The Career Choices of the Victorian Sculptor:

Establishing an economic model for the careers of Edward Onslow Ford and Henry Hope-Pinker through their works

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to explore the divergent paths taken by two Victorian sculptors, Henry Richard Hope-Pinker (1850-1927) and Edward Onslow Ford (1852-1901), in a chronological examination of key works. Through an archive of unpublished letters, speeches, photographs and contemporary articles, I aim to reveal the challenges faced by these emerging sculptors in late 19th century England and examine how the want of finances, patronage and artistic networking forged their careers. While no book has yet been authored on either artist, the canon of art history tends to praise one as the exemplar of New Sculpture and dismiss the other. By comparing their careers, largely through contemporary published and unpublished sources, I seek to establish an economic model for their works.

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Introduction

The box of correspondence to sculptor Henry Hope-Pinker (1849-1927), the Victorian sculptor, had lain untouched under the eaves of his former home for 50 years, more than a century after most of it was written. This year, as I began to sift through this carefully preserved archive, I came across a letter [fig1] from Edward Onslow Ford (1951-1901) asking his friend to "smoke a pipe" with him at home in 62 Acacia Road, London to celebrate his birthday[1]. The apparently easy friendship highlighted here was particularly striking in the light of a conspicuous lack of personal documents regarding Ford, one of Britain's most prolific Victorian sculptors, and hastened my urge to investigate their joint careers.

Pinker [fig 2] was born 11 January 1849 in Peckham, southeast London to a stonemason who later moved to Brighton. At an early age, he showed promise as a carver, spent time in Rome and joined the Academy schools in 1871 aged 22.[2] Ford [fig3] was born on 27 July 1852 into a wealthier middle-class family, the son of a City businessman in Islington, north London, who died when he was 12. Unusually for the time, Ford was sent abroad by his mother Martha to study painting at the Koninklijke Academie voor Schoone Kunsten (1870-71) in Antwerp, after showing a strong early interest in art while attending Blackheath Proprietary school.[3] It is not clear why he did not attend art school in England, but from Belgium he went on to study at the Akademie der Bildenden Kuenste in Munich (1871-1874) where he was urged to take up sculpture by Professor Michael Wagmueller.[4]

Both artists exhibited for the first time at the Royal Academy in 1875 and began their careers as portrait sculptors, just as the artistic era of "The New Sculpture" movement began to make its mark in England. They became friends and were later both Masters of the Art Workers Guild, a pioneering society formed in 1884 in the pursuit of a unity of the arts. Ford was made an Associate to the Royal Academy in 1888 and elected a full Academician in 1895, while Pinker, who was proposed to the R.A. by Henry Armstead and George Frampton

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[1] Edward Onslow Ford. Letter to Hope-Pinker. *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2017) HRHP/LPM/EF1-16 One of 14 letters from the artist, making it one of the largest collections of correspondence from Ford.

[2] HR Hope-Pinker. Letter to journal or newspaper. Undated. *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2017) HRHP/LPM/IJ26

[3] Walter Armstrong. Ford, Edward Onslow. *Dictionary of National Biography, 1912 Supplement*

[4] M, Stocker. "Mark Stocker, 'Ford, (Edward) Onslow (1852–1901)."*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP)

on 14 February 1899, was never elected.[5] Ford divided critics but made his name as a brilliant original sculptor, when he died suddenly aged 49, apparently of heart failure, just before Christmas 1901. Pinker (who changed his name in 1893 to Hope-Pinker after re-marrying) worked primarily as a portraitist until he died 3 August 1927.

This thesis is not the first time that these two sculptors have been compared:

"Throughout the exhibition of 1882 signs might be discovered which led directly to satisfaction and to hope. As one eagerly passed round the walls one noted the name of Mr. Pinker as that of a careful and thoughtful young iconic artist, who had manifestly cast in his lot with the new ideals. Mr. Onslow Ford (although still showing but little of the peculiar brilliancy to be shortly developed) was working on, each year more skillful than the last".

An eminent critic, Edmund Gosse took it upon himself to write the history of the New Sculpture movement in the *Art Journal* of 1894 and delineate the quiet artistic revolution that was taking place in the last quarter of the 19th century. Sculpture had long been regarded as the Achilles heel of art in Britain:[6] "The very thought of English statuary was ridiculous; every newspaper annually lifted a hoof and kicked the sculptors. About the year 1872 this began to be a cliché – 'As usual, there is nothing of interest in the sculpture rooms'"[7]

However with the birth of a new generation – born largely around or after 1850, educated in Paris, Rome or Munich – the face of English sculpture changed. The catalyst was Frederic Leighton's exhibition of the *Athlete Wrestling with a Python,* exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1877 [fig 3]. Encouraged by the French sculptor Jules-Aimé Dalou, Leighton was persuaded to model a sculpture of one of his subjects from the painting *Daphnephoria*. Dalou was a brilliant sculptor, whose socialist politics hampered his career and forced him ultimately to seek refuge in London in 1871, after publicly allying himself with the Paris Commune. His influence meant that Leighton was persuaded to reject an explicit didactic Victorian message and revel instead, in pure sensual corporeality and the beauty of form.[8]

Creating the first entirely nude adult male statue in decades, Leighton, a renowned painter, pushed the boundaries of sculpture and forced the viewer to follow the body's sinews

[5] *Royal Academy membership book*. 1899.Royal Academy archives

[6] Read, 1982.18-20

[7] Gosse. "The New Sculpture." 138

[8] Getsy. 2004 20.

and the glistening textured coils of the snake in a celebration of the three-dimensionality of the work. As a result, Leighton became President of the Royal Academy in 1878 and Dalou, who had been curator of the Musée de Louvre when he fled France, was signed up to teach modeling in the Academy schools the following week. Almost immediately there was a greater emphasis on modeling and technical standards in English sculpture rose overnight.

Leighton became a champion of sculpture: he had demonstrated to sculptors that the very physicality of sculpture could be exploited and that their only hope of regaining public appeal was to explode the status quo. Leighton's evangelic zeal for sculpture coincided with what is now termed 'statuemania', when Britain's industrial cities such as London, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow launched ambitious plans to aggrandize their public spaces and buildings, in praise of Queen Victoria and the professional middle-class pioneers of the Empire.

New Sculpture thus became shorthand for a rejection of Antiquity and neo-Classicism in favour of a more naturalistic approach, an "imaginative realism" says Susan Beattie where beauty could be discovered in the plasticity of the material form itself, rather than in any didactic message.[9] This pioneering approach was developed to an extreme in Ford's marriage of sculptural portraiture, metalwork and deliberate material embrace. For Pinker, New Sculpture allowed him a form of sculptural impressionism, in which he consciously developed an expressive roughness in portraiture to deliver a sense of vitality in the subject.

However this artistic development was not without its detractors: while the contemporary critic Walter Armstrong praised New Sculpture because it neither attempted to breathe new life into "pure classicism, nor has it followed the French developments in the opposite direction";[10] its perpetrators such as Onslow Ford struggled with the dichotomy in the public psyche of connecting with fresher more naturalistic works versus their concerns about engaging in voyeurism when gazing at works of sculptural realism.[11]

Onslow Ford, Hamo Thornycroft, Frederic Leighton and Alfred Gilbert are the archetypes of New Sculpture. Marion Spielmann also compared the two subjects of this thesis in his assessment of the best British contemporary sculpture in 1900 and declared

[9] Beattie 1983.5

[10] Walter Armstrong. "Mr Hamo Thornycroft, R.A." *The Portfolio* 19 (1888).111-112

[11] Getsy. 2004. 1.

Pinker's statues to be distinguished by "life" and a certain "roughness".[12] Benedict Read is pre-eminent in latter day writing about Pinker, describing him (possibly erroneously) along with a handful of other sculptors such as Edwin Roscoe-Mullins (1848-1907) as a "non New Sculptor".[13] More recently, Pinker's work has also become a focus in *Sculpture Victorious* of the anti-Imperialist tendencies in Commonwealth countries such as Guyana, where his 32-tonne monument to Queen Victoria was blown up in 1954 in an anti-colonial protest.[14]

No books have been written about either artist. During his lifetime, Ford invited the ire of many detractors, such as the critic Francis T. Palgrave and as many defenders, in writers such as Marion Hepworth Dixon, Gosse and Marion Spielmann. The latter, who was considered one of the most influential figures of the Victorian art world, coined the phrase "poetic realism" to denote Ford's ideal works and praised in particular his statuettes.[15] In an obituary to him, he insisted too that Ford's most important work, like that of Pinker, lay "in his busts and in his ideal figures".[16]

Certainly, Susan Beattie is very dismissive of Ford's talent for assimilating the ideas of other sculptors and asserts that many of his ideas appear to be borrowed from his contemporary Sir Alfred Gilbert.[17] David Getsy devotes a chapter of *Body Doubles* to Ford's depiction of Shelley's lifeless corpse at University College, Oxford and details how it challenged contemporary conventional memorials. In recent months, Amy Harris concentrated her Masters thesis at York University on the "ornamentalism" in Ford's work, focusing on three Imperial portraits. Latterly, Edwards, Spence and Lawrenson have also focused on the Imperial resonances in Ford's work and the decorative arts, in research publications for the Tate.

In this thesis, I will explore these two sculptors' attempts at networking with other Victorian artists, the media and patrons in nineteenth century England, in a bid to establish an economic model for procuring sculpture in this era. I will examine the hazards to forging a career as a sculptor in Britain: amidst the Jubilee peaks of statuemania and the early twentieth century trough following the Belt and Rodin trials, and their impact on the nascent bid of the

[12] Spielmann.1901.66.

[13] Read. *1982*.349.

[14] Droth, Edwards, Hatt, and Barringer. .2015.146.

[15] Spielmann. 1901. 60.

[16] Spielmann. 'E.Onslow Ford,R.A.:In Memoriam'. *Magazine of Art*,1902. 181

[17] Beattie. .1983.154

emancipated sculptor to be regarded as a member of the professional classes. Through a selection of sculptures and contemporary critical essays, letters and newspaper articles, I will seek to explain these two artists' diverging talents and interests and how these affected their patronage, commissions and ultimately their friendship.

In the first chapter, I will examine the networks and connections each man forged to further his career and how these impacted on their commissions. With the aid of primary and secondary sources, as well as archives belonging to Hope-Pinker not previously released, I will look at the importance of apprenticeships, the pivotal role played by the Royal Academy and finally the impact of critical reviews in the new mass media. I will seek to establish the importance of the Art Workers Guild in the careers of Ford and Pinker and how it created a marketplace for free contact and discussion in the upwardly mobile life of the sculptor.

The second chapter will examine patronage in late Victorian England and the difficulties that Ford and Pinker had in obtaining it, with reference in particular to Benedict Read's *Victorian Sculpture,* David Getsy's *Body Doubles,* Edmund Gosse's contemporary articles and letters from the Hope-Pinker Archive. I will consider the diplomatic and practical hurdles that ensued in the commission of private and public 19th century works.

In the third chapter, I will compare the after-life of these two sculptors and the reception of their work, as well as the advantages and unforeseen disadvantages of their latter-day association with Queen Victoria. I will ask why one sculptor is better remembered in an art historical context than the other and consider whether the recent focus on statuettes has contributed to that. I will also attempt to establish whether Onslow Ford and Hope-Pinker made their choices based on purely aesthetic grounds or for more prosaic financial reasons.

In researching this era in Victorian sculpture, the lack of a personal archive on Onslow Ford has proved a significant obstacle for art historians to date and possibly a distracting one. The critic Walter Armstrong wrote that Ford's health was weakened by heart disease in 1900 and that it was his agreement to finish off the unfinished works of Harry Bates (1850-1899) on top of his own commissions, which contributed to his untimely death.[18]

However since Ford's family appears to have destroyed his correspondence after his death, this is cited by historian Mark Stocker as one reason, alongside the debts he left

[18] Walter Armstrong. Ford, Edward Onslow. *Dictionary of National Biography, 1912 Supplement*

behind, that some researchers believe the father of five may have taken his own life at the height of his career rather than dying suddenly from heart failure.[19]

It has been a peculiar experience to investigate a relatively recent period of artistic history on which so little has been written and where art historically the page is virtually blank. A whole century of rising European nationalism contributed to the commissioning of thousands of monuments, in England as elsewhere, and then was suddenly neglected.

In the pursuit of more primary sources or information on Onslow Ford, in particular, I have been in touch with and been grateful for the valuable insight of several leading authorities on Victorian sculpture in Britain, including: historian Ben Read; Royal Academy archivist Mark Pomeroy; historian Philip Ward-Jackson; Professor Jason Edwards and Amy Harris from Leeds University; Dr Robin Darwall-Smith at Oxford University; Monica Grose-Hodge from the Art Workers Guild and the Royal Society of British Sculptors.

[19] M Stocker. "Mark Stocker, 'Ford, (Edward) Onslow (1852–1901)."*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [Oxford UP]

Chapter 1

Networking: it pays to stay in touch.

On November 4 1899, a banquet was held in London to honour Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema RA[20], the recently knighted Dutch Anglophile painter, who was one of the most famous and highly paid artists of his time. To mark the occasion, the *Magazine of Art* printed a full-page greetings card signed by all the guests present [fig 5]. Known as a consummate networker and superb businessman, this *homage* to Alma-Tadema reads like the "Who's Who" of the art world at the turn of the 19th century.

Chief amongst more than 100 signatures are well-known protagonists of the New Sculpture movement, members of the Art Workers Guild and influential art critics. In a sign that he is fully aware of networking and the advantages of associating with one of society's most popular artists, Edward Onslow Ford has planted his signature in the focal point of the card, directly below Alma-Tadema's own name. To the top far right is the autograph of Hope-Pinker and to the bottom left is that of Ford's son, Wolfram, an artist in his own right and member of the Art Workers Guild.

Ford was already well known to the guest of honour. In 1895, he had offered the Royal Academy a bust of Alma-Tadema that he had made as part of his Diploma. Alma-Tadema had greatly admired the portrait and it was duly accepted.[21] The bust itself could arguably be considered one of Ford's first successful attempts at self-promotion. By choosing to portray a highly thought of fellow artist in his Diploma work, Ford was perhaps making a calculated attempt to ingratiate himself with Alma-Tadema, not only to learn from his skills as a networker but to maximize exposure by offering it as a gift to the Royal Academy.

The dinner in Alma-Tadema's honour also highlights the importance of making contacts in an age where the influence of journals and newspapers was considerable: by 1854 a cut in newspaper taxes and a cheap postal system had driven up the circulation of English newspapers to 122 million.[22]From the 1860s until 1910, advances in technology, an increased professionalism of journalists and a rapid rise in literacy contributed to making it a "golden age" in newspapers.

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[20] "Dinner to Lawrence Alma-Tadema". *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927 Magazine of Art*.1899

[21] E. Onslow Ford."Letter from Onslow Ford to the RA". Royal Academy archive. RAA/SEC/4/47/5

[22] Lake 1984. 213.

Among the most influential were *The Times*, *The Scotsman*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Illustrated London News*. At the same time, periodicals such as the *Magazine of Art*, *the Art Journal*, the *Building News*, *The Studio* and *Black and White* magazine were all keen to record developments and promote their often acerbic opinions on architecture, design and the decorative arts.

This was not so much the age of spin but its subjects were perhaps the first to court media attention. Since the ancient Greeks, the sculptor had been regarded as no higher than a manual labourer, ranking far below the cerebral philosophers, painters and poets. But with the 19th century Arts and Crafts Movement, the beautification of Europe's cities and the celebration of the 'ideals of the bourgeois state' came the emancipation of the artist and in particular sculpture. Sculptors soared up the social scale: they intellectualized their art, justified their processes with high theories and thus emerged from being regarded as mere labourers to respected professionals.

Apprenticeships and the early years:

An apprenticeship was crucial to a sculptor's education, but it could also become a double-edged sword: it allowed the budding sculptor to earn a bit of money[23], make contacts and attract patrons and generally learn the tricks of the trade; yet it could also curb the aspirant sculptor's artistic expression and mean years of working anonymously under his master's name.[24] However for some it could provide a welcome windfall when they inherited commissions on their master's death: Thomas Brock took on many of the uncompleted works of John Henry Foley (1818-1874) when he died.

On 23 January 1871, Henry Richard Pinker entered the Academy schools aged 22. His interest in sculpture had begun much earlier, however[25]:

"I had the good fortune to be the son of a mason builder and was allowed to play about among the masons so that I do not remember the time when I first began to use tools and cut stone but I do remember the first time I was allowed to form. And also the coming of a master carver who arrived with his men to cut out in situ a number of architectural figures.

[23] RC Belt is reported to have earned £1 per week when working for John H Foley. *The Times*. 22 June 1882.10

[24] Read. 1982.70

[25] HR Hope-Pinker. Letter to unnamed journal or newspaper. Undated. *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2107) HRHP/LPM/IJ26

The master carver chanced to see that I could knock things out in stone, asked my father to let his boy knock off some of the rough stone: that was the beginning of years of cutting in stone architectural decoration. I therefore formed the habit of seeing forms in stone and simply cut away the stone until I found what was inside – until one day I chanced to be attracted by an old man with a good deal of character and straight way did a portrait of him.

To my delight my friends and family said, "Why that is John so and so" and so without knowing it I became a portrait sculptor and have been ever since until the Great War came."

There is little else known about his early education other than as a student Pinker spent time in Italy[26], earned a living as an apprentice and carried out work in his hometown of Brighton. In a letter from Maurice B. Adams, the editor of the *Building News*, Adams thanks Pinker for acknowledging receipt of the £2.50 payment for his expenses in helping to produce lithographs of his work at Brighton Aquarium[27]. Although the letter is undated, a lithograph in the *Building News* [fig 6] published on 21 February 1873 indicates that Pinker was 24 years old and a student at the time.

The lithograph, details the designs for two corbels in the Aquarium of a cock crowing as it announces the breaking of dawn and an owl in flight emerging from the carefully worked foliage in which he has been perched. This lithograph is remarkable for the birds' likeness and for being the only known avian sculptures in Pinker's oeuvre. There is no other evidence of work completed by him in Brighton, although it is clear from later commissions that he attracted the attention of several key Victorians.

The sculptural decoration of the Brighton Aquarium is just one example of the escalating contemporary demand for sculpture to adorn city buildings and particularly those designed to educate the general populace. This aggrandizement of Britain's cities occurred simultaneously with rising nationalism across Europe, marking out the 19th century as the era of national identity where war heroes were commemorated alongside the scions of the new professional classes.[28] Consequently, sculpture gradually became an industry in the late 18th

[26] Spielmann, 1901. 63

[27] HR Hope-Pinker. Letter to journal or newspaper, undated. *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2017) HRHP/LPM/A52

[28] Read. 1982.70

[28] Ibidem. 67

and 19th centuries and the practice of taking on a studio assistant ever more necessary, as sculptors struggled to cope with the ever-growing demands.

However, while the assistant was often invaluable, the masters appear only rarely to have acknowledged their handiwork. According to the critic Francis T. Palgrave, in spite of Sir Francis Chantrey's reputation as a leading 18th century portrait sculptor, he could neither mould the human figure nor carve his marble and was forced to employ dozens of assistants.[29]

Not all of the collaborations were successful: in 1882 Richard C Belt (1851-1920) accused Charles Bennett Lawes-Wittewronge (1843-1911) of libel when Lawes wrote in *Vanity Fair* magazine in 1881 that drawings and modeling for certain commissions had been carried out by a Belgian, Pierre Francois Verheyden (1843-1919).[30] During the court case, Lawes, Verheyden and Thomas Brock(1847-1922) insisted that Belt was "quite incapable of doing any artistic work whatever".

Belt won the case but in so doing had revealed that some sculptors abused their assistants' help. Nevertheless, apprenticeships for junior sculptors were generally considered a win-win. After the Great Exhibition in 1851, a Royal Commission was undertaken in 1863 to investigate the deplorable state of British sculpture. This concluded that the practical teaching of sculpture at the Academy schools was woefully inadequate and as such many young sculptors were forced to take on apprenticeships.

As Pinker appears to have been determined from an early age to dedicate his life to portraiture, time spent learning the trade in the studio of a leading proponent, like Matthew Noble (1817-1876), would have doubtless been deemed an excellent opportunity.

Noble was a society portrait sculptor, who represented numerous Victorian statesmen and royalty in portrait busts and monuments, including the Prince and Princess of Wales and Nelson. Noble died suddenly in June 1876, months after losing his second son in a railway

[29] Palgrave.1866. 223,249

[30] Edwards, P.D. "Millais, Edmund Yates, and the case of Belt v Lawes". *Victorian Review* 19, no. 2 (1993): 1-2

accident. The shock of this tragedy is believed to have contributed to his death from pleuropneumonia[31]

Although Pinker never personally mentions working for him, letters in the *Hope-Pinker archive* from Bishop Edward Benson and his wife Mary to the sculptor, show he did indeed assist Noble in the early years. The day after Noble's death, on 24 June 1876, Mary Benson writes to Pinker of the "sad news" of the sculptor's passing and the impact it may have on his young protégé:

"You must feel it greatly having known and worked with him so many years. But we hope that in other ways his loss will not affect your position and prospects. Dr Benson is particularly anxious to know this – he believes from something you said that you are now independent."[32]

Noble was certainly well known for taking on assistants and not acknowledging them. In a disgruntled letter to Lady Trevelyan, fellow sculptor Thomas Woolner (1825-1892) casts aspersions on his rival, declaring Noble to be: " a person who never touches the work that goes under his name. This is true, for I know the sculptors who do his work".[33]

The sudden demise of Noble may have resulted in a drop in income for Pinker, but having shown work under his own name successfully at the Academy the previous summer, he apparently felt no need to be apprenticed to anyone else thereafter.

Ford was just 18 when he left London for the Koninklijke Academie voor Schoone Kunsten Academy in Antwerp in 1870 and remained there a year. He proceeded to spend the next three years at the Akademie der Bildenden Kuenste in Munich, from where he graduated in 1874. Apart from the considerable influence of the professor and sculptor Michael Wagmueller, who is credited with encouraging Ford to pursue sculpture, there is little information regarding his early education.

Nor is it clear that Ford ever apprenticed himself to another sculptor after returning from Germany to London: both Spielmann and Hepworth-Dixon allude frequently to his

[31] "Matthew Noble', Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, Online Database 2011; http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk."
[32] Mary Benson. Letter to Hope-Pinker. 24 June 1876. *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2017) HRHP/LPM/B5
[33] Thomas Woolner. Letter to Lady Trevelyan. 23 December 1860. *Trevelyan Papers*

claim that he was "practically self-taught"[34]. While he came under the influence of Wagmueller, Hepworth-Dixon also declares that the young artist never actually worked in the professor's studio and consequently when he arrived in England, was still a sculptor in the making.[35] This feeling that Ford's formal education had never finished and that he was learning "on the job", may also account for the recurrent allusions to plagiarism and assimilation made of him. This was particularly true following his move to The Avenue (now Sydney Mews), a block of studios in southwest London taken by Edgar Boehm and his assistant Alfred Gilbert R.A. (1854-1934) in 1881.

Ford later described Gilbert, the creator of *Eros* in Picadilly and the tomb of the Duke of Clarence, in 1901 as "one of the greatest living artists", so would undoubtedly have been impressed by what he learned from his neighbour.[36] This however was not always popular with Gilbert, with whom relations were at times strained according to Susan Beattie, due to Ford's "formidable powers of assimilation".[37] Certainly Ford's 'study' that he exhibited in 1886 alongside *Folly*, bears a remarkable resemblance to Gilbert's study of a girl's head in 1883.

In 1875, Ford exhibited the bust of his wife Anne Onslow Ford and Pinker presented that of Dr Edward Benson at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition. For both men, this marked the start of a fruitful association with the R.A. and most likely when the two subjects of this thesis met for the first time.

The Royal Academy and the Mass Media:

Once a sculptor had graduated from art school and his apprenticeship, his next move was to exhibit at the Royal Academy in London. To be seen at the Summer Exhibition was key to attracting future patronage and prestigious assignments.

Established in 1768, the Royal Academy of the Arts was certainly the most exclusive and prestigious of the exhibition spaces in 19th century England, but also the most resistant to change. As Susan Beattie says, it had an "ambivalent part" to play in the history of sculpture

[34] Spielmann.1901.51

[35] Marion Hepworth Dixon. "Onslow Ford ARA"*Magazine of Art* 20 Jan (1892): 327

[36] Edward Onslow Ford. Letter to Sir Isidore Spielmann. 7 March 1901. *Correspondence 1875-1923. V&A Library.* MSL/1999/2/937

[37] Beattie. *1983.*150

– while the 1863 Royal Commission strongly criticized its sculpture teaching, the R.A. also "remained omnipotent as a source of prestige and commissions".[38] So until the arrival of Frederic Leighton as President in 1878, it was a bulwark to sculpture's development in England.

By the late 19th century, the Royal Academy was still the most exalted exhibition space in Britain, but it was no longer the only one. Cities such as Liverpool, Leeds, Bristol and Glasgow, bloated on the profits delivered by the Industrial Revolution and previously the slave trade, were all keen to display their newfound wealth. Not only did they commission splendid monumental city architecture and statues to local heroes, many of them held their own annual exhibitions. These were increasingly a source of patronage by local wealthy businessman and reported on breathlessly by the burgeoning mass media. In 1877 the Grosvenor Gallery also opened as an alternative to the R.A. in London and became vital to contemporary artists in welcoming a less classical more innovative approach to art.

Pinker's R.A. debut with a marble bust of Dr Edward Benson [fig 7], who later became Archbishop of Canterbury, was a cause for celebration, as noted by Benson in a letter to him in August 1875:[39] "I am very glad indeed that the criticisms of your brother artists have been so satisfactory to you"[40] emphasising again in November that he was "excessively rejoiced for your sake" [41]. Twenty-five years later the art critic Marion Spielmann commented that the bust of Benson had indeed "brought good fortune to the young sculptor, as it led to commissions for busts of the fifth Duke of Portland for Welbeck Abbey [fig 8], of Dr Wickham (Dean of Lincoln), and other portraits."[42]

The Benson commission had not only resulted in the order of a bust of his successor at Wellington, Dr Edward C. Wickham [fig 9], but a further bust of Benson himself as Archbishop of Canterbury [fig 10] that was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1883.

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[38] Beattie.1983.28

[39] Benson was personally chosen by Prince Albert to be the first Master of Wellington College[39] in 1859. Wellington College was a school but also a Napoleonic war memorial, founded for the orphans of army officers in the name of Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, who led his troops to victory over Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815 and served later twice as Prime Minister.

[40] EW Benson. Letter to HR Pinker. *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2017) HRHP/LPM/B25

[41] Ibidem.HRHP/LPM/B25B26

[42] Spielmann. .1901. 65

Pinker was quick to make the most of the initial commission and like a calling card he sent copies of it to members of the Bishop's family as well as to Benjamin Disraeli, the Prime Minister at Downing Street.[43] Benson, who seems well aware of a sculptor's precarious finances, recognised that this was one of the few ways that an artist could make a name for himself and expressly supported this self-promotion: "Pray send photographs of the bust to anyone you like. It is only fair that you should make your work known".[44]

Both Ford and Pinker would have been keenly aware that positive mention in the press and art journals enhanced their reputation, and that good reviews not only helped elevate them from relative obscurity but the reflected glory buoyed up the patrons, who chose to invest in them. It is unclear whether Ford actively cultivated his later contacts with the media, or whether the sheer originality of his work alone attracted the positive reviews of Marion Hepworth-Dixon, Marion Spielmann and Edmund Gosse.

However as one of many portrait sculptors, less inclined to the ideal or controversial, Pinker appears to have made the most of his own informal network. One such contact who appears to have served him well was his cousin James B. Pinker. In 1891 this journalist and later US literary agent was working for the journal *Black and White*, founded by Marion Spielmann, a critic who was also known as one of the most powerful people in the Victorian art world.[45] According to their correspondence, Henry Richard and James B. Pinker apparently first met as adults in August 1891 and communicated for the next two years.[46] James B. Pinker, who later made his name as a celebrated literary agent in New York of Henry James, H.G.Wells, Oscar Wilde and George Bernard Shaw amongst others, could clearly see immediate mutual benefits to helping his cousin.

"When you have a good photograph of your statue of the Queen I should like to show it to the Editor. I have mentioned the subject to him and he thought that a good photograph might be worthy well reproducing in the style that 'Harpers and the century' do sculpture", he wrote in 1891, while Pinker was at work on his monument to Queen Victoria, bound for Georgetown,

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[43] A Junor. Letter to Hope-Pinker from Downing Street. 22 May 1877 *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2017) HRHP/LPM/B14

[44] Bishop Benson. Letter to Hope-Pinker. 15 Feb 1877 *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2017) HRHP/LPM/B11

[45] Julie F. Codell, *Marion Harry Spielmann and the Role of the Press in the Professionalization of Artists*, Research Society for Victorian Periodicals, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Spring, 1989). 7-15.

[46] James B Pinker. Letter to Hope-Pinker. 11 Aug 1891 *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2017) HRHP/LPM/P36

British Guyana.[47] He was not averse to asking favours in return including, whether the older sculptor could tap up his contacts to set up a publishing business or for gossip on his subjects[48]:

"I am afraid Professor Jowett will not last very long; do you think you could give me any interesting personal gossip about him if he dies? Do not think me brutal; one is obliged to be matter of fact on these matters."[49]

There is no correspondence from Pinker, the sculptor, to shed light on his thoughts about imparting gossip on clients or his young cousin's schemes, but it would seem he understood that friendship with this young writer who had the ear of Spielmann could not harm his reputation either.

Although neither the bust of Benson nor Anne Onslow Ford appears to have been worthy of many column inches, each marked the start of years of successful exhibiting for both men. Ford showed 99 exhibits (including seven posthumously) at the R.A. between 1875-1902, where he was elected Associate member in 1887, Member in 1895 and helped organize the Summer Exhibition in 1896.[50] However it was by no means the only exhibition space, where he chose to publicize his work.

While Pinker showed only 53 sculptures at the R.A. and just a handful beyond in London and Liverpool,[51] Ford keenly exploited the public attention generated by exhibitions and used them to promote his work locally and internationally. A nervously prolific worker, Ford showed off his work in at least 40 other exhibitions from Glasgow, Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester to Wales, as well as at International Exhibitions in Brussels and Paris.[52] Perhaps taking his cue from his contemporary, Hamo Thornycroft, Ford also sold several of

[47] Ibidem HRHP/LPM/P39

[48] Ibidem HRHP/LPM/P42

[49] James B Pinker. Letter to Hope-Pinker. 11 Aug 1891 *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2017) HRHP/LPM/P40

[50] Algernon Graves. *The Royal Academy of Arts. A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904.* (Henry Graves and co. London.1905). 136

[51] Henry Richard Hope-Pinker." *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951*. University of Glasgow

[52]Edward Onslow Ford RA." *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951*. University of Glasgow

his bronze statuettes here using them like trade fairs, as well as larger statues, such as *Echo*, which he offered for sale in 1897 for £1260.[53]

However the exhibition process was not without its frustrations: in a letter to Sir Isidore Spielmann, brother of Marion, about the Glasgow exhibition in 1901 that Ford, Spielmann and George Frampton were organizing, Ford discusses submitting the Gladstone bust but insists that the city must pay for its insurance: "… if the Glasgow people are very anxious for him to be represented, they must show a pound".[54]

It is also clear from Ford's letter to Sir Isidore Spielmann regarding the Paris exhibition in 1900 that he was highly sensitive to the impact of display on his work and unless it was accorded sufficient space he would not submit it:

"Dear Sir, I have filled in my schedule with the works I would have liked to have sent to Paris, but the time being so short it will be impossible for me to get them ready in time. I should also be very sorry to send more than my fair share, at the same time I would like to be properly represented or not at all. "[55]

So it appears to have only been down to the persistent cajoling of Sir Isidore Spielmann that he later agreed to give any sculptures at all.[56]

Like Pinker, Ford chose initially to work as a portraitist and by 1882 had exhibited exclusively portraits at the R.A., four of which were of church ministers. However it was in that year that Ford first also drew wider public notice when he exhibited a full-length bronze statue of Sir Rowland Hill, the founder of the Penny Postage stamp. In contemporary dress, Hill poses pensively with a pencil poised to write in his notebook – a serious man in a hurry, as if caught between meetings, lifelike and determined [fig 10]. According to Philip Ward-Jackson, several eminent sculptors were invited to bid for the statue, which was to cost no

[53] Edward Onslow Ford. Letter to Sir Isidore Spielmann. 16/03/1897. *Correspondence 1875-1923. V&A Library*. MSL/1999/2/913

[54] Edward Onslow Ford. Letter to Sir Isidore Spielmann. 3 April 1901. *Correspondence 1875-1923. V&A Library*. MSL/1999/2/940

[55] Edward Onslow Ford. Letter to Sir Isidore Spielmann. 23 February 1900. *Correspondence 1875-1923. V&A Library*. MSL/1999/2/923

[56] Ibidem.1 March 1900.924

more than £2,000 and although Ford won the competition, he was invited to make another model.[57]

While this commission was overtly just another Victorian worthy adorning the City of London, it was significant in Ford's career, as its originality and vivacity had caught the eye of the lead judge, Frederic Leighton, then President of the Royal Academy. Ford could clearly see the value of becoming more widely known outside the capital as well as across Europe and yet it was at the Royal Academy, where he chose to unveil his most celebrated and controversial ideal works: the first of which was *Folly* [fig 11], which he exhibited in 1886. And with this small bronze statuette of a pre-pubescent girl testing the waters with her toes, measuring less than a metre high, he signaled his venture into "imaginative realism".

Whereas his portraits had been quietly admired, this "child of artistic revolt" as Marion Hepworth-Dixon described Ford's foray into ideal sculpture caused a contemporary furore.[58] While she hailed it an examplar of originality and modernity, Hepworth-Dixon admitted that *Folly* was a work for which England was not prepared. Edmund Gosse later praised the bronze statuette's "exquisite delicacy and originality" and insisted that while Ford's other work was interesting, "in the 'Folly' the master stood revealed; this was absolute nature, translated in the purest and most select medium. It was a sort of paradox, that this giddy creature, waving and oscillating in her foolish nudity from the top of her rock, should represent the apex of sanity and health in the artistic career of her creator".[59]

Today a visitor to the Tate might see an impish young girl teetering on the edge of a rock about to test the waters with her toe, but then the "daring realism" of Folly's abdomen and genitals, her scrawny legs and the "abandon" of her poise was enough to shock. Hepworth-Dixon defended Ford's "loving fidelity" to nature, but it was this very realism, which upset critics such as Palgrave, who were appalled that Ford's models were so clearly anchored in reality rather than aspiring to the idealized figures of Antiquity.[60]

However, while Palgrave devoted several column inches to venting his disgust, the 19th century adage that "there is no such thing as bad publicity" was no better exemplified than in the attention these reviews brought the artist. Ford continued his venture into ideal

[57] Ward-Jackson. 2011.219

[58] Marion Hepworth Dixon. "Onslow Ford R.A." *Art Journal* 157(October 1898)294

[59] Edmund Gosse. "The New Sculpture." *Art Journal* 14.July (1894): 282

[60] Dixon, "Onslow Ford R.A." 295

statuettes – which this thesis will consider in greater detail in chapter 3 - by exhibiting *Peace* [fig12] and the neo-Egyptian *Singer* [fig 13] in the RA in 1887 and 1889, respectively. The latter, hailed as a prototype of polychrome experimentation has more recently been defined by Jason Edwards as a manifesto of the Art Workers Guild, which Ford co-founded, combining three crafts in one: engraving, metalwork and modeling.[61]

The Art Workers Guild: friends and influence:

Fine art in fin de siècle Europe was largely characterized by the burgeoning Arts and Crafts movements: from the Vienna Secession in Austria to Germany's Bauhaus, and the forerunner to them all was the Art Workers' Guild, founded on 15 January 1884 by five architects and their friends in London.[62]

Their express wish was to create "an Association of Artists of every kind", a level playing field for all artists in which no art form was revered more highly than another and where artists could discuss their work freely without fear of reprisal. At the time, the Royal Academy was regarded as leaning heavily in favour of oil painters, paying scant regard to sculptors or water colourists.

The Art Workers Guild was pioneering in its catholic attitude to the arts, but its success was not because it was "a club for cronies" as Master John D. Sedding insisted in 1886, rather because it had opened lines of communication with other artists and "established friendly understanding among a large body of otherwise isolated craftsmen." i.e. it was a network of free speech and free fellowship of like-minded artists fed up with the strict hierarchy of the more established institutions.

Men, and they were only all male members until 1907, called each other 'Brother' as they still do today, out of a sense of fraternity but also thereby conveying a kinship and sense of equality amongst those represented[63]. This emancipation resulted in not only the artists themselves becoming members, but unusually according the same privilege to their carvers such as Antonio Lucchesi, who worked for both Ford and Pinker[64], as well as to their

[61] Edwards. *2013.* 1

[62] Massé.1935.*16*

[63] The Women's Guild of the Arts was founded in 1907 by Miss May Morris, daughter of William, and Mrs Thackeray Turner.

[64] E Onslow Ford. Letter to Hope-Pinker.*Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927*.HRHP/LPM/EF7,10

founders, including those from both the Morris Singer and Thames Ditton foundries. Here in an egalitarian sanctuary, everyone was allowed to voice his opinion and be heard.

Ford was a founding member of the A.W.G. in 1884, a committee member in 1886 and a Master in 1895. He resigned in 1899 and became an honorary member in 1900. Pinker became a member in 1885, a committee member in 1887-9 and 1902-2 and Master in 1915.[65] Pinker clearly appears to have taken the message of networking to heart, as he proposed on 12 February 1915 that the A.W.G. should create a "Register of Associated Craftsmen from all over the country" so that people could look up who to call when wanting a reputable craftsman, not unlike the Guild of Master Craftsmen of today.[66]

Ford's first contribution appears to have been a paper on the "Founding of bronze statues", after which the minutes state that among others Hamo Thornycroft, Henry Pinker and Mr Moore of Thames Ditton founders took part in discussions. On 4 December 1885, it was proposed by architect J.T. Micklethwaite, seconded by Pinker and agreed "by considerable majority that the transactions be not published," which has since made scholarship into the Guild considerably more difficult, as few texts discussed in the first 50 years exist apart from those relayed by former A.W.G. secretary and author Henri Jean Louis Joseph Massé (1860-1936) in his history of the Guild from 1884-1934.[67]

While the Guild was clearly a melting pot of ideas and an obvious point of networking between artists, Susan Beattie maintains that it is hard to establish whether it was the "source rather than the result of working relationships", although neither are mutually exclusive.[68] In her research she finds no examples of A.W.G. architects employing its sculptors, but acknowledges that Frederick Pomeroy (1856-1924), an architectural and monumental New Sculptor did make things for John D. Sedding, another Guild brother.[69]

However I would argue that numerous examples of collaboration indicate to the contrary, that not only was it an open forum for exchanging ideas but an important network of trusted friends who gave each other work. In fact, it was very likely that as a key source of

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[65] *Art Workers Guild Committee Minutes*: *1884, 1885 and 1915*, Art Workers Guild, 6 Queen Square, London WC1N 3AT. Unpaginated.

[66] Ibidem

[67] Ibidem

[68] Ibidem.59

[69] FD Pomeroy. Letter to AL Baldry. *V&A Museum Library.* MS Collection 86 PP2:Letters to AL Baldry

employment for emerging artists it made its name and sowed the seed in other countries. In 1893, A.W.G. architect and co-founder Basil Champneys collaborated with Onslow Ford on building and designing the temple to the *Shelley Memorial*; in 1889, Herbert, the eldest son of John Webb Singer, one of the most famous foundries in England was elected to the Guild and as Beattie says it seems very likely that Singer produced Arthur Collie's first statuettes. These comprised principally of works by Ford and Thornycroft, both A.W.G. members.

Art historian Penelope Curtis also points to the famous collaboration of two founding members of the Guild in 1893: the architect, John Belcher and sculptor, Hamo Thorneycroft, who worked together on the London Institute of Chartered Accountants in order to demonstrate how to make sculpture an integrated part of the architectural whole, not simply added on as an after-thought.[70] Even if they did not contract each other explicitly it appears that a network of recommendations was certainly at work.

It is also clear from the *Hope-Pinker archive 1872-1927* that the Guild acted as a source of work and advice for other members too, in particular Ford and Pinker. The historian Alan Crawford asserts that the Arts and Crafts movement in England was not simply an artistic but also a Socialist movement and that some of its leading protagonists, such as William Morris (Master of A.W.G. 1892) were well known for their Socialist activism.[71] So in fact surely it was key to the ethos of this kind of pseudo-socialist institution, where they promoted their ideal of craft within a liberated workforce, that they should all share their expertise and work together?

It was during this period at least that Ford and Pinker became good friends, not only sharing a pipe and dining together, but in giving recommendations and helping each other out. On 13 June 1889, Onslow Ford wrote: "Dear Pinker, Can you tell me of a good carver of ornament who could come to me on Monday next for 10 days or a fortnight. Ever yours, E. Onslow Ford".[72]

A week later Ford writes to thank Pinker for sending a man over, says that he is at work and doing well.[73] In 1885 he offers to let Pinker finish off one of his works in Ford's

[70] Curtis. *Sculpture 1900-1945: After Rodin*. 14

[71] Crawford. 1997. 15-26.

[72] E Onlsow Ford. Letter to Hope-Pinker. July 29 1890. *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2017) HRHP/LPM/EF13

[73] Ibidem.11.

studio so that certain "people" can view it there.[74] In another missive he sends £15 to Pinker in payment for a bust, although it is not clear if this is for his personal collection or if it is to be incorporated into another work.[75] In other notes, Ford invites Pinker to stay with him overnight so that they can catch the train together with Leighton to Paris. This was clearly a relationship based on trust and one where they helped each other in a common cause.

Although not all 14 letters are dated, they span around 10 years from 1883 to 1893 and also demonstrate that both men shared the services of carver Antonio Lucchesi, an anglicized Italian A.W.G. brother, who carved Ford's memorial statue and worked for him for many years. On 29 July 1890, Ford wrote to Pinker to apologise for not being able to be at the unveiling of his memorial to W.E. Foster in Victoria Gardens on the London Embankment, asking too if Lucchesi was to help on Pinker's monument to Victoria:

"I was down at Thames Ditton yesterday and saw your statue and I must say it was first rate and my best congratulations and best wishes for every success. I hope I shall be in time to see your Queen before it is cast when I come back.

Are you going to let Antonio do the marble? I hope you will as I am sure he will give you every satisfaction."[76]

Another of Ford's pupils who benefited from assisting in his studio, was the medallist Frank Bowcher (1864-1938) who later also became a member of the A.W.G. and went onto found the Royal Society of British Sculptors, of which Pinker was a member. According to Spielmann, unlike other masters and unusually bearing in mind his own apparent lack of apprenticeships, Ford's concern for his charges' welfare caused him to be "personally idolized" and "called forth their warmest gratitude".[77]

However, as would be natural in such a broad church of artistic opinion, it seems that membership of the Guild was not without its tensions: while they were brothers, these artists were also pursuing a limited pot of wealth and patronage. As I shall discuss further in chapter

[74] Ibidem.16

[75] Ibidem. 15

[76] E Onlsow Ford. Letter to Hope-Pinker. July 29 1890. *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2107) HRHP/LPM/EF10

[77] Spielmann. 'E.Onslow Ford,R.A.:In Memoriam'. *Magazine of Art*,1902. 182

3, it seems that Ford and Pinker's friendship may well have foundered after Ford won the commission for the Benjamin Jowett Memorial in Oxford in the mid 1890s, which Pinker clearly believed would be his.[78]

At the same time, the A.W.G.'s socialist undertones did not marry with the need to submit to the wishes of wealthy patrons nor did some wishes, such as the desire to make sculpture affordable, as advocated by Ford and Thornycroft, appeal to everyone. In 1886, Master George Simonds dismissed the departure from traditional sculpture into statuettes as creating "miserable cabinet bronzes" unworthy of the name.[79]

The Guild's desire not to court public opinion also meant that some members such as John Belcher and Onslow Ford joined other societies where their views could be published and made known to a wider audience. In 1888 Ford like Belcher joined the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, a more proactive association of architects and sculptors, and in 1889 he became its president. At the Edinburgh meeting, he expounded on his belief that sculptors needed to be supported by the state and that sculpture must become more affordable:

"If I had to make a statue representing the Genius of Sculpture, fidelity to the truth would require the figure to be a young maiden with blindfolded eyes and fettered hands and feet – the fetters of such weight that hung about in chains and manacles."[80]

Weeks later Arthur Leslie Collie set up his firm in Old Bond Street, London, producing bronze statuettes for the home, including *Peace* by Onslow Ford. However as I shall consider in chapter 3 this was not to be the salvation for sculpture nor the freedom from financial concerns that Ford and his contemporaries hoped for.

[78] Lord Curzon. Letter to Hope-Pinker. 25 December 1894.*Hope-Pinker archive letters 1872-1927,* Royal Academy (March 2017)HRHP/LPM/IJ6

[79] *Journal of the Society of Arts*. 1886. Vol 34.277

[80] *National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry*:Transactions. 1889, 1890. 117-21

Chapter 2

The Price of Patronage

The heavy cost of raw materials, the lengthy process of creation and the enduring aspect of commissions mean that sculpture, unlike almost any other art, has always had to subsist on the generosity of patronage. This was no truer than in the 19th century, when in the words of Benedict Read "patronage was the pivot of the sculptor's profession".[81]

Exhibitions and their reviews were the predominant form of procuring patrons, as well as studio visits, apprenticeships and competitions. Yet in spite of the plethora of statues being commissioned in Victoria's reign, Edmund Gosse still complained vociferously about the dearth of private and public patronage in 1895 in his four-part series of essays on "The Place of Sculpture in Daily Life":[82]

"Sculpture is praised much more than it used to be, but it is not more bought or commissioned. Vast wealth is expanded on the beautification of our streets and our houses, but sculpture seems less and less to reap advantage from this golden shower, and at a period when our modeling schools are full of talented and learned young men, it is more perilous to adopt the profession of the sculptor than it was in wooden days of Gibson and Behnes".

Gosse's ire is aimed not only at local and national Government, which he calls on to follow Paris in its plentiful commissions, but also the British public whom he accuses of perceiving sculpture through an archaeological lens, as something purely for museums. Historian Adrienne Munich also argues that following the death of Prince Albert most Royal patronage was restricted to rendering physically the Consort's ghostly presence by creating memorials to him.[83]

Ordinarily, if sculptors were seeking patronage at an exhibition, for instance, they would create their works in a cheap white plaster – consciously aping the marble of Antiquity – and hope to lure a patron with the promise of a more enduring commission. But the entire

[81] Read, 1982. 79

[82] Edmund Gosse. "The Place of Sculpture in Daily Life: Sculpture for the House." *Magazine of Art* 19.Jan (1895): 326-7

[83] A. Munich. *Queen Victoria's Secrets* (New York Columbia University Press, 1996).4

process of completing a work even to this stage was a long one: in the first instance a sculptor would make drawings and capture as many of his subject's fleeting characteristics in pencil.[84]

Next, he would create a small model in clay, plaster or wax. If using clay, the sculptor had to keep it damp with a wet cloth over it or keep it in an airtight container, lest the clay crack. Once ready, the clay could then be fired and a plaster cast "waste mould" made from that first model or the plaster cast was taken directly from the clay model. The beauty of clay was that it could be broken up, remoistened and used over again.

Finally, the sculptor would create a full-scale model in clay with a wooden, wire and iron framework. Plaster would then be coated onto the clay model in two or more parts and when dry, the plaster coating would be removed, leaving the clay core to fall to pieces. The two halves of plaster would then be tied together so that liquid plaster could be poured inside and when dry, the outer cast or 'waste mould' would be chipped off.

It was a lengthy process and invariably sculptors would employ a professional 'plasterman' to help them with larger works. Like clay, plaster could be touched up in the final stages. If commissioned, a plasterwork could take years to be completed in another material: Sir John Steell's *Alexander and Bucephalus,* which stands outside the City Chambers in Edinburgh was modeled in 1832 but not cast in bronze till 1883.

Bronze was a very elaborate process and demanded the employment of several skilled foundry technicians. The standard method was 'sand casting' which was invented in France and was a spin-off of the Industrial Revolution. After the 1880s, the ancient Greek method of 'lost wax' casting was reintroduced in England for smaller models and statuettes, because it could replicate minute details and allow a variety of patinas to be applied. Marble was not without its problems either: it was expensive, difficult to handle and as most of it was imported, there were frequently logistical problems or undetected flaws in the stone only discovered on delivery.[85]

Once in the studio, a pointing machine was used to transfer the measurements of the 3-d model by drill and replicate them onto the marble block. Professional stone workers would then cut away at the marble until certain measured points were reached before an

[84] Read, 1982.55-9

[85] Lord Curzon irritated about the delay in a bust delivery remarks on the faulty marble, which has delayed matters. Letter to Hope-Pinker. April 7 1894. *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2107) HRHP/LPM/C9

aspirant carver or the sculptor himself could begin on the finer details of the finished object. Pointing machines could also be used as 'reducing machines. Each process involved a large number of professionals as well as material.

So before the sculptor could cast his model in a more permanent material, it was thus essential to have found a patron to bear his expenses. Ordinarily, a sculptor thus received around half the sum agreed when his sketch or design for a commission was approved and the other half when the work was completed. In larger monumental commissions, he was more often paid a third for the preliminary sketch, a third for the model and a third on completion. Busts were often more popular because at between £110 and £150 in the 1850s, they cost far less than groups due to their smaller scale, lower cost of materials and less need for assistance.[86]

Private Patronage

Onslow Ford and Pinker appear to have approached the issue of patronage in a very different manner in the early days. Not having trained as an artist in England, and thus embarking on his career without the contacts that an Academy education may have afforded him, Ford instead seems to have relied on his initiative, as demonstrated by one of his first and most original commissions of Henry Irving as Hamlet.

He had by this stage won his first public competition with his proposed portrait of Sir Rowland Hill, which he showed at the R.A. in 1882. But it seems that his flair for the theatrical was not to be satisfied by dry public commissions. As an avid theatre-goer, Ford decided to portray a leading actor, Henry Irving and after many sketches in the theatre, he made a clay model and applied to the actor for sittings. Not wanting to be bothered by another illicit fan, Irving asked Bram Stoker, the author best known for writing Dracula, to see the aspirant sculptor. Stoker described meeting Ford for the first time:[87]

"His face was pale, a little sallow, fine in profile and moulding; a nose of distinction with sensitive nostrils. He had a small beard and moustache. His eyes were dark and concentrated distinctly " seeing " eyes. My heart warmed to him at once. He was young and earnest and fine; I knew at a glance that he was an artist, and with a future."

[86] Read,1982.59

[87] Stoker.1906. 62-64

Before Stoker could dissuade Ford from calling on Irving for sittings, the sculptor pulled out the small clay model he had sketched:

" 'This said he,' is something of the idea. 'I have been several times in the front row of the stalls watching as closely as I could. One cannot well model clay in the stalls of a theatre. But I did this after the first time, and I have had it with me on each other occasion. I compared it on such opportunities as I had you do keep the Lyceum dark all but the stage; and I think I can see my way. I don't want to waste Irving's time or my own opportunities if I am so fortunate as to get sittings!"

Stoker was so impressed by the replica and the ingenuity of its sculptor, that he persuaded Irving to meet Ford. Irving sat initially for a bronze statuette and then several more times for a full-size seated marble statue now in the Guildhall Gallery.[88] During these sittings, some of which Stoker would attend, he observed that aspects of Irving's face or head might not be quite true to life and Ford would listen and apparently taking no offence alter his model accordingly. The resulting first sketch appeared at the Royal Academy in 1883 to great acclaim. The extraordinary self-confidence and single-mindedness with which he pursued his target was indicative of his dedication to his future work. However, in spite of making around 150 portraits, there is no evidence I am aware of, that Ford ever had a private patron per se.

Pinker approached his career quite differently: born to a 'master mason' in Brighton, he appears to have come early in his career to the attention of Henry Willett (1823-1905), one of the founders of the Brighton Museum, who made his fortune in the brewing business and investing in railways and public utilities. Willett was a well-known natural historian and Sussex pottery collector, entertaining eminent writers and philosophers, such as John Ruskin and Augustus Franks, the curator of the British Museum, at home.[89]

While a student at the Academy, Pinker designed the two corbels "Night and Morning" for the Brighton Aquarium in 1873 [fig 6]. Although the aquarium was extensively rebuilt in 1927-9 so that only the lithographs remain, it was shortly after this commission that Pinker began a fruitful if not easy relationship with Willett. Wealthy landed patrons with powerful connections to industry and the aspirant Victorian bourgeoisie should have been the

[88] AG Temple. 1918.158-9

[89] Henry Willett (1823-1905) Brighton Museum. http://brightonmuseums.org.uk/discover/2011/06/10/personality-of-the-month-henry-willett-1823-1905/

ideal guarantors for sculptors such as Pinker. However clearly the relationship could result in an imbalance in power, where the patron held the purse strings to allow the artistry of the sculptor to flourish. This relationship could thus demand a certain degree of subservience on the part of the sculptor and make for a not always comfortable pairing.

The correspondence between Willet and Pinker, which starts in 1874 and finishes abruptly in 1881, does not indicate how their acquaintance was made, except to note that Pinker's father was also working for Willett in creating a mantelpiece for his home[90]. However the partnership quickly takes off with the exhibition of the Benson bust in the R.A. in 1875 and it appears that Willett had already by then adopted the role of agent, guarantor and deliverer.

The letters from Willett are interesting not only for the heavy-handed input of their author, who is dogmatic in advising his protégé how to proceed with commissions, but also in how much of the actual logistics and sculptural work he is involved with. On 6 August 1875, Willett writes to Pinker that the Benson pedestal will be sent off to Wellington College that week and that Mr Wickham (then headmaster) fixed the height himself, adding:

"I think it would be well to cut your own name in the side of the base 'H.R. Pinker Sculptor, 1875 very small. I also think it would be well to cut in the base at the back 'E.W. Benson D.D. First Head Master of Wellington College'... I enclose a cheque for the 2 casts".[91]

While he may adopt a brusque and commanding tone, Willett is extremely knowledgeable and interested in the processes of sculpture and bronze in particular. In another letter from 1879, he raises the "lost wax" process of bronze casting[92]:

" Do you know anything of the old art of casting in bronze by a process called "cire perdu". I understand it to mean that a mould is taken of the bust in an admixture of clay and powdered charcoal: this is smeared with wax of the thickness required for the bronze: a rough interior cast of clay and charcoal follows. The whole is subjected to a certain amount of heat, which causes all the wax to run out and the vacant space first occupied by the wax is filled with

[90] Henry Willett. Letter to Hope-Pinker, where he mentions he has not heard from him about work on a mantlepiece. 3 September 1874.*Hope-Pinker archive letters, Royal Academy (March 2017)* HRHP/LPM/UVW21

[91] Willett, Letter to Hope-Pinker HRHP/LPM/UVW23

[92] Ibidem 27.

molten bronze. Mr R.H. Soden Smith of the library, South Kensington Museum, will direct you to authorities on the subject."

New Sculptors, such as Alfred Gilbert, Thomas Stirling Lee and Onslow Ford, were enthusiastic pioneers of the rediscovered lost wax or "cire perdue" method. It appeared to allow sculptors more influence on the final work than the popular 'sand casting' method linked with machinery of the Industrial Revolution and was deemed to be reconnecting them with the Ancients. In fact, as the name indicates, the French had long since rediscovered this method of casting, which had existed in an unbroken tradition alongside sand casting in France, Belgium and Italy. However it was only introduced in northern Europe in the late 19th century and the first latter-day example of this type of casting to be found in England, where the tradition of sculpture had faltered, appears to be the 12 inch bronze statuette of *Perseus Arming* by Sir Alfred Gilbert in 1882. As such, Willett was well ahead of the game.

In the same letter, the Brighton businessman instructs Pinker on the issue of props in another portrait, presumably that of the Earl of Ashburnham, and urges him as an art history professor might to inspect examples of what he suggests in the house of a well-known contemporary psychiatrist, photographer and polymath, Dr Hugh Diamond:[93]

"There is another matter to which I wish to draw your attention, viz, the question of placing the brush on a pedestal of books, instead of the shapeless thing that is usually adopted. If you will, write to Dr Diamond, Twickenham House, Twickenham.

Use my name and ask him from me to allow you to call and see a bust with such a pedestal in his hall, I know he would consent and you might make a little sketch of it. If the bronze seems too difficult or expensive, perhaps a good terracotta would be better for London smoke than marble. There is a grand terracotta bust of Cromwell to be seen in the National Portrait Gallery, well worth inspection…"

However the problems of being in hock to the whims of a wealthy patron, who sends money for Christmas presents to the children and a turkey, are also writ large in the final letter from Henry Willett, dated 26 October 1881.[94] Just three months after the death of Anne, Pinker's first wife, leaving him to fend for four children under 7 years old and a large household, Willett cuts him off. Enclosing a letter from Millicent Fawcett, declining to go

[93] Ibidem. The bust was to be taken to Ashburnham house and Pinker had done a portrait of the Earl of Ashburnham that was exhibited in the RA in 1880

[94] Ibidem. 22

ahead with the commission of a bust of her husband Henry Fawcett (1833-1884) he admonishes Pinker for doing a poor job of the blind politician:[95]

"..from the first you have failed to catch the expression, the corners of the mouth being drawn down in an unnatural manner, which expression certainly does not exist in the original"[96].

He ends by telling Pinker he must not expect Willett to take the same interest in his affairs as he has in the past:

"… as I have said before, you must not expect me to take as much interest in your affairs as I have during the last three years and you really must now consider yourself a free agent in every way. I should like to make you a present of the balance due to me after after paying for these later busts etc, in clay, and you will have Mr Pease's bust to draw upon.

Although this may perhaps be some disappointment to you, yet you must see that it is rather unreasonable to expect me to be always responsible for you. I shall always take great interest in your success but other pressing claims show me that it is my duty to speak frankly with you, Believe me, yours very faithfully, Henry Willett".

Nothing more is heard from Willett, although one of the last portraits that Pinker exhibits at the R.A. is that of Alfred Willett (1837-1913) an orthopedic surgeon and brother to Henry, which he shows in 1904.

Pinker, whose letters show that he suffered several bouts of financial hardship, including being threatened with expulsion from his studio for being unable to pay the rent, was not without supporters for long.[97] Alfred Chune Fletcher (1855-1913) started out as a journalist before switching to study medicine at St Bartholomew's hospital, London in 1877. He ended in becoming a renowned consultant physician and was later elected House surgeon.[98] Although many of his letters to Pinker are not dated, it would appear that 'A.C.F.'

[95] Lady Fawcett appears to change her mind about the bust's merits, however, when she later gives a copy of it to both the National Portrait Gallery in London and Lord Curzon.

[96] Henry Willett. Letter to Hope-Pinker. 3 December 1887.*Hope-Pinker archive letters, Royal Academy (March 2017)* HRHP/LPM/UVW26

[97] HR Hope-Pinker. Letter. 3 September 1874.*Hope-Pinker archive letters, Royal Academy (March 2017)* HRHP/LPM/EF78

[98] Alfred Chune Fletcher Obituary. Anon. "Death of Alfred Chune Fletcher". *The British Medical Journal*. April 5 (1913)

as he signed himself, became a friend of the sculptor around 1887 and took on the role of guarantor and agent with enthusiasm.

"Don't borrow from Edward if you can help it. He's bound to charge… here's £35 +£10…In a few days I shall get some more, and my wife will also write for the Hughes half shares. These may be sufficient to carry you on without borrowing with charges and interest. Let me know, yours ACF" [99]

Money and Pinker's lack of it are running themes in much of the correspondence, as is Fletcher's determination to see that Pinker wins more commissions. The surgeon acts as a go-between successfully on the bust of the surgeon Sir William Savory for the Royal College of Surgeons, invites him to dinner to meet potential clients and is quick to point out up-coming opportunities. However the sculptor's continuing lack of funds and hand to mouth existence is palpable when Pinker is forced to borrow £65 from Fletcher even while working on the W.E. Forster monument, one of his early prestigious works on the Victoria Embankment, London [figs15,16].[100]

Unlike his first patron, the relationship here is quite different though: they are peers, like-minded and share a common respect. The friendship is based on equality rather than on bullying patronage. All correspondence appears to cease however after Pinker's marriage to his wealthy second wife Rebekah Bateman Hope in September 1893.

Public Patronage and Oxford

After the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815, Britain became the largest naval and imperial power in the world. The American War of Independence and an increasing desire for self-governance meant that new nation states were also emerging, with the United States, Canada and Australia chief amongst them. With these developments and the Industrial Revolution, came a new taste for urban sculpture and art that no longer celebrated simply the king or the victorious general but also the ideals of the new bourgeoisie and its champions.[101]

Public memorials to the great and good came to decorate parks and public spaces. But instead of being given by the city fathers, most were paid for by public funds, raised by

[99] Alfred C Fletcher. Letter to HR Pinker. Undated.*Hope-Pinker archive letters, Royal Academy (March 2017)* HRHP/LPM/EF24

[100] Ibidem HRHP/LPM/EF20

[101]Curtis. 1999.37

committees and backed tacitly by the Government. They were largely awarded through public competition: artists were invited to produce a drawing or a scale model, so that the committee could see proof of the artist's intentions. The winner would be announced in national newspapers, such as The Times.

Although these monuments brought considerable prestige, they were not without other difficulties – not least in having to bow to the wishes of several patrons at once. Many top sculptors were often unwilling to enter into the competitions, such as that for Rowland Hill's statue for example as not only was the winner decided by committee, but the monuments frequently relied on donations that fell short of the money promised.[102]

Pinker's first public monument, won in open competition, was for the full-length statue of the Rt. Hon Henry Fawcett M.P. (1833-1884), [fig 17] which was commissioned by the city of Salisbury and stands in the marketplace today. Blinded in a shooting accident at 24, Fawcett became a professor of political economics at Cambridge, served in four governments and went on to become Postmaster General.

Although his life was relatively short, the commissioning process of his memorial was not: in 1882 Pinker exhibited a statue of Fawcett at the R.A. and in 1885 a bust after his death, but the contract from the Fawcett Memorial Fund Committee was only signed on 29 July 1885.[103] In it the committee (of four men) stipulates that the pedestal must be "polished grey granite, the shaft to be in one piece" and the statue to be in bronze and not taller than 8'6"; the clay cast would be inspected by the memorial committee, lest it wish to make any alterations before final delivery on 1st September 1886. The whole affair was to cost £750: £150 on being given the commission; £250 on completing the cast; the remaining £350 upon the erection of the statue.

A fortnight later, the Mayor of Salisbury, George Fulford, sends Pinker photographs of Fawcett and cannot resist remarking on how the figure should look and what position the memorial should occupy in society, now and in the future:

"You will please forgive me but I hope you will discard the fishing rods and boots it would never please folks here. We want to hand him onto posterity as the Salisbury boy who became a statesman and Postmaster General. I hope also you will arrange that he shall stand

[102] Ward-Jackson. 2011.219

[103] Contract from the Fawcett Memorial Committee. *Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927* Royal Academy (from 2107) HRHP/LPM/EF63

without support to the hands at all. I have no doubt you will find a way to a successful pose but I can't keep intruding with these remarks."

Any hope of deviating from the standard prototype of the aged Victorian gentleman was promptly quashed. Like so many others, this public commission paid for by the city of Salisbury was rendered deeply conservative, hamstrung by the wishes of four gentlemen with no known expertise in the arts, on a local Wiltshire city committee. The result is a benign if unrevealing portrait of a man in the act of speaking, gesturing with his right hand as he leans with his other on a walking stick.

The unveiling in 1887 attracted five to six thousand people, according to the *Daily News* report, which alongside other local and national press detailed minutely the monument's height, its founding by Moore of Thames Ditton, which dignitaries were present at the unveiling, what was said, as well as how the city had raised £900 to pay for it.[104]

The largely favourable press coverage of this 18ton memorial quite possibly won Pinker his following commission of Queen Victoria and that of W.E. Forster. In spite of the concerns she had allegedly expressed to Henry Willett about her husband's bust earlier, Millicent Fawcett was also effusive:

"Sometimes after a thing is cast it seems to lose its vitality but this is not at all the case here. The expression pleases me so very much and the look of vivacity without at all departing form the sculpturesque repose ... all I could have wished for."[105]

In 1890 both Pinker and Ford both received grand public commissions for W.E. Forster MP, who was responsible for introducing state primary education to England; and Charles George Gordon, a heroic Victorian general who fought in the Crimea and spent 10 years fighting slavery in the Sudan, respectively.

Their approach could not have been more different: Pinker's Forster [fig 15] is a strikingly dour gentleman whose corduroy waistcoat and ill-fitting tweed jacket are meticulously replicated in bronze and appears brooding, as if interrupted reading a book. It is a thoughtful portrait of a serious man, who is not interested in the fripperies of fashion but in establishing a state education for all [fig 16].

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[104] "The Fawcett Memorial at Salisbury". *Daily News.* 26 May 1887

[105] Fawcett, MJ. Letter to HR Pinker.7 June 1887.*Hope-Pinker archive letters 1872-1927, Royal Academy (March 2017)* HRHP/LPM/EF68

As he gazes out over the Victorian Embankment, he emanates a faintly disapproving air of those about. Well received, it is yet another achingly traditional depiction of an elder statesman, as noted in the Pall Mall Gazette on 1st August 1889: "He is in a loosish and very formless jacket… probably honeycombed with pockets, built for convenience not style. He has taken up a familiar attitude; the right hand planted with some firmness at the back of the hip-joint, the left holding a book – none other than a Blue-book – whose leaves have already been well turned. The likeness of the man is all that could be desired".

Ford's General Gordon on a Camel [fig 18] at Chatham could not be more different: not only is this soldier sitting astride a camel, it is a magnificent marriage of imaginative realism and metalwork and amply echoes Ford's belief that "objects de luxe, such as badges, mayoral chains, medals, and coins more properly belong to the sculptor's art than to the silversmiths".[106]

Ford spent two years in London zoo modeling the exact type of camel that Gordon rode and was sketched by Sydney Prior Hall at work [fig 19]. The minutely observed detailing of the tassels on the camel bags as well as the netting over its back and the uniform worn by a weary but steadfast Gordon, bear witness to Ford's genius for combining sculptural realism with exquisite decoration on a monumental scale.

This originality in Ford's portraiture was however regarded by some as a step too far and the statue was not universally acclaimed: Marion Spielmann remarked ambiguously on Ford's ability to assimilate others' ideas in this portrait - this time of Antoine-Louis Barye, a famous French animal sculptor - as well as commenting how the monument "gave rise to a world of discussion as to whether or not the elaborateness of detail and arrangement did not approach the boundary of true sculpture".[107]

But while monumental heroic commissions were hard fought for, institutional patronage bestowed by the Church, Oxford and Cambridge universities and the Royal College of Surgeons was meat and drink for many. This was particularly true of Pinker and Ford – both of whom created some of their best-known works for Oxford University and upon which their friendship may have ultimately foundered.

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[106] E Onslow Ford. "Modern Renaissance in Sculpture". Speech at Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry. 1888. Unpaginated.

[107] Spielmann 1901.52

Pinker's greatest collection of works and best examples of his sculptural impressionism are to be found in Oxford: his first pivotal commission was a full-length study of the 18th century Scottish surgeon John Hunter [fig 21,22] in the Oxford Museum which appears to have resulted directly from the death of the sculptor Alexander Munro.[108] The Oxford Museum was the brainchild of its curator Henry Wentworth Acland (1815-1900), regius professor of medicine, and his friend John Ruskin [fig 20], leading art critic and philanthropist.

The memorial to Hunter (1728-1793), which was given by Queen Victoria and unveiled 5 June 1886 by her daughter Princess Helena, was the first of a series of memorials by Pinker to eminent scientists to decorate the interior of this Gothic-style monument to science, built between 1854 and 1860. Of the 19 statues, which decorate the supporting pillars of what is now the Oxford university Museum of Natural History, Roger Bacon (1214-1294) [fig 23], Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689) [fig 24], John Hunter (1728-1793) and Charles Darwin (1809-1882)[fig 25] are by Pinker. Of the 10 busts to men of science, philosophers and engineers, John Burdon-Sanderson, Raphael Weldon and George Rolleston are also by the sculptor.[109]

Dead almost a century, only paintings or etchings remained of most of these historic scientists' and philosophers' likenesses.[110] In spite of this, Pinker appears to have captured a pithy essence of Hunter, as he ruminates on a problem while leaning on a plinth above the traditional symbol of medicine: a snake coiled round a staff. In Hunter, Bacon and Sydenham – all in carefully observed historical dress - Pinker also comes perhaps closest to applying a certain "imaginative realism" to his works: giving life to characters who have been dead for decades and who no living personality can remember. In each there is a subtle pointer to their expertise: Bacon holds an astrolabe and calipers to signify his scientific studies and harmony; on Hunter's plinth a frog leaps up to a pea pod, indicating his interest in anatomy and dissections; Sydenham, known as the "father of medicine" was a keen observer of the causes of epidemics and fought for Cromwell in the civil war, so possibly the peasant girl with an

[108] Henry Acland describes having to get Munro's estate to hand back money already paid to him for the Hunter statue after his death. Letter to HR Pinker.24 May 1883 Hope-Pinker archive 1872-1927. HRHP/LPM/A1

[109] All statutes are in Caen stone, a limestone from Normandy.

[110] Although Darwin too may have been carved from photographs and paintings as there is no correspondence about sittings and he had died years before the unveiling

armful of flowers implies the importance of herbal cures in medicine, as well as a celebration of the people.

Although Darwin was alive when Pinker began work on his statue, it would seem unlikely that he sat for the sculptor as he was by then a very frail man who would have unlikely propped himself up against a pillar, with a cloak thrown over his shoulders. Like the other memorials in Oxford's natural history museum however, this is another monument to Pinker's sculptural impressionism – where the fleeting nature of the subject's humanity is captured in the "roughness" and life of his works and in contrast to Ford's detailing, the clothes are not intricately worked but deliver an impression of their form.

Significantly, there are no props in this study, which appears to concentrate rather on the humanity of the man whose theory on evolution had changed science forever: highlighting his large veined hands and explorer's feet crossed casually in their sturdy shoes or walking boots. A celebrity in his own lifetime, it seems he needed no props to explain his significance.

Acland was certainly ecstatic with the Hunter memorial, which marked the start to a long and fruitful friendship and not least to a bust of Acland himself.

"I had often wished to ask you if my little bust was in the oven but I thought it a shame to trouble you – I knew you were hard worked over your great statues and I forbore the interruption in such a matter. And then I wanted to know if there were a model of your John Hunter – certainly one of the very best, if not the very best statue in the Museum."[111]

While Hunter was the only monument by Pinker to be given by Queen Victoria (and which Acland claimed she greatly admired), it doubtless lead to his other Oxford commissions, including a monumental marble statue for Manchester College to James Martineau (1805-1900) [fig 26] in 1898, the moral philosopher who influenced the study of Unitarianism.[112] Clothing was always a critical consideration for sculptors and while many had formerly copied the drapery of the Ancients, New Sculptors such as Pinker and Ford took great care to detail contemporary dress which rendered the figure more lifelike and allowed the sculptor more scope for actuality and realism - even if this meant in all its glorious scruffiness as may be seen in W.E. Forster.

[111] Ibidem. HRHP/LPM/A20

[112] Ibidem. HRHP/LPM/A30

Dealing with haughty Oxford dons cannot always have been easy though and at times must have tested the sculptor's skills in diplomacy. When it came to the bust of Rolleston, William Hatchett Jackson, a natural historian and librarian, had several observations to make, after congratulating Pinker on his "excellent likeness":

"… except that the eyebrows are far too heavy (could you chisel them down a bit?) and the left side has two issues around the lower jaw and elsewhere. My friend Mr Drummond who was silver medallist of the Academy – and is a capital portrait painter – and moreover knew D.R. for years agrees with me in the above. He also thinks the fold of skin just across the side of the upper eyelid is too round – and I am inclined to agree with him."

Ford only completed one vast monumental sculpture in Oxford and later a memorial to Benjamin Jowett in Balliol chapel, but he is by far the more recognised sculptor of the two. In 1893, Ford's memorial to the poet Percy Bysse Shelley [figs 27,28] was unveiled. By the time of its installation "The Shelley Memorial; or the Monument nobody wanted" as Robin Darwall-Smith wrote in the University College Record, had already had a checkered past: commissioned by the poet's daughter-in-law for the Protestant Cemetery in Rome, it had proved to be too large for the plot and Lady Shelley thus offered it to the poet's old college in Oxford, which had expelled him more than 80 years earlier on 25 March 1811. Most likely as a result of her friendship with Benjamin Jowett, a renowned theologian and Master of Balliol College, University College reluctantly accepted it.

The temple to the sculpture, was designed by Basil Champneys, architect and A.W.G. colleague of Ford, and after lengthy discussions about where to site it and the costs, the memorial was unveiled in the summer, a few months before Jowett's death. Master of the college, James Franck Bright was gracious if less than fulsome in his praise of the gift, according to *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, which records the occasion:

"He did not suppose it laid with him to praise that work of art which he should naturally wish to do. They could all of them see it was a thing which any giver might be proud to give, and any receiver might be proud to receive… But he could not help thanking Lady Shelley more especially for giving them this, because it was not often that a College in Oxford had a piece of art given to it at all belonging to this generation".[113]

[113] Jackson's Oxford Journal. Report of the unveiling of Shelley Memorial.15 June 1893

Franck Bright may be forgiven for being at a loss for words: the memorial to the poet who drowned in 1822 off the shores of Italy, was truly avant-garde. Before the guests lay the life-sized naked marble body of a young man dead, as if washed up on the beach in front of them, his head crowned with golden laurels. The rough slab of pale green Irish marble on which he lay is held aloft by wing-backed bronze lions, which flank a pensive bronze muse. Stars decorated the ceiling and quotations from Shelley's poem *Adonais* provided a gold-lettered frieze to the drab brown walls.

Critics of Ford rounded on him for being slavishly realistic and lacking in imagination, but here as David Getsy writes he appeared to be "evoking corporeality to the extreme" and celebrating their criticism by tying the realism of the corpse together with the icy coldness of the marble as the inspiration for his work.[114] Instead of presenting Shelley as an effigy or a poet asleep, Ford had instead embraced his very lifelessness and exhibited a corpse. Having spent centuries attempting to instill life into their statues, this sculptor was turning tradition on its head because the work was the exact opposite of lifelike.[115] Shelley was, in Marion Spielmann's words "so obviously dead"[116].

Ironically, of course, the figure (modeled on his son Wolfram) is not that of a bloated corpse left to rot at sea for weeks, but rather of a man just drowned. So while shocking, the Memorial spoke more to Ford's "imaginative realism" than to slavish literalism. Although the body left many speechless, the combination of materials used – with four different colours of marble, bronze and gilding – highlighted Ford's innovation and mastership of polychramy and his desire to reintroduce colour to sculpture.

Amongst the harshest critics, were Sir Claude Phillips who devoted a large part of his annual review in 1893 to attacking Ford's realist agenda and his sculptural materiality, which is made so manifestly obvious in the Shelley Memorial.[117] Phillips also attacked the laurel wreath for creating an awkward dissonance with the figure.[118]

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[114] Getsy, 2004.128

[115] Ibidem. 134

[116] Spielmann 1901.51

[117] C. Phillips. "Sculpture of the year: British Sculpture".Magazine of Art vol 15 (1892).379

[118] The laurels were meant to signify that Shelley had already departed from the earthly world, but after many student pranks, in spite of protests from Ford's daughter, they have now been removed from the memorial.

However others such as Robert Louis Stevenson saw it for the artistic masterpiece it was.[119] Ford did not shy away from the criticism either. In fact, he proudly showed off his artistic intervention and was determined that the world should see his signature piece: he offered to send a full sized plaster version at his own cost to the Brussels exhibition in 1897, included it in Wolfram's portrait of him in his studio [fig 3] and again exhibited it in Paris in 1901.[120]

Nevertheless, when he was commissioned to do a memorial to Benjamin Jowett, the *eminence grise* of Oxford [fig 29] a few years later, he incorporated the brilliant blue pillars, small statuettes of bronze putti and the glinting gold mosaics, which were to become a leitmotif of later works, but reverted to the traditional depiction an old man asleep and at peace.

[119] Mrs Geoffrey Mander, biographer of Mary Shelley. Letter to Dr Poynter, Master of Univ Coll. Oxford. 17 January 1937. She wrote saying that RL Stevenson was "very interested about the Memorial and suggested the lines 'Inheritors of unfulfilled renown' being used on it'".

[120] Getsy. 2004.130

Chapter 3

Reception: when the Coronation patina wears off…

In this chapter, I consider the after-life of these two sculptors and the reception of their work, as well as the advantages and unforeseen disadvantages of their latter-day association with Queen Victoria. I ask why Ford is so much better remembered in an art historical context than Pinker and consider whether the recent focus on statuettes has contributed to that. I will also attempt to establish whether Onslow Ford and Hope-Pinker made their choices based on purely aesthetic grounds or for more prosaic financial reasons

On 5 September 1893, Ford invited Pinker round to celebrate the announcement of the latter's engagement and bathe in the afterglow of royal patronage:

"Dear Pinker, I hear from a side wind that you are going to be married on the 21st? This note is not to congratulate as I am not sure if what I mean is true. True or not perhaps you will be able to spend an evening or come and see us before the Coronation patina has worn off our faces.." [121]

After five years, Hope-Pinker had just completed his colossal 20 feet high monument to Queen Victoria [fig 30] and was preparing to ship it out to Georgetown (now known as Demerara), Guyana as a demonstration of the nation's loyalty to the Empire. Newspaper cuttings from the Morning Post, Illustrated London News and The Art Journal praised the "broad simplicity" of the Italian marble figure of the Queen in her state robes, holding the orb and sceptre as she stands imperiously in front of the Coronation chair, over which is draped her ermine train.[122]

The *Art Journal* comments that "though not quite so colossal as the monument of America's guiding spirit which stands outside New York harbour, [it] is a magnificent and imposing piece of sculpture, and, moreover, artistically convincing". At 32 tonnes of uncut marble it was certainly vast and imposing, but the Queen's face is all-too realistic a portrait gives and gives a gloomy brooding impression of a monarch weary of her duties.[123]

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[121] E Onslow Ford. Letter to Hope-Pinker. 5 September 1893.*Hope-Pinker archive 1872-1927, Royal Academy (March 2017)* HRHP/LPM/EF9

[122] Newspaper clippings, undated. Hope-Pinker archive 1872-1927

[123] Spielmann.1901. 65

It did not merit an exhibition at the R.A., nor apparently lead to other prestigious commissions. In the 420 letters of the *Hope-Pinker archive 1872-1927,* few mention the work at all. Only Sir Arthur Stockland Cope R.A. who writes jokingly in 1888 from holiday, enquires about progress on the royal commission:

"Dear Pinkerina, how goes her most gracious and glorious? I thought you would have written before this to say how you're getting on and how the tower of Babel is progressing…"[124]

In 1891, he writes to thank for a photograph of H.M. Victoria and delivers what can only be considered a lukewarm appreciation: "I congratulate you on having so pluckily cast H.M. yourself".[125]

As Droth, Edwards and Hatt make clear in *Sculpture Victorious*, monuments during this period were used to validate power and present an "unfailingly positive picture of the Victorian world, banishing critique and moral nuance".[126] There was no sculptural Dickens documenting poverty in the slums, but simply monuments lionizing politicians, philanthropists and inventors at home and abroad, to glorify colonial expansion and unite the colonies under Victoria, the global figurehead.

For the Colonies these unveilings were an opportunity to show their loyalty to the Crown and their Sovereign. All over the world, monuments to Queen Victoria were revealed before thousands of well wishers, eager to seek a glimpse of a monarch that most of them would never see in any other form and who was as foreign to them as her London Government. This contemporary photograph taken in Demarara shows it was no different in Guyana [fig 31].

It was thus a calculated attack on colonialism, defined in this potent symbol of power in Pinker's Queen Victoria in Demarara, which led separatists fighting for independence to blow it up in 1954. [fig 32]. Although realpolitik and the desire to belong to the Commonwealth meant that the statue was later rebuilt [fig 33] and restored to its original

[124] AS Cope. Letter to HR Pinker.6 September 1888.*Hope-Pinker archive letters 1872-1927, Royal Academy (March 2017)* HRHP/LPM/C8

[125] Ibidem C5

[126] Droth, Edwards, Hatt, and Barringer.2015.16

position outside the law courts, the significance of this act of defiance was not lost on its citizens nor on those in Britain today.

This determination to signal common values through sculpture was taken up most enthusiastically in India through the commissioning of portraits of maharajahs but also those of the sovereign and imperial governors to denote the power of the victor. As has been noted by Amy Harris in her Masters thesis, Ford found the imperial patron a lucrative source in his later years: between 1898 and 1901, he portrayed the *Maharajah of Mysore* (1898); *the late Maharajah of Mysore* (1901) [fig 34] and *Maharajah Laksmishwar Darbhanga Singh* (1901/1904) [fig35] which was finished by his son Wolfram.

In *Applause* and *The Singer*, Ford had already shown a keen interest in researching Egyptian themes and history, so the maharajahs' highly decorated costumes provided the perfect window to display his talents as an ornamentalist. Although Ford was often criticized for his overuse of ornament, the Indian subjects, not to mention General Gordon on a Camel (1887-90) and Hugh Rose, First Baron Strathnairn (1895) provided a ready vehicle on which to demonstrate his abilities as an enamaler, silversmith and portraitist.

Although the imperial market had been strong for some time, Pinker only appears to have once dipped his toe into it, with a commission of Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, [fig 36] exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1896. Unlike Gilbert's vast monolith to Reay, this quietly distinguished statue represents the suited Governor in an elaborately decorated shawl across his shoulders, leaning on an intricately carved Indian-style pillar. It is not clear whether the monument still exists, but it appears that Pinker was not attempting to portray the suffocating power of the victorious nation, rather that of a considerate benevolent Governor.

Unlike the portraits of monarchs such as Henry VIII or Elizabeth I, which allegedly depict an idealised view of their subject, those of Queen Victoria reflected her age. The last statue of the monarch to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee in 1897 was Ford's monument commissioned by the city of Manchester [fig 37]. It was completed shortly after her death and not long before Ford's own in December 1901.

This apparently prestigious assignment proved to be a double-edged sword, however. For what was to be her last official portrait, the queen gave many sittings and became an ardent admirer of Ford. Having set out simply to create a monument, Ford also produced several marble busts of the Queen in her 'official regalia' at her request.

The Order of the Garter peeks out beneath the cloak and the inscription and crown denote her rank, but it is moreover the elegant portrait of an elderly woman reflecting on her mortality, that strikes the viewer. The Queen was delighted with it and ordered around half a dozen busts in bronze and marble, allegedly declaring that Ford was the only artist who understood her face. This was certainly how she wanted to be remembered and reviews complimented Ford on his touching 'sympathy and sensitivity' to his subject.

In May 1901, four months after Victoria's death and prior to its unveiling in Manchester, the colossal monument was installed in the Royal Academy: an oversized bronze statue of the Queen, seated on the throne, wearing the Order of the Garter on her lace dress and holding a sceptre in her right hand and orb in the left.

Of more than 150 portraits completed by Ford, this was probably amongst his least critically well received. Squashed into an awkward space inside the exhibition, the vast statue designed for the outdoors was decried as 'imposing', 'out of scale' and incongruous. One critic, D.S. McColl denounced Ford as a mere portraitist who could sculpt "a plausible likeness in a bust" but had over extended his range by turning it into a monument.

But when the seated bronze statue of the Queen was unveiled on the Piccadilly Esplanade in Manchester, the £19,000 monument caused a sensation. Unveiled shortly after her death by Lord Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief of British Forces in South Africa, Droth, Edwards and Hatt argue that he used the ceremony – reported at length in the Manchester Guardian – as a rallying cry for forces fighting in far flung parts of the Empire.[127] However with "many thousands" unable to fit into the stands and thus excluded from the ceremony, there were clashes with the police and several "violent rushes towards the statue", as the newspaper suggested that many citizens were angry at being denied their right to join in.[128]

Crowning the white marble edifice is a bronze figure of St George fighting the Dragon and behind the throne to the back of the Mazzano marble is an ideal portrait of maternity. Turquoise mosaic tiles, set into the marble, serve to silhouette both the Queen and Maternity's heads. And just above the Queen's head is inscribed a line from Shakespeare's Henry V: "Let me but bear your love, I'll bear your cares" Henry IV, Part 2, Act V, sc. 2, l. 58).

[127] Droth, Edwards and Hatt. 2015. 119

[128] "The Manchester Queen Victoria Statue: Unveiling by Lord Roberts". *Manchester Guardian*

Unveilings of city sculpture were traditionally a time for communities to bond over shared values and demonstrate their appreciation of a person and their cause, and here it was no different as Manchester displayed its loyalty to and love for their dead monarch. However by excluding the majority in a marked show of exclusivity, the ceremony presaged the future wider public disgust with all public monuments. Not all were impressed by Ford's homage, even then, hinting perhaps at the first murmurings of discontent with memorials to the Monarch. As one correspondent wrote to a local newspaper: "It is that as a work of art it is bad, and as a work of patriotism futile". The Westminster Review also commented that the plinth itself was "at once the most pretentious, the most incoherent and the most inept of any sculptural monument one has ever seen in England".[129]

In spite of the criticism, the vast marble and bronze statute is still a focal point of celebrations today and featured prominently in the triumphant march and celebrations of British Olympians in October 2016. However, while Ford kept the copyright to produce further reductions of the bust in bronze, it was not to herald the start of a new era, but rather auguring the end.

Statuemania and the emancipation of the artisan

The deaths of Victoria in 1901 and Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in 1898 in Germany sparked a final upsurge in the manufacture of sculpture in the early 20th century: the industry that has become known as 'statuemania' or 'Denkmalwut'. In France, the tide also turned and far from welcoming another memorial to a worthy dignitary, newspapers began holding competitions to decide which was the worst statue and ought to be destroyed first. By 1910 statuemania had peaked and soon afterwards the First World War (1914-18) broke out. By 1925, France had erected 30,000 monuments to their war dead and Britain had put up 16,436 parish memorials. Both countries had, in Penelope Curtis's words, "effectively killed off" memorials.[130]

This turnaround in the public attitude towards memorial sculpture coincided with an increasing skepticism about the veracity of work carried out and culminated in the 'faux Rodin' case of 1919, when Charles Emile Jonchéry, a sculptor, was accused of plagiarizing his master's work. Rodin had died in 1917 and was regarded as a national treasure. After a

[129] http://manchesterhistory.net/manchester/statues/victoria.html

[130] Curtis.1999. 55

six-month trial, it emerged however that with around 50 assistants in his employ it was hard to differentiate between a real and a fake Rodin.[131]

By Christmas 1901, Ford had died leaving a wealth of work to judge him by. For Pinker, however, it marked a short-lived renaissance: a century before, sculptors were distancing themselves from the stonemason in a bid to climb the social ladder, now the direct carver and sons of stonemasons such as Bourdelle, Brancusi and Pinker were considered the only true sculptors, and the era of the artisan was reborn.

This transformation is perfectly illustrated in two photographs of Hope-Pinker: one, towards the end of his life in 1923 [fig1], shows him alone in a flowing tunic, block and chisel in hand, looking more reminiscent of the mediaeval artisan than a successful artist. Paget's portrait [fig 39] too is that of a humble artisan relaxing after his work was done; the other from the late 1880s [fig 38] shows a relaxed gentleman sculptor, without a fleck of plaster or clay in sight. It is also perhaps why Professor Thomas Okey emphasises that Pinker's father was a 'master mason', in his Times obituary in 1927.[132]

Like the 1893 portrait by John McClure Hamilton of Ford at work on *Applause* [fig 40] and the previous sketch of him at the zoo by Sydney Prior Hall [fig 19], both men had clearly sought to impress the bourgeois elite. But with the global emergence of new Classicism, naturalistic art so beloved of the Victorian age, fell out of fashion and was effectively retired in post-war Europe, inspiring little admiration and instead revulsion.

Ironically, it was the strict stylisation of the Arts and Crafts movement, which led artistic fashion out of naturalism and ultimately to the demise of The New Sculpture. Too late Pinker had created movingly simple ideal figures such as *Reverie* [fig 41], the *Nation's Sword of Honour* [fig 44] and *The Pride of Old England* [fig 42]. Ford's statuettes and ideal figures, such as *The Singer* [fig 14], *Peace* [fig 13] and *Folly* [fig 12] that he had sent out as emissaries in his quest to lure sculpture into the home, were discarded as old Victorian bric a brac. A year after his death, the *Magazine of Art*, edited by Spielmann himself, damned with faint praise Ford's *Snowdrift* as a "*fantaisie* dainty and charming, but hardly sculpturesque".[133]

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[131] Ibidem 73

[132] Thomas Okey. Obituary. 'Mr. Hope-Pinker Sculptor and Craftsman'.*The Times*. 6 August 1927. 12

[133] Anon. *Magazine of Art*. 1902. Vol.25. 402

Refashioning Victorian Sculpture

In the 1980s, several academics sought to reassess and breathe new life into Victorian sculpture, led by Benedict Read who produced an encyclopedic tome on the subject, H.W. Janson and Susan Bettie, who wrote the definitive work on New Sculpture. Since then David Getsy, Martina Droth and Jason Edwards have also trained their academic sights on this period, investigating in particular the statuette.

New Sculpture has been defined in part by the introduction of the statuette to the interior, which was designed to make sculpture more accessible to the less affluent, who could not pay thousands for a bust nor had a stately home in which to display it. Chief amongst its protagonists was Onslow Ford. Although it is clear from Henry Willett's letter to Pinker that the 'lost wax' process was being discussed some time earlier, Alfred Gilbert's (1854-1934) *Perseus Arming* in 1882 is widely credited as being the first example of this method of casting bronze in 19th century Britain.

From the start Ford, Gilbert, Thomas Stirling Lee and Hamo Thornycroft were convinced of its unique ability to reproduce every minute detail of the sculptor's handiwork and the palette of a rich variety of patinas and colours afforded by bronze. They believed, as Hamo Thornycroft makes plain in his speech to students in 1885 that the bronze could be the ambassador for sculpture in the home:

"I can imagine our modern houses containing with advantage a far greater number of small sculptures than they do at present… Blue plates – balanced on their edge in constant peril of their homogenous existence – occupy these sites. It is one of the duties of the sculptor to try and displace these blue plates and put small bronzes in their stead.."[134]

The statuette was the future as Thornycroft told Marion Spielmann:

"I am very anxious that the fashion for English Bronzes may get all the encouragement from the press it can. It is I think Sculpture's hope".[135]

Ford was also an enthusiastic ambassador for the statuette, as his 1889 speech to the National Association for the Advancement of Art and Its Application to Industry in

[134] WH Thornycroft. Lecture to Students of the Royal Academy, 1885. *Thornycroft Papers, Henry Moore Institute Archives*, Ti-Y2-2.

[135] W.Hamo Thornycroft to Marion H Spielmann. 5 June 1890. Spielmann Papers, John Rylands Library, Manchester MS1300

Edinburgh demonstrated, partly because he could use it as a vehicle to demonstrate his gift of marrying so-called "body portraiture" with so many decorative styles and effects. While he was criticized for his ornamentation, his original approach demonstrated how sculpture could straddle the divide of both jewelry and silverwork. In *The Singer* [fig 14] for example, the neo-Egyptian diminutive model demonstrates his mastery of modeling and his application of metalwork, enameling, engraving and polychromy: Ford appears to have used enameling or cloisonism on the minutely engraved pedestal of the statuette to complement the taut fine strings of the harp which echo the curvaceous smoothness of the young singer who holds herself prone, ready to take the next breath.[136]

Walter Armstrong was among those critics who recognized that this work advertised the wider application of the decorative arts in Ford's work, when he described *The Singer* as the "finest example… produced by an Englishman" of a piece that stood "on the borderland between sculpture, in the usual sense, and orfevrerie" or metalwork.[137]

In many of the letters from Ford to Sir Isidore Spielmann carried by the V&A Library, the sculptor's concerns about finances are a recurrent theme. In an apparent bid to make some money, Ford chose to exploit the opportunities created by the exhibitions he attended by not only selling his larger works but using his more affordable bronze statuettes as a potentially lucrative form of advertising. At the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in 1890 he displayed both *General Gordon* (1888-9) and *Peace* (1886-7) in statuette form.

In 1889 Arthur Collie set up his publishing house in London, specifically to sell bronze statuettes. British foundries such as J.W. Singer had just become equipped to implement lost wax casting. Sculptors and critics saw this as a new venture to sustain careers that were otherwise in hoc to highly competitive competitions for public monuments.[138] Collie's most popular figures were *General Gordon* by Hamo Thornycroft, *The Sluggard* by Frederic Leighton and *Peace* by Onslow Ford.

The backlash against ideal sculpture had not yet begun, but the quest to make sculpture more accessible appears always to have been doomed. Buyers were encouraged to handle and cherish the statuettes and enhance the patina on the pocket-sized model, but their

[136] Edwards 2013.3

[137] Walter Armstrong.'Edward Onslow Ford ARA'. *Portfolio*

[138] Martina Droth, Jason Edwards, David J.Getsy and Matthew Withey. "The Cult of the Statuette in Late Victorian Britain". Henry Moore Institute Essays on Sculpture 31 (2000)3.

prices were still far out of reach of most.[139]While Collie put some statuettes on sale at £10, their overall cost appears to have been a significant barrier to their popularity. Although businessmen and industrialists were keen to decorate their homes with statuettes and the Royal Academy showed signs of preferring the smaller scale prices were still prohibitive.[140] [141]

According to Beattie the average cost of a bronze was 1/20 of the annual income of a middle-class professional. So while Gilbert's *Offering to Hymen* was offered for sale at 20 guineas and Thornycroft's *Mower* at 45 guineas in 1902 – considerably less than £120 for a marble bust – this still represented a large chunk of pay for the senior architect at London City Council who was earning just £400 a year.[142] Ford was also not beyond asking immense sums for his works, such as *Echo,* which he told Isidore Spielmann was for sale in 1897 at the princely sum of £1260.

The need to cast the statuettes with the lost wax method also put up the production costs and so while the artists were didactically attempting to educate the taste of the general public, many of these so-called socialist artists were in fact wholly out of touch with what their aspiring buyer could actually afford. As a result, Arthur Collie's publishing house on Old Bond Street was forced to close and not long afterwards, Ford died leaving only debts.

[139] Beattie. *The New Sculpture*. 191

[140] R Jope-Slade. *Magazine of Art.* 1894. 385-6

[141] R Jope-Slade. *Magazine of Art.* 1894. 385-6

[142] Beattie.1983. 199

Conclusion

Sculpture has historically suffered from the curse of anonymity. While the allegorical message of Antique sculpture may still be understood, the author is often unknown. In the 19th century, the civic and collaborative nature of much sculpture meant that it was either the nameless property of the city or the sculptor was one of dozens of artists working on a building, so his contribution was undistinguished.

Pinker and Ford's work has also blended into this evolving sculptural landscape, so much so that it has almost disappeared. Ford is once more becoming better known for his iconic pieces, such as the *Shelley Memorial* and his statuettes, bought by the Chantrey bequest and displayed at the Tate. Pinker has however become synonymous with those anonymous sculptors, who specialized in capturing the essence of old Victorian gentlemen whom none any longer remembers nor cares about.

So why have the works of Ford and Pinker had so very different after-lifes? It is hard to disagree with a contemporary article in the *Illustrated London News*: "In the domain of sculpture it may be said that Mr Onslow Ford stands quite in the forefront both for vivacity and truthfulness of work. Mr Montford's statue of Darwin and Mr Hope-Pinker's of Dr James Martineau are not without a certain dignity, but they look conventional beside Mr Onslow Ford's treatment of Dr Dale."[143]

Onslow Ford was a genius not always recognized in his lifetime, a pioneer of new techniques and a brilliant portraitist. Pinker was consistently lauded for his likenesses and their humanity, but quite simply a portraitist. Another reason for their different after-lifes quite possibly is that academic scholarship into Victorian sculpture and the New Sculptors in particular, has focused latterly on the statuette – of which Ford was an important proponent – and the conflagration of the decorative arts. Many of the artists involved, like Ford and Thornycroft, were consummate self-publicists who understood that their work had not only to be original to permeate the psyche of the public if they were to be remembered, but to be widely distributed. They were the artistic celebrities of their day, courting controversy and attention.

Pinker was a gifted portraitist but not an opinion-maker. In later years, he devoted himself to giving lectures to students and awarding prizes. In the review of Victorian

[143] *Illustrated London News*. Undated, unpaginated. Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927

sculpture, I would argue that portraiture has been overlooked in current academic scholarship. This dismissal of a once admired art form, began in Pinker's lifetime – with the award of the Jowett Memorial to Ford. [fig 28]. Benjamin Jowett had died in September 1893 shortly after the Shelley Memorial was installed in Oxford. The last letter that Ford apparently wrote Pinker was sent in the same month and there is no evidence of further correspondence between them after this point.

In the early 1890s, Pinker had been commissioned to make a marble bust of Jowett and had stayed with him for several sittings. However when it came to commissioning a chapel memorial, the committee opted for that by Ford: with elaborate mosaics, figures metalwork, intricate lettering, armourial bearings and a man asleep. Just months after the Shelley memorial was installed, Ford offered a traditional monument, with a modern decorative twist. Pinker's offerings were dismissed.

From lengthy correspondence between Lord Curzon, formerly the British Viceroy of India and now Vice-Chancellor of Oxford on Christmas Day 1894, Pinker was apparently heartily disappointed.[144] Perhaps it seemed a betrayal of a close friendship or Ford simply saw it as another competition he had won in a fair fight, it is impossible to tell. However, it would seem that the University also believed it had overlooked Pinker's portraiture abilities when in 1911 Lord Curzon ordered a marble replica of a bust of Jowett [fig 43], which had been lent by the High Master of St Paul's, for a display in the Bodleian Library.[145]

Arguably too, Pinker was a victim of his own success. He had in the words of William Michael Rossetti become a 'tradesman sculptor' turning out remarkable imagined and real likenesses of scientists, surgeons and dons, and no longer apparently tackling the ideal works that all sculptors should be aiming for.

However it would appear that in *Britannia, Oliver Cromwell at Marston Moor, The Nation's Sword of Honour, Reverie* and *the Pride of Old England(1900)* Pinker would have pursued the figurative ideal if, once he had not been dependant on commissions for financial security. However this option was not open to him in his early years.

[144] Lord Curzon. Letter to Hope-Pinker. 25 December 1894.*Hope-Pinker archive letters 1872-1927,* Royal Academy (March 2017)HRHP/LPM/IJ6
[145] Philip Lyttleton Gell. Letter to Hope-Pinker. 19 July 1911.*Hope-Pinker archive letters 1872-1927,* Royal Academy (March 2017)HRHP/LPM/IJ6

I would argue that in keeping with many of his contemporaries, Pinker struggled financially for most of his professional life. When his first wife Anne died at 32 in 1881, leaving him with a large household in London and four children under seven, the son of the stone mason chose the practical route and pursued those jobs which would give him a steady line of work to feed his family. In following his head not his heart, in the busts of old Oxford dons and former surgeons at the Royal College of Surgeons, he educated and fed his family, even if he failed thus to live up to the glorious career hinted at by Edmund Gosse in 1894.

Twelve years after the death of his first wife, he married a wealthy heiress Rebekah May Hope in late 1893. From this moment on his work appears to relax, his commissions are less plentiful and more imaginative. However it is clear too that he took great pleasure in giving lectures and prizes and that by the early 1900s he had reached the end of his physical ambitions and was happy to retire as a practising sculptor. Fatigue with monuments came in the late 1920s,so within a short time the fashion for figurative sculpture would soon be over.

Ford and Pinker were in many ways better off than most: their works were often tucked away in the grounds of stately homes, the RCS or Oxford libraries. Ford is now being reassessed and his genius reconsidered, even celebrated. Pinker is however best known today for the destruction of one of his most prestigious works, Queen Victoria in Demerara. The whereabouts of many of his ideal works are unknown and presumed to have been destroyed.

Having investigated the career paths of these two artists, it is clear that Ford above all is worthy of his place amongst the greats of 19th century sculpture. I would argue however that the place of portraiture in this era and Pinker's place therein should also be reassessed in current academic scholarship. I would also suggest that further scholarship could be undertaken into the work produced by the 19th century collaboration of members of the Art Workers Guild and that a monograph should be written on the lives of both Edward Onslow Ford and Henry Richard Pinker.

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Illustrations

Figure 1 Letters from Edward Onslow Ford to Henry Richard Pinker 1873-1883.

Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927

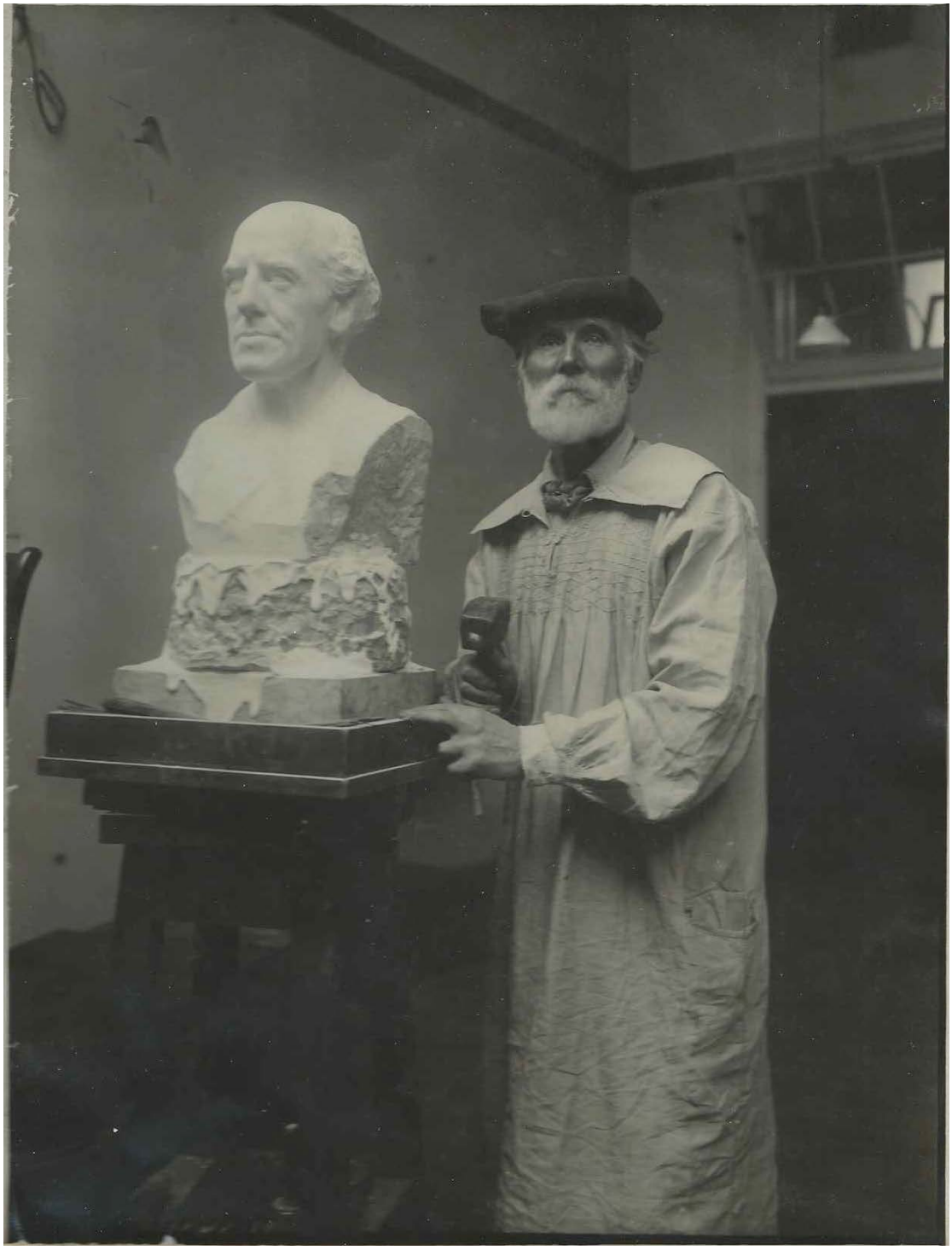

Figure 2 H.R. Hope-Pinker with bust of Karl Pearson ("Head of a Friend") 1923.

Photographer unknown. Hope-Pinker Archives 1872-1927

Figure 3 “The Late E. Onslow Ford, R.A. from the portrait by his son, Wolfram Onslow Ford.”

Photographer and date unknown.

Figure 4 Athlete Wrestling with a Python, RA. 1877 by Frederic, Lord Leighton.

Bronze, 1746 x 984 x 1099mm, 290 kg Tate

Figure 5 "To Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Greetings from your Friends."

Magazine of Art. (November 1899).

Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927.

Figure 6 Night and Morning – two corbels in the Aquarium, Brighton.

Building News. 21 February 1873. Lithograph.

Figure 7 E.W. Benson, by H.R. Pinker, London 1875.

Height 64.5 cm

Photograph courtesy of Wellington College, Crowthorne, Berkshire

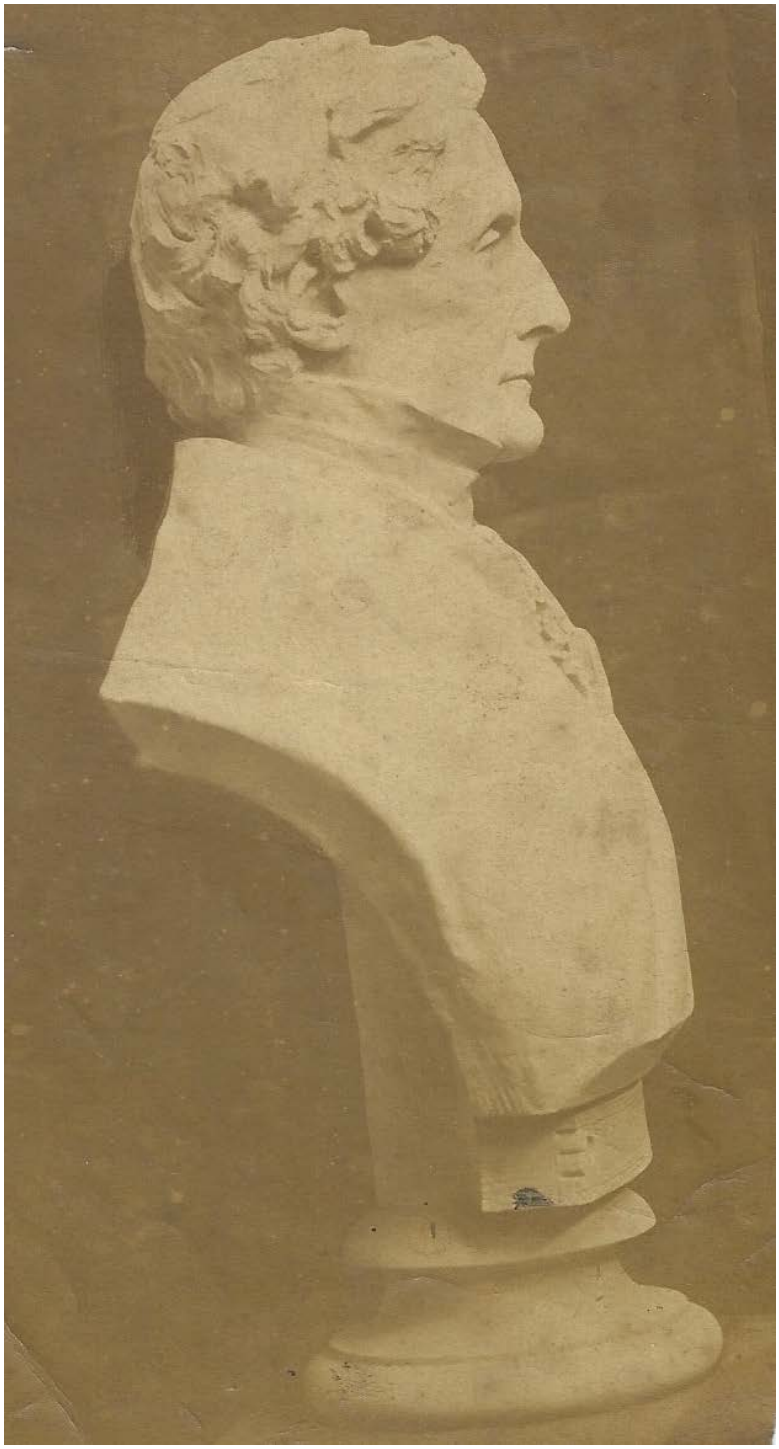

Figure 8 Duke of Portland, by H.R. Pinker.

Welbeck Abbey

Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927. Photographer and date unknown.

Figure 9 E.C. Wickham by H.R. Pinker 1877.

Height 63.5 cm

Photograph courtesy of Wellington College.

Figure 10 Edward White Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury by H.R. Hope-Pinker.

Photographer and date unknown. Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927.

Figure 11 Rowland Hill (1795-1879) by Edward Onslow Ford, R.A.

Photograph – Jacqueline Banerjee, 2006,for the Victorian Web.

Figure 12 Folly by Edward Onslow Ford 1886.

Bronze18887 x 415 x 330 mm, Tate.

Presented by the Trustees of the Chantrey Bequest 1886.

Figure 13 Peace by Edward Onslow Ford R.A.

Bronze, dark brown patina on a marble base (52.7 cm.)

Photograph by Robert Bowman, *Sir Alfred Gilbert and the New Sculpture* (2008)

Figure 14 The Singer by Edward Onslow Ford R.A., 1889

Bronze, coloured resin paste and semi-precious stones

902 x 216 x 432 mm

Tate N01753

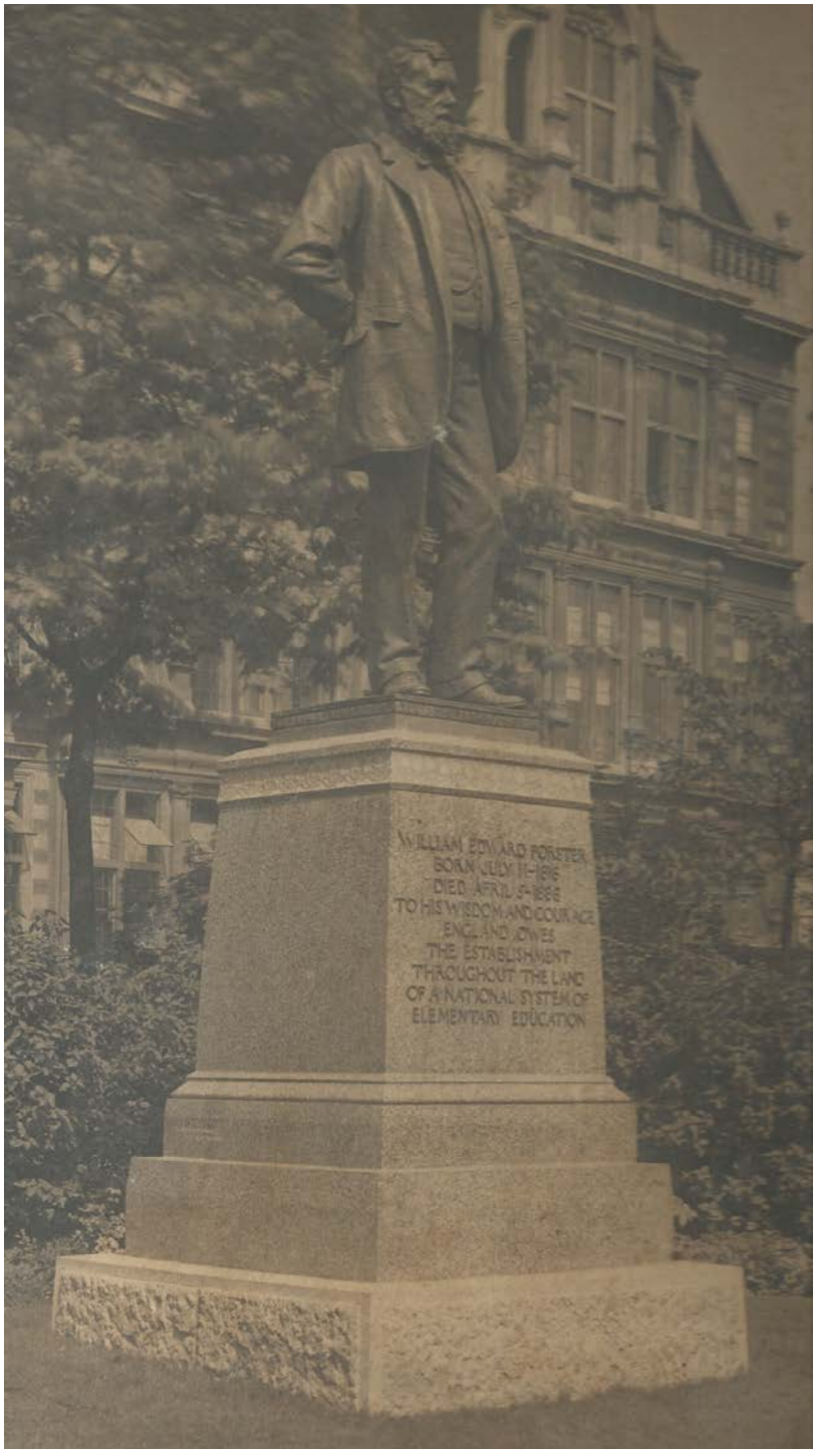

Figure 15 W.E. Forster, Victoria Embankment by H.R. Pinker

Photographer and date unknown. Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927

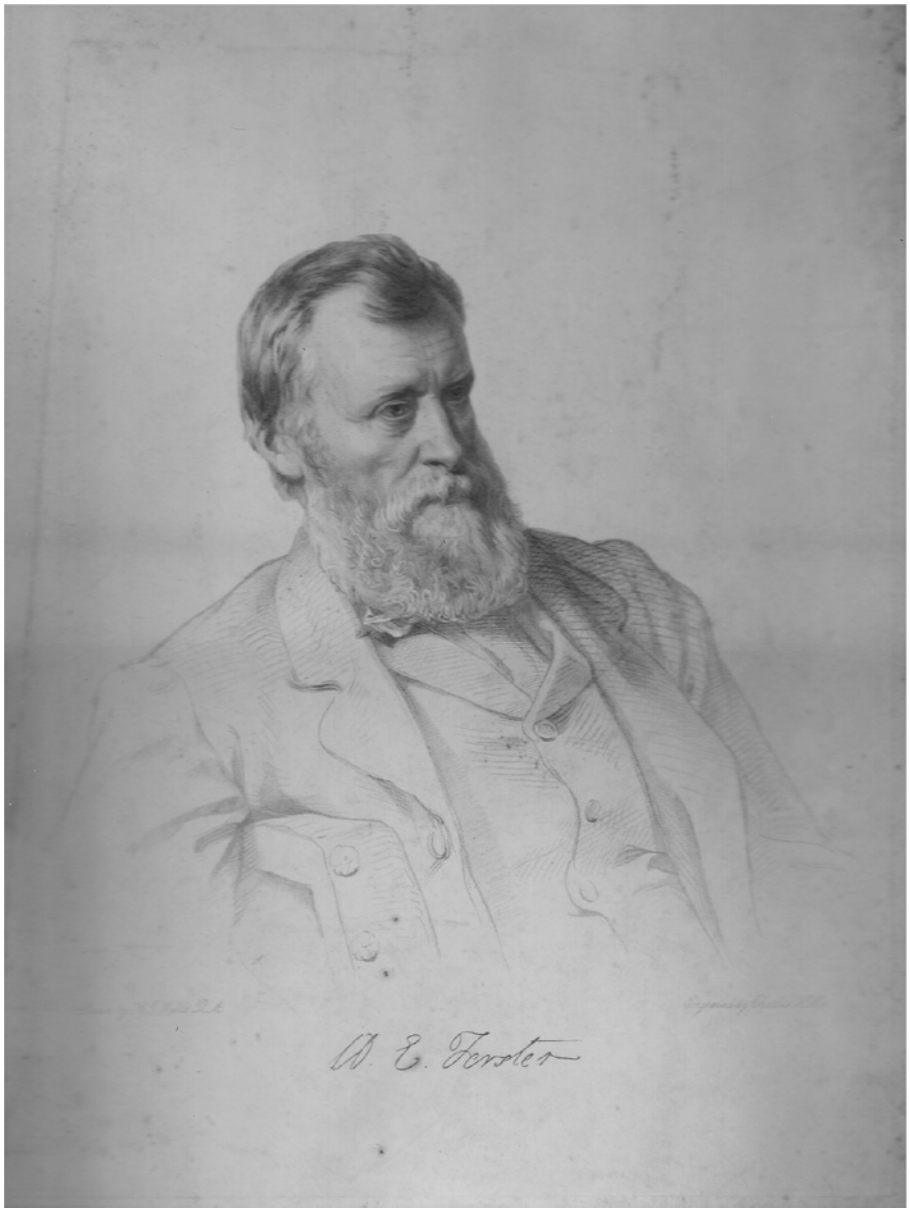

Figure 16 W.E. Forster, Lithograph by H.T. Wells, R.A.

Engraved by Charles Holl. Undated. Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927

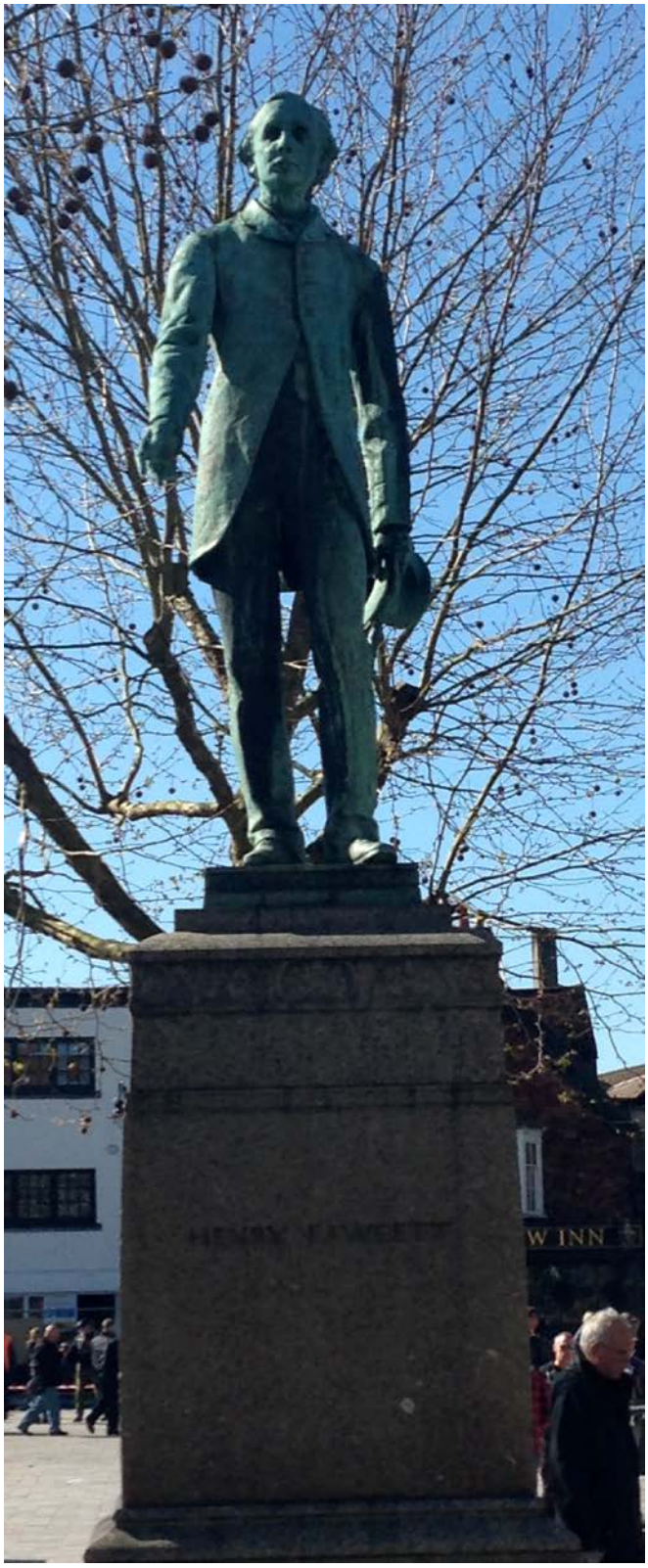

Figure 17 Henry Fawcett by H.R. Pinker 1886.

Salisbury Market Place. Photographer author, 2016

Figure 18 General Gordon on a Camel, Chatham by Edward Onslow Ford 1890.

Copyright Conway Collections, Institute of Courtauld.

Photographer and date unknown.

Figure 19 Edward Onslow Ford by Sydney Prior Hall.

Pencil on paper, circa 1890

6 7/8 in. x 4 3/8 in. (175 mm x 112 mm)

NPG 2385

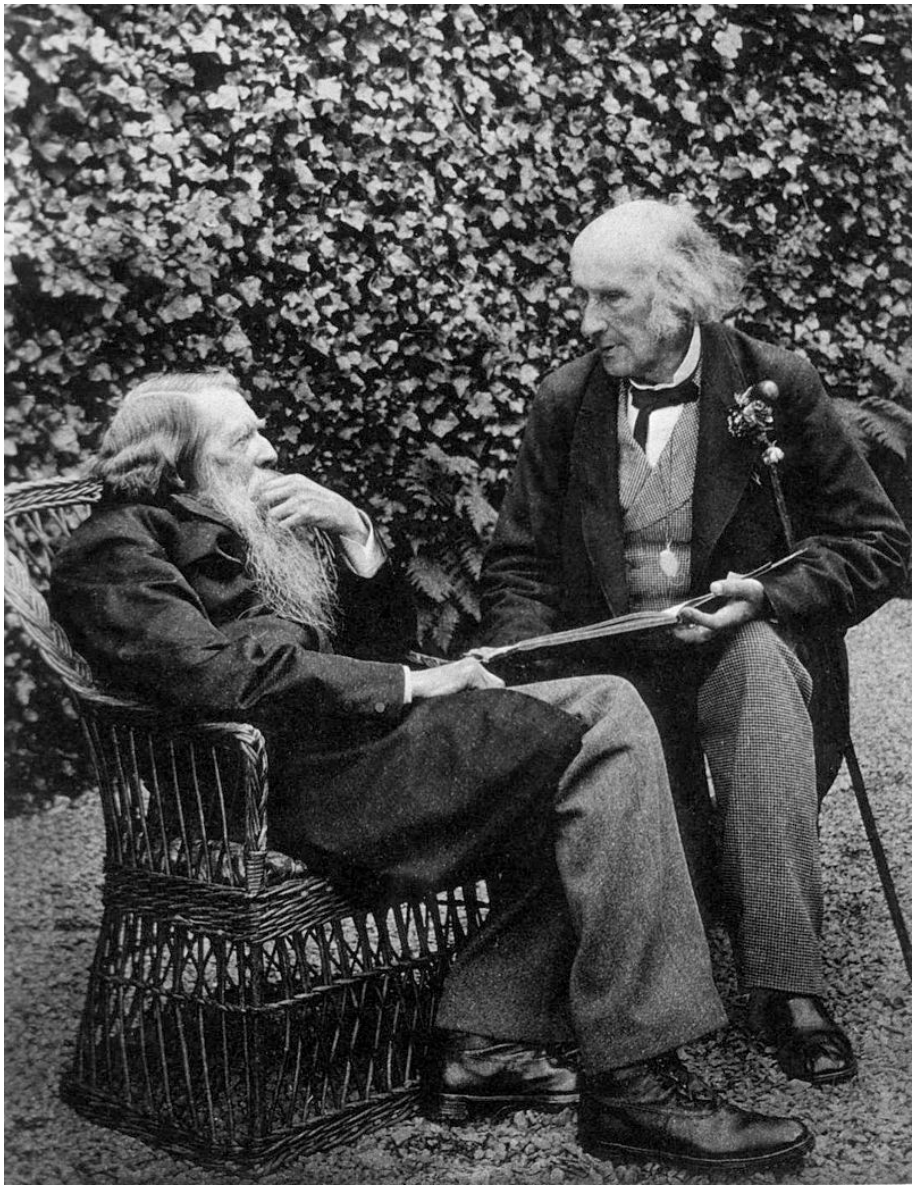

Figure 20 John Ruskin (left) with Sir Henry Acland. 1 August 1893

Photographer Sarah Angelina Acland.

Copyright of the Victorian Web

Figure 21 Statue of John Hunter in the studio of Hope-Pinker.

Date and photographer unknown. Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927.

Figure 22 John Hunter (1728-93) by H.R. Pinker.

Natural History Museum, Oxford.

Photographer author, 2016.

Figure 23 Roger Bacon in Pinker's studio, later adapted.

Date and photographer unknown. Hope-Pinker Archive 1872-1927.

Figure 24 Thomas Sydenham by H.R. Pinker.

Natural History Museum, Oxford.

Photographer author, 2016.

Figure 25 Charles Darwin by H.R. Hope-Pinker.

Natural History Museum, Oxford.

Photographer author 2016.

Figure 26 Dr James Martineau by H.R. Hope-Pinker.

Manchester College, Oxford. 1897.

Plaster cast of statuette (14” high)

Figure 27 Shelley Memorial by Edward Onslow Ford 1893

University College Oxford.

Courtesy of Oxford University.

Figure 28 Shelley Memorial by Edward Onslow Ford 1893

University College, Oxford.

Photographer author, 2016.

Figure 29 Memorial to Benjamin Jowett by Edward Onslow Ford.

Courtesy Balliol College Archives and Manuscripts. Chapel, north wall.

http://archives.balliol.ox.ac.uk/images/Chapel%20memorials/DSCN9912.JPG

Figure 30 Queen Victoria in Pinker's studio by H.R. Hope-Pinker 1893.

Photographer and date unknown. Hope-Pinker archive 1872-1927.

Figure 31 Photograph of unveiling of Queen Victoria outside law courts of Demarara, Guyana by H.R. Hope-Pinker 1893.

Photographer and date unknown. Hope-Pinker archive 1872-1927

Figure 32 Damage to statue of Queen Victoria due to dynamite explosions 1954.

Keystone Press photo. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

Figure 33 Removal of Queen Victoria on recognition of Guyana as a republic 1970.

Courtesy of Yale Center for British Art.

Figure 34 Photograph of the Late Maharajah of Mysore by Edward Onslow Ford.

Academy Architecture and Architectural Review.

London: Academy Architecture, 1899. No. 2057.

Internet Archive copy from University of Toronto Libraries and Victorian Web.

Figure 35 Maharajah Lakshmeshwar Singh 1899 by Edward Onslow Ford.

Dalhousie Square, Kolkata

Photographer Mahesh Rao, 27 October 2008.

Source: Wikipedia.

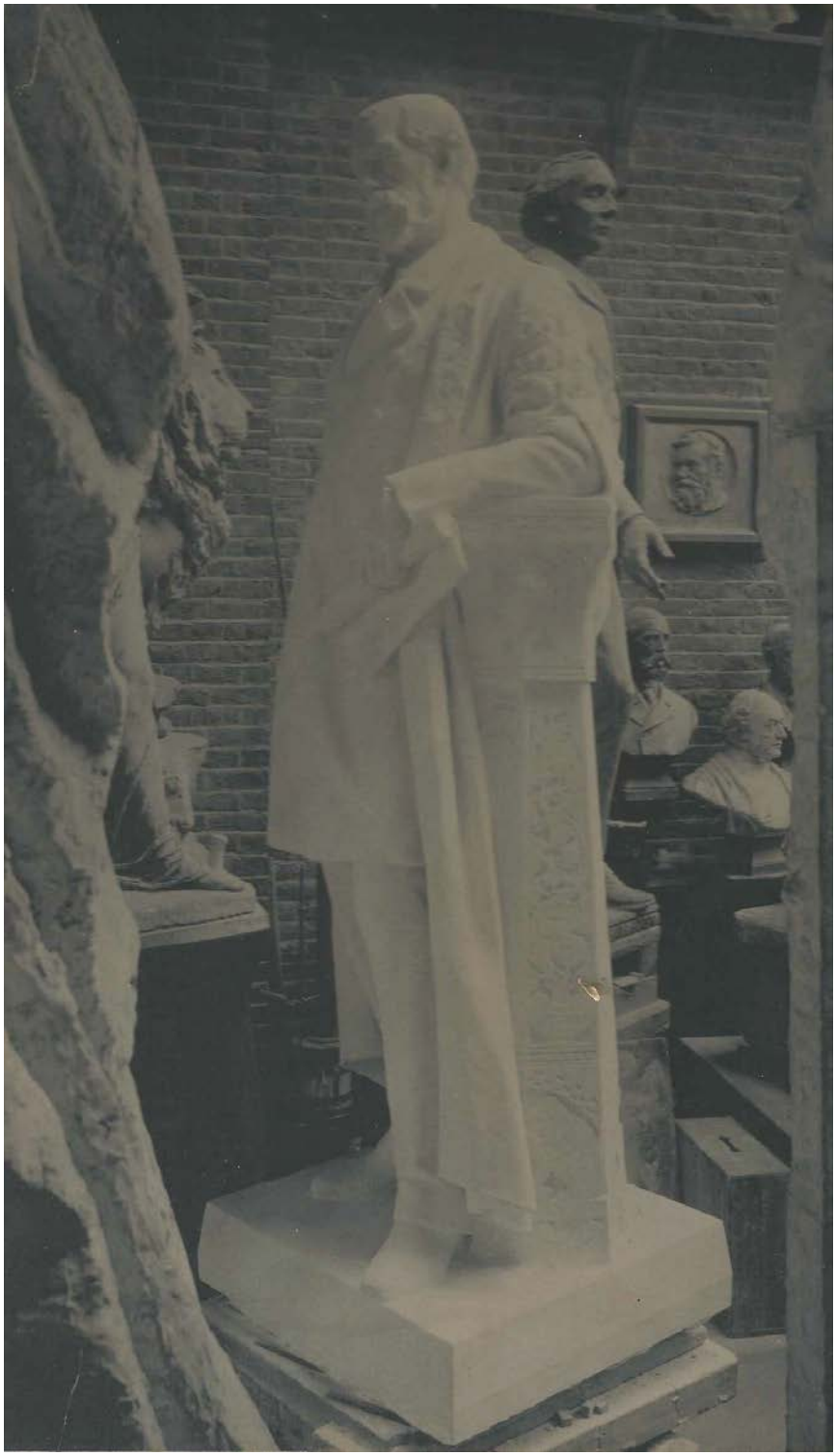

Figure 36 Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay by H.R. Hope-Pinker.

Marble in Hope-Pinker's studio. Photographer and date unknown. Hope-Pinker archive 1872-1927

Figure 37 Queen Victoria, by Edward Onslow Ford. 1901.

Manchester.

Bronze figures, including St George and the Dragon on top of the surround.

Figure 38 Henry Richard Hope-Pinker by Elliott & Fry.

Albumen cabinet card, late 1880s-early 1890s.

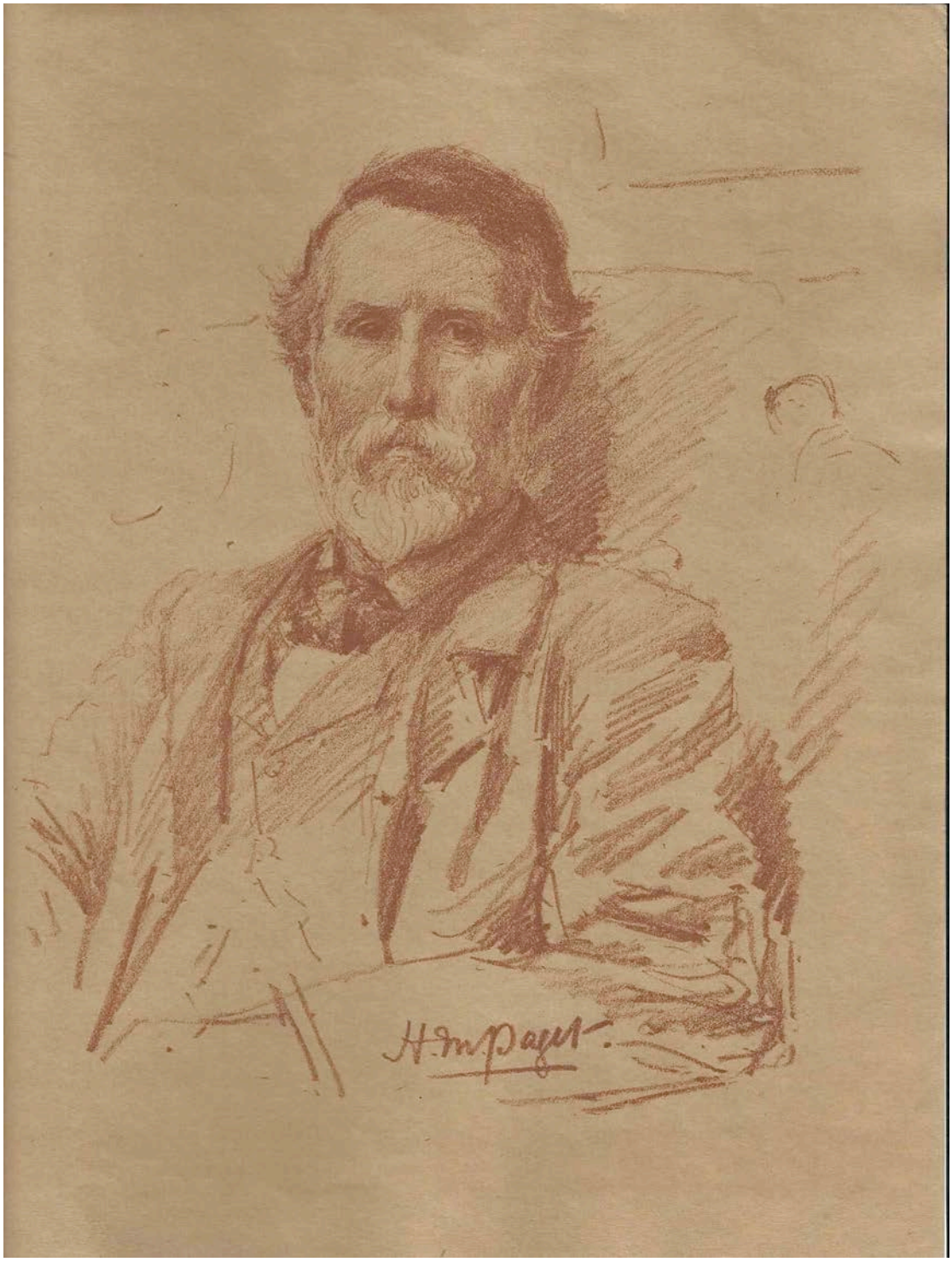

Figure 39 Henry Richard Hope-Pinker by H.M. Paget.

Sketch. Date unknown. Hope-Pinker archive 1872-1927.

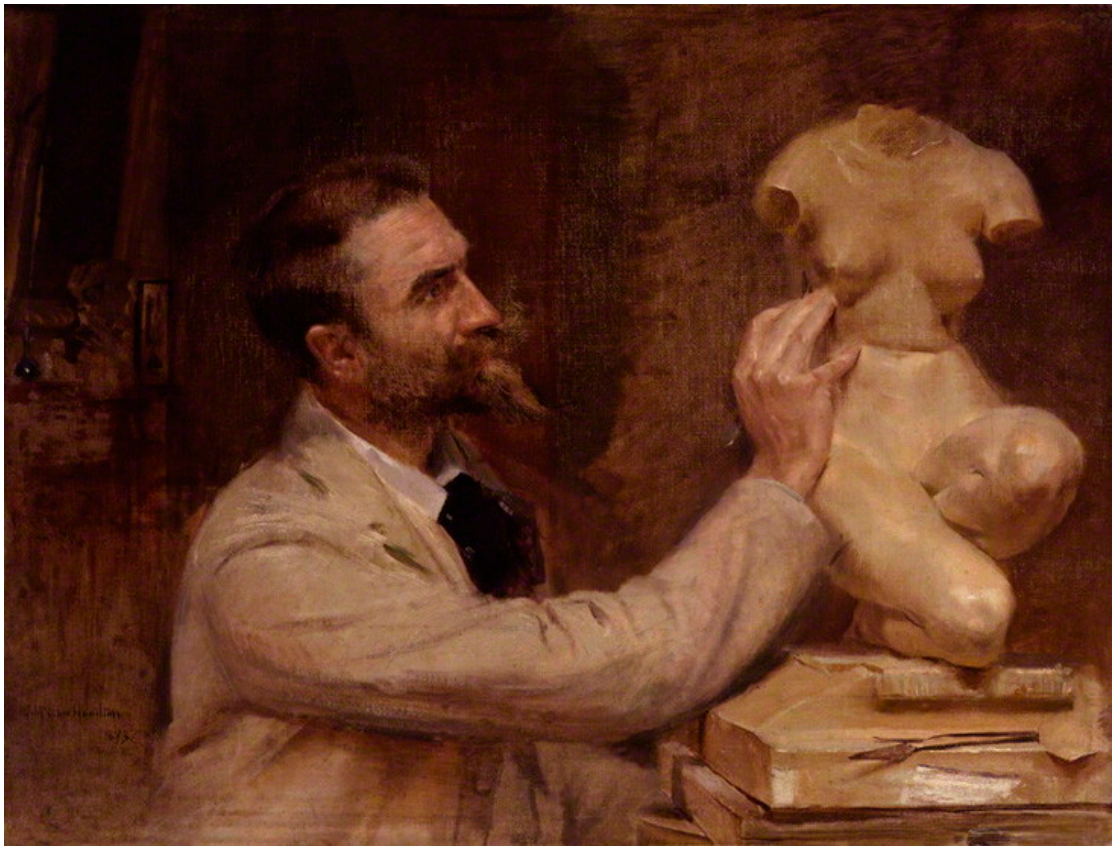

Figure 40 Edward Onslow Ford by John McLure Hamilton 1893.

Oil on canvas.

NPG 1866.

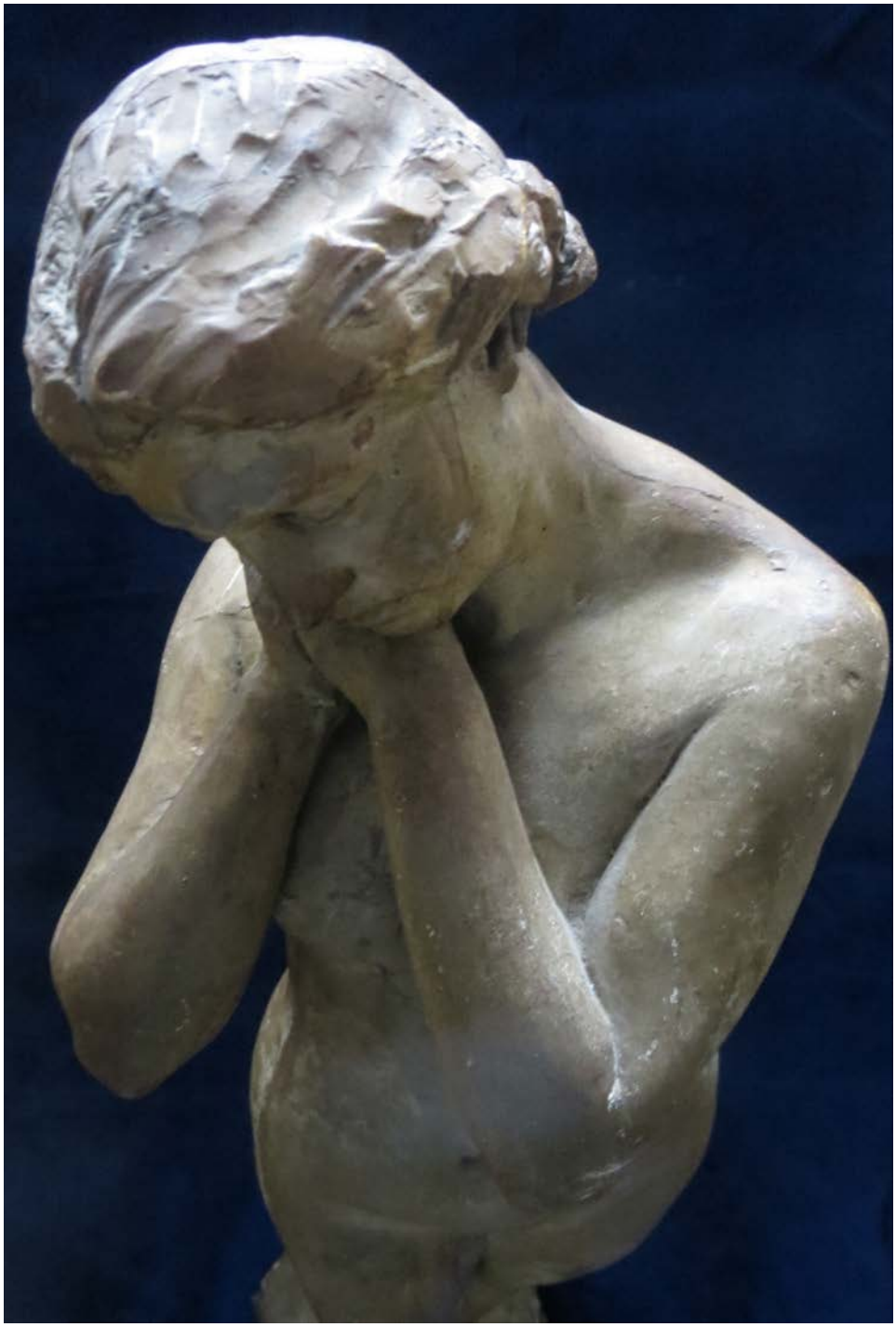

Figure 41 Reverie by H.R. Hope-Pinker 1904

Private ownership. Edinburgh.

Photographer author, 2016.

Figure 42 The Pride of Old England by H.R. Hope-Pinker 1899.

Photographer and date unknown. Hope-Pinker archive 1872-1927

Figure 43 Benjamin Jowett by H.R. Hope-Pinker 1892.

Copyright Balliol College, Oxford.

http://archives.balliol.ox.ac.uk/images/Portraits/074.jpg

Figure 44 A Nation's Sword of Honour by H.R. Hope-Pinker.

Photographer and date unknown. Hope-Pinker Archives 1872-1927.