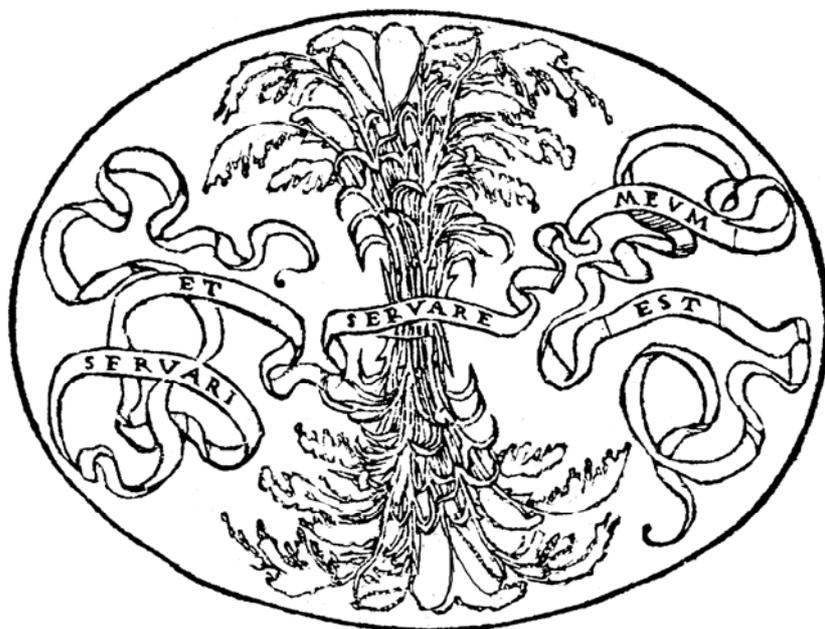


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THE EASTLAKE LIBRARY: ORIGINS, HISTORY AND IMPORTANCE

Sir Charles Eastlake (1793-1865), painter, scholar and arts-administrator, was appointed first Director of the National Gallery in 1855. In this role he acquired over one hundred and fifty pictures for the nation and put the study and management of the collection on a professional footing. He also purchased pictures for himself throughout his life and amassed a pioneering scholarly library that reflected his broad-ranging interests in the developing field of art history. The creation of Eastlake's private art library and its subsequent sale by his widow, the redoubtable Lady Eastlake, to the National Gallery in 1870 and its later history are an under-studied subject in the Gallery's biography¹. This is not surprising given that such research may seem to be merely tangential to the Gallery's primary purpose – to look after, research, and augment its world-ranking collection of European Old Master paintings. But study of the Eastlake Library is illuminating on a number of fronts. First, and most obviously, it gives us an insight into the evolving interests and concerns of Sir Charles Eastlake, whose role in the history of Britain's creation of a culture of public art was hugely significant. Secondly, by examining Eastlake's use of his unusually comprehensive library, especially when he became the National Gallery's Director, we can begin to understand the way in which, under his leadership, that institution started to transform itself into an altogether more professional place. Thirdly, and related to the second point, by tracing the sometimes tortuous history of the acquisition of Eastlake's library by the National Gallery, and its evolving place there, we can, from a particular perspective, see how people's perception of the Gallery's role and identity changed and indeed continues to change.

1. The creation of the Eastlake Library

Books - and by association specialist bookshops and libraries - came to be regarded by Eastlake as important sources of knowledge that could facilitate his work whether as a painter, scholar or arts-administrator. His interest in acquiring books started early and lasted his lifetime. As a young art student in London, studying initially under the history-painter Benjamin Robert Haydon and subsequently at the Royal Academy schools, Eastlake wrote several letters to his indulgent father in Plymouth, begging for an increase in his allowance to enable him to acquire certain expensive books or suggesting particular ones as gifts that he felt would assist his artistic labours². Nor did Eastlake hide from his patron, the banker and art

I am indebted to Elspeth Hector, Head of the National Gallery Libraries and Archive, for much assistance in answering various queries in relation to the current article. I am grateful to her, as well as to James Carleton Paget, Alan Crookham, Nicholas Penny, Charles Sebag-Montefiore and Giles Waterfield for commenting on an earlier draft of this article. The following abbreviations apply throughout the article: «NG Archive» refers to the archive of the National Gallery, London, and «NG Lib.» refers to its libraries.

¹ Surprisingly, David Robertson, in his otherwise comprehensive biography of Eastlake mentions the Eastlake Library in just one sentence (see ROBERTSON 1978, p. 236). Nor is there any mention of it at all in the most recent history of the National Gallery by Jonathan Conlin (see CONLIN 2006). The only previous research into the Eastlake Library (which remains unpublished) was undertaken, as part of a larger study of the National Gallery libraries, by Peter Wood (see WOOD 2005, especially pp. 13-20). My article builds on and extends his work, by highlighting the uses to which Eastlake put his library, and by emphasizing the role Lady Eastlake played in its transfer to the National Gallery. The latter's letters, not available to Wood, have elucidated both this process and other aspects of the history of Eastlake's library. (For a published edition of Lady Eastlake's correspondence, see SHELDON 2009).

² See EASTLAKE 1870, p. 19, where it is noted that Eastlake bought «Pausanias – a quarto edition in French – [and] Macrobius, etc.» to assist with his first commission from Jeremiah Harman for a classical subject;

collector, Jeremiah Harman, his eagerness to purchase books. For instance, in one letter of 1822, from Rome, where Eastlake had based himself since 1816 to study the Old Masters at first hand, he confessed a desire to acquire a copy of J.M.W. Turner's *Liber studiorum* (1808-1819) - the celebrated collection of 70 prints after Turner's elevated landscape designs. Interestingly, what Eastlake describes as a «wish to be so extravagant»³ reveals a voracity, albeit for books, which would seem to contrast with his generally modest and sober character. Eastlake did obtain the desired volume⁴ - but whether at this point or later on is unclear; it remains a jewel in the Eastlake Library (Fig. 1). When, a few years later, in 1828, Eastlake undertook his tour of Northern European art collections (in the footsteps of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had made such a trip in 1797), it was not only the galleries that attracted his attention. As Lady Eastlake recalled, «The booksellers' shops divided his affections, in some measure, with the pictures. Holland is rich in old art-literature, and various additions to his valuable art library were made which found their way to Rome»⁵. Some of his books accompanied Eastlake on the various study-trips he undertook; for instance, he went off to the Low Countries with «Sir Joshua»⁶ in hand; he took his copy of «Zanetti»⁷ round Venice when he toured the region in 1830, on his way back to England after his fourteen-year residence abroad, and on the 1830 trip he also packed «Ticozzi and Maniago»⁸ for his «exploring trip into the country of Giorgione and Bassano»⁹.

Once Eastlake's status as a successful artist and later as a public figure had been established, he was in a better position to purchase sought-after books that came his way. First, by that point money was not in short supply. Secondly, after his appointment in 1855 as the first Director of the National Gallery, whenever he travelled abroad on Gallery business -

EASTLAKE 1870, p. 28, where Eastlake's book-buying and purchase of «a large number of engravings from the old masters» are noted as having incurred «special expenses» and that his elder brother John was «proposing to give up a portion of his allowance in favour of his brother», and EASTLAKE 1870, p. 31, which quotes from a letter from Eastlake to his brother William, dated 1812, where Eastlake noted: «I wish my dear father, who takes great pleasure in buying books for his sons, would make me a present of some works on the antiquities of Rome or any of the following, if they are to be met with; *Archi Trionfali*, by Bartoli, *Colonna Trajana*, *Colonna Antonina*, *Admiranda Romanorum*; I believe all by the same Bartoli, they consist of etchings from the antique bas-reliefs. I could now devour Gibbon's *Rome*, but don't send it, because it would be an interruption at present». The Eastlake Library has copies of some of the books mentioned in these passages: see PAUSANIAS 1817-1818 (shelved at NG Lib. ZIII.4.21-24), BARTOLI no date (shelved at NG Lib. AIII.9.4) and for two editions of Bartoli's *Admiranda Romanorum* see BARTOLI c.1690 and BARTOLI 1693 (shelved at NG Lib. AIII.9.3 and NG Lib. AIII.9.2, respectively).

³ Eastlake to J. Harman, dated 18 April 1822, from Rome (NG Archive, ref: NG5/7/9): «If I am very rich before an opportunity offers to send these things [a parcel of books], (in which case I will write again soon) I should like to secure Turner's *Liber Studiorum* - If Mr Devon pays the £90 into your hands I should then wish to be so extravagant.» See also Eastlake to J. Harman, dated 18 January, 18 April, and 17 August 1822, all from Rome (NG Archive, ref: NG5/7/5 and NG5/7/9), in which Eastlake mentions a «much desired box of books».

⁴ See TURNER 1808-1819 (NG Lib. (O.S.) NH 695 TURNER: D Turner). The Eastlake Library copy of the *Liber studiorum* has two additional plates (smaller in size and less discoloured than the other plates) bound in at the back, both of which were engraved by W.B. Cooke and published by John Murray. One is the Isle of Portland, dated 1817, and the other is Falmouth Harbour, dated 1816. Eastlake knew Turner well by 1822 for the latter had stayed on several occasions in Plymouth, while on painting tours of the region during the 1810s, and had even been accommodated by Eastlake's family on his visit in 1813.

⁵ EASTLAKE 1870, p. 120.

⁶ The Eastlake copy of *Journey to Flanders and Holland* is in vol. 2 of a three-volume edition of Reynolds's collected writings: REYNOLDS 1824 (shelved at NG Lib. NB 55 REYNOLDS). It has numerous pencil annotations by Eastlake in the margins.

⁷ Presumably this is a reference to ZANETTI 1771. The National Gallery library's copy, shelved at NG Lib. NH 1071.31 Zanetti, has no Eastlake stamp.

⁸ The reference to «Ticozzi» may be to TICOZZI 1813 (the Eastlake Library copy is shelved at NG Lib. NH 1069.391 Ticozzi). The only book by Maniago that Eastlake owned is MANIAGO 1823 (the Eastlake Library copy is shelved at NG Lib. NH 1071.39 Di Maniago).

⁹ EASTLAKE 1870, pp. 132, 137.

to search for and buy eligible pictures for the national collection – he had the chance to frequent many of the best specialist continental bookshops to buy books he needed or to check some art historical fact(s) in his attempt to secure correct attributions for paintings he had seen on his travels. Presumably he visited some of those booksellers (including Tenenti of Milan and Canciani of Venice) whose names are recorded in the diary of the Gallery's Travelling Agent, Otto Mündler, who also spent significant periods abroad, scouting out potential acquisitions in advance of the Director's arrival¹⁰. At other times, Eastlake relied on certain friends living in foreign parts to assist him in his search for obscure but vital foreign publications. For instance, he sent the historian Rawdon Brown, resident in Venice, the titles of a book and a couple of articles that he was keen to secure from the «Atti dell' Accademia Veneta» and the little-known «Giornale arcadico dio»; as the «Giornale» article does not form part of the Eastlake Library today we can presume that this, at least, eluded Brown's clutches¹¹.

Eastlake's lifelong habit of collecting books resulted in the creation of a library of some 2,213 volumes¹² (Fig. 2). The Eastlake Library contains two incunabula, a rare edition of Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia poliphili* (1499), one of the most famous of all Italian Renaissance books, and de Ketham's *Fasciculus medicinae*, published in Venice in 1500, but

¹⁰ O. Mündler records: «In the evening to Canciani, the bookseller, to read the passages concerning the Moretto picture, in Ridolfi and in Zanetti». He also mentions Tenenti at Milan as being «a bookseller»; see TOGNERI DOWD 1985, pp. 90 and 97, respectively. In contrast to Mündler, Eastlake records nothing about buying books in his own travel notebooks.

¹¹ Lady Eastlake to R.L. Brown, dated 12 July 1854, from Fitzroy Square, quoted in SHELDON 2009, p. 165: «Sir Chas did not pick Hartzen's brains about the price of the book. The following are the books or numbers he wishes for if they come in your way. Memorie spellante a Tiziano – dal P. Luigi Pungileone, nel Giornale arcadico dio mesi d'agosto e di settembre 1831. Aglietti, elogio storico dei Bellini – atti dell'academia Veneta 1812. Lettera di Aless: Paravia al Conte Napione stampata in Venezia nel 1826. Ove si sende conti di tutto sio che pertione al quadro del Pietro Martine di Tiziano». Elspeth Hector notes that the Eastlake Library contains the Aglietti 1812 article in a book of which there are two copies; see DISCORSI 1815 (NG Lib. NH 1071.31 Diedo). The Eastlake Library also has a letter by Paravia to Napione on Titians's *Peter Martyr*, although it is dated 1823; see PARAVIA 1823 (NG Lib. NB 35 Pungileoni); the date of 1826 mentioned in the letter is probably a mistake since a second edition of this work was published in 1867. It is difficult to establish when any of these works entered the Eastlake Library and none of them is annotated, although it is possible that Eastlake may not have realised he already had a copy of the Aglietti when he asked Brown to find him one.

¹² In the first catalogue of the Eastlake Library, G.M. Green, lists 2,105 titles plus 108 duplicates or queries, which adds up to a total of 2,213 books (see his report in the Appendix below and GREEN 1872). Worth noting is the fact that the National Gallery Library has two copies of Green's catalogue to which new acquisitions have been added in manuscript. The first copy (in a very fragile state of repair) has a pencil note saying it has additions up to and including 1904. The second copy has been rebound and is more robust and includes additions up to 1913 (at least). In the course of my editing Eastlake's working travel notebooks for the Walpole Society's centenary celebrations, it was decided it would be worthwhile to produce an annotated transcription of Green's catalogue. As part of this task the National Gallery's Librarian, Elspeth Hector, and her colleague, Mary Mitchell, undertook the painstaking job of checking the current locations of all of Eastlake's books. As a result of this stock check it was found that the vast majority of Eastlake's 2,000 plus books were, fortunately, still preserved at Trafalgar Square, either in the main library in the west wing of the Wilkins Building or, in the case of some specialized technical treatises, in the Technical Library that is housed in the Scientific Department (books on technique were separated from the rest of the Library, and put in charge of the Scientific Department in 1952). Only 23 titles remain unaccounted for and it is hoped that with further careful investigation, most of these will be located. Elspeth Hector suggests that of these missing volumes, some are duplicates and so may have been disposed of over time; a couple, being more technical in substance, may be hidden away somewhere in the Scientific Department; and another couple may be oversize volumes (Green A.10 location) and so may yet turn up in one of the library's remote stores. Due to lack of space, only part of my transcription of GREEN 1872 could be published (see AVERY-QUASH 2011, II, pp. 145-151), but at the end of 2012 Italian colleagues at the international Memofonte website requested that the whole of it be put on-line. For this annotated transcription of GREEN 1872 see: http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/EASTLAKE_S_LIBRARY.pdf.

incunabula and rare books¹³ were not its true purpose. It was principally a working library, and for its day it was remarkable both in terms of size and scope - the «multifarious character» of the books was noted by Lady Eastlake. Although not really a tradition in this country¹⁴, there were by the early nineteenth century some libraries belonging to royal, aristocratic or gentry collectors-cum-connoisseurs, such as George III¹⁵; William, 6th Duke of Devonshire¹⁶; Sir John Soane¹⁷ and William Beckford¹⁸, all of which contained substantial numbers of books on art history. Given that engraved images were, apart from travel and ownership, the principal source of knowledge of the visual arts in Britain at the time, it was common for English gentlemen who had been on the Grand Tour - and others who had not, but who were interested in the arts - to acquire at least a few illustrated art books, including after the works of the Old Masters¹⁹. Furthermore, a few earlier writers on, or practitioners of art, in Britain had built up substantial book collections - in their case with a particular emphasis on the practice and theory of art. Sir Joshua Reynolds, for one, although well-known as an avid and expert collector of paintings and prints, also amassed an extensive library²⁰. Nor should the library of Eastlake's teacher and friend, J.M.W. Turner be forgotten, which comprised mainly

¹³ The three other earliest books, published before 1550, in the Eastlake Library are: BRONTIUS 1541, BIONDO 1549, and GRAPHAEUS 1550.

¹⁴ As Giles Waterfield pointed out, in private correspondence with the author of 5 February 2013, little attention to date has been paid to the presence of art books in private British libraries before 1850 and there is no general work on the topic. I am grateful to Giles Waterfield for much of the information provided in the following four footnotes. We plan to pursue research into this neglected field in the future.

¹⁵ The library of King George III (reigned 1760-1820) is considered one of the most significant collections of the Enlightenment, containing books printed mainly in Britain, Europe and North America from the mid-fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. It consists of 65,000 volumes of printed books, with 19,000 pamphlets. A dedicated catalogue of the collection (excluding the pamphlets), the *Bibliothecae Regiae Catalogus*, was compiled after the death of George III by F.A. Barnard and was privately published in 10 volumes from 1820 and 1829. An annotated set is shelved in the Rare Books and Music Reading Room of the British Library. Furthermore, descriptions of books and pamphlets in the King's Library appear in printed editions of the Library's main catalogues, and over the internet in «Explore the British Library». For further information about the King's Library and its history, see JEFCOATE 2003, PAINTIN 1989 and BROOKE 1977.

¹⁶ For the Chatsworth library, see *Catalogue of the library at Chatsworth*, published in London in 1879. The title-page noted that the library had been «Collected by members of the Cavendish family during several generations, more especially by the 6th duke of Devonshire [1790-1858]» and that it had been «Catalogued by Sir James Philip Lacaita for William, 7th duke of Devonshire».

¹⁷ The Library of Sir John Soane, architect (1753-1837) is preserved with the rest of his collection in his house at 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. It consists of just over 6,000 titles, and is the only known professional library of an architect of the early 19th century. In 2004, the Museum mounted an exhibition about the collection: «Hooked on books: the library of Sir John Soane, architect 1753-1837». Work to re-catalogue the Library and to make it available on-line is currently underway (http://www.soane.org/research_library/library_collections/). See also BOLTON 1919.

¹⁸ The library of William Beckford (1760-1844), comprising some 16,000 books, was one of the most remarkable collections of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Among other things, Beckford was a keen collector of William Blake's illuminated books. His library was dispersed, initially at the sales that Beckford held during his lifetime (1804, 1808, 1817, and the Fonthill sale of 1823) and finally at a posthumous sale in 1844. Considering Beckford's importance as a book collector, comparatively little has been written about this aspect of his collecting interests, and according to Sidney Blackmore, to whom I am grateful for the following bibliographical references, there is nothing which deals specifically with the art books. For a fine general article on Beckford's library see HOBSON 1976. Bob Gemmett has written widely on Beckford, including some aspects of his library; see, for instance, GEMMET 1972, and also GEMMET 2000, an edited volume of Beckford's correspondence with his bookseller-cum-agent George Clarke. Jon Millington has detailed the literature about Beckford's book collection and book sales; see MILLINGTON 2008, pp. 208 -213.

¹⁹ For instance, Sir Watkin Williams Wynns went on a Grand Tour in 1768, and his purchases included several books of engravings of art-work in Florentine museums and all the works of Piranesi. I am grateful to Eileen Harris for this information. For further details see HARRIS 1990.

²⁰ For information about Reynolds's book collection and how he made use of it for his literary career, see HILLES 1936, pp. 112-127, which is available online (<http://archive.org/details/literarycareerof00hill>).

technical manuals, illustrated travel literature and books of poetry²¹. Eastlake's colleagues in the museum world, Otto Mündler²² and Ralph Nicholson Wornum (the National Gallery's Keeper and Secretary during Eastlake's directorship)²³, and his successors as second and third Directors at the National Gallery, William Boxall²⁴ and Frederic Burton²⁵, also bought books to aid their researches, but their collections were by no means as rich as Eastlake's.

Arguably, the most comparable private art libraries were those built up on the Continent (especially in Italy, where specialized libraries were more common than they were in Britain), many of them by contemporary critics and connoisseurs from amongst Eastlake's own artistic circle. For instance, the Italian connoisseur Giovanni Morelli accumulated a large collection and bequeathed the volumes relating to art history to the Accademia di Brera²⁶. Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle likewise built up a collection of over one hundred books, which, after his death, was given by his widow to the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. Interestingly, many of Cavalcaselle's books, especially the museum catalogues, are annotated with many notes and sketches by him²⁷. Other important art history libraries were created in Italy at the time by others not in Eastlake's immediate circle²⁸. The most important and comprehensive²⁹ was that of Count Leopoldo Cicognara. He was one of the leading figures in Italian artistic circles of his day (in 1808, for instance, he was made President of the Academy of the Fine Arts in Venice) and his library included not only art history books, but also antiquarian and especially illustrated publications. Interestingly, in the Eastlake Library there is a copy of the printed catalogue of Cicognara's book collection (a pioneering publication in this genre) as well as a

²¹ There is a full list of the books Turner owned (over 100 titles are enumerated) in an appendix to WILTON 1987, pp. 246-247; see also the lists of books included in the inventory of Turner's effects, dated November 1854, which is reproduced in WILTON 1987, p. 248. Research into those books that Turner annotated has been carried out by both Barry Venning and John Gage. For Turner's annotations in Eastlake's 1840 edition of Goethe's colour theory, see GAGE 1984.

²² Unfortunately, the current whereabouts of Mündler's library is unclear, although his travel diaries written in German are preserved in Zentralarchiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, while his shorter version in English is preserved in the National Gallery archive. Hanna Siebert of the Kunstbibliothek Berlin (Matthäikirchplatz, Berlin) informed Elspeth Hector by email on 25 February 2009 that she had no information about the present location of Mündler's library, despite searching in their library catalogues, bibliographies about art historians and in art dictionaries.

²³ See main text of this article, p. 25.

²⁴ I am currently undertaking work into Boxall's private library with Dr Silvia Davoli. There are several references to it in the Italian diary of Boxall's secretary, Federico Sacchi. For instance, on 28 October 1869, Sacchi noted that Boxall had had a box of art history books sent from Milan to his private address: «Il Sig. B parti alla volta di Firenze dove arrivò alle 8 ½ di sera. Lasciò a Milano in cura di Beruto una cassa di libri da essere inviata a Londra al Sig. McCracken per essere rimessa al suo indirizzo privato in Welbeck street» (NG Archive, ref: NGA1/14/8).

²⁵ Burton's private library was sold at Christie's in May 1900; see BURTON 1900. It comprised 192 lots of which most are art historical texts (primary texts, biographies of artists, iconography, technical treatises and reproductions after Old Master drawings), although there are also books on Irish art, the decorative arts, archaeology, and contemporary fiction. I am grateful to Elena Greer for drawing my attention to this hitherto overlooked document.

²⁶ Lists of Morelli's books and essays on them may be found in PANZERI-BRAVI 1987. Morelli had previously presented some of his books (on topics not related to art history) to the Biblioteca Civica of Bergamo in 1887. I am grateful to Donata Levi for information concerning Morelli's gifts of books to various institutions at different points in his life.

²⁷ Donata Levi, in private correspondence of 17 December 2012, informed me of Cavalcaselle's annotations.

²⁸ Donata Levi, in private correspondence of 17 December 2012, noted the important private art history libraries of Giuseppe Bossi and Tommaso and Niccolò Puccini. There are pdfs of Bossi's and Tommaso Puccini's libraries available on the Memofonte website, see <http://www.memofonte.it/ricerche/biblioteche.html#bossi> and <http://www.memofonte.it/ricerche/biblioteche.html#tpuccini>, respectively.

²⁹ Cicognara's art history library was considered so comprehensive that it has formed the basis for the Vatican Library's art historical microfilms that were produced about 1985-1990. I am grateful to Nicholas Penny for this information.

number of other publications by Cicognara³⁰. It seems more than likely that Eastlake used this exemplary early catalogue as a guide to what he should have in his own library³¹.

Eastlake's library contained a number of books on historical matters as well as reference books, notably dictionaries and encyclopaedias of art, as well as a small quantity on the meaning of signs and symbols (what today would be referred to as iconography). In addition Eastlake collected general works on the arts, theory, philosophy, and aesthetics. His selection of critical texts included important works by his countrymen Richardson, Hogarth, Reynolds, Barry and Haydon, and also by the most significant writers on artistic theory from Italy (Baldinucci, Ridolfi and Lomazzo), France (Diderot, de Piles and Quatremère de Quincy), and Germany (Mengs and Schlegel). Given Eastlake's particular interest and expertise in Italian Renaissance painting a particular strength of the library is naturally in the field of Italian art history, although it contains many significant source books for German, Flemish and Dutch art too. Then there are numerous manuals and historical treatises on technical or practical aspects of the fine arts, including on the preparation of certain pigments and varnishes for painting.

The library's greatest asset is, however, without doubt, its collection of travel literature in general, and private collection catalogues, sale catalogues, and guidebooks to public collections in particular – mostly dating from the mid-nineteenth century, but some significantly earlier, and the majority concerned with European collections rather than native British ones³². Many of these volumes, being rare, are difficult to find elsewhere. Furthermore, a unique aspect of many of the private collection books are Eastlake's personal annotations, some of which (and on a few occasions illustrations too) relate directly to the entries he made in his travel notebooks. Indeed, it appears that he used some of these guidebooks, including Frédéric Villot's *Notice des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée Impérial du Louvre* of 1854 (Fig. 3), as handy jotting pads, making notes and drawings in their margins in front of the pictures he was studying, subsequently transcribing these into his actual notebooks³³. Nevertheless, the Eastlake Library had weak spots: a case in point is its relative lack of books about French nineteenth-century art, a reflection of the fact that modern paintings, especially Continental ones, were not part of Eastlake's purchasing remit as Director (although on grounds of personal taste he did not acquire any contemporary French pictures for his own private art collection either – surely a reflection of a very general hostility towards and contempt for

³⁰ See CICOGNARA 1821; the copy of this publication in the Eastlake Library is shelved at NG Lib. NA 10 Cicognara. There is a pdf of the Cicognara library catalogue available on the Memofonte website: http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/CATALOGO_CICOGNARA.pdf. The Eastlake Library also contains other publications by Cicognara, including on Titian (see CICOGNARA 1816, shelved at NG Lib. NB 35 Agricola), sculpture (CICOGNARA 1823-1824, shelved at NG Lib. NH 1071: G Cicognara), copper-plate engraving (CICOGNARA 1831, shelved at NG Lib. AIII.2.6), and on the concept of beauty (see CICOGNARA 1808; shelved at NG Lib. AIII.7.8). There is also a booklet prefaced with comments on bibliomania by Cicognara; see CICOGNARA 1807 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 1085 LAZZARO Cicognara).

³¹ George M. Green certainly consulted CICOGNARA 1821 when he compiled his catalogue of the Eastlake Library. For instance, in his entry for Martinelli's *Quattro discorsi* (see GREEN 1872, p. 106) Green added a note that Cicognara gives Martinelli's first name as «Antonio», which he corrects to «Marco».

³² Eastlake appears to have assembled relatively few of the commentaries on British art collections which were published in large numbers by the time that he was starting to make his library. For instance, he had none of the late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth-century accounts by German travellers in England, notably those of K.P. Mortiz and J.J. Volkmann, the often-overlooked but interesting predecessors to Passavant and Waagen (by comparison Eastlake owned numerous publications by Passavant and Waagen). The only text by Volkmann in the Eastlake Library is the three-volume *Historisch-kritische Nachrichten von Italien* of 1770-1771, which is shelved at: NG Lib. GL.4.32-34; see VOLKMANN 1770-1771. I am grateful to Giles Waterfield for this observation.

³³ See AVERY-QUASH 2011, II, Appendix III, «List of annotated guidebooks from the Eastlake Library», pp. 145-151.

modern or eighteenth-century French painting and sculpture)³⁴. This gap in the Gallery's library remained unaddressed until as late as 1953³⁵.

Eastlake made use of his books for a host of literary projects over the years. As his wife noted, Eastlake's «varied studies in art, technical and philosophical [were] reflected in them»³⁶. Aware of the dearth of art historical material in England, and the lag in scholarship in his own native country compared with the pioneering work being undertaken in Italy and Germany, he noted: «I feel it a duty to lend my assistance in putting good and historically correct things before the public»³⁷. With relevant books in his library and the advantage of being able to speak and read a number of European languages, Eastlake laboured diligently. He began to write with confidence and authority from the 1830s, starting with three articles for Charles Knight's *Penny cyclopaedia* (on «Fine arts» in 1834, on the Bolognese School in 1835, and on basso-relievo in 1836) before going on to write, between 1834 and 1835, biographies of Leonardo, Correggio, Murillo and Reynolds for Knight's *Gallery of portraits*³⁸.

Eastlake's true works of scholarship, however, were written in the 1840s, beginning with a long review of Johann David Passavant's *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi* for the «Quarterly Review» of 1840³⁹, and an edition of the first part of Mrs Hutton's translation of Franz Theodor Kugler's survey of early Italian art which was published in 1842⁴⁰. In these writings, Eastlake constantly reminded his readers of the novel approach taken by Passavant and Kugler. He saw this as breaking free from Vasarian traditions and exemplifying a pioneering brand of scholarship, forged in Italy and subsequently honed in Germany, that was based on a mixture of fresh observation in front of works of art themselves and an in-depth reading of archival and other reliable sources, both old and contemporary. Able to trace the development of this new approach to the study of art through his own library's holdings⁴¹,

³⁴ The following is a breakdown of the Eastlake Library by type of book, with (in brackets) the number of volumes and the percentage total of each category: Works on Western European painting - histories of schools/periods of art and monographs on individual artists (about 450 titles = 20%); miscellaneous works covering subjects that in the mid-twentieth century were not considered relevant to the National Gallery Library, including publications on antiquities, architecture, prints, the fine arts in general, literature, etc. (about 330 titles = 15%); miscellaneous tracts/pamphlets covering a wide range of subjects – art history, theory, aesthetics, collecting, etc. (about 270 titles = 12.5%); works on the visual arts in general, on the theory and philosophy of art and on aesthetics (about 55 titles = 2.5%); dictionaries of art (about 30 titles = 1.5%); iconography (about 25 titles = 1.2%); collected writings on art, including works by artists, e.g. Reynolds (about 15 titles = 0.6%); private collection catalogues (about 325 titles = 15%); public collection catalogues (about 200 titles = 9%); travel guides (about 165 titles = 7.5%); auction catalogues (about 95 titles = 4%); practical guides & technical literature (about 220 titles = 10%); miscellaneous, including runs of periodicals, institutional exhibitions in series, etc. (about 25 titles = 1.2%).

³⁵ WOOD 2005, p. 41, notes that on 9 September 1953 the then Keeper, Willie Gibson, made a special plea in a letter to the Treasury for extra funding to supplement the Library's «French Nineteenth century section. As a section of the collection which has only recently become of any size, this has been neglected up to date as far as the Library is concerned, but the need for books is now becoming urgent with the prospect of a fresh edition of the French catalogue in the not distant future».

³⁶ Lady Eastlake to A.H. Layard, dated 13 February 1870, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 320).

³⁷ Cited in ROBERTSON 1978, p. 56.

³⁸ See EASTLAKE 1834, EASTLAKE 1835(a) and EASTLAKE 1835 (b), and EASTLAKE 1836.

³⁹ For Passavant's original text, see PASSAVANT 1839-1858. There are a few minor annotations in the Eastlake Library copy of this work, which is shelved in the National Gallery Library at NG Lib. NH 1085 RAPHAEL Passavant. Volumes 1 and 2 both have «C.L. Eastlake» written in pencil on a flyleaf, and also a «Bound by Hayday» stamp, but the third volume does not have these additions, which might mean that it is from a different set. For Eastlake's review of Passavant's work, see EASTLAKE 1840, which was reprinted in EASTLAKE 1848, pp. 180-271.

⁴⁰ See EASTLAKE 1842. Rather oddly, the Eastlake Library does not appear to include a copy of this book, although Eastlake owned copies of both the original German text and its second edition; see KUGLER 1837 and KUGLER 1847 (both editions shelved at NG Lib. NH 20 Kugler).

⁴¹ The Eastlake Library contains works authored by Luigi Pungileoni on Correggio, Giovanni Santi, Raphael, Timoteo Viti and Bramante: see PUNGILEONI 1817-1821 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 1085 CORREGGIO

Eastlake noted in his review of Passavant's book how the Italian historian Luigi Pungileoni had «proved that it was still possible to wrest from the mouldering records of convents and similar archives a few important facts and chronological data, with which, as safe links, other materials might be connected»⁴²; and how Karl Friedrich von Rumohr, the first German art historian to adopt this approach, had set new standards of criticism by combining the «scrupulous spirit of investigation» with «the views of an enlightened historian and a skilful connoisseur». It was as a new link in this chain that Passavant, according to Eastlake, was worthy of attention: «The same spirit of accurate research, the same conscientious principle as to actual inspection, a still more practised eye, and a still more artist-like feeling, are united in Passavant with a more cautious indulgence of particular opinions and impressions». While praising the new information revealed by Passavant and seeking to summarize it as carefully as possible – after all the book had not been translated into English - Eastlake was not shy of adding much new data and analysis of his own to the subject⁴³, including an argument about the importance of the court of Urbino to Raphael's artistic development⁴⁴.

In relation to Kugler's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei* (1837), what Eastlake found particularly valuable was the fact that it was the first history of Italian art to give a positive account of the schools before Raphael. Characteristically, Eastlake was not overawed by Kugler's scholarship and the new material related in his book. Instead, he immediately sought to correct its inaccuracies in the light of newer contributions to art historical knowledge, bringing to bear his own knowledge acquired from reading Passavant's *Rafael*, Waagen's *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris*, Schorn's edition of Vasari, and the articles in the «Deutsches Kunstblatt» by Passavant, Forster, Gaye and Quandt⁴⁵ – all sources readily available to Eastlake in his private library. Thus when Eastlake's English edition of the first volume of Kugler's *Hand-book on the history of painting, Italian schools* appeared in 1842 it was more than a translation as it was more accurate than the original German. Eastlake's edition became instantly popular with his fellow countrymen and was used by them, in conjunction with Murray's guidebooks⁴⁶, as a reliable text on tours of Italy. Furthermore, when the second German edition was published in 1847, it was revised by Jakob Burkhardt and included Eastlake's remarks.

Eastlake did not use his library solely to help him to write reviews or to edit the work of other writers. In his capacity as Secretary of the Fine Arts Commission, established in 1841 to find native artists to paint in fresco scenes from British literature and history to decorate the new Houses of Parliament, he prepared a number of reports, including several on the history of the fresco technique, which were published as official «blue books». As his research into the

Pungileoni), PUNGILEONI 1822 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 1085 SANTI Pungileoni), PUNGILEONI 1829 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 1085 RAPHAEL Pungileoni), PUNGILEONI 1835 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 1085 VITI Pungileoni) and PUNGILEONI 1836 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 1085 BRAMANTE Pungileoni). It also included various books by Karl Friedrich von Rumohr on the history of Italian art: see RUMOHR 1827-31 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 1071 Rumohr), RUMOHR 1832 (shelved at NG Lib. AVIII.2.7) and RUMOHR 1837 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 215/6 :C Rumohr).

⁴² EASTLAKE 1848, p. 182; quoted in ROBERTSON 1978, pp. 55-56.

⁴³ Similarly, in his 1840 annotated translation of Goethe's *Farbenlehre* (which was published by John Murray as *Goethe's theory of colours*), Eastlake presented copious footnotes that were rich in references not only to the scientific work on optics such as those by Newton and Brewster, but also to older treatises of Cennino, Leonardo, etc; for further details see ROBERTSON 1978, pp. 54-55.

⁴⁴ Eastlake's work inspired James Dennistoun's later book on the court of Urbino, which the author dedicated to Eastlake; see DENNISTOUN 1851.

⁴⁵ A point made by ROBERTSON 1978, p. 56.

⁴⁶ In 1836 John Murray published his first travel guide titled *A handbook for travelers on the continent*. From 1840 Murray and Baedeker began to publish more travel guide titles for the continental Europe travel market in English and German, respectively. Oddly, none of these guidebooks formed part of the Eastlake Library, acquired by the National Gallery.

history of painters' materials and techniques, ranging from classical authors to Sir Joshua Reynolds, was deemed of potential interest to painters and others, some of Eastlake's work from the «blue books» was republished in 1847, by Longmans, with the title of *Materials for a history of oil painting*⁴⁷. In the book, Eastlake sought to elucidate the painting techniques employed by the old masters, concentrating on the introduction of oil painting by Flemish artists. His main concern was to re-examine a view associated with Vasari, which had become standard, that it was the van Eycks who had discovered the technique of oil painting. Eastlake concluded that they were not the inventors but rather had been influential in its development and diffusion. He also referred to the figure of Antonello da Messina, whom Vasari had credited with bringing oil painting to Italy. While not disputing that artist's role in popularising the technique south of the Alps, Eastlake drew his readers' attention to other contributing factors in the dissemination process, notably the influence of Flemish artists and paintings travelling abroad.

His main sources of evidence, in addition to what he had discovered from a close first-hand examination of relevant paintings, were numerous manuscripts and books on artists' techniques (of which he had copies in his library), ranging from eighteenth-century sources such as Raspe's editions (1781) of Eraclius and Theophilus⁴⁸ to more modern writings such as Fiorillo's *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland und den Vereinigten Niederlanden* (1815-1850)⁴⁹, Lodovico Antonio Muratori's eighteen-volume work on the history of Italian art (1818-1821)⁵⁰ and Gaye's *Carteggio inedito d'artisti* (1839-1840)⁵¹. Once again, Eastlake was able to draw richly on his own private art library to support his scholarly arguments. Sir Edmund Head, one of the reviewers of *Materials*, wrote fulsomely of Eastlake's achievement: «It is seldom, indeed, that such qualifications for writing on the history of painting meet in the same person, or that practical excellence and ardent love for his own art are seconded, as in this case, by the capacity for acquiring knowledge, and communicating it in an agreeable form»⁵². John Eagles, writing for «Blackwood's Magazine», was also laudatory and said that English artists would benefit⁵³, and John Ruskin noted that «Mr Eastlake has done his duty excellently» - although in his case he doubted that such an erudite book would have any direct effect on improving contemporary artistic practice⁵⁴. Not surprisingly, Eastlake's *Materials* was also well received abroad: it was soon translated into German and Italian, and Passavant reviewed it positively in the learned «Deutsches Kunstblatt»⁵⁵.

Eastlake also used his collection of art history books to help solve problems regarding the attributions of paintings, to fill in gaps over their provenance or to supply biographical details about their makers. A practical testing ground for Eastlake's ever-increasing abilities as a connoisseur came with his association with the National Gallery, which started in 1841 when his views on certain potential acquisitions were sought. His official employment began in 1843 when he was appointed Keeper, a post he held for four years, and it resumed as an ex-officio Trustee in 1850, in consequence of his election as the President of the Royal Academy. He remained a Trustee until his appointment as first Director in 1855. Eastlake's practice of

⁴⁷ The title is indicative of the way that Eastlake viewed the holdings of his own library. There is no copy of *Materials* in the Eastlake Library.

⁴⁸ See RASPE 1781 (the Eastlake Library's copy is shelved at NG Tech. Lib. 75.021.321 RAS).

⁴⁹ See FIORILLO 1815-1850 (the Eastlake Library's copy is shelved at NG Lib. NH 711 Fiorillo). Eastlake also owned two other books by the author.

⁵⁰ See MURATORI 1818-1821 (the Eastlake Library's copy is shelved at NG Lib. GI.1.1-18).

⁵¹ See GAYE 1839-1840 (the Eastlake Library's copy is shelved at NG Lib. NH 1066 Gaye). For further sources referred to by Eastlake in *Materials*, see ROBERTSON 1978, pp. 70-71.

⁵² See HEAD 1847, pp. 188-214; quoted in ROBERTSON 1978, p. 72.

⁵³ See EAGLES 1847, pp. 301-311.

⁵⁴ See RUSKIN 1848, pp. 390-427.

⁵⁵ See PASSAVANT 1850, pp. 4-5 and 14-15.

carefully examining paintings, together with wide research of available documentary evidence and reliable secondary literature, was now incessant and part of his job. A couple of early instances bear witness to the practical use to which he put his working library, and to the scholarly reputation that he built up as a result - a reputation that certainly helped him to secure the directorship of the Gallery⁵⁶.

As early as 1841, on the suggestion of Sir Robert Peel, the National Gallery Trustees requested that five painters – Martin Archer Shee, Augustus Wall Callcott, William Etty, Henry Howard and Eastlake – be asked to give their opinion about a *soi-disant* Raphael that the Gallery was thinking of purchasing. Eastlake submitted his report and declared the work to be not by Raphael, but by Fra Bartolommeo. Privately, he noted:

I am afraid it will be rather humiliating to them (*entre nous*) [...] I have been able to give the whole history of the picture, for it is described in more than one work, and this kind of lore (with the help of the artistic library which I have by degrees collected) I have, as you know, at my fingers' ends⁵⁷.

Doubtless as a result of Eastlake's infallible proof, the Trustees decided not to pursue the picture but they probably also realized the value of the novel kind of work that Eastlake was undertaking.

His informed research proved useful again when Raphael's *Vision of a knight* came up for sale. Various outside opinions were sought but there was no consensus about its authorship: Thomas Emmerson accepted the picture as by Raphael, but the dealer C.J. Nieuwenhuys did not. Ultimately the Gallery felt able to make the purchase in March 1847, not least because Eastlake had discovered that an old German description of the Borghese Palace listed the work as an early Raphael⁵⁸, that it had been taken from there by William Young Ottley, «who was a good judge», and that Passavant had recognised it in the collection of Lady Sykes⁵⁹. The following claim by Eastlake demonstrates how valuable he found his library and thus how justified he felt in having built it up, despite the time and cost involved:

I am very certain that none are in possession of the historical facts I have adduced. This letter is full of boasting, but it is true; and as I have sometimes been thought to have wasted time in acquiring this kind of knowledge and, I may add, spending a good deal of money gradually in collecting materials, it is a satisfaction to know that all this tells at last⁶⁰.

Eastlake's accumulated knowledge about paintings meant that on countless occasions he was able to suggest alternative attributions, many of which have stood the test of time. His research regarding pictures acquired by the National Gallery complemented that of Otto Mündler concerning pictures in the Louvre and that of John Charles Robinson (a curator and later an art referee at the South Kensington Museum) in relation to the collection of drawings at Oxford⁶¹. Many of Eastlake's discoveries were published in the National Gallery catalogue, a publication that developed in scope under Eastlake's direction. His first intervention came in 1847 when, together with Wornum, he produced a *Descriptive and historical catalogue of the pictures*

⁵⁶ Some sought to attack Eastlake's reputation after the acquisition of the so-called 'Bad Holbein', but this was an isolated incident and should not be taken as representative of Eastlake's scholarship. For further details of this episode, see ROBERTSON 1978, pp. 84-87.

⁵⁷ EASTLAKE 1870, p. 158. See also ROBERTSON 1978, pp. 53-54.

⁵⁸ Presumably Eastlake found this reference in RAMDOHR 1787 (the Eastlake Library's copy is shelved at NG Lib. NH 1071.63 Ramdohr).

⁵⁹ For fuller details of this episode, see ROBERTSON, 1978, pp. 93-94 and note 70 on p. 94.

⁶⁰ EASTLAKE 1870, p. 159. Note Eastlake's use of the word «materials» here and see earlier footnote to this article, number 47.

⁶¹ See, most notably, MÜNDLER 1850 and ROBINSON 1870.

in the National Gallery; with biographical notices of the painters by Ralph N. Wornum, revised by C.L. Eastlake, which replaced the older style of catalogue that had been arranged by National Gallery number, and that had included the name and dates of the artist, as well as basic information about the picture's title, medium, dimensions, source of acquisition and, in some instances, a brief description of the subject. This format seems to have been instituted about 1838, replacing an even earlier one, which had been little more than a hand-list⁶². What really sets Eastlake and Wornum's catalogues apart from those which had gone before (in addition to the move from an ordering by National Gallery inventory number to an alphabetical arrangement) are the references to art historical texts in support of the opinions given⁶³. Source works such as Vasari, Ridolfi, Northcote, and more recent publications such as Rathgeber and Michiels on northern art are frequently cited – all books which were in Eastlake's Library⁶⁴. The catalogues made public some of Eastlake's re-attributions; for instance *Saint Bernard's vision of the Virgin* (NG 248), acquired from the E. Jolly de Bammerville collection in 1854 as a Masaccio, was published under its correct attribution to Filippo Lippi, in the catalogue of 1857. Eastlake's other types of research were added into the official catalogue too, including his compilation of artists' signatures, monograms and inscriptions so carefully copied in his notebooks, which were first published in the *Foreign schools* catalogue of 1863⁶⁵. Likewise, any new information concerning a painting's provenance, which Eastlake gleaned from his reading of secondary literature or his personal correspondence, was given a fresh airing; witness the very full account of the provenance history supplied by Eastlake for Costa's *Virgin and Child with Saints* (NG 629.1-5)⁶⁶. This process of correcting or amplifying

⁶² The hand-list format of National Gallery catalogues, which continued up to 1834 (possibly later, but the 1834 catalogue is the last one that the National Gallery Library has in that format), consisted merely of a note of the National Gallery inventory number, artist, title, acquisition source (if a bequest) and dimensions. The earliest catalogues, prepared by William Young Ottley (the National Gallery Library has only a copy of the 1832 and 1835 editions, although the Director, Dr Nicholas Penny, has an earlier edition, possibly dating to 1826), are arranged chronologically and are more descriptive of the pictures than any of the later catalogues, but they still do not contain any information about the artist or school of the painting in question, such as can be found in the new style 1847 catalogue.

⁶³ The preface to the 1847 *Foreign schools* catalogue made clear the scope of each entry: «The plan of the catalogue is historical, as well as descriptive. Biographical notices of the several painters precede, in most cases, the descriptions of their works: the history, as far as known, of each picture is also given; together with its dimensions, the material on which it is executed, and other details which may sometimes serve to identify it. Among the sources of information which have reference to the history of art, the opinions of eminent critics on the merits of particular masters, and of remarkable works, have not been overlooked».

⁶⁴ Eastlake owned copies, for instance, of: VASARI 1550 and VASARI 1568 (both shelved at NG Lib. NH 1066 VASARI) as well as of Giorgio Vasari's text with notes by Manolesi, Bottari, Della Valle and Le Monnier; RIDOLFI 1648 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 1066 RIDOLFI), NORTHCOTE 1830 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 1085 TITIAN Northcote), RATHGEBER 1844 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 711 Rathgeber) and MICHIELS 1845-1849 and MICHIELS 1846 (shelved at NG Lib. NH 711 Michiels and NG Lib. NH 745.62 Michiels, respectively).

⁶⁵ See *National Gallery proofs (144 items) of signatures, monograms and inscriptions from 63 pictures for the National Gallery catalogue foreign schools*; dated October to December 1862 (NG Archive, ref: NG32/60). See also Wornum's preliminary Notice to the 1863 catalogue that includes the following statement: «The present catalogue is thus designed, not merely as a book of reference for visitors in the Gallery, but also as a guide to the history of painting, as represented by the examples in the collection: it may be used likewise, so far as it extends, as a Biographical Dictionary of Painters. The first edition, printed in 1846, was published in the beginning of 1847. To this edition are now first added the painters' monogrammes and signatures, engraved in wood, from copies in fac-simile made by me in October 1862. I have omitted some few, which are too obscure for reliable reproduction; most of them are of the size of the originals, the very large only have been reduced».

⁶⁶ For details of the provenance of the Costa picture, see the 1860 National Gallery catalogue (the Calvi – CALVI 1780 - that is given as a reference is in the Eastlake Library, shelved at NG Lib. NC 340 HERCOLANI =2 1780). See also letter from C.L. Eastlake to the National Gallery Trustees, dated 26 November 1859 (NG Archive, ref: NG5/280/1) and letter from C.L. Eastlake to R.N. Wornum, dated 8 December 1859 (NG Archive, ref: NG5/302/2), both of which delineate information concerning the provenance of the Costa picture.

information must have been a relief to the perfectionist and anxious Director, who characteristically cautioned Wornum (whose work he tended increasingly to find haphazard):

If the National Gallery Catalogue is good for anything it is valuable for the correctness of its facts and for avoiding those loose statements which are common in foreign works of the kind. One such arbitrary assertion or rather false assertion [...] would be enough, with cursory readers to condemn the book⁶⁷.

It was not only Eastlake who, in his own day, exploited his library. Early on Eastlake let fellow artists consult and even borrow his books when he was living abroad in Rome⁶⁸, and he continued to lend them during his time as President of the Royal Academy. His only proviso was the obvious one that his books should be returned. In that connection, it is curious to learn he was forced to write to the up-and-coming art critic John Ruskin on several occasions in an attempt to retrieve certain volumes after Ruskin's infamous divorce proceedings had started and he had left London with some of Eastlake's precious books. Lady Eastlake, who became a vociferous advocate for Ruskin's estranged wife, Effie, even mentioned the matter to her: «Sir Chas hopes they [Ruskin and his father] are not gone as J.R. has 2 or 3 books of his – single volumes out of sets – but those will be easy to reclaim in some way»⁶⁹.

Surely the most regular user of Eastlake's books after Eastlake himself was his wife, who translated German art historical texts into English (even before her marriage to Eastlake). She was a regular contributor to the «Quarterly Review» on a variety of topics, including art history (especially from the latter years of her marriage). She recorded how she enjoyed «ransacking» her husband's library for information⁷⁰. In the mid-1860s, when she was undertaking work to complete the volumes of *Sacred and legendary art* left unfinished by the death of her friend Mrs Anna Jameson, she learnt, as she put it, «to know his [Eastlake's] library. My darling was like a boy jumping up and down to find the references I wanted, and, if possible, through the book I learnt to know him better»⁷¹. Particularly during her widowhood, with more time at her disposal and a desire to alleviate her grief through work, she undertook various art historical projects, including compiling a second volume to Eastlake's *Materials for a history of oil painting* (published in 1869), a second volume also to his *Contributions to the literature of the fine arts* (1870, which included a memoir of his life by Lady Eastlake)⁷², as well as a new edition of Kugler⁷³. In all these cases she used Eastlake's library (including a portion which she retained from the sale of the bulk of it to the Gallery, a decision discussed in greater detail below) to undertake the extra new research needed. Doubtless due to their association with Eastlake, his widow always felt in his presence whenever she was with «the old Dear books»⁷⁴.

⁶⁷ Letter from C.L. Eastlake to R.N. Wornum, dated 1 January 1858 (NG Archive, ref: NG32/71/35).

⁶⁸ See letter from Eastlake to Jeremiah Harman, dated 18 April 1822 from Rome (NG Archive, ref: NG5/7/9) where he notes of his books: «some of them are in the possession of artists & others who have taken care of them for me».

⁶⁹ See letter from Lady Eastlake to Effie Ruskin, dated 9 May 1854, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 148).

⁷⁰ Lady Eastlake to John Murray, dated 26 November 1864, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 223): «Many thanks for the packet of books. I am sure they will furnish much information. I have also been ransacking Sir Chas' library with good effect».

⁷¹ HARE 1896-1900, III, pp. 154-155; SMITH 1895, pp. 136-137.

⁷² Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 19 July 1867, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009 p. 266): «I shall not give up the Library during the ensuing winter, as I have much need of it myself in editing certain of Sir Chas' MSS».

⁷³ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 10 February 1871, from Fitzroy Square (NG Archive, ref: NG14/52/1871): «I only want permission to have access to the books unrestrictedly – so as to take a few notes necessary for my present Kugler work».

⁷⁴ Lady Eastlake to R.N. Wornum, dated 21 January 1871, from Fitzroy Square (NG Archive, ref: NG14/52/1871).

During her literary endeavours, Lady Eastlake would not have found it hard to locate any book she needed because her spouse had been meticulous in the way that he arranged his library. Although it is uncertain that he ever produced a detailed hand-list or catalogue of them – certainly none has survived in his own hand - he appears to have employed some kind of press-mark system for there are several series of numbers inscribed on the title-pages of his books, one of which almost certainly denotes some kind of cataloguing system devised by him. He also shelved his books in a very particular order, a mental map of which he carried in his head, which proved useful when he was away from home. Thus during Eastlake's last illness (he died in Pisa on Christmas Eve, 1865), Lady Eastlake could write to Wornum and direct him towards relevant guidebooks that the invalid was keen to have consulted in connection with attempts to discover more about the provenance of a painting by Perugino at the Villa Albani at Rome. One of the books that Eastlake wished to have checked was Christian Karl Josias Bunsen's *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, and his spouse, acting as his amanuensis, wrote to Wornum that the relevant volume could be found: «in Sir Chas Library in upper shelf of the compartment opposite fire place. Our servant will let you in. Also in lower shelf of same compartment you will find an early edition of Vasi»⁷⁵.

Given his methodical character and his own interests, it is not surprising that Eastlake was chosen to serve as Librarian of the Royal Academy for two years from 1842, a body to which he had been elected a full member in 1830 and whose President he would become in 1850. Although there is scant evidence of what his duties involved, it is clear from his correspondence that he took the post seriously and had implemented certain «improvements»⁷⁶. On other occasions he assisted with the negotiations to buy books for fellow institutions or for colleagues and friends. Thus in 1854 he was involved with the British Museum's purchase of one of the most important bound collections of drawings to survive from the Renaissance: that of Jacopo Bellini⁷⁷. And later on, in 1863, he wrote to the National Gallery's Keeper, Wornum, that he was sending him certain books as gifts, including a catalogue of the Lille Gallery⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ Lady Eastlake to R.N. Wornum, dated 10 September 1865, from Hotel de la Ville, Milan (NG Archive, ref: NG5/161/12). The two volumes mentioned in the letter remain in the Eastlake Library: see PLATNER, BUNSEN ET AL 1830-1842, and VASI 1797. Elspeth Hector notes that the location for the Bunsen text volumes is C1 and the Vasi is C6, but how these references relate to their original ordering on the shelves of Eastlake's library at Fitzroy Square is impossible to determine.

⁷⁶ See C.L. Eastlake to Thomas Uwins, dated 23 November 1843, from Fitzroy Square (NG Archive, ref: NG5/54/1): «I myself, having long attained the idea of giving up the office at Easter, I had, I confess, looked forward to a busy time in the library to complete if possible the improvements which I have begun & in which I take an interest but it is a satisfaction to me to know that should my occupations make it frequently inconvenient for me to attend, there is so willing a deputy as yourself ready (of course in legitimate conditions) to act for me». Lady Eastlake subsequently gave a copy of the second edition of Eastlake's *Contributions* – EASTLAKE 1870 - to the Library of the Royal Academy. Its preliminary leaf is inscribed in ink, «Presented to the Library of the Royal Academy by Lady Eastlake 5. February 1870».

⁷⁷ Lady Eastlake to R.L. Brown, dated 12 July 1854, from 7 Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 162): «As regards the Mantovani book he bids me assure you that he is inciting the Trustees of the B: Museum to purchase it & that some-one will probably be in Venice this autumn to inspect it». It appears that the volume in question is a sketch-book by Jacopo Bellini that is inscribed «Disegni di Giacomo Bellini Veneto anni 1430./l'appartieni alli signori Gerolamo Domenico Mantovani fino [...] Libreria di Famiglia». It was purchased through Rawdon Brown in 1855 (British Museum, ref: 1855,0811.1).

⁷⁸ See, for instance, letter from Eastlake to R.N. Wornum, dated 9 August 1863, from Namur (NG Archive, ref: NG5/152/6): «Before leaving Lille I sent you by book post the Lille catalogue and Reiset's catalogue of the Campana pictures, selected for the Louvre. The first is a present for you, the other you will keep for me till my return». Presumably the «Lille catalogue» refers to REYNART 1850, a copy of which is shelved at NG Lib. NC 30 LILLE Bea. 1850. The National Gallery's copy does not have an Eastlake stamp nor does it contain any other location information. It would therefore appear that this is not Eastlake's copy, though clearly there was a copy in Eastlake's Library when Green prepared his catalogue. There is no way of knowing what happened to Eastlake's copy, but the National Gallery may have got a second copy via Wornum and then disposed of the Eastlake one.

2. *The Purchase of the Eastlake Library by the National Gallery*

Lady Eastlake's decision to sell her husband's library may seem callous or possibly even mercenary. Yet, ultimately it was not her decision - she made it known that it had been Eastlake's unambiguous desire to have his library placed permanently in the National Gallery⁷⁹. Indeed, she herself expressed certain reservations about this wish, believing that there was no fitting accommodation at Trafalgar Square to receive the books⁸⁰; that the Gallery's Keeper, Wornum, was incapable of looking after them properly⁸¹; and that she personally might benefit from a more favourable financial offer for the library from another quarter, notably from William Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley who, in 1867, was in touch with her about the purchase of both the library and Palma Vecchio's *Virgin and Child* (a painting which he was successful in acquiring)⁸². However, once she had fallen in with her husband's desires (coming to view it as her «duty»⁸³ to do so), she made it her job to keep the Trustees' minds focussed on the matter of purchasing the Eastlake Library for the nation. To follow every twist and turn in the negotiations - from Lady Eastlake's first letter on the topic, dated 2 April 1867⁸⁴, until some three years later when, in May 1870, the purchase of the Eastlake Library was stated to be completed⁸⁵ - is unnecessary: key moments are recorded and commented on here.

The price fixed on the Eastlake Library of £2,008. 9s was decided by an independent arbiter. Initially, Lady Eastlake, acting as her husband's sole executrix, had mentioned her willingness to sell some of the books at the prices that her husband had originally paid for them⁸⁶. In the end, however, a Mr Nattale from the auction house of Christie's was brought in

For further details of the catalogue of the Campana Collection, see REISET 1863, a copy of which is shelved at NG Lib. NC 30 PARIS Lou. 1863. For another example of Eastlake's donation of books to his colleagues, see letter from Eastlake to R.N. Wornum, dated 2 November 1864 from Fitzroy Square (NG Archive, ref: NG5/158/9): «I have one or two books as presents for you, but they are coming by sea so that you cannot have them immediately». This practice of gift-giving had started earlier for two letters dated 12 October 1850 and 30 September 1851 from Eastlake to Wornum mention the donation of certain pamphlets (NG Archive, ref: NGA02/3/3/9 and NGA02/3/3/10, respectively).

⁷⁹ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 9 August 1867, from Sevenoaks, Kent (SHELDON 2009, p. 269).

⁸⁰ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 19 July 1867, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 266): «I must say at once that until I see that there is a fitting accomodation [sic] for the extensive Library & the sumptuously bound illustrated works I shall be unwilling to make them over to Mr. Wornum's tender mercies».

⁸¹ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 19 July 1867, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 266).

⁸² Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 9 August 1867, from Sevenoaks, Kent (SHELDON 2009, p. 269): «This morning a request reached me from one of our English magnates to know whether I would part with the Art Library & with the Palma picture [...] As regards the Art Library I shall never depart from my desire (because it was Sir Charles') to see it attached to the N: Gallery». It is interesting to note that the initiative to approach Lady Eastlake about the possibility of purchasing the Eastlake Library came from a private buyer rather than a public institution. The 1st Earl of Dudley later became a Trustee of the National Gallery, serving in that office between 1877 and 1882.

⁸³ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 31 January 1867, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 260): «As time passes I begin to feel the duty of doing something – by way of plan regarding the pictures & library left in my hands».

⁸⁴ NG Archive, ref: Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 2 April 1867, p. 400: «Read a letter from Lady Eastlake dated March the 25th [...] asking the Trustees whether they would be disposed [...] to buy at a valuation the Library of Art literature and Illustrated works collected by him [Eastlake]».

⁸⁵ See relevant Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 2 and 11 April 1867, 12 April and 3 May 1869, 7 February and 2 May 1870, and 9 January 1871.

⁸⁶ See NG Archive, ref: Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 2 April 1867, p. 400. See also letter from Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 31 January 1867 from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 260): «I may add that as regards the volumes of engravings (Galleries) Sir Charles once told me that he wd wish them offered to the N.G. at the price he gave for them. The receipts for them still existing I believe, &. to this once expressed wish I shd adhere, believ.g that the N.G. would thus obtain them on lower terms than if present market price were

and it was he who made the valuation noted above – one that was considered rather too low by Lady Eastlake⁸⁷. Regrettably, the copy of the document in which Nattale recorded his valuations of the books, which Lady Eastlake sent to the Trustees on 11 April 1867, is missing⁸⁸. The ensuing negotiations in which Lady Eastlake succeeded in selling her late husband's library to the National Gallery were very protracted – in part because the Trustees were divided over the true worth of what they were being offered (even though George Ward Hunt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, considered the acquisition of Eastlake's library to be «most desirable»⁸⁹), but to an even greater degree because of a shortage of funds: the Board had first to consider the validity of spending funds on books instead of on paintings and then to decide from where the necessary funds were to be drawn.

Throughout the settlement negotiations we find, on the one hand, Lady Eastlake constantly attempting to keep up the pressure on the Gallery to purchase Eastlake's library and, on the other, the Trustees holding out against any Treasury initiative that would deflect vital funds from the purchase of pictures. The nub of the matter lay, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer succinctly put it, in «whether the purchase money should be provided out of the annual amount voted for the Gallery or whether an extra sum should be taken for the purpose»⁹⁰. The Treasury favoured moving funds from the grant voted annually for picture purchasing⁹¹, but when this suggestion was put to the Trustees on 12 April 1869, it met with immediate opposition from the Trustees⁹². From their point of view it was preferable to leave the annual grant intact for the acquisition of pictures and instead to tap into the accumulated surplus accrued when that grant (based on «Estimates») exceeded the sum actually spent on pictures. By the early 1870s this was estimated to be in excess of £2,000⁹³. This latter approach was also favoured by Lady Eastlake, who had suggested it in her first missive to the Trustees⁹⁴.

ascertained. However, this wd not be reduced to a certainty, & if the gain were to be the other way then I shd feel at liberty to depart from his direction».

⁸⁷ See Lady Eastlake to A.H. Layard, dated, 8 April 1870 (SHELDON 2009, p. 326): «Great treasures came out, and it appears that the appraiser recommended by Christie's was not quite up to the mark in knowing the value of books».

⁸⁸ Lady Eastlake to the National Gallery Trustees, dated 11 April 1867 (NG Archive, ref: NG5/392); see also Meeting of the Trustees, held 11 April 1867 (NG Archive, ref: NG1/4, pp. 403-404).

⁸⁹ Chancellor of the Exchequer to W. Boxall, dated 30 July 1868 (NG Archive, ref: NG5/397/1).

⁹⁰ Chancellor of the Exchequer to W. Boxall, dated 30 July 1868 (NG Archive, ref: NG5/397/1).

⁹¹ See letter from George A. Hamilton to R.N. Wornum, dated 6 April 1869 (NG Archive, ref: NG5/409/2), quoted in WOOD 2005, p. 18: «I am desired by the Lds. Commrs. of H.M. Treasury to state for the information of the Trustees & Director of the National Gallery [...] that my Lords are pleased to sanction the purchase of the Library of the late Sir Charles Eastlake. [...] I am to add that my Lords have directed a special item of £2,008 to be placed in the Estimate for the current year for the purchase of this Library and the item for the purchase of pictures to be reduced to the sum of £7,002, making together the sum of £10,000 set forth in the National Gallery Estimate – head D». This rather confusingly-worded passage suggests that although a special grant was to be made, it was to be granted at the expense of the picture purchase allowance.

⁹² Meeting of the Trustees, 12 April 1869 (NG Archive, ref: NG1/4, p. 449): «Read a letter from the Treasury dated April the 6th sanctioning the purchase of the Library of the late Sir Charles Eastlake, and stating that their Lordships had directed a special item of £2,008 to be placed in the estimates for the current year, for the purchase of the Library, and the item for the purchase of pictures to be reduced to the sum of £7,992, making together the sum of £10,000, set forth in the Estimate, under the head D. The draft of a letter to the Treasury, objecting to this arrangement, was agreed to».

⁹³ See WOOD 2005, p. 15, who quotes from a letter of R.N. Wornum to the Treasury, dated 12 March 1869, where Wornum noted that: «it is proposed to transfer a portion of the savings from the sub-head 'Incidentals' for the purchase of this Library».

⁹⁴ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 31 January 1867, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 260): «The same considerations apply to the Library – tho' I do not say that I shd bribe the N.G. (as in the case of the pictures by lowness of price) to purchase that. [...] But it has struck me that in the event of a surplus in your hands before the Treasury year terminates, you might think it expedient – with the concurrence of Trustees, to request Government to allow that surplus & any future one for the next year or two to be retained for the purpose of

In turn, when the Treasury heard of this suggestion, it remained immovable «on the subject of the means whereby provision has been made for the purchase of the Eastlake Library», and the Director and Trustees were informed on 23 April 1867 that: «My Lords are unable to make any alteration in the Estimates which have been submitted»⁹⁵. In response, the Trustees decided to renew their application for a special grant the following year and informed Lady Eastlake of the postponement in the purchase of the Eastlake Library.

Frustratingly, at this crucial moment in negotiations the records become obscure. It appears that Parliament, in the face of continued Gallery opposition to its response during 1868, went ahead and finally voted the sum for the purchase of the Eastlake Library in July 1869. What is almost certainly the case too is that Lady Eastlake became restless in the face of on-going indecision: in December 1869, her friend, the Trustee of the National Gallery, Sir Henry Austen Layard, wrote to the Director from Madrid informing him: «Lady Eastlake has written to me about the Library wishing to know what the Trustees have decided on doing. I trust that some arrangement will be come to at once in this matter. Pray see Lady Eastlake about it and do not let her think that we are neglecting her. I do not quite remember what the last decision of the Trustees was with regard to the £2,000 voted by Parliament but at any rate they decided that the Library was to be purchased»⁹⁶. There is no record of whether Boxall actually met with Lady Eastlake but presumably, whether in person or otherwise, she would have pressed for the purchase of her late husband's library without further delay or continued wrangling between officials at the Gallery and the Treasury. Things moved swiftly from this point: according to a Minute of the Board of Trustees of 7 February 1870: «The Director was requested to complete the purchase of the Eastlake Library, in pursuance of the Vote of the House of Commons in July last»⁹⁷ and he was able to report in May that its purchase «was completed»⁹⁸.

While money matters dominated the negotiations, no space was given over in any of the debates to a discussion of the perceived purpose or benefits to be accrued from acquiring the Eastlake Library. At a time when the discipline of art history was burgeoning in Britain, often within the confines of museums (at this point the discipline was not sufficiently established to form part of any university's standard teaching curriculum), some public art institutions were becoming cognisant of the benefits of scholarly resources, including libraries⁹⁹. Leaving aside the early positive attitude expressed towards its library by the privately-run Royal Academy (founded in 1768)¹⁰⁰, we can think of the activities of Sir Henry Cole at the South Kensington Museum who established as part of his original Museum of Ornamental Art in 1857 a library

purchasing the Library – wh: wd in part at least obviate the necessity of applying for a grant expressly for that purpose. You may like to consult Layard about this».

⁹⁵ See letter from the Treasury to R.N. Wornum, dated 23 April 1869.

⁹⁶ See letter from A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, dated 20 December 1869; quoted in WOOD 2005, pp. 18-19.

⁹⁷ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 7 February 1870 (NG Archive, ref: NG1/4, p. 462).

⁹⁸ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 2 May 1870 (NG Archive, ref: NG1/4, p. 470).

⁹⁹ For further discussion about the nurturing of art historical scholarship in UK museums in the absence of the subject being taught at native universities, see WHITEHEAD 2009, *passim*.

¹⁰⁰ In the Instrument of Foundation for the Royal Academy, dated 10th December 1768, it was declared (point XX) that: «There shall be a Library of Books of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and all the Sciences relating thereto» and «prints» and «all other things useful to Students in the Arts». It was stated that the library was to be «open one Day in every Week to all Students properly qualified», while «every Academician shall have free ingress at all seasonable Times of the Day to consult the Books, and to make Designs or Sketches from them». The assembling of a good collection of books was made immediately possible by the generosity of the King. Such statements and facts indicate that the Academy was established to bolster the nation as a place for the arts in particular and for scholarship and learning more generally, and that the library had a clear part to play in this endeavour. For further details, see SAUMAREZ SMITH 2012, pp. 100-101, 116, 134, 159, 162. For more about the subsequent fate of the Royal Academy Library, see FENTON 2006, pp. 25-26, 296. No such justification was noted for the Eastlake Library during the negotiations leading up to its acquisition by the National Gallery.

that was «accessible to all and provided quick and helpful service»¹⁰¹ (the nucleus of what is the National Art Library of the Victoria & Albert Museum, a public reference library that holds the world's largest collection of documentation on art, craft and design). In a similar vein, Antonio Panizzi, who was appointed Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum from 1837 and subsequently Principal Librarian from 1856, devoted so much time to increasing that institution's library holdings that under his direction it became the largest publicly-accessible library in the world¹⁰². Whether the National Gallery's decision to purchase the book collection of its first Director in 1870 can be seen as another proactive step in this more general development is questionable: the evidence suggests that the decision was more a response to circumstances – Lady Eastlake's approach to the Gallery's Trustees - than anything more premeditated or policy-driven. What is clear is that the National Gallery was not established with a working library to its name, unlike other British art institutions, and prior to the acquisition of the Eastlake Library there seem to have been very few books at the National Gallery¹⁰³. Yet such comparisons need qualification. It should be remembered that the National Gallery was established as a «picture gallery», whereas a «museum» like the British Museum accepted much reference material (for instance, trays of fossils and coins) so books were a natural adjunct; a «teaching institution» like the Royal Academy that provided lectures for students necessarily required books; and the South Kensington Museum also differed from the National Gallery in that some sort of training in design was fundamental to its purpose.

A closer look at the records reveals that the allocated £2,008 did not purchase quite all of the Eastlake Library. From the very start of Lady Eastlake's negotiations with the National Gallery, she expressed a desire to retain an unspecified portion of the books at the family home, no. 7, Fitzroy Square, London. For instance, in her letter of 2 April 1867, which opened negotiations, she stated: «Should the Trustees entertain the project of purchasing the Library, I must add that a few of the works may be withdrawn by me, and a few others, omitted in the catalogue, and still to be valued, added – only affecting the sum total in a very slight degree if at all». The fact that she succeeded in keeping back some books is clear from a letter she wrote to John Charles Robinson, who had initially been put in charge of the South Kensington Museum's library - on 9 November 1870: «On my return from the country where I rec[eiv]e[d] your kind letter, I find the valuable vol[ume]: of which you have spared me a copy. I assure you that I add it gratefully to a remnant of works on art which have remained to me from my dear Sir Chas' Library»¹⁰⁴. From other correspondence it is clear that such books were retained largely because she needed ready access to them for her own art historical research¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰¹ See BURTON 1999, pp. 89, 228; and PHYSICK 1982, p. 9. Until 1863 the Art Library at the South Kensington Museum was under the control of John Charles Robinson, the only member of staff with specialist knowledge of art history. It was with Robinson that Lady Eastlake conducted some correspondence, for more details of which see the main text below. Cole also instigated an unprecedented and comprehensive art bibliography, supervised by J.H. Pollen, which was published in 1870 as the *Universal catalogue of books on art*. This undertaking, which received greater credit abroad than in the UK, was one that reflected Cole's wider vision to promote international co-operation. For further details of this project, see BONYTHON-BURTON 2003, pp. 144, 236-238.

¹⁰² For the history of the library at the British Museum during Panizzi's (not wholly untroubled) time as Librarian, see MILLER 1967, especially pp. 81-84, 134-135, 207-208, 272-275, and WEIMERSKIRCH 1982.

¹⁰³ A fact noted in a reply from the Keeper of the National Gallery to B. Hunnisett, dated 13 March 1970: «In his [the Director] opinion, the acquisition of the Eastlake Library can be taken as the beginning of the existence of a library here, and he doubts whether there were many books, other than our own printed catalogues, before that date».

¹⁰⁴ Lady Eastlake to J.C. Robinson, dated 9 November 1870, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 336). Further evidence that Lady Eastlake kept back books from her late husband's library may be found in her correspondence with Layard, dated 17 July 1887 (SHELDON 2009, p. 534). Here she refers to a set of proofs of TOSCHI 1846, which, according to her, «were selected especially by Toschi for Sir Chas, & have Toschi writing in pencil upon them. I heard from Colnaghi's a few years ago that their market value was 60 gui. I would willingly know them in the Eastlake Library for half that. They are all in their original numbers & in perfect preservation». She went on to mention in the same letter two further titles (ARRINGHI 1651 and to BOSIO 1632) which

So keen was Lady Eastlake to preserve a sense of Eastlake's former ownership of the books that were destined for the National Gallery, that she informed Layard of her plan to «print upon the title page of each work the letter E, or some other small & unobtrusive sign of its having belonged to Sir Chas.»¹⁰⁶. From subsequent correspondence we know that she set to work on this self-appointed task on Saint Valentine's Day 1870¹⁰⁷ and that by 22 February she had «got forward with stamping, & otherwise going through the books»¹⁰⁸. Apparently the job kept her «happily busy».

The logistics of physically moving Eastlake's library books from Fitzroy Square to Trafalgar Square is succinctly told by Lady Eastlake. Writing to Layard on 8 April 1870 she recorded:

You will be glad to hear that the transfer of the Art Library has been made. The necessary preparations on my part were rather trying and fatiguing. The Nat. Gal sent me an able expert to identify the volumes, and he spent the greater part of 5 days in that occupation – docketing the catalogue and handing over the books to the packers. Twenty five huge cases gradually left their old abode, and now that all is over I can truly say that I am very glad and thankful [...] the result – is just what I could most wish¹⁰⁹.

Lady Eastlake was indeed grateful for «the privilege of keeping Sir Chas' library together and placing it in such a position»¹¹⁰. Partly as a sign of this indebtedness she decided, against the better judgement of some of her friends, to donate Giovanni Bellini's *Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr* (NG 812) to the national collection. This was her second and last gift of a painting from Eastlake's private art collection to the National Gallery: three years earlier, in 1867, she had presented Pisanello's *Virgin and Child with Saints George and Anthony Abbot*, in memory of Eastlake. Writing to Boxall now, in May 1870, she explained:

It has been my intention, as you are aware, to bequeath the Bellini landscape, lately exhibited, to the Nation. [...] I feel that the present time is, for two reasons, opportune. 1stly because its merits have been publicly acknowledged; & 2ndly because I deeply feel my obligation to Her Majesty's Government in their recent purchase of Sir Charles' Art Library. [...] Sir Charles considered this landscape by Gian Bellini & the small picture by Pisano [the Pisanello] the most interesting and valuable ornaments of his collection, & it will therefore be the greater pleasure to me to see them both occupying places in the National Gallery"¹¹¹.

presumably had been acquired by Eastlake during his lifetime and once again she offered them for sale to the Gallery. The Gallery did not buy any of these volumes but it is possible that the South Kensington Museum purchased the latter two (Arringhi and Bosio) from her. It is likely that she left the residue of her library to her nephew, Charles Eastlake Smith, but it is not clear that there were any art history books among the bequest that was subsequently sold by Smith's widow in 1920 (see RIGBY 1920). I am indebted to Prof. Julie Sheldon for supplying me with information about the fate of Lady Eastlake's books after her death, and to Carly Collier for supplying me with a copy of the relevant sale catalogue.

¹⁰⁵ See main text above, p.14.

¹⁰⁶ Lady Eastlake to A.H. Layard, dated 6 May 1869, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 300). In just one or two instances, the books in the Eastlake Library that Lady Eastlake stamped with the Eastlake 'sign' were in fact her own property. For instance, in Mrs Grote's *Memoir of the life of Ary Scheffer*, published in London in 1860 (NG Lib. NH 785 SCHEFFER Grote) there is a hand-written dedication on the title-page by the author to her close friend, Lady Eastlake. Perhaps Lady Eastlake felt that its subject matter warranted its inclusion in the Eastlake Library? I am grateful to Elspeth Hector for drawing my attention to this inscription.

¹⁰⁷ Lady Eastlake to A.H. Layard, dated 13 February 1870, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 319).

¹⁰⁸ Lady Eastlake to A.H. Layard, dated 22 February 1870, from Fitzroy Square (*Ibidem*, p. 323).

¹⁰⁹ Lady Eastlake to A.H. Layard, dated 8 April 1870, from The Ridgeway (*Ibidem*, p. 326).

¹¹⁰ Lady Eastlake to A.H. Layard, dated 8 April 1870, from The Ridgeway (*Ibidem*, p. 326).

¹¹¹ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 4 May 1870, from Fitzroy Square (NG Archive, ref: NG14/431870). In another letter (dated 8 April 1870, for which see SHELDON 2009, pp. 326-327) she wrote that one reason for her «giving the Landscape Bellini now» was her «desire to be free of any imputations of picking the public pocket –

3. *Green's catalogue*

The immediate decision by senior staff at the National Gallery to catalogue the Eastlake Library may be taken as a sign of the importance that they attributed to the newly acquired books, even though - and perhaps more tellingly - the idea of getting it printed for wider dissemination would come from beyond the confines of the Gallery itself. According to the Gallery's Minutes of the Board of Trustees, it was Boxall, in his capacity as Director, who proposed at the start of 1871 «that a catalogue should be at once made of the Eastlake Library, the books being already classified and placed on their shelves»¹¹², even though in correspondence with the Keeper he had raised the matter of a catalogue earlier still, at the end of 1870¹¹³, and it was even mentioned (over-optimistically) in the 1870 Annual Report as being «in course of preparation». What classification system is being referred to remains unclear, although it was doubtless a new one which replaced the one originally devised by Eastlake - as mentioned earlier there are at least two different numbering systems found at the front of many of Eastlake's books. The person employed to produce a written catalogue to the library was Mr George Morgan Green of Molini and Green, booksellers, of No. 27, King William Street, Strand, near the National Gallery. Green submitted his report and catalogue eight weeks later, on 10 March 1871¹¹⁴. He was clearly impressed by what he had seen and it was he who, in his accompanying report, pressed the Trustees to have his manuscript catalogue properly printed:

In announcing the completion of my catalogue of the Eastlake library, I venture to suggest that its usefulness would be very greatly increased if it were printed. In a MS. form a catalogue cannot be easily perused and consequently aids only a search for any particular book of which the title is known, whereas if it can be read through it frequently points out sources of information previously unknown to the person consulting it. With this view I may add that I should be happy to prepare the catalogue for press and read and correct the proofs without making any additional charge.

Green's suggestion of providing such a catalogue (whether at his own personal expense is unclear) was taken up, and a version was printed by Eyre and Spottiswoode for H.M. Stationery Office in 1872. Green's catalogue was laid before the Board, approved on 5 February 1872, and the following month 250 copies were printed by H.M.S.O.¹¹⁵.

such as were leveled at me last summer». See also letter from A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, dated 3 March 1870, from Madrid (NG Archive, ref: NGA1/1/39/1): «I am glad to hear that the library question is settled. Lady Eastlake writes to me about her intention of bequeathing the Peter Martyr of Bellini to the Gallery: There are others of her pictures which I should like to see there».

¹¹² Meeting of the Trustees of the National Gallery, 9 January 1871, p. 480 (NG Archive, ref: NG1/4).

¹¹³ See letter from W. Boxall to R.N. Wornum, dated 14 November 1870, concerning practicalities in relation to getting the Eastlake Library shelved and catalogued: «If the shelves are dry enough for the safety of the Eastlake Library (as the damp weather is now to be expected) should not the Boxes be opened and placed on the Book cases. A catalogue should be made of them, but the sanction of the Trustees must first be given» (quoted in WOOD 2005, p. 22).

¹¹⁴ G.M. Green to R.N. Wornum, *Report on the Eastlake Library – desiderata, duplicates, &c.*, dated 10 March 1871, from 27, King William Street, Strand (NG Archive, ref: NG5/439). Read at a meeting of the Trustees on 15 March 1871.

¹¹⁵ Peter Wood, the first person to undertake research into the Eastlake Library, has written positively about Green's publication: «The resulting catalogue is magnificent and sensibly ordered with subject headings and author entries, coupled with succinct bibliographic descriptions [...] This catalogue was not to be superseded for forty years, additions to the collection were merely added in manuscript» (see WOOD 2005, p. 23). The two annotated versions of Green's catalogue, which by now are in a very fragile condition, are preserved in the pre-

In addition to his manuscript catalogue, Green submitted two lists with his letter of 10 March 1871. One was «a list of books of which the library contains more than one copy». The majority of this material comprised catalogues to Italian private collections and artists' biographies, usually in Italian. Green's recommendation was for «the exchange or disposal» of these duplicates. On examination it is clear that his proposal was not taken up: the duplicates remain in the Library¹¹⁶. The second list compiled by Green enumerated «certain deficiencies which it seems desirable should be supplied to complete the books now in the collection»¹¹⁷. In effect this was a notification of incomplete volumes or sets (some of which are noted as such in his published catalogue), although Green did not here suggest any other works which should be acquired to add to the comprehensiveness of the collection as a whole. When the gaps discerned by Green are analysed, we find that most relate to modern reference works, notably in the field of German and British art history. It is striking that the Eastlake library did not contain complete sets of standard works by Passavant, Waagen and Ruskin: this is peculiar since the Eastlakes were good friends of both German scholars and had been directly involved in producing revised editions of their work. Perhaps these books were retained by Lady Eastlake at Fitzroy Square for use in her revision of Kugler? But why, if this were the case, were these volumes never reunited with their series at some future date, most obviously at her death? Another explanation for the existence of these incomplete series may be that Eastlake simply never acquired them as complete sets, nor thereafter sought to replace them with perfect copies.

4. Later history of the Eastlake Library at Trafalgar Square

Despite Lady Eastlake's evident relief that negotiations with the National Gallery over her husband's library had reached a positive outcome, her subsequent letters reveal continued concerns for the future welfare of the books. Her anxieties focussed on four points: what his library should be called, where the books were to be housed, who should have care of them, and whether she might continue to enjoy access to them.

Lady Eastlake was determined from the start, as she made clear to both Boxall and Layard, that her husband's art library should be known as «The Eastlake Library». This title had been suggested by Gustav Waagen and endorsed by Layard¹¹⁸. As an encouragement to

1850 store of the National Gallery's library. The Annual Report of 1913 records that C.H. Collins Baker had been granted £200 to compile «a much needed new catalogue of the "Eastlake" Library [...] and the re-arrangement of the books, photographs, etc.» It was at some point in that year that the National Gallery Library's card catalogue was instituted – initially consisting of G.M. Green's catalogue entries pasted onto 5x3 in. cards and new additions written out by hand. Later on, the Annual Report of 1980-1981 recorded that Elspeth Hector had been granted funds for an extensive project to re-catalogue and classify the book stock, broadly based on the Library of Congress Classification system but modified to meet the specific requirements of the National Gallery Library.

¹¹⁶ Elspeth Hector has compiled a list of Green's duplicates, which may be consulted in the Librarian's office. Five of these duplicates cannot now be located; in the case of four other listed titles more than two of Eastlake's copies remain in the Library.

¹¹⁷ Elspeth Hector has undertaken a thorough search through Green's list of gaps in the Eastlake Library and has drawn up a list of them, which is available in the Librarian's office. The following gaps noted by Green were filled at some point after 1913 (until this date new acquisitions were added by hand to an interleaved copy of Green's catalogue and none of the following titles feature in that marked-up copy): MARIETTE 1851-1854; MERLO 1850; PINCHART 1860; RUSKIN 1843; VATOUT 1823; and WAAGEN 1837-1839 (vol. 3 of Waagen was subsequently acquired and bears the bookplate of Henry Hobart Cust and the date 1904, so clearly this particular book did not come from Lady Eastlake).

¹¹⁸ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 11 February 1870, from Fitzroy Square (NG Archive, ref: NG14/37/1870): «It is not for me under the circumstances of its purchase by the Nation to make conditions, but I have mentioned to you I think before – & I wrote to Layard long ago – that I greatly wished it shd be called "The

the Gallery's Trustees to adopt her favoured title, Lady Eastlake told Layard in a letter of 11 February 1870 that: «If the Trustees see no objection to this it will be an additional inducement for me to add to the Library at some future time»¹¹⁹. In the event the title, «The Eastlake Library», was adopted and remained in use until the 1980s, by which point it had come to refer not only to Eastlake's own books but to the entire contents of the National Gallery libraries, including all the subsequent book purchases. From the 1980s, however, the title reverted to denoting solely the collection purchased from Lady Eastlake, while the more generic title of «The National Gallery Library» was adopted to refer to the holdings as a whole.

Lady Eastlake's concern about the lack of space at the National Gallery to display the Eastlake Library was not unfounded. Certainly, when the book collection reached its new home in 1870 it was relocated a number of times before a permanent home was found¹²⁰. Originally it was put in the room that had formerly housed «Turner Drawings and Sketches» (part of the vast Turner Bequest of 1856) in the East Wing, in a room recently vacated by the Royal Academy (which had occupied the Eastern half of the Wilkins Building until 1869)¹²¹ but this space had to be vacated when it became the Director's office in August 1871¹²². The Eastlake Library was moved, about 1885, to rooms in the West Wing¹²³. It was reported on 27 February 1906 that the Library had been transferred, once more, to what was then the Board Room¹²⁴, but this was too small to accommodate the whole of it so some of the books had,

Eastlake Library.» This was strongly urged upon me by our dear old friend Waagen. I must leave this in your hands, being quite aware on my own part that sellers like beggars, must not be choosers. I will only add that Layard quite agreed with me in the desire that it shd be called as I propose».

¹¹⁹ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 11 February 1870, from Fitzroy Square (NG Archive, ref: NG14/37/1870).

¹²⁰ As Peter Wood has discovered, two early notions concerning possible locations for the Eastlake Library were both quickly abandoned: the first was to house it in the Sculpture Room of the Royal Academy. See letter from R.N. Wornum to the Royal Academy, dated 31 January 1870, cited in WOOD 2005, p. 21. The second proposal was to deposit the Eastlake Library in Wornum's apartments but the Keeper objected, noting how inconvenient such a move would be for him. See letter from R.N. Wornum to W. Boxall, dated 19 March 1870, cited in WOOD 2005, p. 22.

¹²¹ WOOD 2005, p. 21, quotes from a letter from R.N. Wornum to the Ministry of Works, dated 21 February 1870: «It is desired to fit up the present room containing the Turner Drawings with Book shelves to contain the Eastlake Library; with lock up cupboards below, and glass doors and locks above». Clearly delays occurred for Wornum had to write to the Treasury on 3 May 1870 to beg «without delay, accommodation to be provided for the Eastlake Library, the purchase of which was completed on the 25th of March last; and the books are still packed in boxes» (quoted in WOOD 2005, p. 22). This request was granted and the Treasury sanctioned £187 to be spent on the erection of book shelves and other necessary alterations. Elspeth Hector notes further that the 1870 Annual Report states that, following the National Gallery being given a portion of a room from the Royal Academy, «the former repairing room has been appropriated for [...] that portion of the Turner Drawings and Sketches which is kept in cases; and the former room used for this purpose has, by sanction of the Treasury, been fitted up with glass book-cases for the library of the late Sir Charles Eastlake» and that the books were «arranged and classified on their shelves in the month of November» and also that a catalogue was reported as being «in course of preparation». This first location for the Eastlake Library is probably on the ground floor in either the current east wing café or the east wing shop.

¹²² See letter from William Law of the Treasury, dated 14 August 1871, which states: «the First Commissioner of Works has been directed to prepare and furnish the room containing the Eastlake Library as an office for the use of the Director».

¹²³ It was reported in the Minutes of the Board of Trustees on 18 March 1884: «Sir Henry Layard suggested that the Turners might be hung in one of the public Rooms at the extreme west of the Gallery; that the Modern pictures thus displaced might be hung in the Library and adjoining room after transferring the book cases to the present Messenger's Room which was identical in size with the Library» (NG Archive, ref: NG1/4, p. 274). In this connection, the 1885 Annual Report notes: «The ground-floor room in the central block formerly occupied by the Reference Library being now devoted to the exhibition of cabinet pictures belonging to the British School, the Library has been transferred to the West Wing, where it is more conveniently accessible to the officers of the Gallery». The second location of the Eastlake Library is probably where the run of curatorial offices are today.

¹²⁴ In 1906 the Annual Report noted that «The "Eastlake" Library has gained urgently needed space by being transferred to the Board Room». I am grateful to Elspeth Hector for drawing my attention to this reference. It is

inconveniently, to be stored elsewhere. They were finally reunited and moved to their current location in 1934¹²⁵. Today the Eastlake Library remains integrated (catalogued and shelved) within the rest of the National Gallery Library collections.

Linked to the issue of lack of space was that of accessibility. Interestingly, an original Parliamentary condition placed on the purchase of the Library was that it should be «available for the use of students and others»¹²⁶. This provision was further discussed in a debate in the House of Commons in 1869 when the government sought to defend itself against charges of profligacy in purchasing both Eastlake's pictures and his library. Mr Ayrton, MP, explained: «The Library will not be kept open as a public library in the strict sense of the term on account of the expense that would thereby be entailed but any person taking an interest in art would be allowed to refer to the books it contained on making application to the gentleman under whose care it is placed»¹²⁷. The failure of any follow-up to this request for public accessibility is noteworthy. Indeed, the stipulation was almost immediately forgotten for during Wornum's Keepership there was «a little wooden gate [...] to show that [the Library] beyond was forbidden ground to the visitors to the Turner Drawings»¹²⁸. Nothing, however, was going to keep the formidable Lady Eastlake at bay! She sought Boxall's «permission to have access to the books unrestrictedly»¹²⁹, and repeated her request in several letters over a number of years, attempting to deflect any possible refusal on his part by adding: «As I know the look of the books so well I shall not be hindered by the absence of a catalogue»¹³⁰. There is no official record, however, of whether she did visit the Gallery specifically for research purposes.

The issue of responsibility for the Eastlake Library was troublesome for Lady Eastlake because, by this time, she strongly disapproved of the Gallery's Keeper, Wornum, whom she thought lazy and ignorant. Clearly she would have preferred another member of Gallery staff to have had charge of her husband's precious heritage (which, seemingly, she viewed almost as progeny). She wrote about the matter in acrimonious fashion to Layard: «I think you will have to combine the office of Librarian with that of Director. Mr. Wornum will never undertake this in addition to all he does not do, altho' for such services as he renders he is much overpaid»¹³¹. According to the Gallery's records, the responsibility for the Eastlake Library remained in the hands of its Keeper for many years; indeed, it was only in the early 1980s that an independent, salaried Librarian position was created¹³².

unclear where the 1906 Board Room was precisely located, but it is likely that it was somewhere along the curatorial corridor, probably in the vicinity of the current Director's and Deputy Director's offices.

¹²⁵ See letter from the Keeper to Mr B. Hunnisett of Hove, dated 13 March 1970, which summarizes all the moves imposed on the Eastlake Library, and finishes with the note that: «On 9th January 1934 it was reported that the library had been placed in the present room», to which a hand-written note was added that reads: «This was then called The Sand Room».

¹²⁶ Letter from G.A. Hamilton to R.N. Wornum, dated 6 April 1869 (NG Archive, ref: NG5/409/2). Hamilton added that the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury «desire that it may be understood that the purchase is now sanctioned subject to that question».

¹²⁷ Report of a speech by Mr Ayrton, MP, in «The Times», 20 July 1869.

¹²⁸ Letter from R.N. Wornum to the Ministry of Works, dated 20 September 1870; quoted in WOOD 2005, p. 22.

¹²⁹ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 10 February 1871, from Fitzroy Square (NG Archive, ref: NG14/52/1871); see also her earlier request in a letter to A.H. Layard, dated 12 May 1869, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 301).

¹³⁰ Lady Eastlake to W. Boxall, dated 10 February 1871, from Fitzroy Square (NG Archive, ref: NG14/52/1871); see also Lady Eastlake to Boxall, dated 21 January 1871, from Fitzroy Square (NG Archive, ref: NG14/52/Jan 1 – Feb 28 1871).

¹³¹ Lady Eastlake to A.H. Layard, dated 12 May 1869, from Fitzroy Square (SHELDON 2009, p. 301).

¹³² Elspeth Hector, appointed as «Assistant Librarian» in 1979, was the first qualified librarian, although her predecessors, Margaret Cooke and before that Anne Trinder, were the first non-keeper staff with specific responsibility for the day-to-day upkeep of the Library. Previous to that, «the task of looking after the library [had] simply been given to some member of the Keeper staff [...] and the designation of Librarian is not given in the Imperial Calendar. A real interest began to be taken in adding to the library here in the early 1930s» (see reply

In an interesting turn of events, Eastlake's nephew, the eponymous Charles (Locke) Eastlake, was appointed Keeper and Secretary of the National Gallery on 18 February 1878, in succession to Wornum¹³³. It was during his Keepership that fresh attention was focussed on the Library and its holdings of books started to expand. The first sign of this growth came in March 1878, soon after Wornum's death, when the Gallery purchased some books from Wornum's collection, an action made possible by a one-off Treasury grant of £100¹³⁴. Although a comparatively small collection, the acquisition of part of it went some way to filling various gaps in the Eastlake Library's book collection, especially in the field of British art¹³⁵. Soon afterwards, in February 1879, the Gallery took the initiative of writing to the Treasury requesting «the annual application of a sum not exceeding £100 to the purchase of books for the Library»¹³⁶. According to a follow-up letter, again signed by Charles Locke

from the National Gallery's Keeper to B. Hunnisett, dated 13 March 1970: ref: NG Archive). From the late 1930s to the mid-1950s, responsibility for assembling and maintaining the Library fell to the senior Deputy Keeper, namely, Ellis Waterhouse, Philip Pouncey and Martin Davies. During the 1970s, the Librarians were, in turn, Allan Braham and Christopher Brown. At the beginning of 1988, as a result of a structural re-organisation within the Gallery as a whole, those members of the Curatorial Staff who had previously had nominal overall responsibility for the Library (as well as for the Photographic Library, Slide Library and Archive) were relieved of this particular aspect of their duties, and the responsibility was given to the staff who had been carrying out the daily running of these sections, under the overall direction of the Librarian as Head of Department.

¹³³ For further details about the appointment of Charles Locke Eastlake as Keeper at the National Gallery and Lady Eastlake's part in it, see AVERY-QUASH & SHELDON 2011, pp. 207-209.

¹³⁴ See Minutes of the Board of Trustees, dated 28 December 1877: «The Director recommended that some means be taken to secure for the Eastlake Library such books belonging to the late Mr Wornum's library as might be desirable for the former. In reference to this object, the Director to enquire into the terms of the Lewis fund» (quoted in WOOD 2005, pp. 24-25). The Trustees on 4 March 1878 applied to the Treasury for a special grant (see NG Archive, ref: NG1/5, p. 93). A subsequent letter from the Treasury, dated 12 April 1878, (NG Archive, ref: NG8/1/15), confirmed that £100 had been allocated to purchase books from Wornum's library and that: «A selection of books from the collection of the late Mr. Ralph N. Wornum having been recommended to the Trustees as desirable for acquisition, has, by authority of the Treasury, been bought and deposited in the Library of the National Gallery». These documents, drawn to my attention by Elspeth Hector, indicate that the Gallery bought books from the Wornum Library before the auction of its remaining contents took place on 16 April 1878. A copy of the latter sale catalogue, which belonged to Robert Gray Wornum, is preserved in the National Gallery (NG Archive, ref: NGA2/2/30); see WORNUM 1878.

¹³⁵ See a letter to H.G. Reid, dated 22 June 1878, returning a signed list of the books purchased at the sale of Mr Wornum's library (NG Archive, ref: NG6/5/273). Notable too is a copy in the National Gallery Library of a *Catalogue of printed books chiefly on the history and theory of painting. Catalogue of books collected by Wornum since 1835* (NG Archive, ref: item NGA2/2/1). This item is arranged in two divisions: division I contains works on the history of art listed by country (Italy, Netherlands, Spain, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece and Rome) and also biographical dictionaries, engraving, theory and criticism, theory and practice, journals, collections, galleries, books of prints and miscellaneous. Division II, of less relevance to the present discussion, enumerates works on general literature, history, science, philosophy, theology and language. I am grateful to Alan Crookham for drawing this catalogue to my attention.

¹³⁶ See Minutes of the Board of Trustees, dated 4 February 1879. The letter had been triggered when in 1878 the Library had written to HM Stationery Office (HMSO) asking for two books for the Library, only to be told by the Controller of HMSO that «the Department had no general authority from the Treasury to spend money for such a purpose» (quoted in WOOD 2005, p. 25.) See also Annual Report for 1879 that confirmed the book-purchasing grant: «At the request of the Trustees the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have been pleased to sanction the annual purchase of books on art to a value not exceeding £100 for addition to the «Eastlake Library», such books to be selected by the Director and supplied by Her Majesty's Stationery Office». Furthermore, see Microfilm NG15/3: National Gallery Blue Note 1894: Purchase of Books for the Gallery: «It is recorded above that in 1869-70, Sir C. Eastlake's art library was bought out of a special purchase grant. With this exception, however, all books (including many of the late Mr. Wornum's) purchased for addition to the library of the Gallery have been procured through the Stationery Office and charged to the Stationery Vote. The Annual Purchase Grant in the National Gallery Estimate is considered to be exclusively for the purchase of pictures to be hung on the walls of the Gallery. In 1879 the Treasury gave a standing authority to the Comptroller of the Stationery Office to buy books for the Library up to 100l. per annum (3256/79).» This grant appears to have remained in place until 1907 when the Annual Report announced that «a sum, not exceeding £25 [...] or less»

Eastlake, the annual fund would make good the deficiency «in many recently published books and art serials published from time to time». Any new purchases, together with the books already in the collection, were considered «most essential for general reference & indispensable for a periodical revision of the Catalogues of Pictures»¹³⁷. This recognition of the library's holdings as of fundamental value in the preparation of the Schools Catalogues is notable and shows that in certain quarters an appreciation existed for Eastlake's advocacy of scholarship and the need to invest in research tools to that end. The grant was sanctioned by the Treasury in a letter of 26 February 1879, and in the immediately ensuing years, efforts were made to build on perceived strengths of Eastlake's original library. Indicative of this policy was the official identification in the mid-1880s that the acquisition of sales catalogues was to be a priority.¹³⁸ Expansion of the library's holdings also came about through gifts to it both from public institutions and private individuals¹³⁹, and, from the mid-20th century, through copies (mainly of sale catalogues), microfilms of printed material, and exchanges of bibliographical material with other museums and libraries in Europe and the United States¹⁴⁰.

5. The importance of the Eastlake Library in helping to forge the identity of the National Gallery

Due to the steady, if slow, accumulation of further books into the library's holdings at Trafalgar Square, the Eastlake Library (both in its original configuration and when considered as part of the entire book collection now held by the National Gallery Library) continued to act as a significant, and arguably unique, scholarly tool for the research undertaken by Gallery curators. Indeed, in 1915, as part of a *Report* commissioned to look into «the retention of important pictures in this country and other matters connected with the National Art

might be used to provide «books expressly for the use of the Gallery of British Art [the Tate Gallery at Millbank], to be kept there for the convenience of reference» - which meant that the library at Trafalgar Square was now only guaranteed an annual grant of £75. It was only in 1924, according to that year's Annual Report, that the Gallery Library grant was restored to the original figure of £100; it received a further increase to £160 per annum in 1930; and the Annual Report of July 1956-June 1958 recorded another «slight increase». In a letter from the Keeper to B. Hunnisett of 13 March 1970, a postscript reveals that by that date the Library was receiving an annual grant of £550 and the technical library an additional sum of £70. In 2012-2013 the National Gallery Library received a total of £35,250 for the purchase of book, periodicals and on-line subscriptions, as well as for auction catalogue subscription, of which £3,000 was specifically allocated for the acquisition of books and periodicals for the Technical Library.

¹³⁷ Charles Locke Eastlake to the Treasury, dated 12 February 1879. The letter also requested that «the Keeper be at liberty to order direct from a bookseller instead of through HM Stationery Office – a course which frequently involves inconvenience and delay». Although the grant was sanctioned by the Treasury in February 1879, all book requests continued to go through H.M.S.O., a cumbersome procedure that remained in place until the early 1970s.

¹³⁸ The Minutes of the Board of Trustees dated 25 July 1881 records that £50 was spent in purchasing Christie's sales catalogues and from 1885 £3 a year was reserved to continue the acquisition of this type of material.

¹³⁹ An early gift to the Eastlake Library, recorded in the «Annual Report» of 1889, was the presentation by the Committee of the Burlington Fine Arts Club of a complete set of the catalogues of the works of art lent to the Club from 1868 to the date of the gift. All subsequent gifts of books to the Eastlake Library were recorded in each Annual Report. In 1890, according to the Annual Report, the Trustees of the British Museum presented the Library with «Part II of the *Reproductions of prints, new series (early German)*». Gifts of photographic reproductions, including those in 1887 from both the British Museum (of early Italian and German woodcuts) and the firm of Braun & Cie (of Old Master pictures from the National Gallery's collection), were also received by the Eastlake Library. In a letter of 14 July 1883 Charles Locke Eastlake agreed that any part of the £100 annual book grant might be used to «purchase of photographs or autotypes of Pictures in Foreign Galleries, or in private hands». A separate Photographic Library was created in 1932.

¹⁴⁰ For further details of these arrangements, see Annual Report for 1938-1954, «The Materials of Scholarship. Books», pp. 47-48. Interestingly, it was noted at the end of this report: «The Trustees have continued to support, with contributions from the Lewis Fund, Mr F. Lugt's great work of recording sale catalogues».

Collections», the significant nature of its contents was specifically mentioned, and precisely because of its potential value it was suggested that greater efforts should be made to open up the Eastlake Library, especially to «art critics and advanced students»¹⁴¹.

Perhaps the best example of the Library being used to research Gallery pictures is the cataloguing programme initiated during the Second World War, under the direction of Philip Pouncey and Martin Davies. Against the better judgment of some of his colleagues, Davies insisted that the Eastlake Library be brought to Wales, where the Gallery's paintings were stored for safety, eventually in a disused slate mine at Manod Quarry, Snowdonia. A single black and white photograph in the Gallery's archive (Fig. 4) attests to the little-known fact that the Eastlake Library was kept there too (after an initial period with some of the pictures in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth), out of harm's way – as a result of strong arguments from Davies about the rarity value of the material as well as his practical need to have research material close to hand¹⁴². The resulting catalogues by Davies, which appeared from 1945, and which were more thorough and scholarly than any previously published catalogues¹⁴³, were Janus-like in the way that they looked both backwards to Eastlake's earlier achievements and forwards to a future when scholarly endeavours at the Gallery would be the norm. Today Eastlake's books and subsequent additions to the library's holdings are the first port of call for any curator involved with producing a volume of the revised and extended Schools Catalogues – a new series launched to critical acclaim in the 1990s.

Despite such strong evidence in favour of its research value, the picture that emerges from the available - but often scant - evidence in relation to the Eastlake Library's reception on the part of the National Gallery authorities and subsequent history at the Gallery is one of ambivalence and hesitancy. It seems fair to deduce from the extant sources that important senior Gallery staff and Government ministers sometimes saw the books as acting as a rival or distraction, both in terms of funding and staff time, to the main purpose of the institution - to acquire and conserve first-rate Old Master paintings. It has been noted above, for instance, even after the decision to purchase the Eastlake Library had been taken, that the Gallery often reacted only slowly, and then sometimes ungenerously, to such inevitable issues as its cataloguing, housing and public access.

This hesitancy in relation to the Eastlake Library and its subsequent expansion on the part of the Gallery relates to the bigger question of the perceived purpose of the institution and, in particular, whether it should be a place with a strong academic profile, in contrast to other artistic bodies such as the British Museum. Interestingly, such questions about the institution's identity and role never appear to have been raised directly in the context of the

¹⁴¹ Quoted from *National Gallery Committee Reports 1913 to 1915*, p. 35; noted by WOOD 2005, p. 29. The report remarked that the «art critics and advanced students [...] might be of assistance to the Director and staff in cataloguing and in research work generally in connection with the Gallery».

¹⁴² During its short stay at Aberystwyth the Library was not unpacked, which caused Philip Pouncey to write a warning note to Willie Gibson on 17 December 1940: «I hope that the Library, wherever it may be, will not in future be unusable and that work on the catalogue will be carried on by someone». A return to London, however, was not considered a satisfactory solution – «I feel doubtful of the rightness of bringing the Library back to London as we have had a lot of bombs about here» (see letter from W. Gibson to P. Pouncey, dated 30 December 1940; quoted in WOOD 2005, p. 34). The Director confirmed that the Library should remain in Wales, and soon the decision was made to re-locate everything – paintings and books – to the Manod Quarry – a process that took place in August 1941. For fuller details of the episode of the Eastlake Library in exile during the 1940s war years and the work done there by Davies on the National Gallery catalogues, see WOOD 2005, pp. 31-39.

¹⁴³ See letter from the National Gallery's Keeper to B. Hunnisett of 13 March 1970, where Davies's work is cited as exemplary: «If you have an opportunity to consult the sectional catalogues of the various schools of painting here, you would see under the references to any particular picture the kind of reference material that is needed in a library of this kind. A good example would be the entry for the *Virgin of the Rocks* in the *Earlier Italian schools* catalogue by Martin Davies, 1961».

discussion of the acquisition of Eastlake's library, though we should recall how little we in fact know about the types of discussion the offer of its sale elicited. Given this, we should perhaps also attribute the ambivalent response to the fact that Eastlake himself never made it clear that he thought that there should be a library at the National Gallery¹⁴⁴ nor made any efforts to facilitate this (aside from his apparently stated wish to his wife that his own library be acquired by the institution).

Yet with the announcement in 2009 of four «research strands» at the Gallery, including one to investigate issues to do with the buying, collecting and display of art, and the resultant forging of numerous research partnerships with the scholarly community, the academic character of the National Gallery has become more explicitly a part of the institution's profile. It is my hope, as part of this new emphasis on scholarship at the Gallery, that new research into the Eastlake Library will broaden knowledge of and interest in this unique resource. After all, the Eastlake Library is the beginning point of the establishment of the National Gallery's libraries, and contains some of its rarest and most historically-significant books, which, *inter alia*, remain of seminal use in cataloguing and curating the Gallery's painting collection.

¹⁴⁴ As Nicholas Penny notes, Eastlake never thought of the National Gallery as a place where he might carry out his research. Instead, Eastlake conducted his academic study from home, at Fitzroy Square, London.



Fig. 1: Title page of Turner's *Liber studiorum* (1808-1819) showing the Eastlake stamp in the top right-hand corner ©The National Gallery, London



Fig. 2: Selection of books from the Eastlake Library in the National Gallery Library today ©The National Gallery, London

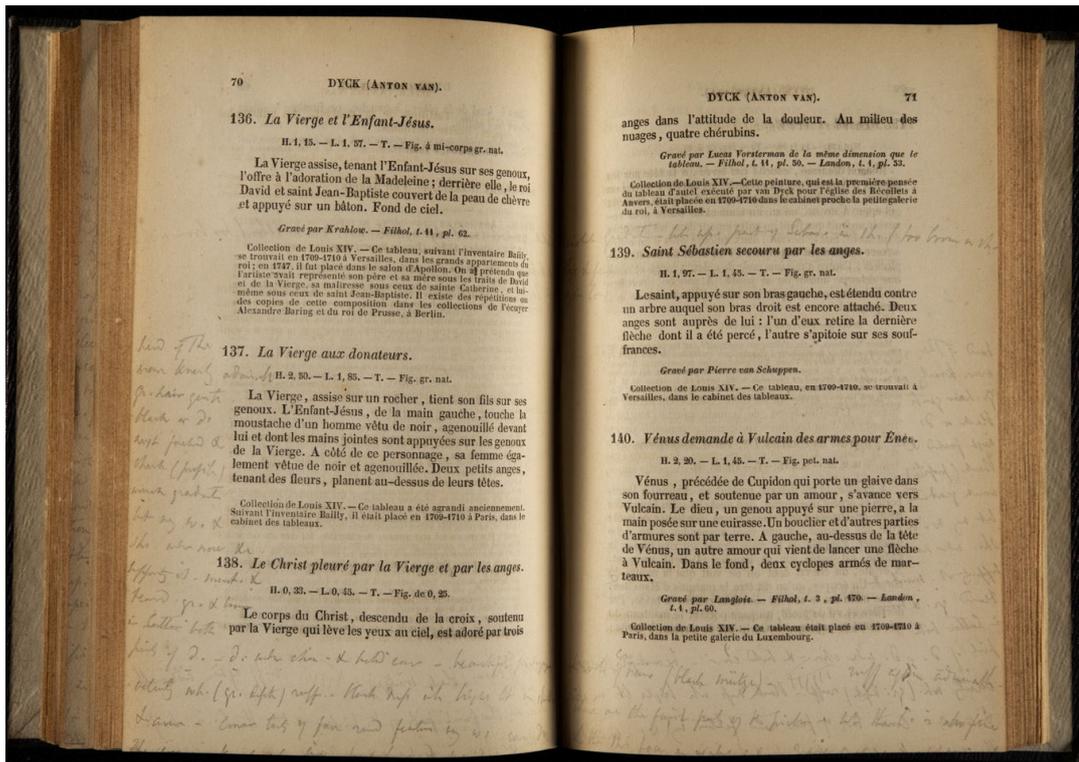


Fig. 3: Frédéric Villot, *Notice des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée Impérial du Louvre* (1854) with Eastlake's annotations ©The National Gallery, London



Fig. 4: National Gallery books in storage during World War II, at the Manod Quarry, Wales ©Keystone (Getty Images®)

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

Mr Green's Report on the Eastlake Library – Desiderata, Duplicates, &c

Letter from Green to R. N. Wornum
(NG Archive, ref: NG5/439/1)

27 King William St. Strand
10 March 1871
R. N. Wornum Esq

Dear Sir

In announcing the completion of my catalogue of the Eastlake library, I venture to suggest that its usefulness would be very greatly increased if it were printed. In a MS. form a catalogue cannot be easily perused and consequently aids only a search for any particular book of which the title is known, whereas if it can be read through it frequently points out sources of information previously unknown to the person consulting it. With this view I may add that I should be happy to prepare the catalogue for press and read and correct the proofs without making any additional charge.

I enclose herewith a list of books of which the library contains more than one copy and recommend the exchange or disposal of the duplicates.

I have also to draw your attention to another list noting certain deficiencies which it seems desirable should be supplied to complete the books now in the collection

I am, Dear Sir
Your obliged Servt
George M. Green
of Molini & Green

Duplicates in the Eastlake Library
(NG Archive, ref: NG5/439/1/ii)

Account of pictures exhibited at British Institution from 1813 to 1822. London 1824 8^{vo}

Barotti. Pitture &c di Ferrara. 8^{vo}

Baruffaldi. Pittori Ferraresi. 2 vols. 8^{vo}

Bencivenni sulla Galleria di Firenze. 2 vols. 8^{vo}

Biondo. della Pittura. 12^{mo}

Bisagno della Pittura 12^{mo}

Böttiger. Ideen zur Archäologie der Malerei. 8^{vo}

Boschini. Pitture di Venezia. 1733. 12^{mo}

Bosse. Sentimens.. de diverses manières de Peinture &c 12^{mo}

Britton's Account of Corsham House. 8^{vo}

Callery. Galerie royale de Turin. 12^{mo}

Calvi. Memoria del Francia - 8^{vo}

Camper. Moyen de représenter les différentes Passions &c 4to

Carasi. Pitture &c di Piacenza. 8^{vo}

Catalogo Colonna. 4^{to}

Catalogo Madrazo. 8^{vo}

Catalogo Vianelli. 4^{to}

Catalogo delle Pitture di Pesaro &c. 1783. 12o
Catalogue of works of Art in possession of Sir PP Rubens by Dawson Turner 1839. 8vo
Catalogue – Esterhazy. 8vo
Catalogue of Pictures of Rev. J.ⁿ Sanford. 8vo
Catalogue – Sale – Bretts 1864. 8vo
do- do van den Schrieckh. 8vo
Caylus et Majault. Peinture a l'Encaustique 8vo
Chiusale – Itinerario &c. 12mo
Chizzola. Pitture &c di Brescia. 8vo
Cranach's Leben ... van Schuckardt. 2 vols. 8vo
D'Argenville – Vie des Peintres 1762. 4 vols. 8vo
Descrizione delle pitture &c di Genova. 1780. 8vo
Discorsi dell'Accademia di Venezia 1812-15. 8vo
Essai sur la Peinture en Mosaique. 12mo
Fei. Cat. della Pinacoteca di Ferrara 12mo
Fielding's Theory & Practice of Painting 8vo
Furietti. Musivis. 4o.
Giordani. Guida dell'Accad. di Bologna 12o
Guevara. Comentarios de la Pintura. 8vo
Kate. Ideal Beauty, &c. 8vo
Lams. Graticola di Bologna. 8vo
Laugier. Maniere de bien juger &c. 12o
LeClerc Dupuy... Excellence de la Sculpture antique 8vo
Leoni. Pitture del Correggio. 8vo
Lettere su le Belle Arti. 4o
Marchesello. Pitture di Rimini. 8vo
Memorie de' Pittori Messinesi. 8vo
Mongeri. Conservazione del Cenacolo del da Vinci 8vo
Notice ... des tableaux de l'Ermitage. 12o
Nuova Guida ... di Padova. 12o
Pagani. Pitture &c di Modena. 12o
Panni. Dipinture &c di Cremona. 8vo
Passavant. Verz. der Städel'schen Kunst. Instituts 8vo
Patmore's British Galleries of Art. 8vo
Pitture &c di Brescia. 1834. 12mo
Practical Treatise on Painting in Oils 1795. 8vo
Prandi. Vita e Opere del Leonbruno. 8vo
Pungileoni. Vita &c del Bramante. 8vo
Raczynski. Les Arts en Portugal. 8vo
Ramdohr. Gallerie Brabek. 4o
Söder par S. de S. Roland. 8vo
Statuti dell Accademia di S. Luca. 4o
Temanza. Vita di Sansovino. 4o
Tibaldi ed Abbati. Pitture illustrate dal Zanotti. folio
Verzeichniss des Giustinianischen Gemälde 12mo

Wanting in the Eastlake Library

Osservatore Fiorentino 1821. 8vo Vol. 8.
Paoletti. Fiore di Venezia Sheet 1 of Vol. 4

(Vatout) Catalogue des Tableaux du Duc d'Orleans Paris 1823. 8^{vo} all after Vol. 1.
 Krafft. Katalog du Belvedere zu Wien. All after Band 1 of 1 Abtheilung Wien 1854
 Hotho. die Malerschuler Huberts van Eyck – all after Zweiter Theil. Erste lieferung
 Heller's Albrecht Durer. Supplement to 2nd vol.
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ABSTRACT

Sir Charles Eastlake (1793-1865), painter, scholar and arts-administrator, was appointed first Director of the National Gallery in 1855. In this role he acquired over one hundred and fifty pictures for the nation and put the study and management of the collection on a professional footing. He also purchased pictures for himself throughout his life and amassed a pioneering scholarly library that reflected his broad-ranging interests in the developing field of art history, notably with questions concerned with the attribution of paintings and with the history of artistic techniques. His library was sold to the National Gallery, in 1870, by his widow. An official catalogue of the Eastlake Library, compiled by G.M. Green, was published in 1872. Since October 2012 an annotated transcription of Green's catalogue has been available on-line at: <http://www.memofonte.it/ricerche/biblioteche.html#eastlake>.

The creation of Eastlake's private art library, its subsequent sale and later reception are an under-studied subject in the Gallery's history. This is not surprising given that such research may seem to be tangential to the Gallery's primary purpose – to look after, research, and augment its world-ranking collection of European Old Master paintings. But study of the Eastlake Library is illuminating on a number of fronts as this article demonstrates.

First, and most obviously, it gives us an insight into the evolving interests and concerns of Sir Charles Eastlake, whose role in the history of the creation of a British culture of public art was considerable. Secondly, by examining Eastlake's diverse use of his unusually comprehensive library, especially when he became Director of the National Gallery, we can begin to understand the way in which, under his leadership, that institution began to be transformed into one that sought to emulate the great galleries of continental Europe. Thirdly, by tracing the sometimes tortuous history of the acquisition of Eastlake's library by the National Gallery, and its evolving place there, we gain a particular insight into how perceptions of the Gallery's role and identity changed over time - and indeed continue to change.

Sir Charles Eastlake (1793-1865), pittore, studioso e amministratore di collezioni d'arte, venne nominato primo direttore della National Gallery nel 1855. In questo ruolo acquisì più di centocinquanta dipinti per la nazione e portò il tenore degli studi e la gestione della collezione su un piano di alta professionalità. Durante tutta la sua vita Eastlake acquistò dipinti anche per la propria collezione e creò una pionieristica biblioteca accademica che rifletteva i suoi interessi di ampio respiro nei campi più innovativi della storia dell'arte: soprattutto in ambito attribuzionistico e di storia delle tecniche artistiche.

La sua biblioteca fu venduta alla National Gallery nel 1870 dalla vedova. Un catalogo ufficiale della Biblioteca Eastlake, compilato da G.M. Green, è stato pubblicato nel 1872. Dall'ottobre 2012 una trascrizione annotata del catalogo di Green è disponibile on-line all'indirizzo: <http://www.memofonte.it/ricerche/biblioteche.html#eastlake>.

La creazione della biblioteca d'arte privata di Eastlake, la sua successiva vendita e conseguente acquisizione, rappresentano un soggetto alquanto trascurato nella storia della *National Gallery*. Ciò non sorprende giacché tale studio può sembrare tangente allo scopo primario della Galleria - tutelare, stimolare la ricerca e aumentare la sua collezione di rango mondiale dedicata agli antichi maestri europei. Questo articolo dimostra come lo studio della Biblioteca Eastlake possa considerarsi illuminante su diversi fronti.

Il primo, e più ovvio, fornisce un'idea degli interessi in continua evoluzione e delle inclinazioni di Sir Charles Eastlake, il cui ruolo nella storia della creazione di una cultura britannica di arte pubblica è stato considerevole. In secondo luogo, attraverso l'esame della

varia e insolitamente completa biblioteca Eastlake, specialmente dopo la sua nomina a direttore della National Gallery, possiamo cominciare a comprendere il modo in cui, sotto la sua guida, tale istituzione ha conosciuto un'evoluzione, nel tentativo di emulare le grandi gallerie dell'Europa continentale. In terzo luogo, tracciando la storia a volte tortuosa dell'acquisizione della biblioteca di Eastlake da parte della National Gallery, e il suo ruolo in evoluzione all'interno di tale istituzione, otteniamo una specifica panoramica del cambiamento della percezione del ruolo e dell'identità della Galleria nel corso del tempo - e di come in effetti continua a cambiare.