar panel, 2' 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>×5' 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>, with the monogram VA in a central roundel & a tablet with the date 1860 [Fig.102]

Insc: Measurements marked as above, with rough scale

Verso: Rapid notes for alternative panel decoration Pen & pencil (255×323)

Both these designs, probably intended for a ceiling in one of the buildings within the garden layout, may be the work of Godfrey Sykes (q.v., p.59), whose drawing style for purely decorative subjects is often remarkably close to that of his master.

See also [45].5

Under the aegis of Prince Albert, the first general scheme for the Horticultural Society's garden was prepared early in 1859 by Sydney Smirke and a superintending committee of officers from the Department of Science & Art, Richard Redgrave, Henry Cole and Captain Fowke. Responsibility for the execution of the works was to be divided between the society (designated 'Royal' only in December 1860) and the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition, the freeholders of the 20 acres of land between Exhibition Road and Queen's Gate which the garden was to occupy. (A detailed history of the garden will be found in Survey of London, XXXVIII, *The Museums area of South Kensington & Westminster*.) A perspective view of the proposed layout was published in *The Builder* in July (XVII, 1859, p.457) and in September the journal reported: 'the whole garden will be surrounded by Italian arcades, each of the three levels having arcades of a different character. The upper or north arcade where the boundary is semi-circular in form, will be a modification of the arcades of the Villa Albani at Rome. The central arcade will be almost wholly of Milanese brickwork, interspersed with terra cotta, majolica etc, whilst the design for the south arcade has been adapted from the cloisters of St John Lateran in Rome.' The report concluded with news of Godfrey Sykes's appointment to 'design and superintend the decoration of these arcades' (*ibid.*, p.612). In October the landscape architect W. A. Nesfield was engaged to revise the layout, and early in 1860 it was decided to introduce into the scheme Joseph Durham's proposed memorial to the 1851 Exhibition together with a series of ornamental canals and fountains. Work had begun on the site late in 1859, and at the end of December 1860 *The Builder* published a view of part of Smirke's upper arcade, 'with suggested pavilion', commenting that 'Loiterers in the fine new roads of Brompton, around and through the land belonging to the Royal Commissioners of 1851, will observe long skeletons of arcades springing into being. . . ' (XVIII, pp.836-837). The gardens were inaugurated on 5 June 1861, though still incomplete. In April of the following year *The Builder* noted that 'the conservatory, the council-rooms, the terraces, the various terrace-steps and terrace walls, the band-houses, the basins and canals, the Artesian well and water-works, the lay-out of the garden, are all finished or far advanced. . . ', but that the exterior and interior decoration of the arcades 'will probably be the work of years' (XX, 1862, p.271). In the event, the decorative work on the garden side was complete by the time of Sykes's death in 1866.

The significance of the studies for arcades on Nos.1-3 is difficult to assess. They are the only drawings by Stevens yet to be identified with the architecture of the Horticultural Society's garden and

may merely be a reflection of his passing interest in the project at the time when Smirke's designs were published in 1859 and 1860 – he was an insatiable reader of journals, and the idea of a formal garden enclosed by arcades would have immediately caught his imagination – but Stevens knew both Smirke and Cole and it is tempting to infer that he was involved in informal discussions of the scheme at an early stage.

Stevens's profound influence upon the decorative style of the garden buildings and subsequently on that of the South Kensington Museum itself was assured from the moment that his pupil Godfrey Sykes arrived from Sheffield in October 1859 to work for the Science & Art Department on the arcades, later to be joined by James Gamble and Reuben Townroe; there can be no doubt that Sykes would have frequently consulted his master as the works progressed, and yet no evidence has yet been found to prove that Stevens participated directly in any of the executed designs. On 5 August 1862 Henry Cole noted in his diary, 'with Stevens asked him to design a figure for the niches at £20 to be done in a fortnight' (V & A Library: this entry in Cole's diary was kindly pointed out to me by Peter Bezodis), but none of the artist's studies for sculpture appears to correspond with such a figure – presumably for the niches on the arcades – and in view of the time limit that Cole imposed it may fairly be assumed that nothing came of the suggestion.

[43] Certificate of Honourable Mention, International Exhibition, 1862

Preliminary studies for both versions of the design, 1862 (2):

1 Left, rapid suggestion for the general layout of the certificate, the 4 corner figures differing substantially from their final form; below & right, impressions of the 2 mourning putti with shields as in the 1st version; rough notes for the certificate & for arcades & a panelled door; the left half of the sheet was first used for pencil notes of the panelling & buffet for Stevens's library-dining-room at Eton Road, on which the pen drawings for the certificate are superimposed [Fig.108]  
Verso: Faint impression of Stevens's buffet, as recto, & other unintelligible notes

Insc: Notes apparently relating to the proposed subject matter of the certificate design, including *Commerce | Industry | facilità | patience | Vigilance | Constancy | Britannia supported by Concord con cadoce in mano, diligenza che legano la fortuna*; verso *Industry | Collmann 53 George St Portman Square*  
w/m: E. Towgood 1861

Pen & pencil on blue paper, sheet trimmed (320×400)

2 Two detailed studies for the pair of mourning putti with shields as in the 1st version & rapid sketch for the reclining figure at the lower left angle of the certificate; notes for the vertical borders with industrial tools [Fig.109]

Verso: Four studies for the single putto with shield bearing the monogram VA as in the 2nd version, 2 of the sketches including part of the adjoining horizontal border with reclining figures; these sketches are superimposed on a series of faint impressions of the left caryatid for the dining-room chimneypiece at Dorchester House [Fig.110]  
Pencil, one recto study for putti heightened with white, sheet trimmed (294×240)

1-2 Lit: (general) *Armstrong*, p.24, illus. p.1; *Stannus*, p.25, paras.216-218, pl.II; H. Stannus, *The Drawings of Alfred Stevens*, 1908, p.10, frontispiece & pl.XXXIV; *Townrow*, pp.175-176; *Tate catalogue*, p.109, Nos.299-302



Stevens almost certainly owed his Government commission to design a certificate for the International Exhibition of 1862 to Henry Cole, who had been invited during the previous year to 'afford his assistance' to the Commissioners in 'allotting space to exhibitors, in preparing the Catalogue, in superintending the Juries and Prizes and generally to act as Consulting Officer' (PRO, Ed.28/13). The certificate was to become one of the artist's best known works, described in his obituary in *The Times* as 'a noble and vigorous design'.

Two finished versions were made and engraved on wood by W. J. Linton. In the first Stevens included, at the foot of the inscription panel, two mourning putti supporting shields with the initials *V* and *A*, the latter half-shrouded in explicit reference to the recent death of Prince Albert. In the second, which was used for the exhibition, a shield monogrammed *V**A* is supported by a single putto. The allegorical group of Industry and Fortune at the head of the panel was also modified slightly in the final version, while the vertical borders decorated with implements of crafts and industry and the four ignudi at the angles of the panel remained unchanged. The design for the first version, several proofs from the wood block and sketches are in the *V* & *A*. An original wood block is in the Science Museum, South Kensington (No.8456-1863).

[44] LONDON: St Paul's cathedral  
Studies for the proposed decoration of the dome, its substructure & the semi-dome of the apse, c.1862-69 (27):

1 Rough notes for the spandrels, with angels carrying the Instruments of the Passion, an early idea which was not pursued; scribbled impressions of the sculptured reclining figures of the Evangelists intended for the gallery spaces under the dome arches, including *Matthew & Mark*

Verso: Studies for Matthew & John; note for an embroidered chair, probably for Dorchester House dining-room

Insc: As above & list of Instruments of the Passion; verso, colour lists given

Pencil, sheet trimmed (280 × 258)

2 Rough layout of dome & substructure with Evangelist figure sculptures & spandrel prophets briefly indicated; superimposed, above, 2 suggestions for spandrel compositions with prophets & angels, one insc. *JOEL*; unrelated notes for a foliated corbel & details of furniture

Verso: Four rapid notes for spandrel prophets

Insc: Evangelist sculptures roughly titled; verso, as above

Pencil (475 × 301)

3 Two rough sketches for a flying angel in the left corner of the Daniel spandrel, with hieroglyphic notes for the adjacent figures; study for a sideboard & couch leg & other notes probably related to Stevens's house at Eton Road

Insc: Illegible note in Stevens's hand

Pencil (313 × 255)

4 Numerous heavily worked rough sketches for spandrel compositions, principally Daniel & Jeremiah

Verso: Sketch for the frieze of foliage scrolls & winged cherubs' heads intended for the base of the drum; faint impression of a niche for the drum with superscription *DAVID*; notes for panelling, probably related to the house at Eton Road

Pencil, sheet trimmed (259 × 322)

5 Numerous rough notes for a spandrel composition with a prophet & 1 attendant figure

Pencil, sheet much trimmed & stuck on to mount (240 × 303 approx.)

6 Heavily worked rough study for the Isaiah spandrel, the composition shown as executed

Verso: Perspective impression of the interior of the Olympic Theatre & note for a balcony rail

Pencil, sheet much trimmed (172 × 315 approx.)

7 Three studies for drapery over the lap & legs of the prophet in the Isaiah spandrel, fold formation close to final version

Verso: Another drapery study similar to those on recto

Red chalk & pencil (252 × 310)

8 Study for drapery, similar to those on No.7r & v, with variations in the fold formation; related detail notes

Red chalk & pencil, sheet trimmed (256 × 293)

9 Fragment of a group of studies for limbs, the arm & hand probably those of the angel on the left in the Isaiah spandrel

Red chalk, torn fragment (150 × 75 approx.)

10 Study for the draped legs of a seated figure, possibly for one of the decorative figures in the 'ribs' on the dome

Red chalk (224 × 168)

11 Rough suggestions for the general decorative scheme in the dome, showing the emergence of the idea of circular panels divided by vertical 'ribs'; notes for wall panelling & furniture relating to the house at Eton Road, including details of a sideboard & Stevens's drawing table

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (520 × 303)

12 Rough perspective of the drum, showing spandrels filled with circular panels; numerous experimental notes for the general decorative scheme in the dome, for angels & the composition the Conversion of Saul intended for one of the semi-domes [Fig.105]

Verso: Notes for heraldic beasts

Pen & pencil (263 × 320)

13 Studies for the general scheme of decoration in the dome, the principal panels shown as circles contained in squares & separated by a grid of horizontal & vertical decorative bands; studies for the panelling of Stevens's library-dining-room at Eton Road, including bookcase, chimneypiece overmantel & buffet [Fig.106]

Insc: Scribbled lists of subjects for principal dome panels including ... *driven out of paradise, death of Abel, creation, fall, deluge, building the Ark*

Repr: *RIBA Jnl*, LXXI, 1964, p.439, fig.10

Verso: Suggestions for various elaborated systems of panelling in the dome; superimposed, rapid sketch for the hood & surmounting wall panels of the dining-room chimneypiece at Dorchester House

Pencil (325 × 260)

14 Suggestion for a system of dome panelling with a throned figure at the base, as in the final design, surmounted by a narrative compartment in the form of a Greek cross which is contained on the other 3 sides by circular panels

Pencil (225 × 144)

15 Rough studies & figure notes for the Deluge composition intended for the upper cycle of narrative panels, taking the form of a Greek cross; below right, faint impression of the Brazen Serpent composition for the lower cycle, also shown as a Greek cross

Verso: Shorthand sketches for the Fall & the Death of Abel, intended for the upper cycle, the panels square or octagonal in form

Insc: verso (in Stannus's hand) *S from Mr P*  
Pencil, with touches of red chalk verso, sheet torn (245 × 335)

Prov: Pres. by Hugh Stannus Robertson & Miss J. Robertson, 1956, from the collection of Hugh Stannus; formerly in the possession of Alfred Pegler (see verso inscription)

16 Notes for the Sacrifice of Isaac in an octagonal frame, probably intended for the upper cycle of narrative panels but not shown on the model; notes for the Wellington monument victory tablets; top left, faint impression of a book cover or certificate, unidentified

Pencil (328 × 262)

17 Numerous closely worked rough studies for the Sacrifice of Isaac, as on No.16

Verso: Faint notes for the Isaac panel, as recto; sketches for furniture, probably for Eton Road, including a dressing table mirror with measurements marked

Pencil (200 × 320)

18 Note for the figure of Adam in the narrative panel of the Fall intended for the upper cycle

Pencil, trimmed fragment (107 × 92)

19 Rough layout of a section of the dome with panelling & 'ribs' close to the final design, the Brazen Serpent composition shown in the principal rectangular compartment

Verso: Notes for the dome; faint impression of the proposed elevation of Stevens's house in Eton Road; notes for cornice mouldings

Pencil, with touches of pen recto (325 × 265)

20 Numerous rough notes for a rectangular composition of Moses Striking the Rock, intended for the lower cycle of narrative panels; study for the head of a saint or Madonna, unidentified

Pencil, sheet trimmed & stuck on to mount (290 × 308)

21 Scribbled impression of a narrative composition, probably Moses Striking the Rock as on No.20, of Greek cross form; below, faint note for 1 of the youths with swags round the base of the dome

Verso: Note for a Greek cross panel with foliage & figure details probably relating to the dome

Pencil (222 × 170)

22 Outline sketch of a youth with a swag, as on No.21r

Pen & pencil on canvas, stuck on to mount (242 × 133)

23 Rapid note for a group of figures on a hill, probably related to the Destruction of Sodom panel for the lower cycle

Pencil, trimmed fragment stuck on to mount (105 × 136)

24 Note for a decorative base supporting a roundel, probably a motif for the vertical 'ribs'

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (138 × 148)



25 Studies for roundels with classical female heads in profile, possibly for the linking panels of the upper cycle

Verso: Faint notes for roundels with groups of figures, probably rejected ideas for the linking panels; fragment of a sketch of Valour & Cowardice, Wellington monument

Pencil, torn fragment (145 × 245)

26 Notes for roundels with female heads & figure groups, as on No.25r & v; thumbnail impression of Valour & Cowardice; sketches for a sideboard, probably for Eton Road

Verso: Notes & jottings, mostly unintelligible but including a sketch of the Isaiah spandrel

Pencil, daubs of wash verso, sheet trimmed (200 × 275 approx.)

27 Perspective impression of the half-dome over the apse of the cathedral, with the coffered arch shown in the foreground & scribbled indications of plaque & foliage decoration in the 3 compartments of the dome; right, faint notes for a panel with heraldic shield to surmount the chimney-piece overmantel in Stevens's library-dining-room at Eton Road

Verso: Impression of the half-dome, as recto, with alternative suggestion for decoration, the central compartment filled by a figure of Christ in Glory & each side bay with a crouching figure of a saint; notes for attendant saints & for Dorchester House chimney-piece caryatids, a dome & an embroidered chair

Pencil (284 × 486)

See also [34].11v, 18, 21v; [35].8v, 17v, 24v, 30v; [40].13, 21, 45v, 46; [46].1, 3; [47].1; [48].7v

1-27 Lit: (general) *Armstrong*, pp.24-27, illus. p.23; *Stannus*, pp.25-26, paras.219-228, pls.LI-LIV; W. E. Britten, 'The Mosaics in the dome of St Paul's cathedral', *AR*, II, 1897, pp.261-286 (illus.); H. Stannus, *The Drawings of Alfred Stevens*, 1908, pp.14-15, pls.XXXIX, XL, XLIV; *A Picture book of the work of Alfred Stevens*, V & A, 1926, pl.9; *Towndrow*, pp.176-188, pls.32-35; *Tate catalogue*, pp.109-118, pls.6, 7, 16; *Victorian church art*, exhibition catalogue, V & A, 1971, pp.86-91

It was characteristically unfortunate that the noblest decorative scheme Stevens ever conceived should have had no firm basis in an official commission and, from the first, little hope of realization. In 1852 Francis Cranmer Penrose was appointed Surveyor to St Paul's cathedral and for the first time since the late C18 the question of how best to complete the cathedral's interior decoration became, at his instigation, a matter for public debate. In May of that year he was already pointing out, at the RIBA, that 'the various cupolas of the nave and aisles, the spandrels of the roof and part of the drum of the dome, are all open to the painter' ('A Few remarks on St. Paul's and its appropriate decorations', *RIBA Transactions*, 1st ser. III, 1852, p.9). After long delays for lack of funds, the restoration of Thornhill's paintings in the dome was by this time already decided upon and was completed in 1853, though Penrose stated plainly in 1859 when describing his own revised and elaborated vision of the interior sumptuously clad in mosaics, 'If... the present more ambitious views - perhaps rather dreams - ... had been entertained at that time, it is probable that Sir James Thornhill's work, which, whatever its merits, must be pronounced only second rate, would hardly have been followed and restored so scrupulously.' He went on to suggest that '£7,000 or £8,000 expended in mosaics would go far to make the drum of the cupola all that could be desired in point of ornament. This would be a commencement which, if successful (I do not for an instant question its success) would most likely lead to greater things; a school of workers would have been formed and the noble spandrels of the eight arches of the dome, and

the hemispherical vaults through which the vaults of the aisles are pierced with much beauty, would offer fit place for more elaborate designs and subjects from Scripture history...' ('Various matters connected with St Paul's cathedral', *RIBA Transactions*, 1st ser. IX, 1859, pp.61-70).

As his plans took shape it was natural that Penrose should have turned to Stevens, not only for advice but also, perhaps, in the hope that he might lead the 'school' of designers that were to work in the cathedral. The two men, who had first met at Lincoln in the 1840s through their mutual friendship with C. R. Cockerell, were in close touch with one another at this period as the Wellington monument affair progressed. There is, surprisingly, no mention of the proposed mosaic decorations in Stevens's letters among the Penrose Papers nor any correspondence in the cathedral archives, but Penrose told Stannus in 1890 that he had approached Stevens about 1862 with an idea for the spandrels and that the artist had immediately set to work on his own account to produce a scheme which inevitably led him to consider the treatment of the whole dome area (Stannus Papers, notes of a conversation with F. C. Penrose d. 13.VII.90). The sketches on Nos.27r & v above indicate that Stevens also gave some thought to the decoration of the apse, but they appear to be isolated examples with no counterparts in other collections.

The great model of the dome and substructure in half-section that Stevens and his assistants built in wood and plaster to a height of more than 13ft on which to demonstrate his scheme of mosaics and sculpture, is now in the Trophy Room of the cathedral. Though essentially a sketch model, roughly executed and incomplete, it represents his design at its most advanced stage of development. The fact that, almost without exception, Stevens's drawings and plaster models for the mosaic and sculptural decorations in the cathedral are related to those parts represented in the large model indicates that the details for the second half of the dome and substructure remained for the most part unresolved. The mosaic surface of the dome was to be divided into eight compartments by vertical 'ribs' built up of supporting ignudi, circular cartouches and groups of standing angels. At the base of the compartments Stevens envisaged eight colossal Old Testament figures seated on thrones linked to the ribs by balustrades. The central throned figure on the painted model is that of Moses. Immediately above the thrones were to be set eight huge circular panels with narrative compositions, linked, by means of medallions with half-length angels, to a second series of smaller narrative roundels above. These in turn were surmounted by yet smaller roundels with angels' heads and round the apex cherubs' heads emerge from a ring of cloud. The strong vertical elements in the composition are balanced by the transverse sequence of roundels which form two continuous chains round the dome, the narrative panels being linked horizontally to the circular cartouches in the adjoining ribs.

The narrative scenes in the upper cycle of small roundels on the model are, right to left, a half-roundel showing part of a landscape, probably the Creation, followed by the Fall, the Expulsion from Eden, the Death of Abel and a half-roundel with a group of figures, probably the Deluge. In the large roundels of the lower cycle are depicted, right to left, the Tower of Babel (half-roundel), the Destruction of Sodom, the Miracle of the Brazen Serpent, Moses Striking the Rock and a group of women and children advancing to the left (half-roundel) identified by Edmund Oldfield as the Passage of Jordan (*Memorandum on figure subjects for the dome and some other parts of the building*... pamphlet printed 13 November 1877: copy in St Paul's cathedral library). As penitence on the model show, each circular narrative composition was originally conceived as a Greek cross; Stevens's numerous studies for cruciform,

octagonal, square and circular panels likewise betray his extravagantly long deliberation over this detail of the decorative scheme.

The four empty niches on the model between the groups of windows round the drum are surmounted by tablets inscribed, right to left, *Joel*, *David*, *Judith* and *Joshua*, and over each window is painted a single winged cherub's head. Examples of the plaster models which Stevens made for the standing figures proposed for the niches are at the Walker Art Gallery and the Tate (transferred from V & A 1952). Round the base of the drum immediately above the Whispering Gallery runs a broad frieze band of decoration with foliage, festoons and cherubs' heads. The four spandrels shown in the model are occupied, right to left, by Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Joel, each with attendant angels. The full-size cartoon for Isaiah is at the Tate and small models for the Isaiah, Jeremiah and Daniel spandrels, together with a full-size detail in mosaic of the head of Daniel, are in the V & A.

Very little of the decoration that Stevens devised for the substructure is shown in the model. The vault in one of the galleries immediately below the principal arches is decorated with flying putti bearing a medallion inscribed *John*: here was to rest the sculptured reclining figure of the Evangelist, a plaster model for which is in the V & A. (Numbers of bronze casts were made from Stevens's plaster models at the instigation of Sir Charles Holroyd and are now scattered among various public and private collections.)

According to Towndrow Stevens meant the figures to be cut in marble, though there seems to be no direct evidence of his intentions.) The other gallery was probably to have contained the figure of St Mark, also represented by a plaster cast at the V & A, while the two remaining galleries not included in the model would have held similar figures of St Matthew and St Luke. The four semi-domes over the junction of the octagon with the aisles were probably all to have been decorated with scenes in mosaic from the life of St Paul: one of these - the Conversion of Saul - is rapidly sketched in situ on the model.

The only part of this extraordinarily ambitious programme of decoration to be adopted during Stevens's lifetime was his design for the Isaiah spandrel. The mosaic was carried out by Salvati and unveiled on 22 July 1864, when it was described by *The Building News* as 'part... of a large scheme for the interior adornment of the Cathedral with becoming splendour, designed by Mr F. C. Penrose, the surveyor of the fabric' (XI, 1864, p.586). According to Penrose, Stevens had expected no payment for his design, though he was given what the architect described as a 'nominal sum' (Stannus Papers, note d. 13.VII.90). Penrose was apparently still intent upon forming a team of artists rather than adopting the scheme of a single designer, for no attempt was made at this stage to carry out any more of Stevens's prophets: the next spandrel mosaic to be executed was G. F. Watts's St Matthew.

The introduction of the Evangelists into the spandrel decoration was probably at variance with Stevens's intentions. An inscription on a drawing in the V & A (E.2595-1911) indicates that he once considered depicting the eight authors of the canonical books of the New Testament - that is, the Evangelists with St Paul, St James, St Peter and St Jude - but having finally chosen the theme of the prophets for his model it is most unlikely that he would have diverged from it in the other four spandrels.

In 1863 a committee had been set up to appeal for funds for the cathedral's decoration, but the response was so poor that the whole project was left in abeyance until, in 1872, William Burges was appointed by the Dean and Chapter to design a scheme for the dome, in collaboration with Penrose. Nothing came of this strange and unpopular arrangement, but by the time the Dean and Chapter were ready at last to give serious consideration to the possibility of adopting Stevens's design for the dome the artist had died. The model was



purchased from Alfred Pegler for £100, and in November 1877 Edmund Oldfield published his *Memorandum on figure subjects for the dome...* for the benefit of the sub-committee charged with 'determining the artist or artists to be employed in carrying out Mr Stevens' designs...'. After describing the scheme for the dome proper, 'which alone the Executive Committee has resolved at once to complete', Oldfield proceeded with a fierce attack upon the iconography, in the choice of which, he wrote, 'Mr Stevens seems to me to have been carried away by his too exclusive study of Michael Angelo'. Now for the first time the model became known to the public. *The Builder* (XXXVI, 1878, p.774) published a detailed description with the comment: 'The figures in the dome design are sketched with the same power of conception and freedom of design which characterize so remarkably the sculptural works of Stevens, and there is a general impress of genius above the whole which asserts itself at once, in spite of the roughness of execution.' Leighton, Poynter and Hugh Stannus were brought in to produce cartoons for decoration in sympathy with Stevens's designs and 'with such modifications as the proper selection of the subjects entails' (F. C. Penrose, 'Notes on St Paul's cathedral', *RIBA Transactions*, 1st ser. XXIX, 1879, p.99) but still no decision was taken and the idea of covering Thornhill's paintings was finally abandoned altogether.

In 1888 W. E. Britten was asked to execute Stevens's three remaining spandrel designs: Jeremiah, Daniel and Joel (the latter composition was inexplicably reversed by Britten for the mosaic and called Ezekiel). By 1893 all the spandrel mosaics – including a second design by Watts and two by Britten himself – were in position. During the course of the 1890s the apse and choir were decorated with mosaics to the designs of William Blake Richmond. Their completion coincided with Penrose's retirement from the surveyorship in 1899.

The largest and most important collections of Stevens's preliminary studies for the decoration of the dome and substructure are at the V & A, Fitzwilliam Museum and Tate.

[45] LONDON: Christ Church, Cosway Street (St Marylebone), Westminster  
Studies for the decoration of the E wall, c.1862-65 (5):  
1 Elevation of the E wall, showing the existing architectural features & proposed decorative additions: on the principal wall space, which is articulated by 2 Corinthian pilasters carrying an entablature, 4 rectangular tablets are insc. with the *Lord's Prayer*, *Commandments* & *Creed* & surmounted by semicircular panels containing symbols of the 4 Evangelists; a deep frieze running the full width of the wall between the pilaster caps is decorated with ribboned swags & roundels, overdrawn in pencil, & the entablature frieze carries the inscription *GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST & IN EARTH PEACE*, beginning & ending on the side walls; the lunette space over the entablature is blank but for faint scribbled areas of shading in pencil suggesting a central halo of light  
Scale: 1/4 in to 1 ft  
Insc: As above & *East End Christ Church Stafford Street N.W.*, the semicircular panels titled & that for St John marked *NB one book open & one shut*; (on mount) *off Edgeware Road*, neither hand identified  
Pen with some overdrawing in pencil on tracing paper stuck on to mount (278×340)  
Prov: Goetze Gift, 1927; formerly in the Gamble Collection, according to D. S. MacColl (V & A Library, MacColl Collection)  
The quality of draughtsmanship is poor and the drawing was probably made to provide Stevens with a guide to the general requirements when the project was first put in hand. The pencilled additions in the frieze and lunette are perhaps his own. The change of name from Stafford Street to Cosway Street occurred in 1905.

2 Incomplete rough elevation of the E wall, the proposed decorations roughly indicated in pencil, except for the semicircular panel over the left tablet where the bull of St Luke is carefully executed in sepia wash; the frieze between the pilaster caps is filled with heavy swags & the rough outlines of an Annunciation to the Shepherds are indicated in the lunette space above  
Pencil, pen & sepia wash (327×420)

3 Five rapid sketches of the sharply foreshortened angel in flight for the lunette composition, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, showing variations on the position of the arms, which are always fully extended in a wide declamatory gesture; unrelated note for ceiling panelling & cornice mouldings  
Verso: In the centre are further notes for the Annunciation lunette; but the sheet was subsequently & principally used for rough sketches of mouldings, capitals, door architraves & decorative panels, probably all relating to Dorchester House dining-room; 1 of the panels includes the Holford greyhound emblem  
Pencil (258×312)

4 Rough study for the whole lunette composition, the central angel & encircling clouds crudely outlined & the corner groups of shepherds briefly indicated; above, another more delicate study for the angel & an outline impression of a seated male nude [Fig.103]  
Verso: Rough sketch, squared for enlargement & overworked in ink, for the composition Magog Thrown into the Sea proposed for the cove of the dining-room ceiling at Dorchester House; numerous slight notes for the 2 grappling nudes & other figures for the cove  
Pencil, with pen overdrawing verso (265×327)

5 Rapid impression in pencil with pen overdrawing of a group of shepherds to occupy the left corner of the lunette, one leaning on a rock in the foreground, another with an arm raised to shield his eyes; several tiny sketches of arcades on 2 levels, probably related to the Horticultural Society's garden; impressions of a decorated dome  
Verso: Numerous sketches for carved furniture, including an elaborate dining chair & 2 types of sideboard, & a perspective of a carved beam, all probably related to Stevens's house at Eton Road  
Pencil, with pen overdrawing recto (277×380)

See also [34].16v; [35].18, 40v; [40].39

1-5 Lit: (general) H. Stannus, *The Drawings of Alfred Stevens*, 1908, p.14, pls. XXXV-XXXVIII; *Tate catalogue*, pp.106-108, Nos.287-294

It was not until D. S. MacColl saw the drawing, No.1 above, in the Gamble Collection in 1912 that Stevens's many studies for a shallow arched composition of the Angel Appearing to the Shepherds were finally identified with the lunette on the E wall of Christ Church, Cosway Street. Neither in subject nor arrangement do the areas of decoration suggested in the drawing correspond with the scheme that was finally adopted in the church later in the C19, but they match exactly Stevens's watercolour study in the BM, where the Annunciation lunette is shown superimposed over four small round-arched compartments containing the symbols of the Evangelists. Stannus, though familiar with this key drawing and the numerous figure studies that relate to it, did not mention the scheme in the biography. Reuben Townroe had told him that Stevens was working on a painted lunette composition sometime during the period 1859-62, but, with a characteristic lapse of memory, had been unable to give Stannus the name of the church for which it was intended. He did, however, remember vividly that Stevens

spent an inordinate length of time in preparation for it and that no part of the proposed decorations had ever been executed. Life studies were made and a large roll of canvas was bought, but time after time when the incumbent called at the studio to inquire after Stevens's progress he was sent away with excuses and eventually abandoned hope (Stannus Papers, notes of conversation with Reuben Townroe d. 6.VII.90).

How Stevens came to obtain the commission to decorate the E wall of Christ Church is not yet known, but a clue may lie in one of his letters to F. C. Penrose, Surveyor to St Paul's Cathedral: 'I should be willing', he wrote, 'to fill the arched space in the church for £30 or even for less if so much could not be spared from the sum set apart for the whole work. To be quite plain I should be so pleased to see a picture in such a place that if nothing could be... of it I should be ready to paint it for nothing. In three or four days I will send you a sketch showing how I would propose to arrange the composition...'. Stevens did not date this letter but it is endorsed, probably by Penrose, *Aut 1862* (Penrose Papers). That he was referring simply to a part of the proposed decorations of the cathedral is unlikely, for these were intended to be executed in mosaic; no other group of drawings datable in the 1860s for an 'arched space' in a church has survived. Penrose was among Stevens's most faithful admirers, his champion during the Wellington monument crisis and the instigator of the grand design for the decoration of the cathedral dome: the letter suggests that he may also have been responsible for obtaining the Christ Church commission for the artist. It is only surprising that with his certain knowledge of Stevens's hazily slow working method and heavy commitment to the monument, Penrose should have thought fit to increase his burden of work at this period.

The surviving drawings for the Annunciation, with their countless variations upon each figure – some highly worked red chalk studies, others scribbled notes scattered across sheets teeming with ideas for Dorchester House, the Wellington monument or his own house furniture – are themselves a sufficient explanation of Stevens's failure to complete, or even to begin, the final canvas. Once more the laborious process of refinement towards a heroic harmony of form and expression seems to have become an end in itself, entirely disassociated from the tiresome intrusions of a waiting patron.

All the principal collections of Stevens's drawings include a number of studies for the lunette. The largest and most highly worked sketch is in the Tate (1957, oil on panel, 397×1019). A faint study on [46].1 suggests that Stevens gave some thought to the decoration of the ceiling and wall surfaces of the church, but there is no other evidence of this.

[46] Chimney-piece for Alfred Elmore  
Studies & designs, c.1862-63 (4):

1 Incomplete front & side elevations close to final design; details of cornice mouldings: the square grate surround is flanked by diminished pilaster panels, scrolled at the base over a plinth & carrying a cornice, a shallow rectangular panel above the cornice is framed by dolphins supporting on their tails a heavy overhanging shelf; these designs appear to have been superimposed on the innumerable small sketches for the principal projects of the early 1860s which cover the whole surface of the sheet; among them can be recognized the superstructure of Stevens's buffet for his house at Eton Road, dome of St Paul's cathedral showing the proposed decorative scheme, caryatid chimney-piece for the dining-room at Dorchester House &, curiously (below right of centre), what appears to be a faint perspective of the clerestory & ceiling of Philip Hardwick's Christ Church, Cosway Street (see [45])



Verso: Innumerable closely worked notes for the ribboned victory tablets & mouldings of the Wellington monument pedestal; study of a female nude; notes for Stevens's buffet  
Pencil; chimneypiece designs pen & pencil recto (385 × 547)

2 Incomplete front & side elevations; perspective of the upper angle, showing the dolphin support & panelled soffit of the shelf: some details of the design differ slightly from those shown on No.1r & from the finished work; the ribboned escutcheon with Elmore's dolphin device, as executed, is briefly indicated in the centre of the panel beneath the shelf & a fish scale pattern is suggested on the pilasters framing the grate [Fig.66]

Insc: *Please to return me this drawing in an unidentified hand*

Pen & pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (315 × 385, excluding mount)

3 Roughly sketched front & side elevations, showing an elaborate early version of the chimneypiece; the portion below the shelf is close to the final design, as on No.1r, but a heavy coved overmantel is suggested, incorporating a circular clockface over the centre of the shelf; small sketches, above, for Stevens's projected yacht & its figurehead &, below, for the Isaiah spandrel, St Paul's cathedral

Verso: Notes for square panels with foliated decoration & the ribboned initial *H* for Dorchester House dining-room doors

Pencil, sheet trimmed (238 × 295)

4 Roughly sketched elevations & perspectives of the mantelshelf & coved overmantel with clockface as on No.3r; notes for the panelling & carved frieze of lions' heads for the library-dining-room at Eton Road

Verso: Notes for an elaborately carved bench & upholstered armchair, probably for Eton Road; cavetto moulding, Wellington monument; unidentified architectural sketches; 2 sketches of a pair of pliers  
Pencil (239 × 303)

Sheets [40].13, 19 & 23 are closely related.

1-4 Lit: (general) *Stannus*, p.15, paras.138-139

According to Stannus, Stevens designed an oak chimneypiece for his friend Elmore in 1856, but on the evidence of Nos.1-3 above and studies on [40].19, 24, 27 & 28 the project must date from the early 1860s. Alfred Elmore (1815-81), a notable painter and Royal Academician, had moved in 1858 to No.1 St Alban's Road (now Grove), Kensington, within a few yards of Canning Place, where Stevens had been living since 1851. It was no doubt for this house, in which the painter lived for many years, that the chimneypiece was made. It is not known to have survived, but fortunately there is a photograph of the finished work among the Stannus Papers, which, though unidentified on the mount, corresponds exactly with Stannus's description of Elmore's chimneypiece in the biography: 'The overhanging shelf has a coved soffit which is panelled; and it is supported by Dolphins (the Elmore crest) resting upon diminished pilasters; the whole being very simple in design and carving, and depending for effect on good mass-shapes and proportion.' Stannus also records that the design was carried out by Arthur Hayball, one of Stevens's Sheffield circle. No drawings other than those in the RIBA Collection have been positively identified with this work.

[47] LONDON: Olympic Theatre, Wych Street, Strand  
Studies for the redecoration of the interior, c.1863-64 (3):

1 Perspective sketch of the interior, showing the ceiling, panelled galleries, proscenium arch & stage: spanning the width of the proscenium, beneath the arch, is a beam supporting an ornamental medallion hung with festoons; superimposed, 2 rough suggestions for a radiating pattern of arabesques for the ceiling; the sheet was first used for scribbled & smudged notes of Stevens's name & Canning Place address & for a list of the Instruments of the Passion & other notes relating to the dome of St Paul's cathedral [Fig.107]

Insc: *nails, cross, spear and sponge &c; Paul deliver out of Prison, Sauls Conversion, Paul shaking off . . . Paul and Barnabas at Lystra; Alfred . . . 7 Canning . . . Kensington Pen (320 × 260)*

This sheet is closely related in date and quality to [44].12.

2 Fragment of a large rough perspective sketch, showing the gallery & box tiers to the right of the stage & part of the ceiling & proscenium arch, where a light arabesque decoration is indicated  
Verso: Three suggestions for the treatment of the spire of a church in the classical manner; notes for decorative mouldings  
Pencil (366 × 284)

3 Left, rough perspective sketch of the interior from the same viewpoint as on No.2r, showing medallion & festoons over the proscenium & other decorations; right, notes for cornice mouldings & a Corinthian capital  
Pencil, sheet severely damaged & trimmed & stuck on to mount (373 × 553)

See also [44].6v

1-3 Lit: (general) *Stannus*, p.23, paras.199-200; R. Mander & J. Mitchenson, *The Lost theatres of London*, 1968 (general history of the Olympic)

According to Stannus, Stevens was 'consulted about the decoration' of the Olympic Theatre in 1859, during the management of Frederick Robson, and prepared a drawing, but nothing came of his intentions. Once again the biographer's principal source was the not always reliable memory of Reuben Townroe, who told him that he had assisted Stevens with a drawing for the decoration of the theatre (Stannus Papers). On the grounds that Townroe worked for Stevens for about two years before joining Godfrey Sykes at the South Kensington Museum in 1862 Stannus evidently judged that 1859 was the most likely date of this work, but there is evidence to suggest that he was mistaken, both in his dating of the scheme and in his assumption that it was never carried out.

Frederick Robson retired from the Olympic in 1864 and the theatre was closed for substantial alterations and improvements in the summer of that year. On 5 November *The Builder* (XXII, 1864, p.818) reported: 'This theatre opened under the management of Mr Horace Wigan, has been improved before the curtain, and decorated with great taste and delicacy, by Mr Leonard Collmann, with Pompeian proclivity. The proscenium, which is new, is particularly elegant, and includes some figures in bas-relief . . . Significantly, there was a reference in *The Building News*'s equally brief but less enthusiastic description on 11 November to an 'ill-painted medallion over the proscenium' (XI, 1864, p.835). Now the fact that Collmann was the interior decorator responsible for the renovation is a reliable indication that Stevens's designs were made at his request, and it is tempting to infer that, far from being abandoned, they were executed by Collmann's firm in 1864. The sketches on No.1 above are superimposed on notes relating to the decoration of St

Paul's cathedral dome datable c.1862, and all the known studies for the Olympic scheme are compatible in style with Stevens's work of the early to mid 1860s.

Moreover, the collection of Collmann's drawings at the V & A, which were in Stevens's studio at the time of his death, includes only one study for the Olympic interior (8590.C) and this is, in part at least, in Stevens's hand and closely related to Nos.1-3 above.

If Stannus knew of Collmann's connection with the theatre he chose to ignore it, as he had also ignored the decorator's role as Stevens's sponsor at No.11 Kensington Palace Gardens. It is unlikely, however, that he was familiar with the 1864 decorations, for they were swept away when the Olympic was again renovated under new management in 1869. The building was demolished in 1904 during the construction of Aldwych and Kingsway.

Of the very small group of drawings which have been identified with the Olympic Theatre decorations, the most important are in the V & A (8590.C & E.2645-1911) and the Tate (2052).

[48] Yacht

Studies for restoration & decoration, c.1863-64 (8):

1 Four small studies for an elaborate figurehead representing Thetis holding Achilles by the heel  
Verso: Impressions of the stern, the transom flanked by mermaid caryatid figures supporting the rail, the quarterboards bearing the name *THETIS*

Insc: *Very faint, Thetis for figurehead | of ship; verso, as above*

Pencil (108 × 177)

2 Scribbled note for the Thetis figurehead, superimposed on a faint sketch for the decoration of a wall

Insc: *Head Knee | straight stern*

Verso: Faint impression of the rigging

Pencil (107 × 175)

3 Rough sketches all relating to the yacht, including a section of the hull, an anchor & helm

Verso: Notes for the decoration of a fender

Pencil (179 × 222)

4 Section of the hull through the saloon, suggesting that the yacht was to be equipped with elaborate panelling; small deck plan & other notes including an impression of a free-standing stove, probably to heat the cabin

Verso: Scribbles

Pencil, sheet trimmed (158 × 202)

5 Rough notes of deck plan, section showing panelling & impressions of the bows with an alternative figurehead in the form of a classical female bust terminating in foliage scrolls

Insc: *Rough calculations shown*

Verso: Section of hull & figureheads, as recto

Pencil (221 × 174)

6 Numerous notes for the deck plan & section of hull with details of the bows, showing alternating use of the classical bust figurehead & mermaid figurehead (see No.7r)

Pencil, sheet trimmed (313 × 428)

7 Closely worked notes for deck plan, section, decorated stern & a figurehead in the form of a mermaid shown crouching under the bowsprit, the transom in one of the sketches insc. *MERMAID*; above left, 3 impressions of a panel with ribbon & plaque decoration for cupboard doors flanking the buffet in Stevens's library-dining-room at Eton Road  
Insc: *As above*

Verso: Four rapid sketches of the Isaiah spandrel, St Paul's cathedral; grotesque head

Pencil, sheet much trimmed (377 × 277 approx.)



8 Rough sketches of the yacht in plan, elevation & perspective, no decoration shown; below, note for decorated door panel, as on No.7r; scribbled notes for a cornice & decorated borders  
Pencil, sheet much trimmed (405×261)

See also [40], 19v, 23v, [46].3

1-8 Lit: (general) *Stannus*, p.26, paras.239-240; *Towndrow*, p.189; *Tate catalogue*, p.121, No.385

The key to Stevens's preoccupation in the 1860s with the design of a yacht is contained in a letter to his friend Alfred Pegler in Southampton, endorsed by Pegler *March 17/64*: 'My dear Al', he wrote, 'Thank you for the trouble you have taken about the boat. The price you mention is more than I ought to pay. Still I should like to see it and shall try to come down when if [sic] I find that it has capabilities I may commit an act of extravagance but it must be capable of being beautified to any extent - I must fit it with a figure-head - something like this [here Stevens inserted a lively sketch of the bows with the crouching mermaid figurehead as shown on No.7r above] - and otherwise decorate it. . . If I find that I can spare a day I will let you know when you may expect me. In the meantime say nothing to the owner of the boat. . . ' (Stannus Papers, Pegler letters).

Predictably, his ambitions to acquire and 'beautify' the boat came to nothing. When Stevens wrote to Pegler again he had already, with touching enthusiasm, transferred his interest to the new boat acquired by his friend during the following year. 'I will come down some time about Christmas', he promised, 'and see you all and the new boat as well - if the boat would be the better for a figurehead she shall have the handsomest in Southampton Water' (*ibid.*, letter d. in Stannus's hand 16.XII.65). He evidently hoped that his own abandoned design could be put to good use, but whether Pegler's yacht ever carried Stevens's figurehead is not known.

Though Stannus and Towndrow both assumed that all Stevens's yacht studies originated in 1865 and were made for Pegler's benefit, it is more than likely that most are the intimate expression of his own escapist dreams and datable in the last months of 1863. Other studies relating to the project are in the V & A and Tate (3399 IX).

[49] BOMBAY: (India): Victoria & Albert Museum  
Three tracings by Reuben Townroe from designs for the 3 sections of a frieze proposed to form part of the decoration of the principal room, the decoration of each section comprising 3 full-length female figures with flowing drapery, supporting bulky festoons

Pencil on tracing paper, mounted (445×320, including mount; tracings 130×300 approx.)  
Lit: (general) *Stannus*, p.26, paras.232-233

Another version of this set of tracings and a third group, from a slightly different design for the frieze, are in the V & A (E.2844, 2845 & 2846-1911 & E.2841, 2842 & 2843-1911). The two original drawings which best represent Stevens's intentions for the decorative scheme as a whole, with the frieze in its context, are in the V & A (D.1209-1908) and at Princeton (48-2019). They show the wall of a room in elevation, with intricately patterned surfaces and decorated attached columns. The central bay is occupied by a doorcase and pedimented overdoor, faintly inscribed in the drawing in London with the monogram V/A, and the two outer bays have large plain wall panels. The deep frieze of figures runs above the panels between the upper shafts and capitals of the columns, its central section encroached by the overdoor's triangular pediment. The tracing at the bottom of [49] shows this pediment, the figure immediately above being seated to accommodate it within the frieze composition. The ceiling which

is shown in perspective in the Princeton drawing is divided into three coved compartments with roof lights, the coves richly decorated with grotesques.

The only documentation for this obscure and apparently unexecuted design is Stannus's brief account in the biography. His papers contain no reference to it. He attributes Stevens's design 'for the decoration of the chief room' to the year 1863 and states that the artist prepared and dispatched a wooden model 'one-twelfth full-size; to which his water-colour drawings on paper were affixed'. The architectural features he describes as painted white and gold, the wall gilt 'with coloured grotesque ornaments distributed very closely over the ground, in imitation of the native Indian style. The upper part of the wall was to be a deep frieze of figures in white and grave colours on a full blue ground. The Coves contained coloured grotesques on a gilt ground; and the Roof-lights were of white glass densely ornamented with foliage in browns.' No trace of such a model, nor any record of its former existence, has yet been found in the museum at Bombay.

The Victoria Museum was first established in temporary buildings by a publicly elected committee in 1858, with the ultimate intention of providing proper accommodation for the Government Museum of Indian raw products, manufacture and arts, then housed in the Town Hall. It was renamed the Victoria & Albert in January 1862 following the death of the Prince Consort and the foundation stone of the new iron building was laid in November of that year. The designs 'in the Italian style' were the work of William Tracey, 'drainage engineer to the Municipality'. The building contractors Scott & McClelland of Bombay, placed the order for the ironwork with the firm of P. D. Bennett & Co. of Birmingham (*Report on the Government Central Museum . . . for 1863 . . . being the history of the establishment of the Victoria & Albert Museum . . . Bombay* by George Birdwood MD, Bombay 1864; India Office Library). Building progress was inhibited by a series of disasters. In July 1868 the Bombay Public Works Department wrote to the Secretary of State for India, reporting that 'since the breaking down of the Committee more than eighteen months since' and the loss, in the ship *Ulysses* at sea, of all the ironwork dispatched from Birmingham, the structure had become 'an eyesore and a standing reproach to this City'. It was urged that a new order be placed immediately so that the museum, now the department's responsibility, could be completed without delay (India Office Records, L/PWD/3/227, letter d. 15 July 1868). The opening ceremony finally took place in May 1872.

No reference to Stevens can be found among the India Office records. How and at what stage in the lengthy development of the new museum he obtained a commission to decorate one of the rooms remains a mystery. The man most likely to have been responsible for his involvement in the scheme was Sir George Birdwood, then Secretary and Curator of the Government Central Museum in Bombay, but the collection of Birdwood's letters in the India Office Library contains no correspondence dating from that period.

## VII Miscellaneous sketches & unidentified projects, c.1842-56

[50] Applied design & decoration  
Sketches of antique & Renaissance works & studies for furniture & decorative motifs (30):

1 Sketch of an *Altar dedicated to Apollo*  
Insc: As above  
Verso: Two impressions of a metal dish with handles & a rapid sketch of a spoon [Fig.18]  
w/m: . . . 1846  
Pen on blue paper (230×180); verso, separate sheet stuck down (205×160)  
A sheet with similar sketches, watermarked 1849, is at the Walker Art Gallery (7104).

2 Sketches, closely similar in style to those on No.1v, of 2 jugs, 2 doorknockers & a lamp [Fig.19]  
Pen on blue paper, sheet trimmed & stuck on to mount (195×157)  
See note to No.1 above.

3 Faint impressions of a *figure of a river god on majolica plate* & a *piece of Turkish plate in the form of a spirit lamp*, surmounted by a *figure of a Turk*  
Insc: As above  
Pencil, fragment stuck on to mount (180×75)

4 Rapid sketches of a *gold casket* with figure decoration & a cream jug  
Insc: As above  
Pen with touches of pencil on blue paper, sheet stuck on to mount (155×148)

5 Another rapid impression of the casket as on No.4, with descriptive notes of the relief decoration; sketch of part of a *majolica plate*  
Insc: As above, with descriptive & colour notes  
Pen (176×115)

6 Rapid sketches of *brass & bronze candlesticks, plate, silk hangings for (rooms?) 16 cent., tailpiece of Book, illuminated letters, page of Book & Titlepage of Book 16th century*, the latter lightly insc. *GIULIO CLOVIO*  
Insc: As above  
Pen (188×110)  
Lit: E. Morris, 'Alfred Stevens' Bible illustrations', *Walker Art Gallery Annual Report*, I, 1970-71, p.38

7 Notes for majolica ware, including a vase with handles formed by outflung winged female figures terminating in serpentine tails [Fig.51]  
Verso: Note for coffering  
Insc: Notes of colours & decorative subject matter  
Pen (175×110)

8 Sketch for a covered metal dish on a long stem, with gold embellishments  
Insc: Notes of materials  
Pencil, fragment stuck on to mount (135×100)

9-16, 9v, 10v, 13v, 15v Homogeneous group of studies for elaborately carved furniture, principally cabinets, sideboards & bookcases [Fig.20, No.9; Fig.21, No.10]  
12v Framed slight sketch for the 'Struggling Figures' composition  
Insc: (No.12) *oak sideboard | carved oak columns*; (No.13) *Sideboard*; (No.14r & v) *Alfred Stevens*  
9-15 w/m: Whatman 1846  
Pen with occasional touches of pencil  
16 Pen, red chalk scribbles verso (252×135 largest, 218×125 smallest, most sheets worked in the vertical; 16, 127×180)

17 Sketch of part of the *Ceiling of the vestibule Doria Palace Genoa*  
Insc: As above  
w/m: Rust & Turners 1843  
Pen, sheet stuck on to mount (243×195)



18 Study for a horizontal panel of grotesques incorporating figures of *Arte & Scienza* for Messrs Simms & Binyon

Verso: Brief sketch for another panel with figure decoration also for Messrs Simms & Binyon

Insc: As above

Pen (110 × 175)

Nothing is yet known of Stevens's connection with the firm of Simms & Binyon of Chatham Place, Blackfriars Bridge, London, for which he designed the trade stamp which appears on [15].6 datable c.1848 and on a sheet at the V & A (E.42-1939). A drawing in the Tate (5816) is also related.

19 Study for a horizontal panel or balustrade with a repeating pattern of foliage encircling balusters  
Pen (95 × 180)

20 Study for a horizontal panel of grotesques incorporating terms

Verso: Scribbled note for decoration

Pen, pencil verso (113 × 183)

21 Suggestion for a vertical panel of grotesques  
Pen, torn fragment stuck on to mount (183 × 103)

22 Notes for arabesque panels, probably for ceiling decoration

Pen, pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (225 × 172)

23 Study for a range of framed vertical wall panels with elaborate grotesque decoration

Verso: Roughly sketched figures & a crudely overdrawn sketch of a centaur & its infant, insc. twice, not in Stevens's hand, *Drawn by Miss E. M. Pegler*

Insc: As above, with other colour notes in Stevens's hand

Pencil with touches of wash recto (270 × 375)

24 Rough impressions of a roundel or plate with a central circular panel of heraldic decoration

Pencil & pen, sheet stuck on to mount (293 × 243)

25-30 Miscellaneous very slight & fragmentary notes for decoration

25 Pen & wash

26-27 Pen

28-30 Pencil

25, 26, 29 Stuck on to mounts

(140 × 110 smallest, 275 × 185 largest)

[51] Architecture

Rough studies & designs, most of the sheets worked on both sides & in pencil except where otherwise indicated (63):

1-11 Miscellaneous experimental architectural notes, including rough plans, elevations, perspectives & details for villas in the Italian Renaissance manner, with numerous measurements & descriptive notes in Stevens's hand; most sheets are also used for unrelated scribbles, including repeated names & addresses & half-finished sentences in English or Italian [Fig.12, No.1; Fig.11, No.4]  
Insc. (selected examples):

1 *Mr Burton with the Honbl Ralph Abercromby | HBM Minister, Torino*

2 *Faery Queen Book 4 Canto 4; Ceiling of Chapel, Whitehall; verso Griffiths Esq | No 2 White Hart Court | London*

3 *Miss Livingstone; bar of music*

4 *I am sick and weary | I feel I have little to live for; notes on cornices formed of moulded brick, continued verso, where there is a signature Alfred Stevens*

5 *faces faciebat | ... | ... against the delightful day*

6 *plan of a House to be built of 36ft frontage; verso*

LOGGIA AT THE ambient flame

7 *Villa residence to stand on a square of 50 ft servants*

apartments in the basement

8 *Blandford Dorset; Is the cement called | marble cement*

9 *36 of scantling; Alfred Stevens*

10 List of rooms & measurements for a villa & its garden front

11 *Gentlemen I decline your invitation because I am at present not in want of a dinner and if I were I doubt if you could give me one*

1-11 Pen, with occasional use of pencil, on white letter-paper; Nos.4, 5 & 6 with Ivory Satin stamp (each 230 × 190 approx.)

Lit: (No.4) *Towndrow*, p.251 & footnote locating the sheet in the Curtis Papers, presumably in error

This group bears striking resemblances to Stevens's early studies on Ivory Satin letter-paper for illustrations to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, most of which are now in the Ashmolean Museum and which, according to Stannus, were begun in Rome in 1841 and completed in Blandford in 1843. Some of the sheets appear to date from the artist's first years in London: the note on No.4r, assumed by Towndrow to have been written shortly before his death, more probably reflects the despair that is suggested in some of Stevens's early letters from London to Alfred Pegler (Stannus Papers), when he was in serious financial difficulty and already suffering from headaches and 'nervous attacks'. All the inscriptions on Nos.1-11 are compatible with Stevens's early handwriting style. In 1912 No.4 was in the Gamble Collection, where it was seen and the inscription noted by D. S. MacColl (V & A Library, MacColl Collection).

12-26 Rough studies principally for Italianate façades, with some plans & details in perspective, Nos.12-16 identified by inscriptions as below

12 *Design for two shops executed in Brick (Terracotta)* (178 × 112)

13 *Banking House with Bronze Door(s)* (180 × 113)

14 *Design for a building calculated for a (museum?) Scientific Institution in a small town* (323 × 255)

15 *Sculptors studio £45 in London | Painters studio £60 in London | Painters studio £150 in London* (170 × 235)

16 *Seabourne Cottages* (170 × 215)

17 Small 2 storeyed house with a loggia on the ground floor, *To be built of brick the ornaments terra cotta* [Fig.14] (110 × 180)

18 Building of 1½ storeys with 3 venetian openings on the ground floor & attic decorated with putti & swags [Fig.13]  
Verso: Faint sketch for the figure panel 'Iron' proposed for the bronze doors of the Geological Museum (116 × 183)

12-18 Pen, Nos.14 & 18 with some pencil

19-26 Lightly sketched suggestions for various house façades, Nos.25 & 26 with rough plan

22 w/m: (18)44

19-23 Pen (110 × 103 smallest, 220 × 178 largest)

27-32 Roughly sketched interior views, with suggestions for wall & ceiling decoration  
27r Suggestions for the decoration of a library in a house built of brick

31v Interior views of a Gothic church

32r Notes of a classical church interior

29 w/m: 1847

27, 30 Pen

29 Pen & pencil, sheet trimmed

(27, 290 × 255; 28-31, 220 × 175 approx.; 32, 320 × 190)

33-36 Studies for column capitals & entablatures

33 Pen

36 Pen & wash

(33, 180 × 110; 34, 175 × 225; 35, 155 × 95; 36, 215 × 160)

37-40 Sketch designs for house fronts

37 Elevation of a 3 bay, 3 storeyed house with double panelled doors, rusticated quoins & projecting cornice, the ground floor openings recessed in an arcade & the 1st floor windows emphasized with triangular pediments on consoles [Fig.15]

Pen, pencil & blue & pink washes (375 × 290)

Reprd: *RIBA Jnl*, LXXI, 1964, p.437, fig.6

A similar pencil drawing at Princeton (48-1991v) is insc. *Design for a small house 20 feet by 20 feet with idea of an addition.*

38 Elevation of a 2 bay, 2 storeyed house with aedicular openings, deep frieze & cornice [Fig.16]

Verso: Rough notes for an interior

Pen, pencil & pink & blue washes (270 × 205)

39 Elevation of a house, a variation on No.38r, with round-headed ground floor openings framed by attached Ionic columns on high pedestals & balustrades to the 1st floor windows; dormer windows roughly suggested [Fig.17]

Insc: Height measurements faintly marked

Pen, pencil & pink & blue washes (268 × 204)

40 Elevation of a squatly proportioned house of 2 storeys with venetian openings & pilasters on the ground floor

Pen & pencil (196 × 215)

12-40 It is probable that many of the projects relate to Stevens's work at the Government School of Design at Somerset House, where he was appointed in October 1845 to teach 'Architectural Drawing, Perspective and Modelling' (see III, introduction). He told Alfred Pegler shortly before his appointment that 'something has been said about my making some drawings of Architecture for the School of Design' (Stannus Papers, Pegler letters) and there is no doubt that the prospect of gaining the Government post and then the teaching duties themselves up to the end of 1847 would have greatly increased his private output of architectural notes and general studies. Apart from Stevens's own personal commitment to architecture, no other motivation for the substantial quantity of surviving early architectural sketches is recorded. So far as is known, he never once received a commission to design a building and did not enter an architectural competition until 1855.

41-63 Rough studies principally for façades of houses & public buildings in the Italian Renaissance manner, most of the sheets closely worked with related plans, perspectives, details or interior views & with unrelated notes for other projects; principal subjects only are listed

41 LONDON: National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, Westminster

Sketches for a new gallery

Insc: (very faint) *Plan for enlarging the National Gallery*, with list of accommodation requirements (385 × 300)

The inadequacy of Wilkins's National Gallery was the subject of much heated debate during the mid-C19. Stevens's sketches probably date from the early 1850s and are unrelated to the competition for new designs held in 1867. Another sheet devoted to the same subject is at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2211-5).



42 Faint study for an asymmetrical façade of 2 storeys with elaborate sculptural & sgraffito figure decoration concentrated principally in a broad band between ground & 1st floor, where it is interrupted by the semicircular arch of the niche in which the entrance is set

Insc: (in pen) *Alfred Pegler | to Hugh Stannus Esq | July 7th 1875*

Sheet much damaged & stuck on to mount (240×290 approx., excluding mount)

Prov: Pres. by Robert Hugh Stannus Robertson & Miss J. Robertson, 1956, from the collection of Hugh Stannus

The principal drawing of the group to which Nos.42 & 43-44 appear to belong is at the BM (1910-6-11-22). Another important study is at the Walker Art Gallery (1920). No convincing identification for this design, with its elaborate sculptural and painted decoration, has ever been made, though it may have some connection with the Sheffield School of Art competition of 1855.

43-44 Studies for a façade, related to No.43

44r Notes for fire-dogs, probably for Hoole & Co.  
44v Insc: *Alfred Stevens* (repeated)

44 Pencil & pen  
(210×325, 208×325)  
See note to No.42.

45 Study for a house front of 2 storeys with high attic & dormer windows

Verso: Faint notes for the Console stove designed for Hoole & Co., 1850-51 & shown at the Great Exhibition (*Potter*, pp.4-5)  
(238×290)

46 Suggestion for a long 2 storeyed palazzo façade with tall attic & figure sculpture on the parapet; notes for decorative motifs

Insc: Unintelligible notes  
Verso: Faint notes for Parmigiano Painting during the Sack of Rome  
Pencil, pen & wash (270×375)

47 Suggestions for house fronts, 2 & 3 bays wide, of 2 storeys & attic

Recto & verso: Notes for furniture with brass ornament

Insc: As above (verso), with faint colour notes given  
(273×365)

48 Notes for a house front & for stove grates, 1 similar to the Pillar stove designed for Hoole & Co., 1850-51 (*Potter*, p.7)

Verso: Numerous notes for the Brazen Serpent composition  
(535×345)

49 Notes for a 2 storeyed house

Recto & verso: Very faint scribbled notes for the 'Struggling Figures' composition  
Sheet trimmed (210×285)

50 Notes for a tall, narrow house front with high basement; impression of a vase or chalice

Verso: Very faint notes for the 'Struggling Figures' composition  
(250×310)

51 Study for a gabled house front of 3 bays, the ground floor openings with Gibbs surrounds

Verso: Notes for the general decorative scheme proposed for the British Museum Reading Room dome & for an elaborate stair balustrade  
(370×275)

52 Sketch for a house front; interior perspectives of a hall or church with gallery & organ; suggestion for the 3 bay, 2 storeyed façade of a *Public Library or School of Design*

Insc: As above

Verso: Notes for decorative motifs

Sheet torn & trimmed (460×290 approx.)

53 Sketches for a façade with sculptural decoration; numerous notes, recto & verso, for free-standing monuments with figure sculpture  
w/m: J. Whatman Turkey Mill 1851  
(272×357)

54-59 Suggestions for various house fronts, some sheets including plans with rooms faintly marked  
58v Pen  
(54, 265×325; 55, 260×230; 56, 310×320 approx.; 57, 260×316; 58-59, 222×180)

60-61 Notes for a coved & panelled ceiling

60v Slight impression of a stove grate with fire-dogs  
61 w/m: E. Towgood 1851  
(320×195)

62-63 Fragments with notes for interior architectural treatment & decoration

Versos: Impressions of a dome  
Sheets trimmed (85×375, 145×315)

41-63 With many ancillary notes for stove grates and other familiar themes of the early 1850s, Nos.41-63 appear to be datable principally between 1850 and 1856, during which period Stevens's only recorded activity as an architectural designer was his entry for the Sheffield School of Art competition in 1855. But the key to the significance of a number of the studies for houses may lie in Stannus's comment that Stevens's villa in Eton Road, begun in the early 1860s, was the realization of 'an old idea - to build a House for himself'. None of the designs suggested in the sketches above resembles the Eton Road villa, but countless ideas were no doubt conceived and rejected long before Stevens obtained a suitable site. [40].4-12 appear to show a development towards the final design.

[52] Figures & drapery

Studies of figures & drapery & notes for narrative compositions & decorative schemes, most of the sheets worked on both sides & in pencil except where otherwise indicated (84):

1-18 Homogeneous group of closely worked studies of seated, kneeling & standing figures with heavy drapery, the heads omitted or roughly indicated, drapery worked in some detail

1-2r Including studies for what appears to be an Annunciation scene

3, 4, 18 Including studies of hands

18v Notes for the composition King Alfred & his Mother in a rectangular frame; tiny sketch for a group of 3 seated figures, close to the design for the Houses of Parliament fresco competition of 1843-44 [Fig.8, No.1r; Fig.7, No.18r]

1v Insc: *Stevens | 10 Robert Street | Hampstead Road*, repeated

On coarse-grained paper (210×225 smallest, 210×280 largest)

19-28 Studies of figures & drapery forming an interrelated group similar in quality to No.1-18; Nos. 19, 24, 27 & 28 have slight notes for narrative compositions & other unrelated projects  
w/m: 24, 1840; 26, 1843; 28, 1843

On thin blue-grey paper (110×170 smallest, 310×340 largest)

See note to [7] for suggested identification of some of the studies on Nos.1-18 & 19-28.

29-42 Studies for draped figures, chiefly later in date than Nos.1-18 & 19-28

37v Slight notes for Parmigiano Painting during the Sack of Rome

41v: Notes for house fronts

Many sheets trimmed (160×98 smallest, 225×325 largest)

43-71 Studies & very slight notes principally for nude figures

43-46 Very early drawings close in style to the *Iliad* & *Odyssey* illustrations of 1841-43 (see note to [51].1-11), No.45 on Ivory Satin letter-paper

64v Outline impression of a stove grate

65r Sketch of a child's head in profile

66v Rough notes for decorative tiles

70r Notes for an oval medallion with the figure of Sisyphus (see note to No.74 below)

43-46 Pen

49, 50 Pencil & pen

65-66 Pencil & red chalk

Many sheets trimmed, some stuck on to mounts  
(87×110 smallest, 340×285 largest)

72-84 Studies for figures to be incorporated in decorative schemes

72-74 Notes for half-length angels with scrolls for roundel decoration

74v Note for an oval medallion with the figure of Sisyphus

72v Insc: Incomplete rough draft of a letter to *Caroline*  
(220×275, 220×245, 265×207)

74 The first appearance of the Sisyphus subject in Stevens's work is probably the thumbnail sketch among the *Odyssey* illustrations in an album at the Ashmolean Museum. The purpose of its later development in a large red chalk study at the Fitzwilliam Museum (2203) and in the oval panel form on No.70r & 74v is not yet known.

75 Study for a reclining figure with an open book for the decoration of a rectangular panel  
(83×155)

76 Half-deleted sketch for an octagonal panel with a group of standing figures  
(213×135)

77 Studies for 3 dancing female figures & other figure notes

Verso: Rapid impression of a seated female figure, possibly a suggestion for one of the heroines for the drawing-room wall panels, No.11 Kensington Palace Gardens  
(214×258)

78 Studies for figures standing or reclining by a column, probably for panel decoration  
(137×110)

79 Slight note for a frieze of standing figures  
w/m: 1852  
(147×188)

80-84 Miscellaneous slight sketches of figures probably for decorative schemes

80 Pen

81, 82 Pencil & pen

81, 83, 84 Stuck on to mounts  
(100×75 smallest, 195×153 largest)



**[53] Miscellaneous subjects**

Rough sketches (9):

1 Still life composition with a small mirror

surrounded by piles of books on a shelf

Verso: Head of a man in profile

Pen (270×197)

These early sketches probably date from Stevens's first months in London.

2 Study of a youth, in profile, head bent over a desk,

the outline of another figure on the right

Insc: verso J.P

Pen on blue paper, sheet trimmed (178×96)

Lit & reprd: *Towndrow*, pp.10-11, pl.26; *Walker Art Gallery monograph*, p.9

Towndrow believed this sketch to pre-date the artist's return from Italy, but it is close in style to certain sketches firmly datable after 1846 (see [50].1-2) and may well be an impression of one of Stevens's young pupils at the School of Design, Somerset House.

3 Sketches of *Pelicans*, *Head of Pelican* & *Pelican and young*

Insc: As above

Pen on tracing paper (200×125)

4 Head of an eagle

Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (122×122)

5 Faint sketch of a woman with a pitcher, probably after classical relief sculpture

Pencil (160×100)

6 Sketches of heads in profile, similar in quality to

No.5 & probably also after classical reliefs

Pencil (100×155)

7-8 Sketches from the Parthenon frieze: *Equestrian Figure* & *Woman approaching Athene*

Pencil (160×130, 185×107)

9 Faint impression of a *pediment for British Museum*

Insc: As above & with list of subjects for sculpture:

*Sculpture* | *Painting* | *Architecture* | *Botany* | *Zoology*

(deleted) *Entomology* | *Geology* (deleted & twice

repeated)

Pen, sheet stuck on to mount (130×135)

**VIII Miscellaneous sketches & unidentified projects, c.1856-75**

[54] Applied design & decoration

Preliminary studies (34):

1-3 Studies for a sideboard, the superstructure containing a standing figure in a central recess flanked by cupboards

1v Very rough suggestions for an armchair & various house furnishings

Insc: Colour notes given

2v Notes for a sideboard, a variation on the recto studies & similar to that on No.4 below

3 w/m: J. Whatman 1851

1 Pencil & pen

2-3 Pencil, No.2 on blue paper

(177×218, 200×320, 315×412)

4 Perspective impression of a sideboard, the columned superstructure carried on corbels in the form of female half-figures terminating in foliage

Pencil (218×147)

5 Impression of the corbelled superstructure of a sideboard, a variation on that shown on No.4

Pencil with touches of pen, sheet stuck on to mount (220×180)

6 Slight notes for a sideboard with *wine cooler*, a table leg with rams' heads carving, possibly for Stevens's house at Eton Road, & a decorative panel; tiny

impression of the putti with shields for the 1st version of the 1862 Exhibition certificate

Insc: As above

Verso: Numerous rough framed impressions of a rectangular composition of the *Rape of Proserpine*

Insc: As above, probably not in Stevens's hand;

Stevens has scribbled his name 3 times at top edge

Pencil (265×320)

7 Notes for panelling with standing male caryatid figure, probably for a sideboard

Pen, sheet stuck on to mount (177×215)

8 Studies for a rectangular metal *picture frame*, with details of mouldings

Insc: As above & with notes for finishes

Pen, sheet stuck on to mount (220×360)

A similar sheet is in the V & A (D.1232-1908).

9 Fragment of a sheet of rough details for a round-arched or circular picture frame with foliated decoration

Pen & pencil, trimmed fragment stuck on to mount (400×230)

10 Notes for a cabinet or chest with a panel containing a head in profile

Pencil & pen, trimmed fragment stuck on to mount (170×170 approx.)

11 Very faint rough note for a table

Pencil, fragment stuck on to mount (190×135)

1-11 A residual group of later studies for furniture that cannot be readily related to Stevens's house at Eton Road but which nevertheless probably represent pieces that he intended for his own use and were never made or of which no record has survived.

12 Sketch for a circular ceiling panel with central rose motif

Oil on shaped canvas panel (320×385 overall)

13 Rapid outline sketch, probably FS, for a curved border of grotesques, the principal motif a boy astride a sea-horse

Insc: *put this pattern on the 8 curved borders...*

Verso: Outline sketch for an alternative border decoration with dragons & masks

Pen, pencil & wash, sheet cut to shape of border (215×1000 approx.)

14 Study for a coat of arms with lions rampant

Pen & pencil (255×182)

15-21, 15v-17v Very rough studies for frieze & panel decoration

15v Scribbled impressions of a caryatid for Dorchester House dining-room chimneypiece & Valour & Cowardice for the Wellington monument

Insc: *Henry Le Jeune*, repeated & smudged

16r Notes for house fronts

16v Notes for pilaster caps

21 w/m: 1870

15, 16, 21 Pen & pencil

17-20 Pencil

Most sheets trimmed (113×177 smallest, 380×300 largest)

22-28 Fragmentary notes for decorative motifs

22 Pen

23-28 Pencil

All trimmed fragments, Nos.22, 23, 26 & 28 stuck on to mounts (105×105 smallest, 190×235 largest)

29-34 Very slight notes for decorative figures & figure panels

19, 33 w/m: 1866

29-31, 33 Pencil

32, 34 Pen

All trimmed fragments, Nos.29 & 32 stuck on to mounts (170×105 smallest, 243×366 largest)

**[55] Architecture**

Studies for churches & church steeples (9):

1-2 Suggestions for churches & church interiors

1r Insc: *prophets and sibyls*

2v Rapid impression of the base of the 1851

Exhibition memorial model

Pencil on thin grey paper (105×180, 157×197)

3-9 Suggestions for steeples in the manner of Wren, showing the artist experimenting with numerous designs, none of which is carried beyond the stage of the very rough sketch [Fig.101, No.8r]

Unrelated sketches, rectos & versos, include:

4v Notes for the BM Reading Room dome decorations & various stove grates, probably for Hoole & Co.

5v Scribbled impression of a corbelled cabinet & slight notes for decorative mouldings & friezes

6r Faint notes for a *fountain to be set in the centre of a square*

Insc: As above

6v Early notes for the Wellington monument & for Dorchester House dining-room decorations

7r Notes for a house façade & for brickwork & mouldings

7v Notes for a cornice, capital & the framework of the Wellington monument FS model; suggestions for square panels with grotesque decoration

8r Notes for ceiling decoration & a pair of fingerplates, the latter probably for doors at Dorchester House

8v Studies for the round-arched panel surmounting the saloon chimneypiece, Dorchester House, & for Stevens's furniture for the house at Eton Road [Fig.100]

8 w/m: E. Towgood 1861

3-5 Pencil, No.3 on thin grey paper

6-8 Pencil & pen, No.8 on blue paper, trimmed

9 Pen, fragment torn from No.8 & stuck on to mount

(3, 176×107; 4, 280×372; 5, 182×221; 6, 548×375;

7, 505×324; 8, 317×402; 9, 190×60)



See also [34].13v, 20; [35].5; [40].12; [47].2v

1-9 Lit: (general) *Stannus*, p.13, paras.117-118; *Tate catalogue*, pp.71-72, Nos.92-94

According to Stannus, Stevens first became interested in the application of classical principles to the design of the steeple in the year 1852. Though several sheets survive, such as Nos.1-3 above, which appear to have been worked at about that period, the majority of steeple sketches are considerably later in date and were probably a by-product of Stevens's work on the competition model of the 1851 Exhibition memorial of 1857, while No.8 above clearly demonstrates his continued interest in the subject after 1861.

[56] Miscellaneous subjects

Rough sketches (10):

1 Scribbled suggestion for a memorial crowned by an equestrian figure  
Pen & pencil with touches of white, crudely cut out & stuck on to mount (143 × 95)

2 Very faint notes for a memorial similar to that on No.1  
Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (173 × 218)

3 Fragment of a sketch of a dog, showing tail & hindquarters  
Pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (210 × 70)

4 Studies for the decorative treatment of a debased entablature, probably not in Stevens's hand  
Insc: The word *paraphernalia* repeated 6 times, not in Stevens's hand  
Pen & pencil, sheet stuck on to mount (325 × 260)

5 Traced sketch of a spread eagle with symbols  
Pencil on tracing paper (182 × 170)

6 Sketches of a cock, 3 bats & other slight notes  
Insc: ... *night flyer*, not in Stevens's hand  
Pencil on tracing paper, torn (270 × 300)

7 Study for allegorical figure sculpture in an architectural setting, not in Stevens's hand  
Pen & pencil (260 × 227)

8 Scribbled sketch for an illuminated letter I  
Insc: verso and where he hits | naught knows | and whom he burst | nought cares | Love, that two hearts | makes one, makes | also one will | for price or prayers  
Pencil, on fragment of ruled writing-paper (200 × 70)  
Lit: *Towndrow*, p.251

It was Towndrow's contention that the inscription on this fragment provided a glimpse of 'Stevens' intimate life', but the verse is not in the artist's handwriting and the sketch itself crude and too slight to be firmly identifiable.

9-10 Two studies for winged cherubs' heads  
Pencil, overworked in black chalk, both sketches crudely cut out & mounted (300 × 370 approx., 450 × 330 approx.)

There is little to suggest that these studies are by Stevens, though they may relate to the winged cherubs' heads on the Wellington monument and be very late works overdrawn by an assistant.

## IX Tracings

[57] Sixty-nine sheets of tracings by D. S. MacColl from drawings by Stevens

1-49 From studies formerly in the possession of Reuben Townroe, the majority of which were acquired by the V & A in 1911

50-55 From studies in the BM, among those pres. by W. Bagshawe through the National Art Collections Fund

56-59 From studies on the versos of framed drawings at the Tate

60-63 From studies formerly in the Shannon Collection

64-69 From studies formerly in the Gamble Collection

1-69 Insc: Notes in D. S. MacColl's hand  
Pencil on tracing paper, some sheets mounted  
Prov: Pres. by D. S. MacColl (Hon A), 1940

Dugald Sutherland MacColl (1859-1948), art critic of *The Spectator* and *The Saturday Review*, was Keeper of the Tate Gallery 1906-11 and Keeper of the Wallace Collection 1911-24. During the first decades of this century he was the foremost authority on the work of Alfred Stevens and had been the instigator, in 1899, of the scheme to complete the Wellington monument. He published no single volume on Stevens but was the author of a number of valuable articles and wrote the preface to K. R. Towndrow's biography of the artist. Here he laid the blame for his failure to produce a definitive work upon 'A dilatoriness in unfortunate keeping with that of my great subject, and a scruple about completeness'.

MacColl's notes, in his almost indecipherable handwriting, and miscellaneous letters and papers relating to Stevens comprise the MacColl Collection in the V & A Library.

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the Society of A  
Ashmolean, 3 N  
1866, p.153



**SYKES, Godfrey (1824-1866)**

Born at Malton in Yorkshire, Sykes was trained at the Government School of Art in Sheffield. Here in Sheffield in 1850 he first met and worked as an assistant to Alfred Stevens, at that time employed at Henry Hoole's metalworks in Green Lane, who became the formative influence on his work as a decorative designer. Like Stevens, Sykes was much employed by manufacturers, though his productions are now little known. A tobacco jar, made for Atkin of Sheffield and exhibited in Dublin in 1853 (a cast of which is at Sheffield, City Museum & Art Galleries) exemplifies his compact and economical style, while reflecting his dependence upon Stevens's interpretation of Italian Renaissance forms.

Sykes was responsible for decorative work in many public and private buildings in and around Sheffield. Examples of his easel paintings are at Sheffield City Art Galleries. In February 1856 he was appointed second master at the School of Art, a post he held until he was commissioned, in 1859, by the Science & Art Department to superintend the decoration of the arcades in the Royal Horticultural Society's garden. He was employed at South Kensington for the rest of his life, his greatest lasting achievement being his work, with assistants James Gamble and Reuben Townroe, on the decorative detail of the new museum buildings, begun in 1859 and progressing concurrently with the horticultural garden. Outstanding among his own contributions were the ornate terra cotta columns that stand on the N front of the quadrangle, the architectural and pictorial decorations of the South Court (still extant, though at present concealed from view), and designs for majolica decoration in the refreshment room, upon which the executed work by James Gamble is based and which include his well-known alphabet tile designs.

Sykes was described in the obituary published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* as 'the most eminent designer that has been produced by the National Schools of Art', and, as exemplified by his work in the South Court of the museum, 'perhaps the first artist who has ventured to take the mere structural forms of ribs and bolts of ironwork and to make them decorative on their own surfaces'. His profound influence on the decorative character of the museum was sustained after his premature death at the age of forty-two by the continuing presence there of Gamble and Townroe, both of whom were likewise disciples of Stevens and who carried out either from Sykes's designs or in a manner closely akin to his own much of the remaining ornamental work.

Many of Sykes's drawings and some of his letters are preserved at the V & A.

With the exception of [1].1, the following drawings formed part of the Alfred Stevens Collection presented in 1927 and 1935 by Sigismund Goetze, who apparently accepted them as the work of Stevens. Though Sykes's authorship of the more finished designs and studies is unquestionable, the present reattribution of some of the slighter drawings should be regarded as speculative.

Bibl: *The Building News*, XIII, 1866, p.475 (review of an exhibition of Sykes's work held at the South Kensington Museum shortly after his death); J. H. Pollen, *Photographs of terra cotta columns modelled for the lecture theatre at the South Kensington Museum by Godfrey Sykes... and a brief memoir of the artist's life*, 1866; *Dictionary of national biography* (copy in V & A Library with entry annotated 1919 by Sykes's son); detailed accounts of the Royal Horticultural Society's garden & the South Kensington Museum are included in Survey of London, XXXVIII, *The Museums area of South Kensington & Westminster*; obituaries: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XIV, 1866, pp.296-297; *The Athenaeum*, 3 March 1866, p.304; *The Art Journal*, V, 1866, p.153

**[1] LONDON: Royal Horticultural Society's garden, South Kensington**

Designs for sculptural decoration, c.1860-62 (3):

1 Elevation of part of an arcade, showing the proposed decoration of 1 pier with a niche containing a standing female figure, & panels of relief decoration, with rough scale

Verso: Slight notes for a corbel

Prov: Pres. by Mr Borley, 1965

Pencil & coloured washes (320×249)

A closely similar design is in the Sykes collection at the V & A (D.728-1905).

2 Elevation of a low ornamental retaining wall beside a canal, incorporating a fountain within a central arch & decorated with urns & panels containing crouching putti in high relief [Fig.119]

Insc: verso *Modelling Room*, twice, in an unidentified hand

Pen, pencil & pink & grey washes (190×310)

3 Elevation, a variation on No.2, with figures of river gods in high relief [Fig.118]

Pen, pencil & pink, blue & grey washes (192×310)

2-3 It is unlikely that either of these designs was executed.

See also Stevens, Alfred [42].4

**[2] LONDON: South Kensington (Victoria & Albert) Museum**

Studies & designs for decoration, 1860-66 (17):

1 Design for a mullion in 1 of the ground floor windows in the quadrangle, with panels containing putti in high relief

Pen, pencil & pink wash (300×102)

A similar drawing of this subject is at the V & A (E.2964-1911).

2 Design for a frieze, possibly intended for the quadrangle, with putti supporting swags, each pair of figures holding a crown & a wreath

Pencil & pen (115×334)

3 Design for part of the frieze in the South Court, showing shaped panels of painted decoration; the panel with a kneeling nude figure is squared for enlargement

Insc: Faint notes in Sykes's hand

Pencil, pen & pink, blue & grey washes (98×240)

4-6, 6v Studies for 4 standing figures of artists, each within a round-arched frame, for mosaic panels in the South Court

4r Insc: *V & A Museum mosaics S. G.* in Sigismund Goetze's hand

Pencil, No.6r pen & pencil (235×162, 200×75, 203×97)

Twenty-seven artists, including Leighton, Poynter and Watts, were engaged to work on the mosaic cycle. Only two of the figures – those of Michelangelo and Raphael – were undertaken by Sykes himself.

7 Rapid impression of a standing figure, probably related to Nos.4-6

Pencil, fragment stuck on to mount (175×110)

8 Study for a standing figure with a palette, probably related to Nos.4-6

Pen, with touches of white (89×44)

9 Study for an iron roof-brace with perforated roundel decoration, probably for the South Court

Pen, pencil & brown washes (312×274)

10-17 Studies for various unidentified decorative motifs probably relating to the museum buildings

10 Outline sketch for a vertical panel with figures & foliage & more detailed related studies for a putto & a crouching female figure

Verso: Notes for mouldings at the springing of an arch

Pen & pencil (269×164)

11 Studies for 2 rectangular panels: above, with opposing winged monsters; below, with central urn & putti supporting a swag

Pen & pencil, sheet torn (177×112)

12 Study for a roundel with armorial shield, the wreathed border insc. *LONDON*

Verso: Rapid sketch for the same roundel

Pen & pencil (210×175)

13 Study for the decoration of a moulding with shells & foliage

Verso: Rapid sketch of a 2 handled jar, a dish & a vase

Pen & pencil, torn fragment (120×195)

14 Sketch for a frieze of arabesques

Insc: Scribbled measurements marked, altered & superimposed in another hand

Pen & pencil, fragment stuck on to mount (105×140)

15 Studies for arabesque decoration in a spandrel panel

w/m: J. Whatman 1859

Pen & pencil, lower edge trimmed to shape of panels (190×247)

16 Study for a frieze of full-length female figures with symbols, probably related to the mosaics in the quadrangle & in the hand of Sykes's assistant Reuben Townroe

Pen, pencil & wash on tracing paper stuck on mount, 2 of the figures masked by alternative designs on white card (205×365, including mount)

17 Study for a ribbon motif in a shaped panel, the drawing style closely similar to No.16, likewise probably attributable to Reuben Townroe

Pen, pencil & wash on tracing paper stuck on to mount (196×310, including mount)

**[3] Unidentified projects (4):**

1 Study for the decoration of a diploma or certificate for the *United Blacksmiths of Bolton*, with a central winged figure surmounting an inscription panel & flanked by 2 framed views of a blacksmith at work

Verso: Faint sketch for an alternative version of the design, superimposed by crude figure drawings

Insc: As above

Pen, pencil verso (201×148)

2 Recto & verso: Numerous suggestions for rectangular panels with figure decoration

Pen & pencil (266×327)

3 Rapid sketches for dancing figures & other slight notes

Verso: Slight sketches for decorative motifs including wreathed masks; head of a putto

Pencil (183×134)

4 Sketch elevation of a monument with a high pedestal insc. *VICTORIA* carrying an elaborate pedimented canopy on 4 columns which encloses a standing figure of the Queen; perspective of canopy

Pen & pencil on tracing paper, much torn & stuck on to mount (300×210, including mount)



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 Fig.80 Studies for the Wellington monument competition model and for details of stove grates and fire-dogs [34].2  
 Fig.81 Studies for colonnettes and frieze, Wellington monument [34].8  
 Fig.82 Studies for the Truth and Falsehood figure group, Wellington monument [34].7  
 Fig.83 Studies for the coffered arch, Wellington monument [34].14  
 Fig.84 Study for a monument with spiral columns [34].22  
 Fig.85 Studies for the memorial to the 1851 Exhibition [38].6  
 Fig.86 Studies for the decoration of the dome of the Reading Room, British Museum [33]  
 Fig.87 Design for the N wall of the dining-room, Dorchester House [35].2  
 Fig.88 Designs for the four walls of the dining-room, Dorchester House [35].1  
 Fig.89 Design for the N wall of the dining-room, Dorchester House [35].6 (detail)  
 Fig.90 Studies for the dining-room, Dorchester House [35].7  
 Fig.91 Studies for the dining-room, Dorchester House, and for a door knocker and wine cooler [35].8  
 Fig.92 Design for a door knocker [35].56  
 Fig.93 Design for a Corinthian pilaster for the dining-room, Dorchester House [35].33  
 Fig.94 Studies for the dining-room chimneypiece, Dorchester House, and for the Wellington monument [35].16v (detail)  
 Fig.95 Studies for caryatid figures, dining-room chimneypiece, Dorchester House [35].21  
 Fig.96 Study for the decoration of the overmantel, dining-room chimneypiece, Dorchester House [35].26 (detail)  
 Fig.97 Studies for the overmantel frieze and terminal figure, dining-room chimneypiece, Dorchester House [35].28 (detail)  
 Fig.98 Studies for the knotted ribbon motif on the overmantel frieze, dining-room chimneypiece, Dorchester House [35].29  
 Fig.99 Studies for caryatid figures, dining-room chimneypiece, Dorchester House [35].24



- Fig.100 Studies for the superstructure of the saloon chimneypiece, Dorchester House, and for Stevens's furniture [55].8v
- Fig.101 Studies for church steeples and ceiling decoration [55].8
- Fig.102 Designs for panel decoration related to the Royal Horticultural Society's garden, South Kensington [42].4
- Fig.103 Studies for the Annunciation to the Shepherds, Christ Church, Cosway Street [45].4
- Fig.104 Studies for the Annunciation to the Shepherds, Christ Church, Cosway Street, and for Stevens's furniture [40].39 (detail)
- Fig.105 Studies for the decoration of the dome and substructure, St Paul's cathedral [44].12
- Fig.106 Studies for the decoration of the dome, St Paul's cathedral, and for the panelling of Stevens's library-dining-room [44].13
- Fig.107 Studies for the decoration of the Olympic Theatre, Wych Street, Strand [47].1
- Fig.108 Studies for the Certificate of Honourable Mention awarded at the International Exhibition 1862 and for panelling in Stevens's library-dining-room [43].1
- Fig.109 Studies for mourning putti originally proposed for the Certificate of Honourable Mention awarded at the International Exhibition 1862 [43].2
- Fig.110 Studies for the putto with shield on the Certificate of Honourable Mention awarded at the International Exhibition 1862 [43].2v
- Fig.111 Study for the façade of Stevens's house, Eton Road, Hampstead, and for the dining-room, Dorchester House [35].4
- Fig.112 Studies for a cast iron table [40].37
- Fig.113 Studies for the decoration of Stevens's drawing table [40].35 (detail)
- Fig.114 Studies for the decoration of Stevens's buffet [40].22
- Fig.115 Studies for Stevens's buffet and a carved table leg [40].16
- Fig.116 Study for a heraldic shield to decorate Stevens's chimneypiece overmantel and for his library-dining-room panelling [40].26
- Fig.117 Studies for a hall chair [40].46
- Fig.118 Godfrey Sykes. Design for a fountain [1].3
- Fig.119 Godfrey Sykes. Design for a fountain [1].2









Fig.1



Fig.2



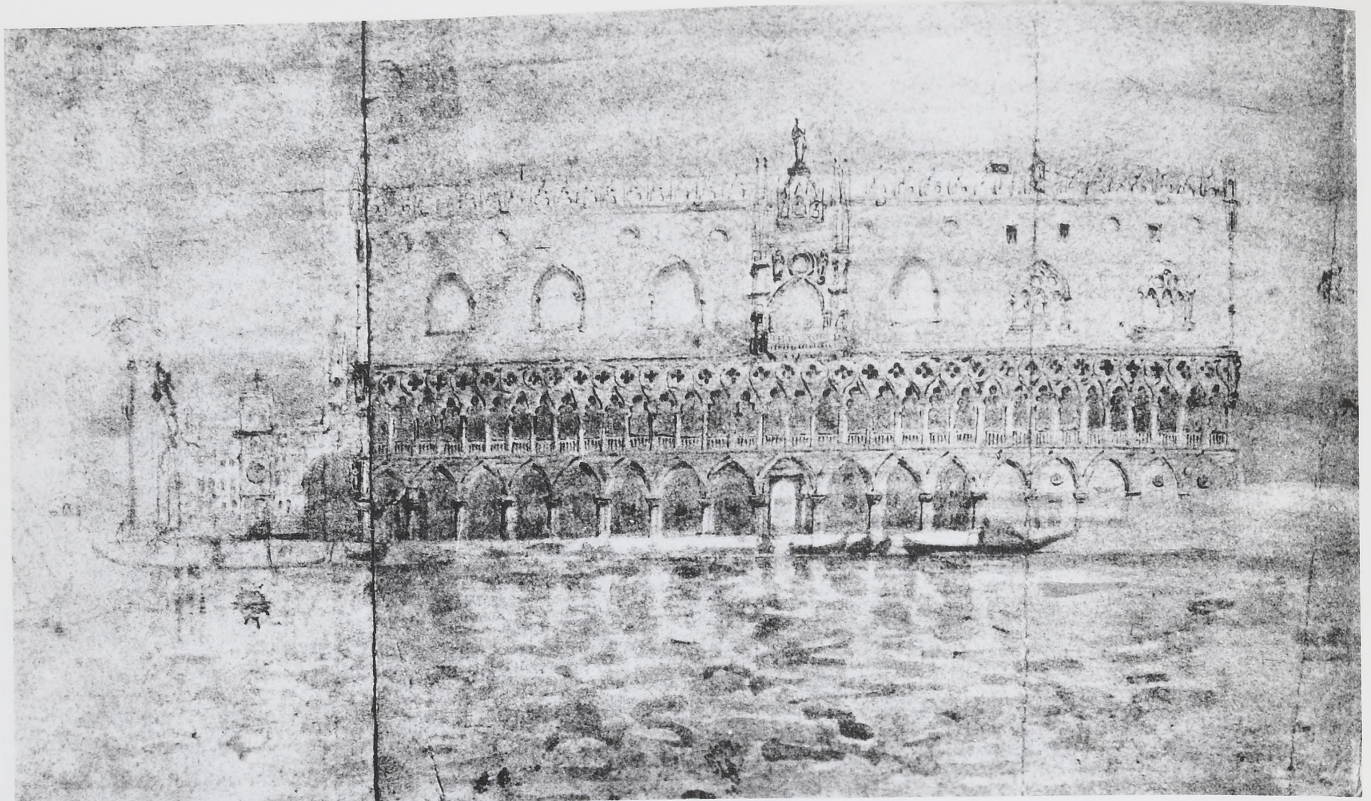


Fig. 3



Fig. 4





Fig. 5



Fig. 6





Fig. 7

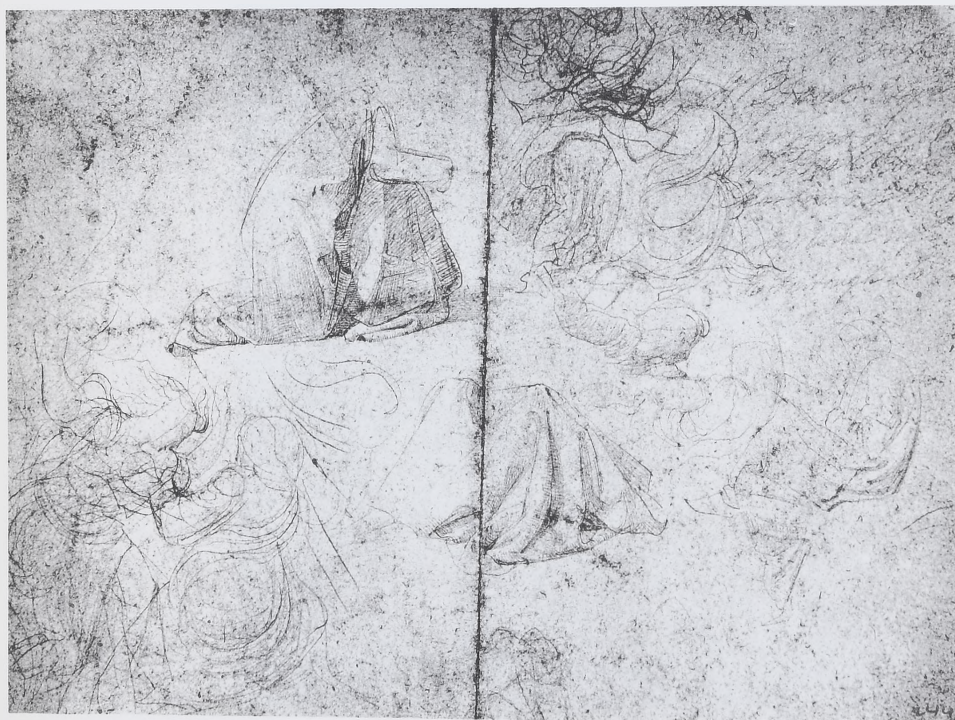


Fig. 8



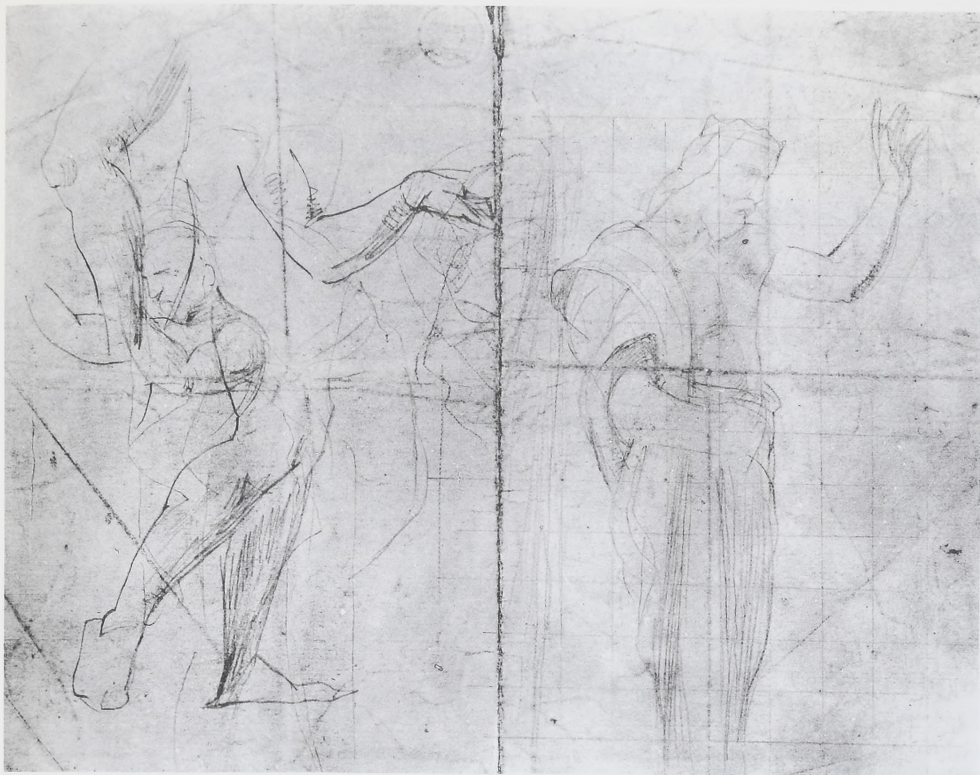


Fig. 9

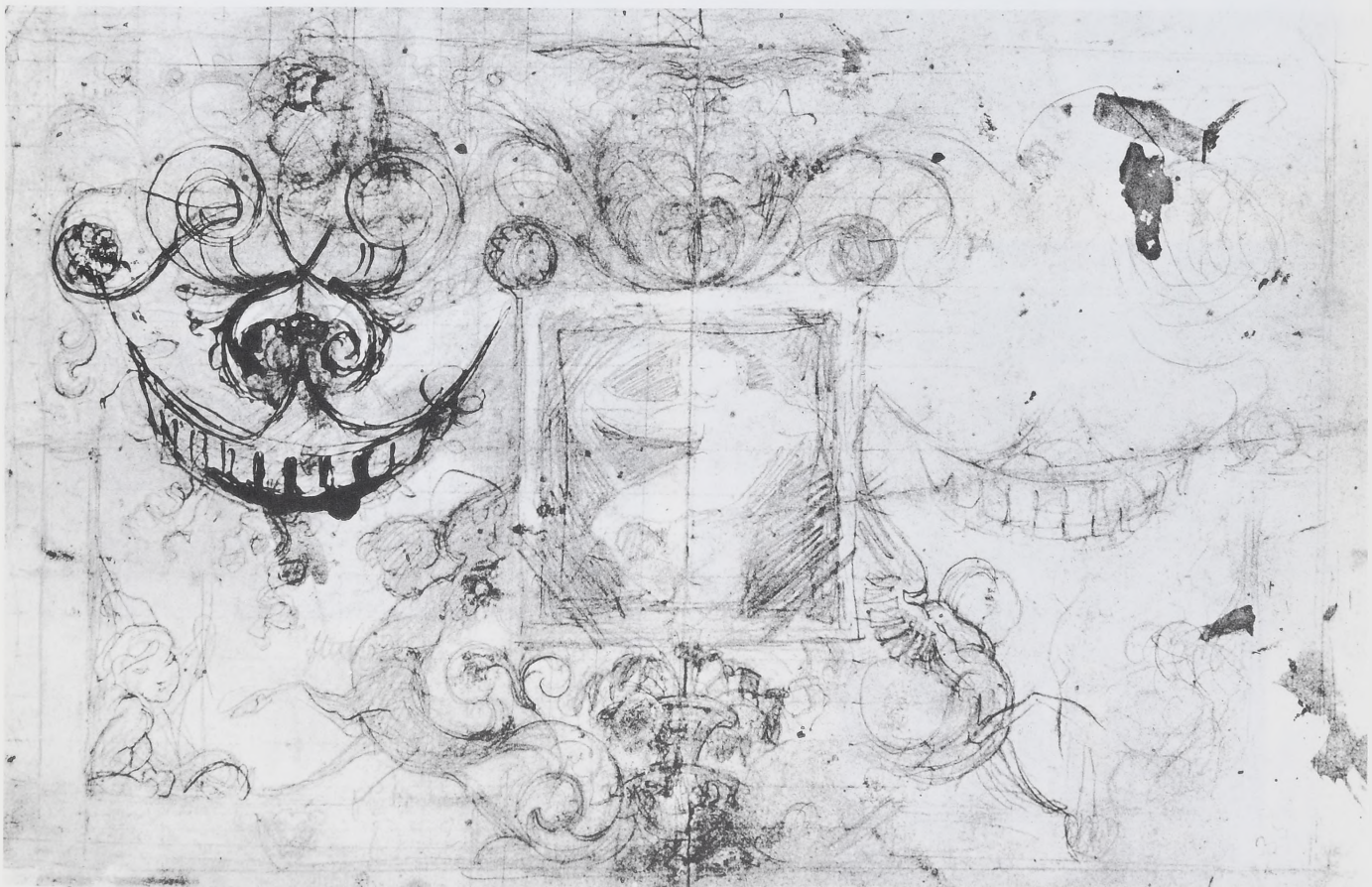


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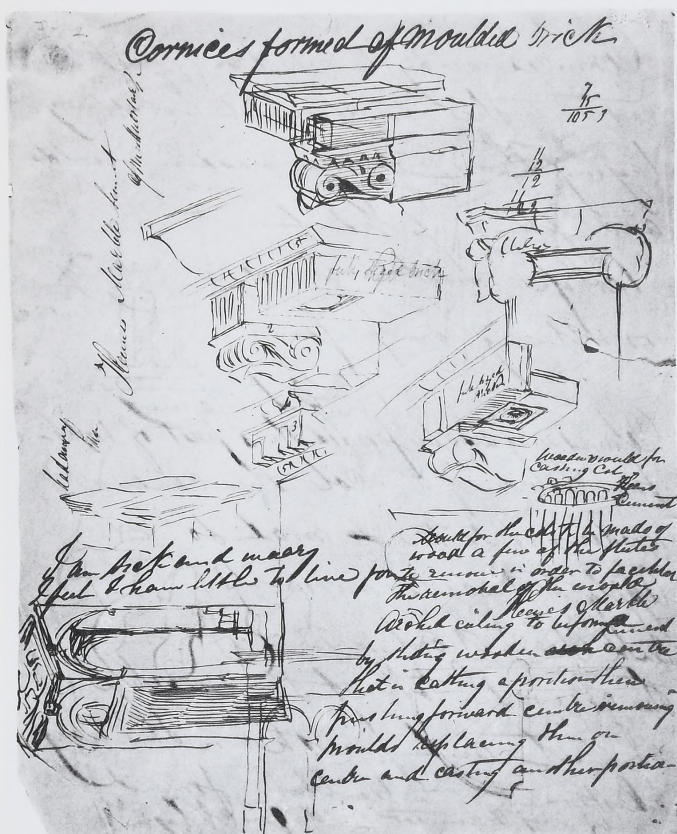


Fig. 11

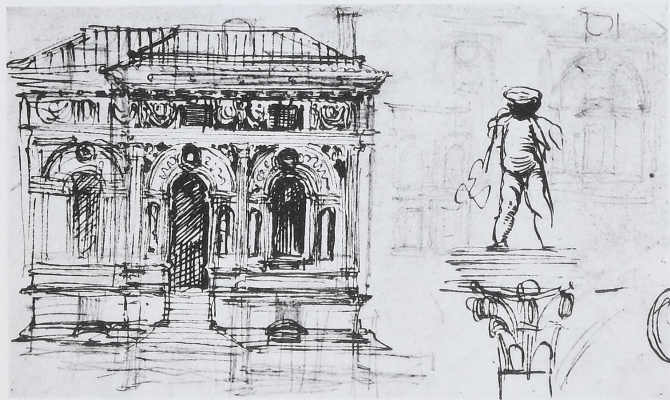


Fig. 13



Fig. 12

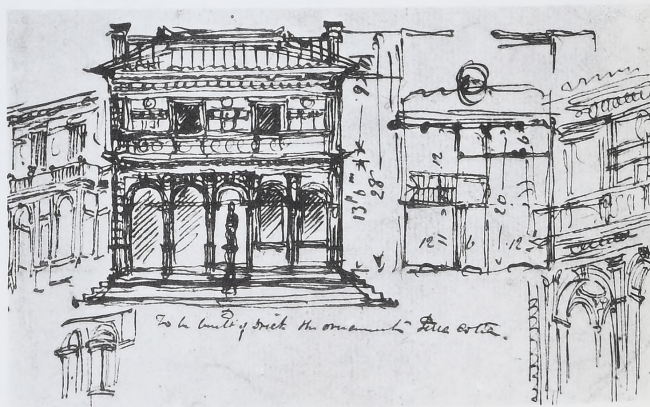


Fig. 14



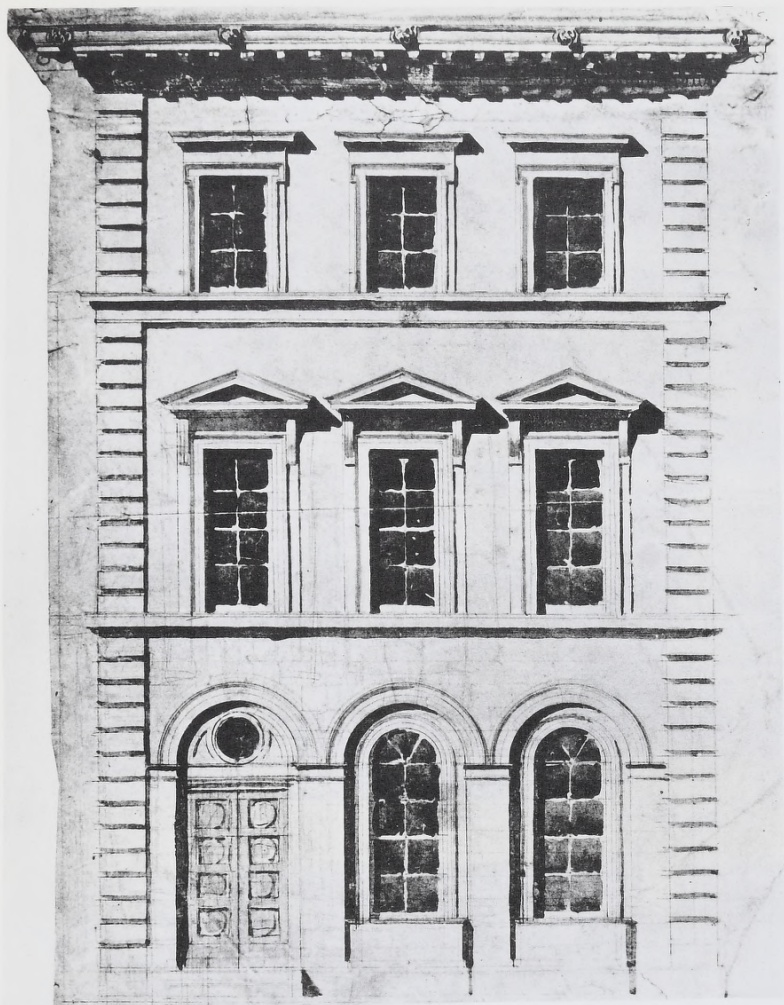


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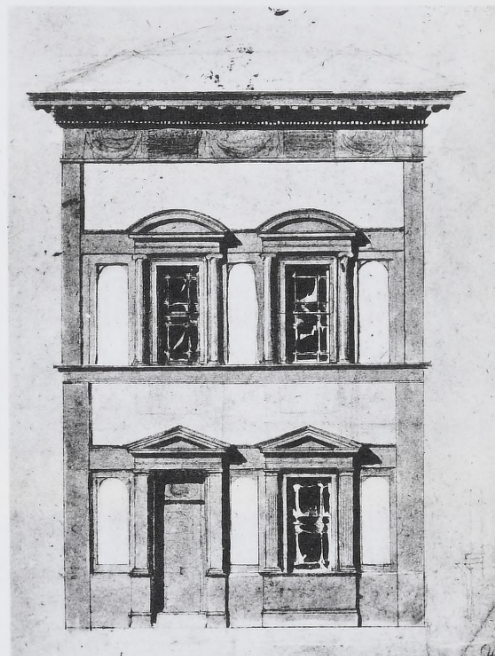


Fig. 16

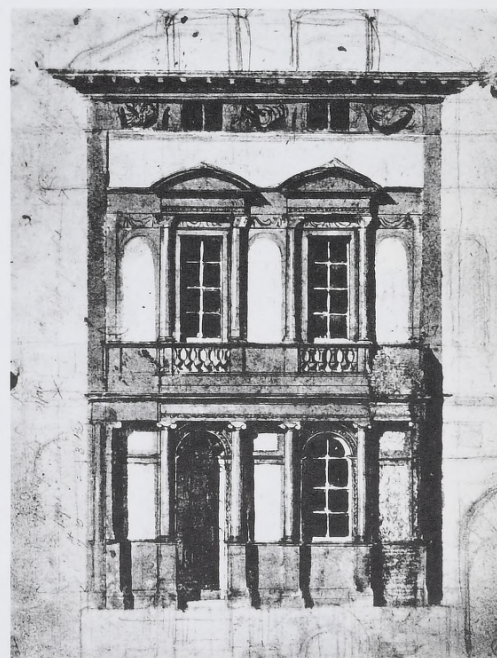


Fig. 17



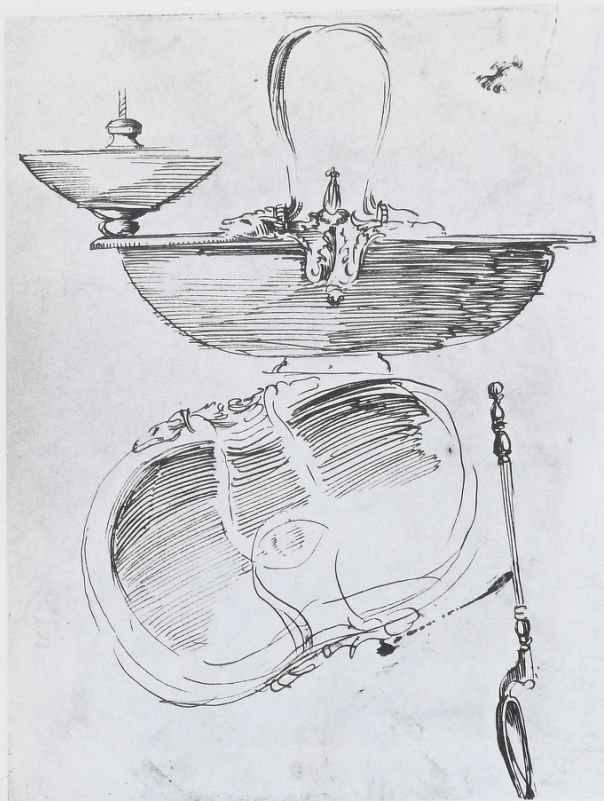


Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



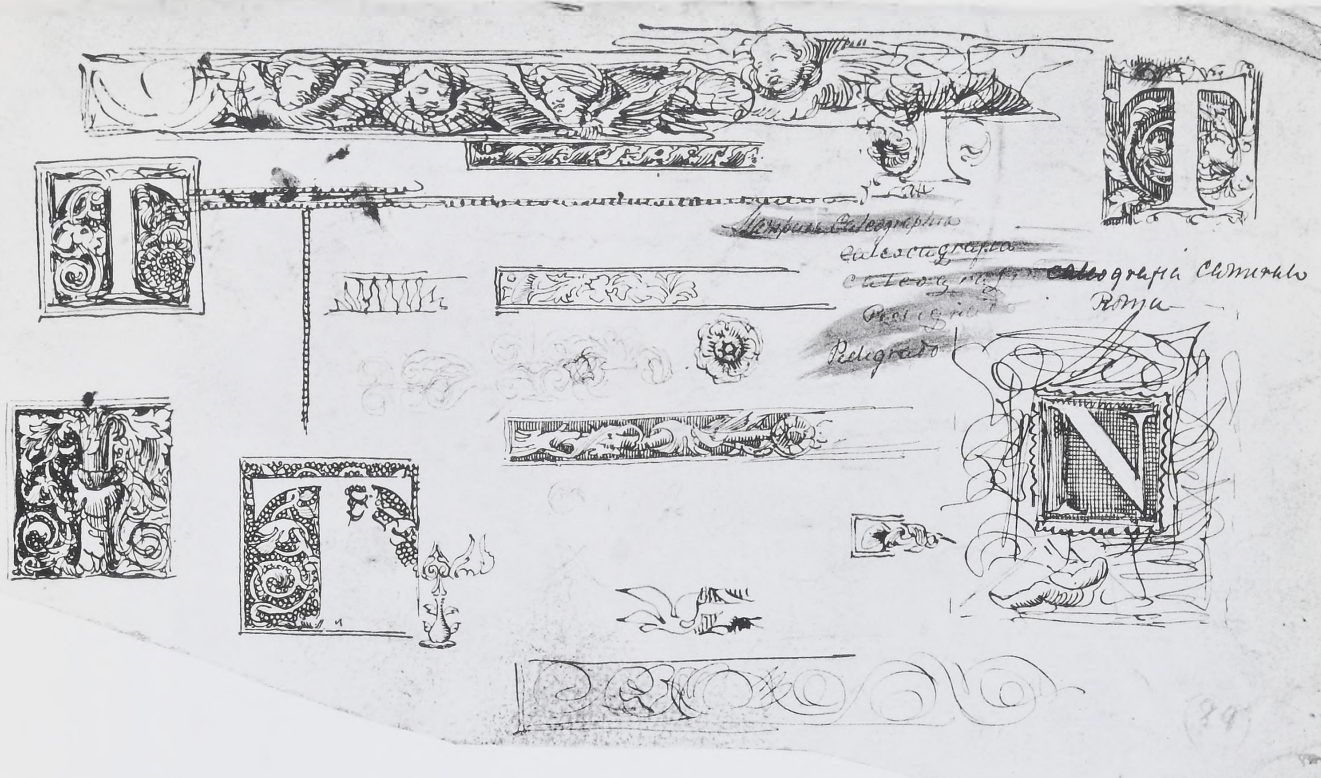


Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



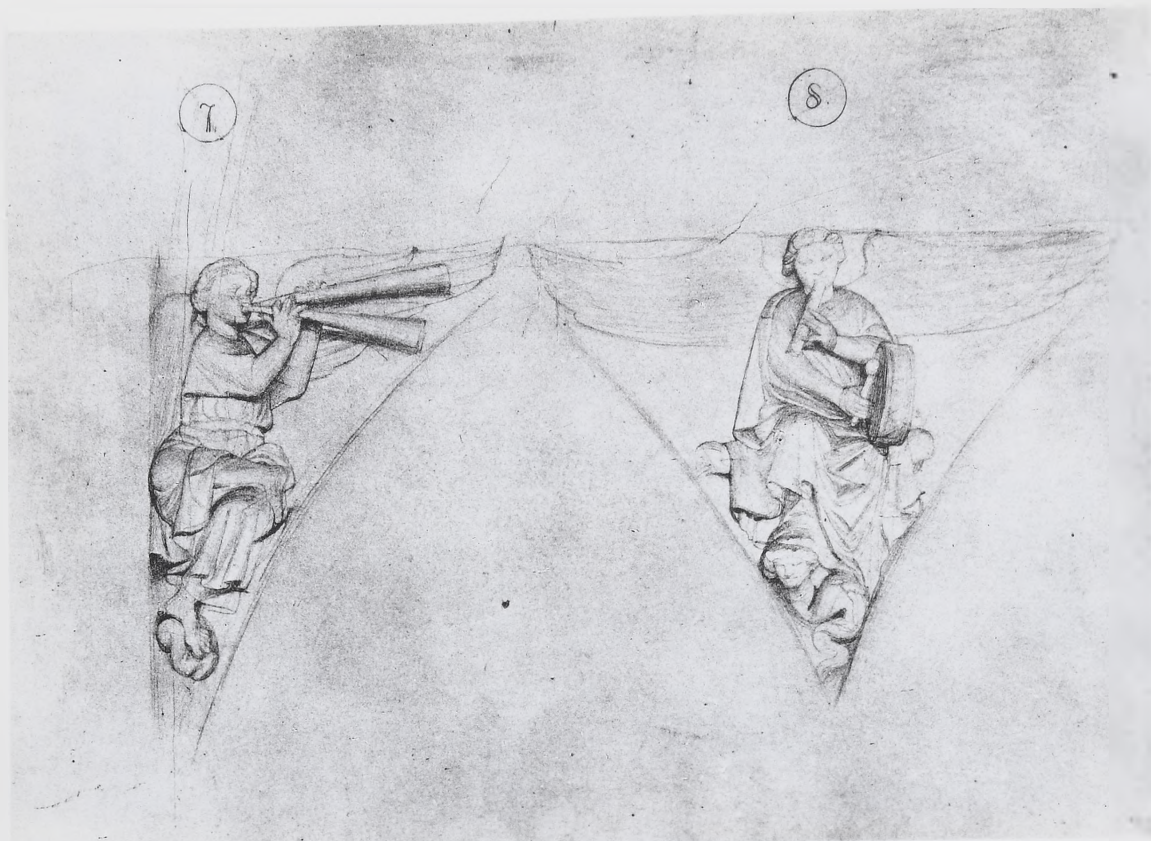


Fig. 26



Fig. 27



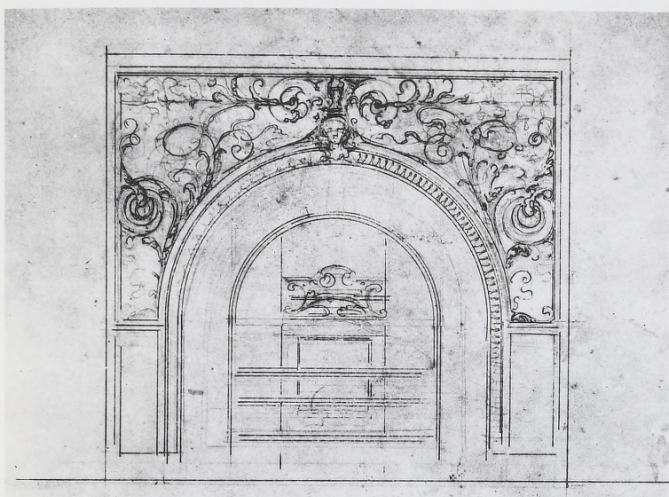


Fig. 28

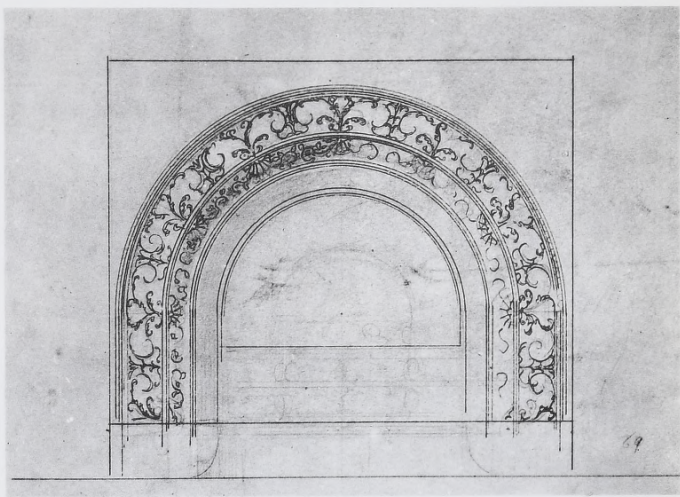


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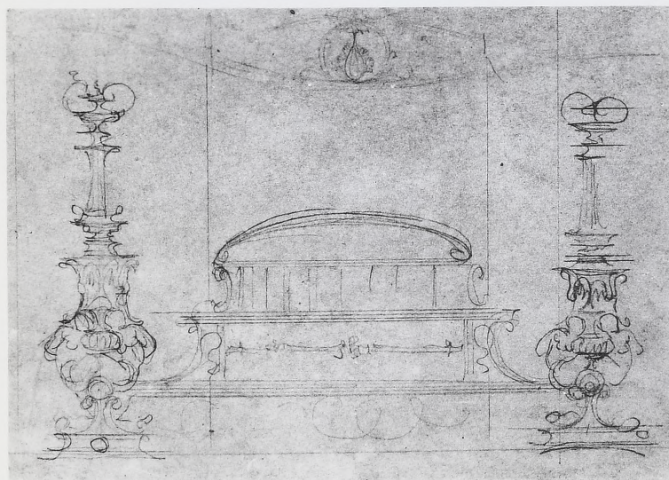


Fig. 30

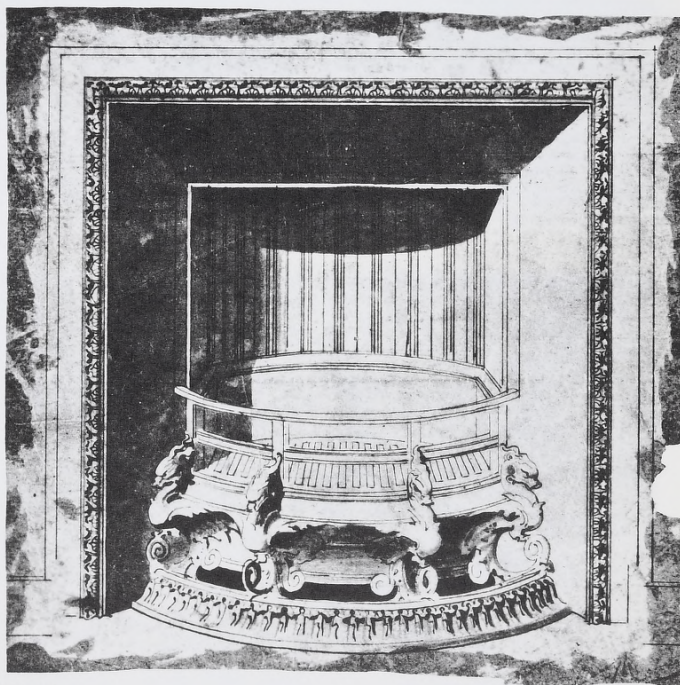


Fig. 31



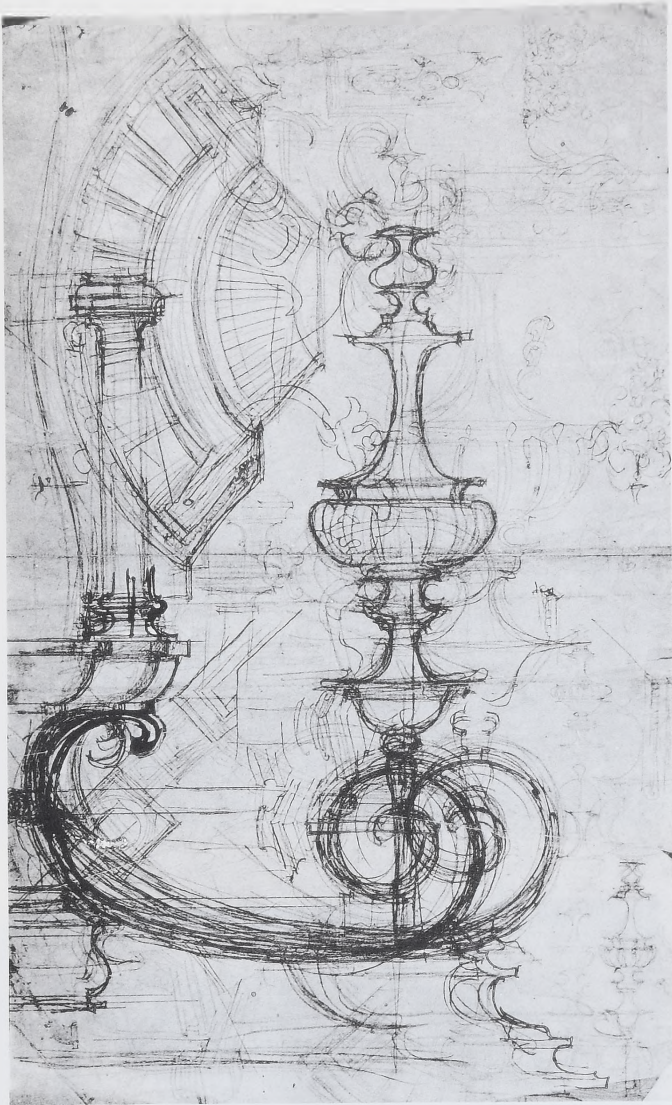


Fig. 32



Fig. 33

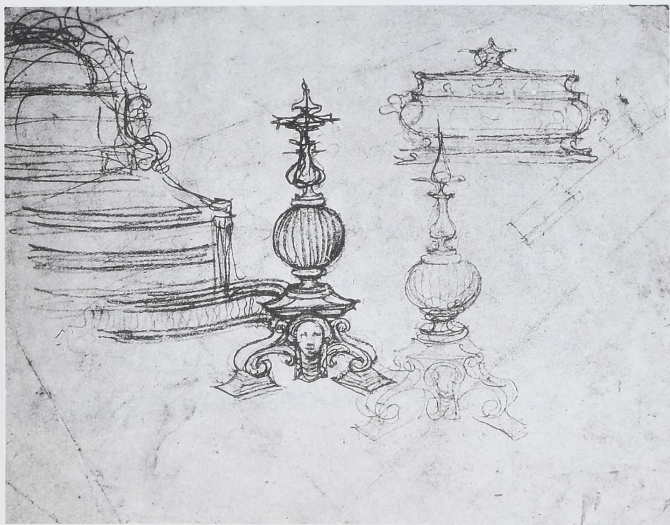


Fig. 34





Fig. 35

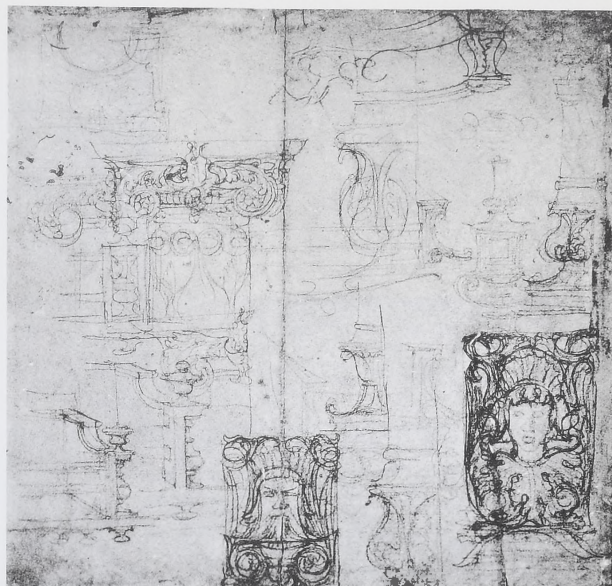


Fig. 36

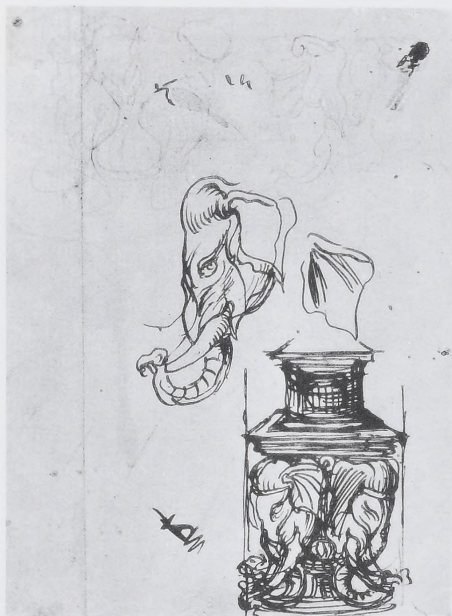


Fig. 37

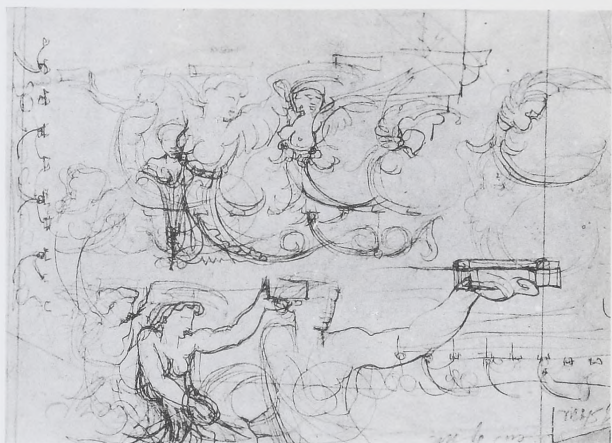


Fig. 38



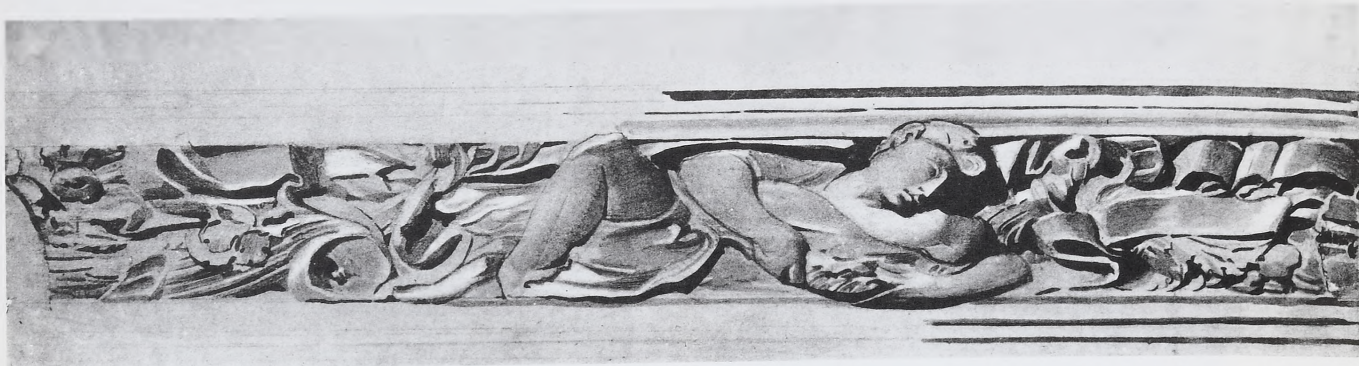


Fig. 39



Fig. 40



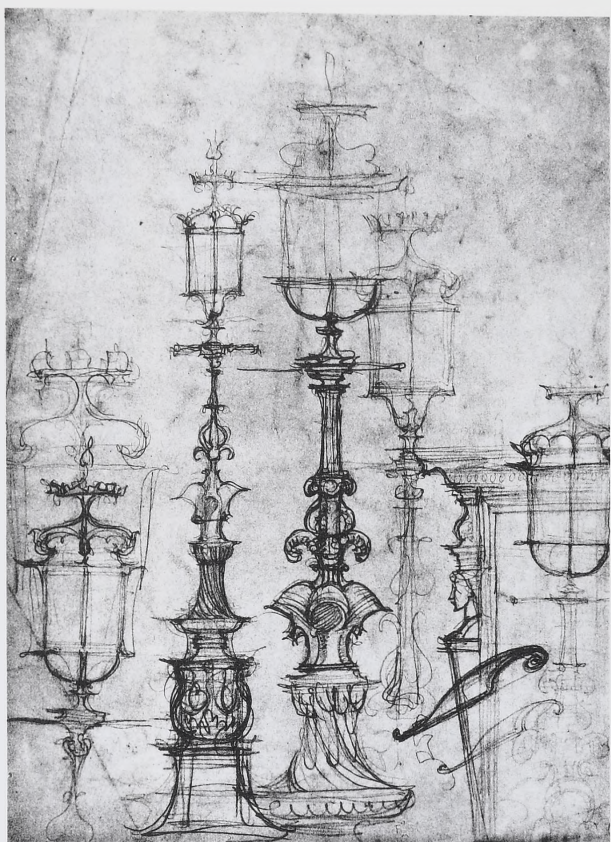


Fig. 41

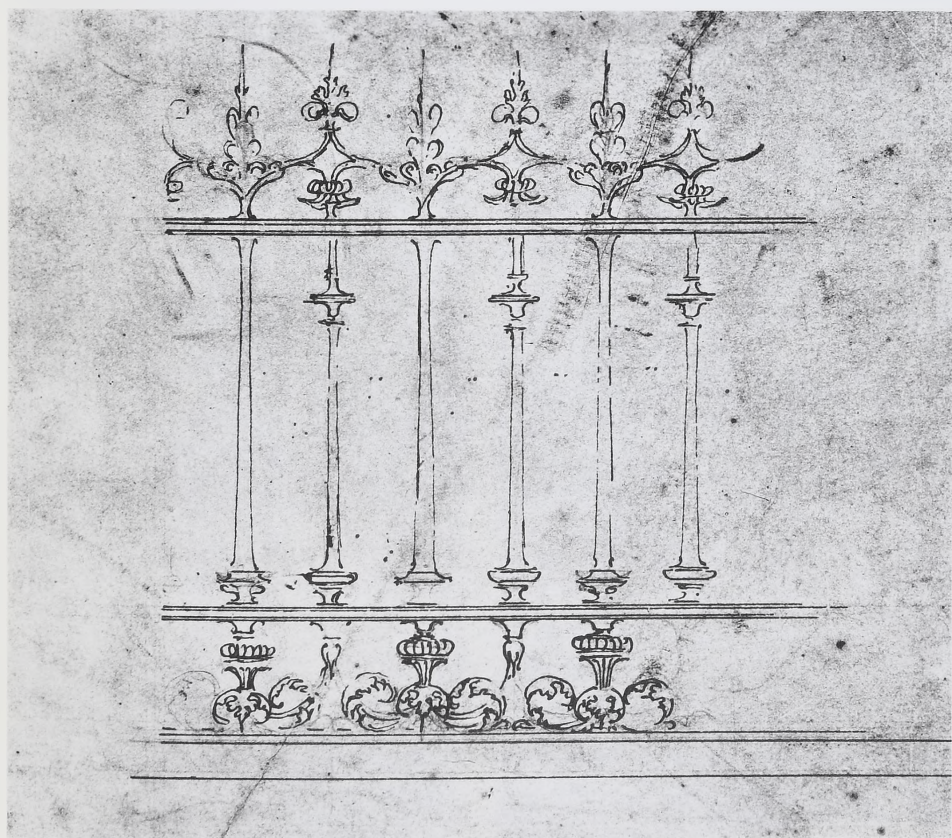


Fig. 42



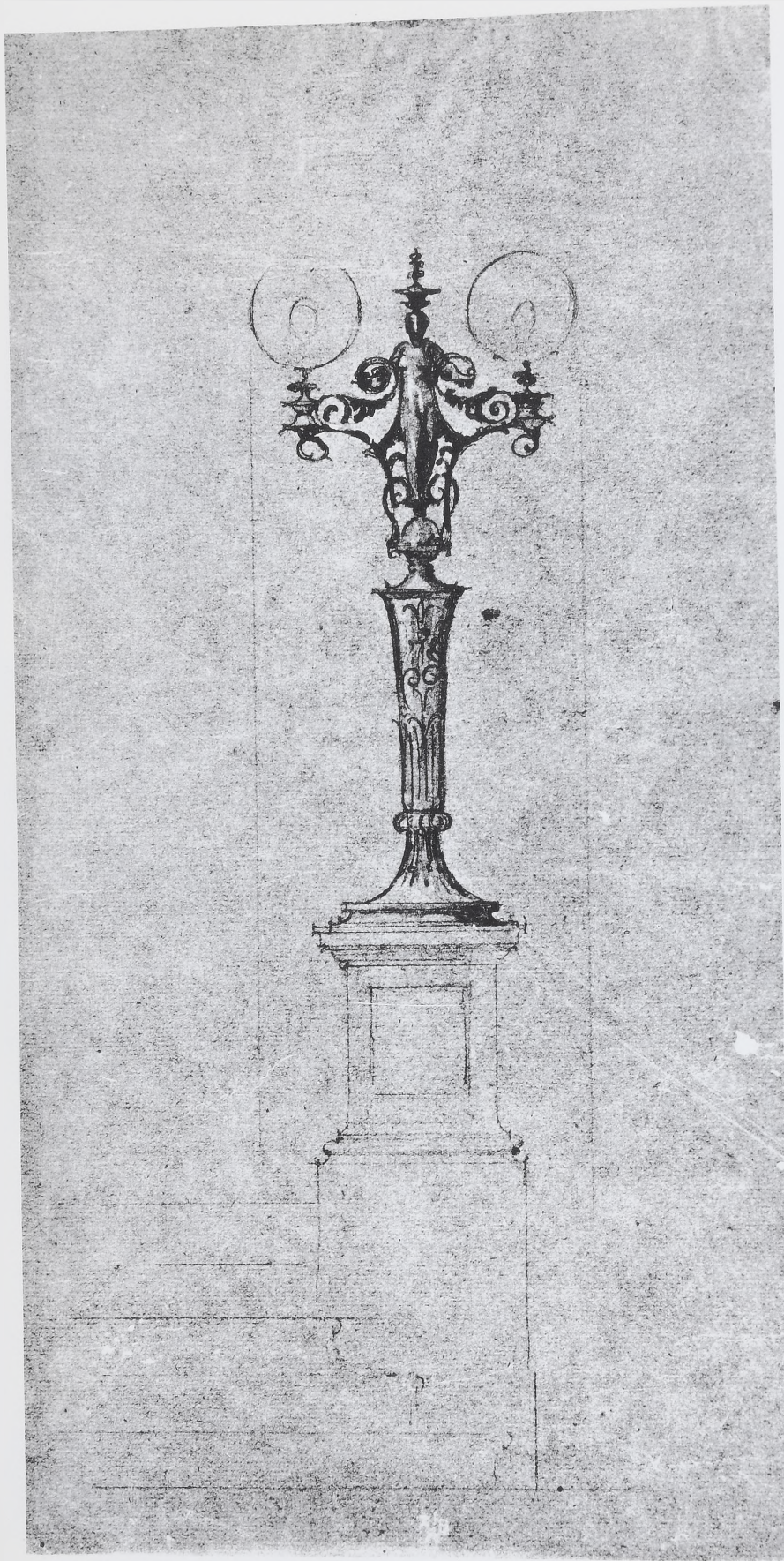


Fig. 43

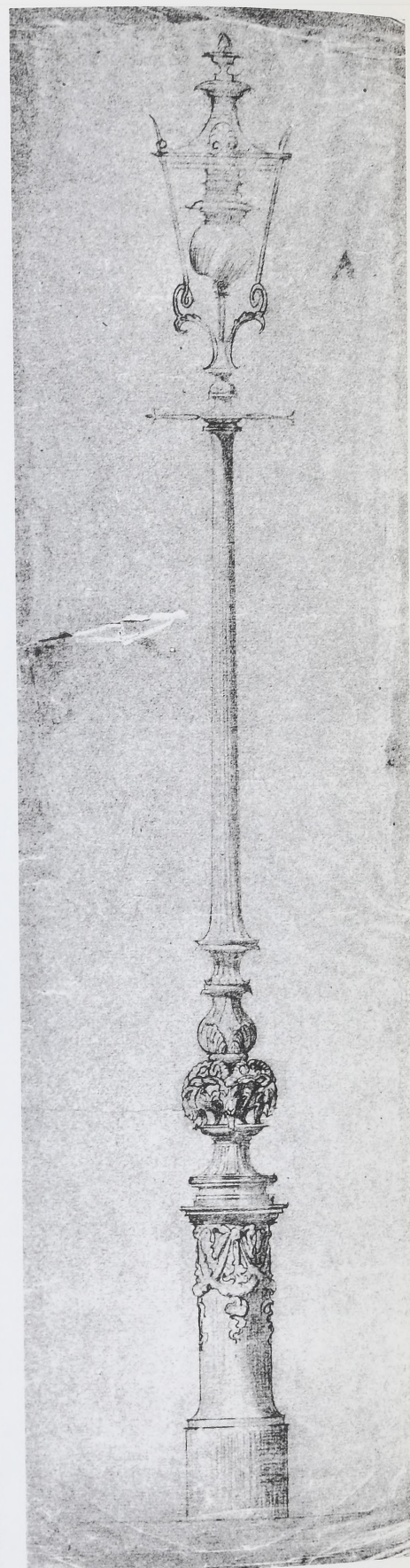


Fig. 44



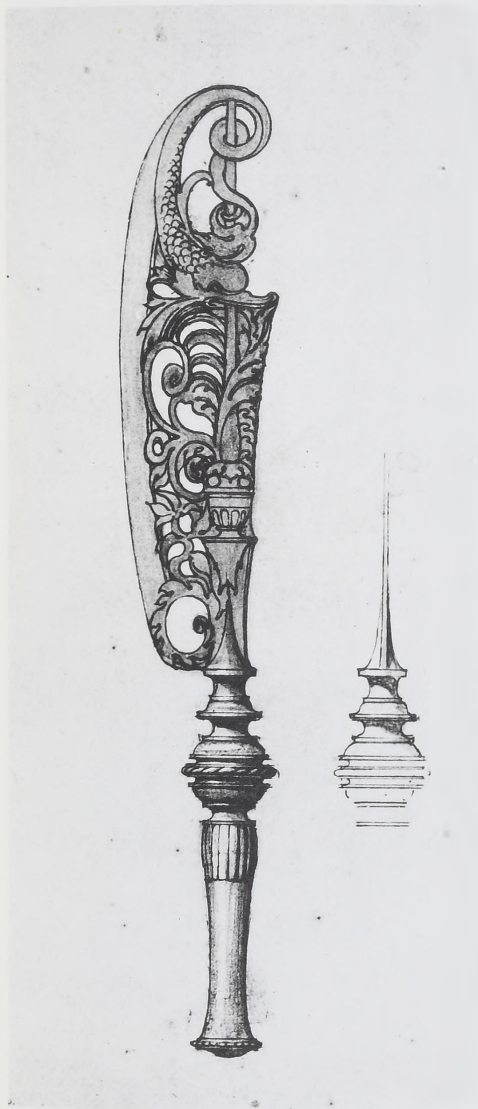


Fig. 45



Fig. 46





Fig. 47

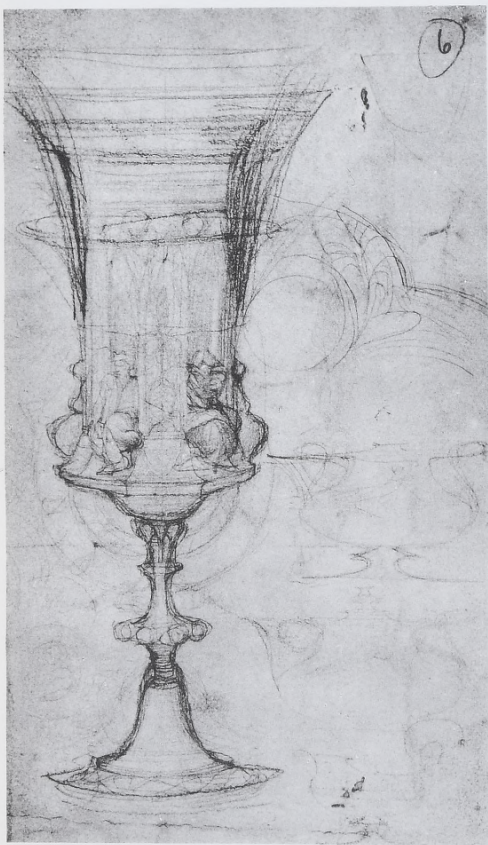


Fig. 48

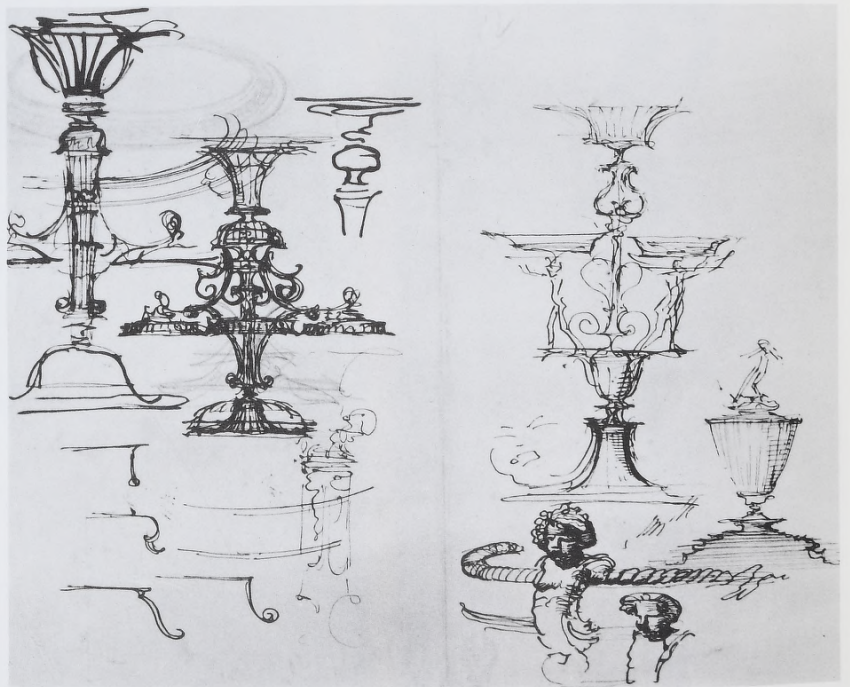


Fig. 49



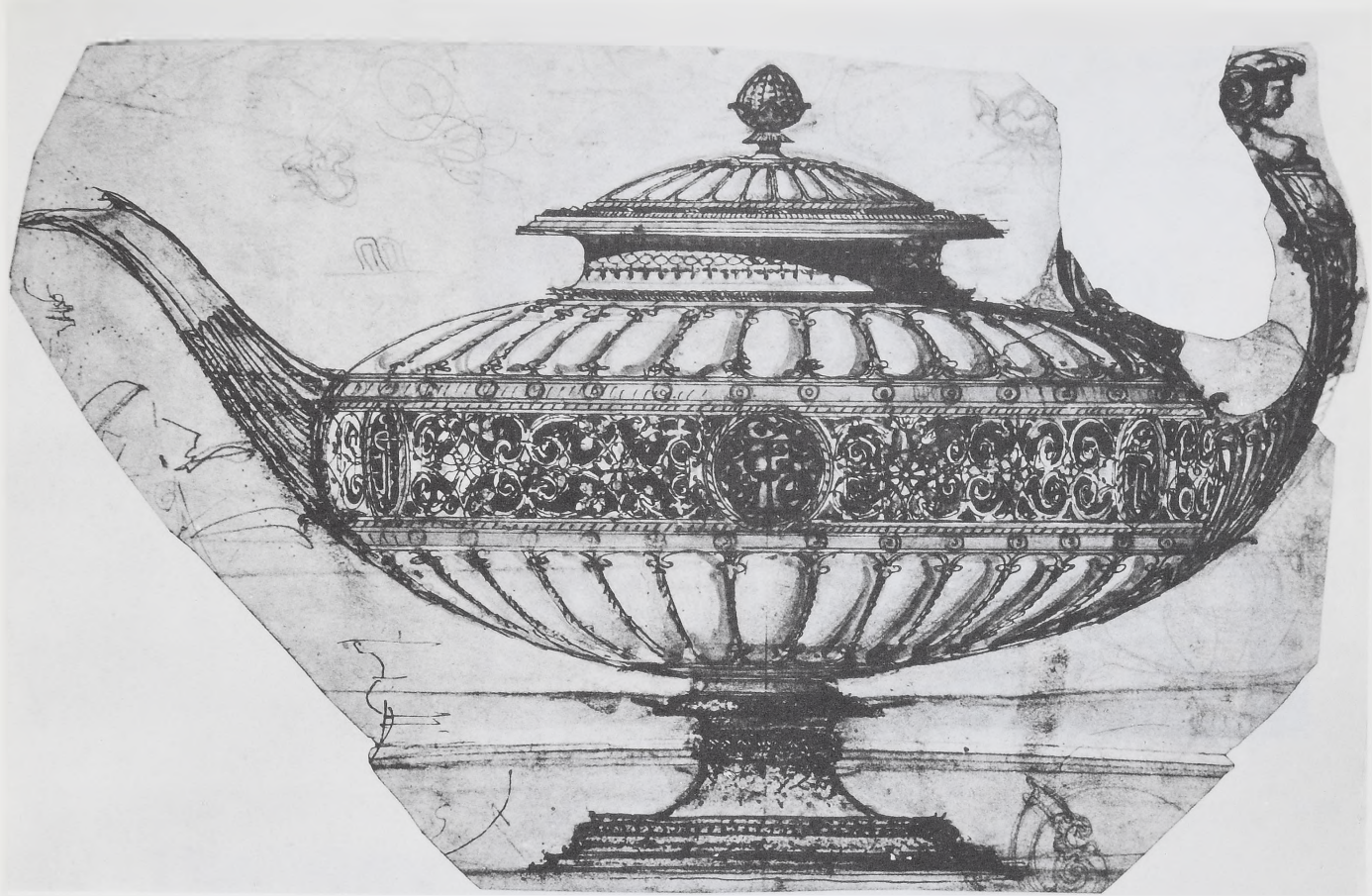


Fig. 50



Fig. 51

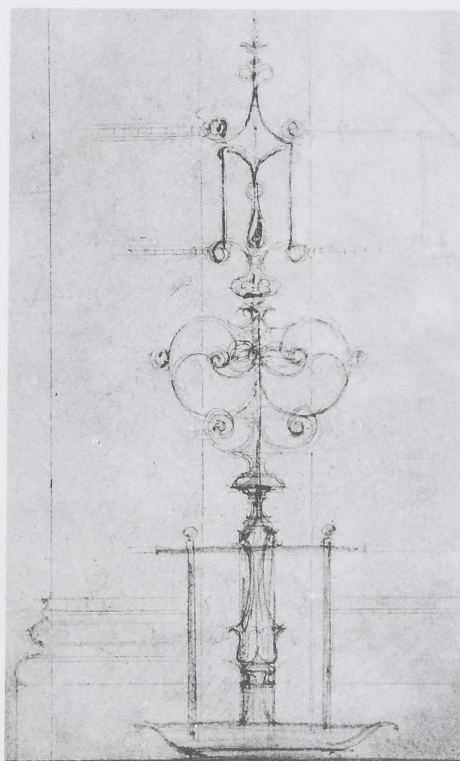


Fig. 52



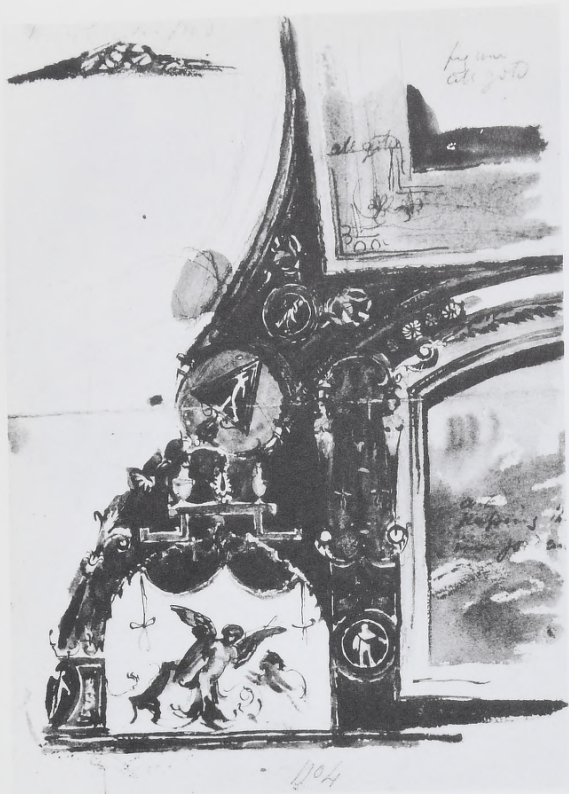


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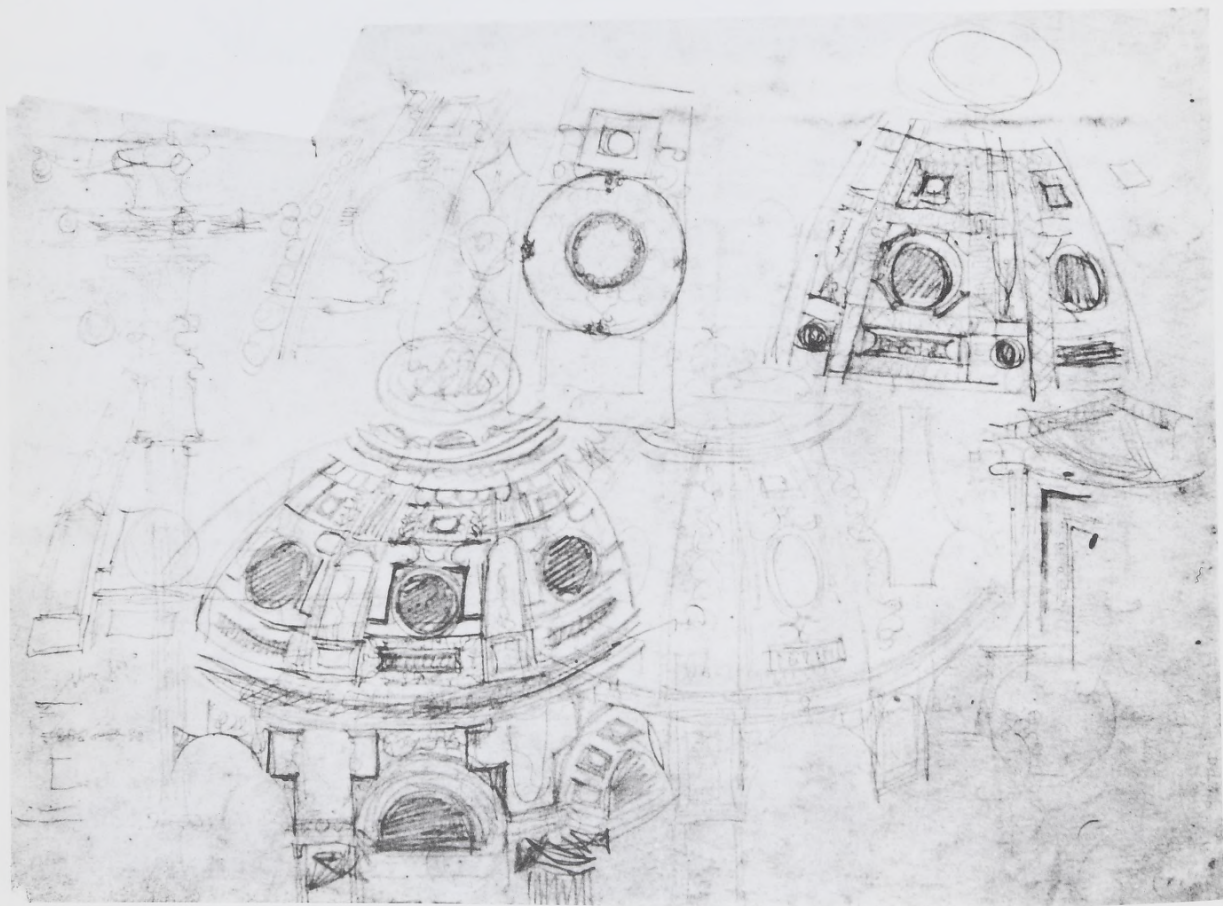


Fig. 54



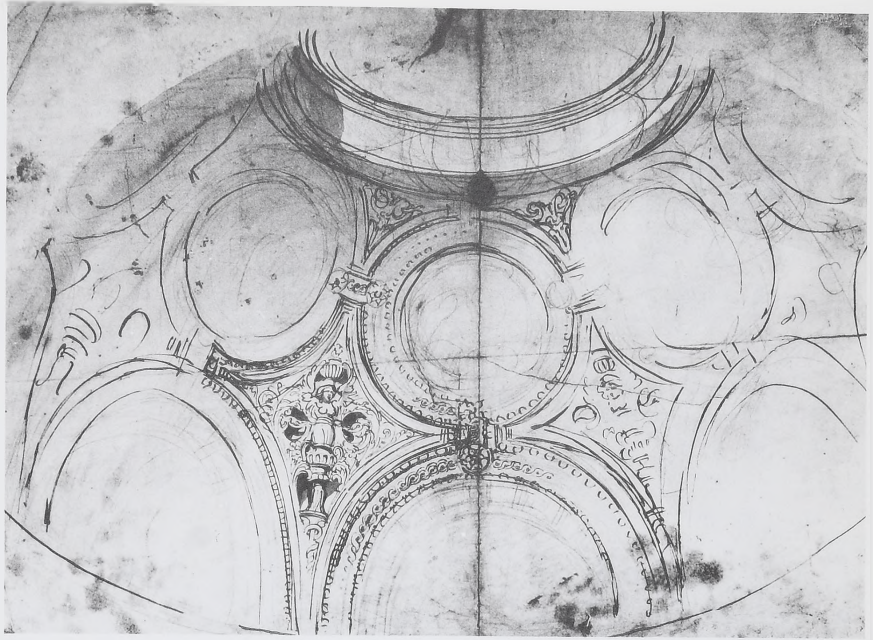


Fig. 55

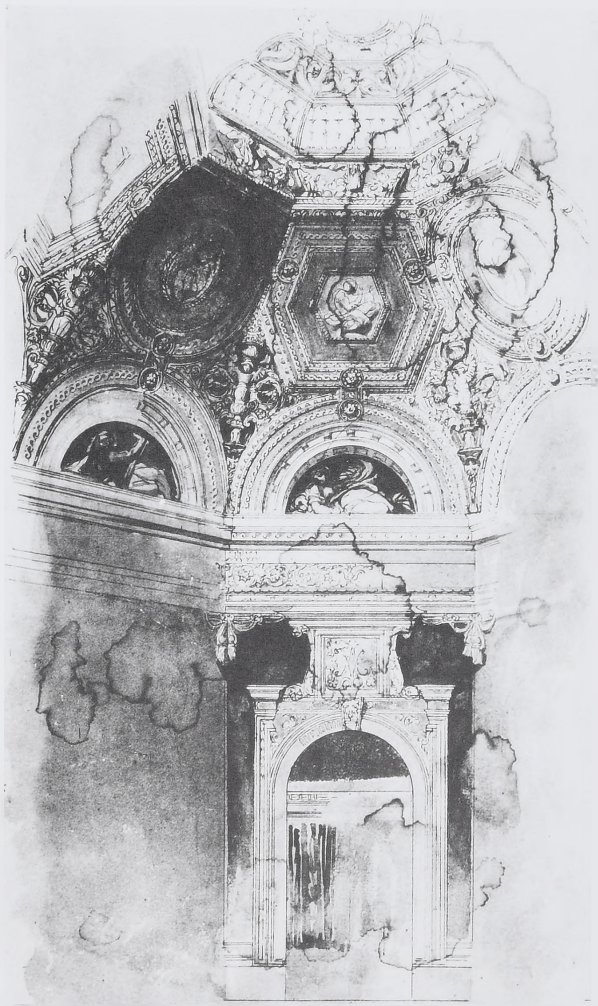


Fig. 56





Fig. 57





Fig. 58



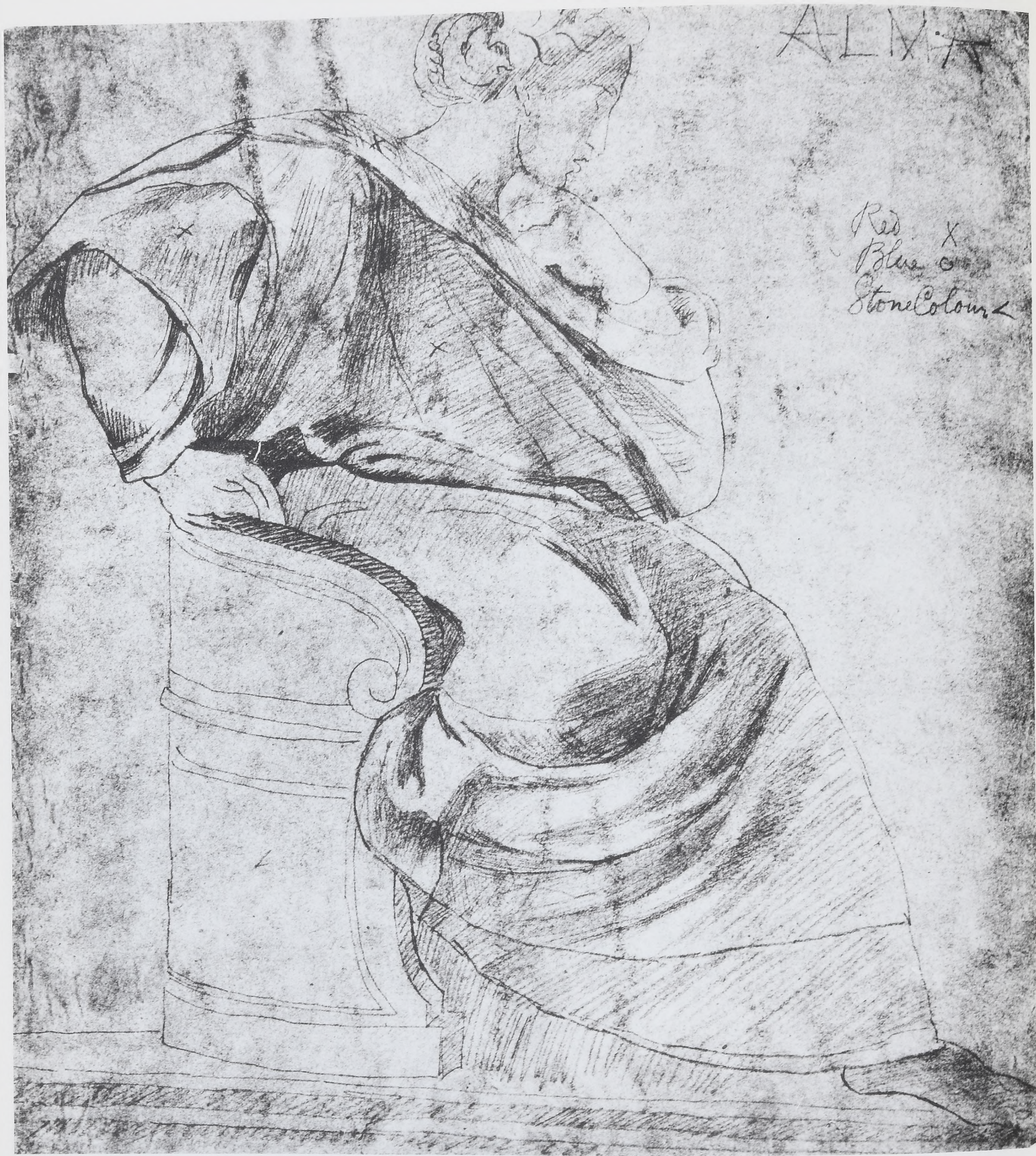


Fig. 59





Fig. 60





Fig. 61





Fig. 62





Fig. 63





Fig. 64





Fig. 65

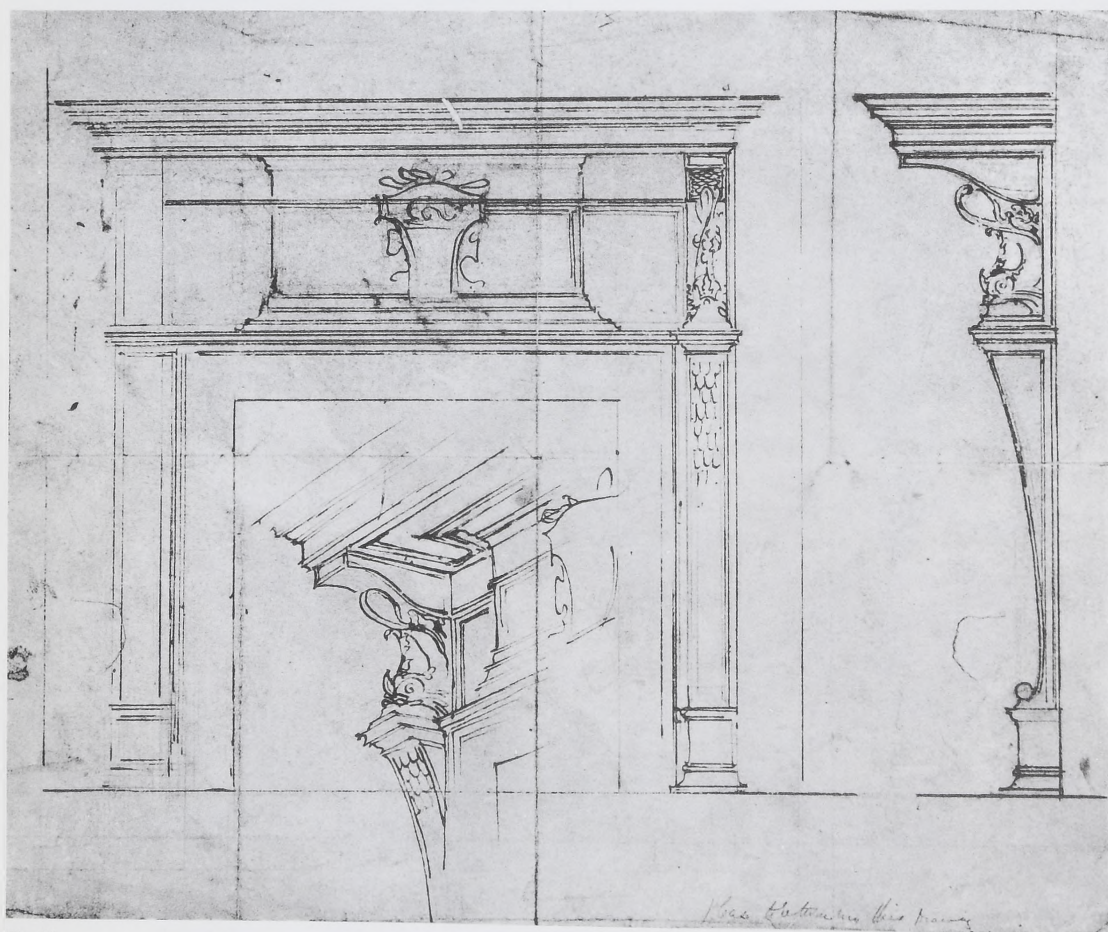


Fig. 66





Fig. 67



Fig. 68



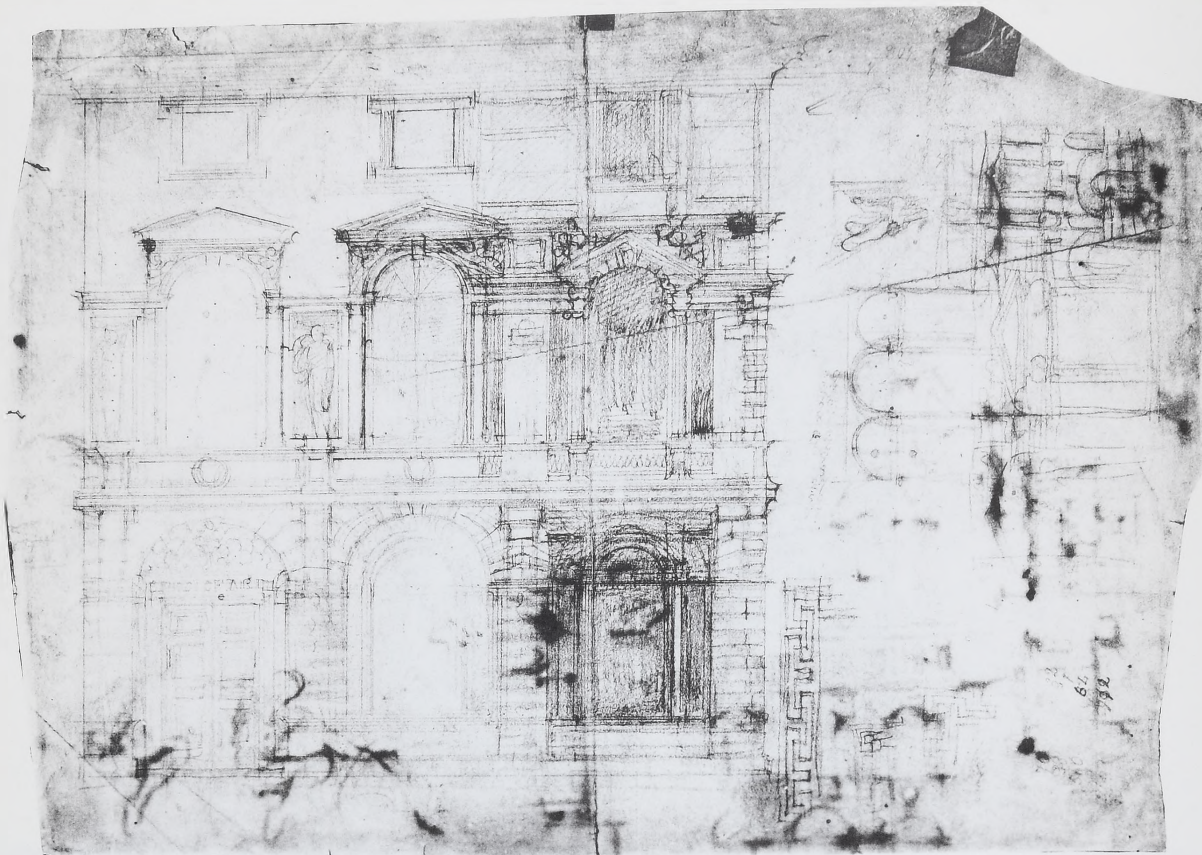


Fig. 69

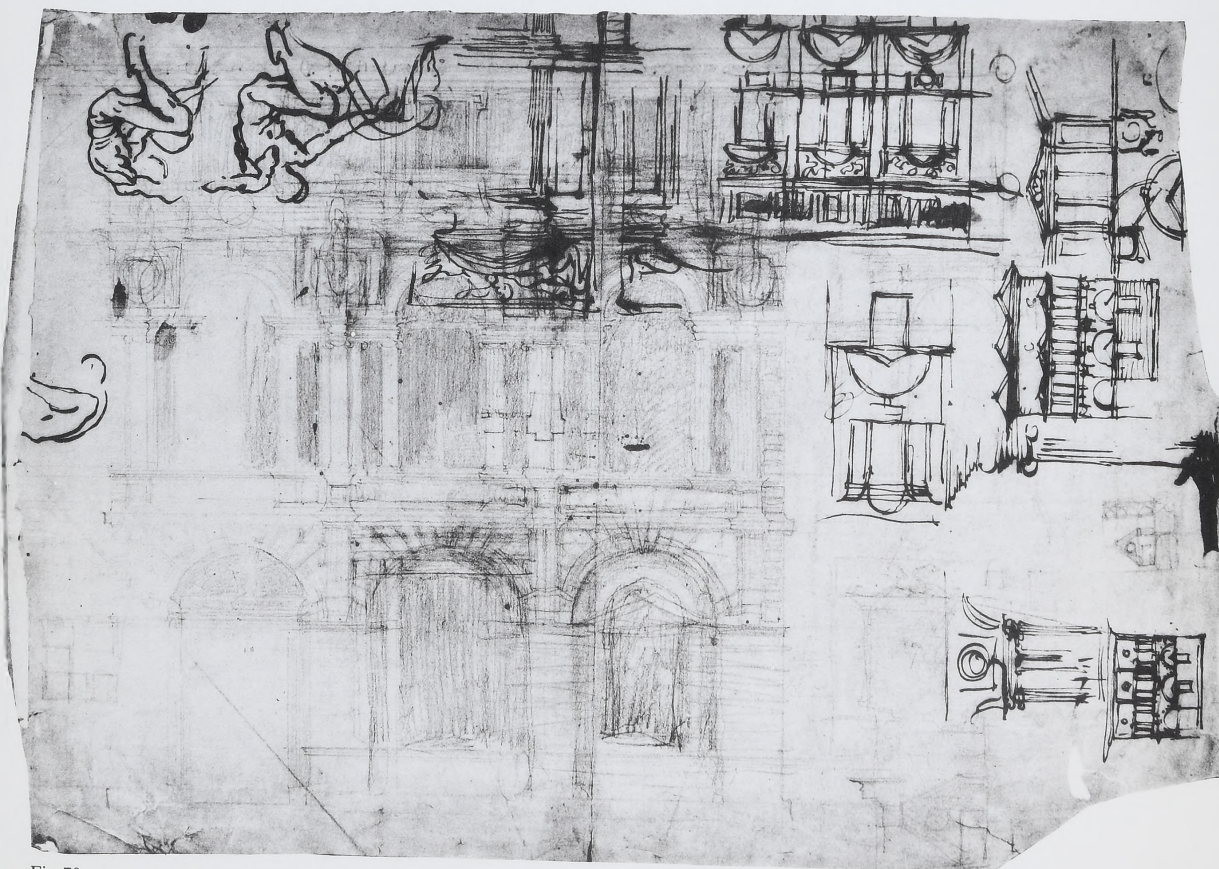


Fig. 70







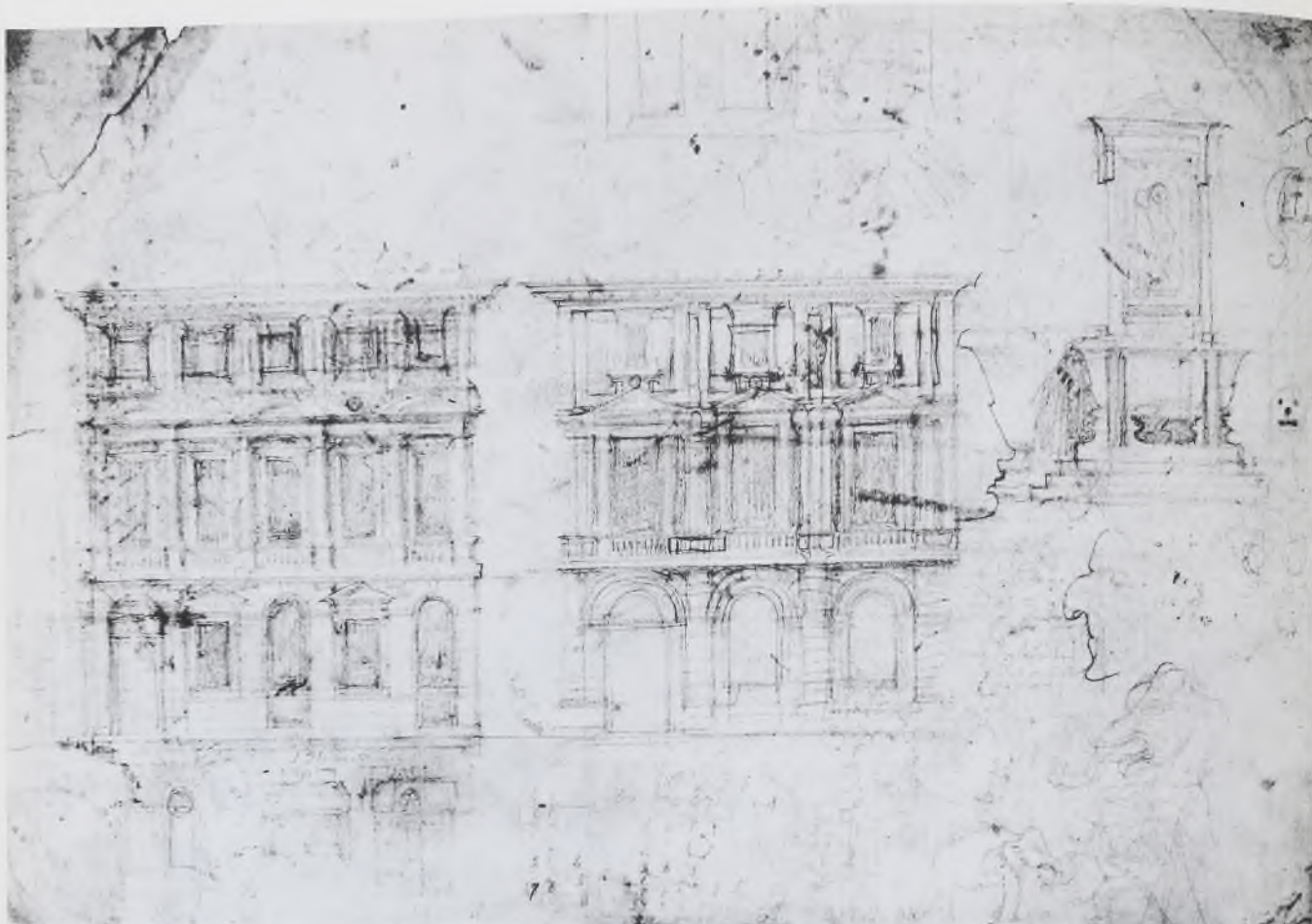


Fig. 72



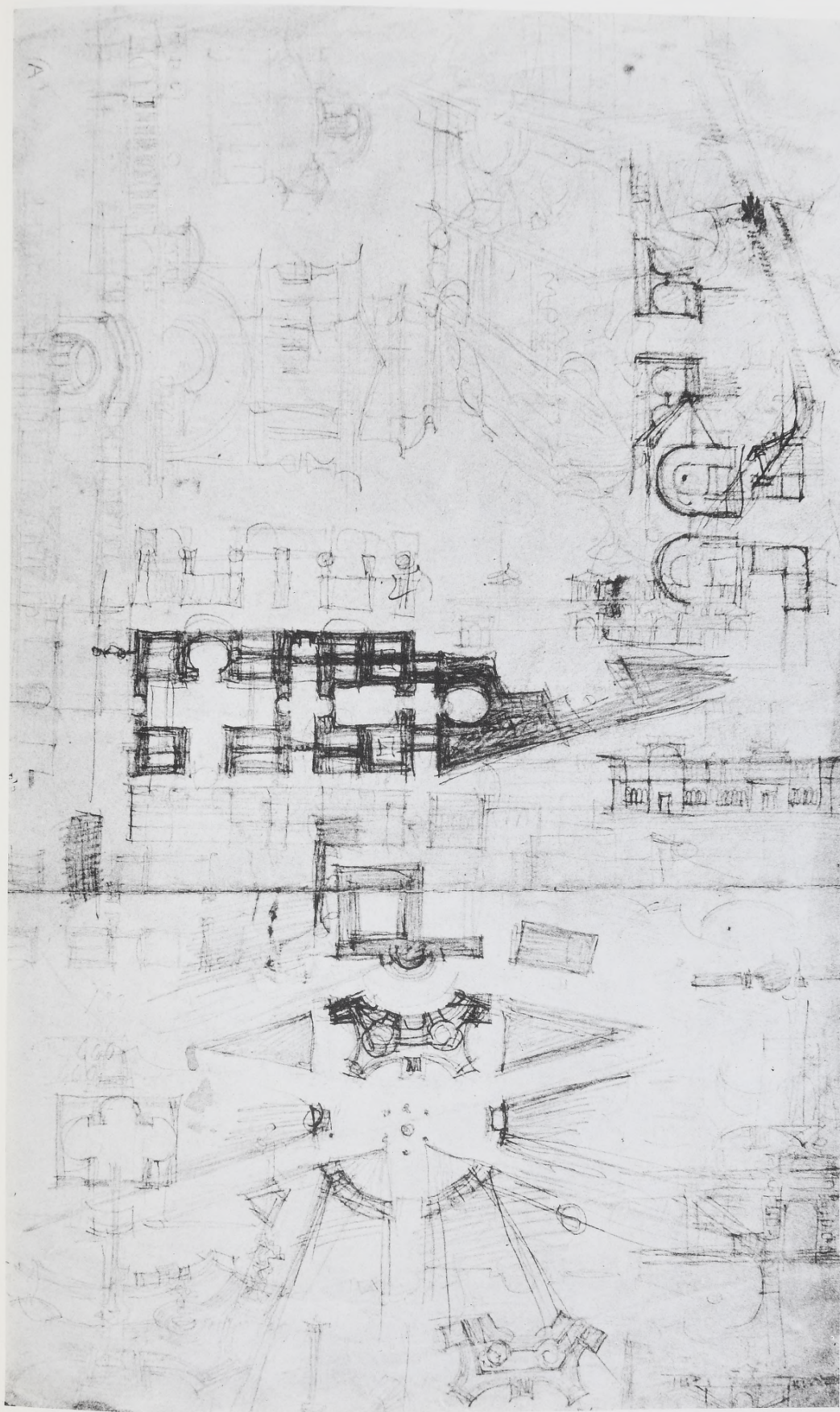


Fig. 73



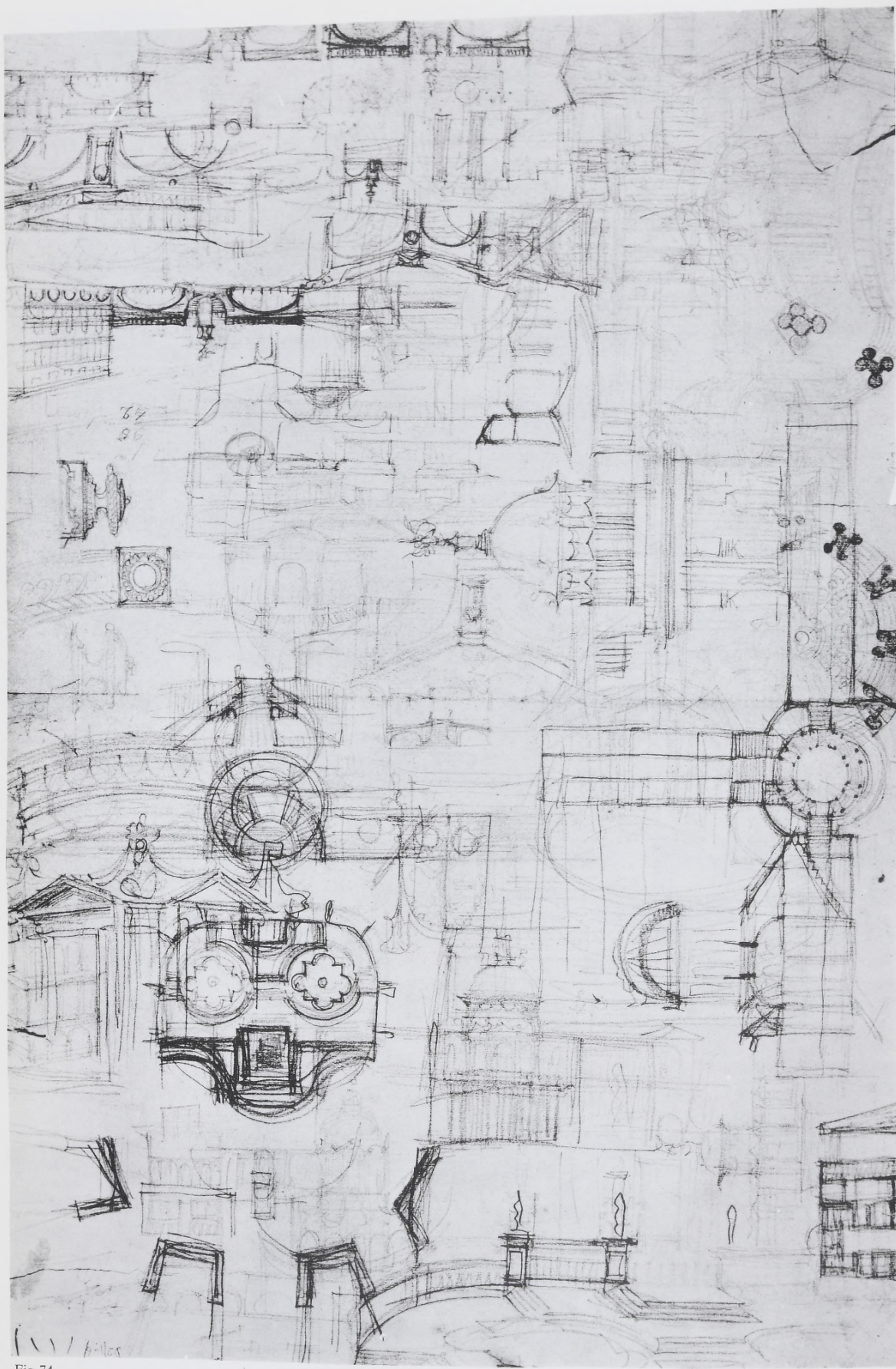


Fig. 74



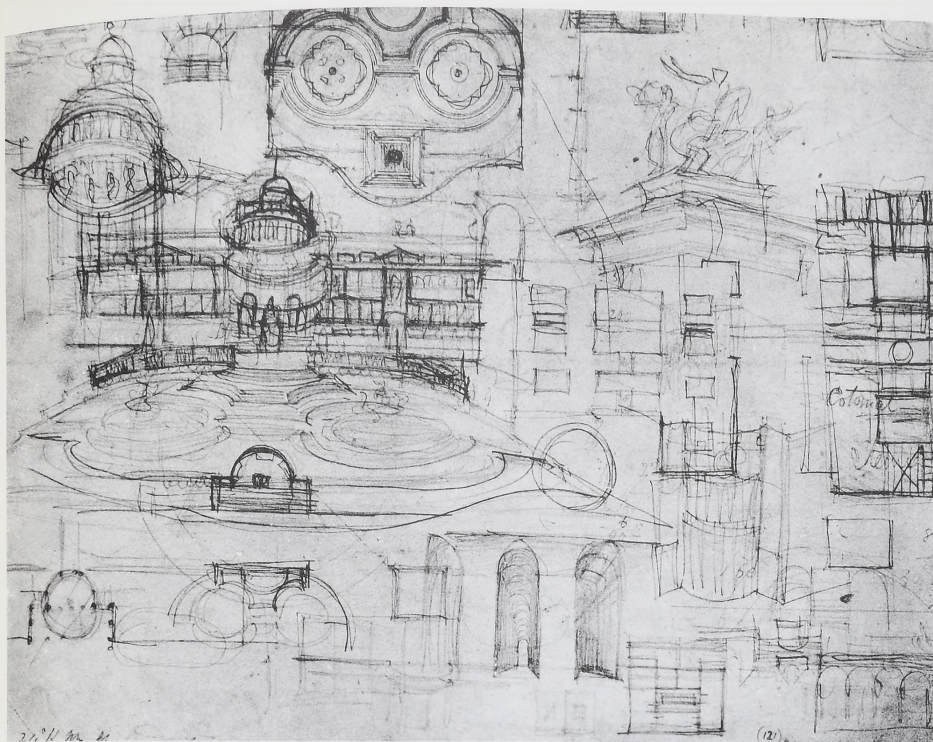


Fig. 75

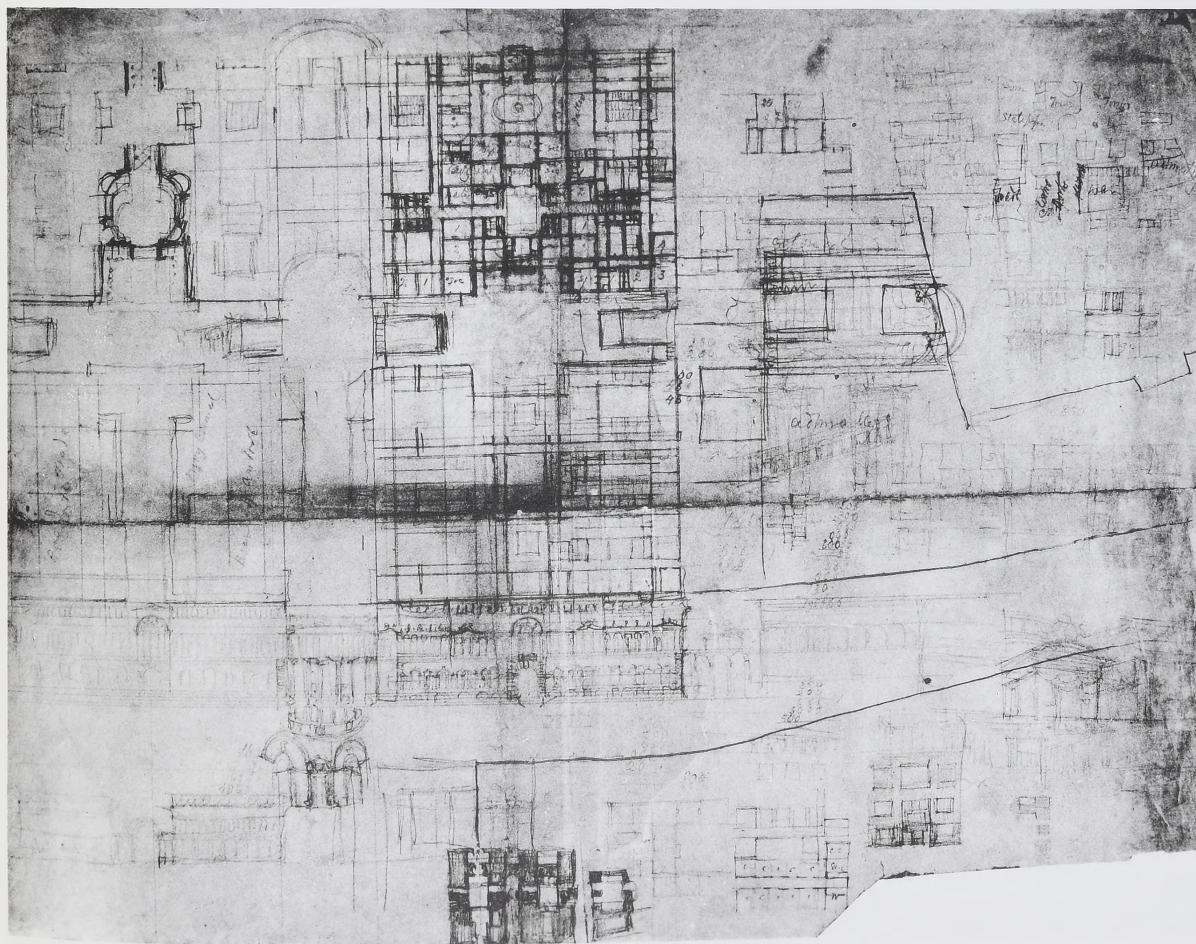


Fig. 76



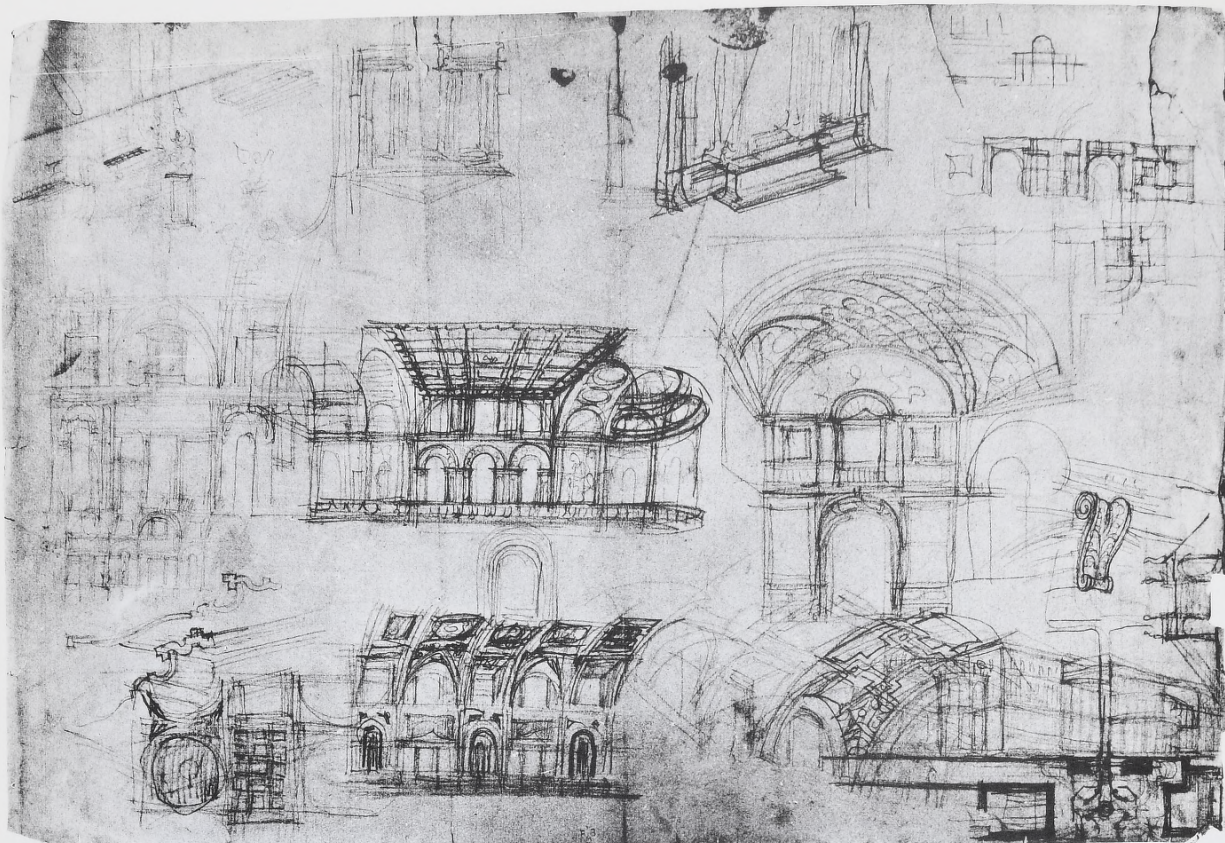


Fig. 77

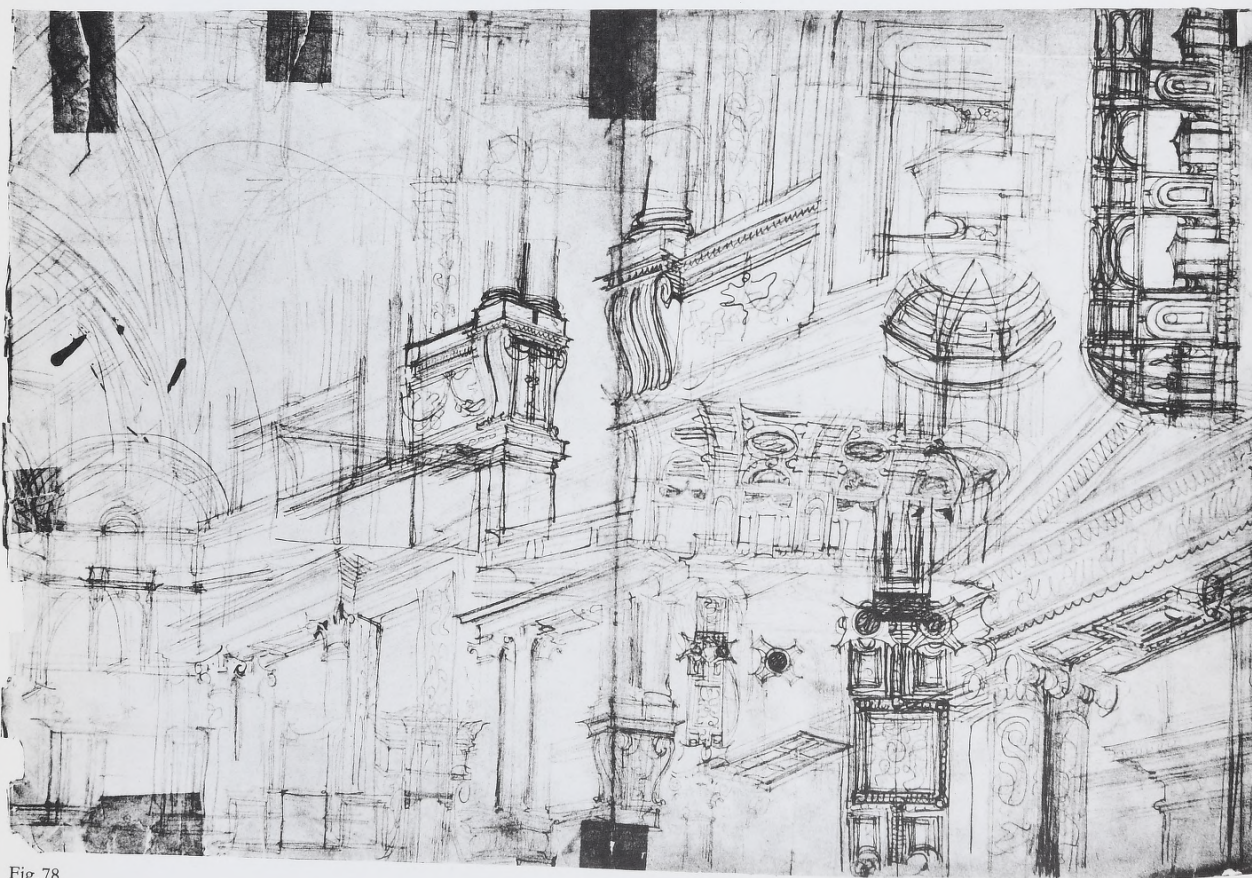


Fig. 78





Fig. 79

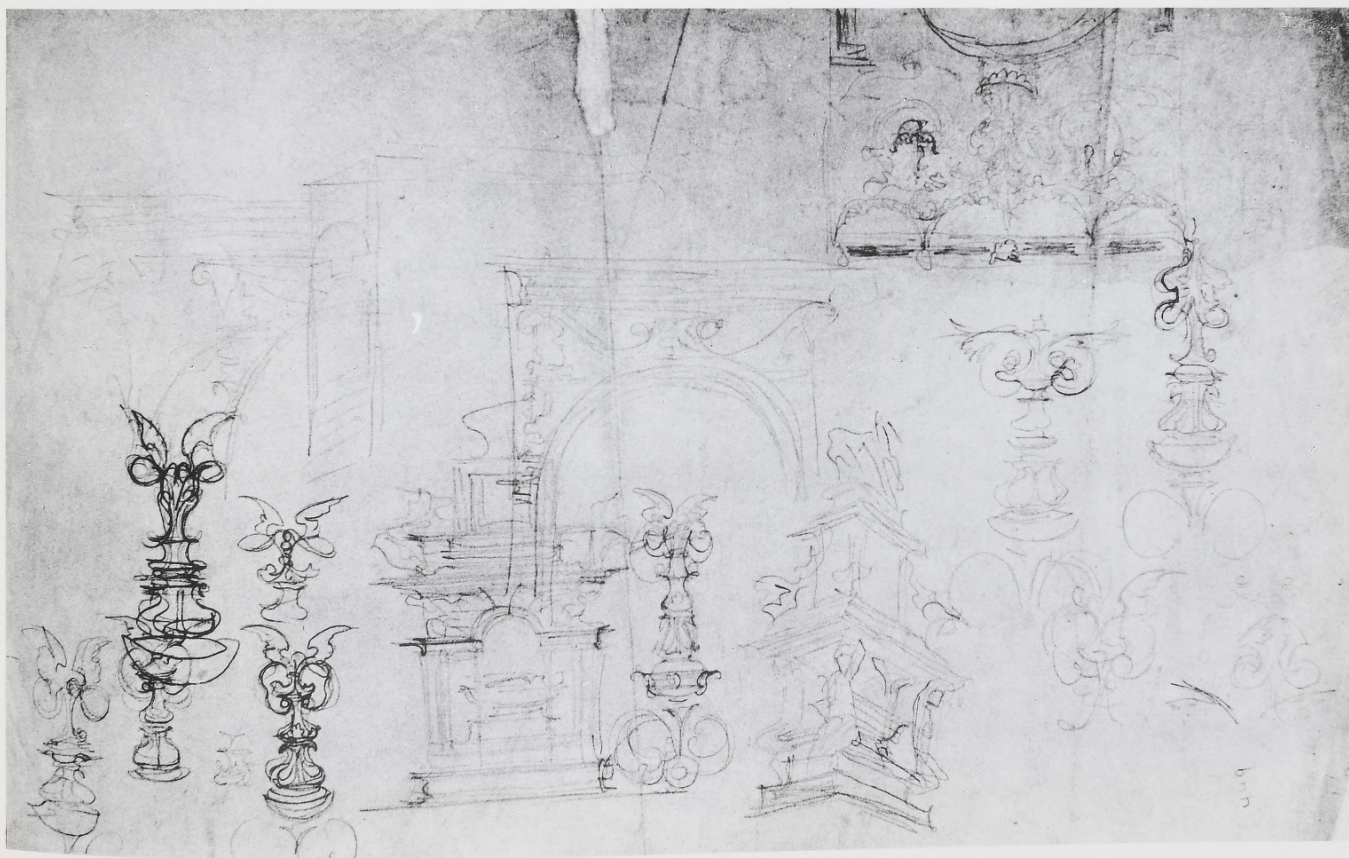


Fig. 80



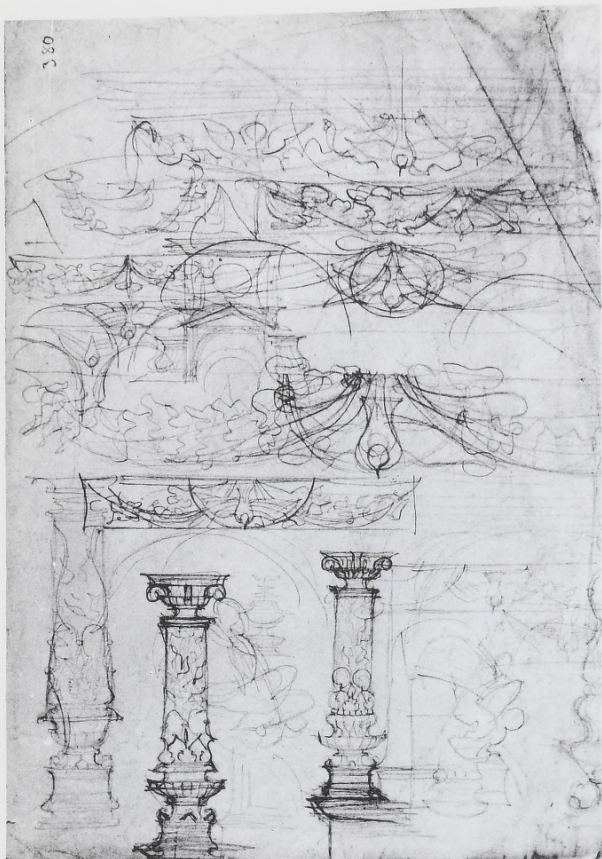


Fig. 81



Fig. 82

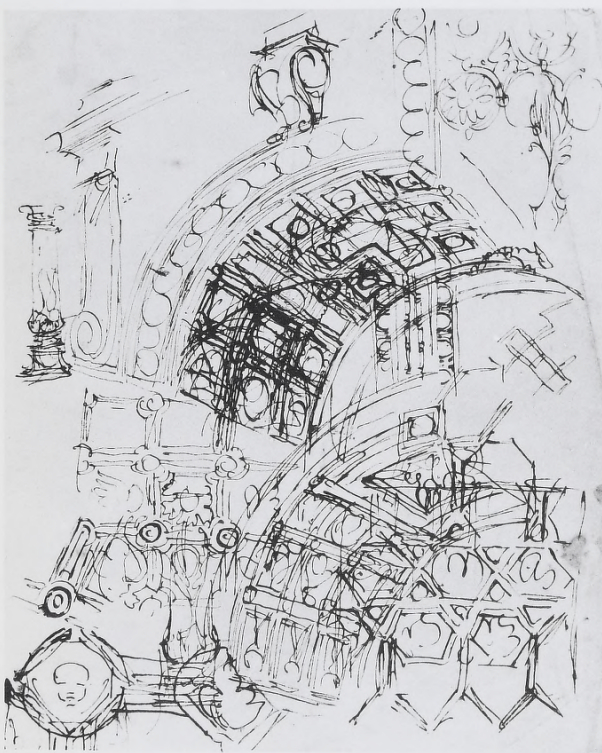


Fig. 83

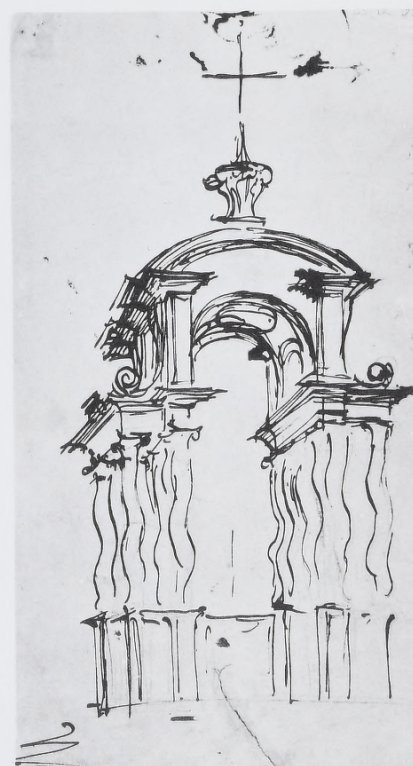


Fig. 84



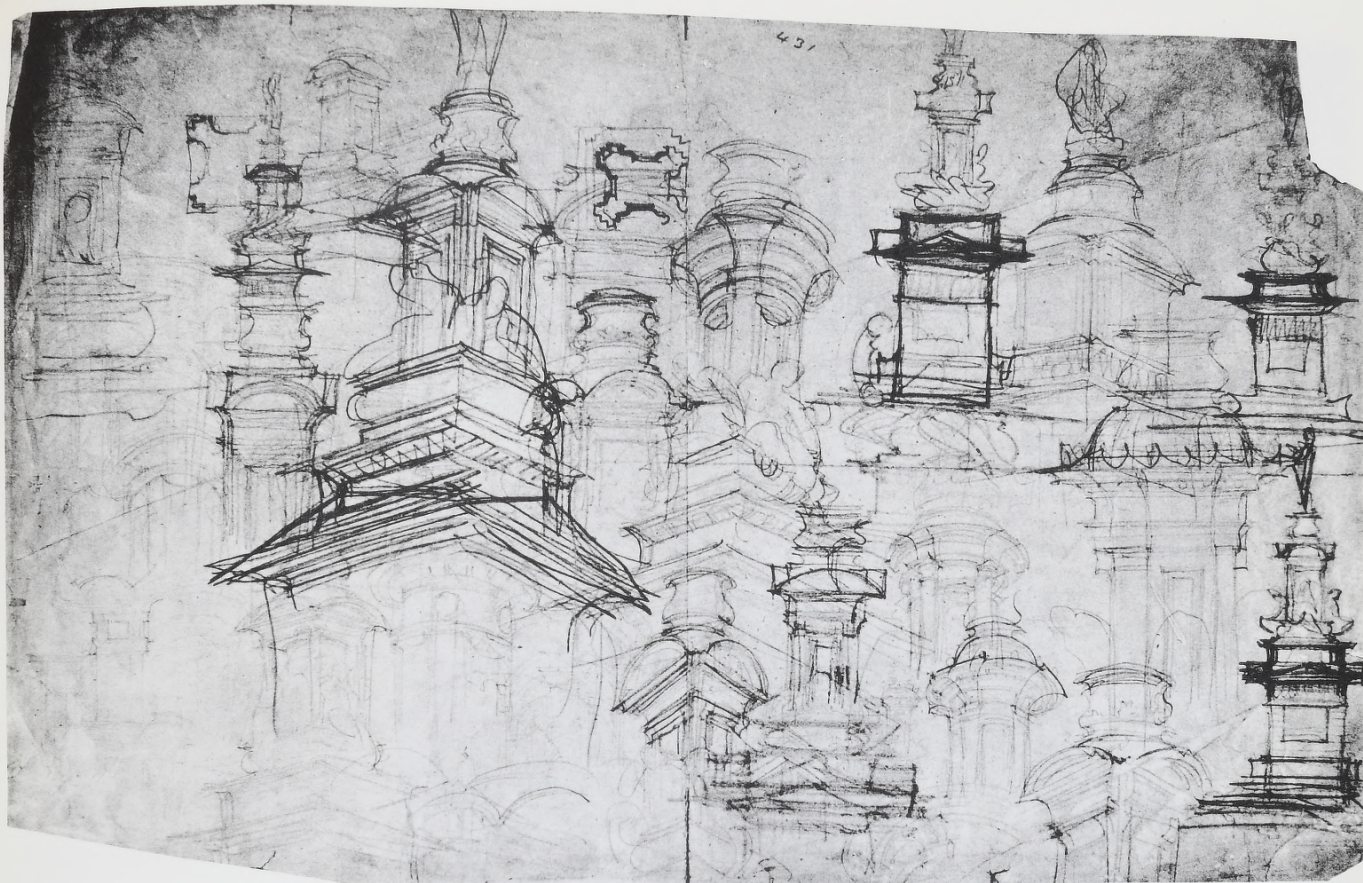


Fig. 85

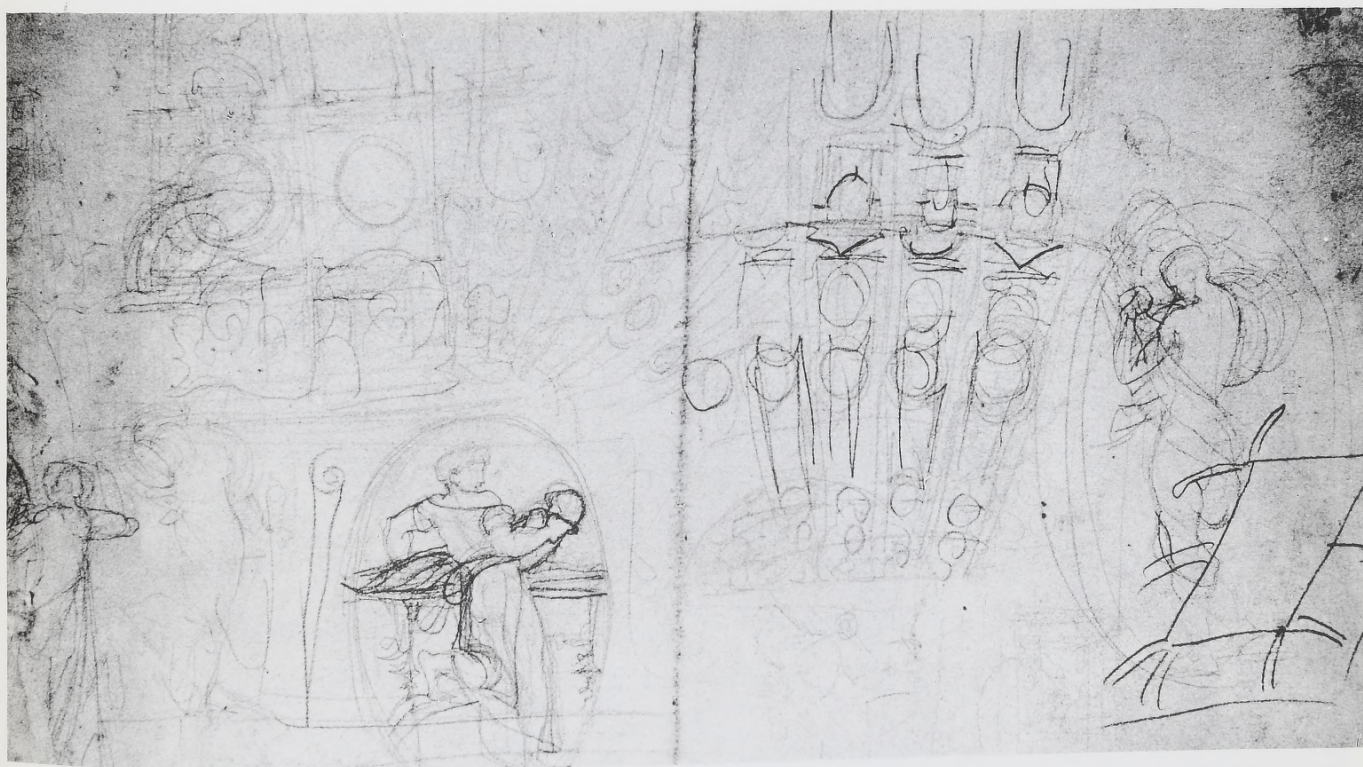


Fig. 86



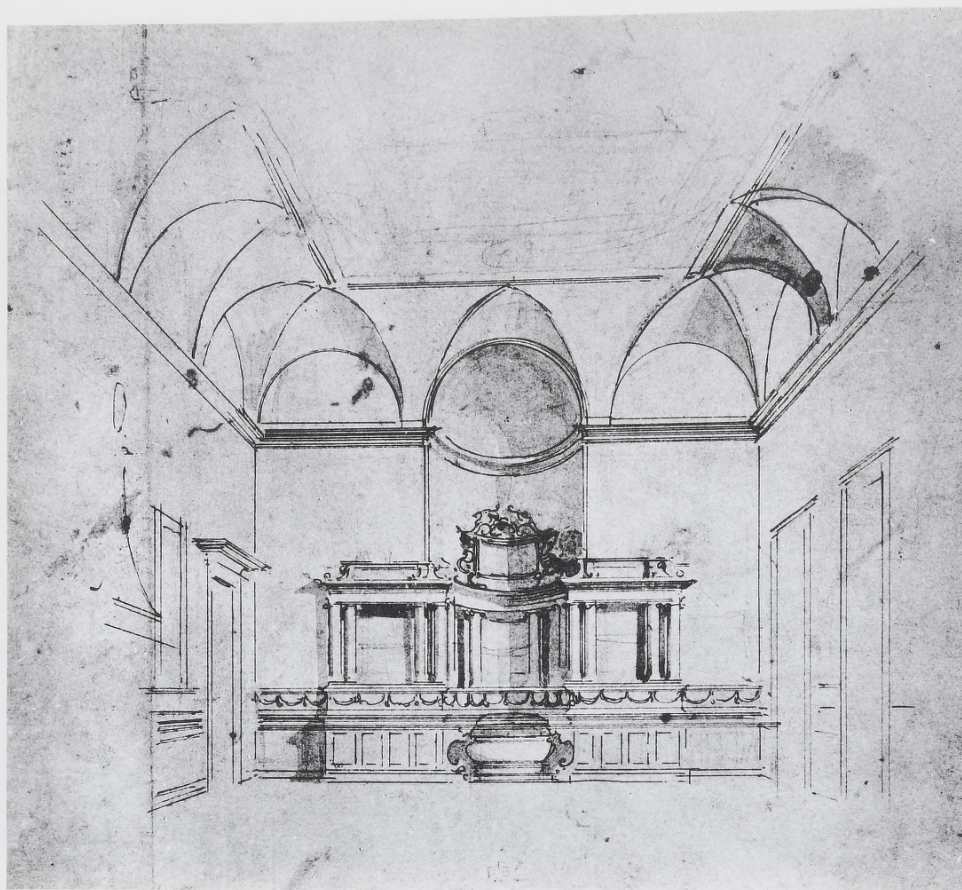


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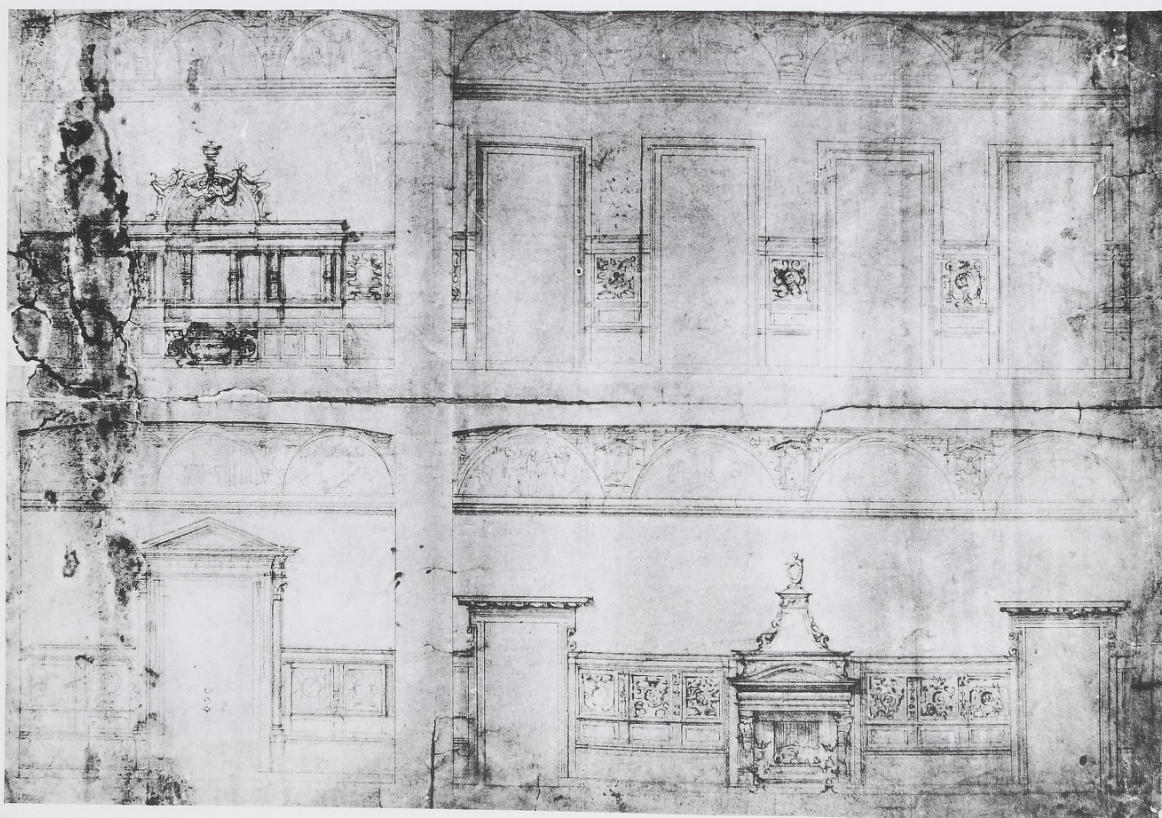


Fig. 88



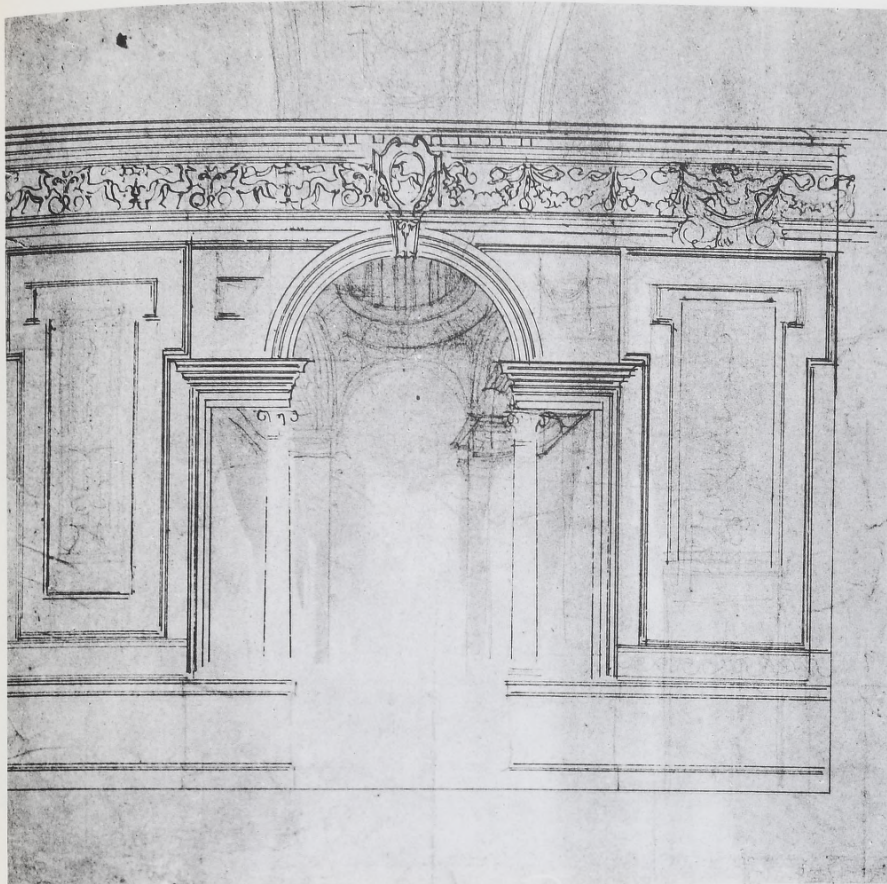


Fig. 89

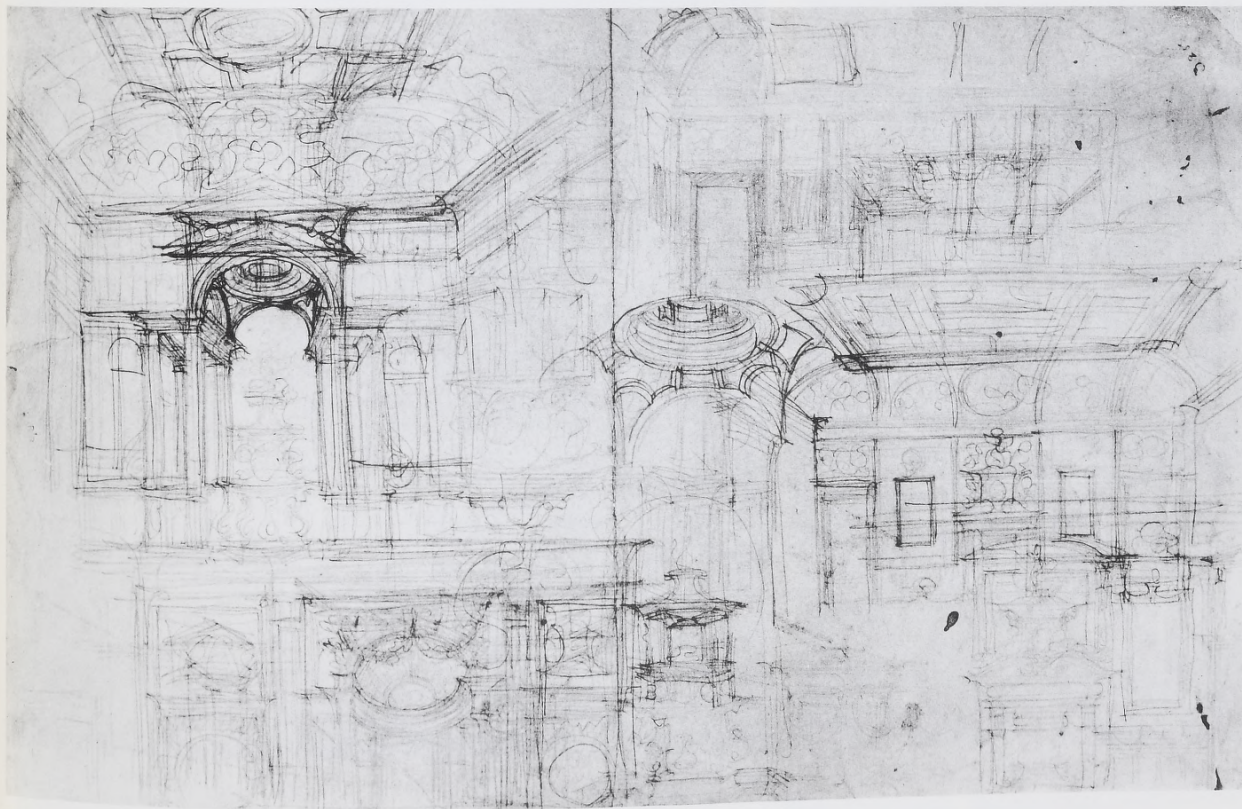


Fig. 90





Fig. 91



Fig. 92

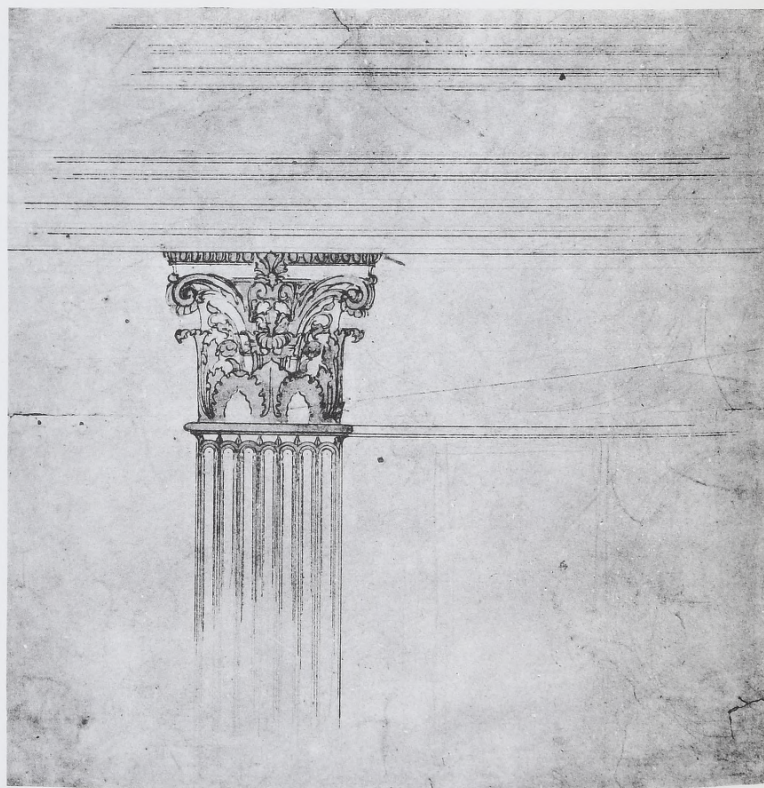


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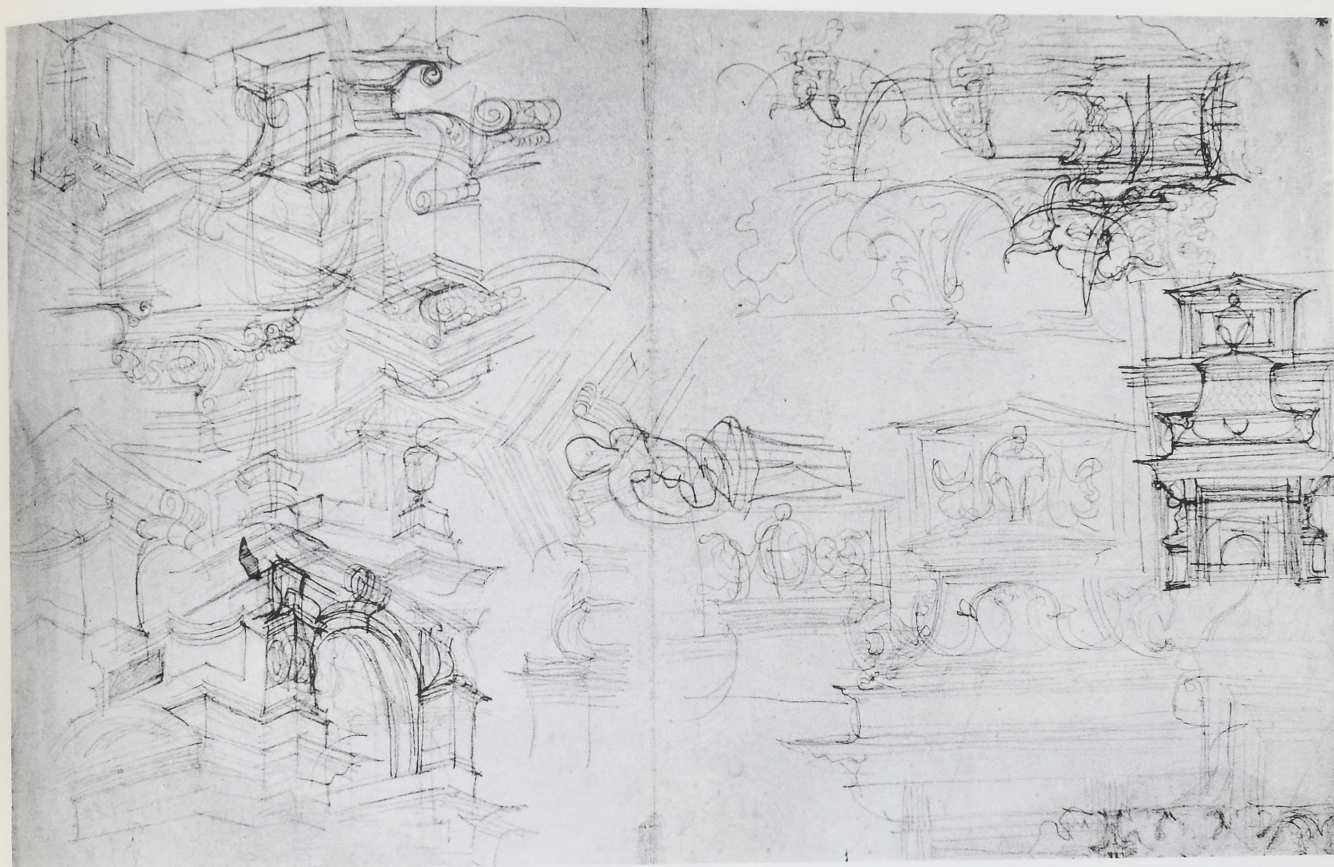


Fig. 94

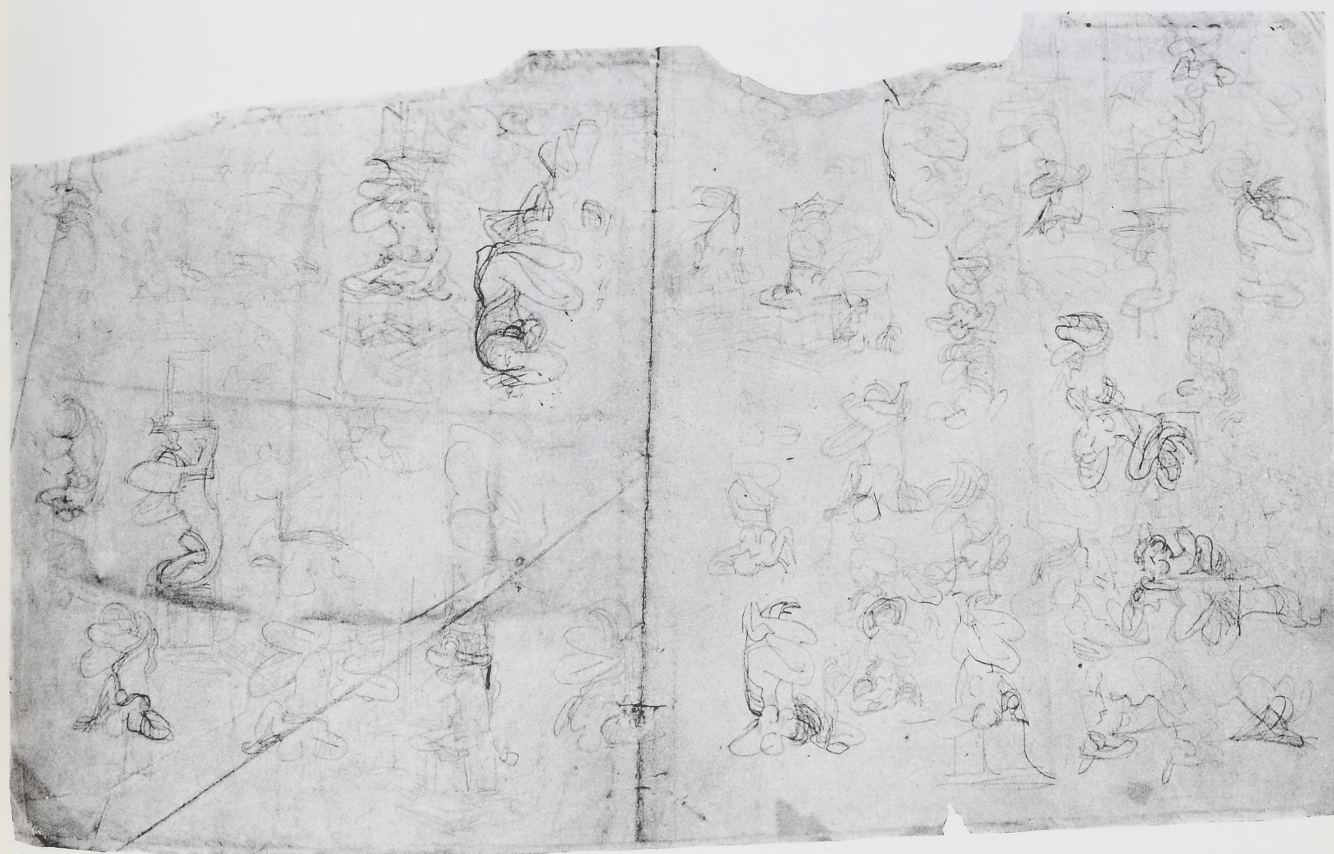


Fig. 95





Fig. 96

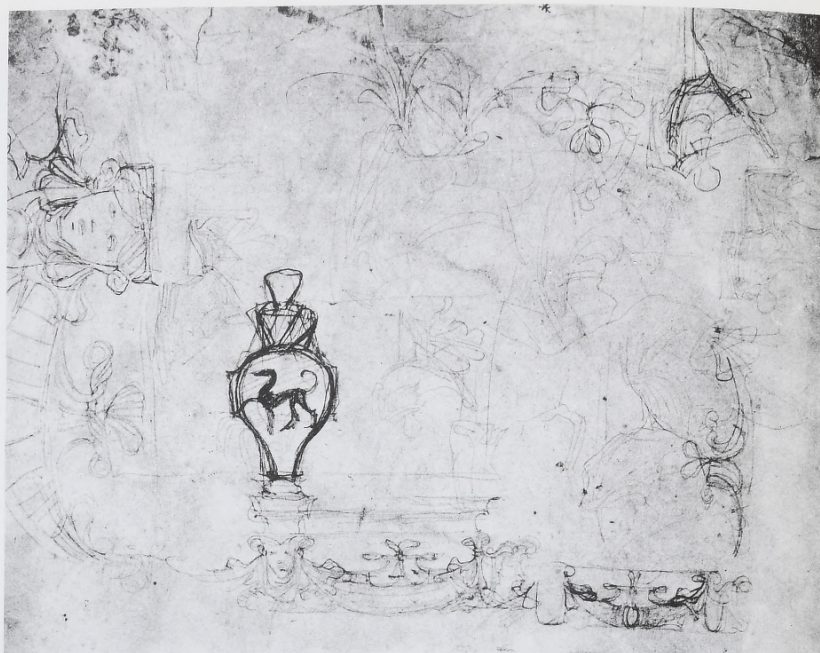


Fig. 97

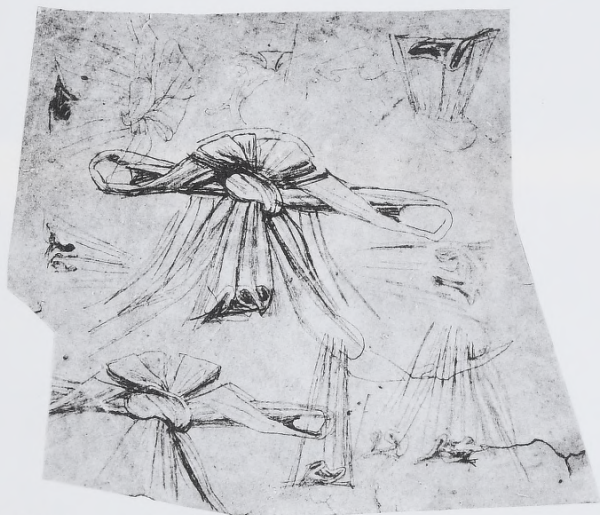


Fig. 98



Fig. 99



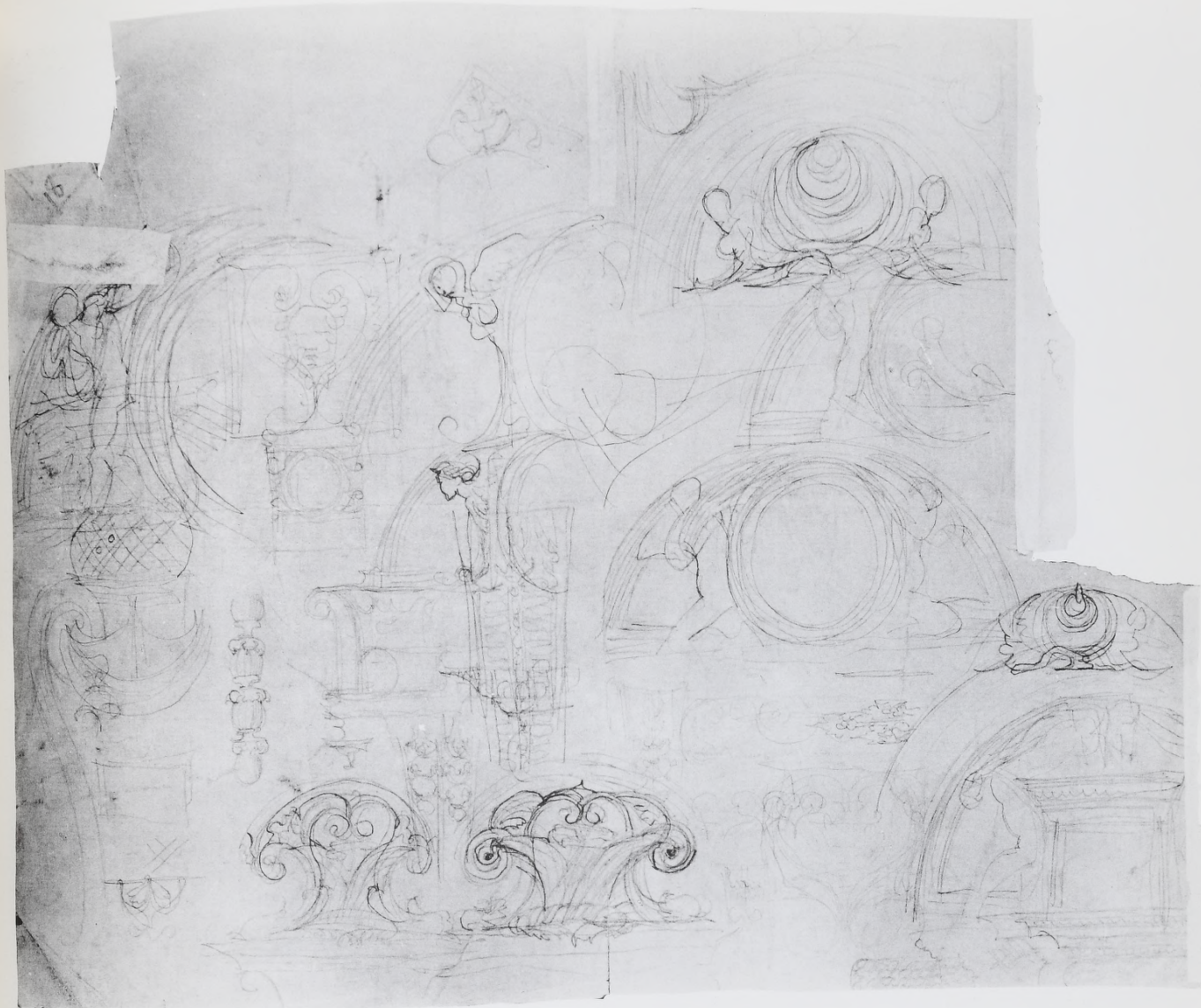


Fig. 100



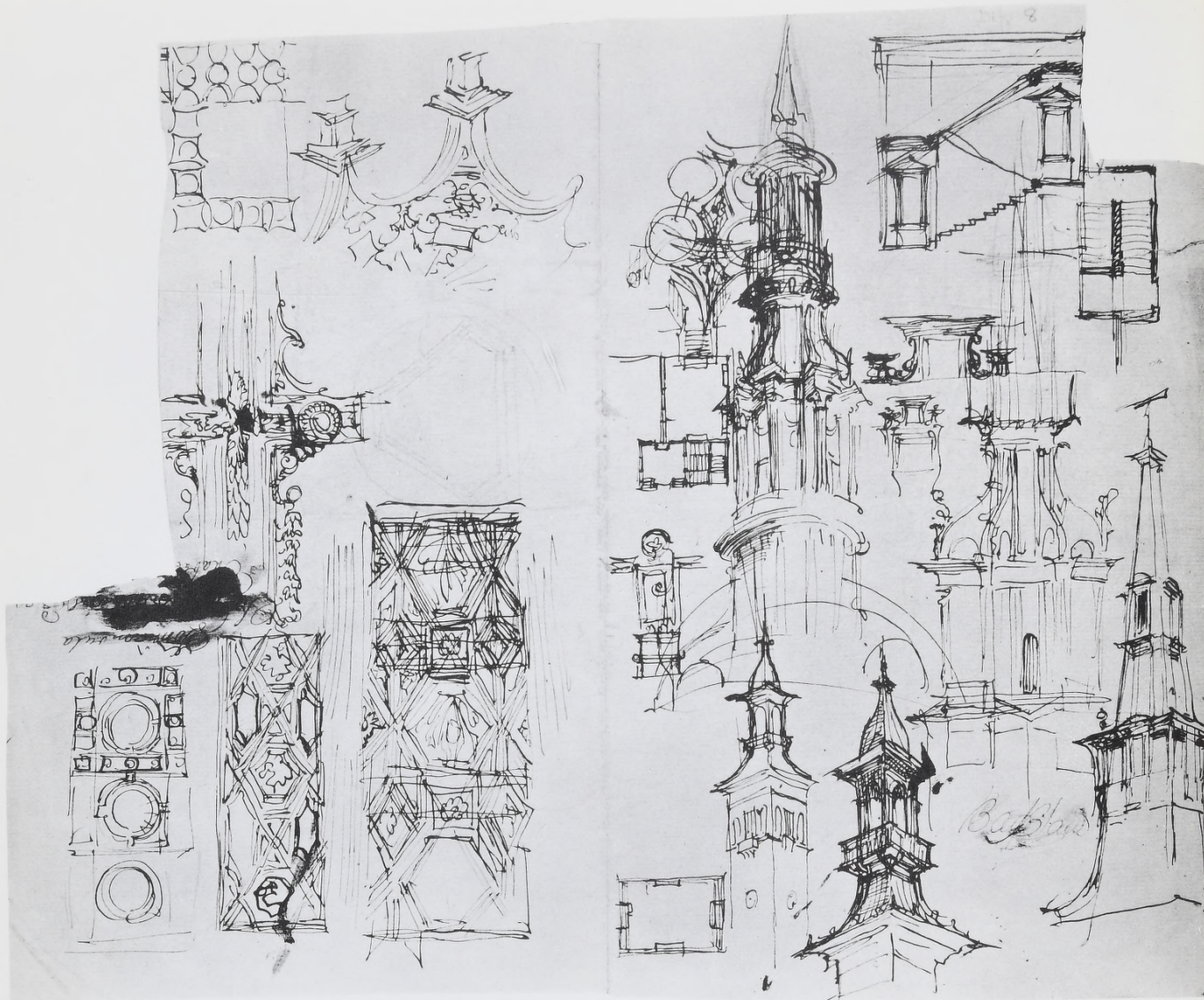


Fig. 101



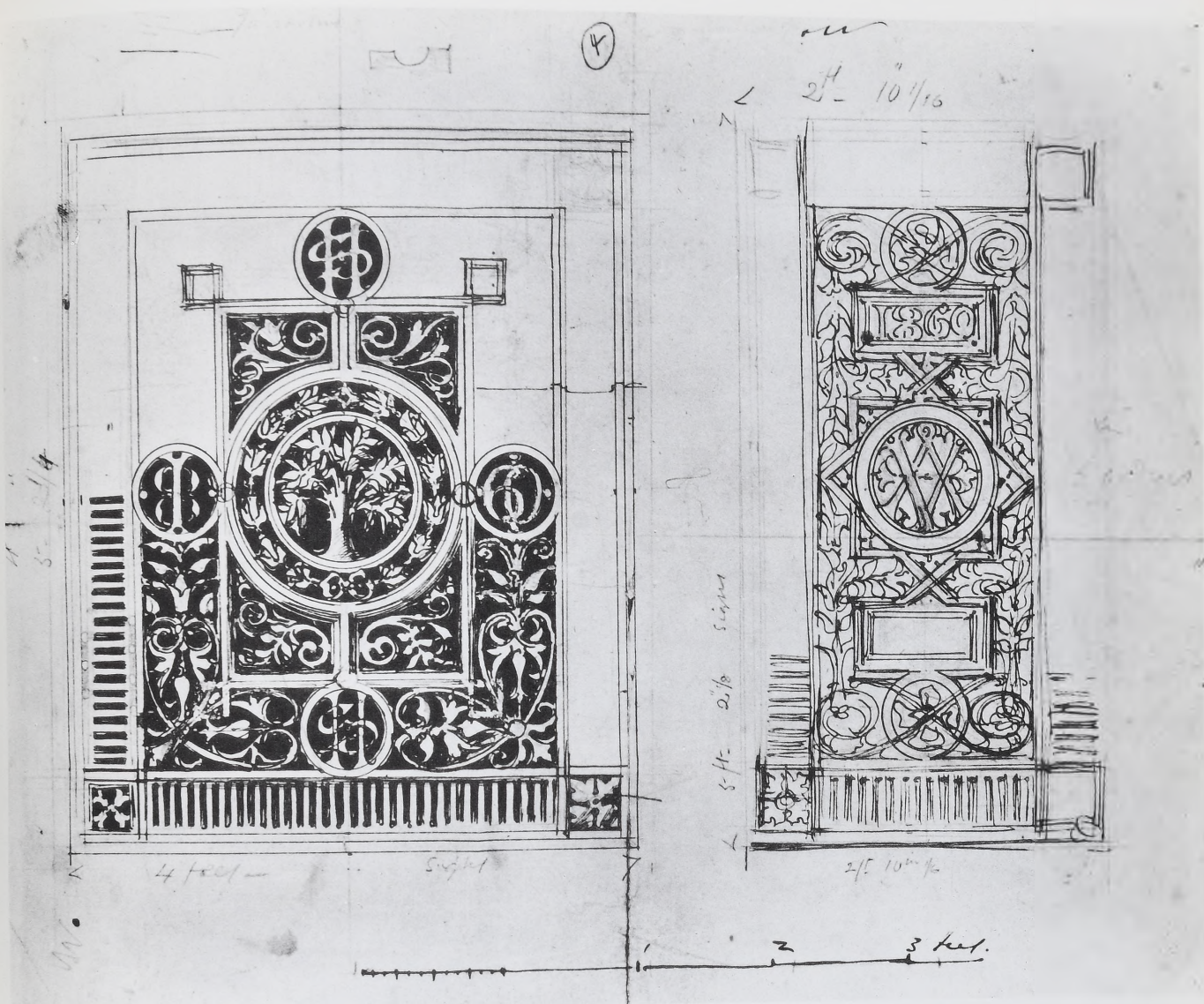


Fig. 102





Fig. 103

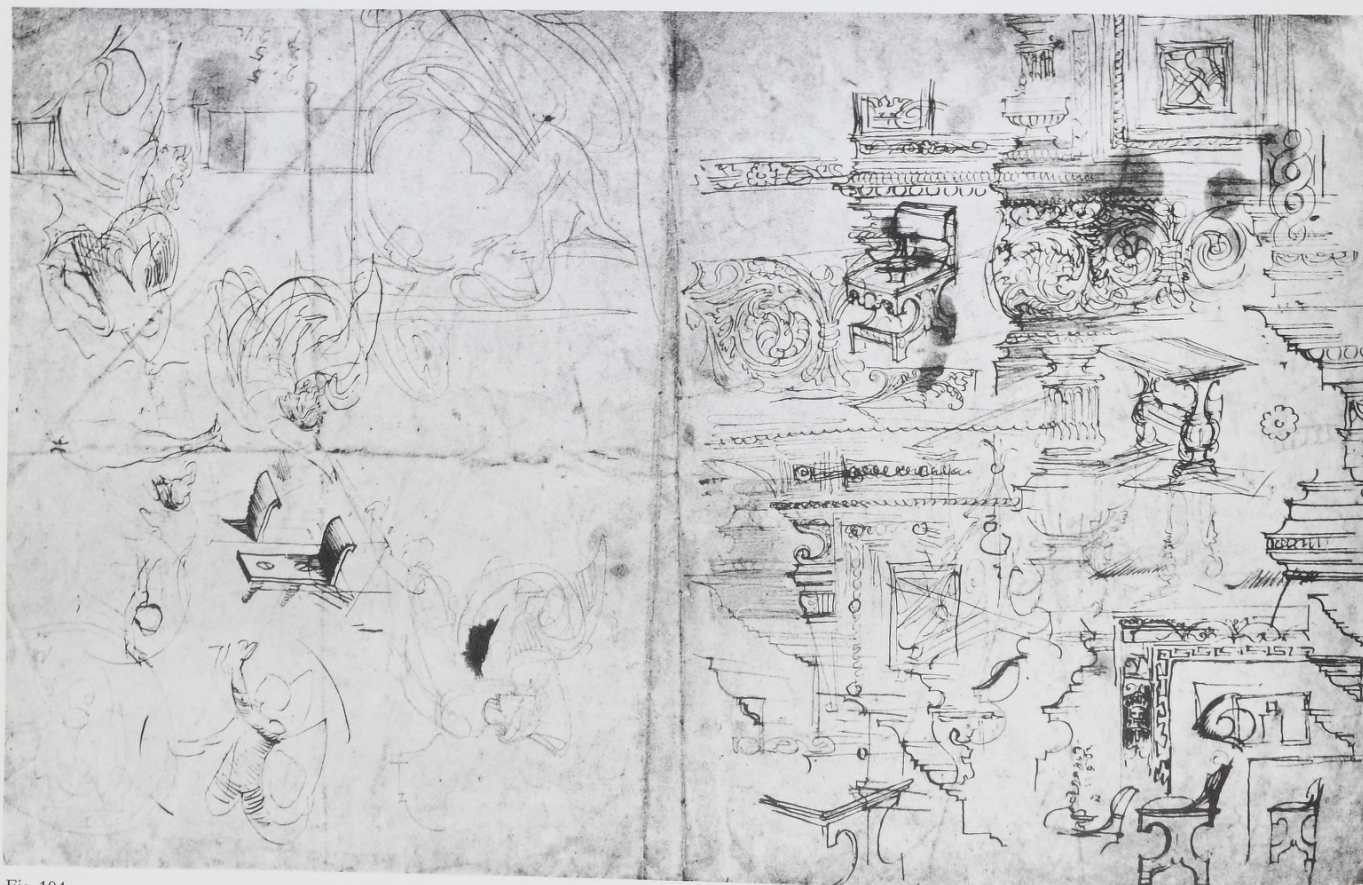


Fig. 104



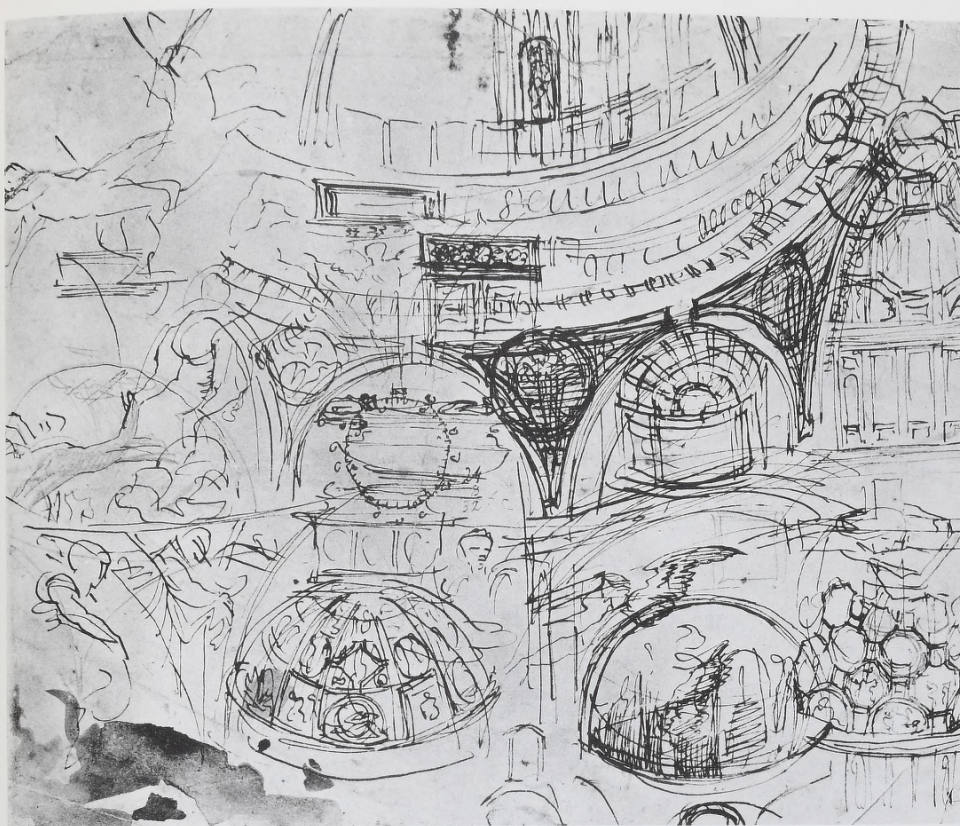


Fig. 105

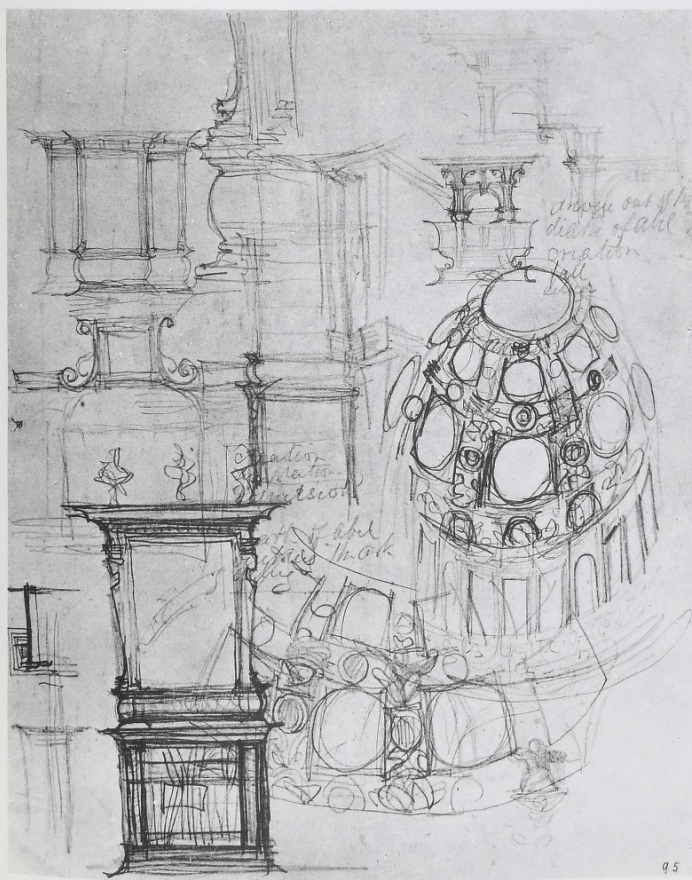


Fig. 106

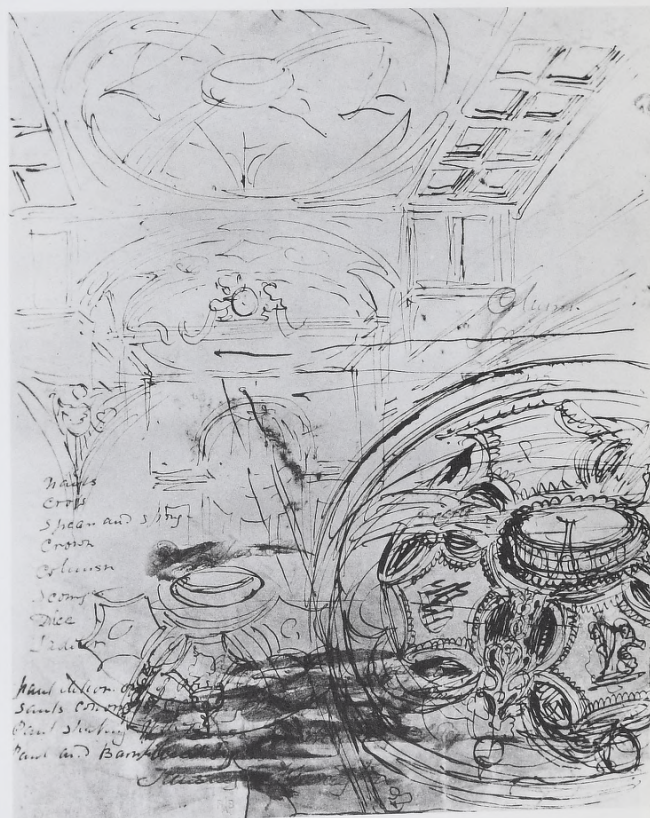


Fig. 107



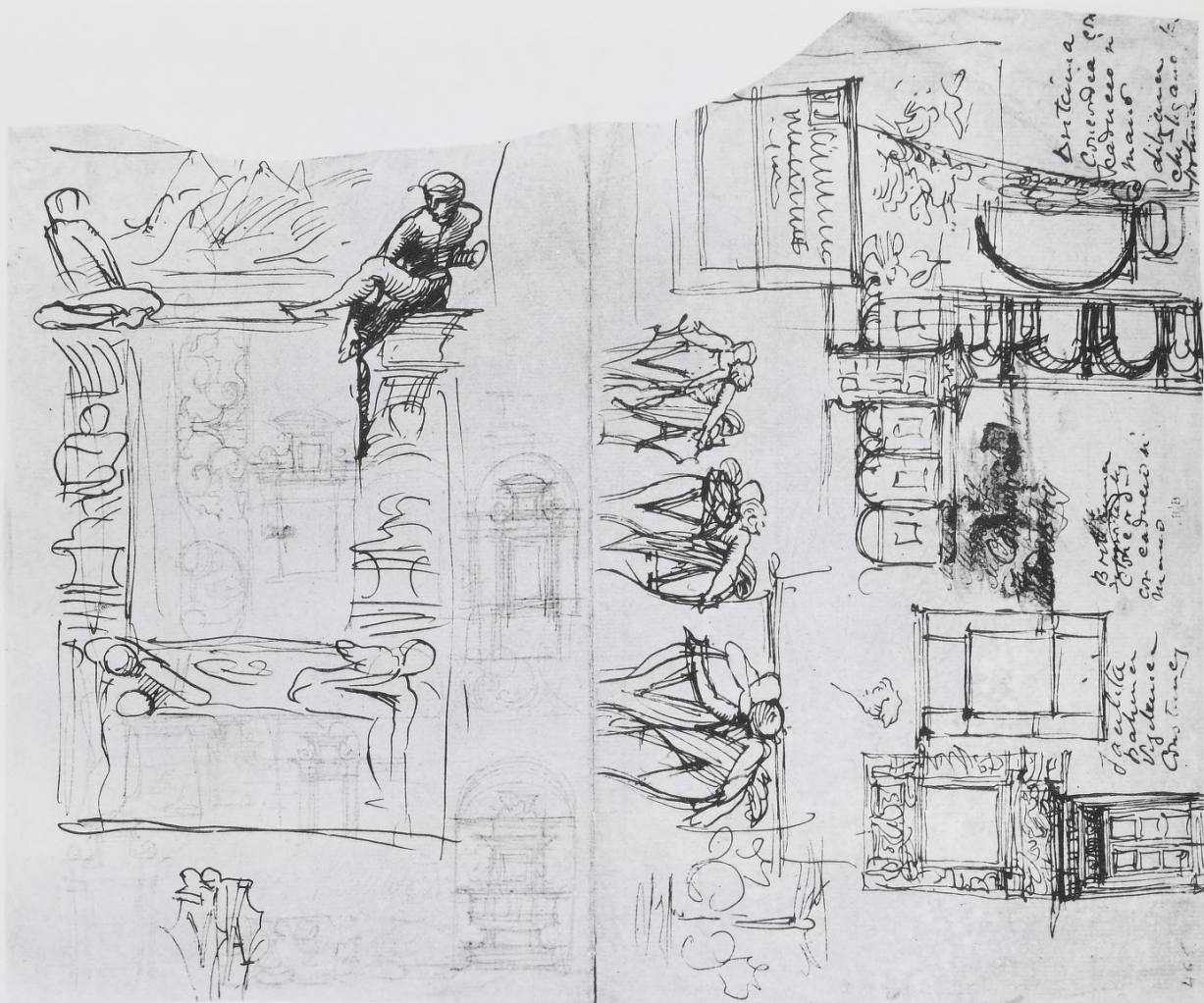


Fig. 108



Fig. 109



Fig. 110





Fig. 111

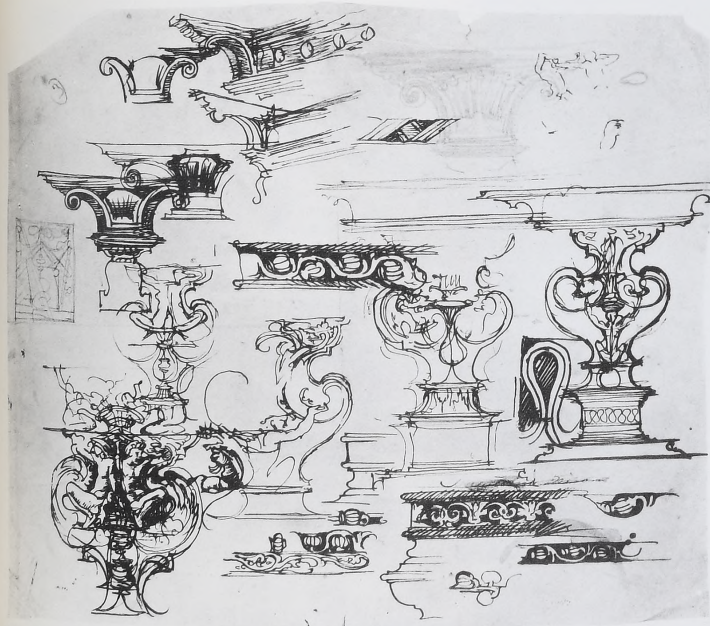


Fig. 112

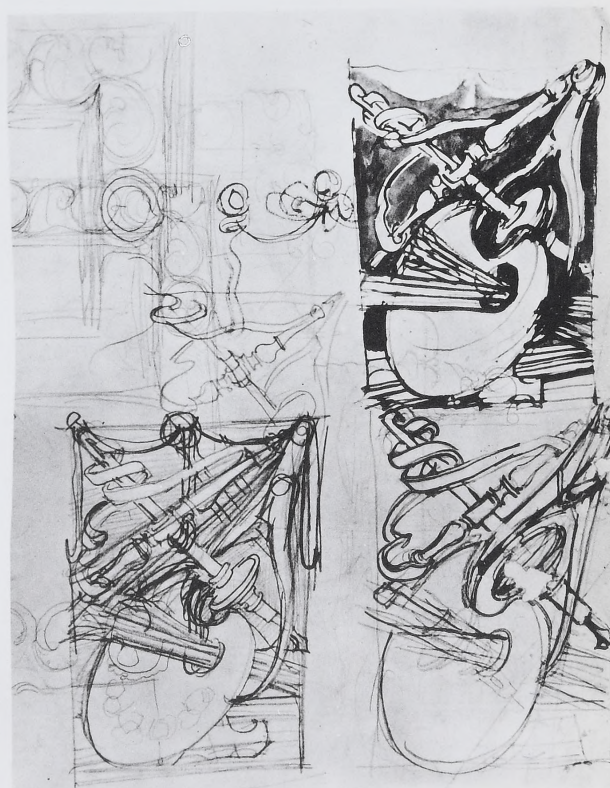


Fig. 113





Fig. 114

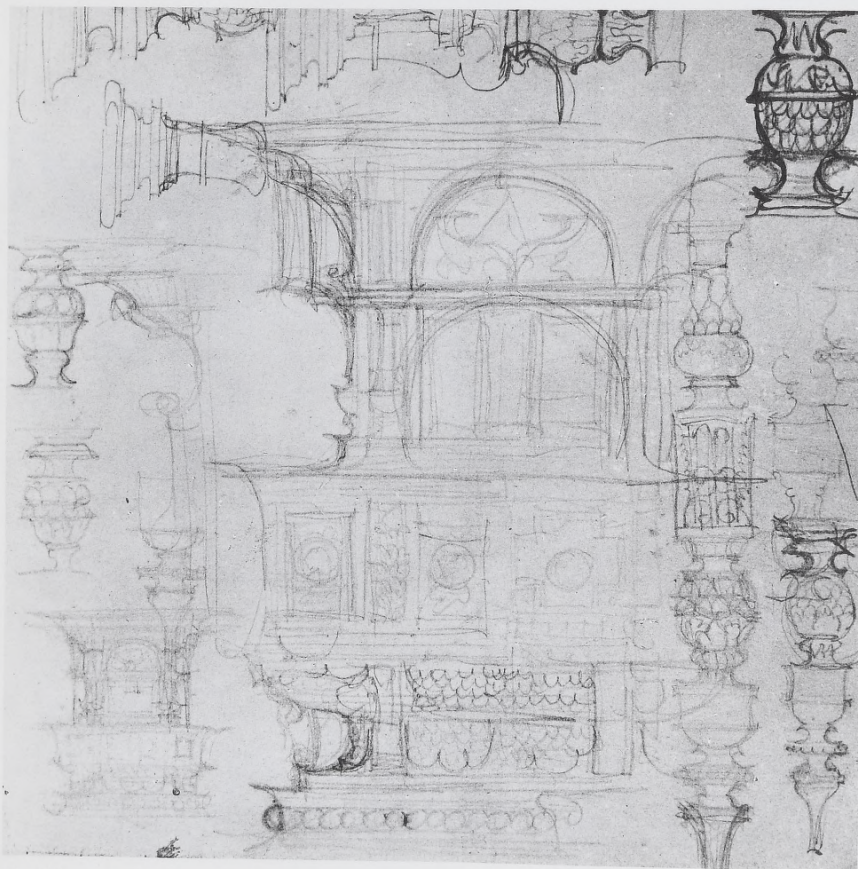


Fig. 115



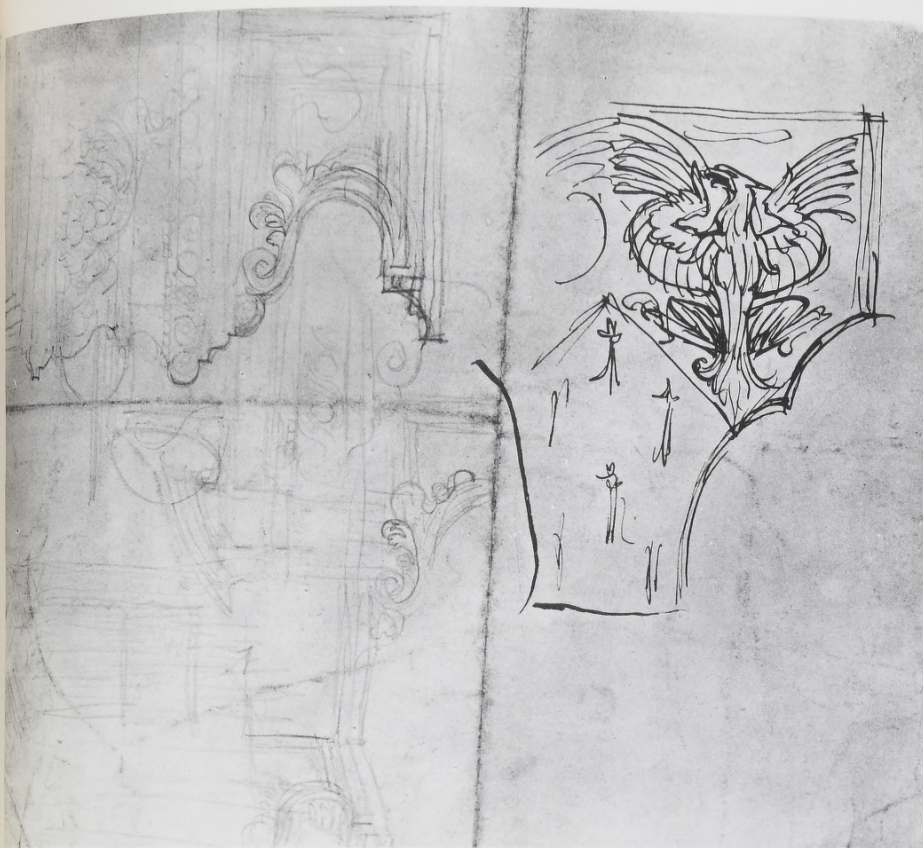


Fig. 116

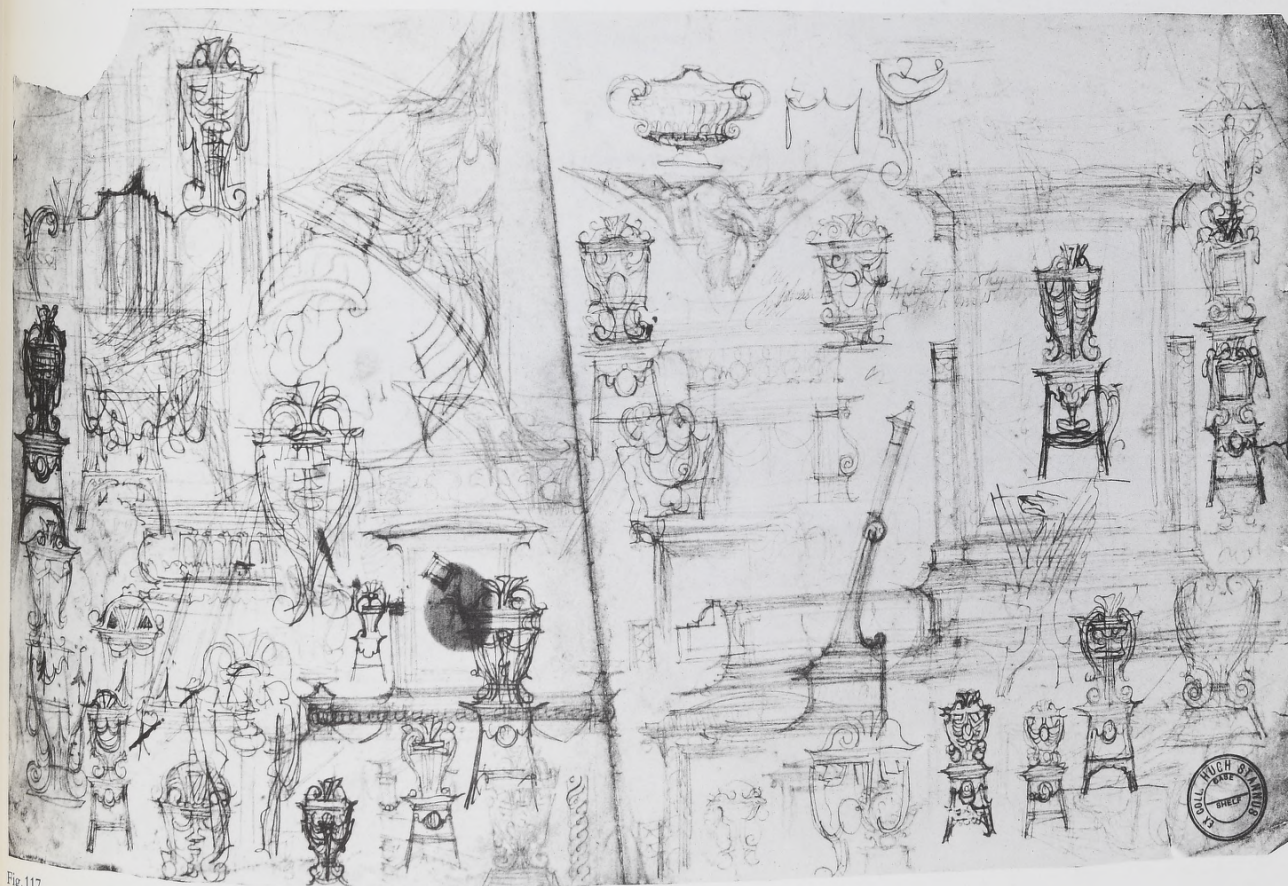


Fig. 117



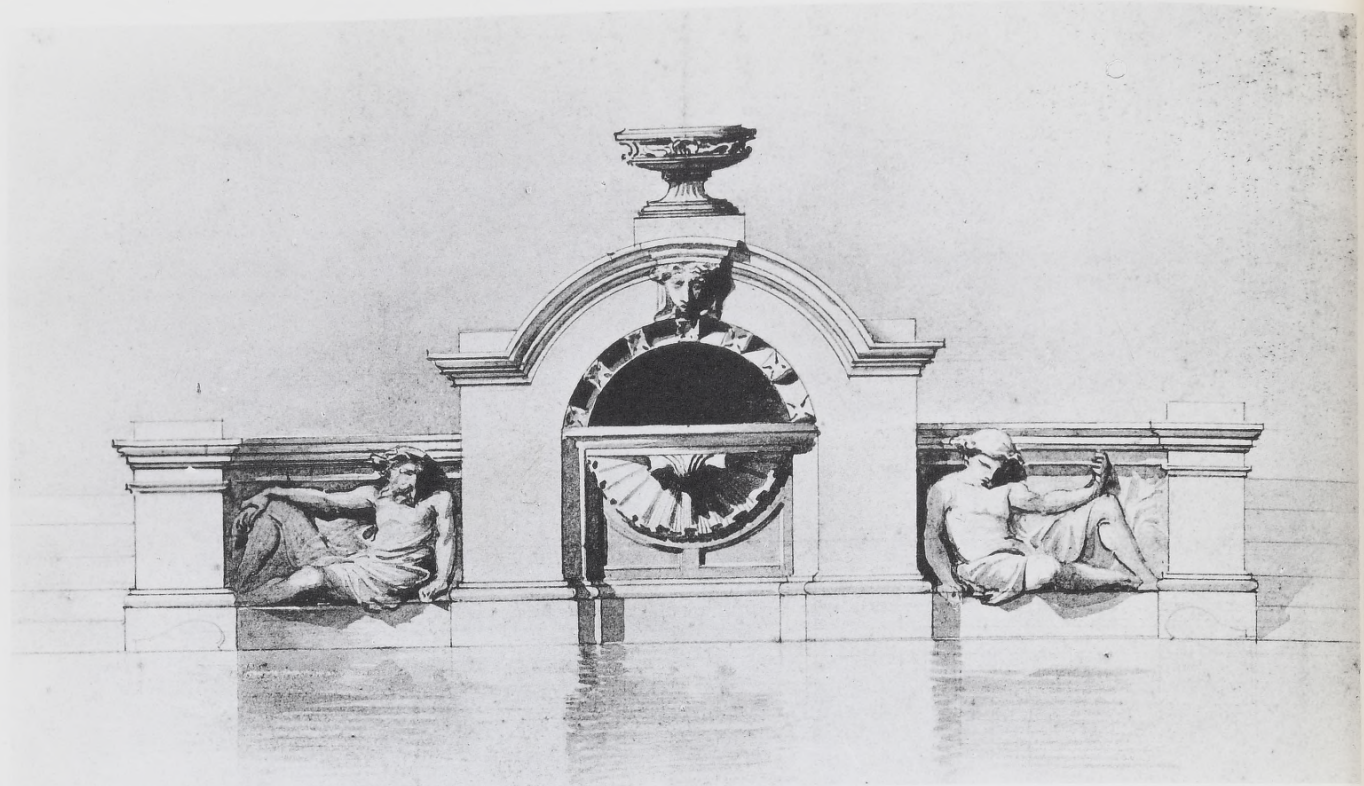


Fig. 118

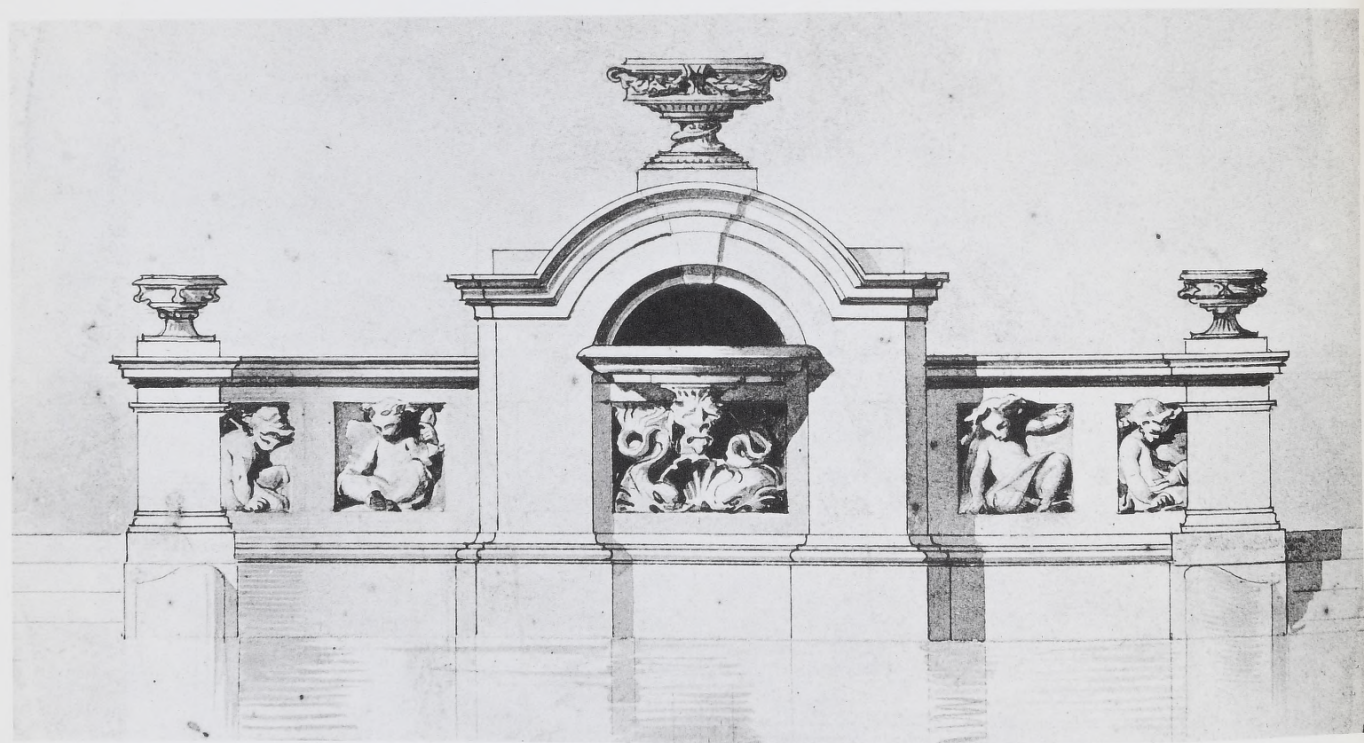


Fig. 119